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# INDO-EUROPEAN PERSONAL PRONOUNS: LIMITS OF THEIR INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION

## ABSTRACT

*After our first study in the field of Indo-European personal pronouns (Dočkalová & Blažek 2010, 2011), where we focused on their paradigmatic levelling, we now consider internal reconstructions of partial microsystems of first and second person pronouns in all individual branches, projecting them back to the late Indo-European protolanguage. The next step was reconstruction of the primary pronominal protosystem, allowing us both to deduce forms of pronouns in historically attested languages and to understand pronominal-verbal congruence, assumed as the axiomatic starting point.*

## KEYWORDS

*Indo-European; personal pronouns; internal reconstruction; paradigmatic levelling; pronominal-verbal congruence.*

In the present study we describe declension of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons in all Indo-European branches, try to reconstruct pronominal subsystems in these branches, and to determine archaisms and innovations, both in root formations and in case endings, and we aim to explain relations between personal pronouns and verbal personal endings.

# 1. Description of subsystems of personal pronouns and their partial reconstructions in individual Indo-European branches

## Aa. Survey of personal pronouns of Old Indo-Aryan languages (AIG; IAL; Ma-sica 1991; V)

	1st person sg.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	loc.	instr.
*	H <sub>1</sub> eġHom	mēm / mē	meġ <sup>h</sup> io(m)/moġ	méme <sup>1</sup> / moġ	med	meġ+i / moġ	meġ+ā-stem
Vedic Skt.	ahám	mám / mā <sup>E</sup>	máhyam/me <sup>E</sup>	máma / me <sup>E</sup>	mát	mayí / me <sup>E</sup>	máyā
Cl. Sanskrit.	aham	mām / mā <sup>E</sup>	mahyam/me <sup>E</sup>	mama / me <sup>E</sup>	mat	mayi	mayā

1) But in Dardic \*mene: Gawar mōna m., mōñ f., Woṭapūrī men, Šumašti mono, Pašai mēnā m. The \*-n- is also preserved in Old & Middle Iranian languages, with exception of Khotan Saka mamā, but cf. maṃ.

	2nd person sg.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	loc.	instr.
*IE	tuuom	tūēm / tūē	tub <sup>h</sup> io(m)/toġ	teue / toġ	tūed	tūeġ	tūeH <sub>1</sub>
Vedic Skt.	t(u)vám	tvám / tvā <sup>E</sup>	túbhyam / te <sup>E</sup>	táva / te <sup>E</sup>	tvát	tve <sup>1</sup> / tváyī	tvá / tváyā
Cl. Sanskrit	tvam	tvām / tvā <sup>E</sup>	tubhyam / te <sup>E</sup>	tava / te <sup>E</sup>	tvat	tvayi	tvayā

Note: 1) RV: tve; later Samhitas: tváyī.

	1st person pl.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	loc.	instr.
*IE	ueġ-om	ṅsme+oms {o-stem} / nos	ṅsmeġ / nos ṅsmeb <sup>h</sup> io(m)	ṅsme+okom ṅsmeġ / nos	ṅsmed	ṅsmeġ ṅsme+osu	ṅsme+ob <sup>h</sup> is
Vedic Sanskrit	vayám	asmán nas <sup>E</sup>	asmé asmábhyam nas <sup>E</sup>	asmákam <sup>1</sup> asmé nas <sup>E</sup>	asmát	asmé asmásu <sup>2</sup>	asmábhis
Classical Sanskrit	vayam	asmān nas <sup>E</sup>	asmabhyam nas <sup>E</sup>	asmákam <sup>1</sup> nas <sup>E</sup>	asmat	asmásu <sup>2</sup>	asmábhis

1) Acc. sg. ntr. of the possessive asmáka “our” 2) Innovation after instr.

	2nd person pl.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	loc.	instr.
*IE	iuġ-om	usme+oms {o-stem} / uos	usmeġ / uos usmeb <sup>h</sup> io(m)	usme+okom usmeġ / uos	usmed	usmeġ usme+osu	usme+ob <sup>h</sup> is
Vedic Sanskrit	yūyám <sup>1</sup>	yušmán vas <sup>E</sup>	yušmé yušmábhyam vas <sup>E</sup>	yušmáka(m) <sup>2</sup> yušmé vas <sup>E</sup>	yušmát	yušmé yušmásu <sup>3</sup>	yušmábhis
Classical Sanskrit	yūyam	yušmān vas <sup>E</sup>	yušmabhyam vas <sup>E</sup>	yušmákam vas <sup>E</sup>	yušmat	yušmāsu	yušmábhis

1) An expected form would be \*yūšám. Modified probably after vayám. 2) Acc. sg. ntr. of the possessive yušmáka “your”.

	1st person du.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	loc.	instr.
	$\underline{ue}H_1\text{-om}$	$\underline{ne}H_1\text{-ue-om}$	$noH_1\text{-u}^s$	$\underline{ne}H_1\text{-uoioyus}$	$\underline{ne}H_1\text{-ued}$	$\underline{ne}H_1\text{-uoioy(s)}$	
Vedic Sanskrit	$\underline{vám}^1$ , $\underline{ávám}^2$	$\underline{ávám}$ $nau^E$	$nau^E$	$\underline{ávayos}^2$ $nau^E$	$\underline{ávābhyām}^3$ $\underline{ávát}^4$		
Cl. Skt.	$\underline{ávām}$	$\underline{ávām}$	$\underline{ávābhyām}$	$\underline{ávayos}$	$\underline{ávābhyām}$	$\underline{ávayos}$	$\underline{ávābhyām}$

1) 1x in RV 6, 55.1. 2) ŚB. Cf. Vedic  $\underline{dváyo}s$ , OChS  $\underline{dvoju}$  (Brugmann 1911, 207-08). 3) K. 4) TS. 5) Cf. the nom. du. of the o-stems  $\underline{vṛkau}$  (Brugmann 1911, 196, 409).

	2nd person du.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	loc.	instr.
	$\underline{iuy-om}$	$\underline{iuye-om}$		$\underline{iuy(o)oyus}$	$\underline{iuy-ed}$		$\underline{iuy-eH_1}$
Vedic Sanskrit	$\underline{yuvám}$	$\underline{yuvám}$ ; $\underline{vām}$	$\underline{yuvá/ābhyam}$ $\underline{vām}$	$\underline{yuvós}^1$ , $\underline{áyos}^2$ $\underline{vām}$	$\underline{yuvát}$		$\underline{yuvá-datta}$ $\underline{yuvá/ābhyam}$
Cl. Skt.	$\underline{yuvām}$	$\underline{yuvām}$	$\underline{yuvābhyām}$	$\underline{yuvayos}$	$\underline{yuvābhyām}$	$\underline{yuvayos}$	$\underline{yuvābhyām}$

Note: 1) RV. 2) TS. Cf. Vedic  $\underline{dváyo}s$ , OChS  $\underline{dvoju}$  (Brugmann 1911, 207-08).

## Ab. Survey of personal pronouns of the Old and Middle Iranian languages (CLI; OIJa; HOFFMANN - FORSSMAN 1996; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007)

	1st sg.					
	nom.	acc. / encl.	dat. / encl.	gen. / encl.	abl. / encl.	instr. / encl.
*	$H_1eḡH(-om)$	$mēm / mē$	$meb^h_1io / moi$	$mene$	$med$	
Iranian	* $azam$ & * $az$	* $mām / *mā$	* $mab_1ia^1 / *maj$	* $mana / *maj$	* $mad$	
OAv.	$azəm$ & $as-cī$	$/ mā$	$ma^1biio / mōi$	$mā.nā / mōi$	$ma$	
YAv.	$azəm$	$məm / mā$	$māuuoīia / mē$ $māuuaīia-ca$	$mana / mē$		
OPers.	<a-d-m> $adam$	<m-a-m> $mām /$ <-m-a> $-mā$	/ <-m-i-y> $-maj$	<m-n-a> $manā$ <m-n-c-a> $manā-cā$	/ <-m> $-ma$	
MPers.	<'-n-y> $an(ē)$ ? $az$ < parth.			obl. <m-n> $man$		
Parth.	<'-z> $az$			obl. <m-n> $man$		
Sogd.	b.m. <'-z-w> k. <z-w> $azu$	k. <m-n-'-y-y> $mana-ye$ / b.m.k. <-m-'> $-mā$		b.m. <m-n-'> $mana$ b.k. <m-n> $man$		
Chwar.	$n'z$	$m' / -m^{(l)}$	gen.-dat. $my$	$m'r$		
Tumsh.	$asu, azu$					
Khot.	$aysu$	$ma / -mā$		gen.-dat. $mamā,$ $maṃ$	$maṃna$	
Bactr.	$αζο$	/ $-μo, -μ-$		$μανο$		

Abbreviations: b. Sogdian of the Buddhist texts, m. Sogdian of Manicheic texts, k. Sogdian of the Christian texts.

