

2.2. pronouns

2.2.1. personal pronouns

There are personal pronouns for the 1st and 2nd person. They distinguish no gender. The paradigms consist of some different stems:

1st person: **sg. nom.** *ah-ám* (OAv. *az-əm*, OPers. *ad-am*: < **eǵ-h₂* + **-óm* (cf. n. 174), cf. OAv. *as-cī*, Goth. *ik* < **éǵ* or **éǵ-h₂*; Grk. *ἐγ-ώ* [Hom. Dor. *ἐγ-ώ-v*], Lat. *eg-ō* < **éǵ-oh₂*); **acc.** *mām*, *māām* (/māām/ or /māām/; YAv. *mām*, OPers. *mām*: < **mē*/**mē* + **-om*/**-óm*, cf. OLat. *mē-d*, *ἐ-μέ*), enclitic *mā* (OAv. YAv. *mā*, OPers. *-mā*: < **mē*, cf. *με*, Goth. *mi-k*); **instr.** *māy-ā* (< **moǵ-eh₁*); **dat.** *mā-hya* (RV IV 42,2 < **me-ǵ^hio/e?*, cf. OAv. *māⁱ-biiā* with **b^h* after *taⁱ-biiā*, *māⁱ-biiō* (< + **u*), YAv. *mā-uuōiia*, *mā-uuaiia-ca*; cf. Lat. *mi-hī* < **me-ǵ^heǵ*), *mā-hy-am* (< **me-ǵ^hi* + **-om*), *me* (OAv. *mōi*, YAv. *mē*, OPers. *-mai*y: < **moǵ*, Grk. *μοι*); **abl.** *m-át* (OAv. *ma*t Y 44,15?, OPers. *-ma*); **gen.** *mā-ma* (cf. OAv. *mā.nā* Y 50,1, YAv. *ma-na*, OPers. *ma-nā*, OChSlav. *mene*; PIE perhaps **mé-ne*, cf. Grk. *ἐ-μέ* < **e-mé*), *me* (OAv. *mōi*, YAv. *mē*, OPers. *-mai*y); **loc.** *māy-i*;

du. nom. *vām* RV VI 55,1 (cf. OAv. *vā* Y 29,5, OChSlav. *vě*), *āvām* YS^p+; **acc.**¹⁶⁷⁾ *āvām* KS–KpS^p Br+, *nau* (cf. Grk. *vó*, OChSlav. *na*); **instr.** *āvābhyām* JB I 109+, **dat.** *āvābhyām* ŠBK V 1,5,11, TĀ V 7,5^p+, *nau*, **abl.** *āvābhyām* KS XII 7^p:169,13, Br+, *āvāt* KS^p TS^p, **gen.** *āvāyos* YS^m+, *nau* (cf. OAv. *nā* Y 45,2);

pl. nom. *vay-ám* (OAv. YAv. *vaēm*, OPers. *vay-am*: < **ueǵ* + **-óm*, cf. **ueǵ-s* in Goth. *wei-s*, Hitt. *wē-s*); **acc.** *as-mām* (clarified with the nominal ending **-ns*, just as Hom. *ἡ-μέ-ας* > Att. *ἡ-μᾶς*, from **ns-mé* in OAv. *ēh-mā*, YAv. *ah-ma*, Dor. *ā-μέ*, Lesb. *ᾗ-με*), *nas* (YAv. *nō*: instead of **nās* in OAv. *nā*, Lat. *nōs*: < **nōs*); **instr.** *as-mā-bhis* (cf. OAv. *ēh-mā* Y 29,11, 34,1); **dat.** *as-mā-bhya* RV IX 86,41, *as-mā-bhyam* (cf. OAv. *ah-māⁱ-biiā*), *nas* (OAv. *nā*, YAv. *nō*: < **nos*); **abl.** *as-m-át* (OAv. *ah-m-a*t); **gen.** *as-mā-ka-m* (YAv. *ah-mā-kə-m*, OPers. *a-mā-xa-m*, cf. poss.-adj. *asmāka*– [2.2.5.: p. 75]; cf. Hom. *ἡ-μέ-ων*, Att. *ἡ-μῶν*, Lesb. *ᾗ-μέ-ων* < **ns-mé-ōm?*), *nas* (OAv. *nā*, YAv. *nō*: < **nos*), **loc.** *asmā-su*. In addition, *asmé* (< loc. **ns-mé-i*, cf. Grk. **ns-mī*[-*n*] in Hom. Lesb. *ᾗ-μ[ν]*, Dor. *ᾗ-μ[ν]*, Ion. Att. *ἡ-μ[ν]*) is used for the dat., gen. and loc. in the mantra language; — PIE from **ueǵ*/**ns*/**nōs*/**nos*.

2nd person: **sg. nom.** *tv-ám*, *tuv-ám*, (OAv. *tuu-əm* disyllabic, YAv. *tūm*, OPers. *tuv-am*, Pāli *tuv-am*: < **tū*/*tū* + **ám*; cf. Hom. Dor. *τῷ-vη*, Goth. *þu*, Lith. *tù*, OChSlav. *ty*); **acc.** *tvām*, *tvāām* (probably /*tvāām*/; OAv. YAv. *θβām*, OPers. *θuvām*, Pāli *taṃ* from *tvām*: < **tue* + **óm*; cf. Ion. Att. *σέ*, Dor. *τέ* < **tue*), enclitic *tvā* (OAv. YAv. *θβā*; cf. **te* in Dor. *τε*, OHG *di-h*, **tue* in Cret. *τεε*, Att. *σε*); **instr.** *tv-ā*

¹⁶⁷⁾ OAv. *āuuā* Y 29,7 is probably the adverb (preposition) *auua*.

or *t_uvā* (only in the RV; OAv. YAv. *θβā*: monosyll.), *tváy-ā*, *t_uváy-ā*; **dat.** *tí-bhya* (RV; OAv. *taⁱ-biiā*, *taⁱ-biiō* with **u*; cf. Lat. *ti-bī* < **te-b^hei*), *tí-bhyam* with *-*am*, *te* (OAv. *tōi*, YAv. *tē*, Hom. Dor. Lesb. *τοι* < **toi*; Ion. Att. *σοι* < **t_uoi*, with **t_u* after acc. *σέ*); **abl.** *tv-át*, *t_uv-át* (OAv. YAv. *θβat*: monosyllabic), **gen.** *táva* (OAv. *tauuā*, YAv. *tauua* < **téue*: perhaps a vṛddhi-formation from **tū*/*tú*; cf. Att. *σοῦ*, Hom. *σεῦ*, Lesb. *σε-θέν*, Dor. *τέ-ος*), *te* (OAv. *tōi*, YAv. *tē*, OPers. *-taiy*: < **tei*; cf. OLat. *ti-s*, Goth. *pei-na*); **loc.** *tvé*, *t_uvé* (RV and some mantras), *tváy-i* (AV+);

du. nom. *yuv-ám*; **acc.** *yuv-ām*, *vām*; **dat.** *yuv-á-bhyām* (mostly in the RV), *yuv-ābhyām* (RV+), *vām*; **abl.** *yuv-át*, (Cl.Skt. instr.-abl.-dat. *yuv-ābhyām*); **gen.** *yuv-ós* RV, *yuv-á-yos* YS^m, RVKh+, *yuv-á-k-u* RV I 17,4, I 120,9 (cf. *yuv-á-k-u*-2.2.5.: p.75, cf. YAv. *yauu-ā-kə-m* < **yuu-ā-kə-m*), *vām*;

