

Information Structure and the Particles *vái* and *evá* in Vedic Prose*

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1. Introduction

vái and *evá* are particles of Vedic Sanskrit. In the R̥gveda, *evá* (88 times)/ *evá* (87 times) is also an adverb meaning ‘thus’, and *vái* (28 times, more often *vái* than *vái*) is rather rare. In Vedic prose texts like the Brāhmaṇas and the Black Yajurveda Saṁhitās (the Saṁhitās of the Taittirīya, Maitrāyaṇī, Kaṭha and Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha schools), which are chronologically newer than the R̥gveda, they are both used much oftener and lay certain emphasis on the phrase or sentence they are attached to.

In distribution, there is a clear difference between the two particles: In Vedic prose, *vái* always occurs after the first word of a sentence, preceded by enclitic particles if any, like other sentence particles (Delbrück 1888:22f.), while *evá* occurs after almost any word of a sentence. However, as Jamison (1991:103) pointed out, it is ‘next to impossible’ to differentiate the functions of these two particles when it comes to individual contexts in which they occur, not to mention to predict their occurrence. To take the pair in (1) as an example, *vái* and *evá* both appear after verbs, but it is hard to recognize any functional difference between them.

- (1) AB 7.14.3 *taṁ hovācājani vai te putro yajasva māneneti* “[Varuṇa] said to him (Hariścandra), ‘A son has been born to you. Worship me with him [as sacrifice].’” vs. JB 3.64 *tasmai hocur āsīd evedam aśvaśīrṣaṁ yenāśvibhyāṁ devavedaṁ prābravūt* “They (the Asuras) told him (Indra): ‘There was that horse’s head with which he proclaimed divine wisdom (?) to the Aṣvins’” (Oertel 1897:18).

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To take another example, the passage (2) contains two sentences which make a near minimal pair and where *vái* and *evá* look interchangeable.¹

(2) JB 2.291 *devāsurā aspardhanta te naiva daṇḍair neṣubhir vy ajayanta te 'bruvan na vai daṇḍair neṣubhir vi jayāmahai* “The gods and the Asuras were contending. Neither with sticks or with arrows could they win a decisive victory. They said, ‘We will not win a decisive victory by sticks or by arrows.’”

The goal of this paper is to describe and identify the functions of *vái* and *evá* in Vedic prose, employing the basic framework of Information Structure (Lambrecht 1994:5). We read Vedic prose, especially narrative portions which are interspersed in mostly ritualistic texts, analyzing the status of the units of information in the contexts where *vái* and *evá* are used. Then we tried to define what roles *vái* and *evá* play in the marking of information status in different texts.

2. Background

2.1 Previous studies

Lexicographers have noted that *vái* and *evá* emphasize a preceding word, cf. *PW* s.v *vái* and *evá* 3), Graßmann 1996, s.v. *vái* and *evá* 6).

In a section on the syntax and semantics of particles, Delbrück (1888:479-91) discussed the functions of *vái* and *evá*, and differences between them (486ff.). He pointed out that while *vái* occurs after the first word of a sentence, it emphasizes the whole sentence along with that word, unlike *evá* which highlights the preceding word or phrase, and that *vái* occurs in the most important sentence of the discourse, such that serves as the basis for the following context. He also pointed out a difference in distribution that *evá* occurs never after the first word of a discourse-initial sentence, or after the first word of a sentence that serves as the basis for the following context, but typically in a concluding sentence of a period (489f.).

¹ Ickler (1973:26f.) shows a similar case of apparently interchangeable use of *vái* and *evá* in the Upaniṣads.

Macdonell (1916:248) also observed that “*vái* is especially frequent in periods of three clauses, when that with *vái* contains the reason, and that with *evá* the conclusion.” As to the scope of emphasis, he considered that in sentences with *vái* “[t]he stress is laid on the whole sentence, not on any particular word” (248). Verpoorten (1977:280) shares the view that *evá* is essentially a particle of the word while *vái* is a particle of the sentence. As to the position in discourse of a sentence with *vái*, Macdonell (1916:248) noted that in the Brāhmaṇas “the use of *vái* in the first sentence of a narrative is typical”, and that “[t]he particle often appears in the concluding sentence in discussions”.

