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Grammaticalization of reciprocal pronouns in Indo-Aryan: Evidence from Sanskrit and Indo-European for a diachronic typology of reciprocal constructions

Abstract: This paper focuses on the evolution of the Old Indo-Aryan reciprocal pronoun anyo’nya- as well as some related forms, tracing its grammaticalization from the early Vedic period onwards until the beginning of the Middle Indic period. On the basis of a comparison of the history of this formation with similar processes documented in some other Indo-European branches (Greek, Slavic etc.), I uncover some basic mechanisms and scenarios of the evolution of reciprocal constructions attested in the history of Indo-Aryan languages in a diachronic typological context, offering a number of typological generalizations on the diachrony of reciprocals.

Keywords: reciprocal pronoun, reciprocal construction, Vedic, Sanskrit, Pāli, Indo-European, Indo-Aryan, diachronic typology, grammaticalization, agreement, gender, case, adverbial

In memory of Vladimir Nedjalkov (1928–2009), the great typologist and researcher of reciprocals

1 Introductory remarks

The present paper deals with the evolution of the Indo-Aryan reciprocal pronoun as well as a number of related formations, tracing its development from a combination of two independent words (anyá ... anyá-) to one single grammaticalized unit, the reciprocal pronoun anyo’nya-. I will demonstrate that the history of this form provides amazingly rich evidence for a diachronic typology of reciprocal constructions. The introductory Section 2 offers necessary definitions, drawing...
special attention to the importance of evidence from Indo-Aryan for a diachronic typology of reciprocals. Section 3 scrutinizes the main stages of the grammaticalization of the most productive Old Indo-Aryan marker of reciprocity, the reciprocal pronoun *anyo’nya*- . Section 4 offers a brief discussion of the competing reciprocal markers, *paras-para*- and *itaretara*- in late (post-Vedic) Old Indo-Aryan texts. Section 5 gives a brief overview of the reflexes of *anyo’nya*- in Middle Indo-Aryan as well as of similar formations in New Indo-Aryan languages (without offering a detailed analysis of the New Indo-Aryan material). In the concluding Sections 6 and 7 I offer a brief comparison of the grammaticalization scenario attested in Indo-Aryan with the scenario documented (or reconstructed) for the history of some other branches of Indo-European. On the basis of this comparison I will formulate a number of generalizations for a diachronic typology of reciprocal constructions and pronouns – one of the hitherto neglected domains of the typology of valency-changing categories.

2 Preliminary remarks and basic definitions

2.1 Synchronic and diachronic typology of reciprocal constructions: state-of-affairs

The last decade has witnessed a considerable progress in the typological study of reciprocal constructions. Our knowledge of this category is accumulated, above all, in the impressive compendium Nedjalkov et al. 2007, a true encyclopaedia of reciprocals, as well as in a number of important studies, such as König and Gast 2008 and Evans 2011. Yet, there is a regrettable imbalance between synchronic and diachronic typological research in the field. On the one hand, we know a lot about the morphological, syntactic and semantic synchronic properties of reciprocal constructions; the above-listed studies conveniently summarize the most important features of reciprocals and offer a plethora of generalizations on this linguistic category. On the other hand, a systematic treatment of this category from a diachronic perspective is lacking: their rise, development and decline mostly remain on the periphery of typological research.

This being the state of affairs, it seems advisable to initiate a diachronic typological study by collecting evidence from languages (language groups) with a history well-documented in texts for a sufficiently long period of time (around 1000 years or more). When approaching the history of a particular voice and valency-changing category, such as reciprocal, passive or causative, it might be useful to outline some kind of group (family) portrait of the relevant category, tracing it...
from the earliest attested texts in an ancient language ($L_0$) onwards up to its reflexes in the daughter languages ($L_1, L_2$ etc.). Of particular interest would also be – if available – evidence from the sister languages of $L_0$ ($L', L''$ etc.), which can serve as a basis for a tentative reconstruction of the hypothetical history and possible sources of the category under study in the proto-language $^*L$, as shown in Fig. 1:

![Diagram]

Fig. 1: Language family tree: $L_0$ with its sister and daughter languages

The Indo-Aryan group of the Indo-European language family is an almost ideal candidate for such a diachronic typological study of several linguistic categories, including reciprocal constructions.

For this branch, we have at our disposal an uninterrupted documented history for a period of more than 3,000 years, starting with Old Indo-Aryan (OIA), which can be roughly identified with (Vedic) Sanskrit.¹ Already by the middle Vedic period (i.e. by the middle of the first millennium B.C.), Sanskrit was no longer a spoken language, but co-existed, as a sacral language, with Middle Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA), attested from the 2nd half of the first millennium B.C. onwards, includes Pāli, Prakrits and Apabhṛṣṭa (for details, see Hinüber 1986/2001). New Indo-Aryan (NIA), which covers the second millennium A.D., is represented by the modern Indic languages such as Hindi-Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, Sinhalese, etc.).

¹ The most ancient Vedic text, the Ṛgveda, dates to the 2nd half of the second millennium B.C. Vedic can be divided into at least two main periods, the mantra language (= the language of the hymns of the Ṛgveda, Atharvaveda and the mantras of the Yajurveda) and the language of Vedic prose, which includes Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, as well as the earliest Upaniṣads and Śūtras. For the chronology of Vedic texts, see Witzel 1995: 95–98.
This means that, in the case of Indo-Aryan, we possess rich material for a
diachronic analysis of the valency-changing categories. On the one hand, the rich
evidence collected by Indo-European comparative linguistics creates a good basis
for hypotheses about the origin and possible sources of the morphological and
syntactic categories attested in OIA and thus provides important material for a
retrospective diachronic typological research. On the other hand, evidence from
late Vedic and Middle Indo-Aryan texts as well as from New Indo-Aryan languages
allows for a prospective diachronic study (how the OIA categories develop into
their reflexes in Middle and New Indo-Aryan).

In what follows, I will attempt to outline such a group portrait of the Indo-
Aryan branch in the domain of reciprocal pronouns and reciprocal constructions,
offering a preliminary analysis of the evolution of the Indo-Aryan iterated, or
polyptotic, reciprocal pronouns, in a diachronic typological perspective, con-
centrating above all on the initial status of its evolution as documented in Old
Indo-Aryan.

2.2 Basic definitions

The term ‘reciprocal’ is based on the notion of ‘reciprocal situation’, which sug-
gests two or more participants, typically being in symmetrical relations to each
other. Accordingly, (verbal) forms and constructions that refer to such situations
are termed ‘reciprocal forms’ and ‘reciprocal constructions’. I will use the term
‘canonical reciprocal’ for the verbs and constructions with reciprocal relations
between the participants expressed by the subject and direct object (to love each
other, to hit each other).

Extremely rich evidence for a diachronic typology and study of the mechan-
isms of grammaticalization of reciprocal pronouns is furnished by Vedic Sanskrit,
one of the most ancient attested Indo-European languages and the oldest docu-
mented Indo-Aryan language (the most ancient text, Rgveda (RV), can approxi-
mately be dated to the 2nd half of the second millennium BC). The Vedic recipro-
cal pronoun (RP) anyó . . . anyá-. (anyo- ‘nya-, anyonya-) represents the iteration of

2 I essentially follow here the terminology and classification as outlined in Geniušenė &
3 anyonya- results from the sandhi -as + a → -o-: anyas + anya → anyonya-. anyo- is the sandhi
form of the singular masculine nominative anyás before voiced consonants and a; the grave ac-
cent on -ò- and the loss of the initial a of the second constituent of the reciprocal pronoun also
result from the sandhi.
the pronominal adjective *anyā*-(an)other’, thus literally meaning ‘another . . . another’.

I will hereafter refer to pronouns of the type of Vedic *anyó . . . anyá- (anyo-'nya-, anyonya-)*, i.e. pronouns based on the re-iteration of some element (usually an indefinite pronoun meaning ‘one’, ‘(an)other’, or the like), as **polyptotic**.

In the following section I offer a detailed survey of the main stages of the grammaticalization of the Indo-Aryan pronoun *anyonya-*.  

### 3 Grammaticalization of the Old Indo-Aryan anyonya-: the main stages

#### 3.1 Early Vedic (the early Rgveda)

In the earliest documented period, that is, in the Rgveda (RV), reciprocal constructions with *anyó . . . anyá* are still rare; this meaning is more often expressed by other markers: middle endings, the preverbs *ví* and *sám*, and the adverb *mithás*. We find only five attestations of this reciprocal proto-pronoun (quoted under (1)–(2), (5)). *anyó(-)(a)nyá-* is not yet grammaticalized as a single reciprocal pronoun. Its constituent parts are essentially autonomous lexical units, which can be separated by other words. Both parts of the ‘proto-’ or ‘quasi-pronoun’ agree in number and gender with the antecedent noun. The verbal form agrees with the first part of the reciprocal pronoun (RP), and thus appears in the singular, as in (1)–(2):

(1) (RV 7.103.3d–4a)

a. *anyó* *anyám* ūpa vádantam eti  
other:NOM.SG.M other:ACC.SG.M calling:ACC.SG.M go:PRES:3SG.ACT

b. *anyó* *anyám* ánubgrbhnāty 4 enor  
other:NOM.SG.M other:ACC.SG.M support:PRES:3SG.ACT they:GEN.DU

‘One (frog) goes to the call of another; one of the two supports another.’