pl. nom. *yū-y-ám* (-*y-ám* after *vay-ám*, cf. OAv. *yūž-əm*, YAv. *yūž-əm*, reformed from **iūs* + **óm*, PIE **iūs* in OAv. *yūš*, Goth. *jūs*, Lith. *jūs*); **acc.** *y-uš-mán* (*y-* from the nom., clarified with nominal **-ms*, just as Hom. *ῥ-μέ-ας* > Att. *ῥ-μέ-ας* from PIE **us-mé* in Dor. *ῥ-μέ*, Lesb. *ῥμ-με*), *vas* (YAv. *vō*: instead of **vās* in OAv. *vā*, Lat. *uōs*: < **uōs*); **instr.** *y-uš-mā-bhis* (cf. OAv. *xš-mā* < **š-mā*, cf. *y-uš-mā-datta-* ‘given by you’); **dat.** *y-uš-mā-bhyam*, *-bhyam* (OAv. *y-ūš-mā-biiā*, YAv. *y-ūš-mā-biiō* [+ **u*]: *y-* from the nom.; OAv. *xš-mā-biiā*, YAv. *xš-mā-uuōiia* < **š-ma-bja* < **us-me-b^hio/e*?), *vas* (OAv. *vā*, YAv. *vō*: < **uas* < **uos*); **abl.** *y-uš-mát* (OAv. YAv. *y-ūš-mat*, OAv. *xš-mat*); **gen.** *y-uš-mā-ka-m* (YAv. *y-ūš-mā-kə-m*, OAv. *xš-mā-kə-m*, cf. poss.-adj. *y-uš-mā-ka*-[2.2.5.: p.75]; cf. Hom. *ῥ-μέ-ων*, Att. *ῥ-μῶν*, Lesb. *ῥμ-μέ-ων*: < **us-mé-ōm*?), *vas* (OAv. *vā*, YAv. *vō*: < **uas* < **uos*); **loc.** *y-uš-mé* RV and some other mantra texts (< **y-us-mé-i*, cf. Grk. **us-mī*[-*n*] in Lesb. *ῥμ-μῖ*, Dor. *ῥμῖ-v*, Ion. Att. *ῥμῖ-v*), *y-uš-mā-su* YS^m+; — PIE from **iūs*/**us-*/**uōs*/**uos*.

2.2.2. demonstrative pronouns¹⁶⁸⁾

[1] The most representative pronoun is *sá-/tá-* ‘that; he, she, it’, used deictically (“*der* deixis”), anaphorically, and as a 3rd-person pronoun¹⁶⁹⁾; also appositionally,

¹⁶⁸⁾ Cf. Katharina KUPFER Die Demonstrativpronomina im Rigveda (2002).

¹⁶⁹⁾ In OIran., there are pronominal forms for the 3rd person sg./du./pl., according to HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 162: sg. nom. f. OAv. *hī*, du. nom. n. OAv. *hi*; — enclitic forms: sg. acc. m. f. OAv. YAv. *īm* (Ved. *īm*), OAv. YAv. *hīm*, OPers. *-šīm* (cf. Ved. *sīm*), YAv. *dīm* (abstracted from *ād-īm*), OPers. *-dīm*; acc. n. OAv. *ī*, YAv. *ī* (cf. Ved. *it* as a particle), YAv. *dī*; dat. gen. OAv. *hōi*, YAv. *hē*, *šē*, OPers. *-šaiy* (Grk. *oi* < **soi*); du. acc. m. f. OAv. *ī*, pl. acc. m. f. OAv. *īš*, OAv. YAv. *hīš*, OPers. *-šīš*, YAv. *dīš*, OPers. *-dīš*, acc. n. YAv. *ī*, YAv. *dī*; OPers. analogically gen. pl. *-šām* (instead of **aišām*), abl. sg. (adv.) *-ša*. The MIA enclitic *se* for the gen. acc. sg. beside *me* for the 1st, and *te* for 2nd person is interpreted as being of secondary origin in MIA, cf. SCHELLER KZ 81 (1967) 1–54.

i.e. practically as an adjective. OIA preserves well, like OIran, the old pronominal inflexion in three genders, represented in particular in the formant *-sm-* in the sg. (presumably spread from the PIE loc. **tó-sm-i[-n]* ‘in the same’ to the dat., abl.; originally the zero-grade form of **sem* ‘the one and the same’) and the forms with *-e-* (i.e. **-ai-* < **-oi-*) in the pl. m./n.; also *-na* in the instr. (see p. 71) and *-sya* in the gen. sg. are supposed to have originated in the pron. inflexion:¹⁷⁰⁾

m.: **sg.** nom. *sá* (YAv. *hā*, OPers. in *ha-ya* rel. pron. ‘who’)¹⁷¹⁾, secondary *sá-s* before pausa and vowels, forming hiatus, or *só*, in a few cases also before consonants (YAv. *hō*, *has-ciŋ*, pseudo-OAv. *hā*, *has-ca*); acc. *tá-m* (OAv. *tā-m*, YAv. *tā-m*), instr. *ténā* (cf. p. 71; OAv. YAv. *tā*), dat. *tá-sm-ai*, abl. *tá-sm-āt*, gen. *tá-sya*, loc. *tá-sm-i-n*; — **du.** nom. acc. *tā*, *táu* (OAv. *tā*, YAv. *tā*, *tā-ca*), instr. dat. abl. *tā-bhy-ām*, gen. loc. *tá-yos*; — **pl.** nom. *té* (OAv. *tōi*, *taē-cā*, YAv. *tē*, *taē-ca*), acc. *tān* (OAv. *tāng*, *tq*, pseudo-OAv. *tās-cā*, YAv. *tē*, *tq*), instr. *tāis* AV+ (OAv. *tāiš*), *té-bhis* RV and mantra texts (cf. n. 20), dat. abl. *té-bhyas*, gen. *té-s-ām*, *té-s-ām*, loc. *té-su*.

n.: nom. acc. **sg.** *tá-t* or *tá-d* (OAv. YAv. *ta-t*, OPers. in *ta-ya* ‘which’), **du.** *té* (YAv. *tē*), **pl.** *tā*, *tā-ni* (OAv. YAv. *tā*). The other forms are as in the m.

f.: **sg.** nom. *sā* (OAv. YAv. *hā*), acc. *tā-m* (OAv. YAv. *tqm*), instr. *táyā*, dat. *tá-syai*,¹⁷²⁾ abl. gen. *tá-syās*, loc. *tá-syām*; — **du.** *té*, instr. dat. abl. f. *tā-bhyām*; — **pl.** nom. *tās* (OAv. YAv. *tā*, YAv. *tās-ciŋ*), acc. *tās* (OAv. YAv. *tā*, pseudo-OAv. *tās-cā*), instr. *tā-bhis*, dat. abl. *tā-bhyas*, gen. *tā-s-ām*, loc. *tā-su*.