In her study on the direct speech in the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, Jamison (1991:103ff.) pointed out a connection between these particles and modality, stating that “*vái* occurs with indicatives, *evá* with modals.” She connected the position of *vái* and *evá* in a discourse with difference in modality, and suggested that *vái* and *evá* were then reanalyzed as discourse markers. From a pragmatic viewpoint, Migron (1994:103) observed copulative use of *vái* in a cleft-like construction.

Since *evá* was originally an adverb and since it occurs in certain position of a paragraph such as the concluding remark, it is not unnatural to consider that *evá* still has a sentential function in Vedic prose (Jamison 1991:103, cf. Migron 1994:104). However, we will start our analysis on the hypothesis that the primary function of *evá* is to highlight the preceding word or phrase, as long as it is supported by the text.

2.2 Theoretical Framework and Terminology

When information is conveyed by utterances, the same information may change its status in the speaker’s mind as the discourse goes on, in accordance with what the speaker assumes about the hearer’s mind. Information Structure is a component of sentence grammar in which utterances are analyzed and represented according to how the conveyed information is conceived in speaker’s and hearer’s minds (Lambrecht 1994:5). It provides a simple but

powerful set of notions to describe the status of information.

In Information Structure, information that has already been mentioned or is considered to be shared by the hearer is called Given Information. Information that has neither been introduced in the preceding context nor is presupposed by the hearer is called New Information. They refer to “information that is presented by the speaker as recoverable (Given) or not recoverable (New) to the listener” (Halliday 1994:298).

Another pair of notions about the status of information from the viewpoint of the speaker are Topic and Focus. Topic refers to what a proposition is about in a given discourse, and Focus is the information assumed not to be shared by the speaker and the hearer. Topic and Focus are typically, but not necessarily, Given and New Information, respectively.

To illustrate these notions, let us take up the beginning of the story of Manu and the flood in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, 1.8.1.1 *mānave ha vái prātáḥ avanégyam udakám á jahruh ... tásy[a a]vanéniĵānasya mátsyah pāñí á pede 2 sá hāsmāi vācam uvāda* “Early in the morning, they brought water for ablution to Manu. While he was washing [his hands], a fish fell into his hands. It uttered [the following] speech to him.” Since the opening sentence *mānave ha vái prātáḥ avanégyam udakám á jahruh* presents an event not considered to be presupposed by the hearer, the whole sentence is New Information. The next phrase, *tásyāvanéniĵānasya*, refers to Manu, who is already introduced into the context and hence is Given Information, while *mátsyah pāñí á pede* is New Information. *tásya* ‘of him’ is the Topic here, for the sentence is about Manu, and since *mátsyah* is the least predictable part of the New Information, it is labeled Focus. The next sentence tells what the fish did, so *sá* ‘it’ is the Topic. For a fish to speak a human language is information that the hearer is not expected to share, so it belongs to New Information, and *vācam* is labeled Focus because it is the core of that unexpected event. That way, we will use these four terms to label the status of information of each utterance in a discourse.

3. Analysis

In this section, we will analyze the usage of *vái* and *evá* in each Vedic prose text.²

3.1 Taittirīya-Samhitā

3.1.1 *vái* in the Taittirīya-Samhitā

3.1.1.1 Opening of a paragraph: As Delbrück and Macdonell pointed out, *vái* is typically used in the opening sentence of a paragraph, and never *evá*. In such opening sentences as *devā vái mṛtyór abibhayuḥ* in example (3), the whole statement neutrally conveys New Information without special focus, and *vái* seems to highlight not just the first word but the whole statement.

(3) TS 2.3.2.1 *devā vái mṛtyór abibhayus té prajāpatim úpādhāvan* “The gods were afraid of death. They had recourse to Prajāpati.” (Keith)

² Before we started reading and analyzing the text, we ran scripts that identify and count these particles by regular expression match on electronic texts and counted the numbers of *vái* and *evá* occurring in major Vedic prose texts.

