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Semantics of Sanskrit *Eva*: A Cognitive Linguistics Approach

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Abstract This paper delves into the semantic analysis of the Sanskrit emphatic particle eva using the framework of Cognitive Grammar. Traditionally, grammarians have provided a definition of eva that is concise and lacks clarity, while logicians offered a 'binary' explanation based on two-valued logic. However, a more nuanced linguistic analysis is essential for a deeper understanding. Through an examination of various examples from Sanskrit literature, this paper posits that all instances of eva can be distilled into a single schematic meaning: the speaker's cognitive process of selecting one candidate from a pool of options, while remaining neutral about other alternatives. Additionally, this paper explores the conjunction of eva with the discourse particle tu, asserting that eva tu and tu eva convey distinct nuances. In the former, the discourse connection is on the component marked by tu, whereas in the latter, it is on the group of candidates indicated by eva.

Keywords Eva. Emphatic expression. Focus particle. Cognitive linguistics. Sanskrit grammar.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Emphatic Expression. – 3 Semantics of *Eva*. – 4 Conclusion.



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1 Introduction

Eva is one of the most frequently used particles in Sanskrit. Its usage can be roughly described as laying emphasis on the preceding word and thus is categorized as what I call an 'emphatic particle' later. Ancient scholars in India have been annotating the usage of eva for a long time. Opinions on it can be generally divided into two categories: those of grammarians and those of logicians.

The first definition of eva comes from Pāṇini. Aṣṭādhyāyī 8.1.62 goes, cāhalopa eve 'ty avadhāraṇam, which, according to S.C. Vasu (1898, 1523), means that when particles ca and aha are omitted, the first finite verb retains its accent if there is an eva with the meaning of restriction (eve 'ty avadhāraṇam) taking their place.¹ A similar definition can also be found in Mahābhāṣya on sūtra 5,3,58. Here, Patañjali comments, "What is the meaning of the word eva? It means limitation (niyama)".²

This definition can be regarded as the standard among traditional grammarians and is inherited in later mainstream literature in Sanskrit grammar. Nevertheless, we are not sure about what traditional grammarians mean precisely by 'restriction' (avadhāraṇa) or 'limitation' (niyama). A piece of evidence suggests that they may not be taken too literally, i.e., they should not be understood as equivalent to English words like only or alone. In verse 3,4,15 of Nāmalingānuśāsana, Amarasiṃha defines five particles as 'word of restriction' (avadhāraṇavācaka), including evam, tu, punar, vā, and eva.³ Obviously, all the words other than eva will never be taken as meaning 'only'. Also proving this point is Maheśvara's commentary on this verse, by which these five words are defined as indicating 'ascertainment' (niścaya).⁴

In contrast to the complexity and variety of its practical uses, traditional grammarians have explained *eva* in a very concise manner, which appears to be oversimplified to a contemporary eye. It is until the rise of the great Buddhist philosopher Dharmakīrti that we finally have our first detailed description of *eva*. In *Pramānavārttika*,

Unless otherwise stated, all translations of the original Sanskrit texts included in this paper are by the author.

¹ According to $Vaiy\bar{a}karaṇasiddh\bar{a}ntakaumud\bar{\imath}$ on this sūtra, eva has another usage expressing 'impossibility' (anavaklpti). The example sentence given here is deva kve 'va bhokṣyase, which is interpreted as "Oh Devadatta, you are not going to eat anywhere" (na kvacid ity arthah). Nevertheless, to my knowledge, this meaning of eva is not attested anywhere in practical uses and thus might be highly contextually limited.

² evakāraḥ kimarthaḥ. niyamārthaḥ | (Mahābhāṣya on Aṣṭādhyāyī 5,3,58).

³ syur evaṃ tu punar vai 've 'ty avadhāraṇavācakāḥ | (Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana 3,4,15).

⁴ evam tu punarvai 'va pañca niścayārthakāḥ syuḥ | (Māheśvarī Ṭīkā on Nāmalingānuśāsana 3.4.15).

Dharmakīrti states the following:

It is the non-connection, the connection with others, or the absolute non-connection with a property that the limitative particle [i.e., eva] excludes when uttered together with a non-verbal predicate, a modified nominal, or a verb. Even when not said [explicitly], every one of these meanings can be recognized [merely] by [speaker's] intention to utter [eva] because the utterance [itself] has the effect of exclusion. For examples, Caitraḥ dhanurdharaḥ [eva]; Pārthaḥ [eva] dhanurdharah; nīlam [bhavati eva] sarojam.⁵

Here, Dharmakīrti enumerates three different usages of *eva* together with corresponding example sentences. Manorathanandin further comments on them in detail, according to which they can be interpreted as:

a. The exclusion of connection with others (aparayoga-vyavaccheda):
Example: pārthaḥ eva dhanurdharaḥ
'It is Pārtha who is an archer'.

This sentence is uttered with regard to the doubt of whether the property of being an archer also belongs to someone else (tādṛśamanyasyāpi kimasti). The possibility of a positive answer (thus, the **connection with others** of the property of the predicate) is excluded.⁶

b. The exclusion of non-connection (ayoga-vyavaccheda): Example: caitraḥ dhanurdharaḥ eva 'Caitra is indeed an archer'.

This sentence is uttered with regard to the doubt of whether Caitra has the property of being an archer (*caitre dhanurdharatvam*). And the possibility that Caitra is not an archer (thus, the **non-connection** of the property) is excluded.

⁵ ayogam yogam aparair atyantāyogam eva ca | vyavacchinatti dharmasya nipāto vyatirecakaḥ | viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyābhyāṃ kriyayā ca sahoditaḥ | vivakṣāto prayoge 'pi sarvo 'rtho 'yaṃ pratīyate | vyavacchedaphalaṃ vākyaṃ yataś caitro dhanurdharaḥ | pārtho dhanurdharo nīlaṃ sarojam iti vā yathā | (Pramāṇavārttika 4,190-2). Ganeri (2011, 238-40) has also addressed the same passage and given his own translation. His quotation has in verse 191 viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyābhāyāṃ and tasyārtho 'yaṃ instead of viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyābhyāṃ and sarvo 'rtho 'yaṃ.

⁶ kintu tādṛśam anyasyā 'pi kim astī 'ti sandehe 'nyayogavyavacchedaphalaṃ viśeṣaṇam | (Manorathanandivṛtti on Pramāṇavārttika 4,190-2).