¹⁷⁰⁾ A PIE paradigm could be reconstructed like this: **m. sg.** nom. **só* (Grk. *ó*, Goth. *sa*), acc. **tó-m* (Grk. *tó-v*, Goth. *pa-n-a*), instr. **té-h₁* (Av. *tā*, Goth. adv. *þe* ‘then’), dat. **tó-sm-ōi* (cf. *τῷ*, Goth. *pa-mm-a*), abl. **tó-at* or alike (cf. *οὐ-τω[ς]*; iptv. in Grk. *-τω*, OLat. *-tōd*, Ved. *-tāt*; cf. n. 5ff.; on the Ved. adv. *tāt* ‘since then, thereafter’, cf. 4.3.: p. 148), gen. **tó-s(i)o* (Hom. *το-ῖο*, cf. Att. *τοῦ*) / **té-s(i)o* (Goth. *þi-s*, cf. palatalisation in the OAv. interrog. pron. *ca-hiiā*, OChSlav. *če-so*: n. 182), loc. **tó-sm-i(-n)*; — **du.** nom. acc. **tó-h₁* (*τῷ*, Lith. *tuō-du*, OChSlav. *ta*); — **pl.** nom. **tó-i* (Goth. *þa-i*, cf. Grk. *ο-ί*), acc. **tó-ns* (*τοῖς*, *þa-ns*), instr. **tōi-s* (*τοῖς*, cf. Goth. *þai-m*), dat. abl. **to-i-b^hios/-mos* (?), cf. OChSlav. *tě-mb*, Goth. *þai-m*), gen. **to-i-som* (*τῶν*, OChSlav. *tě-chb*, Goth. *þei-ra*, cf. *þi-ze*), loc. **to-i-su* (cf. OAtt. *το-ῖ-σι*, OChSlav. *tě-chb*); — **n.** nom. acc. **sg.** **tó-d* (*τό*, Goth. *þa-t-a*), **du.** **tó-ih₁* (*τῷ*, OChSlav. *tě*), **pl.** **te-h₂* (Grk. *τά*, Goth. *þo*); — **f. sg.** nom. **sé-h₂* (*ῆ*, *so*), acc. **té-h₂-η₁* (*τή-v*, *þo*), instr. **té-ih₂-eh₁* (an early analogic form instead of **té-h₂-eh₁*?, cf. OChSlav. *to-jq* < **ta-iā-m*, cf. p. 20), dat. **té-s(i)-eh₂-ei* (*τῇ*, Goth. *þi-z-ai*), abl. gen. **té-s(i)-eh₁-s* (*τῇς*, *þi-z-os*), loc. **té-s(i)-eh₁ + *-om*(?); — **du.** nom. acc. **tó-ih₁* (*τῷ*, OChSlav. *tě*; **tó-ih₁* is perhaps analogically after n., in origin **teh₂-ih₁*?, cf. n. 27); — **pl.** nom. **té-h₂-es* (Goth. *þōs*, cf. Grk. *αἱ*), acc. **té-h₂-η₂s* (*ταῖς*, *þos*), instr. **té-h₂-b^his* (cf. *ταῖς*, Goth. *þaim*), dat. abl. **té-h₂-b^hios/-mos*, gen. **té-h₂-som* (*τῶν*, cf. Goth. *þi-zo*), loc. **té-h₂-su* (cf. OAtt. *τῇ-σι*). [On the origin of the formants **-sm-* and **-si-*, see GIPPERT Per Aspera (2004) 155–165.]

¹⁷¹⁾ OAv. *huuō* < **hau* (cf. Ved. *a-sáu*, n. 177) fulfils also the function of OIA *sá*, YAv. *hā*.

¹⁷²⁾ On *°ai* for the gen., abl. in the language form used by the theologians, cf. n. 25.

In the loc. sg. m. n., the form *sásmin* appears 9 times in the RV with following nouns: *úḍhan* ‘udder’, *áhan* ‘day’, *ājáu* ‘chariot-race’, and *yónau* ‘womb, home place’. AiG III 542 takes it for an individual form used by some poet and his imitators. It means certainly ‘on the same’, as Sāyaṇa and many scholars interpret it, and HOFFMANN Inj. 204 n.189 analyses it clearly as “gekürzt aus **samásmin* [‘on the same’]”. DUNKEL *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie* (1992) 170f., supposes, however, that it is the relic of an old formation.

There are also diminutives *ta-ká-m* and *ta-ká-d* in the acc. sg., each only once in the RV, Book I (Pāṇini teaches a series of diminutive *-ka-* formations for the pron., cf. AiG III 446).

The corresponding forms in the dat. abl. gen. and loc. in all three numbers and genders are absent in Av. The stem *aēta-* ‘this’ seems to supply these cases, all attested in YAv.: m. n. sg. dat. *aēta-hm-āi*, abl. *aēta-hm-āt*, gen. *aēta-he*, loc. *aēta-hm-i*, *aēta-hm-ii-a*, du. gen. *aēta-iiā*, pl. dat. *aētē-biiō*, gen. *aētaē-š-qm*, loc. *aētaē-šu*, *aētaē-šuu-a*; f. sg. gen. *aēta-ījā*, *aēta-iiā*, *aēta-iiās-ciṭ*, pl. dat. *aētā-biiō*, gen. *aēta-ijh-qm*. In OPers., only the nom. acc. n. *aita* < **aīta-d* and the acc. pl. f. *aitā* are attested in anaphoric usage from the stem **ha-/ta-* or **aiša-/aīta-*; the main demonstrative pron.s in OPers. are *hauv*, *hauvam*, *ava-* ‘that, he, she’ (cf. n. 177) and *i-/ima-/a-* ‘this’ (cf. [4]).

[2] The stem *ešá-/etá-* ‘this’ is very common in deictic and anaphoric functions, in the meaning of ‘this known’, and ‘he, she, it’ located in the common sphere for both speaker and listener. This pronoun has been built up in PII from **aī-/i-* for the proximal deixis (cf. [4]) combined with *sá-/tá-*. The inflexion follows the latter. The corresponding forms are in YAv. commonly in use (no OAv. form is known); in addition to those cited above, cf.: sg. m. nom. *aēša*, *aēšō*, acc. *aētā-m*, instr. *aēta*; n. *aēta-t*; du. n. *aēte*; pl. m. nom. *aētae*, *aētaē-ca*, acc. *aētō*, *aētq*; n. *aēta*, *aētā-ciṭ*; f. sg. nom. *aēša*, acc. *aētqm*, pl. nom. *aētās°.tē* ‘these of yours’, acc. *aētā*. The analogic YAv. form in the f. gen. sg. *aēta-iiā*, *aēta-iiās-ciṭ* beside *aēta-ījā* is remarkable.

[3] The Vedic pronominal stems *syá-* and *tyá-* seem to have been derived from *sá-/tá-* (or its ancestor), showing a similar distribution between *s°* and *t°*. This pron. appears predominantly in the RV meaning something like ‘that one in the concern, in the presence, that one which one knows’.¹⁷³⁾ No counterpart is met

¹⁷³⁾ GRASSMANN remarks on *syá-*: “... *jener, der*, stets adjektivisch, und nie an erster Stelle des Satzes stehend; ... häufig geht ihm ein anderes Demonstrativ (*etá-*, *idám*) voran, von dem es gewöhnlich durch *u* getrennt ist”; and similarly, but more in detail, on *tyá-*, cf. AiG III 545ff. Recently, KLEIN “Rigvedic *syá/tyá-*”, *Mír Curad. Fs. Watkins* (1998) 361 –

in OIran.: **m.** sg. nom. *syá* (*s_iyá* VII 8,2), acc. *tyá-m*, *t_iyá-m*, gen. *t_iyá-sya*; du. nom. *tyá* (once *t_iyá*); pl. nom. *tyé*, *t_iyé*, acc. *t_iyán*, instr. *t_iyébhis*; **f.** sg. nom. *syá* (*s_iyá*, e.g. I 88,6, VI 65,1), acc. *tyá-m*, *t_iyá-m* (each 1×), instr. *tyá*, gen. *tyá-syās*, du. nom. *tyé*, pl. nom. *tyās*, acc. *tyās*; **n.** sg. *tyá-d*, *t_iyá-d*, pl. *tyá*, *t_iyá*, *tyáni*.