Table 1: Computer-counted number of *vái* and *evá* occurring in Vedic prose texts

	<i>vái</i>	<i>evá</i>	<i>vái</i> : <i>evá</i>
a. Taittirīya-Samhitā (except mantra)	2,022	3,066	1 : 1.52
b. Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa	1,510	1,746	1 : 1.16
c. Kaṭha-Samhitā	742	1,040	1 : 1.40
d. Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā	2,538	1,491	1 : 0.59
e. Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa	1,361	1,200	1 : 0.88
f-1. Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1-5	2,968	3,867	1 : 1.30
f-2. Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 6-8	1,456	1,541	1 : 1.06
g. Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa	4,354	4,958	1 : 1.14

For a. and b., where space separates *evá* from preceding words unless the vowels are fused, it is easy to get a fairly accurate number. Certain number of miscouting due to homophony is inevitable for d., e. and g. For c. and f., only approximate numbers were available.

3.1.1.2 Non-initial sentence in a paragraph: In other position of a narrative as in example (4), *vái* is attached to a fact, event, or idea which is newly disclosed by the speaker, and has connotation like English ‘actually’.

(4) TS 2.2.1.1 *indrāgní vái etásya prajā́m ápa gūhato yó 'lam prajā́yai sán prajā́m ná vindáte* “(After the story of Indra and Agni hiding Prajāpati’s offspring) Indra and Agni indeed conceal his offspring, who being fit for offspring, yet obtains not offspring” (Keith)

If the newly disclosed fact is relevant to the following context, it serves as a reason or background information, as in the ‘ritual syllogism’ commonly found in the Brāhmaṇas.

(5) TS 1.5.8.3 *gāyatrībhir úpa tiṣṭhate téjo vái gāyatrī téja evātmán dhatte* “He worships with Gāyatrīs. (Now,) Gāyatrī is luster. (Therefore, by worshipping thus,) he puts luster in himself.”

3.1.1.3 Direct speech: In direct speech as in example (6) or (7) as well, *vái* occurs when the speaker is telling something that the hearer is assumed not to know. In monologue as in example (8), the speaker himself is the hearer, so *vái* occurs when the speaker has noticed something he did not know before.

(6) TS 6.1.6.5 *té devá abruvant strīkāmā vái gandharvā striyā́ nīṣ krīṇāméti* “The gods said, ‘(Do you know?) The Gandharvas are covetous of women. (So) let us buy [Soma] back with a woman.’”

(7) TS 3.1.9.5–6 *máma vái imé paśáva ity ádur vái 6 máhyam imán ity abravī[t ná vái tásya tá īśata ity abravīd yád yajñavāstáu hīyate máma vái tád íti ná vái tásya tá īśata ity abravīd yád yajñavāstáu hīyate máma vái tád íti* “(Rudra:) ‘These cattle are mine!’ (Nābhānediṣṭha) said: ‘They (the Aṅgirasas) have given these [cattle] to me.’ ‘They are not capable of [doing] that’, he said, ‘what is left behind on the sacrificial ground, that is mine.’”

(8) TS 2.2.1.1 *sò 'cāyat prajā́patir indrāgní vái me prajā́ ápāghukṣatām íti* “He, Prajāpati, noticed, ‘It is Indra and Agni that have hidden my offsprings away.’”

3.1.1.4 Summary: The general function of *vái* in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā is to introduce a nonpresupposed event, fact or idea into the discourse. That event, fact or idea also serves as background information or reason depending on the context where *vái* occurs. According to the subdivision of Focus by Rochemont and Culicover (1990:21) and Kiss (1998:245), this function of neutrally presenting New Information is called Presentational (or Informational) Focus. We will call the function of *vái* in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā ‘Presentational Focus’.³

3.1.2 *evá* in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā

3.1.2.1 After words already introduced: In most cases, *evá* in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā is attached to a word which has already been introduced into the discourse. So the referent of the word preceding it is Given Information, but *evá* has a function to take up Given Information and make an exhaustive reference of it, in contrast with other things of which the predicate phrase potentially holds. The meaning it adds to the preceding word is identity (“nothing but, no one else but”) or uniqueness (“only”). For example, *evá* in the above-cited ritual syllogism, (5) *téjo vái gāyatrī téja evátmán dhatte*, shows this function.

3.1.2.2 After newly introduced words: Although *evá* in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā is usually attached to a word whose referent is Given Information, there are also cases where *evá* occurs after a word that is not mentioned in the preceding context.

(9) TS 1.5.1.4 *darbháir á dadhāty adbhyá eváinam óśadhībhyo ’varúdhyá dhatte* “He establishes [fire] with Darbha grass; having won it from nothing but water and plants, he establishes it.”