⁷ caitre dhanurdharatvasandehād viśeṣaṇenā 'yogamātraṃ vyavacchidyate | (Manorathanandivrtti on Pramānavārttika 4,190-2).

c. The exclusion of absolute non-connection ($atyant\bar{a}yoga\text{-}vyavaccheda\text{)}\text{:}$

Example: nīlam bhavati eva sarojam.

'A lotus is dark blue indeed.'

Except that *eva* here lays emphasis on a verb rather than a non-verbal predicate, this case is, according to Ganeri (2011, 238-40), essentially the same as the exclusion of non-connection.

If Manorathanandin's interpretation is correct, we can safely claim that Dharmakīrti's analysis on *eva* is of two-valued logic – by uttering "It is Pārtha who is an archer", that there are other people who are also archers is automatically denied; by uttering "Caitra is indeed an archer", the possibility that he is not an archer is tacitly excluded.

Dharmakīrti can be viewed as a key figure in interpreting *eva* through the lens of logic. The discussion of this issue was continued by the later Indian logicians who followed the same analytical paradigm pioneered by Dharmakīrti and only deviated from his conclusion in classification details.⁸

The above raises the main problem with the definition of *eva*. On the one hand, traditional grammarians have only offered us overly concise explanations, which are insufficient for a contemporary learner to understand eva in detail. On the other hand, logicians like Dharmakirti tend to define eva purely with regard to two-valued logic, which is not the case on the level of natural language, as I will argue in the next section. In this paper, I will examine language material from classical Sanskrit texts and closely examine four main ways of using this particle. I will argue that eva has a clear and coherent meaning, namely, indicating a mental operation to select one member out of a group while being neutral on other members' qualifications. The analytical tool employed here is a (greatly) simplified and modified version of Cognitive Grammar developed by Langacker (1987; 1991; 2008), which provides both an intuitive and consistent theory covering semantics, grammar, and pragmatics and is considered by me to be the fittest framework for this issue.

⁸ Ganeri (2011, 237-43) classified the main opinions of traditional logicians on this topic into two categories – the opinion of Buddhists and that of Navya-Nyāya scholars. According to the material Ganeri quoted, the second opinion claims that *eva* only suggests the exclusion of connection with others.

⁹ This paper offers a preliminary proposal rather than an exhaustive analysis; therefore, I will refrain from discussing the applications of eva that some linguists classify as exclusively metrical. I propose that even in these so-called 'metrical' contexts, eva retains certain semantic significance. This viewpoint is reinforced by Coenen (2024, 317-18) in his exploration of the semantics of the Vedic emphatic particle id.

2 **Emphatic Expression**

Many natural languages have one or more ways to create a specific kind of semantic structure, which I will refer to as a 'single-out expression' for now, for the sake of convenience. For example, in English, we can say:10

- (1) It is Jerry who saved Tom.
- (2)Tony is the **very** person who has been courting me.

In the above two sentences, the words highlighted in bold make up the 'single-out' structure. Of course, the object is not limited to a thing or a person; it can also belong to the category of place, time, e.g., as in the following examples:

- (3) It was at three o'clock when I suddenly woke up.
- (4) This is the **exact** place where I first met my wife.

The semantic difference between these sentences and the corresponding simple declarative ones, like, for instance, the minimal pair of (1) and (5) below, is usually vaguely claimed to be that the former one 'emphasizes' the agent. But how could we articulate this concept with greater precision?

(5) Jerry saved Tom.

By reflecting on (1), one thing we can be sure about from intuition is that, somehow, in our mind, we select Jerry out of some 'group'. I assume it is a set of candidates accessed in the speaker's mind, with no clear bounds, pulled together according to the speaker's world knowledge. In the case of example sentence (1), such candidates are the characters having to do with Tom in the well-known cartoon Tom and Jerry (e.g., Spike, Butch, Tuffy).

To illustrate this nuance [fig. 1], a dotted-line circle represents the set of candidates, and smaller solid-line circles represent the single characters activated in the speaker's mind, including Tom. Further, an arrowed double line is used to represent the action 'save', and an arrowed single line the mental operation of this selection.

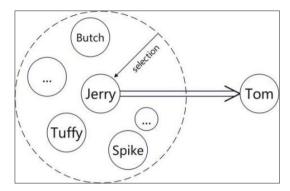


Figure 1 Base of example sentence (1)

This whole schema can be considered diagramming the base of the sentence (1). A base can be thought of as the set of all conceptions and knowledge involved in a linguistic expression, whether explicitly mentioned or not. The most straightforward instance is that of quantifiers, for it would be impossible to understand some students, most women, or all Americans without invoking conceptions of a larger scope, i.e., 'all students', 'all women', and 'all Americans' [fig. 2]. However, it's important to note that the base is not the same as the meaning of a linguistic expression. Indeed, within this base, we only pay attention to a particular item and linguistically encode it. This constituent is called a 'profile', as represented by the three small circles in bold in figure 2. It is the profile against the base as a whole that forms linguistic meaning. However, it's interpretation to the same as the meaning of a linguistic and linguistically encode it.

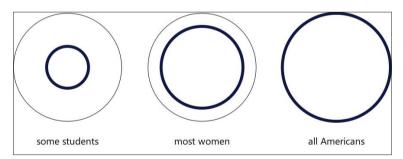


Figure 2 Profiles of quantifiers

- 11 Cf. Langacker 1987, 183-9 for a detailed definition.
- 12 In the case of 'all Americans', the invoked concept overlaps with the expression regarding their scopes.
- **13** Again, for a comprehensive discussion with regards to base and profile, cf. Langacker 1987, 183-9.