[4] The demonstrative pronoun for proximal deixis ‘this here’ has been made up in PII from **a-**, **a_i-**/**i-**, and oxytone **imá-**. **a-** goes back to PIE (proximal) deictic (or simply demonstrative, cf. [7]) **e-* in OLat. *e-m* ‘him, she’ (if not from *im*), dat. *e-si-ai* ‘her’, Umbr. *e-sm-ei* ‘huic’, *e-sm-ik* ‘ei’; **a_i-**/**i-** to proximal deictic **e_i-*/**i-** in OLat. *i-m* ‘eum’, n. *i-d*, Goth. *i-s* ‘he’, *i-t-a* ‘this’; **imá-** has been abstracted from acc. sg. m. *imá-m* < *im-ám*, i.e. < **i-m* (OLat. *i-m*, Cyprian *l-v* ‘him, she’ according to Hesychios) + *-óm, cf. AiG III 514f., MAYRHOFER EWAia I 103, 194:

m.: **sg.** nom. *ay-ám* (OAv. *a_ii-ōm*, *aōm*, YAv. *aōm*; OPers. *iy-am*, borrowed from the f.)¹⁷⁴, acc. *imá-m* (YAv. *imā-m*, OPers. *ima-m*), instr. *e-ná* (see below), dat. *a-sm-ái* (OAv. YAv. *a-hm-āi*), abl. *a-sm-āt* (OAv. YAv. *a-hm-āt*, YAv. *a-hm-a_t.haca*, *a-hm-a_t.para*), gen. *a-syá* (OAv. *a-hiiā*, *a-xiiā-cā*, YAv. *a-he*, *a-ijhe*), loc. *a-sm-i-n* (OAv. *a-hm-ī*, YAv. *a-hm-i*, *a-hm-ii-a* with *-ā); — **du.** nom. acc. *imā*, *imāu* (YAv. *ima*), instr. dat. abl. *ā-bhyām* (cf. YAv. *ā-biia*), gen. loc. *ay-ós* (cf. gen. OAv. YAv. *a_ii-ā*; OAv. *ās-cā* Y 30,3: *ā* disyllabic); — **pl.** nom. *imé* (YAv. *ime*, OPers. *imaiy*), acc. *imān* (YAv. *imq*), instr. *e-bhis* (YAv. *aēⁱ-biš*, cf. OAv. *āiš*), dat. abl. *e-bhyás* (OAv. YAv. *aēⁱ-biiō*), gen. *e-š-ām* (OAv. YAv. *aē-š-qm*), loc. *e-sú* (YAv. *aē-šu*, *aē-šuu-a* with *-ā);

n.: **sg.** nom.-acc. *i-d-ám* (enclitic **id* + *ám*; cf. YAv. *ima-t*, OPers. *ima*); **du.** *imé*, gen. loc. *ay-ós*; **pl.** *imā*, *imā-ni* (OAv. *imā*, YAv. *ima*, *imā*, OPers. *imā*);

f.: **sg.** nom. *iy-ám* (YAv. *īm* < **i_i-ōm*, OPers. *iy-am*, presumably < **i-h₂* + *-óm), acc. *imā-m* (OAv. YAv. *imq-m*, OPers. *imā-m*), instr. *ay-ā* (OAv. *ōii-ā*, YAv. *a_ii-a*, *āii-a* *z^omā* ‘on this earth’), dat. *a-syái* (OAv. *a-xiiāi*, YAv. *a-ijhāi*), abl. *a-syás* (YAv. *a-ijhā*, *a-ijhāt*), gen. *a-syás* (YAv. *a-ijhā*, *a-ijhās-ca*), loc. *a-syám* (YAv. *a-ijhe* < **a-hiā*); — **du.** nom. acc. *imé*, instr. dat. abl. *ā-bhyām* (cf. OAv. dat. *ā-biiā*); — **pl.** nom. *imās* (YAv. *imā*, *imās^o.tē* ‘these of yours’, OPers. *imā*), acc. *imās* (YAv. *imā*, *imās^o.tūmcit* ‘you here’, OPers. *imā*), instr. *ā-bhis* (OAv. *ā-biš*), dat. abl. *ā-bhyás* (dat. OAv. *a-biias-cā*, YAv. *ā-biiō*, *āⁱ-βiias-ca*, *āⁱ-βiias-cit*), gen. *ā-s-ām* (YAv. *āⁱh-qm*), loc. *ā-sú* (OAv. *ā-hū*, YAv. *ā-huu-a* with *-ā).

Exceptional forms occur in the RV: sg. gen. n. *imásya* VIII 13,21, adv. *imáthā* V 44,1; also some isolated forms appear later.

372 (“a proximal deictic referring to things in the immediate environment of the speaker” 370), KUPFER Demonstrativpron. 354–361, DUNKEL Gs. Polomé (2000[2003]) 12–14.

¹⁷⁴ The pronouns have no endings in the nom. sg. in the m. and f., but are often followed by the particle PII *-ám < *-óm (or *-ém, cf. Lat. *i-d-em*).

The original instr. sg. m./n. of this pronoun seems to be preserved in the adv. *a-nā́* ‘thereby, then’ (perhaps beside **a-nā́?*), cf. OAv. instr. *a-nā́*, YAv. *a-na*, OPers. *a-nā́*, also adv. *ca-nā́*, OAv. *-ci-nā́*, YAv. *-ci-na* ‘(not) at all’ (: or **k^we + *né* ‘nicht’; cf. 2.2.3.: p. 74; 4.4.: p. 151). The stem *aná-* ‘this here’ has been formed already in PII from *a-nā́* through reanalysis as *ana-* + instr.-ending *-ā́*: YAv. abl. sg. *ana-hm-ā́?* Nīr 99 (cf. p. 60), gen. sg. *⁺ana-he* Y 8,4, OAv. instr. pl. *anā́iš*; Ved. instr. sg. *anēna*. *aná́* has been reformed, on the other hand, to *e-nā́*, perhaps after *-ai-* forms as in *e-bhis* or *ay-ám*; *enā́* was then introduced into *ténā́*, and then into the nominal *-a-* stems (cf. p. 9). Cf. KUIPER AcOr 16 (1938) 213ff., HAURI Zur Vorgeschichte des Ausgangs *-Ena* (1963) 12f., 41f., KLINGENSCHMITT MSS 30 (1972) 94 = Aufs. 106, MAYRHOFFER EWAia I 69, 268, KUPFER 104, 330; all with bibliography.

[5] Enclitic forms of *ena-* are used for ‘he, she’, and (AV+) also for ‘it’, especially referring to someone/something discussed in the immediate context: **m.** sg. acc. *enam*, instr. *ena*, *enā́*, du. gen. *enos*; **f.** sg. acc. *enām*, du. acc. *ene*; after the RV also: **m.** du. acc. *enau*, **n.** sg. acc. *enad* (only exceptionally also as the nom. in the Br.), pl. *enā́ni* (YS^p+), **m./n.** sg. instr. *enena*, du. gen. loc. *enayos*. The stem *ena-* seems to be an inner-Indic innovation based on the enclitic use of *enā́* as observed in the instr. *ena*, *enā́* (cf. the lit. quoted in the preceding paragraph).

To these are added the unaccented forms of the stem *a-*, *ai-/i-*, so that a suppletive paradigm is formed; in the RV: **m.** sg. dat. *a-sm-ai*, abl. *a-sm-āt*, gen. *a-sya*, loc. *a-sm-i-n*; pl. instr. *e-bhis*, dat. *e-bhyas*, gen. *e-ṣ-ām*, loc. *e-ṣu*; **f.** dat. *a-syai*, abl. gen. *a-syās*, loc. *a-syām*; pl. instr. *ā-bhis*, dat. *ā-bhiyas*, gen. *ā-s-ām*, loc. *ā-su*; and also **n.** sg. gen. *a-sya*.

In the RV, initial-accented *á-sya*, *á-sm-ai*, and *ā́-bhis* occur in the first position in a Pāda. In view of *énām* VIII 6,19, it may be safely supposed that we meet here marked uses of the enclitics in a strongly restrictive function.

[6] Other enclitics – *īm*, *ī*, *sīm* – are defective: *īm* is well attested in the RV and occurs also in some other mantra texts. *ī* is found 11× in the RV. These forms are used for the acc. m. f. in the sg., and also in other numbers, particularly in proleptic function. For the n., **id* is expected, but, instead, only *íd* is attested (perhaps = Lat. *id*, cf. *id-ám* [3]), which is used always as an adv. in unambiguous context. *sīm* occurs only in the older parts of the RV, where it functions as an anaphoric acc. indifferent to gender or number. These enclitics are employed also as particles in emphasizing function, or for avoiding hiatus. Their original demonstrative character (probably from **eṭ-/i-*) is preserved much better in OIran., cf. n. 169.