1) Wakhi obl.  $maž$  indicates Iranian \* $maz_1ia$  < \* $meḡ^h_1io$ -, exactly corresponding to the IA counterparts.

	2nd sg.					
	nom.	acc. / encl.	dat. / encl.	gen. / encl.	abl. / encl.	instr. / encl.
*	<i>tuom</i> & <i>tū</i>	<i>tuēm</i> / <i>tuē</i>	<i>tebh<sup>h</sup>io</i> / <i>toḷ</i>	<i>teye</i>	<i>tuēd</i>	<i>tuēH<sub>1</sub></i>
Iranian	* <i>tuam</i> & * <i>tū</i>	* <i>tuām</i> / * <i>tuā</i>	* <i>tabja</i> / * <i>taḷ</i>	* <i>taua</i> / * <i>taḷ</i>	* <i>tuad</i>	* <i>tuā</i>
OAv.	<i>tuuām</i> & <i>tū</i>	<i>θβqm</i> / <i>θβā</i>	<i>ta<sup>h</sup>biūā</i> , -ō / <i>tōi</i> , <i>te</i>	<i>tauuā</i> / <i>tōi</i> , <i>te</i>	<i>θβαḷ</i>	<i>θβā</i>
YAv.	<i>tūm</i> & <i>tū</i>	<i>θβqm</i> / <i>θβā</i>	<i>ta<sup>h</sup>biūā</i> , -ō / <i>te</i>	<i>tauuā</i> / <i>tē</i>	<i>θβαḷ</i>	<i>θβā</i>
OPers.	< <i>t<sup>h</sup>-u-v-m</i> > <i>tuvam</i>	< <i>θ-u-v-a-m</i> > <i>θuvām</i>		/ < <i>t-i-y</i> > - <i>taḷ</i>		
MPers.				< <i>t-w</i> > <i>tō</i>		
Parth.				< <i>t-w</i> > <i>tō</i> / <i>tū</i>		
Sogd.	m. < <i>t-w</i> > <i>taw</i> ~ <i>tū</i> b.m.k. < <i>t-γ-w</i> > <i>taγu<sup>h</sup></i> ~ <i>taγō<sup>h</sup></i> ?			b.m.k. < <i>t-w</i> > <i>tawa</i> ~ <i>tuwa</i> ?	m. < <i>-f-</i> >, b. < <i>-β-</i> > <i>-fā</i> < * <i>-θuat</i>	
Chwar.	<i>'wtk</i>	<i>f</i> ~ <i>θ'</i> / - <i>θ'.</i>	gen.-dat. <i>dy</i>	<i>tw'r</i>		
Tumsh.	<i>to</i>		<i>tivya</i>			
Khot.	<i>thu</i>	/ - <i>tā</i> , <i>te</i>	gen.-dat. <i>tvī</i>		<i>tvī jsa</i>	
Bactr.	τοι, τοο(υο), το(γo)	/ - <i>δο</i>		τα(α)οι, ταο(ο)		

1) Perhaps by analogy after the 3rd sg. nom. *xō* : acc. *aw*, (ə)*wu*.

	1st pl.					
	nom.	acc. / encl.	dat. / encl.	gen. / encl.	abl. / encl.	instr. / encl.
*	<i>uejom</i>	<i>ṛsme</i> / <i>nōs</i>	<i>ṛsmebh<sup>h</sup>io</i> / <i>nos</i>	<i>ṛsme+okom</i> / <i>nos</i>	<i>ṛsmed</i>	<i>ṛsmeH<sub>1</sub></i>
Iranian	* <i>uajam</i>	* <i>ahma</i> / * <i>nāh</i>	* <i>ahmabja</i> / * <i>nah</i>	* <i>ahmākam</i> / * <i>nah</i>	* <i>ahmad</i>	* <i>ahmā</i>
OAv.	<i>vaēm</i>	<i>āhmā</i> / <i>nā</i>	<i>ahma<sup>h</sup>biūā</i> / <i>nā</i>	/ <i>nā</i>	<i>ahmaḷ</i>	<i>āhmā</i>
YAv.	<i>vaēm</i>	<i>ahma</i> / <i>nō</i>	/ <i>nō</i>	<i>ahmākəm</i> / <i>nō</i>		
OPers.	< <i>v-γ-m</i> > <i>vayam</i>			< <i>a-m-a-x-m</i> > <i>amāxam</i>		
MPers.	= gen.			< <i>-m'-h</i> > <i>amā</i> / - <i>n</i>		
Parth.	= gen.	/ < <i>-m'-n</i> > <i>-mān</i>		< <i>-m'-h</i> > <i>amāh</i>		
Sogd.	= gen.			b. < <i>m'-γ-w</i> >, m.k. < <i>m'-x</i> > <i>māxu</i> ~ <i>māx</i>		
Chwar.	= dat.	acc.-gen. <i>mn<sup>(t)</sup></i>	nom. <i>mθy'</i>			
Khot.	<i>buhu</i> ~ <i>muhu</i> < * <i>vūžam</i> < * <i>vayam</i> '	/ - <i>nā</i> , - <i>ṛ</i>	gen.-dat. <i>māvu</i> ~ <i>mānu</i> ~ <i>māju</i>		<i>muho jsa</i>	
Bactr.		/ - <i>μηνο</i>		(α)μαχο		

1) Emmerick 1989, 220.

2nd pl.						
	nom.	acc. / encl.	dat. / encl.	gen. / encl.	abl. / encl.	instr. / encl.
*	īūs(-om)	/ uōs	usmeb <sup>h</sup> io / uos	usme+okom / uos	usmed	usmeH <sub>1</sub>
Iranian	*iūšam & *iūš	/*uāh	*ušmabīa / *uāh	*ušmākam / *uāh	*ušmad	*ušmā
OAv.	yūžəm & yūš	/ vā	yūšma'biīā & xšma'biīā / vā	xšmākəm / vā	yūšmaṭ & xšmaṭ	xšmā < *ušmā
YAv.	yūžəm	/ vō	yūšmaoiīō & xšmāuuōiīa / vō	yūšmākəm / vō	yūšmaṭ	
OPers.						
MPers.				<'š-m-'(-h) > ašmā		
Parth.				<'š-m-'-h > ašmāh <'š-m-'-h > išmāh		
Sogd.		/ -βy		b. <'š-m'-γ-w>, m. <'š-m-γ-w> (ə)šmaxu m.k. <'š-m'-x>, m. <'š-m'-x> (ə)šmax		
Chwar.			nom.-obl. hβy			
Khot.	uhu	uhu ~ uho / -ū	gen.-dat. umāvu ~ umānu		umyau jsa	
Bactr.		/ -δηvo <sup>1</sup>		nom.-obl. τομαχο <sup>2</sup> , τωμαχο <sup>2</sup> , ταμαχο <sup>2</sup>		

Note: 1) 1st sg. plus the ending of 3rd pl. -ηvo. 2) τ- after ται “you” or τιδο “this”, cf. Yazghulami *təmox* (Sims-Williams 2007, 271).