(10) TS 1.5.2.5 *vīrahá vā eśá devānām yò ’gním udvāsáyate tásya váruṇa*

³ Jamison (1991:104) points out that *evá* is often used with modals and *vái* with indicatives. Presentational Focus is to neutrally present nonpresupposed fact or event, which is typically expressed in indicative and not in modals, so our analysis is on a par with her observation.

evárṇayád “Now he who removes the fire is the slayer of the hero among the gods, Varuṇa is the exactor of the recompense” (Keith)

- (11) TS 1.5.4.1 *átho pūtám evá pṛthivīm annādyam nópānamat* “Pure food did not come to the earth.” (Keith)
- (12) TS 2.1.4.7 *múcyate pāpmānas bhávaty evá* “he is freed from the evil, he prospers.” (Keith)
- (13) TS 2.1.10.2 *mukhatá evásmin téjo dadhāti* “verily at the beginning he bestows brilliance on him” (Keith)

Of such cases, the combination of an adverb and *evá*, like *mukhatá evá* in (13) (and also *antár evá*, *sarvata evá*, *madhyatá evá*), and the combination of a finite verb and *evá* like *bhavaty evá* in (12), occur in all Vedic prose texts. Since it does not differ much among texts and since it is not always easy to judge the information status of adverbs and verbs, we would like to exclude those combinations from our discussion on the function of *evá*.

In examples (9), (10) and (11), *evá* is used with water and plants (if the scope of *evá* extends up to *óṣadhībhyah*), Varuṇa, and the adjective *pūtá-* ‘pure’ respectively, but none of those words are mentioned in the preceding context, against what we observed above in 3.1.2.1.

The main theme of Vedic prose is the ritual, and in ritual context it is often difficult to decide what is New and what is Given Information, because the supposed readers are assumed to have certain knowledge that is not necessarily mentioned in the preceding context. For example, the word ‘water’ in (9) is mentioned for the first time in the context, but water or sprinkling water is often mentioned in regard to Darbha grass, for example in MS 1.7.2:110.14-5 *darbhá vā āpā óṣadhay[ah]* “Das Wasser, die Pflanzen sind die Darbha[-Gräser]” (Amano). So, in this context, ‘water’ is new with respect to reference, but to the supposed readers it might have belonged to Given Information in that it is related to or inferable from Given Information. Gundel and Fretheim (2004:176ff.) distinguish ‘relationally new’ from ‘referentially new’, and following their terminology we could say that ‘water’ here is referentially new but is still Given Information.

In (10) as well, Varuṇa is referentially new in the context, but he is often mentioned with Agni (and Mitra) in Vedic hymns, e.g. ṚV 6.49.1d *sukṣatrāso vāruṇo mitrō agnīḥ*, and mentioning him in Agni’s connection might not be so abrupt to the supposed readers.

(11) is the first sentence of a new narrative, and ‘pure food’ is not mentioned in the preceding context at all. If the presupposition underlying this sentence is that pure food should naturally be available for everyone, *pūtām annādyam* would be Given Information and *pṛthivīm nōpānamat* New Information.

If we examine in this way the cases of *evá* occurring after a word whose referent is new in the context, it might actually be rare in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā that *evá* is used with a word referring to relationally New Information, even though it is sometimes used with referentially new words or phrases.

3.1.2.3 Summary: Since *evá* takes up an entity and differentiate it from others, it can also be considered to mark Focus. But unlike *vái*, the Focus in this case is not mere presentation of information but exhaustive identification of referent(s) in contrast with other entities to which the predicate phrase holds. Kiss (1998:245) calls this kind of Focus ‘Identificational Focus’, and we will follow her terminology and call the function of *evá* ‘Identificational Focus.’

When *vái* and *evá* occur in a similar context, we can observe the difference between Presentational Focus and Identificational Focus. In the first passage of example (14), the sentence in which *vái* occurs is still in the narrative context and provides further information about Jamadagni. On the other hand, *evá* in example (15) is used when the narrative context is adduced to explain things belonging to this earthly world, like things related to the sacrificer.

(14) TS 3.3.5.2 *tám jamádagnis tápasāpaśyat táyā vái sá pṛśnīn kāmān asṛjata* “Jamadagni saw that (=Virāj) by penance. (Actually) he created various wishes with that (=Virāj).” (Presentational Focus) vs.