[7] The demonstrative pronoun for the distal deixis ‘that there, that over there’ is *asáu*, *adás*, *amu-*; it means also ‘so-and-so’,^{174a)} and probably ‘that in ques-

tion': **m.** sg. nom. *asáu*, acc. *amú-m*, instr. *amú-nā* (YS^{m+}), dat. *amú-šm-ai*, abl. *amú-šm-āt*, gen. *amú-šya*, loc. *amú-šm-i-n* (AV+); pl. nom. *amī*¹⁷⁵, acc. *amū-n* (AV+), dat. abl. *amī-bhyas* (AV+), gen. *amī-š-ām*; — **n.** sg. nom. *adās*, pl. *amū*; — **f.** sg. nom. *asáu*, acc. *amū-m*, (instr.: cf. p. 148), dat. *amú-šyai* (YS^{m+}), abl. gen. *amú-šyās* (AV+), loc. *amú-šyām* (YS^{m+}); du. nom. *amū* (AV+); pl. nom. acc. *amūs* (*amūs*).

This Indo-Aryan pronoun is founded upon **u*. The stem *amú-* is generally explained as abstracted from the acc. sg. *amú-m* which consists of **a-m* (acc. of **a-*, cf. [4]) + *u* + hypercharacterising *-m*, cf. AiG III 530f., lit. in EWAia I 98. From the same **u*, OIran. has developed a full pronom. paradigm **au-a-*¹⁷⁶ together with the nom. sg. in the m. and f. **hau*.¹⁷⁷ This **ha-u* goes back to **sa + u* (or **sa-s + u*) with preservation of hiatus, and f. **seh₂-u* (YAv. *hāu* is a secondary form of differentiation); in Ved., *a-* (of demonstrative function, cf. [4]) has been added to it (KLINGENSCHMITT MSS 30, 1972, 99 = Aufs. 109). The nom. sg. n. *adās* could be a reinterpretation from *adó < *ada-u*,¹⁷⁸ which could have origi-

^{174a)} On voc. forms referring to the 2nd pers.: *ásau*, *asau*, du. *amū*, pl. *amī*, cf. AiG III 534.

¹⁷⁵⁾ *amī < *amu-iH*, perhaps via **amū-i*. According to Pāṇini I 1,12, *amī* (and *amū*) are pragrahya, and are treated as such in Cl. Skt., cf. AiG III 531, I 320.

¹⁷⁶⁾ Presumably a vṛddhi-formation just like **néu-o- :: *nu*, cf. OChSlav. *ov-ъ* 'this', *ov-ъ ... ov-ъ* 'the one... the other...' (KLINGENSCHMITT Lautgeschichte und Etymologie, 1980, 220 = Aufs. 213, n. 21). This **u* could be connected with the Indo-Iran. enclitic particle *u*, for the basic meaning of which one can suppose 'on the other hand', cf. *u... u* 'on the one hand... on the other'. DUNKEL IF 102 (1997) 156–178 "Conjunctive *u* and invariable *sá* in the *R̥gveda*..." (with lit.), especially 170f., however, distinguishes three different origins for *u*: "conjunctive **h₂o* with its suppletive allomorph **h₂u*, [far-]deictic **u*, **ou* (as in *ούτος*, *asau* etc.), and a local adverb **au-o* 'downwards' (Vedic *áv-a*) with its suppletive allomorph **auu > *au* (Latin *au-*, [Celt. *á*], Slavic *u-*, *R̥gvedic* *ó* – which is not always to be taken, with Padapāṭha, as *á + u*)". Cf. also KLEIN Towards a Discourse Grammar II (1985) 54ff. — The alleged gen. du. *avós* (3× in the RV) is now explained through a phonological change from *avós* belonging to [4]: assimilated to *v* in preceding *vām*, *yuv-ós* etc., cf. KLEIN JIES 5 (1977) 166ff., MAYRHOFER EWAia. I 135.

¹⁷⁷⁾ **m.** sg. nom. OAv. *huuō* < **hau* (cf. n. 171), OPers. *hauv*, once *hauv-am* (YAv. *hāu* from the f.), acc. YAv. *aom* < **au-ə-m*, OPers. *av-a-m*, instr. OAv. *auu-ā*, YAv. *auu-a*, OPers. *av-a-nā*, gen. YAv. *auu-a-ijhe*, *auu-a-ijhe-ca*, *auu-a-he-ca*, OPers. *av-a-hayā*; pl. YAv. *auu-e*, OPers. *av-aiy*, acc. YAv. *auu-ū*, *āu* < **au-ā*, instr. OAv. YAv. *auu-āiš*, gen. OAv. YAv. *auu-aē-š-qm*, OPers. *av-ai-š-ām*; — **n.** OAv. YAv. *auu-a-t*, OPers. *av-a*, pl. YAv. *auu-a*, *auu-ā*; — **f.** sg. nom. YAv. *hāu* (secondary for **hau* < **seh₂-u*), OPers. *hauv*, acc. YAv. *auu-qm*, dat. YAv. *auu-a-ijhāi* < **au-a-hijāi*, abl. *auu-a-ijhāt*, gen. YAv. *auu-a-ijhās* < **au-a-hijāh*; pl. acc. OAv. YAv. *auu-ā*.

¹⁷⁸⁾ Cf. especially RV I 187,7 *adó pito*, cf. AiG III 529, EWAia. I 62 with lit.; *adāh* with Visarga is attested before *p*, *s*, and *s* in the RV.

nated from **a-d* (cf. **ad* ‘this, thus’ in Ved. *addhā*, OAv. OPers. *azdā*, OAv. *ať* ‘then, now’, *ad-āiš* ‘now by them’)¹⁷⁹⁾ reformed to rhyme with *as-áμ*. Thus **(a-sā + u, *a-m + u, *a-d + u* are postulated. The reinterpretation as *ad-ás* is possibly due to its relatively frequent adverbial usage ‘there, at that opportunity’, to which, e.g., *par-ás* ‘in front’, *tir-ás* ‘crossway’, *sa-dīv-as* ‘on the same day’ (cf. p. 149) are compared.

An alleged *áma-* ‘this’ is supposed in AV XIV 2,71 and its parallels. But the form owes its existence to an artificial dividing of *sáman-* into *sā* and *áma-* imitating pron. *amú-*.

2.2.3. interrogative and indefinite pronouns¹⁸⁰⁾

The interrogative stem *ká-/kí-* is used as both subst. and adj. The inflexion is just like that of *tá-* except m. nom. sg. *ká-s* with nominal *-s* (OAv. *kā*, *ka-s.tē* ‘who ... for you’, YAv. *kō*, *ka-s².θβqm* ‘who ... you’), as in the case of the relative pronoun. The original suppletion with **k^wi-/ *k^wéi-* and **k^wé-/ *k^wó-* (and **k^wú* in the adverb¹⁸¹⁾) has retreated largely in favour of *ká-*, which seems to go back finally to the PIE adj. paradigm.¹⁸²⁾ OIran. has preserved a variety of forms (cf. n. 182), but probably without functional differentiation. In the n. sg., a new form *kí-m*, which resists palatalisation (cf. YAv. *cī-m*), is used more frequently than older *ká-d* (OAv. YAv. *ka-t*) already in the RV. The historical nom.-acc. sg. n. *ci-d*, which has become an enclitic presumably in PII, is used as an adverb ‘if any, even, at all’, whereas OIran. preserves it partially: YAv. *ci-t* beside OAv. YAv. *ka-t*, YAv. *cī-m*; cf. also m. OAv. YAv. *ci-s* beside *kā*, *kō*. Likewise, one supposes behind *ca-ná*,

¹⁷⁹⁾ See GOTÖ Fs. Klingenschmitt (2005) 204, cf. also DUNKEL HS 101 (1988) 53–78.