1st du.						
	nom.	acc. / encl.	dat. / encl.	gen. / encl.	abl. / encl.	instr. / encl.
*	ueH <sub>1</sub>	ηH <sub>1</sub> ue		noH <sub>1</sub>		
OAv.	vā	<sup>2b</sup> āuuā		/ nā		

2nd du.						
	nom.	acc. / encl.	dat. / encl.	gen. / encl.	abl. / encl.	instr. / encl.
*				īuue-okom		
YAv.				yauuākam		

## B. Survey of personal pronouns of the Anatolian languages (MERIGGI 1980; HOFFNER & MELCHERT 2008, 134; KLOEKHORST 2008, 111-15)

1st sg.	nom.	nom. var.	acc.	dat.-loc.	gen.	abl.	encl.
*	H <sub>1</sub> eġH		H <sub>1</sub> m[n]uġe		H <sub>1</sub> m[n]el-(o)s <sup>9</sup>	H <sub>1</sub> m[n]éd <sup>9</sup>	
Hitt.	ūk <sup>3</sup>	ammuk	ammuk, uk <sup>2</sup>	ammuk, ūk <sup>2</sup>	ammel, °ēl	ammēdaz(a)	-mu
Pal.							-mu

1st sg.	nom.	nom. var.	acc.	dat.-loc.	gen.	abl.	encl.
CLuv.							
HLuv.		<i>amu</i>	<i>amu</i>	<i>amu</i>			<i>-mu, -mi</i>
Lyc.		<i>amu, emu, ēmu</i>		<i>emu, ēmu</i>			
Lyd.		<i>amu</i>		<i>amu</i>			<i>-(i)m</i>

2nd sg.	nom.	nom. var.	acc.	dat.-loc.	gen.	abl.	encl.
*	<i>tī</i>		<i>túǵe</i>		<i>tūél-(o)s<sup>9</sup></i>	<i>tūéd<sup>o</sup></i>	
Hitt.	<i>zik, zīk</i>		<i>tuk</i>	<i>tuk</i>	<i>tuēl</i>	<i>tuēdaz(a)</i>	<i>-ta, -tu(-za/-šan)</i>
Pal.	<i>tī</i>		<i>tū</i>	<i>tū</i>			
CLuv.	<i>tī<sup>7</sup></i>						
HLuv.	<i>ti</i>		<i>tu</i>	<i>tu</i>		<i>tuwati<sup>7</sup>/-ri /tuwaḏi/</i>	<i>-tu, -ti</i>

1st pl.	nom.	nom. var.	acc.	dat.-loc.	gen.	abl.	encl.
*	<i>uei(e)s</i>		<i>ḡs<sup>o</sup> / -nos</i>	<i>ḡsós<sup>4</sup></i>	<i>ḡsel-(o)s<sup>9</sup></i>	<i>ḡséd<sup>o</sup></i>	
Hitt.	<i>wēs</i>	<i>anzās<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>anzas, °ās / -(n)nas</i>	<i>anzās</i>	<i>anzel, °ēl</i>	<i>anzēdaz<sup>5</sup></i>	<i>-nas</i>
Pal.							
CLuv.			<i>ānza(s)</i>	<i>ānza(s)</i>		<i>anzati</i>	
HLuv.		<i>azuz(a) /antsunts/</i>	<i>azuz(a) /antsunts/</i>				<i>-aza / -ants/</i>
Lyd.			<i>?nāv<sup>3</sup></i>				

2nd pl.	nom.	nom. var.	acc.	dat.-loc.	gen.	abl.	encl.
*	<i>usmes<sup>7</sup> or s(u)ues<sup>8</sup></i>		<i>(u)smós / usue<sup>10</sup></i>			<i>(u)sméd<sup>o</sup></i>	
Hitt.	<i>sumes, °ēs, summes</i>	<i>sum(m)ās<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>sum(m)ās, °ēs<sup>2</sup></i>		<i>su(m)menzan sumēl<sup>6</sup></i>	<i>sum(m)ēdaz<sup>5</sup></i>	<i>-smas</i>
Pal.							
CLuv.			<i>ū(n)za(s)</i>				
HLuv.	<i>uzuz/s(a) /untsunts/ &lt; *usN<sup>o</sup></i>		<i>uzuz/s(a) /u(n) tsunts/</i>			<i>uzati<sup>7</sup>/-ri /untsaḏi/</i>	<i>-maza /-mants/</i>

Note: 1) The forms like *ú-ga, ú-uq-qa* represent merging of a pronoun with the conjunction “and” or “or”; similarly *zi-ga, zi-iq-qa* and other. (Hoffner & Melchert 2008, 134, §5.9). 2) Later usage. 3) Disputed by Gérard 2005, 92. 4) Hitt. *-ās* is the accented variant of the dat.-loc. pl. ending *-as*. 5) Nominal ending abl. *-az*. 6) At the moment only in NHitt. sources. 7) Cf. Kloekhorst 2008, 116. 8) Cf. Melchert 1994, 58. 9) Lydian gen.-loc. sg. *-λ* besides *-λś* indicate the conflation of the pronominal and nominal genitive (Hamp 1989, 89–90). 10) Katz 1998, 139.

### C. Survey of personal pronouns of Armenian (SCHMIDT 1978; HAMP 1982, 186–89; MATZINGER 1997)

	1st sg.						
	nom.	acc.	loc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	instr.
*	H <sub>1</sub> eġH	H <sub>1</sub> m(e)ġo	H <sub>1</sub> m(e)ġ <sup>h</sup> i	H <sub>1</sub> meġ <sup>h</sup> ei	H <sub>1</sub> me(n)	H <sub>1</sub> med <sup>h</sup> en	H <sub>1</sub> meh <sup>h</sup> i
Arm.	es	is < *inc	is	inj	im <sup>i</sup>	inēn	inew

	2nd sg.						
	nom.	acc.	loc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	instr.
*	tū	tueġo	tueġ <sup>h</sup> i	tueġ <sup>h</sup> ei	tueso <sup>2</sup>	tue <sup>h</sup> en	tue <sup>h</sup> i
Arm.	dow	k'ez < *k'ec	k'ez	k'ez	k'o	k'ēn	k'ew

	1st pl.						
	nom.	acc.	loc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	instr.
*	me(i)e <sup>s</sup>	( <u>ns</u> )meġo	( <u>ns</u> )meġ <sup>h</sup> i <sup>3</sup>	( <u>ns</u> )meġ <sup>h</sup> ei <sup>3</sup>	( <u>ns</u> )merom	( <u>ns</u> )med <sup>h</sup> eni <sup>3</sup> os	( <u>ns</u> )meh <sup>h</sup> is
Arm.	mek <sup>c</sup>	mez < *mec	mez	mez	mer	mēnĵ	meuk <sup>c</sup>

	2nd pl.						
	nom.	acc.	loc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	instr.
*	iūs	ueġo	ueġ <sup>h</sup> i	ueġ <sup>h</sup> ei	uerom	ued <sup>h</sup> eni <sup>3</sup> os	ue <sup>h</sup> is
Arm.	dowk <sup>c</sup> < *juk <sup>c</sup>	jez < *jec < *gec	jez < *jez < *gez	jez	jer	jēnĵ	jeuk <sup>c</sup> < *gewik <sup>c</sup>

1) Schmidt 1978, 89: \*emen; Martirosyan 2009, 257: \*H<sub>1</sub>mos. 2) Martirosyan 2009, 664; while Schmidt 1978, 137: \*teu. 3) Matzinger 1997, 78–79.

### D. Survey of the Greek personal pronouns (SCHWYZER 1939; DEFNER 1923)

person	1st person					2nd person				
	nom.	acc.	gen.	gen.	dat.	nom.	acc.	gen.	gen.	dat.
*IE	H <sub>1</sub> eġoH	H <sub>1</sub> me	H <sub>1</sub> meso	H <sub>1</sub> med <sup>h</sup> en	H <sub>1</sub> moġ	tū	tue	*tueso	*tue <sup>h</sup> en	tuoġ
pGreek	*egō	*emé	*emesio	*emet <sup>h</sup> en	*emoġ	*tu	*tue	*tuesio	*tue <sup>h</sup> en	*tuoġ
Lesb.	ἐγώ	ἐμέ		ἐμέθεν	ἐμοί μοι	σύ του <sup>gram.</sup>	σέ τε <sup>gram.</sup>		σέθεν	σοί τοι
Doric	ἐγώ	ἐμέ	ἐμέος ἐμίο μευ		ἐμῖν	τύ	τυ τε <sup>gram.</sup> Cret. τφε	τεοῦ(ς) τέος, -ορ τίος		τοί τοι τῖν
Boeotic	ἰώ		ἐμοῦς		ἐμοί/ ἐμῖ μοι	του		τε(ο)ῦς τιοῦς		
Homer.	ἐγώ	ἐμέ	ἐμέο ἐμεῦ	ἐμέθεν	ἐμοί μοι	σύ τίνε	σέ	σεῖο	σέθεν	σοί τοι τεῖν
Ionic	ἐγώ	ἐμέ	ἐμέο ἐμεῦ μου		ἐμοί μοι	σύ	σέ	σέο σεῦ		σοί τοι
Attic	ἐγώ	ἐμέ e. ἐμέγε	ἐμοῦ μου		ἐμοί μοι	σύ	σέ	σοῦ σου		σοί σι