With this discussed, we are now equipped with the necessary theoretical tool to analyze the English 'single-out' pattern it is... who in (1). Since it indicates a mental operation of selecting some member out of a big group, its base consists of at least three elements - the group of candidates, the selected member, as well as the operation of selection itself. Compared with the simple declarative one (5), the 'single-out' sentence (1) illustrates Jerry's role against the set of candidates currently accessible in the speaker's mind. Therefore, I argue that it is this mental selection that constitutes the profile of the 'single-out' expression, 14 and together with the selected member and the whole candidate group, they constitute the complete semantics of the 'single-out' expression [fig. 3]. 15

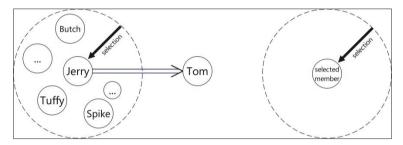


Figure 3 'Single-out' expression in example sentence (1) (left) and semantics of 'single-out' expressions in general (right)

Before we move on, it's important to clarify some terminology. I will refer to the 'single-out' expression we have discussed as an 'emphatic expression', with the element singled out being 'emphasized' or 'given emphasis'. Some linguistic works categorize emphasis under the more general term 'focus' (e.g., Hengeveld, Mackenzie 2012, 89-92), but I believe this may not be the most accurate classification. In cognitive and functional linguistics, 'focus' typically refers to the element

¹⁴ This mental selection can be regarded as the result of a more general cognitive ability called 'comparison' assumed by Langacker. According to Langacker (1987, 101-5), we subconsciously and automatically compare things we perceive and register their differences. This is why we naturally notice the differences of pitches in a tune and appreciate the flow of music rather than perceiving a sequence of isolated sounds, and why we could not help but notice that a student is more intelligent than others in a class. In the same way, when we access this set of candidates [fig. 3], we automatically compare Jerry with other members with regards to 'who helped Tom', through which process Jerry stands out and is selected in our mind.

To some extent, the analysis proposed in this paper resembles a specific reading of the English adverb just proposed in Lee 1991, 55-6, which is termed the 'intensifactory' reading. According to Lee, in the sentence The shop is just near the bank, "just near the bank" is the extreme member among all the spatial spots conceived as "near the bank".

conveying new and/or contrasting information. 16 While emphasis shares some similarities with this concept, they are different in essence. As evidence, the Japanese language explicitly assigns two separate particles for them - 'ha' (t) for focus and 'koso' (27) for emphasis:17

(6) 森さん は 太田さん 数師。 Mori-san ha isha Ooda-san ha kyoushi. Mr.Mori FOCUS PARTICLE doctor Mr.Ooda FOCUS PARTICLE teacher 'Mr. Mori is a doctor; Mr. Ooda, however, is a teacher.'

太田さん こそ 教師 (だ)。 Ooda-san koso kyoushi (da) Mr. Ooda EMPHATIC PARTICLE teacher be: PRE 'It is Mr. Ooda who is a teacher.'

In the example sentence (6), ha signifies that Mr. Mori and Mr. Ooda are contrastive; in (7), however, koso performs the singling-out function and selects Ooda from a potential group in the speaker's world knowledge.18

Another thing worth special attention is distinguishing emphatic expressions from limitative ones, such as (6). As we have seen from Pramānavārttika, Dharmakīrti interprets emphatic eva as essentially equivalent to limitative expressions - if you single out one, you automatically exclude others. Although self-evident within the field of logic, this perspective is not always true conceptually and linguistically. We humans have no problem focusing on only one of two interdependent sides of a thing and totally ignoring the other. Thus, You are not wrong certainly does not equal You are right, as is the case here - by uttering example sentence (1), the speaker merely recognizes the very existence of other candidates and remains neutral about them; while by uttering (6), the speaker explicitly denies their qualification. 19 As we can see in figure 4, although both of them involve the same base and profile, they choose two different

¹⁶ Langacker 1991, 397; 2008, 57; Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, 118-19; Hengeveld, Mackenzie 2012, 89-92.

¹⁷ The example sentences (6), (7), and (9) in Japanese are composed by the Author.

¹⁸ Both focus and emphasis can be considered as part of a broader concept known as 'prominence', as proposed by Langacker (1987; 2008). According to Langacker's theory (2008, 31), entities that are perceived as more 'prominent' than others have a higher level of neural activation. In simpler terms, we can say that these entities are more noticeable than others in our thinking.

¹⁹ Of course, in the case of emphatic expressions, the 'unqualification' can also be explicated by other components, like It is Jerry who saved Tom, not others.

construals, that is, according to cognitive linguistics, different perspectives from which we interpret the same conception (for the sake of simplicity, candidates other than Jerry is omitted) [fig. 4]:

Only Jerry saved Tom.

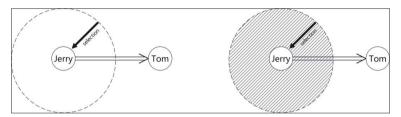


Figure 4 Emphatic expression in example sentence (1) (left) and limitative expression in example sentence (6) (right)

Again, support for this analysis can be found in the Japanese language - Japanese uses two distinct particles, 'koso' (こそ) and 'dake' (till), to convey subtle semantic differences. Compare (7) with (9):

(9)	太田さん	だけ	教師	(だ)。
	Ooda-san	dake	kyoushi	(da)
	Mr. Ooda	LIMITATIVE PARTICLE	teacher	be: PRE
	'Only Mr. O	oda is a teacher.'		

After discussing the basic conceptions from cognitive linguistics, we can now move on to talk about eva, the emphatic particle in Sanskrit.

Semantics of Eva 3

Under current analysis, the various usages of eva can be classified into three categories. They will be examined one by one and abstracted into one consistent interpretation. A unique usage of eva in conjunction with discourse particles will also be discussed. The majority of the example Sanskrit sentences are extracted from classical texts. Nevertheless, I with discretion have also crafted a few ad hoc sentences for clearer demonstration, given that Sanskrit is a classical language and finding exact minimal pairs can be challenging (i.e., a pair of linguistic materials differing by only one element) in the extant literature. They are example sentences (18), (20), (23), and (24) without '()' at the end to indicate the sources. All the example sentences in Sanskrit are given without sandhi.

3.1 Emphasizing Things or Properties

Perhaps the most frequent and prototypical use of *eva* is to follow a nominal and emphasize its referent against other candidates:

(10) yad bhavatā abhihitam tad

RL.N.NOM.SG you: INS.SG to say, to speak: DEM.N.NOM.SG

P.PT.N.NOM.SG

evamayākartavyam...EMPHATIC PARTICLEI: INS.SGto do, to perform:

FUT.P.PT.N.NOM.SG

'Whatever said by you, that **exactly** will be carried out by me...' (said Saṃjīvaka to Karaṭaka, indicating he would be willing to follow Karaṭaka's advice after being told a cautionary story).