(2) (RV 3.33.2)

samār-āṇé ūrmibhiḥ pínvamāne  
unite:PF-PART.MID:NOM.DU.F waves:INS swelling:NOM.DU.F

4 The subscript shows that, in spite of sandhi, the vowel should be pronounced for metrical reasons.
anyā vām anyām āpy eti
other: NOM.SG.F you: GEN.DU other: ACC.SG.F rise: PRES: 3SG.ACT
‘When you (= the two rivers) have united together, swelling with waves, one of you rises in another.’

The syntactic pattern attested with anyā- . . . anyā- in early Vedic is schematically represented in (I) (RM1 and RM2 stand for the first and second constituents of the reciprocal pronoun, S – for the noun denoting the group of participants of the reciprocal situation, or reciprocants, i.e. the antecedent of the reciprocal pronoun):

(I) RM1: NOM S: GEN. NON-SG RM2: ACC V: SG

Notice that S: GEN. NON-SG should not be bracketed, since this argument is virtually obligatory in the construction; the lack of the genitive group in (1a) and (5b) is probably due to the occurrence of the genitive groups in adjacent lines (pādas), i.e. in (1b) and (5a), respectively.

The closely related Old Iranian language, Avestan, has a polyptotic reciprocal expression derived from the cognate Avestan pronoun aniia ‘(an)other’ and built on the same model as the early Vedic anyā- . . . anyā-, ainiō, ainiē. It is interesting to note that the only occurrence of this pronoun attested in Old Avestan, in the Gāthas, as well as one occurrence in Young Avestan, show the same syntactic pattern, with the genitive of the antecedent, cf. (3) – (4):

(3) (Yasna 53.5)

āsā. vā. ainiō. ainiēm.
virtue: INS.SG you: GEN.PL other: NOM.SG.M other: ACC.SG.M
vīuṇgha-tū excel: DESID: 3SG. IMP.V ACT
‘Strive to excel each other in virtue! . . . ’ (lit.: ‘Let each of you strive to excel the other in virtue . . . ’)

(4) (Yašt 13.84)

yaēṣ̌ām. ainiō. ainiēhe. uruānēm.
which: GEN.PL.M other: NOM.SG.M other: GEN.SG.M soul: ACC.SG
aiβivaēnaiti towards look: PRES: 3SG.ACT
‘. . . which look into each other’s soul.’ (lit.: ‘of which one looks into another’s soul’)

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Apparently, both the early RV and the early Avesta attest the pattern which is likely to reflect the Proto-Indo-Iranian situation and thus may be very close to what we tentatively reconstruct for the Proto-Indo-European language (see Sections 6–7).

The only RVic instance of a plural verbal form constructed with the reciprocal anyá- *anyá-* is attested in the late book 10 of the RV, cf. (5b); note that this pattern appears adjacent to a reciprocal construction with a singular form in (5a):

(5) (RV 10.97.14ab)

a. anyá\(\uparrow\) vo anyám avatu
   other:nom.sg.f you:gen.pl other:acc.sg.f help:pres:3sg.impv.act
b. anyá\(\uparrow\)\(\uparrow\) anyásyá úpāvata
   other:nom.sg.f other:dat.sg.f stand.by:pres:2pl.impv.act
‘Let one of you (medical plants) help another; stand one by another.’

3.2 Late early Vedic: later books of the Ṛgveda, Atharvaveda

Example (5) shows that at the end of the early Vedic period, that is, in the late Ṛgveda and in the Atharvaveda, pattern (I) cedes to structure (II), with the verb in the non-singular (plural or dual) form:

(II) S:nom.non-sg RM1:nom (. . .) RM2:acc V:non-sg

Cf. examples (6)–(7) from the AV:

(6) (AVŚ 3.30.1cd)

anyó *anyám abhí haryata
other:nom.sg.m other:acc.sg.m love:pres:2pl.impv.act
vatsáṃ jātám iva\(\uparrow\) aghn.yá
calf:acc.sg born:acc.sg.m like cow:nom.sg
‘Love each other, like a cow its new-born calf.’

(7) (AVŚ 12.3.50a)

sám agnáyo vid-ur anyó *anyám
together fire:nom.pl know:pf-3pl.act other:nom.sg.m other:acc.sg.m
‘The fires know each other.’

\(\uparrow\) The sign \(\uparrow\) shows that sandhi is undone.
Reciprocal constructions with the singular verbal forms virtually disappear after the RV, although a few rare examples of pattern (I) can still be found in early middle Vedic (that is, in the prose of the Yajurveda), cf. example (8) from one of the earliest Vedic prose texts, the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā:

(8) (TS 6.2.2.1–2)
\[
\text{tābhyaḥ sā nir ṛcchād,}
\text{that:DAT/ABL.PL.F that: NOM.SG.M be.deprived: PRES:3SG.SUBJ.ACT}
\text{yāḥ nāḥ prathamō 'nyō}
\text{who: NOM.SG.M we: GEN.PL first: NOM.SG.M other: NOM.SG.M}
\text{'nyāsmai drūhyāt}
\text{other: DAT.SG.M be.deceitful: PRES: 3SG.SUBJ.ACT}
\]

‘The one who first among us will be deceitful (one) to another, will be deprived of these [bodies].’

The constituent parts of the RP normally occur adjacent to one another as in (6)–(8) and (10), but they can also be separated by other word(s), as in (9). The singular form of RM1 and RM2 is not yet completely generalized: in the language of the second most ancient Vedic text, the Atharvaveda (c. 1000 B.C.), we find (relatively rare) examples such as (9)–(10), where both parts of the RP anyó . . . anyá- appear in the plural:

(9) (AVP 5.10.7c)
\[
\text{hatāso anye yodhayant, y}
\text{hit: PART. PF. PASS: NOM.PL.M other: NOM.PL.M fight: CAUS: 3PL.ACT}
\text{+anyāṃs}
\text{other: ACC.PL.M}
\]

‘Those which are hit incite one another to fighting.’ (lit. ‘make fight one another’; said of alcohol-drinkers)

In the AV we even come across constituent parts of the reciprocal pronoun in the feminine plural form:

(10) (AVP 17.14.4)
\[
\text{śirṣān,y anyā anyāsāṃ}
\text{head: NOM- ACC.PL other: NOM.PL.F other: GEN.PL.F}
\]

6 The plus sign in the superscript (⁺) shows that this form is not attested in the manuscripts, but is based on a conjecture; the manuscripts read anyās (see Lubotsky 2002: 61–62).
3.3 Middle and late Vedic: the main processes observed in Vedic prose

In the language of the Vedic prose (that is, in the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads), we observe the following stage of the fossilization of the RP, where the structure of the reciprocal construction can be schematized as in (III):

(III) S:nom.non-sg  RM1:nom-RM2:acc/dat/...  V:non-sg

A number of features clearly testify to the further grammaticalization of anyò’nyá-.

3.3.1 Inseparability

The constituents of the reciprocal pronoun anyò’nyá- are no longer found to be separated by other words, as in (9), cf. (11–21):

(11) (KB 13.9 [ed. Sarma 13.741])
na  anyo-nyam  anuprapadyete
not  other:nom.sg.m-other:acc.sg.m  follow:pres:3du.mid
adhvaryu
adhvaryu:nom.du
‘The (two) adhvaryu-priests do not follow one another.’

(12) (TĀ 1.6.3)
na  evam-viduṣācāryāntevasinau
not  thus-knowing.teacher.pupil:nom.du
anyo-nyasmái  druhyātām
other:nom.sg.m-other:dat.sg.m  be.deceitful:pres:3du.opt.mid
‘The teacher and the pupil, knowing thus, should not be deceitful to each other.’
3.3.2 Accentuation

In most accentuated middle Vedic texts (Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa), both parts of the RP bear accents: anyò-(a)nyā- (see Wackernagel 1905: 322–323), as, for instance, in (13)–(15):

(13) (TS 7.2.8.6)
chándāṃsy anyò-nyāsyā lokám
metre:nom.pl other:nom.sg.m-other:gen.sg.m/n place:acc
abhy adhyāyan
be.eager:impf:3pl.act
‘The (poetic) meters were eager for the places of each other.’

(14) (ŚB 14.4.3.30 = BĀUK 1.5.23)
tāni sṛṣṭāny anyò-nyéna ∪ aspardhanta
these created other:nom.sg.m-other:ins.sg.m/n compete:impf:3pl.mid
‘These created (active functions) competed with each other.’

(15) (ŚB 5.1.1.2)
átho devāḥ | anyò-nyásminn evā
then god:nom.pl other:nom.sg.m-other:loc.sg.m ptcl
jūhvataś ceruḥ
pour:pres:part.act:nom.pl.m go.on:pf.3pl.act
‘Then the gods went on pouring oblations unto each other.’

However, we also find an example of a single accent (on RM1), attested in the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa, cf. (16) (see Debrunner 1957: 89):

(16) (TB 1.3.2.1)
tē anyò-nýasmai nā∪ atiṣṭhanta
that:nom.pl.m other:nom.sg.m-other:dat.sg.m not stand:impf:3pl.mid
‘They (the gods) did not adhere to each other.’