person	1st person					2nd person					
	sg.	nom.	acc.	gen.	gen.	dat.	nom.	acc.	gen.	gen.	dat.
Late Greek	ἐγώ	ἐμέ, μέ ἐμέν <sup>1</sup> ἐμέναν <sup>2</sup>	ἐμου μου				ἐσύ	ἐσέ, σε (ἐ)σέν <sup>3</sup> ἐσέναν <sup>4</sup>	ἐσοῦ, σου		
NGreek	εγώ	εμένα	εμένα				εσύ	εσένα	εσένα		
Tsakon.	ἐζού	ἐμίον <sup>K</sup> ἐνίου <sup>P</sup> /μι	μι			μι	ἐκιού	ἐτιού	ἐτιού		

person	1st person				2nd person				
	pl.	nom.	acc.	gen.	dat.	nom.	acc.	gen.	dat.
*	ἡsme(e)s	ἡsme	ἡsme(s)ḡm <sup>5</sup>	ἡsmi	usme(e)s	usme	usme(s)ḡm <sup>5</sup>	usmi	
pGreek	*asme(e)s	*asme(as)	*asmé(h)ḡn	*asmi(n)	*usme(e)s	*usme(as)	*usmé(h)ḡn	*usmi(n)	
Lesb.	ἄμμες	ἄμμε	ἄμμέων	ἄμμι(ν)	ὔμμες	ὔμμε	ὔμμέων	ὔμμι(ν)	
Doric	ἄμέες	ἄμέ	ἄμέων	ἄμίν	ὔμέες	ὔμέ	ὔμέων	ὔμίν	
Boeot.	ἄμέες	ἄμέ	ἄμίων	ἄμῖν	οὔμέες	οὔμέ	οὔμίων	οὔμῖν	
Hom.	ἄμμες ἡμεῖς	ἄμμε ἡμέας	ἡμείων	ἄμμι(ν) ἡμῖν	ὔμμες ὔμεῖς	ὔμμε ὔμέας	ὔμείων	ὔμμι(ν) ὔμῖν	
Ionic	ἡμεῖς	ἡμέας	ἡμέων	ἡμῖν	ὔμεῖς	ὔμέας	ὔμέων	ὔμῖν	
Attic	ἡμεῖς	ἡμᾶς	ἡμῶν	ἡμῖν	ὔμεῖς	ὔμᾶς	ὔμῶν	ὔμῖν	
Late Greek	ἡμεῖς, ἐμεῖς	ἡμᾶς, ἐμᾶς, μᾶς	ἡμῶν, ἐμῶν (μῶν)		ἐσεῖς, σεῖς	ἐσᾶς, σᾶς	ἐσῶν (σῶν)		
NGreek	εμεῖς	εμάς	εμάς		εσεῖς	εσᾶς	εσᾶς		
Tsakon.	ἐμεῖ <sup>K</sup> ἐνεῖ <sup>P</sup>	νάμου	νάμου		ἐμοῦ	ἐμοῦ	ἐμοῦ		

person	1st person			2nd person		
	nom.	acc.	gen.-dat.	nom.	acc.	gen.-dat.
*	noH <sub>1/3</sub>	noH <sub>1/3</sub> ue <sup>6</sup>	noH <sub>1</sub> ui(N)	?*s <sub>2</sub> ueb <sup>h</sup> i <sup>7</sup>		
Homeric	νῶϊ	νῶϊ	νῶϊν	σφῶϊ & σφῶ	σφῶϊ & σφῶ	σφῶϊν & σφῶϊν
Attic	νῶ	νῶ, νῶε	νῶϊν	σφῶ	σφῶ	σφῶϊν

1) First in the 3rd cent. under the influence of the acc. of the other pronouns. 2) For the first time in the 4th cent.; the ending -έν was viewed as a consonantal stem, thus the new ending of the accusative. 3) For the first time already in the 2nd cent. 4) In 12th cent. already a common form introduced probably between the 2nd and 12th cent. (Browning 1969, 68). 5) Schwyzer 1939, 605, fn. 5: °esḡm, while Rix 1976, 179: °é-ḡm. 6) Sommer 1912, 403 explained -i from νῶϊν. 7) Katz 1998, 253: \*sp<sup>h</sup>ei(n) < \*s<sub>2</sub>ue-b<sup>h</sup>i-(C) with a change of the root vowel after νῶϊ.



### E. Survey of personal pronouns in Albanian (MATZINGER 2006; HAMP 1982)

	1st person					2nd person				
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.
*	H <sub>1</sub> ēġ <sup>i</sup>	mēm / me	moġ	so meġos	moġ-	tū	tuuēm / te	?tVb <sup>ho</sup> / toġ	so tuos	t(ū)oġ-
sg.	u(-nē) BM <sub>u</sub>	mua / mē B <sub>m</sub> muo/mē M <sub>m</sub> mua/mē	mē	-imi B <sub>m</sub> em	meje B <sub>m</sub> meje M <sub>m</sub> mēje	ti(-nē) BM <sub>ti</sub>	tȳ <sup>2</sup> / tē B <sub>tȳ</sub> tȳ / tē M <sub>ti</sub> ti / tē	tȳ <sup>3</sup> / tē B <sub>tȳ</sub> tȳ / tē M <sub>ti</sub> ti / tē	-tu- B <sub>yt</sub>	teje <sup>4</sup> B <sub>teje</sub>
*	nos	nōs	nōsōm	nōsōm	nos-si	ues <sup>5</sup>	uōs / uos	uōsōm/ uos	uōsōm	uos-si
pl.	na BM <sub>na</sub>	ne BM <sub>nē</sub>	n(a)e B <sub>neve</sub> M <sub>nēve</sub>	B <sub>neve</sub> ; but ynē < *so nos	nesh BM <sub>nesh</sub>	ju B <sub>juve</sub>	ju B <sub>ju</sub> / ju /M <sub>i</sub>	ju(ve) B <sub>juve</sub> /ju /M <sub>u</sub>	B <sub>juve</sub> yj < *so ius juej < *sā ius	jush B <sub>jush</sub>

B Buzuku 1555, M Matrënga 1595. 1) Hamp (1982, 184) proposes *u-* < \**ō* < \**ē(δ)*, while Matzinger (2006, 107) derives it from \**uδ* with the root vowel influenced by the pronoun \**tū* “thou”. 2) Cimochowski (*Acta Baltico-Slavica* 27, 1987, 58) thought about \**tūġ*. 3) Hamp (1982, 184) reconstructs the dat. *tūb<sup>ho</sup>*, while Mann (1984–87, 1371) proposed \**teb<sup>h</sup>ei*. 4) Demiraj (1997, 386) derives *te-* in *teje* from \**tued*. 5) Huld (1979, 303–05) proposes the initial \**u-*, while Matzinger (1998, 195) reconstructs \**i* followed by *ū*.

### F. Survey of personal pronouns in the Italic languages (URBANOVÁ & BLAŽEK 2008, 242–43)

	1st sg.					2nd sg.				
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.
Italic	H <sub>1</sub> eġoH	*mē(-om) / mēd <sup>1</sup> *meġo	*meg <sup>h</sup> ei	*meġ+s <sup>2</sup>	*mēd	*tū(-om)	*tē(-om) / *tēd <sup>1</sup>	*teb <sup>h</sup> ei	*teġ+s <sup>2</sup>	*tēd
Venet.	ego ego	meġo meġo								
Faliscan	ego eco	med met			[me]d					
OLatin	eqo eco	med	mihei	mis	mēd			tibeġ	tis	tēd
Lat. Cl.	ego	mē	mihi	mēi	mē	tū	tē	tibi	tui	tē
Umb.		miom	mehe				tiu tiom tio	tefe tefe		
SPic.	ekúsim ego sum						tíom	tefeí tefeh		
Oscan	íiv					tiium tiú		tfei tí[ei]		

1) Brugmann (1911, 415) explained it from \**mē* & \**tē* + particle \**ed*, identified in *ecce* < \**ed-ke* and corresponding to Av. *θuuqam at*, while Szemerényi (1996, 214) proposed \**tēd* < \**tē-te* and an analogous change leading to \**mēd*. 2) Szemerényi (1996, 218) explained \**meġ-* & \**teġ-* as the *dativus sympatheticus*.