Pañcatantra 1,3

(11) ananyabhājam patim āpnuhi iti sā

not dwelling husband: to obtain: IND her: F.NOM.SG

on another M.ACC.SG PRE.IMP.2.SG (woman):

M.ACC.SG

tathyam **eva** abhihitā bhavena

truth: N.ACC.SG **EMPHATIC** to tell: a name of Siva: M.INS.SG.

PARTICLE P.PT.F.NOM.SG

na hi īśvaravyāḥṛtayaḥ kadācit puṣṇanti loke viparītam artham ||

"May you obtain a husband who does not dwell on another woman!" – she (Umā) was told the **very** truth by Bhava (Śiva). And never will the words of the Divine foster a reversed meaning in the world.

Kumārasambhava 6,63

For instance, by uttering (10), I reckon that Samjīvaka indicates there are other choices of actions for him to take which also fall within the group of things that "will be carried out" by him (tad mayā kartavyam) while within this category stands out one qualified member, i.e., the things told by Karaṭaka (yad bhavatā abhihitam) [fig. 5]. Again, as I argued above, I disagree with defining eva here as 'limitative', because eva merely means to access the group consisting of other members while not commenting on their qualifications. This is why tad eva should not be translated as 'that alone' or 'only that'.

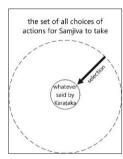


Figure 5
Emphatic expression in example sentence (10)

Of course, to emphasize a nominal does not mean it has to be limited to a nominative or an accusative case:

(12)	<i>yasya</i> RL.N.GEN.SG	devasya deity (god or goodness): N.GEN.SG	yaḥ RL.M.NOM.SG	proktaḥ declared: M.NOM.SG	tasya DEM.N.GEN.SG
	tena	eva	maṇḍalam		
	DEM.M.INS.SG	EMPHATIC PARTICLE	maṇḍala: N.ACC.S	G	
	yasya yasya tu ya	nḥ mantraḥ yathā a	lhyānādipūjanam		
	tat	tat	tena	eva	mantreṇa
	DEM.N.NOM.SG	DEM.N.NOM.SG	DEM.M.INS.SG	EMPHATIC PARTICLE	mantra: M.INS.SG
	pūjayitvā	prayatnataḥ			
	to worship: ABL	zealously: IND			
	tasya	eva	bījamantrābhyām	mūrdhni	
	DEM.N.GEN.SG	EMPHATIC PARTICLE	bīja and mantra: M.INS.DU	head: M.LOC.SG	
	dadyāt		pavitrakam		
	to offer, to place: PRE. OPT.3.SG		a kind of plant: M.ACC.SG		

'(A man dedicated to devotion) should (perform) such as the maṇḍala and the ritual as meditation, and worship zealously whatever deity (he believes in), in the exact form prescribed to the deity to the chanting of the exact mantra, and put the Pavitraka on his head to the chanting of the exact bīja and mantra of that deity.'

Kālikāpurāņa 59,75b-77a

(13) atha tena vyādhena taṇḍulakaṇān vikīrya jālaṃ vistīrṇam | sah ca pracchannah bhūtvā sthitah |

 tasmin
 eva
 kāle
 citragrīvanāmā

 DEM.M.LOC.SG
 EMPHATIC
 time: M.LOC.SG
 named Citragrīva:

 PARTICLE
 M.NOM.SG

kapotarājaḥsaparivāraḥviyatiking of the pigeons:being with a retinue: M.NOM.the sky:M.NOM.SGSGN.LOC.SG

visarpantāntaṇḍulakanānavalokayāmāsa |to move along: PRE.DEM.M.ACC.PLrice grain: M.ACC.PLto see, to notice:PT.M.NOM.SGPF.3.SG

'Then, the hunter scattered grains of rice about and set a net. He then stayed hidden. **At that very time**, the king of the pigeons named Citragrīva, passing through the sky with his retinue, had noticed those rice grains.'

Hitopadeśa 1,1

A special case arises when emphasis is placed on a universal quantifier, specifically words like *every* and *all*. In English, phrases such as *just every student* or *exactly every student* imply that the suggested group of candidates includes all possible proportions of students – such as 'some students', 'most students', as well as 'none of the students' – and among them, 'every student' is selected out. In Sanskrit, we observe a similar usage as follows:

(14) na śocanti na vāñchanti na yācante śubhāśubham

sarvam kurvanti eva ca na all, every: N.ACC.SG EMPHATIC and: to do, to not: IND PARTICLE IND perform: PRE.3.PL kurvanti iha kimcana |

to do, to perform: here, whatever: N.ACC.SG

PRE.3.PL now: IND

'They do not grieve, nor do they desire, or require the pleasant and the unpleasant; in this world, they perform **exactly everything** while also performing nothing.'

Yogavāsistha 2,13,2

The semantics of sarvam eva in this verse is illustrated in [fig. 6]:20

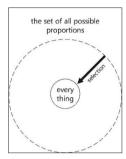


Figure 6
Emphatic expression in example sentence (14)

Further, this use also applies to demonstrative adjectives and adverbials:

(15) tad vai yugasahasrāntam brāhmam puṇyam ahar viduḥ |

 rātrim
 ca
 tāvatīm
 eva
 te

 night:
 and: IND
 such: F.ACC.SG
 EMPHATIC PARTICLE
 they:

 F.ACC.SG
 PRO.M.NOM.PL

ahorātravidah janāh |

knowing days and nights: man, person: M.NOM.PL

M.NOM.PL

'(Those who) know that the very holy day of Brahma is the end of one thousand ages and that the night lasts **just as long**, they are men acquainted with (the length of) days and nights.'

Manusmrti 1,73

When used this way, the meaning of *eva* is essentially the same as above, except that the object it singles out is not a thing but some specific attribute or state of a thing, both of which I will generally refer to as 'property'. In (15), the speaker states that among all possible lengths for the night of Brahma, the one that matches the length of the day is chosen. With a square representing the length of

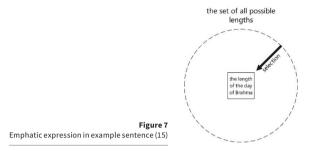
²⁰ Coenen (2024, 263-75) also touches on this topic when he discusses the use of Vedic emphatic particle *id* following universal quantifiers. The perspective from which he looks at this problem, however, is different from mine. Coenen recognized *id* after a universal quantifier as a 'slack regulator', a concept borrowed from Lasersohn (1999). A slack regulator serves to reduce the 'pragmatic slackness' of a universal quantifier. For instance, let us compare the following two example sentences:

a. This position is open to everyone except for John.

b. *This position is open to absolutely everyone except for John.