¹⁸⁰⁾ Cf. also ETTER Fragesätze (1985).

¹⁸¹⁾ **k^wú* in *kūū* ‘where’ V 74,1, *kū cit* ‘somewhere’ IX 87,8; **k^wú-* in *kú-tas* ‘from what/whom’, *kú-tra* ‘where’ (OAv. *ku-θrā*, YAv. *ku-θra*), *kú-ha* ‘where’ (OAv. *ku-dā*, OChSlav. *kū-de*, Osk. *pu-f*); and **kū-* in *kuv-id* ‘whether; is it (not) so?’, *kāv-à* ‘where’ (YAv. *kūu-a*).

¹⁸²⁾ PIE interrogative paradigms would be: **sg.** animate (**α**) ‘who’ (i.e., m. + f.) nom. **k^wi-s* (OAv. YAv. *ci-s*, Grk. *τί-ς*, Lat. *qui-s*), acc. **k^wi-m* (YAv. *cī-m*, *τί-v-a*, Hitt. *kwi-n*), inanimate (**β**) ‘what’ (n.) nom.-acc. **k^wi-d* (YAv. *ci-t*, Grk. *τί*, Lat. *qui-d*, Hitt. *kwi-t*); dat. **k^wó-sm-ōi/ *k^wé-sm-ōi* (Ved. *ká-sm-ai*, OAv. YAv. *ka-hm-āi*, YAv. *ca-hm-āi*, Hom. *té-φ*, OChSlav. **α** *ko-mu*, **β** *če-so-mu*), gen. **k^wó-s(i)o/ *k^wé-s(i)o* (Ved. *ká-sya*, OAv. *ka-hiiā*, YAv. *ka-he*, *ka-jhe*, OAv. *ca-hiiā*, Hom. *té-o*, Att. *τοῦ*, OChSlav. **α** *ko-go*, **β** *če-so*); — **pl.** nom. **α** **k^wó-ī/ *k^wé-ī-es* (m. Ved. *ké*, OAv. *kōi*, YAv. *caiiō*, cf. Grk. *τίνες*), **β** **k^wi-h₂* (Megarian *σά*, Boeotian *τά* ‘why’, OLat. *quia*; in the indefinite pron. OAv. *cī-cā*, YAv. *ci-ca*, Ion. *ἄ-σσα*, Att. *ἄ-ττα*); — in addition, as the **adj.**: m. **k^wó-s* (Ved. *ká-s*, OAv. *kā*, YAv. *kō*), f. **k^wé-h₂* (Ved. *kā*, OAv. YAv. *kā*), n. **k^wó-d* (Ved. *ká-d*, OAv. *ka-t*, Lat. *quo-d*), n. pl. **k^wó-h₂* (Ved. *kā*, *kāni*, OAv. *kā*).

OAv. *-ci-nā*, YAv. *-ci-na* ‘at all’ (and ‘not at all’) an old instr. formation **k^wé-ne* or **k^we-né* (cf. OE *hwer-ge-n*, OHG *wer-gi[-n]* ‘somewhere’ < **-g^wi-na* < **-k^we-né/ne*, cf. LÜHR MSS 34, 1976, 87f., KLINGENSCHMITT Althochdeutsch, 1987, 181 = Aufs. 257 n. 49; see, however, p. 71), perhaps PIE animate **k^wó-ne* (cf. YAv. *ka-na*), inanimate **k^wé-ne* (and indefinite **k^we-ne*) beside **k^wó-h₁* (OAv. YAv. *kā*, Lat. *quō*) and **k^wi-h₁* (Lat. *quī* ‘by which(?)’, ONord. *hvī* ‘how?, why?’ ORuss. *čī* ‘whether, if, or’), respectively. The historical nom. sg. m./f. **k^wi-s* (OAv. YAv. *ci-š*) has been kept, though not palatalised (or levelled with *ká*-forms), in *ná-ki-s* ‘no one’ (cf. OAv. YAv. *naē-ci-š*, OLat. *nei-qui-s*), *mā-ki-s* ‘never’, and perhaps *kí-r u* RV X 52,3¹⁸³).

The accentless interrogative forms functioned as indefinite pronouns in PIE. In Indo-Iran., an enclitic particle is added to interrogative Ved. *ká-*, Av. *ka-*, *ci-*, *ca-*: (1) OIA *cid*, OAv. *-ciť*, YAv. *-ciť*, OPers. *-ciy* (originally n. sg.), (2) OIA *ca*, OAv. *-cā*, YAv. *-ca*, OPers. *-cā* (PIE **k^we*, cf. Grk. *-τε*, Lat. *-que*, Hitt. *-ku*, etc.), (3) OIA *ca-ná* (cf. above), and (4) Post-Vedic *api*. These particles appear otherwise as adv.s in corresponding meanings: (1) ‘if any, even, at all’, (2) ‘and; if’, (3) ‘at all; not at all’, and (4) ‘also’, respectively. When the combination *ká- cid* (very common RV–Cl.Skt.) or *ká- ca* (less common after Ved.) is used in a relative clause, a generalised or concessive meaning such as ‘whoever, whatever’ is expressed; the same is the case in OAv. YAv.; in Cl.Skt. *ya-* + *kaś cana* and *ka-* + *api* are applied in this function. In addition, the stem *káya-* occurs 3 times in the RV in such a meaning: *káyasya cid*.

sama-, ‘someone, everyone’ in the sg., ‘all’ in the pl., is attested only in the RV in the m.: *sama-m*, *sama-sm-ai*, *sama-sm-āt*, *sama-sya*, *sama-smi-n*; and *same*.

2.2.4. relative pronouns¹⁸⁴

The relative pronoun *yá-* (m. n. *yá-*, f. *yā-*) is inflected just like *ká-*, i.e., nom. sg. m. *yá-s*, otherwise, like *tá-*; cf. OAv. YAv. *ya-*, *yā-*, OPers. *ha-ya-*, *ta-ya-* (unified with **sa-*, **ta-*): < PIE **H₁ó-*, **H₁é-h₂-*, cf. Grk. *ὅς*, *ὅ*, *ἥ*, etc. OAv. shows a special form in the n. nom.-acc. sg. *h-iia-t* < **s-ia-t*. *yá-* serves also as a basis for relative adverbs such as *yá-thā* ‘in which manner, as’, *yá-tra* ‘where’, etc. The relative pronoun *yá-* and its derivatives are used, with *ca*, *cid* added, in a concessive meaning, e.g., *yás cid* ‘whoever’, *yác cid* ‘even if’ (cf. YAv. *yať-ciť* ‘only if’, OPers. *ya-ciý* ‘whether’). On the combination *yá- ká- ca* ‘whosoever’ and the

¹⁸³ Cf. ETTER 23, 100, KLEIN Kratylos 33 (1988) 80f. — Forms from the stem **k^wi-*, furthermore: *kīy-ant-* ‘how much?’ < **k^wi-h₂ent-* (cf. n.323), *kī-dīś-* ‘of what appearance, type?’, *kīvant-* ‘how long?’ RV III 30,17 (YAv. *cuuant-*) < **k^wi-h₂uent-*, and the enclitic particle *kīm* after *ā*, *ná*, *mā* without clear meaning, cf. *īm*, *sīm* (2.2.2. [6]: p. 71).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. also HETTRICH Hypotaxe (1988).

like,¹⁸⁵ cf. the preceding paragraph, AiG III 572, OETTINGER MSS 42 (1983) 177–186, KLEIN MSS 44 (1985) 105–121.