	1st pl.					2nd pl.				
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.
Italic	= acc.	*nōs	*nōb <sup>h</sup> ei+s	*nostrej <sub>,-om</sub>	= dat.	= acc.	*uōs/*uēs	*uōb <sup>h</sup> ei+s	*uestrej <sub>,-om</sub>	= dat.
Faliscan							ues			
OLatin							uobeis			
Lat. Cl.	nōs	nōs	nōbis	nostrī <sub>,-um</sub>	nōbis	vōs	vōs	vōbis	vestrī <sub>,-um</sub>	vōbis

	1st pl.					2nd pl.				
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.
Umb.										(uestra pos. f.)
Paelign.						uus		uus < *uōbʰs		

## H. Survey of personal pronouns of the Celtic languages (PEDERSEN II, 139–70; KATZ 1998, 51–106)

	1st sg.					2nd sg.				
	abs. / red.	inf.	suf.	pos. np.	pos. p.	abs. / red.	inf.	suf.	pos. np.	pos. p.
Goidelic	*me <sup>1</sup>	acc.-dat. *me / *moj		*moje < *meje		*tu	acc.-dat. *te / *toj		*toje < *teje	
Old Irish	mé	-m <sup>L</sup> -, -mm <sup>L</sup> -	-m	mo, mu	múí, múi	tú	-t <sup>L</sup> -	-t	to, do, du	tái
Brittonic	*me <sup>1</sup> / *mēmē	ak.-dat. *me / *moj <sup>2</sup>		*meNe	*moje	*te či *tī < *tū	ak.-dat. *te / *toj		*toje < *teje	
MWelsh	mi / myvi	-m-	-f	my, vy	meu	ti / tydi	-th-	-t	dy	teu
Cornish	my, me	-m-	-f, -ff	ow, ov		ty, te	-th-, -d-	-s	the	
MBreton	me	-m-	-ff	ma, va		te	-z-	-t	da	
Gaulish	nom. mi <sup>2</sup>			dat. mi	?abl. met ~ med	nom. tu	acc. ti	dat. ti		

1) Originally acc. sg.

2) In some Gaulish inscriptions there are hypothetical traces of IE \*H<sub>1</sub>eǵ(o)H > e[x]o (Lezoux), ec (Vol-tino), -c (Chamalières) – see Blažek 2010–2011.

	1st pl.					2nd pl.				
	abs. / red.	inf.	suf.	pos. uns.	pos. s.	abs. / red.	inf.	suf.	pos. uns.	pos. s.
Goidelic	*snēs / *snesne		*snōs		*nsērōm	*sūēs / *suesue		*sūēs		*sueserōm
Old Irish	sní / snisni	-n-, -nm-	-n	ar <sup>N</sup>	náthar nár	sí / sib (sekund. sissi)	-b-, -f(V)-	-b	far <sup>N</sup> , for <sup>N</sup>	sethar sár
Brittonic			*snōs					*sūē(s)		
MWelsh	ni / nini	-n-	-m	an	einyrn	chwi/chwichwi	-ch-	-ch-	awch, ych	einyrwh
Cornish	ny / nyny	-n-	-n	an		why, wy	-s-	-ugh	as	
MBreton	ni	-on-, -hon-	-mp	on, hon		hui	-(h)ouz-	-ch	(h)oz, houz	
Gaulish	sni-			gen. onson < *nsom		suis ~ sue	acc. sue			

Abbreviations: abs. absolute (independent), inf. infixed, uns. unstressed, s. stressed; pos. possessive, red. reduplicated, suf. suffixed.

## Ia. Survey of personal pronouns of the Old Germanic languages (GL; ANTONSEN 1975; MARKEY 1981)

person	1st person				2nd person			
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.
sg.								
*	H <sub>1</sub> eǵHom <sup>1</sup>	meǵe <sup>2</sup>	meso <sup>3</sup>	mejnōm/-ā <sup>4</sup>	tū	teǵe <sup>2</sup>	teso <sup>3</sup>	tejnōm/-ā <sup>4</sup>
pre-Gmc.	*eka	*mek/*mik	*mēs/*mīz	*mīna <sup>n</sup> /-ō	*tū	*þek/*þik	*þēs/*þīz	*þīna <sup>n</sup> /-ō

person	1st person				2nd person			
	sg.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	nom.	acc.	dat.
Got.	ik	mik	mis	meina	þu	þuk	þus	þeina
ORun.	ek		mez					
ON.	ek	mik	mér	mín	þú	þik	þér	þín
OSw./OGut.	iak. iæk	mik	mǣr / mīr	mīn	þū	þik	þǣr / þīr	þīn
OEng.	ic	mec, mé	mé	mín	ðú	ðec, ðé	ðé	ðín
OFris.	ik	mi	mi	*mīn	thu	thi	thi	thin
OSax.	ik	mī, mē, mik	mī	mīn	thū	thic, thī	thī	thīn
OLFranc.	ic, ik	mi	mi		thú, thu	thi	thi	
MDutch	ic	mi	mi	mijns	du	di	di	dijns
OHG.	ih, ihha	mih	mir	mīn	dū, du	dih	dir	dīn

1) With respect to the breaking of *e-* to *ja-* in East Nordic it is necessary to reconstruct *\*-a* in the second syllable (Kroonen 2013, 116). In the modern Frankish dialect of High German *aich* together with the ON. variant *ék* indicate *\*H<sub>1</sub>eġHom* (Brugmann 1911, 382). The emphatic variants in OHG. *ihha*, MHG. *iche*, Dutch *ikke* reflect *\*H<sub>1</sub>eġoH* (Kroonen 2013, 116). 2) Cf. the Greek emphatic form *ἐμῆγε* (Brugmann 1911, 413). 3) Cf. Umbrian *seso* 'sibi' (Brugmann 1911, 418). 4) Nom.-acc. sg. ntr. in *\*-om* in Northwest Germanic, nom.-acc. pl. ntr. in *\*-ā* < *\*-eH<sub>2</sub>* in Gothic (Brugmann 1911, 416, 421).

pl.	1st person				2nd person			
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.
*	uēis	ṛse	ṛseso <sup>1</sup>	ṛserom/-ā <sup>2</sup>	īūs	isue <sup>3</sup>	isueso <sup>1</sup>	isuerom/-ā <sup>2</sup>
*pre-Gmc.	wis/wiz	uns	unses, -iz	unsera <sup>1</sup> /-ō	jūs/jūz	iswes	iswes	izwera <sup>1</sup> /-ō
Got.	weis	uns(is)	uns(is)	unsara	jus	izwis	izwis <sup>4</sup>	izwara
ORun.	wiz							
ON.	wér	oss	oss	vár	ér	yðr	yðr <sup>5</sup>	yð(u)ar
OSw./OGut.	vi(r)	os	os	vār(ra)	ī(r)	īþer	īþer <sup>5</sup>	īþar, īþra
OEng.	wé, we	ús(ic)	ús	úser, úre	ġé, ġie	éow(ic)	éow <sup>6</sup>	éower
OFris.	wi	us	us	user	i, ji, gi	jo, ju(we)	jo, ju(we) <sup>6</sup>	iuwer
OSax.	wī, wē	ūs	ūs	ūser	gī, ge	eu, iu, iuu	eu, iu, iuu <sup>6</sup>	euwer, iu <sup>o</sup>
OLFranc.	uuir, uui	uns(ig)						
MDutch	wi	ons	ons	onser	ghi	u	u <sup>6</sup>	uwer, -es
OHG.	wir	unsih	uns	unsēr	ir	iuwih	iu <sup>6</sup>	iuwēr