Unfortunately, this is the only example of anyò-nya-, found in the TB, so that we cannot be sure whether this was a feature of the dialect of the TB (which is not impossible per se) or just a minor lapsus of the scribe.

3.3.3 Agreement properties of the constituents of the RP

The most instructive evidence for the history of the grammaticalization of the reciprocal marker is furnished by the history of the agreement properties of the constituents of the reciprocal pronoun.
(i) **Number agreement**

The reciprocal pronoun generalizes the singular form for both of its parts, so that examples such as (9)–(10) above are no longer possible.

(ii) **Gender agreement**

The gender agreement of the constituent parts of the RP follows one of two patterns, (IIIa) and (IIIb):

(IIIa)  
- S:nom.non-sg  
- RM1:nom.\[M/F\].sg-RM2:acc/dat/.\[M/F\].sg  
- V:non-sg  
- i.e. anyā-[M/F]-anyā-[M/F]

(IIIb)  
- S:nom.non-sg  
- RM1:nom.\[M\].sg-RM2:acc/dat/.\[M/N/F\].sg  
- V:non-sg  
- i.e. anyó-[M]-anyā-[M/N/F]

According to the pattern schematized in (IIIa), both constituents of the RP agree in gender with the antecedent. This pattern is attested only in very few texts, in particular, in the relatively late Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa. Cf. (17), where both RM1 (anyā) and RM2 (anyāsyai) agree in gender with the demonstrative pronoun etā[s] ‘these, they (fem.)’:

(17) (JB 3.280:2–3)

`abhi vā etā anyānyāsyai (= anyā-anyāsyai)`  
-to PTCL this:nom.pl.f other:nom.sg.f-other:dat.sg.f  
-lokaṃ dhyāyanti  
-world:acc.sg reflect:pres:3pl.act  
‘They (fem.) reflect about the world of each other.’

Likewise, in (18) the feminine substantive prajā[s] ‘creatures’ triggers the feminine gender on both RM1 (anyā) and RM2 (anyām)

(18) (JB 1.117:1–2)

`prajāpatiḥ prajā asrjata…. tā`  
-P.:nom.sg creature:acc.pl create:impf:3sg.mid that:nom.pl.f  
asanāyantīr anyā-nyām ādan  
-being.hungry:nom.pl.f other:nom.sg.f-other:acc.sg.f eat:impf:3pl.act  
‘Prajāpati created the creatures…. Being hungry, they ate each other.’

Most texts generalized the masculine form of the first constituent of the RP (anyo-) and thus follow the other agreement pattern, schematized in (IIIb). Thus, example (19) from the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa (a text closely related to the Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa), corresponding to (18), instantiates such a ‘reduced’ agreement: the feminine gender is only marked on the second constituent of the
reciprocal pronoun, whereas the first component is in the masculine (*anyo-*, not **anyā-**):

(19) (PB 24.11.2)

\[ \text{prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata. tā} \]
\[ \text{P: NOM.SG creature:ACC.PL create:IMPF:3SG.MID that: NOM.PL.F} \]
\[ \text{a-vidhṛtā a-saṅjānā} \]
\[ \text{not-kept.apart:NOM.SG.F not-agree:PART.PRES.MID:NOM.SG.F} \]
\[ \text{anyo-nyām ādan} \]
\[ \text{other:NOM.SG.M-other:ACC.SG.F eat:IMPF:3PL.ACT} \]

‘Prajāpati created the creatures. They, not being kept apart, not agreeing (with each other), ate each other.’

Likewise, in (20) we find RM1 in the masculine form (*anyō-nyāsya[s]*) instead of the feminine (**anyānyāsyaś [= anyā-anyāsyaś])**:

(20) (ŚB 5.3.4.21)

\[ \text{tā yāt syāndanta iva} \]
\[ \text{that:NOM.PL.F when flow:PRES:3PL.MID like} \]
\[ \text{anyö-nyāsya} \]
\[ \text{evā ⊔ etāc chriyā} \]
\[ \text{other:NOM.SG.M-other:GEN.SG.F PTCL thus superiority:DAT.SG} \]
\[ \text{ā-tiṣṭha-māṇā uttarādharā iva} \]
\[ \text{not-stand:PRES-PART.MID:NOM.PL.F higher.lower:NOM.PL.F like} \]
\[ \text{bhāvantyo yanti} \]
\[ \text{become:PRES-PART.ACT:NOM.PL.F go:PRES:3PL.ACT} \]

‘When these [particles of light] are kind of flowing, thus not yielding to one another’s superiority, [they] keep becoming now higher now lower.’

Furthermore, no text attests the neuter form *anyād* (distinct from the masculine only in the nominative and accusative, however) for either the first or the second constituent of the RP; that is, neither **anyad-anyad**, nor **anyo-nyad** occur in texts.⁷ Cf. (21), where the masculine form of the RM1 (*anyō-nyāsya*) is used for neuter (**anyād-nyāsya**) according to this pattern:

---

⁷ The form of the RP with at least one part in the neuter (*anyad*) may never have been in use, perhaps in order to avoid the homonymy with the amṛṣṭita (i.e. iterative or distributive) compound *anyād-nyad* ‘one after another; each [into] another’ (see, in particular, Klein 2003: 784 for a detailed discussion of the distributive meaning of *anyād-nyad* in RV 2.24.5).
3.4 Further grammaticalization of anyo’nya- in late Vedic and post-Vedic Sanskrit

In late Vedic and post-Vedic Sanskrit the process of grammaticalization of anyo’nya- essentially comes to its end. A number of phenomena clearly show that its constituent parts lose the last features of independent forms, and the RP becomes completely fossilized as a single lexical unit.

3.4.1 Agreement properties of the constituents of the RP

Neither part of the RP agrees in gender or number with the antecedent, generalizing the masculine singular form (nominative anyo-, accusative anyam, etc.), in accordance with the following pattern:

\[(IV) \quad S:\text{nom.non-sg} \quad \text{RM1:nom.sg.m} - \text{RM2:acc/gen/.\.\.\. sg.m} \quad V:\text{non-sg}\]

Cf. (22), with the masculine form of the RM1 (anyo-nyam) used for the feminine (**anyānyam [= anyā-nyam]):

\[(22) \quad (Rām. 2.53.10)\]

\[
\text{anyo-nyam} \quad \text{abhivikṣante [\ldots]}
\]

\[
\text{other:nom.sg.m} - \text{other:acc.sg.m} \quad \text{look.at:pres:3pl.mid}
\]

\[
\text{ārtatarāḥ} \quad \text{striyah}
\]

\[
\text{confused:nom.pl.f} \quad \text{woman:nom.pl}
\]

‘The confused women look at each other.’

3.4.2 Constructions with non-subject antecedents

anyo’nya- can be used with non-subject antecedents, in particular, in object-oriented reciprocal constructions. Thus, in (23), RM2 receives the locative case as...
the oblique argument of the verb *juhomi* ‘(I) pour into’, but RM1 is in the nominative form (anyò-), not in the accusative (**anyám**), thus not agreeing in case with its accusative antecedent *gharmáu* ‘oblations’:

(23) (ŚB 11.6.2.2)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{gharmáv} & \text{evá} [. . .] \text{ anyò-’nyásmin} \\
\text{gharma:ACC.DU} & \text{PTCL} \quad \text{other: NOM.SG.M} - \text{other: LOC.SG.M} \\
\text{juhomi} & \\
\text{pour: PRES:ISG.ACT} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I pour both gharma-oblations, one into another.’

### 3.4.3 Adverbial usages

In the post-Vedic period (in particular, in Epic Sanskrit), we also find the fossilized (adverbial) form *anyonyam* employed in constructions where the grammatical case of the second constituent of the RP (i.e. accusative) does not correspond to the case pattern of the verb. For instance, in (24) we might expect the instrumental case of the second constituent of the reciprocal pronoun (**anyasyānyena* [anyasya-**anyena**]), in accordance with the case frame of the verb *saṃ-bhāș* ‘converse’:

(24) (Rām. 5.89.52)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{teṣāṃ} & \text{saṃbhāșa-maññānām} \\
\text{that: GEN: PL.M} & \text{converse: PRES-PART.MID: GEN.PL} \\
\text{anyo-nyam} . . . \\
\text{other: NOM.SG.M} - \text{other: ACC.SG.M} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘. . . of them, conversing with each other . . .’

### 3.4.4 Compounds with *anyonya-*

Yet another phenomenon which points to the further grammaticalization of *anyonya-* is the rise of compounds of the type *anyonya-X*, meaning ‘mutual, reciprocal X’.

The earliest and the only Vedic example of a compound built with *anyonya-* (noticed in Debrunner 1957 [Nachtr. zu AIG II/1]: 89) is the form *anyonya-śreṣṭhyāya* ‘(to) one another’s superiority’ found in the relatively young Saṃhitā of the Black Yajurveda, Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā:
(25) (KpS 38.2:206.1)

\[
\text{devā vā } 'nyo-'nya-srāṣṭhyāya na∪
\]

\begin{align*}
god: & \text{NOM.PL} & \text{PTCL} & \text{other:Nom.SG.M-other-priority:DAT.SG} & \text{not} \\
atiśṭhanta & \text{stand:IMPF:3PL.MID} & \\
\end{align*}

‘The gods were not in a state to [accept] one another’s priority.’