Without 'absolutely', 'everyone except for John' is acceptable for the universal quantifier allows for some exceptions. On the other hand, 'absolutely everyone except for John' is deemed unacceptable because the slack regulator 'absolutely' reduces this slackness and thus does not allow any exceptions like 'John'.

a day of Brahma's, the meaning of *eva* emphasizing a property can be similarly illustrated as below:



This still applies even when the emphasized component is not explicitly uttered:

(16) śrīḥ tava eva me

prosperity, auspiciousness: you: PRO.GEN.SG
F.NOM.SG
astu/,²1122
to be: PRE.IMP.3.SG
'May the prosperity be with me just as be with you.'

Ganaratnamahodadhi 1

In the example sentence (16), there is an omitted iva following \acute{srih} tava which is the emphasized component here, i.e., \acute{srih} tava iva eva me astu. Traditional commentators sometimes interchangeably use iva and eva to explain each other, but as analyzed in Brereton (1982), the two cases are not semantically equivalent, for the latter adds an extra exactness nuance:

(17) śrīḥ tava **iva** me astu

'May the prosperity be with me as be with you.'

²¹ The same example sentence given by Apte is śrīḥ te eva me astu, which can be explained almost the same way. And Apte also explains it as tava iva.

²² Again, Coenen (2024, 253, 256) discusses a similar issue in which the Vedic emphatic particle id comes after the words indicating similarity as iva and $n\acute{a}$. His take is that it indicates a point that is close to full identity on a so-called 'scale of similarity'.

- (16) śrīḥ tava **eva** me astu
- ≈ śrīḥ tava **iva eva** me astu
- or **yathā** śrīḥ tava astu **tathā eva** me astu

To summarize it, we can reasonably define the first use of *eva* as selecting a thing or a property against a set of alternative candidates accessed in the speaker's mind.

3.2 Emphasizing the Temporal Range

Along with a nonfinite verb, <code>eva</code> can emphasize a specific time range of an action. In this case, lexicographers usually interpret it as 'as soon as' or 'while just'. Although these translations are quite accurate in their respective contexts, they lack a coherent and reasonable semantic analysis, especially one that can form a consistent explanation with other uses of <code>eva</code>. Here, I classify the temporal use into two subcases, in which <code>eva</code> respectively emphasizes the completion time and the progressing time.

Let's take a look at the first one, in which *eva* follows a gerund and underlines the completion time of an action:

(18)	bhojanam	bhuktvā	eva

food, dinner: N.ACC.SG to eat: GER EMPHATIC PARTICLE

aham bahiḥ agaccham | I: PRO.NOM.SG outwards: IND to go: IMPF.1.SG

'It is right after having dinner that I went out.'

(19) $sa\dot{h}$ $t\bar{a}m$ $spr\dot{s}tv\bar{a}$ He: PRO.M.NOM.SG she: PRO.F.ACC.SG to touch: GER eva videhatvam $pr\bar{a}ptah$

EMPHATIC PARTICLE death: M.ACC.SG to approach: P.P.T.M.NOM.SG 'It is as soon as he (Pāndu) touched her (Mādrī) that he approached death.'

Mahābhārata 1,90,74

How should we interpret the semantics of *eva* in these sentences? To answer this, we should first take a look at gerunds. Consider the following minimal pair:

(20) bhojanam bhuktvā aham bahiḥ agaccham.

'I went out after having dinner.'

^{&#}x27;May the prosperity be with me just as be with you.'

(18) bhojanam bhuktvā **eva** aham bahiḥ agaccham.

'It is right after having dinner that I went out.'

A gerund is a type of non-finite verb form in Sanskrit, indicating the completed state of an action that happens before another referred to in the main clause. Considering the cognitive domains involved in a verb are highly heterogeneous and complicated, here, only the temporal domain, to which the semantics of gerunds is most related, is taken into account. I use two arrowed lines to represent the actions involved in a gerund sentence, with the left one indicating the action of a gerund and the right one that of a main verb, which is to take place subsequently. Points at both ends represent the beginning and end of the action. A temporal axis is drawn below to illustrate the concept of time flow. Thus, figure 8 shows the base of a gerund in the temporal domain.

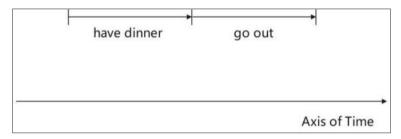


Figure 8 Base of example sentences (18) and (20)

When used without *eva*, as in (18), a gerund highlights the completed state of an action, with no reference to the amount of time that occurs between the completion of such action and the performance of the action encoded in the main clause. A bold point is used to represent it. (20), on the other hand, suggests a very short interval between the end of the former action and the start of the latter. I assume it also implies that other possibilities were available for the addressee as to when the utterer 'went out', and within those possibilities 'right after he had dinner' stands out as the fittest one for the intent situation. Thus, *eva*'s presence here shifts the profile to a specific moment (represented by a point)²³ and selects it within the group of all optional times [figs 9-10].²⁴

²³ This is roughly analogous to the difference between a point on a line and the position of the same point on the coordinate axes.

²⁴ In illustrating a similar use of English *just*, Lee (1991, 55-6) proposes what he calls a 'marginal' reading with which, again, the theory presented here in this paper appears to



Profiles of the gerund in example sentence (20) (left) and with eva in example sentence (18) (right)

A similar but less frequent use should also be mentioned, in which eva follows a locative absolute comprising a past participle:

(21) adūravartinīm siddhim rājan viganaya ātmanah.

upasthitā ivam kalvānī nāmni

yat

to appear: this: auspicious: F.NOM.SG name: N.LOC.SG

P.PT.F.NOM.SG DEM.F.NOM.SG kīrtite eva

to sav: EMPHATIC because: IND

P.PT.N.LOC.SG **PARTICLE**

'King! Notice your realization (of the goal) is in no long time. For this blessed one (Nandinī the Cow) has appeared right after her name was called.'