(15) TS 1.7.4.1 *barhīṣā vái prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata tēnāvā prajāḥ sṛjate* “By means of the barhis Prajāpati created creatures. With that very [barhis] he (sacrificer) creates offspring.” (Identificational Focus)

With respect to newness and givenness, *vái* is used when the utterance conveys New Information, while *evá* is used with a phrase conveying relationally Given Information, which might be referentially new.

Table 2: Functions of *vái* and *evá* in TS:

	What is marked?	How does it work?
<i>vái</i>	New Information (event, fact or idea)	Presentational Focus
<i>evá</i>	relationally Given Information (phrase)	Identificational Focus

3.2 Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

3.2.1 *vái* in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

As in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, *vái* is used in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā in an utterance which discloses nonpresupposed fact, event or idea.

- (16) MS 1.5.6:74.7-8 *ṣaḍbhír úpa tiṣṭhate ṣáḍ vái pṛṣṭhāni pṛṣṭhāny eváçikṣpad* “Mit den sechs [Strophen] tritt er (O) an [das Feuer] heran [und verheret es]. Die Pṛṣṭha[-Stotras] (die Rücken) sind sechs; die Rücken hat er aneinander aufgestellt.” (Amano)

3.2.2 *evá* in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā

In terms of givenness and newness, *evá* in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā shows a clear affinity for the former. As in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, *evá* usually occurs with words already mentioned in the preceding context, as in (17):

- (17) MS 1.9.3:133.1-2 *vīryàm índro vīryà evá vīryàm ajuhót* “...Indra ist Kraft; in die Kraft brachte er (Prajāpati) die Kraft dar.” (Amano)

As in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, there are also cases of *evá* apparently used with words conveying New Information, as in the following examples:

- (18) MS 1.11.7:168.19 *ánudiṣṭai ráthair dhāvanti dáksīṇayaivá svargám lokám eti* “Mit den [zum Opfertgeschenk] bestimmten Wagen fahren sie; mit dem Opfertgeschenk geht er (O) zur himmlischen Welt.” (Amano)
- (19) MS 2.3.9:37.17-8 *á]tha yác catváro digbhyá eváinaṁ téna sám īrayanti* “Daß es aber vier [Leute] sind, [die da sind], dadurch bewirken sie von den [vier] Himmelsrichtungen her, daß er (O) sich [wieder] gesund

erhebt.” (Amano)

(20) MS 2.3.1:26.11 *dádyā evāgneyó 'tho asthanvántam eváinaṃ kṛtvá práti śthāpayat[i* “Der [Opferkuchen] für Agni dient zum Gelingen [des Opfers], und er (P) läßt ihn (O) auch einen festen Stand finden, nachdem er ihn mit Knochen versehen hat.” (Amano)

(21) MS 1.9.3:132.10 *sá vái trivṛta evá prāṇān āyátanam acāyat* “Da bemerkte er [Prajāpati], daß die dreifachen Atemzüge zum Standort [werden konnten]” (Amano)

In (18), *evá* is used with *dákṣiṇā-* which is not mentioned in the preceding context, but the word *dákṣiṇā-* is inferable from *rátha-*, as Amano’s translation shows. In (19), *dís-* occurs for the first time in the context, but it is associated with the number ‘four’ which is already mentioned. The adjective *asthanvánt-* ‘having bones’ in (20) after which *evá* occurs is not previously mentioned, so it is referentially New Information, but since a creature either has bones or is boneless, as for example TS 7.5.12.2 *asthanváte svāhānasthíkāya svāhā* “To that which hath bones hail! To the boneless hail!” (Keith) suggests, it constitutes a subcategory of the human being and hence belongs to relationally Given Information. In (21), ‘threefold breaths’ do not occur anywhere in the text, but if *trivṛt-* also implies the Trivṛt-Stoma as Amano (2009:327, fn.1108) considers, it might not be a novel idea to the supposed readership to identify the breaths with the Trivṛt-Stoma, as TS 7.1.1.6 *prāṇā vái trivṛt* “The Trivṛt is the breaths” (Keith) suggests. On the grounds of these examples, *evá* in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā is considered to be used with words referring to relationally Given Information.⁴

3.3 Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa

⁴ Whereas there is no noticeable difference between the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā and the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā in the use of *vái* and *evá*, the figures in Table 1 show that the two texts considerably differ in the ratio of the numbers of the occurrence of these particles, i.e. *evá* occurs much more frequently in the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā than in the Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā. This disparity might rather be attributable to the stylistical difference between the two texts.