The parallel passages in other Samhitas of the YV (TS 6.2.2.1, KS 24.9:100.3, MS 3.7.10:90.1) have reciprocal constructions with genitive (anyōnyāśya) or dative (anyōnyāsmai) instead, as in (26):

(26) (TS 6.2.2.1)

\[
\text{devāsūrāḥ sāmyattā āsan.}
\]

\begin{align*}
god.asura: & \text{NOM.PL} & \text{engaged.in.conflict:Nom.PL.M} & \text{be:IMPF:3PL.ACT} \\
tē & \text{devā} & \text{mithō} & \text{vīpriyā} \\
that: & \text{Nom.PL.M} & \text{god:Nom.PL} & \text{mutually unpleasant:Nom.PL.M} \\
āsan. & \text{tē} & 'nyō & 'nyāsmai \\
be: & \text{IMPF:3PL.ACT} & \text{that:Nom.PL.M} & \text{other:Nom.SG.M} & \text{other:DAT.SG.M} \\
jyāśṭhyāya & \text{priority:DAT.SG} & \text{not-stand:PRES:PART.MID:Nom.PL.M} & \text{in.five} \\
vy & \text{ākrāman} & \text{separate:IMPF:3PL.ACT} \\
\end{align*}

‘The gods and the Asuras were engaged in conflict. The gods were mutually unpleasant (i.e. they disliked each other). Not being in a state to [accept] one another’s priority, they separated into five [groups].’

In post-Vedic Sanskrit, where the nominal composition is very productive, such compounds with the first member anyonya- become quite common, cf. (27–29):

(27) (Manu-Smṛti 3.32)

\[
\text{anyonya-yogāḥ kanyāyāś ca arasya ca}
\]

\begin{align*}
one.another-union: & \text{Nom.SG} & \text{girl:GEN.SG} & \text{and lover:GEN.SG} & \text{and} \\
\end{align*}

‘The mutual union of a girl and (her) lover . . .’

(28) (Praśna-Upaniṣad 5.6)

\[
tisro mātrā mṛtyumatyāḥ prayuktā
\]

\begin{align*}
three: & \text{Nom.F} & \text{element:Nom.PL} & \text{deadly:Nom.PL.F} & \text{employed:Nom.PL.F} \\
anyonya- & \text{connect-part.pf.pass:Nom.PL.F} & \text{an-a-viprayuktā} & \text{not-not-separated:Nom.PL.F} \\
one.another-connection: & \text{PART.PF.PASS:Nom.PL.F} & \\
\end{align*}
'The three elements [of the sacral syllable \( Om = a, u, m \)] are deadly when they are employed, being connected to one another, [but (?)] separately.' (for a discussion of this difficult passage, see, for instance, Olivelle 1998: 640)

(29) (Yājñavalkya-Smṛti 2.237)

\[ \text{pitr-putra-svasṛ-bhrātr-dampaty-ācārya-śisyakāḥ ēṣām} \]
father-son-sister-brother-husband-teacher-pupil:nom.pl this:gen.pl.m

\[ a-patītānyonya-tyāgī ca śata-danḍa-bhāk \]
not-ejected.one.another-abandoning and hundred-fine-entitled:nom.sg

‘Father and son, sister and brother, husband [and wife], teacher and pupil, when abandoning each other, [as the father a son, etc.], without [the latter] being ejected [from caste], – [he or she] of them is entitled to the fine of hundred [paṇas].’

3.5 Grammaticalization of anyo’nya- in Old Indo-Aryan: 
a recapitulation

The chronological development and grammaticalization of anyó-(a)nyá- in Old Indo-Aryan is recapitulated in the chart below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>RM1:nom.sg.m/f</th>
<th>S:gen.non-sg</th>
<th>RM2:acc/gen/. . . sg.m/f</th>
<th>V:sg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>S:nom.non-sg</td>
<td>RM1:nom.sg/pl.m/f ( . . . )</td>
<td>RM2:acc/gen/. . . sg/pl.m/f</td>
<td>V:non-sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>S:nom.non-sg</td>
<td>RM1:nom.sg.m/(F)-RM2:acc/gen/. . . sg.m/f</td>
<td>V:non-sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>S:nom.non-sg</td>
<td>RM1:nom.sg.m-RM2:acc/gen/. . . sg.m</td>
<td>V:non-sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(also: S:non-nom.non-sg anyonyam (adverbial) . . .)

Note that these four patterns do not necessarily represent the subsequent chronological stages. In particular, the more consistent agreement pattern attested in the JB (a relatively late text, which must be dated to the end of the Vedic period) may merely betray an artificial archaism, rather than an old feature of this text.
4 Other polyptotic reciprocal pronouns in Old Indo-Aryan: itaretara- and paras-para-

Alongside anyó (a)nyá-, there are two other polyptotic reciprocal pronouns with a similar structure (and probably built on its model), itaretara- and paras-para-. Both are first attested at the end of the Vedic period and, in fact, should be qualified as essentially post-Vedic forms.

4.1 itaretara-

The form itaretara- is derived from the pronominal adjective itara- ‘(an)other’. It appears at the very end of the Vedic period and remains less common than anyonya-. Its inner structure is less clear than that of anyonya-. It might be based either on the bare stem (itara-itara-), or on the nominative singular feminine form (itarā-itara-). The only example of the first component in the masculine form (and one of the earliest attestations of this reciprocal pronoun) is found in a late Vedic text, Brhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad. This construction clearly dates to the epoch when the grammaticalization of itaretara- had just started; notice also the singular form of the verb (cf. stage I of the grammaticalization process of anyonya-discussed above):

(30) (ŚB 14.5.4.15 = BĀUK 2.4.15)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yātra hī dvaitám iva bhāvati,} \\
\text{where since duality:nom.sg as become:pres:3sg.act then} \\
itara & itaram \\
\text{other:nom.sg.m other:acc.sg.m see:pres:3sg.act}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Wherever is duality, there one sees another.’

Example (31) from the post-Vedic text Brhad-Devatā is of special interest, being the only attestation of the dual form of the pronoun, which has no parallels in the syntax of reciprocal pronouns in Sanskrit:

(31) (BrḥDev. 7.153)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ākhyānam itaretarayor idam} \\
\text{story:acc.sg one.another:gen/loc.du.m this:acc.sg.n} \\
saṃvādam manyate yāsakaḥ \\
\text{dialogue:acc.sg consider:pres:3sg.mid Yāsaka:nom.sg}
\end{align*}
\]
‘This story of [relationship/talk to] each other Yāska considers a dialogue …’ (said of the Rgvedic hymn 10.96 “Purūravas and Urvaśī”, which deals with the relationship and dialogue of two personages, a deity and a mortal)

In the Epics, *itaretara-* is much less common than the two other reciprocal pronouns, *anyó-(a)nyá- and paras-para-*. It only occurs twice in the Rāmāyaṇa (both attestations in book 6), and a few dozen times in the Mahābhārata. Curiously enough, *itaretara-* is somewhat less rare in book 6 of the Mahābhārata, where the ratio of *anyonya-*, *paraspara- and *itaretara-* is 69:64:19, respectively (as against, for instance, 43:34:3 in book 1 or 57:55:6 in book 8). Examples are:

(32) (Rām. 6.46.37–38)

[37] *tāv ubhau vāhini-mukhyau*  
that:nom.du.m both:nom.du.m army-leader:nom.du
*jātaroṣau tarasvinau sthitau* 
enraged:nom.du.m violent:nom.du.m standing:nom.du.m
*kṣataja-digdhāṅgau *   *prabhinnāv iva* 
blood-smeared.member:nom.du.m in.rut:nom.du.m like
*kuñjarau* 
elephant:nom.du.m

*[38] ullikhantau su-tikṣṇābhir *   *damśtrābhir* 
tear:pres:part.act:nom.du.m very-sharp:ins.pl.f tusk:ins.pl
*itaretaram* 
one.another:acc.sg

‘Those two generals, enraged, violent, were standing with their members covered with blood, like two elephants in rut, tearing each other with very sharp tusks . . .’

(33) (MBh. 1.181.23)

*anyonyam ā-hvayantau tau*  
one.another:acc.sg to-call:pres:part.act:nom.du.m that:nom.du.m
*mattāv iva mahā gajau muṣṭibhir* 
in.rut:nom.du.m like great:nom.du.m elephant:nom.du.m fist:ins.pl
*jānubhiś caiva ’ nighnantāv*   *itaretaram* 
knee:ins.pl and beat:pres:part.act:nom.du.m one.another:acc.sg

8 Cf. also the ratio 19:29:2 in Kālidāsa’s works, according to Scharpé’s (1966) *Kālidāsa-Lexicon*.
9 The sign ’ marks the border between minimal metrical units (pādas).
muhūrtam tau tathā anyonyam ' 

in.a.moment that:nom.du.m thus one.another:acc.sg

samare paryakarṣatām

battle:loc.sg drag:impf:3sg.mid

‘Calling to each other, they, like two huge elephants in rut, beating each other with fists and knees, dragged each other about in the battle.’