Raghuvamśa 1,87

The only difference in this case is that the time of the action is limited to the past, while a gerund is not temporal, i.e. its use is not limited to any specific tense, as illustrated by example sentence (18), which is in past tense, and (22), which, we will be talking about soon, is in present tense. Therefore, in figure 10, I use a point in the middle to indicate 'now', the present. What should be noticed is that this 'now' point does not necessarily have to overlap with the utterance time. Instead, it can be any time point perceived to be the present depending on the speaker's perspective, as the use of the historical present in English.

have some commonality. Nevertheless, the framework underlying his argument remains binary logical - the constituents modified by just are perceived as either true or false. In one of his original examples He left just before night, the action of leaving is perceived as being punctual. So, there are only leave before midnight and leave after midnight. And without just, it is not specified how long leaving takes place before this specific point of time; on the other hand, when combined with just, the action of leave is situated so infinitely close to this point of time that, even if we move it a tiny little bit further, the truth value of leave before midnight would not apply anymore. Thus, we say that leave is situated at the 'margin' on one side of the time point of midnight.

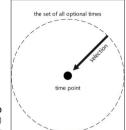


Figure 10 Profile of the locative absolute with eva in example sentence (21)

At last, it should be mentioned that the pattern of 'gerund + eva' also has a slightly different nuance, as in (22):

(22) yadā vai karoti atha nististhati; na ākrtvā nististhati;

krtvā nististhati:... to do: GER EMPHATIC PARTICLE to serve (the teacher): PRE.3.SG25 'It is when one performs (his duties) that he serves (the teacher); not that he serves without performing; it is after performing that one serves...'

Chandogva Upanisad 7.21.1

Here, what is emphasized by eva is not just the moment right before which the intended action occurs, but all the time after this action. Thereby, example sentence (18) also has a different reading 'It is after I had dinner that I went out'. 26 Nevertheless, this slight difference in nuance should pose no difficulty for the current framework, since it is only a matter of which component of the same base of gerund is selected to be profiled. And this is in fact an important source of polysemes. Think about the English word *across* as in *I ran across* the road and She lives across the road. Both involve the same base of the word *across* - a trajectory of moving from one locus through some obstacle to another locus. The only difference is that the former sentence profiles the process (or the obstacle) of across while the latter the destination of *across*. Let us name the 'it is right after/as soon as' reading as Reading 1 and the 'it is after... that' reading as Reading 2, the difference between the two readings and how they derive from the same base can be illustrated below:

²⁵ The interpretation of nihsthā here is according to Śańkara's commentary (Jha 1942, 401). Also, notice that (22) provides further evidence to our analysis here by explicitly mentioning another possible temporal choice as to when to 'serve the teacher'.

The analysis of this nuance is inspired by Coenen (2024, 256-62). Coenen divides a similar temporal use of id into three subcases - specifying the time point right after the event; excluding all earlier time points; and excluding all other time points.

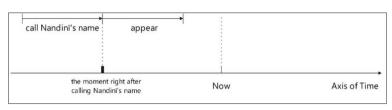


Figure 11 Base of example sentence (18) and its two readings

Then, we move on to the second subcase, in which *eva* emphasizes a present participle. Sanskrit present participle indicates the state of progress during which another action referred to in the main clause takes place:

(23)	tasya	viṣaye	cintayan	rāmam	
	He: DEM.M.GEN. SG	sphere, territory: M.LOC.SG	thinking: PRE. PT.M.NOM.SG	Rāma: M.ACC.SG	
	dṛṣṭavān				
	to see: P.PT.N.NOM.SG				
	'I saw Rāma while	I was thinking about	t him.'		

The base of (23) is illustrated in figure 12:

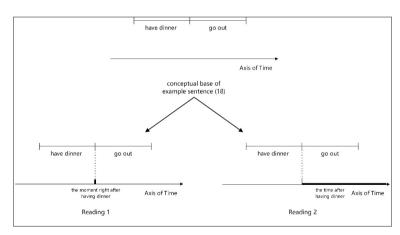


Figure 12 Base of example sentence (23)

Followed by *eva*, this overlapping is further emphasized in the flow of time:

(24) tasya vişaye cintayan eva rāmam dṛṣṭavān.

'I saw Rāma just as I was thinking about him.'

(25) yuṣmābhiḥ bhasma bhakṣitavyam iti vadan

you: PRO.INS.PL ashes: to eat: IND to say: PRE.PT.M.NOM.

N.NOM.SG FUT.P.PT.N.NOM.SG SG

evapatitaḥtaiḥvyāpāditaḥcaEMPHATICto fall:he: PRO.M.INS.PLto perish:and: IND

PARTICLE P.PT.M.NOM.SG P.PT.M.NOM.SG

""(I wish) you (to) eat ashes!" -- **just** as he (the tortoise) was saying this, he fell off and was killed by them (cowherds).'

Hitopadeśa 4

(26) yaḥ anadhītya dvijaḥ vedam anyatra kurute śramam.

sa jīvan **eva** śūdratvam
he: to live: **EMPHATIC** the state of being
PRO.M.NOM.SG PRE.PT.M.NOM.SG **PARTICLE** Śūdra: N.ACC.SG

āśu gacchati sānvayaḥ

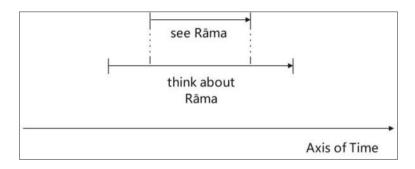
soon: IND to go: being along with descendants: M.NOM.SG

PRE.3.SG

'A twice-born man who, not having studied the Veda, engages in worldly business, **it is while** he is still alive **that** he soon falls to the state of a Sudra, and so do his descendants.'

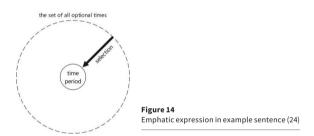
Manusmrti 2,168

The semantic contrast presented [figs 13a-b] highlights the differing implications of a present participle when used independently compared to when it is followed by eva, with an arrowed line below representing the duration of the action referred to by a present participle and one above the action in the main clause. I use a corresponding bold segment to represent this overlapping. In the example sentence (23), what is profiled is the overlap of two actions itself; while in (24), with eva, the profile shifts to the time stretch during which this overlap occurs. And this mental selection profiled by eva in (24) is illustrated in figure 14, with a small circle inside indicating the stretch of time:





Figures 13a-b Profile of the present particle in example sentence (23) (left) and with eva in example sentence (24) (right)



It should be clear from the above that in the second use, *eva* selects a specific temporal range from a group of optional times. This range can be a moment or a period, depending on which kind of nonfinite verb *eva* follows.