Also a diminutive form *ya-ká-* is attested: *ya-ké* (pl. nom. m.) RV VIII 21,18, *ya-ká-s* VS^m, *ya-kā* AV RVKh YS^m, cf. *ta-ká-m*, *ta-kád*.

2.2.5. possessive pronouns or adjectives

The inherited possessive *svá-*, *suvá-* ‘his, her, its, their own’ originates in the 3rd person, as is obvious from Iran. **h₂ua-* (OAv. *x^va-*, YAv. *x^va-*, *huua-*, *hauua-*, OPers. *uva-* in comp.) beside **ma-* ‘my’ (OAv. *ma-*) and **tua-* ‘your’ (OAv. *θβa-*).¹⁸⁶ However, it is used also for the 2nd and 1st person in OIA, where expressions with the gen. of personal and demonstrative pronouns were preferred. *tvá-* ‘your’ is found only in the instr. pl. f. *tuvābhis* RV II 20,2, and according to some opinions in the n. loc. sg. *tuvé cétaśi* ‘in your consciousness’ AV XI 10,2. The pronominal inflexion of *svá-*, *suvá-* is scarcely observed yet in the RV: loc. sg. n. *svásmi* only I 132,2b.c as against 32 times *své* or *suvé*; in the sole occurrence of the gen. sg. f., the form *sváśyās* is owing to the neighbouring *anyáśyās* (IX 79,3), the abl. is only once attested as *suvāyās*.

māma-ka- ‘my’, *asmā-ka-* ‘our’ (OAv. YAv. *ahmā-ka-*), *yušmā-ka-* ‘your’ (OAv. *yūšmā-ka-*, *xšmā-ka-* < **ušmā-ka-*)¹⁸⁷ occur only in the RV in the nominal inflexion; in addition, with vṛddhi-formation *māma-ká-* and *tāva-ká-* RV+, *āsmā-ká-* and *yaušmā-ká-* YS^m+, in the RV also *mā-k-īna-* ‘my’ VIII 27,8 (cf. *māki* ‘?’ VIII 2,42) and *yuvā-k-u-* ‘belonging to you both’ (°*us*, °*ós*, °*avas*, cf. gen. du. *yuvāku*, p.67).

2.2.6. reflexive expressions¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Also *yadā kadā ca* ‘whensoever’, *yāvant- kīyant- ca* ‘however large it may be’ AV YS^p Br. (cf. YAv. *yauuat cuuat ca*), *yādṛk kādṛk ca* ‘whichever appearance it may have’ Br., *yáthā káthā ca* ‘in whatever way’ (cf. YAv. *yaθa kaθa ca*), etc.

¹⁸⁶ PIE **suó-* (Cret. *ῥό-ς*, Ion. Att. *ὄ-ς*) beside **seu-ó-* (Dor. Thess. *έ-ό-ς*, OLat. *su-o-s*); **mó-* (Grk. *έ-μó-ς*); **tuó-* (Ion. Att. *σός*) beside **teu-ó-* (Hom. Dor. *τε-ό-ς*, OLat. *tu-o-s*); each with the f. **e-h₂-*. YAv. *huua-a-* could have originated from **seu-ó-*, or it could stand for *huua-* on account of the YAv. fluctuation between *auua* and *uua* (cf. lit. in GOTÖ Akten Kraków, 2009, 162 n.7). OAv. nom. sg. f. shows a form ending with **-ai* [from du.?, GIPPERT]: *θβōi* ‘your’ :: m. *θβē* Y 31, 9 (cf. GOTÖ ib. 168), *x^vaē-cā* ‘his own’ :: m. *x^vē* Y 46,11.

¹⁸⁷ From PIE **us-m-ó-* (Hom. Dor. *ῶ-μ-ό-ς*) and **us-m-ó-* (Hom. Dor. *ῥ-μ-ό-ς*, Lesb. *ῥ-μ-μ-ό-ς*), respectively. Forms extended with *-ka-* are met also in the gen. pl. *asmā-ka-m*, YAv. *ahmā-kə-m*, OPers. *amā-xa-m*, and *yušmā-ka-m*, YAv. *yūšmā-kə-m*, OAv. *xšmā-kə-m*. Ved. *māma-ka-* was formed analogically after them from the gen. sg. *māma*.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. VINE “On the expression of reflexive possession in the Rig-Veda: RV *svá-*”, *Syntaxe des langues indo-iraniennes* (1997) 203–214, PINAULT “Védique *tanū-* et la notion de personne en indo-iranien”, BSL 96 (2001) 181–206, KULIKOV “A note on the

The indeclinable *svay-ám* ‘self; for, by, in, of oneself, itself’ is built on PII **suaṭi-*, which goes back to the PIE reflexive pronoun **sueḡ-/suoḡi-* beside **sue-/suo-* ‘him-, her-, itself’ attested in YAv. dat. sg. *huuā-uuōiia* < **huua-bḡa*, *x^vāi* < **huāḡi*, gen. sg. *x^va-he* < **hūa-hḡa*.¹⁸⁹⁾ The subst. *tanū-* ‘body’ is used for the reflexive expression as in the Avesta. The oblique cases *tmán-ā*, *tmán-e*, *tmán-i* of *ātmán-* are used in the RV for the same purpose, later new forms *ātmán-ā*, *-e*, *-as*, *-i*, etc. appear in this value. The pronoun *simá-* ‘he himself’ is attested only in the RV, and only in the m., showing thus a similar limitation to *sama-* ‘someone’ (cf. 2.2.3.: p. 74): nom. *simá-s*, voc. *simā*, dat. *simá-sm-ai*, abl. *simá-sm-āt*, pl. nom. *simé*.

2.2.7. adjectives with pronominal case forms

Some adjectives in the *-a-* stem show a pronominal inflexion or some forms of it. *tva-* ‘one, many’ is attested only in Vedic: nom. sg. *tva-s*, *tvā*, *tva-d*, acc. sg. m. *tva-m*, instr. *tvena*, dat. m. *tva-sm-ai*, dat. f. *tva-syai*, nom. pl. m. *tve*. An adverbial use is found in the RV and Br.: *tvaḍ ... tvaḍ* ‘some ..., some ...; sometimes ..., sometimes ...’ (OAv. *θβaṭ ... θβaṭ* ‘now ..., now ...’, cf. *θβāṭ ... θβāṭ* ‘either ... or’ YH 35,10); and in the AV *tva-* ... *tva-* ‘one ... the other’.

néma- ‘some, one, another’ occurs 10 times in the RV: m. *néma-s*, *néma-m*, *néma-sm-i-n*, pl. *néme*, n. *néma-m*, also an unaccented gen. pl. *nemānām*. In the MS^p and KS^p, *némas*, *némam*, and *néme* are used in the meaning of ‘the half (of ...)’, also in *nemena ... nemena* AVP XX 7,5–7, cf. YAv. *naēma-* ‘half, a half’.

anyá- ‘another, other’ (OAv. YAv. *añiia-*, OPers. *aniya-*) follows the pronominal type of inflexion, thus, nom. sg. n. *anyá-d* (OPers. *aniya*), dat. sg. m./n. *anyá-sm-ai* AV (YAv. *añiia-hm-āi*), loc. *anyá-sm-i-n*, nom. m. pl. *anyé* (YAv. *añiie*, OPers. *aniyai-ci-y*, nominal Median-OPers. *aniyāha*), gen. *anyé-ṣ-ām* (YAv. *añiiaē-ṣ-qm*, *añiīqm*?), etc.