Now let us take the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa as an example of succinct Brāhmaṇa style, for which it makes a marked contrast with another Sāmavedic Brāhmaṇa, the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa.

3.3.1 *vái* in the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa

In the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, *vái* typically occurs in the second sentence of a paragraph, which is the first sentence of a narrative, and discloses nonpresupposed information on a word that appeared in the opening sentence of the paragraph, as in the following examples:

- (22) PB 4.3.1–2 *abhīvartto brahmasāma bhavati 2 abhīvarttena vai devāḥ svarggaṃ lokam abhy avarttanta ...* “The chant of the Brahman (...) is the *abhīvarta* (*sāman*). By means of the *abhīvarta* the Gods turned themselves to the world of heaven.” (Caland)
- (23) PB 6.6.8 *svarbhānur vā āsura ādityaṃ tamasāvidhyat* “The daemoniac Svarbhānu struck the sun with darkness” (Caland)

3.3.2 *evá* in the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa

As in the Taittirīya- and Maitrāyaṇī Samhitās, *evá* takes up a word already mentioned and focalizes it, as in example (24). As far as we have read, there are not many examples of *evá* used with words whose referents convey New Information. And even when the word preceding *evá* is new, it is either a noun inferable from the context, as *mahas-* n. ‘power’ in example (25) is inferable from *mahiṣṭha-*.

- (24) PB 4.8.7 *vīryaṃ vai pṛṣṭhāni vīrya eva prati tiṣṭhanti* “the pṛṣṭhas, forsooth, are strength; in strength even they get firm support.” (Caland)
- (25) PB 12.6.1–2 *pra mamhiṣṭhāya gāyateti yad gāyateti mahasa eva tad rūpaṃ kriyate* “‘Sing ye unto the very great one’. By (the words) ‘sing ye’ the characteristic of power is brought about.” (Caland)

Use of *vái* and *evá* in the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa does not seem to be different from that in the Taittirīya- or Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā.

3.4 Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1-5

Contrary to the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa and the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa represent an explicative Brāhmaṇa style. As mentioned above, the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa is a composite text made up of several different parts, and the use of particles differs not only among the parts but also between Mādhyam̐dina and Kāṇva recensions. In this paper, we will limit our discussion to the first five chapters associated with Yājñavalkya, in the Mādhyam̐dina recension.

vái is used in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa at the beginning of a new paragraph, and introduces a new event, fact or idea into the discourse, in contrast with *evá*, which takes up Given Information and puts it in Identificational Focus. In the minimal pair ŚB 4.6.7.1 *trayí vái vidyá* vs. ŚB 6.1.1.10 *trayy evá vidyá*, the former occurs at the beginning of a section, and the latter after the threefoldness of knowledge is mentioned, so the difference between New and Given Information is observed here, too.

3.4.1 *vái* in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (Mādhyam̐dina) 1-5

vái often occurs in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1-5 in the combination *ha vái*, almost mechanically as a paragraph opener, much more often than in the Taittirīya-Samhitā, Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa or even in the Śāṇḍilya chapters of the same text. As in the Taittirīya-Samhitā, *vái* has a function to provide a fact, event or idea which the hearer is assumed not to know, as in (26), or which the speaker notices if in a monologue, as in (27).

(26) ŚB 4.1.5.11 *sā hovāca ná vái súsarvāv iva sthaḥ* “She (Sukanyā) said, ‘You two are, so to say, not complete.’”

(27) ŚB 4.1.5.5 *sá vidám cakāra sá vái cyavana iti* “He [King Śaryāta] realized, ‘That is Cyavana.’”

3.4.2 *evá* in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (Mādhyam̐dina) 1-5

As in the case of the Taittirīya-Samhitā, *evá* makes exhaustive mention of something in contrast with other things of which the predicate phrase

potentially holds, as in (28) and (29).