3.3 Emphasizing the Binary Judgment

The last use of *eva* is to emphasize the judgment of a predicate. The judgment is typically a binary one, meaning it is confined to one of two opposing choices.

What does this mean? When we utter an English sentence as *John is indeed Jimmy's husband*, I assume that *indeed* suggests we subconsciously access both the possibilities that 'John is Jimmy's husband' and 'John is not Jimmy's husband'. Within them, 'John is Jimmy's husband' stands out as the one who fits the intent situation.

This is also the case with eva:

(27) saḥ cet phalasya bhoktvā tarhi ātmā iti hetoḥ | ātmatvāveśesanāt iti yāvat | tasmāt kva api ātmantare api tat kim na syāt.

api tu bhavitavyam **ev**

rather, instead: IND to be, to exist: FUT.P.PT.N.NOM.SG **EMPHATIC PARTICLE**

'If he is the consumer of the fruit (of sins), it is for the reason of the self. That is, because of the non-distinction of self-being. Thus, would not that (fruit) also exist somewhere else within the self? Rather, it **definitely** would.'

Naisadhīyaprakāśavyākhyā 17,52

(28)	gataḥ	eva	na	te		nivartate
	to go:	EMPHATIC	not: IND	you: PRO.GE	N.	to come back:
	P.PT.M.NOM.SG	PARTICLE		SG		PRE.MID.3.SG
	saḥ	sakhā	dīpaḥ	iva	ani	lāhataḥ
	that: DEM.M.NOM.SG	friend: M.NOM.SG	lamp: M.NOM.S	as: IND		ng struck by d: M.NOM.SG

aham asya daśā iva paśya mām avisahyavyasanena dhūmitām

'Gone **indeed** is your (Madhu, a name of Śiva) friend (Kāma). He comes not back, as a lamp put out by the wind. I (Rati) am like this lamp wick. Behold me (dispersing) like the smoke under unbearable misfortune.'

Kumārasambhava 4.30

In this case, eva can be placed after whatever predicate it lays emphasis on. Again, this case does not deviate from the above two uses. Take (28), for instance, when we claim that somebody is 'gone indeed', we subconsciously access both the possibilities of 'be gone' and 'be not gone' in our mind. Thus, compared to the negative one, 'be gone' stands out as the eligible choice fitting the intent situation.

Here, I define *eva* as selecting one judgment out of two. In figure 15, the bigger circle is employed to represent the set of all possibilities, which contains only two members – affirmation and negation; the square is used to present two of the judgments:

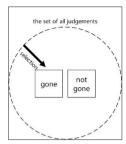


Figure 15
Emphatic expression in example sentence (28)

And the above interpretation applies to negation as well:

(29) sarveṣām pṛthivīśānām tvam ajeyaḥ bhaviṣyasi.

sarvakṣayakaraḥ bhāvī na cirād holocaust: M.NOM.SG predestined, inevitable: M.NOM.SG not: IND for long: IND

eva bhārgava.

EMPHATIC PARTICLE Bhārgava (a name of Paraśu Rāma): M.VOC.SG

'You (Paraśu Rāma) will become invincible to all the rulers of the earth. A holocaust is due in **certainly** no long time, Bhārgava.'

Skandapurāna 5,2,29,6

(30) tasmai datvā tadā siddham sarvam viprāya niścitah.

niśśeṣite anne bhagavān

to have nothing left: P.PT.N.LOC.S food: N.LOC.SG the glorious one: M.NOM.SG

abhuktvā **eva** mahātapāh

to not eat: GER EMPHATIC PARTICLE great ascetic: M.NOM.SG

na kiñcid avadat vipram maunavratam upasthitah

'Then, with the mind determined, having given all the cooked food to the brāhmaṇa and **indeed** not eaten, and no food being left, the glorious ascetic (Viśvāmitra) did not speak a word to the brāhmana and approached his vow of silence (again).'

Rāmāyaņa 1,65,6-7a

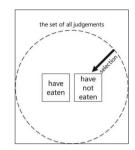


Figure 16
Emphatic expression in example sentence (30)

3.4 Conjunction of *Eva* with Discourse Particles: A Case Study of *Tu*

At last, a specific use of *eva* is yet to be discussed - how should we analyze the combination of *eva* with a discourse particle like *ca*, *tu*, or *hi*?

A discourse is a dynamic process with 'flowing' contents and ever-changing topics that develop over time. To illustrate this process, in figure 17, a rounded-corner rectangle is used to represent what is referred to as a unit of content from a particular discourse. A unit of content can consist of expressions of any length, such as a round of conversation, a written paragraph, a sentence, or even several phrases or words, that can be roughly thought of as centering around a specific topic. Since there are no strict standards regarding what counts as 'centering around a specific topic', the dotted-line frame represents this 'roughness' as we have done before with the set of candidates. In addition, to show the dynamic development of discourse, at least three of these units must be set up separately labeled as 'last', 'current', and 'next'.

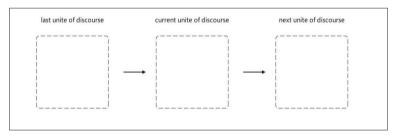


Figure 17 Flow of discourse

On the other hand, change constitutes only one aspect of discourse, and to maintain coherence and clarity in a discourse, there must be connections between units of content.²⁷ These connections can be achieved by using conjunctions in English, which indicate a general connection between two units. However, discourse particles are another part of speech that further specifies the exact element that forms this connection. We can find them in languages like Sanskrit (e.g. tu, ca, hi) and Japanese (e.g. wa, mo). Here, let us take for example tu, one of the most frequently used discourse particles in Sanskrit.²⁸

(31) sthūlam tarpayate Viśvam;
gross: N.NOM.SG to satisfy: MID.PRE.3.SG Viśva: M.ACC.SG
praviviktam tu taijasam
subtle: N.NOM.SG however: IND Taijasa: M.ACC.SG
'The gross (object) satisfies the Viśvam; the subtle (object), however, satisfies the Taijasa.'
Māndūkya Upanisad 1,6,4

In figure 18, a dotted line in bold shows this connection, which is the profile of tu.