The comparat. and superlat. forms *katamá-d* ‘which one among ...?’ (cf. YAv. *katāma-*, probably after OAv. YAv. *katāra-*, cf. n.136), and *yatará-d* ‘which between two’ (cf. YAv. *yatāra-*) are attested in the RV, in addition, *katará-d* (cf. OAv. YAv. acc. sg. n. as adv. *katārē-m*), *yatamá-d*, *katamá-syās*, *katamāsām*, *yatamá-syām*, *yatamé* AV, nom. pl. *katamé* and *katamá-sm-ai* YS^m, and *anyatará-d* Br.

visva- ‘each, all’ has no pronominal form *-d* in the nom.-acc. sg. n.: *visva-m* (YAv. *vīspā-m*, OPers. *visa-m*). However, the pronominal inflexion is inherited

Vedic reflexive”, 125 Jahre Indogermanistik in Graz (2000) 231–238, “The reflexive pronouns in Vedic: A diachronic and typological perspective” *Lingua* 117 (2007) 1412–1433, HETTRICH “*tanū-* als Reflexivpronomen im R̥gveda?”, Fs. Wilhelm (2010) 175–183.

¹⁸⁹⁾ Reflexive pronoun **sueḡ-/suoḡi-* in Grk.: sg. acc. Pamphylian *ḡhe*, Lesb. *ḡe*, Hom. Att. *ḡ*, gen. Hom. *ḡo*, *ḡv*, Att. *oḡ*, dat. Lesb. *ḡoḡ*, Hom. Att. *oḡ*. On the forms with **sueḡ-/suoḡi-*, cf. MAYRHOFER EWAia s.v. *svá-*.

from PII, e.g. in the RV: **m.** sg. dat. *viśva-sm-ai* (YAv. *vīspā-m-āi* instead of ⁺*vīspā-m-āi*), nominal *viśvāya* I 50,1 (OAv. *vīspāi.ā*, OAv. YAv. *vīspāi*), abl. *viśva-sm-āt* (*viśvāt* I 189,6), loc. *viśva-sm-i-n* (*viśve* 2×); pl. nom. *viśve* (YAv. *vīspe*; OAv. nominal *vīspāṇhō*), voc. *viśve* (nominal OAv. *vīspā*, YAv. *vīspāṇhō*), instr. *viśvais* (4×, OAv. YAv. *vīspāiš*), *viśvebhis* (many times), gen. *viśve-ṣ-(a)ām* (YAv. *vīspaē-ṣ-ām*, OAv. YAv. nominal *vīspanqm*); **f.** sg. dat. *viśva-syai*, gen. *viśva-syās*, gen. *viśvā-s-(a)ām*; — the instr. sg. is in the m./n. Ved. *viśvena*, OAv. *vīspā*, OPers. *visā*; in the f. *viśvayā*, OAv. *vīspā*.

Pronominal forms of *sārva-* ‘complete, whole, all’ have come into existence after *viśva-* in OIA. The Iran. forms (YAv. *ha²ruua-*, OPers. *haruva-*) follow a nominal *-a-* stem inflexion. The forms in the RV are: sg. m. nom. *sārva-s*, acc. *sārva-m*, n. *sārva-m*, abl. *sārva-sm-āt*, gen. *sārva-sya*; pl. m. nom. *sārve*, acc. *sārvān*, n. *sārvā*; f. nom. *sārvā*, instr. *sārvayā*, pl. nom. *sārvās*, acc. *sārvās*, abl. *sārvābhyas*, gen. *sārvā-s-ām*.

ēka- ‘one’ is inflected as given in 2.1.1.: p. 60, pronominal: m./n. loc. sg. *ēka-sm-i-n* (*ēke* in the AV), m. nom. pl. *ēke*, f. abl. gen. sg. *ēka-syās*. On *ubhāya-* ‘both’ cf. p. 65.

From *ī-tara-* ‘another’, m. sg. nom. *ītara-s*, acc. *ītara-m* and f. pl. acc. *ītarās* are attested in the RV; they form YSP+ a paradigm: *ītara-sm-ai*, *ītara-sm-i-n*, *ītare*, *ītare-ṣ-ām*, etc. The nom. sg. n. *ītara-d* in the Br. is assumed to be secondary to *ītara-m* Br., cf. Lat. *iteru-m* ‘once more’.

The forms of *ūt-tara-* ‘upper, northern’ are inflected for the most part pronominally: in the RV n. sg. *ūttara-m*, abl. m. *ūttara-sm-āt*, loc. *ūttara-sm-i-n* and *ūttare*; nom. pl. m. *ūttare*, etc.; in Vedic prose dat. *ūttara-sm-ai*, abl. *ūttara-sm-āt*, loc. *ūttara-sm-i-n*, gen. pl. *ūttare-ṣ-ām*; f. dat. *ūttara-syai*, gen. *ūttara-syās*, loc. *ūttara-syām* (in the ŚB *ūttara-syām* and *ūttarāyām*), gen. pl. *ūttarā-s-ām*. In the case of *án-tara-* ‘inner’, no decisive form appears in Ved. besides pronominal nom. pl. m. *ántare* YSP Br.; AiG III 584f. writes “predominantly nominal”, citing *ántara-tas* YSP Br., and YAv. *aṇtarāṭ*.¹⁹⁰

The forms with superlative suffix *ūt-tama-* show almost consistently, and *án-tama-* exclusively the nominal inflexion: m./n. sg. loc. *uttame* RV+ (YAv. *us-tāme*), m. pl. nom. *uttamās* AV+; pronominal *uttama-syām* AB (~ *uttamāyām* ŚāṅkhŚrSū in the Śunaḥśepa legend), cf. also *uttamébhis* RV+ (cf. n. 20); — m. pl. nom. *ántamās*, etc. in the RV, cf. also instr. *antamébhis* (thus accented I 165,5); in YAv. no conclusive form occurs for *aṇtāma-*.

The situation is similar for *pāra-* ‘further, yet another, highest’, *pūr-va-* ‘prior, eastern’, *āpa-ra-* ‘posterior, western’, *āva-ra-* ‘lower, nearer’, *ūpa-ra-* ‘placed

¹⁹⁰ *ántarasmin* TB II 8,8,9^m (VISHVA BANDHU VWC s.v. *ántara-*) stands for *ántar* + *asmin*.

below, near, neighbouring', *apa-má-*, *ava-má-*, *upa-má-* 'uppermost, highest, nearest from below', *para-má-*, *madhya-má-*, e.g., in the RV: n. sg. loc. *pára-sm-i-n* (1×, beside m., n. *páre* 3×, n. *paré* 1×), m. pl. nom. *páre* (2×, beside *párāśas* 2×), gen. *páre-ṣ-ām* (*pārāṇām* YS^p), f. sg. abl. gen. *pára-syās*; AV+, in addition: sg. *pára-sm-ai*, *pára-sm-āt*, pl. instr. *párebhis* seemingly only in the AV (:: *párais* RV+); — RV *pūrva-sm-ai*, *pūrva-sm-āt*, nom. pl. *pūrve* (many times, beside *pūrvāśas* 2×), *pūrve-ṣ-ām*, f. *pūrvā-s-ām*, in the instr. *pūrvebhis* 2× beside *pūrvais* 1×; *pūrva-sm-i-n* ŚB :: *pūrve* ŚBK (*pūrve* also in the RV). OIA seems to show a tendency to introduce pronominal forms with steadily increasing frequency in later texts.

Of *samāná-* 'common, the same', the only pronominal form is *samāná-sm-āt* RV, nominal forms are in the RV: *samānāt*, loc. *samāné*, m. pl. nom. *samānās*, gen. *samānānām*; in the instr. pl. *samānāis* beside *samānébhis*.

The repetition *anyá-anyá-* is used for iterative expressions since the AV, which is united into *anyo'nya-* Br.+ or *anyānyā-* f. YS^p; later also *itaretara-* Up.+ , *paras-para-* Ep. Cl. — On adverbs from case-forms of the pronouns, cf. 4.3.: p. 147f., 4.4.: p. 150f.