(28) ŚB 4.1.5.5 *té hocuḥ púruṣa evāyám jīrṇiḥ kṛtyārūpaḥ śete* “They said, ‘Here lies just a man, decrepit and ghostlike.’” (uniqueness)

(29) ŚB 4.1.5.13 *táu hocatuḥ sūkanye kēnāvám ásarvau svaḥ kēnásamṛddhāv iti táu hársir evá práty uvāca* “They said, ‘Sukanyā, in what respect are we incomplete, in what respect imperfect?’ The Ṛshi himself answered them” (identity)

There are cases where *evá* follows a word which occurs in the context for the first time, i.e. a word which is referentially new.

(30) ŚB 1.1.2.5 *sá vá ánasa evá gṛhṇīyāt* “It is from the cart that he (=Adhvaryu) should take (the rice required for the sacrifice)” (Eggeling)

(31) ŚB 1.1.4.1 *tásya devá anuvídya tvácam evāvacāyājahruḥ* “The gods having thereupon found it (=black antelope) and stripped it of its skin, they brought it (the skin) away with them.” (Eggeling)

Referents of such words often seem to be relationally Given Information, as in the case of (9) of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā or (18) of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā. In example (30), *evá* follows the word *ánas-* n. ‘cart’ which is first mentioned in the context, but since a cart is presupposed in the preceding context, ŚB 1.1.2.4, it is relationally given. With respect to construction as well, cooccurrence of *vái* and *evá* is found for example in MS 1.4.7:55.11 *sá vái mānuṣám evābhyupāvartate* “Er (O) wendet sich da nur zum menschlichen [Faden] hin” (Amano), and there is nothing peculiar to Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1-5 about the use of *evá* here. In (31) as well, the word *tvác-* f. ‘skin’ after which *evá* occurs is new, but as *ajína-* n. ‘skin of an antelope’ occurs in the preceding context, skin is relationally given, too.

While the words highlighted by following *evá* seem to refer to relationally Given Information as in the other texts, there are also cases where *evá* occurs after words referring to relationally as well as referentially New Information.

(32) ŚB 1.2.1.2 *sá yány evémány śīrṣṇáḥ kapālāny etány evāsya kapālāni mastīṣka evá piṣṭāni* “for those potsherds, no doubt, are to this (rice-cake) what the skull bones are to the head, and the ground rice is nothing else than

the brain” (Eggeling)

(33) ŚB 1.2.1.17 *hánū evá dṛṣadupalé jihvāivá śámyā tásmāc chāmyayā sámāhanti jihváyā hí vádati* “the two mill-stones are, as it were, the two jaws, and the wedge is the tongue: that is why he beats (the mill-stones) with the wedge, for it is with the tongue that one speaks.” (Eggeling)

(34) ŚB 1.1.4.16 *táu hāgátyocatur máno yājáyāva tvéti kénéty anáyaivá jāyáyéti* “They [Kilāta and Ākuli] went to him and said: ‘Manu! We will sacrifice for thee!’ He said: ‘Wherewith?’ They said: ‘With this thy wife!’” (Eggeling)

In examples (32) and (33), *evá* occurs between subject and predicate nouns, almost like a copula, and *mastīṣka-*, *hānu-* and *jihvā-* are mentioned for the first time in the context. In (34), *mānor jāyām* ‘the wife of Manu’ occurs before the cited passage, but *anáyaivá jāyáyā* ‘With this thy wife!’ is in direct speech and is New Information to Manu, the hearer. Such usage of *evá* is not found in the texts discussed above; for example, *vái* is used in TS 1.5.1.3 *saṃvatsaró vái dhātá tásmāt saṃvatsarám prajāḥ paśávó ’nu prá jāyante* “Dhātṛ is the year; therefore offspring and cattle are born in the course of the year” (Keith), which is parallel to (33) ŚB 1.2.1.17 *jihvāivá śámyā tásmāc chāmyayā sámāhanti* in logic. In Table 3, the new functions found in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1-5 are shown with the ‘+’ sign.

Table 3: Functions of *vái* and *evá* in ŚB 1-5:

	What is marked?	How does it work?
<i>vái</i>	New Information	Presentational Focus +paragraph opener <i>ha vái</i>
<i>evá</i>	Given Information +New Information	Identificational Focus

3.5 Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa

The Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa is a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Sāmaveda. Unlike the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, another Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda, it has a more

elucidative style closer to Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1-5.

3.5.1 *vái* in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa

We have not noticed any significant difference between the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa and the other texts in the use of *vái*, except that *ha vái* is often used as in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1-5. It discloses nonpresupposed idea as in (35), and begins a new narrative as in (36).