(34) (MBh. 6.2.4)

te haniṣyanti saṃgrāme ' samāsādya

that:nom.pl.m kill:fut:3pl.act battle:loc.sg approach:conv

itaretaram

one.another:acc.sg

‘Having approached [each other] in the battle, they will kill each other.’

On the basis of the rare attestations of itaretara- in late Vedic and post-Vedic Sanskrit, one may assume that, at least in some texts – in particular, in the Rāmāyaṇa – this pronoun was (almost) exclusively used with dual antecedents, cf. (30)–(33).

The opposite is not true, however: we find numerous examples of constructions with the RPs anyonya- and paraspara- with dual antecedents; see Section 4.3 for details and examples. Note, in particular, that in (33) anyonya- and itaretara- are used interchangeably in similar contexts, with no difference in meaning.

4.2 paras-para-

Like itaretara-, the pronoun paras-para- is a post-Vedic form (one of its earliest occurrences is found in a Śrauta-Sūtra, at Vaikhānasa-Śrauta-Sūtra 8.7:84.12, i.e. at the very end of the Vedic period). It represents the iteration of the pronominal adjective para- ‘far, other, different, alien, foreign’, as in (35):

(35) (KA 1.13.18)

paras-parād vā bhedayed

other:nom.sg.m-other:abl.sg.m or split:pres.caus:3sg.opt.act

enān

he:acc.pl.m

‘. . . or he should divide them from each other . . .’

10 This does not hold for the Mahābhārata, however: most of the occurrences of itaretara- appear in constructions with plural antecedents.
As in the case of the late Vedic and post-Vedic *anyonyam*, the accusative form *paras-param* can be used adverbially, meaning ‘mutually’, as in (36):

(36) (MBh. 1.194.6)

\[
\text{paraspareṇa} \quad \text{bheda} \, \text{ca} \, \text{na} \, \text{ādhātuṃ} \\
tēṣu \, \text{śakyate} \, \text{| ekasyāṃ} \, \text{ye} \\
\text{ratāḥ} \, \text{patnyāṃ} \, \text{na} \, \text{bhydante} \\
\text{parasparam}
\]

‘And they cannot be alienated from one another (lit. ‘for them, the split from one another cannot be established’). [Men] who are in love with the same wife are not split from each other.’

### 4.3 *anyonya*- vs. *paraspara*-

#### 4.3.1 Correlation with the number of antecedent?

Generally, no difference in meaning between reciprocal constructions with *anyonya*– and *paraspara*– can be observed. According to Richter (1898: 49), *paraspara*– is mostly used with two reciprocants; in other words, *paraspara*– is allegedly employed with dual antecedents, while the usage of *anyonya*– is supposed to be limited to the plural antecedents. This formulation is reproduced in standard grammars, in particular, by Wackernagel (1905: 324) and Renou (1930: 380). Yet, evidence from most texts does not support this assumption. In some texts we can only surmise a weak tendency to select the RP in accordance with Richter’s rule. Thus, in the Rāmāyaṇa, approximately 2/3 of the total amount of the occurrences of *anyonya*– are attested in constructions with the antecedent in the plural, as in (37), but constructions with the antecedent in the dual are attested as well, cf. (38–39):

(37) (Rām. 2.77.10)

\[
\text{pariśvajānāś} \, \text{ca} \, \text{anyonyaṃ} \, \text{yayur} \\
\text{nāgarikāḥ}
\]

‘...and, embracing each other, the men of the city were going ...’
(38) *(Rām. 2.83.4)*

\[
\text{iti \ samvadator \ evam 'anyo-nyaṃ} \\
\text{thus \ converse:pres:part.act:gen/loc.du.m \ thus \ one.another:acc.sg} \\
\text{nara-simhayoh} \\
\text{men-lion:gen/loc.du} \\
\text{‘While the two lions among men were conversing thus with each other . . .’}
\]

(39) *(Rām. 1.10.22)*

\[
tāv \ anyonyāñjaliṃ \ kṛtvā \ [\ldots] \ nanandatur \\
\text{that:nom.du.m \ one.another.añjali \ make:conv \ rejoice:pf:3du.act} \\
\text{‘They both (sc. kings Daśaratha and Romapada), having made añjali to one another, rejoiced . . .’}
\]

In the case of the RP *paraspara-*-, Richter’s rule seems not to operate at all: constructions with the antecedent in the plural (cf. (41)) and in the dual (cf. (40)) are equally well-attested:

(40) *(Rām. 6.75.33)*

\[
\text{parasparaṃ \ tau \ pravavarsatur \ bhṛśam} \\
\text{one.another:acc.sg \ that:nom.du.m \ shower:pf:3du.act \ furiously} \\
\text{śaraughavarsena} \\
\text{rain.of.arrows:ins.sg} \\
\text{‘They (= Lakṣmaṇa and Indrajit) furiously showered each other with a rain of arrows.’}
\]

(41) *(Rām. 1.13.14)*

\[
\text{prāhuḥ \ suvāgmino \ dhīrāḥ} \\
\text{talk:pf:3pl.act \ most.eloquent:nom.pl.m \ wise:nom.pl.m} \\
\text{paraspara-jigīṣayā} \\
\text{one.another-defeat:desid:nom.abstr:ins.sg} \\
\text{‘The most eloquent wise men were talking, trying to defeat one another.’}
\]

To sum up, it is virtually impossible to find sufficient evidence for consistent usages of *anyonya-* and *paraspara-* in accordance with Richter’s rule. 11 It seems that in most texts both RPs could be used interchangeably, with no semantic

---

11 The source of this ghost rule is unclear. Perhaps it was inspired by the deceptive parallelism with the situation in Latin, where we find two polyptotic reciprocal pronouns: *alter alterum* (in the case of two reciprocants) and *alis alium* (for more than two reciprocants); see Section 6.4 below.
difference. It is also very likely that, in metrical texts, the selection of the RP could be mainly conditioned by metrical reasons: the stem *anyonya*- is trisyllabic, while *paraspara*- is quadrisyllabic.\(^{12}\) Finally, some texts show obvious preference for one of these two forms. Thus, Pañcatantra only attests *paraspara-* (approx. 30 times) and, once, *itaretara-* , while *anyonya-* does not occur in this text.\(^{13}\) It is interesting to note that the only attestation of *itaretara-* appears in a verse (adjacent to *paraspara-*) and thus the choice of the reciprocal pronoun is likely to be due to metrical factors:

(42) (Pañcatantra 2.136)
\[
yathā chāyā-tapau nityaṃ ' su-sambaddhau
\]
\[
parasparam | evaṃ karma ca kartā ca ' 
\]
\[
one.another:ACC.SG thus deed: Nom.SG and doer: Nom.SG and 
\]
\[
saṃśliṣṭāv itaretaram
\]
\[
attached:NOM.DU.M one.another:ACC.SG
\]
‘As the shadow and light are always well-connected to one another, so the deed and the doer are closely attached to one another.’

However, as we shall see in the following section, in at least one Classical Sanskrit text *anyonya*- and *paraspara*- are semantically opposed to each other.

4.3.2 *anyonya*- vs. *paraspara-*: a semantic opposition in Kauṭilīya’s “Arthaśāstra”

In Kauṭilīya’s “Arthaśāstra” (KA), an ancient Indian treatise on statecraft, economic policy and military art (written probably at the turn of the Christian era), *anyonya-* and *paraspara-* are neatly opposed to each other in their usage. *paras-para-* is used with hostile, inimical activities with negative consequences (this type of the reciprocal situation will hereafter be referred to as ‘negative’), while *anyonya-* is employed in contexts of friendly or neutral activities.\(^{14}\) Cf. a few examples of constructions and compounds with *anyonya-* and *paraspara-* that clearly illustrate this semantic opposition:

\(^{12}\) The rarer *itaretara-* with its quintisyllabic stem may offer yet another metrical option.
\(^{13}\) Counts from the electronic edition based on ed. by Ramchandra Jha (available at http://www. sub.uni-goettingen.de/ebene_1/fiindolo/gretil/1_sanskr/5_poetry/4_narr/vispancu.htm).
\(^{14}\) For a detailed discussion of evidence from this text, see Kulikov (forthc).
– constructions with *anyonya-*:

(43) (KA 1.12.12)

\[ na \ ca \ ∪ \ anyonyam \ samsthās \ te \ vā \ not \ and \ one.another:ACC.SG \ group: NOM.PL that:NOM.PL.M \ PTCL \ vidyuḥ \ know: PRES: 3PL.OPT.ACT \]

‘And those groups should not know each other.’

(44) (KA 2.36.6)

\[ kāru-śilpinaḥ \ sva-karma-sthāneṣu \ sva-janaṃ \ artisan:artist:NOM.PL \ own-work-place:LOC.PL \ own-people:ACC.SG \ vāsayeyuḥ, \ vaidehakāś \ ca \ dwell: PRES: CAUS: 3PL.OPT.ACT \ merchant:NOM.PL \ and \ anyonyam \ sva-karma-sthāneṣu \ one.another:ACC.SG \ own-work-place:LOC.PL \]

‘Artisans and artists should lodge their colleagues in places of their activity, and the merchants [should lodge] each other in places of their activity.’