1) Brugmann (1911, 418) saw analogy in Umbrian *seso* 'sibi', while Katz (1998, 115–22) explains the sigmatic dative from pGmc. instr. *\*unzmiz* > *\*unsiz* and its following spreading into other persons. Katz (1998, 124, fn. 27) adds that this ending is not obviously related to the pronominal genitive sg. ending attested e.g. in Gothic is 'huius' and in the *o*-stems as Gothic *dagis* < *\*-eso*. Cf. Hitt. *-ās* in *anzās* & *sum(m)ās*, CLuv. *ānza(s)* & *ū(n)za(s)* dat.-loc. "us" & "ye", as the accented variant of the dat.-loc. pl. ending *-as*. 2) Nom.-acc. sg. ntr. in *\*-om* in Northwest Germanic, nom.-acc. pl. ntr. in *\*-ā* < *\*-eH<sub>2</sub>* in Gothic (Brugmann 1911, 416, 421). 3) Ringe 2006, 57, while Kroonen (2013, 275) reconstructs *\*iwe*. 4) Kroonen (2013, 275) assumes metathesis from *\*iwsiz*. 5) From Common Nordic *\*iðwiR* < *\*iRwiR* < *\*izwiz*. 6) Kroonen (2013, 275) reconstructs WGmc. *\*iwiz*. But the West Germanic forms are explainable from a similar starting point as Common Nordic *\*iðwiR*, changing into *\*igwi* and further *\*iwi*, cf. the fate of the numeral "four": *\*k<sup>u</sup>etūōra<sub>2</sub>/-es* > Early Gmc. *\*x<sup>w</sup>eþwōra* > Late Gmc. > *\*feðwora* > Got. *fidwor*, but *\*x<sup>w</sup>eþwōriz* > WGmc. *\*fegwariz* > OEng. *fēower*, OFris. *fiðwer/fiúwer*, OSax. *fiuwar* etc. (Berns & Ross 1992, 583–84).

	du.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.
*		<i>ue-dyo</i>	<i>ng̃ue &lt; *n̥-dyi-ǵe or n̥H<sub>3</sub>ue</i>	<i>ng̃ueso or n̥H<sub>3</sub>ueso</i>	<i>ng̃uerom/-ā or n̥H<sub>3</sub>uerom/-ā</i>	<i>iū-dyo</i>	<i>i(n)ǵue &lt; *i-dyi-ǵe or i(n)H<sub>3</sub>ue</i>	<i>iǵueso or iH<sub>3</sub>ueso</i>	<i>iǵuerom/-ā or iH<sub>3</sub>uerom/-ā</i>
*pre-Gmc.	<i>wit</i>	<i>uŋk(w)</i>	<i>uŋkes, -iz</i>	<i>uŋkera<sup>n</sup>/-ō</i>	<i>jūt</i>	<i>iŋkw</i>	<i>iŋkwes, -iz</i>	<i>iŋkweran/-ō</i>	
Got.	<i>wit</i>	<i>ugk(is)</i>	<i>ugkis</i>	<i>*ugkara</i>	<i>*jut</i>	<i>igqis</i>	<i>igqis</i>	<i>igqara</i>	
ORun.									
ON.	<i>wit</i>	<i>okkr</i>	<i>okkr</i>	<i>okkar</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>ykkr</i>	<i>ykkr</i>	<i>ykkar</i>	
OSw./OGut.	<i>vit</i>		<i>okę</i>	<i>okar</i>	<i>it</i>		<i>*ikę</i>	<i>*ikar</i>	
OEng.	<i>wit</i>	<i>unc(it)</i>	<i>unc</i>	<i>uncer</i>	<i>git</i>	<i>inc(it)</i>	<i>inc</i>	<i>incer</i>	
North Fris.	<i>wat</i>	<i>unk, onk</i>		<i>unk<sup>Sylt</sup></i>	<i>jat, at</i>	<i>(j)unk, onk</i>		<i>junk<sup>Sylt</sup></i>	
OSax.	<i>wit</i>	<i>unc</i>	<i>unc</i>	<i>uncero</i>	<i>git</i>	<i>inc</i>		<i>inc</i>	
OHG.				<i>unker</i>					

### J. Survey of personal pronouns of the Baltic languages (FORSSMAN 2001; HAMP 1982; MAŽIULIS 2004; OTREBSKI 1956; STANG 1966)

p.	1st sg.						
case	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.	
*	<i>H<sub>1</sub>eǵH</i>	<i>mēm &lt; *me-em?</i>	<i>m̃eǵ</i>	<i>mene</i>		<i>moǵ</i>	
Balt.	<i>*ež &gt; *eš</i>	<i>*mēn</i>	<i>*man-en<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>*munēǵ</i>	<i>*mene + *-s/*-ns<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>*manī-en<sup>4</sup></i>	<i>*maǵ- / *mani- + *-mi<sup>5</sup></i>
Prus.	<i>as 46x, es 2x</i>	<i>mien</i>		<i>mennei</i>	<i>maisei (poss.)</i>		<i>māim maim</i>
Lit.	<i>aš, a. eš</i>		<i>manė</i>	<i>mán</i> a. <i>mani</i> , d. <i>mùn(i)</i>	<i>manėš</i> d. <i>mūnies</i>	<i>manyjė</i> d. <i>muniė</i>	<i>manimi</i>
Latv.	<i>es</i>		<i>mani</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>manis</i>	<i>manī</i>	<i>manim</i>

1) The loss of voicing probably under the influence of the 1st person pl. pronoun *\*mes*. 2) Apparently contamination of the original acc. *\*men* and the o-grade ablaut form *\*man<sup>o</sup>*. 3) The a-vocalism in the East Baltic genitive was probably caused by influence of possessives *tavas* & *savas* with the regular change of the sequence *-ava-* < *\*eua-*. The endings are taken over from the nominal inflection: *\*-ns* represents contamination of the gen. and acc. 4) Originally inessive; *\*-ī* represents the ending of the loc. sg. of nominal i-stems. 5) Corresponding to the instr. sg. of nominal i-stems (Forssman 2001, 139-41).

p.	2nd sg.						
case	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.	
*	<i>tū</i>	<i>tēm</i>	<i>teb<sup>1</sup>eǵ</i>	<i>teue</i>		<i>teuǵ?</i>	
Balt.	<i>*tū</i>	<i>*tēn</i>	<i>*teue-en<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>*tebeǵ</i>	<i>*teu<sup>-1</sup></i>	<i>*teuē-en<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>*teui<sup>-1</sup> + *-mi<sup>5</sup></i>
Prus.	<i>tu, tou, tū 1x</i> <i>toū 6x</i>	<i>tien</i>		<i>tebbei</i> <i>tebbe 4x</i>		<i>twaise (poss.)</i>	
Lit.	<i>tù</i>		<i>tavė</i>	<i>táu</i>	<i>tavėš</i>	<i>tavyjė</i>	<i>tavimi</i>
Latv.	<i>tu</i>		<i>tevi</i>	<i>tev</i>	<i>tevis</i>	<i>tevī</i>	<i>tevim</i>

1) Based on the gen. *\*teue*. 2) The endings are taken over from the nominal inflection: *\*-ns* represents contamination of the gen. and acc. 3) Originally inessive; *\*-ī* represents the ending of the loc. sg. of nominal i-stems. 5) Corresponding to the instr. sg. of nominal i-stems (Forssman 2001, 139-41).

p.	1st pl.					
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.
*	*mēs		*mōns < *nōms <sup>1</sup>	*nōmus	*nōsōm	*mūmīs < *nōmīs <sup>2</sup>
Balt.	*mes	*mēs	*mōns <sup>2</sup>	*nōmōns	*nūsōn	*mūmīs <sup>2</sup>
Prus.	mes 62x, mas 1x		mans	noūmans	noūson	
Lit.	mēs, d. mūs	d. mėš	mūs	a. mūmus > mūms <sup>2</sup>	mūsų <sup>2</sup>	mumysė <sup>3</sup> / mūsuošė <sup>4</sup> / mumis
Latv.	d. mes, mas	mēs	mūs	mums <sup>2</sup>	mūsu <sup>2</sup>	d. mumis <sup>3</sup> / mūsuoš <sup>4</sup> / mums

1) Nominal. acc. pl. 2) \*m- instead of \*n- after the nom. 2) Nominal loc. pl. of i-stems. 3) Nominal loc. pl. of o- or u-stems. 4) The ending \*-mīs taken over from the nominal inflection of u-stems (Forssman 2001, 140).