(35) JB 1.86 *brahmā śaṣṭhas sarpati śaḍ vai chandāmsi chandobhir eva tad rakṣaḥ pāpmānam apa ghnate* “The Brahman priest creeps as the sixth. In fact, the meters are six. He then wards off a demon and adversity with meters.”

(36) JB 2.217 *ṛṣayo ha vai svargaṃ lokam jigyuḥ śrameṇa tapasā vratacaryeṇa* “The Ṛṣis won the heavenly world by religious effort, austerity and observance of vows.”

3.5.2 *evá* in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa

In the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa, *evá* is added after words or phrases which are already mentioned, or are referentially new but are shared by the speaker and the hearer.

(37) JB 3.15 *paśavo vai vāmadevyam paśumanta eva bhavanty enena tuṣṭuvānāḥ* “The Vāmadevya [Sāman] is livestock. Those who praise with it become possessed of livestock.”

(38) JB 2.292 *dvāv asmākam iti devā abruvata dve asmākam ity asurāḥ prāṇāpānāv eva devā abruvata ahorātre asurāḥ* “The gods said, ‘We have two’. The Asuras [said] ‘We have two’. The gods said ‘The Prāṇa and the Apāna’. The Asuras [said] ‘The day and night’.”

On the other hand, *evá* also occurs after apparently nonpresupposed words or phrases.

(39) JB 2.440 *taṃ hocus suparṇaiṣa eva te balir bhaviṣyat[i]* “They (the Paṇis) said to it (Aliklava), ‘O fine-feathered, this will be offering for you.’”

(40) JB 1.42 *sa hāmuṣmin loke ā jagāma puruṣa eva puruṣam*

saṃvṛścyāthainam jaghāsa “He came to yonder world. A man chopped up a man and then devoured him.”

- (41) JB 2.77 *katama indraḥ katamaḥ prajāpatir iti vāg evendro manaḥ prajāpatir iti* “‘Which one is Indra? Which one is Prajāpati?’ — ‘Indra is speech. Prajāpati is mind.’” (≈ŚB 11.6.3.9) *stanayitnur evendr[ah]*

In example (39), *eṣa* is used deictically and so it is New Information. In (40), *puruṣaḥ* is referred to for the first time. In (41), which is a theological dialogue, speech with which Indra is identified is mentioned for the first time in the context. So *evá* is used with words referring to New Information in the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa, and in that sense, it forms a group with Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1-5.

4. Discussion

In the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā and the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, *evá* occurs after a word or phrase conveying relationally or referentially Given Information, and adds the meaning of identity (“nothing but, the very”) or uniqueness (“only”), while *vái* introduces and presents New Information. On the other hand, *evá* is also attached to words or phrases conveying New Information in newer, more explicative texts such as Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1-5 and the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa. Since identity and uniqueness denoted by *evá* are compatible with New Information as well, the use of *evá* might have been extended to New Information in these texts.

Copulative sentences clearly show this extension. As *evá* occurs with a word or phrase whose referent is Given Information in the older group of texts, it is not *evá* but *vái* that is used in a copulative sentence, as in TS 2.1.2.6 *vāg vái sárasvatī* “Sarasvatī is speech” (Keith).⁵ But in newer texts, where *evá* is used with a word or phrase referring to New Information as well, copulative sentences with *evá* like (32) ŚB 1.2.1.2 *mastīṣka evá piṣṭāni* or (41) JB 2.77 *vāg*

⁵ *evá* occurs in a copulative sentence in the older texts too, if the sentence is recapitulation of Given Information, as in PB 5.1.2-3 *trivṛc chiro bhavati 3 trivṛd dhy eva śiro loma tvag asthi* “The ‘head’ is nine-versed. For threefold is the head: hair, skin, bone” (Caland).

evendraḥ are found.

While *evá* thus extended its use in newer texts with respect to the status of information, *vái* continued to be used in more or less fixed contexts like the beginning of a narrative, and that might have led to its diminished use in later prose texts.

Abbreviations

AB: Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, JB: Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa, KS: Kaṭha-Saṁhitā, MS: Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā, PB: Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa, PW: Böhtlingk and Roth 1855–75, ŚB: Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, TB: Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa, TS: Taittirīya-Saṁhitā.

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