– constructions with *paraspara-*:

(45) (KA 3.16.33)

\[ āśramiṇaḥ \ pāṣaṇḍā \ vā \ mahaty \ avakāše \ hermit:NOM.PL \ pāṣaṇḍa: NOM.PL \ or \ great:LOC.SG.M \ space:LOC.SG \ parasparam \ a-bādhamānā \ one.another: ACC.SG \ not-disturb: PRES:PART.MID: NOM.PL.M \ vaseyuḥ \ dwell: PRES: 3PL.OPT.ACT \]

‘Hermits or pāṣaṇḍas (= non-brahmanic hermits) should settle on a vast space, without disturbing each other.’

(46) (KA 1.13.18)

\[ parasparād \ vā \ bhedayed \ enān . . . \ one.another:ABL.SG \ or \ divide: PRES: CAUS: 3SG.OPT.ACT \ he: ACC.PL.M \]

‘Or he should divide them from each other . . .’

(47) (KA 5.6.25)

\[ amātyaḥ \ kulya-kumāra-mukhyān \ minister \ family.member-prince-principal.officer:ACC.PL \ parasparam \ mukhyeṣu \ vā \ principal.officer:LOC.PL \ or \ vikramayet \ quarrel: PRES: CAUS: 3SG.OPT.ACT \]

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‘The minister should make members of the (royal) family, princes and principal officers quarrel with each other.’

The same rule of the selection of the reciprocal pronoun operates in compounds with *anyonya*- and *paraspara*-. Cf.:

- compounds with *anyonya*-

  trivargam anyonyānubandham (KA 1.7.4) ‘the threefold goal of life, (the components of which are) bound with one another’,

  anyonyārakṣa- (KA 2.1.2) ‘mutual protection’,

  anyonyopakāra- (KA 3.3.30) ‘rendering services to one another’

- compounds with *paraspara*-

  parasparābhiyoga- (KA 3.11.33) ‘mutual accusation’,

  paraspara-dveṣa- (KA 9.6.26) ‘mutual hatred’,

  paraspara-hīṃsā- (KA 3.9.28) ‘mutual damage’.

It cannot be ruled out that some other late Sanskrit texts contemporary to Kauṭilīya could make a similar distinction between the usages of *anyonya*- and *paraspara*-, but, so far, I have been unable to come across the opposition between *anyonya*- and *paraspara*- in other Sanskrit texts.

From a linguistic or typological point of view, the semantic opposition ‘inimical’ ~ ‘non-inimical’ (negative ~ neutral) is unique: it seems not to occur in other languages of the world. At any rate, it is not attested in the ample language sample of the fundamental five volume encyclopaedia of reciprocal constructions (Nedjalkov et al. 2007). In the case of the variety of Sanskrit attested in the Arthaśāstra, we may be confronted with an invention of Kauṭilīya, the author of the text, probably based on the semantic difference between *anyā*- ‘(an)other’ and *para*- ‘other, foreign, alien’.

5 Polyptotic reciprocal pronouns in Middle and New Indo-Aryan languages

5.1 Middle Indic reflexes of the OIA reciprocal pronouns

The Old Indo-Aryan reciprocal pronoun is further continued by its reflexes in Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA). Thus in Pāli we find the reciprocal pronoun based on
the iteration of the Pāli word for ‘another’, aṇṇa- (< OIA anyá-). From the syntactic point of view, MIA constructions are essentially similar (or, to be more exact, isomorphic) to the late Sanskrit constructions with anyo’nya- (cf. (IV)): the first constituent part of the reciprocal pronoun (RM1) is fossilized in one particular form, while the second part (RM2) takes different case forms of the singular paradigm, depending on the syntactic construction; and the verbal form agrees in number with the non-singular antecedent. Constructions with the verb in the singular form (of the type one loves another) are not infrequent either, cf. (50). The main morphological difference from the OIA pendant is the form of the first constituent (RM1), which is the accusative singular (masculine) aṇṇam, instead of the nominative singular masculine in OIA, i.e. the pronoun takes the form aṇṇam-aṇṇa-, cf.:

(48) Pāli (Jātaka i.254)

dve janā aṇṇam-aṇṇam ghātayimsu
two:nom person:nom.pl one.another:acc.sg slay:caus:aor:3pl.act
‘Two persons slew each other.’

(49) Pāli (Dīgha Nikāya I.21)

te aṇṇam-aṇṇamhi paduṭṭha-cittā
that:nom.pl.m one.another:loc.sg.m offensive-mind:nom.pl.m
kilanta-kāyā kilanta-cittā
exhausted-body:nom.pl.m exhausted-mind:nom.pl.m
‘They, who are offensive-minded against each other, become physically exhausted [and] mentally exhausted.’ (cf. Jantrasrisalai 2008: 199 for a discussion of this passage)

(50) Pāli (Suttanipāta 148)

na paro param nikubbetha [..]
not another:nom.sg.m another:acc.sg humiliate:2sg.opt.mid not
aṇṇam-aṇṇassa dukkham iccheyya
one.another:gen.sg.m evil:nom.sg wish:3sg.opt.act
‘You should not humiliate one another [..] May one not wish evil to each other (lit. each other’s evil).’

(51) Pāli (Vinaya-Piṭaka II.162)

te aṇṇam-aṇṇam sa-gāravā
that:nom.pl.m one.another:acc.sg with-respectful:nom.pl.m
sappatissā ... sabhāga-vuttikā viharivā
obedient:nom.pl.m common-living:nom.pl.m dwell:conv
‘Having been respectful, obedient, and having lived in harmony toward each other ..’
Similar forms are found in a number of early Prakrits — for instance, in the genitive form of the reciprocal pronoun attested in an Aśokan Prakrit (Gir.) aṁñamaṁñasa ‘of one another’. This Middle Indic formation is also calqued into the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit form añyam-añya (Mahāvastu ii.436).

The only alleged occurrence of the form añño añña- mentioned in the Pāli-English dictionary of the Pali Text Society (Rhys Davids and Stede 1921–1925: 13), with RM1 in the nominative and thus directly corresponding to the OIA anyo’nya-, appears in a reciprocal context, quite in accordance with its characterization in the dictionary, but instantiates a free collocation of the indefinite pronoun, rather than a single lexical unit, i.e., it is not a grammaticalized reciprocal pronoun in this example:

(52) Pāli (Dhammapada 165)  

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{suddhī} & \text{asuddhi} & \text{paccattaṃ} & \text{na} \cup \text{añño} \\
\text{purity:nom.sg} & \text{impurity:nom.sg} & \text{separately} & \text{not another:nom.sg.m} \\
\text{aññam} & \text{visodhayeye} \\
\text{another:acc.sg} & \text{purify:pres:3sg.opt.act} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Purity and impurity depend on oneself (lit. are separately). One cannot purify another.’

Alongside very few (one or two) isolated attestations of reciprocal añño añña- (e.g. Ap 33 aññoññaṃ byākaronti ‘they explain to each other’) that may instantiate rare direct continuations of the original OIA form anyo’nya- (perhaps a secondary replacement under the influence of the Sanskrit form?), the direct reflex of OIA anyo’nya- is only found in Pāli as the first member of a few compounds, such as aññoñña-nissita- (cf. (53)) or aññoñña-bhinna- ‘not agreeing with one another’ (Dāṭhāvaṁsa v.45).

(53) Pāli (Jātaka v.251 = Catukkanipāto 107)  

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{sāgārā} & \text{an-agārā} & \text{ca, ubho} \\
\text{with.house:nom.pl.m} & \text{not-house:nom.pl.m} & \text{and both} \\
\text{aññoñña-nissitā} \\
\text{one.another-independent:nom.pl.m} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Living in a house and homeless, both are independent from each other.’

More archaic are some other Prakrits, where we find such forms of the reciprocal pronoun as aṇṇoṇṇa- (in Māhārāṣṭrī, Ardhamāgadhī, Jaina-Māhārāṣṭri and Śauraseni) or aṇṇuṇṇa- (Māhārāṣṭrī); see Pischel 1900: 73–74.

Very rare are the reflexes of another OIA reciprocal pronoun, paraspara- (quite remarkably, with the preservation of the original morphological structure,
that is with the RM1 in the nominative). The only attestation registered in the Pāli-English dictionary of the Pali Text Society (Rhys Davids and Stede 1921–1925: 418) is *paro para-* found in Sn 148 and quoted under (50).

### 5.2 Reciprocal pronouns in New Indo-Aryan (NIA)

The Middle Indic *aṇṇaṇṇa-* etc. find their continuation in a few NIA languages, in particular, in Sindhi *unun* ‘mutually’ (see, in particular, Turner 1962–1966: 19). However, in some other NIA languages, the reflexes of the OIA *anyo'nya-* have been replaced by the polyptotic pronoun based on another pronominal stem, OIA *eka*– ‘one’, built on the same model as Pāli *aññam-añña-* – that is, with the RM1 fossilized in the accusative form in *-m*. This is the case, for instance, with Gujarati *ekmek* (see Mistry 2000: 241) and Marathi *ekǝmek* (see Wali 2000: 518), as in the following Marathi example:

(54) Marathi (Dhongde and Wali 2009: 269)

```
yə məli ekǝmek-a wiruddhə cuglya sang-t-at
```

‘Those girls complain against each other.’