p.	2nd pl.					
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.
*	*iūs	*uōns	*iūmōns < *uōmōns	*iūsōn < *uōsōm		*jūmīs < *uōmīs
Balt.	*iūs	*iūs	*uons	*iūmōns	*iūsōn	*jūmīs < *u-
Prus.	ioūs		wans	ioūma(n)s, iouma(n)s	iouson, ioūsan	ioūs
Lit.	jūs	jūs		a. jūmus > jūms	jūsų	jumysė, jūsyjė, jūsuosė / jūs
Latv.	jūs	jūs		jums	jūsu	jūsuosė / jūs

person	1st du.					
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.
Lit. m. : f.	mūdu : mūdvi Žem. vėdō : vėdvi <sup>1</sup>		mūdu : mūdvi Žem. nuodu <sup>1</sup>	mūdviem	mūdviejū	mūdviese / mūdviem

1) Otrębski 1956, 139; Stang 1966, 257.

person	2nd du.					
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.
Lit. m. : f.	jūdu : jūdvi	jūdu : jūdvi	jūdviem	jūdviejū	jūdviese	jūdviem

### K. Survey of personal pronouns of the Slavic languages (VAILLANT 1958; BĚLIČOVÁ 1998)

person	1st sg.					
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.
*	H <sub>1</sub> ēǵom <sup>1</sup>	mē & meN (/ mene <sup>2</sup> )	mṛoj <sub>1</sub> / me <sub>1</sub>	mene (/ mē <sup>3</sup> )	mṛoj <sub>1</sub>	mṛoj <sub>1</sub> -eH <sub>2</sub> m <sup>4</sup>
OCS.	azъ	mę / mene	mъně / mi	mene	mъně	mъnojъ
Bulg.	az	me / mene, men	mene, men / mi			
Mac.	jas	me / mene	mene / mi			
SCr.	jâ	me / mene	meni / mi	mene / me <sup>2</sup>	meni	mṛōm, mṛōme
Sln.	jaz	me / mene	meni / mi	mene / me	meni	menoj, mano

person	1st sg.					
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.
Slk.	ja	ma / mňa	mne / mi	mňa / ma	mne	mnou
OCz.	jáz	mě / mne	mně / mi	mne / mě	mně	mnú
Cz.	já	mě / mne	mně / mi	mne / mě	mně	mnou
USo.	ja	mje / mnje	mni / mi	mnje / mje	mni	mmu
LSo.	ja	mě / mnjo	mnjo / mě	mnjo / mě	mnjo	mmu
Plb.	joz	-me & mẽ, mą / mine, mane	mane, mine, manã / mẽ	mane, manã		manq, mane
Kašub.	jô	mie & miã / mnie	mnie / mie	mnie / mie	mnie / mie	mnq
Pol.	ja	<sup>OPol</sup> mie & mię / mnie	mnie / mi	mnie / mię	mnie	mnq
Brus.	ja	/ mjane	mne	mjane	mne	mnoj(u)
Ukr.	ja	/ mene	meni	mene	meni	mnoju
Rus.	ja	/ menjá	mne	menjá	mne	mnój(u)

1) Lengthening caused by Winter's law? 2) Originally gen. sg. 3) Originally acc. sg. 4) The root *\*m̥n̥* is compatible with the East Baltic dat. sg. *\*munej* (Vaillant 1958, 450); both may reflect *\*mn̥*<sup>o</sup> developing into *\*mun̥*<sup>o</sup> under influence of *\*tū*/*\*tu̯*<sup>o</sup> "thou", especially in perspective of the instr. *\*t[u]b<sup>h</sup>oi-ām*. The ending *-ām* < *\*-eH<sub>2</sub>m* expanded here from the inflection of the demonstrative *ta*: instr. *toj̯* (cf. Brugmann 1911, 190, 366).

person	2nd sg.					
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.
*	tū	tē & teN (/ te <sup>h</sup> e <sup>i</sup> )	te <sup>h</sup> ej̯ / te <sub>i</sub>	te <sup>h</sup> e <sup>i</sup> (/ tē <sup>3</sup> )	te <sup>h</sup> ej̯	t[u]b <sup>h</sup> oi̯-eH <sub>2</sub> m <sup>4</sup>
OCS.	ty	tę / tebe	tebĕ / ti	tebe	tebĕ	tobojo̯
Bulg.	ti	te / tebe, teb	tebe, teb / ti			
Mac.	ti	te / tebe	tebe / ti			
SCr.	tí	te / tebe	tebi / ti	tebe / te	tebi	tōbōm
Sln.	ti	te / tebe	tebi / ti	tebe / te	tebi	teboj, tabo
Slk.	ty	ťa / teba	tebe / ti	teba /ťa	tebe	tebou
OCz.	ty	tě / tebe	tobě / ti	tebe /tě	tobě	tobú, tebu <sup>5</sup>
Cz.	ty	tě / tebe	tobě / ti	tebe /tě	tobě	tebou
USo.	ty	će / tebj̯e	tebi / ći	tebj̯e /će	tebi	tebu
LSo.	ty	śi / tebj̯e	tebj̯e / śi	tebj̯e / śi	tebj̯e	tobu
Plb.	tâi, tĕ	tq / tibĕ, tebe	tibĕ / tĕ	tibĕ		tabq
Kašub.	tĕ	ce & cã / cebie	tobie, cebie / cĕ	cebie / ce	cebie, tobie	tabq
Pol.	ty	<sup>OPol</sup> cie & cię / ciebie	tobie / ci	ciebie / cię	tobie	tabq
Brus.	ty	/ cjabe	tabe	cjabe	tabe	taboj(u)
Ukr.	ty	/ tebe	tobi	tebe	tobi	toboju
Rus.	ty	/ tebjá	tebé	tebjá	tebé	tobjó(u)

1) Originally gen. sg. 2) Originally probably *\*teje*; *\*b<sup>h</sup>* could expand from dat./loc. & instr. 3) Originally acc. sg.; 4) The vacillation -o- ~ -e- indicates *\*b* < *\*u*. The hypothetical protoform *\*tubhoi-* is compatible with Old Indic *tubhya(m)* (Horálek 1955, 168). The ending *-ām* was taken from the paradigm of the demonstrative *ta* (cf. Brugmann 1911, 190, 366). 5) Commoner from the 15th cent. onward.

person	1st pl.					
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.
*	mūs <sup>1</sup>	nōms <sup>2</sup> (/ nōsom <sup>3</sup> )	nōmus <sup>4</sup> (/nōms <sup>5</sup> )	nōsom <sup>6</sup>	nōsu <sup>7</sup>	nōmis <sup>8</sup>
OCS.	my	ny / nasъ	namъ / ny	nasъ	nasъ	namī
Bulg.	nie / nij	ni / nas	nam / ni			
Mac.	nie	né / nas	nam / ni			
SCr.	mī	nās, nas	nāma, nam	nās / nas	nāma	nāma
Sln. m. : f.	mi : me	nas	nam	nas	nas	namī
Slk.	my	nás	nám	nás	nás	namī
OCz.	my	ny / nás	nám	nás	nás	námī
Cz.	my	nás	nám	nás	nás	námī
USo.	my	nas	nam	nas	nas	namī
LSo.	my	nas	nam	nas	nas	namī
Plb.	moi	nos, nās	nom, nām			nomě
Kašub.	mě, ma <sup>9</sup>	nas, nōs	nóm nama <sup>9</sup> , nami	nas, nōs naju <sup>9</sup> , naji <sup>9</sup>	nas, nōs	namī, nama <sup>9</sup>
Pol.	my	nas	nam	nas	nas	namī
Brus.	my	nas	nam	nas	nas	namī
Ukr.	my	nas	nam	nas	nas	namy
ORus.						
Rus.	my	nas	nam	nas	nas	námī

1) In analogy with *ny, vy*; cf. Lith. dial. *mūs*. 2) Nominal acc. pl. 3) Expanded gen. pl. 4) Nominal dat. pl. 5) Expanded acc. pl. 6) Nominal gen. pl. 7) Nominal loc. pl. 8) Nominal instr. pl. in BSl. 9) It is an original dual case form; in this function as long as the 50's of the 20. cent.