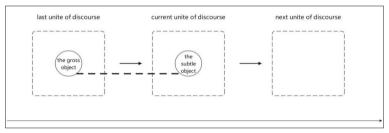


Figure 18 Tu in example sentence (31)

Now, it seems pretty straightforward that the combination of eva with a discourse particle results in the integration of mental selection and discourse connection. But there is a subtle difference to consider regarding whether $tu\ eva$ and eva mean the same. Let's examine the following two sentences:

²⁷ This connection can also be seen as the result of the mental comparison mentioned in section 2.

²⁸ Tu is interpreted by some Sanskritists as having both the sense of conjunction ('and', 'moreover') and the sense of disjunction ('but', 'however') (cf. Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Wilson Sanskrit-English Dictionary). A simpler explanation of this, I believe, is that tu merely signifies discourse connection, while its specific meaning is contextual, which is analogical to Japanese ga (t^{\pm}).

(32) yaḥ vai bhūmā tad sukham; na alpe sukham asti; bhūmā eva sukham;

bhūmā **tu eva** vijijñāsitavyaḥ

the Infinite: M.NOM.SG and: IND EMPHATIC PARTICLE to explore:

FUT.P.PT.M.NOM.SG

Iti;

IND

bhūmānam, bhaqavah, vijijñāsa iti

""What exactly is the Infinite, that is bliss; there is no bliss in the Finite; it is the Infinite that is bliss; **and it is** the Infinite **that** should be explored". "Honorable Sir, I desire to learn the Infinite".

Chāndogya Upanisad 7,23,1

(33) adhyāpanam adhyayanam yajanam yājanam tathā|
dānam pratigraham ca eva brāhmaṇānām akalpayat|
prajānām rakṣaṇam dānam ijyādhyayanam eva ca|
viṣayeṣu aprasaktiḥ ca kṣatriyasya samāsataḥ|
paśūnām rakṣaṇam dānam ijyā adhyayanam eva ca|
vanikpatham kusīdam ca vaiśyasya kṛṣim eva ca|

ekamevatuśūdrasyaone: N.ACC.SGEMPHATIC PARTICLEhowever: INDŚūdra: M.GEN.SGprabhuḥkarmasamādiśatthe lord:duty: N.ACC.SGto assign:M.NOM.SGIMPF.3.SG

etesām eva varnānām śuśrūsām anasūyayā

'(Brahmā) assigned to the Brāhmanas teaching, studying (Vedas), performing sacrifice for their own as well as for others, and giving and accepting (alms). It is protecting the people, giving (alms), sacrificing, and studying (Vedas), as well as detachment from the mundane pleasures that (are assigned) to the caste of Kshatriya together. It is tending the livestock, giving (alms), sacrificing, and studying (Vedas), and trading, lending money, as well as agriculture, that (Brahmā) (assigned) to the caste of Vaiśya. It is one duty, however, that the lord (Brahmā) assigned to the caste of Śūdra - to be at the service of these (three) castes without evil intention.'

Manusmriti 1,88-91

According to cognitive linguistics, the difference in word order also reflects different construals of the same linguistic expression (i.e., it implies different interpretations). Take, for instance, the sentence $He\ sent\ a\ letter\ to\ Susan\ does\ not\ equal\ He\ sent\ Susan\ a\ letter\ (cf.\ Langacker\ 1987,\ 39).$ Here, I argue that in the case of $tu\ eva$, the connection between the two discourse units lies in the noun marked by tu, which, in the example sentence (30), is 'the infinite' $(bh\bar{u}man)$. Differently, in the case of $eva\ tu$, the connection is in the group of candidates suggested by eva. Thus, in (31), it is a set of all duties assigned to four castes, and what constitutes connection with this in

the context, is the duties ascribed to three castes other than $\dot{su}dra$. Figure 19 explicitly demonstrates this difference.

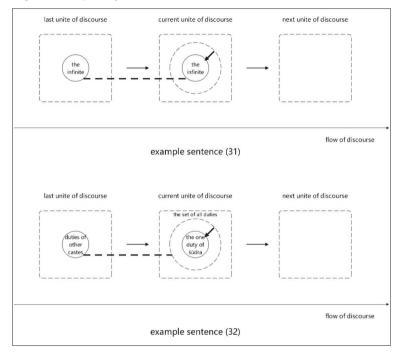


Figure 19 Tu eva in example sentence (32) (Up) and eva tu in example sentence (33) (Down)

4 Conclusion

While traditional Indian linguists have provided various interpretations of the emphatic particle *eva*, a more nuanced and detailed explanation using contemporary linguistic frameworks is essential for a comprehensive understanding of its usage. This paper has systematically examined the primary functions of *eva* and demonstrated that a thorough semantic analysis is feasible within Cognitive Grammar.

This approach posits that *eva* reflects the speaker's cognitive process of selecting one option from a pool of candidates accessed in their mind while remaining neutral toward the others. This fundamental meaning is evident in the three main usages of *eva*

identified in this paper: (a) when it emphasizes a noun, adjective, or adverb, it selects a specific item or quality; (b) when it emphasizes a gerund or a present participle, it selects a particular temporal range; and (c) when it emphasizes a predicate more generally, it indicates a two-valued judgment and selects one of the branches. At last, this paper also explores the conjunction of *eva* with the discourse particle *tu*, asserting that *eva tu* and *tu eva* convey distinct nuances. In the former, the discourse connection is on the component marked by *tu*, whereas in the latter, it is on the group of candidates indicated by *eva*.

Additionally, I believe this work represents the first step – albeit humble and not yet fully developed – toward showing that employing cognitive linguistics to study words typically considered difficult to define is a promising research direction.

Acknowledgment

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Abbreviations

ABL ablative ACC accusative DAT dative

demonstrative DEM feminine FUT future tense

FUT.P.PT future passive participle

GEN genitive GER gerund IMP imperative IMPF imperfect tense IND indeclinable INS instrumental LOC locative М masculine MID middle voice Ν neuter MOM nominative P.PT past participle PF perfect tense PL plural

PRE present tense PRE.PT present participle

PRO pronoun RL relative SG singular VOC vocative 1 first person 2 second person 3 third person

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