It is interesting to note that this typologically rather unusual morphological model with the accusative of the first constituent of the reciprocal pronoun has parallels in Dravidian languages, where we also find polyptotic formations with the accusative marking of the first constituent, as demonstrated in Subbarao and Saxena 1987: 128–134. Cf. a few illustrative examples quoted in that paper:

(55) Telugu

```
wāllu okalla ni okallu koṭṭu-konn-āru
```

‘They hit each other.’

(56) Kannada

```
avaru obbar-anna obbaru hodedaru
```

‘They hit each other.’

This parallelism may point to a possible source of the innovative morphological model with RM1 in the accusative that emerges in Indo-Aryan as early as at the beginning of the Middle Indic period (that is, presumably, in the middle of the
first millennium B.C.). It is very likely that the linguistic contacts with Dravidian-speaking groups that had substantially increased by that time could trigger this change in the morphological structure of the polyptotic reciprocal pronoun, or, at least, that it was a shared innovation, common for both (Middle) Indo-Aryan and (Old) Dravidian languages.

6 Polyptotic reciprocal pronouns in other Indo-European languages: Different grammaticalization patterns

To conclude, it will be in order to take a look at the syntactic patterns attested with cognate or functionally parallel reciprocal pronouns in other Indo-European languages, especially in those which preserve the rich Indo-European gender-number-case morphology. Polyptotic reciprocal pronouns of the same type (i.e. pronouns that represent the iteration of the indefinite pronoun meaning ‘another’) are also attested in several other Indo-European languages, cf. Greek ἀλλήλους, Latin alius alium, etc. (see Krisch 1999).15

6.1 Old Iranian: Avestan evidence

For Avestan, in spite of the scarcity of evidence, we can surmise the development starting from the syntactic pattern attested both in early Vedic (in the language of the Rgveda) and Old Avestan (cf. (3)) (which, as mentioned in Section 3.1, may tentatively be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-Iranian as well) towards the pattern with the generalized plural form of the 2nd constituent of the reciprocal pronoun, as instantiated in (57):

Diachronic pattern:
↓
(Av.II) Young Avestan S:nom.non-sg RM1:nom RM2:(obl).pl V:non-sg

15 Similar (but not identical) developments can be observed in the languages with a well-documented history, cf. the grammaticalization of English each other and one another (which could still be discontinuous in Middle English, cf. ech help other, oon oof onother’s clothes; see Sheen 1988; Raumolin-Brunberg 1997).
(57) Young Avestan (Videvdat 9.8)

*cuuat, haca. aniio. aniiaëibiio*

How much from other:nom.sg.m other:acc.pl.m

‘How far from one another [should the holes be dug]?’

6.2 Greek

In Greek, we find a complete paradigm of reciprocal pronouns built on the same model as OIA *anyo’nya*, but with the first constituent (RM1) fossilized in the stem form (as, for instance, in ἀλλήλους [allélous], where ἐ results from the merger of two a’s: *alla-allo* - < *allo-allo*)\(^{16}\) and the second constituent (RM2) agreeing with the antecedent in number (plural or dual, the latter only being possible in the earlier language), case and gender; see, for instance, Revuelta Puigdollers (2012). The paradigm of the reciprocal pronoun in Ancient Greek thus includes a plethora of forms (see, e.g., Mastronarde 2013: 210), such as:

- in the plural:
  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC.pl.m.</td>
<td>ἀλλήλους [allélous]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC.pl.f.</td>
<td>ἀλλήλας [allélas]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.pl/m/n/f.</td>
<td>ἀλλήλων [allélōn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.pl.m.</td>
<td>ἀλλήλοις [alléliais]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.pl.m.</td>
<td>ἀλλήλας [allélais]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  etc.

- in the dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC.du.m/n.</td>
<td>ἀλλήλω [allélō]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen/dat.du.m/n.</td>
<td>ἀλλήλοιν [alléloin]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (58)–(61) illustrate a few agreement patterns. Notice especially the neuter form of the reciprocal pronoun ἄλληλα [állēla] agreeing with the coordinated masculine (Δήμῳ [Dēmōi]) and feminine (φιλοσοφίᾳ [philosophiāi]) antecedents in example (58):

---

\(^{16}\) See Schwyzer (1939: 446, with fn. 8). Wackernagel (1889: 31–32 = 1955 [KI.Schr. II]: 927–928) saw here the feminine singular or neuter plural forms (*állā- or *álla-), but, as Schwyzer (1939: 446, with fn. 8) rightly pointed out, the masculine should be much more common in such formations. The single *l* in the second constituent (instead of *ll*) must be due to a dissimilatory process (“dissimilatorischer Lautverlust”); see Schwyzer (1939: 260) and Beekes (2010: 72).
(58) Koine Greek (Synesius, Letters 105)

Δήμῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ τὶ πρὸς
people:DAT.SG PTCL PTCL and philosophy:DAT.SG what to
ἀλληλα

‘What can there be in common between the ordinary people and philosophy?’

(59) (Xenophon, Cyropaedia 6.1.47)

ὡς δ᾽ εἰδέτην ἀλλήλους ἥ
when PTCL see:AOR:3DU.ACT other.other:ACC.PL.N art:nom.sg.f

γυνὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας ἠσπάζοντο
wife: NOM.SG and ART:NOM.SG.M Abr.:NOM.SG greet:IMPF:3PL.MID

ἀλλήλους

other.other:ACC.PL.M

‘When Abradatas and his wife saw each other, they embraced each other.’

(60) (Plato, Gorgias 524b)

ὁ θάνατος . . . οὐδὲν ἄλλο . . .
art:nom.sg.m death:nom.sg neg else art:nom.sg.f

δυοῖν πραγμάτοιν δίαλυσις, τῆς
two:gen.du.m/n thing:gen.du.n dissolution:nom.sg art:gen.sg.f

ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἀπ’
soul:gen.sg and art:gen.sg.n body:gen.sg from

ἀλλήλοιν.

alléloin

other.other:GEN.DU.M/N

‘Death . . . is nothing else than the dissolution of two things, the soul and the
body, from each other.’

(61) (Iliad 6.226)

ἔγκεα δ᾽ ἀλλήλουν ἀλεώμεθα
spear:ACC.PL PTCL other.other:GEN.PL.M avoid:PRES:1PL.SUBJ.MID

Authenticated | Leonid.Kulikov@UGent.be author's copy
Download Date | 8/26/14 4:31 AM
καὶ δι᾽ ὁμίλου
καὶ δι᾽ ἡμιλου
and in crowd:gen.sg

‘We should flee from the spears of one another even in the mob’.

One may assume that Greek attests the final stage of the prehistoric development, which arrives at the diachronic pattern that can be schematized as follows:

(Gr-II) [*??? →] S:nom.non-sg  RM1[stem]-RM2:acc/gen/dat.du/pl  V:non-sg

6.3 Reciprocal pronoun in Slavic (drug druga)

In several Slavic languages, in particular, in Russian, we also find a polyptotic reciprocal pronoun built on the same model as anyo’nya- — drug drug- (with the first constituent fossilized in the nominative singular form and the second constituent that can take oblique case form), as in (62)–(63):

(62) Russian
Tanja i Maša ne ljubjat drug drug-a
Tanja:nom and Maša:nom not like:pres:3pl rec.pr-acc
‘Tanja and Maša do not like each other.’

(63) Russian
Tanja i Maša podarili drug drug-u ser’gi
Tanja:nom and Maša:nom present:past:pl rec.pr-dat earrings:acc
‘Tanja and Maša presented earrings to each other.’

This RP is found already in the oldest attested Slavic language, Old Church Slavonic (drogъ drouga). This form, erroneously explained by Heine and Kuteva (2002: 92) as the iteration of the Russian word drug ‘friend, comrade’, is based in fact on the short form of the indefinite pronoun drougъ ‘other, another’ (which Modern Russian has only preserved in its full form, drugoj = OCS drougyi); see, for instance, Vasmer 1953–1958: I, 373, lemma DRUGOJ ‘(an)other’ (~ Old Church Slavonic, Old Russian drogъ). The structure of this Slavic reciprocal pronoun, ‘other:nom.sg.m/f other:acc/dat/... sg.m/f’, is undoubtedly parallel to similarly polyptotic formations of other Indo-European languages, such as Greek ἀλλήλους, Old Indo-Aryan anyo’nya- etc. (the Old Church Slavonic form could even be a translation calque from the Greek text of the New Testament). Like in Vedic, we observe the gradual grammaticalization of this RP in Slavic. In particular, in the
oldest attested Slavic language, Old Church Slavonic, as well as in Old Russian we still find examples of feminine forms of both RM1 and RM2.

Thus, in example (64) from Codex Suprasliensis (Suprasl’skaja rukopis’) the reciprocal expression drougъ drouga agrees in gender with the feminine substantive veštь ‘thing’:

(64) Old Church Slavonic (Codex Suprasl. 59:14)

Дъвѣма прѣдълежштема вештьма · и
dvěma prěd′ležěštema vešťma i
two:DAT.F exist:PART.PRES:DAT.DU.F thing:DAT.DU (FEM.) and

котораъштема съ има дроуга къ
kotorа́štema š im̌a drǔga ǩ
contradict:PART.PRES:DAT.DU.F REFL it:DAT.DU.F other:Nom.SG.F to
drouž · jëdno izvolite ·
druž̌ jedno izvolite

other:DAT.SG.F one:Nom.SG.N choose:PRES:2PL

‘When two things are present (before you), and they contradict each other [datīvus absolutus construction], you choose one.’

Similar examples with the feminine forms of the constituent parts of the reciprocal pronoun are also found in Old Russian, cf. (66–67)

(65) Old Russian (Uspensky Codex 97g:16–18)

. . . и крыяста съ дроуга за
i kryjasta sja drǔga za

and hide:PAST:3DU REFL other:Nom.SG.F behind
drougoy
drǔg . . .
other:ACC.SG.F

‘. . . and they two (FEM.) were hiding one behind the other.’

(66) Old Russian (Uspensky Codex 289a:30–32)

. . . и щьбътахоу съдаше дроуга к
i šč̌b̌ťahu šďašče drǔga k

and twitter:PAST:3PL sitting other:Nom.SG.F towards

17 This passage is taken from a hagiographic text, which further continues: either you renounce Christ and rejoice with us, or you do not submit and will be executed with sword.
дру́зѣ

Later the masculine form has been generalized for both constituents of the reciprocal pronoun.

### 6.4 Latin

In Latin, we find a few reciprocal pronouns, which include three polyptotic formations: *alter alterum* (for two reciprocants); *alias alium* (for more than two reciprocants); *alter utrum* (in Late Latin); and *uter uterum* (attested only in the earlier language); see, in particular, Fanelli (2009), Bortolussi (2010), and Nkollo (2013), with a detailed overview of further developments in some Romance languages. They can be employed in constructions with the verbal form in the singular (cf. the early Vedic and Old Avestan pattern), as in (67), or in the plural, as in (68):

(67) (Cicero, Rep. 3.23)

```
alius alium timet
other:nom.sg.m other:acc.sg.m be.afraid:pres:3sg
```

‘They are afraid of each other.’

(68) (Sallust, Iug. 3.8) (Bortolussi 2010: 76)

```
milites alius alium laeti
soldier:nom.sg other:nom.sg.m other:acc.sg.m joyful:nom.sg.m
appellant
call:pres:3pl
```

‘The soldiers joyfully call upon each other.’

Grammaticalization phenomena comparable to what we observe in Vedic, Avestan and Slavic, are attested only for Late Latin *alter utrum*. In particular, *alter utrum* is found in adverbial usages similar to those attested for *anyonyam* and *parasparam* in Sanskrit (examples (24, 36)), as in (69), taken from the Vulgate (a late 4th-century Latin translation of the Bible); see, in particular, Wackernagel 1924: 97–101:
(69) Late Latin (Vulgate, John 13:14)

\[
\begin{aligned}
&\text{debetis} & \text{alter-utrum} & \text{lavare} & \text{pedes} \\
&\text{must:pres:2pl} & \text{other(:nom.sg.m)-either:acc.sg.m} & \text{wash:inf} & \text{foot:acc.pl} \\
\end{aligned}
\]

‘You must wash each other’s feet.’

Notice that, from the formal point of view, \textit{alter-} can be analyzed either as a bare stem or as a nominative singular masculine form.

7 Concluding remarks: Old Indo-Aryan reciprocal pronoun in the context of Proto-Indo-European reconstruction

7.1 The development of the Indo-Aryan reciprocal pronoun within the Indo-European historical context

In the present paper I have demonstrated that Vedic texts attest the gradual grammaticalization of the form \textit{anyó . . . anyá-} from a combination of two independent words to one single lexical unit – a polyptotic reciprocal pronoun.

On the basis of evidence from Vedic and other Indo-European languages, we are able to reconstruct some features of the PIE reciprocal constructions. In particular, there are good reasons to restore for PIE the construction with the polyptotic reciprocal form *\textit{aliōs} . . . \textit{alīom} (masculine) / *\textit{aliā} . . . \textit{alīām} (feminine). This collocation was not yet grammaticalized as a single lexical unit in the proto-language (and thus probably cannot be labelled ‘pronoun’): both of its parts agree with the antecedent and can be separated by other word(s). Yet, evidence available from various Indo-European languages reveals the general tendency to grammaticalize this proto-pronoun as early as in the oldest dialects of Proto-Indo-European.

Comparing this reconstructed pattern with evidence available from the sister languages (cf. \textit{L₀ \sim L’}, \textit{L”} etc. in Fig. 1, Section 2.1), we observe at least three important types of diachronic evolution of the original syntactic pattern reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European, which thus furnishes rich material for a diachronic typology of reciprocal pronouns and reciprocal constructions.

\[18\] Cf. Lat. \textit{alius}, Greek \textit{ἄλλος}. \textit{n} instead of \textit{l} in Indo-Iranian (Vedic \textit{anyó-}, Avestan \textit{ańiia-}) may be a secondary replacement, perhaps under the influence of \textit{\'antara-} ‘different, another’; see Mayrhofer (1986–1996: I, 80).
(i) The most **stable** type is attested by Latin constructions with *alter alterum*, *alius alium* and a verbal form in the singular, which preserve the original pattern with the relatively free, not completely grammaticalized, constituent parts of the reciprocal proto-pronoun essentially intact.

(ii) **Generalization of the plural form** of RM2 is attested in Greek and, probably, in Young Avestan, which, quite interestingly, differs in that respect from the closely related Vedic.

Finally, the most radical type of grammaticalization is found in Old Indo-Aryan, which, curiously enough, partly shares this type of development with the Slavic branch. Here we observe (iii) **generalization of the singular form** for both constituents of the reciprocal pronoun, accompanied by the **loss of gender agreement** with the antecedent. The final part of this diachronic scenario is also presumably attested in Slavic – here we observe the generalization of the masculine form in Russian, as opposed to Old Church Slavonic and (early) Old Russian (where feminine forms of the constituents are still possible).

### 7.2 Grammaticalization of reciprocal pronouns and degrammaticalization of the middle diathesis

From the end of the early Vedic period onwards constructions with *anyo'nya* oust the archaic morphological reciprocals with the preverbs *vī*- (going back to PIE *dui*-'twice, in two') and *sám* 'together' and middle inflexion as well as reciprocal constructions with the adverb *mithás* 'mutually' (see Kulikov 2002; Kulikov 2007: 716–727).

It is important to note that this process runs parallel to another crucial development in the Indo-Aryan verbal syntax (for details, see Kulikov 2012). The Proto-Indo-European middle is likely to have been employed as a syncretic marker of several intransitive derivations in the proto-language. In Vedic Sanskrit we observe the loss of many original functions of the middle type of inflexion that can be reconstructed for the Proto-Indo-European middle. In particular, the middle loses virtually all intransitivizing functions: passive, anticausative (decausative), reflexive, and reciprocal. This suggests that the diathesis opposition, albeit physically preserved in the paradigm, loses a large part of its grammatical content. Accordingly, this process can be qualified as the **degrammaticalization** of the middle, and of the middle/active opposition in general. This degrammaticalization is parallel to, and supported by, the grammaticalization of several new categories, such as passives with the suffix *-yá-*, reflexives with the reflexive pronoun *ātmán*- (originally meaning ‘breath’) and reciprocals with *anyo'nya*. 
Appendices

Abbreviations of texts (text sigla)

AĀ Aitareya-Āraṇyaka
AV(Ś) Atharvaveda, Śaunakiya recension
AVP AV, Paippalāda recension
AVP-Kashm. AVP, Kashmir manuscript
BĀU(K) Brhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad (Kāṇva recension)
JB Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa
KA Kauṭiliya’s Arthaśāstra
KpS Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā
KS Kāṭhaka(-Saṃhitā)
MBh. Mahā-Bhārata
MS Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
PB Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa
Rām. Rāmāyaṇa
RV Ṛgveda
ŚB Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
TĀ Taittiriya-Āraṇyaka
TB Taittiriya-Brāhmaṇa
TS Taittiriya-Saṃhitā
Xm/p mantra or prose part of text X
YV Yajurveda(-Saṃhitā)

Grammatical abbreviations in morphological glosses

ACC accusative IMPV imperative
ACT active INF infinitive
ADJ adjective INS instrumental
AOR aorist LOC locative
DAT dative M masculine
DU dual MID middle
F feminine NOM nominative
FUT future PART participle
GEN genitive PF perfect
IMPF imperfect PL plural
Acknowledgments: I would like to thank the audience of the conference “Reciprocals cross-linguistically” at the Freie Universität, Berlin (30 November–2 December 2007) as well as to the participants of the Linguistic seminars of the University of Pavia and Institute of Linguistics, Moscow (April 2014), where several parts of this paper were discussed. In particular, I am grateful to Volker Gast, Martin Haspelmath, Ekkehard König, and Silvia Luraghi, for remarks and criticisms, as well as to Nikolaos Lavidas, Mikolaj Nkollo, John Peterson, and anonymous reviewers of *JSALL* for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

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Bionote

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