person	2nd pl.					
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.
*	μō(m)s <sup>1</sup>	μōms <sup>2</sup> (/μōsom <sup>3</sup> )	μōmus <sup>4</sup> (/μōms <sup>5</sup> )	μōsom <sup>6</sup>	μōsu <sup>7</sup>	μōmis <sup>8</sup>
OCS.	vy	vy / vasъ <sup>1</sup>	vamъ / vy	vasъ	vasъ	vamī
Bulg.	vie, vij	vi / vas	vam / vi			
Mac.	vie	ve / vas	vam / vi			
SCr.	vī	vās, vas	vāma, vam	vās / vas	vāma	vāma
Sln. m. : f.	vi : ve	vas	vam	vas	vas	vamī
Slk.	vy	vás	vám	vás	vás	vamī
OCz.	vy	vy / vás	vám	vás	vás	vámī
Cz.	vy	vás	vám	vás	vás	vámī
USo.	wy	was	wam	was	was	wamī
LSo.	wy	was	wam	was	was	wamī
Plb.	jai <sup>9</sup>		vom			vomě
Kašub.	wě, wa <sup>10</sup>	was, wōs	wóm wama <sup>10</sup> , wami	was, wōs waju <sup>10</sup> , waji <sup>10</sup>	was, wōs	wamī wama <sup>10</sup>
Pol.	vy	vas	vam	vas	vas	vamī

person	2nd pl.					
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.
Brus.	vy	vas	vam	vas	vas	vami
Ukr.	vy	vas	vam	vas	vas	vamy
Rus.	vy	vas	vam	vas	vas	vámi

1) Originally acc. pl. \* $\mu\delta ms$  or counterpart of Italic \* $\mu\delta s$ ? 2) Nominal acc. pl.; cf. Prus. *wans*. 3) Expanded gen. pl. 4) Nominal dat. pl. 5) Expanded acc. pl. 6) Nominal gen. pl. 7) Nominal loc. pl. 8) Nominal instr. pl. in BSL. 9) It is attractive to see here a reflex of expected IE \* $\text{ju}s$ , but a borrowing of OHG *ji* seems more probable (Vaillant 1958, 452). 10) It is an original dual case form; in this function as late as the 50's of the 20. cent.

person	1st du.					
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.
*	$\mu\epsilon$	$n\delta$	$n\delta m\delta^1$	$n\delta i\delta u\delta s^2$	$n\delta i\delta u\delta s^2$	$n\delta m\delta^1$
OCS.	vě	na, ny <sup>3</sup>	nama, na	naju	naju	nama
Sln. m. : f.	midva : medve	midva : medve	nama	naju	naju / nama	nama
OCz.	vě, va	ny <sup>3</sup>	náma	najú	najú	náma
USo.	mój	naju	namaj	naju	namaj	namaj
LSo.	mej	naju	nama	naju	nama	nama

1) Contaminated nominal dat. pl. in \*- $m\delta$  < \*-*mus* & nom. du. \* $a$  < \*- $\delta$ . 2) According to *toju* < \* $\text{toju}\delta s$ , gen.-loc. pl. of the demonstrative  $t\delta$  (Erhart 1982, 155). 3) Originally acc. pl.

person	2nd du.					
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	loc.	instr.
*	$\mu\delta^1$	$\mu\delta$	$\mu\delta m\delta^2$	$\mu\delta i\delta u\delta s^3$	$\mu\delta i\delta u\delta s^3$	$\mu\delta m\delta^2$
OCS.	va, vy <sup>4</sup>	va, vy <sup>4</sup>	vama, va	vaju	vaju	vama
Sln. m. : f.	vidva : vedve	vidva : vedve	vama	vaju	vaju / vama	vama
OCz.	vy <sup>4</sup>	vy <sup>4</sup>	váma	vy	vajú	váma
USo.	wój	waju	wamaj	waju	wamaj	wamaj
LSo.	wej	waju	wama	waju	wama	wama

1) Originally acc. du. 2) Contaminated nominal dat. pl. in \*- $m\delta$  < \*-*mus* & nom. du. \* $a$  < \*- $\delta$ . 2) According to *toju* < \* $\text{toju}\delta s$ , gen.-loc. pl. of the demonstrative  $t\delta$  (Erhart 1982, 155). 4) Originally nom.-acc. pl.

## L. Survey of personal pronouns of the Tocharian languages (ADAMS 1988, 149–56; JASANOFF 1989; PINAULT 1989, 111ff.)

person	1st sg.				2nd sg.			
	nom.	obl.	gen.	encl.	nom.	obl.	gen.	encl.
*	( <i>m</i> )e $\acute{g}e$	me $\acute{g}e$	mene $\acute{e}s$	-mene	tu $\acute{u}om$	te $\acute{u}e$	tune	-te
Toch. B	$\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{s}$ ( $\tilde{n}\tilde{i}\tilde{s}$ )	$\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{s}$ ( $\tilde{n}\tilde{i}\tilde{s}$ )	$\tilde{n}\tilde{i}$	- $\tilde{n}$	twe, tuwe	ci	ta $\tilde{n}$	-c
Toch. A	f. $\tilde{n}\tilde{u}k$ < *( <i>m</i> )e $\acute{g}oH$	m. $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{s}$ < * $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{s}$ - $\tilde{a}\tilde{s}$ < abl. * <i>meg-eti</i>	m. $\tilde{n}\tilde{i}$ (f. $\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{i}$ < * $\tilde{m}\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{e}\tilde{i}\tilde{s}$ )	- $\tilde{n}\tilde{i}$	tu	cu	t $\tilde{n}\tilde{i}$ < * $\tilde{t}\tilde{u}\tilde{n}\tilde{e}\tilde{i}\tilde{s}$	-ci



person	1st pl.				2nd pl.			
	nom.-obl.	gen. I	gen. II	encl.	nom.-obl.	gen. I	gen. II	encl.
*	ȳos	ȳosoī(s)	loc. ȳos-ne, -no	-ȳsmo-	īos	īosoī(s)	loc. ȳos-ne, -no	-usmo-
Toch. B	wes	wesi	wesāñ, -āṃ	-me	yes	yesi	wesāñ, -āṃ	-me
Toch. A	was		wasāṃ	-m	yas		wasāṃ	-m

person	1st du.		2nd du.	
	nom.-obl.	gen.	nom.-obl.	gen.
*	ȳo-n-oH <sub>1</sub>	ȳo-n-oīs-ne	īo-n-oH <sub>1</sub>	īo-n-oīs-ne
Toch. B	wene	wenaisāñ	yene	yenaisāñ

## 2. Survey of partial microsystems of the personal pronouns

	1st sg.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	loc.	instr.
*IA	H <sub>1</sub> eġHom	mēm / mē	meġ <sup>h</sup> io(m) / moī	méme	med	meī	
*Iranian	H <sub>1</sub> eġH(-om)	mēm / mē	meb <sup>h</sup> io / moī	mene	med		
*Armenian	H <sub>1</sub> eġH	H <sub>1</sub> m(e)ġe	H <sub>1</sub> meġ <sup>h</sup> eī	H <sub>1</sub> me(n)	H <sub>1</sub> med <sup>h</sup> en	H <sub>1</sub> m(e)ġ <sup>h</sup> i	H <sub>1</sub> meb <sup>h</sup> i
*Greek	H <sub>1</sub> eġoH	H <sub>1</sub> me(ġe)	H <sub>1</sub> moī	H <sub>1</sub> meso	gen. H <sub>1</sub> med <sup>h</sup> en		
*Albanian	H <sub>1</sub> eġ(o)H	mēm / me	moī	so mejos		abl. moī-	
Venetic	ego	meġo					
*Italic	H <sub>1</sub> eġoH	<sup>OU</sup> mē(-om) <sup>LF</sup> mē & med	meġ <sup>h</sup> eī	meīs	med		
*Celtic	H <sub>1</sub> eġH	me	moī	meuē & mene	med		
*Germanic	H <sub>1</sub> eġ(H)	meġe	meso	meīnom/-eH <sub>2</sub>			
*Baltic	H <sub>1</sub> eġH	mēm	mṃeī	mene			moī
*Slavic	H <sub>1</sub> eġom	mem / mē	mṃoi / meī	mene		mṃoi	mṃoi-eH <sub>2</sub> m
*Tocharian	(m)eġoH	meġe		meneīs & -mene			
*Anatolian	H <sub>1</sub> eġH	H <sub>1</sub> m[n]uġe		H <sub>1</sub> m[n]el <sup>o</sup>	H <sub>1</sub> m[n]éd <sup>o</sup>		

	2nd sg.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	loc.	instr.
*IA	tȳom	tȳēm / tȳē	tub <sup>h</sup> io(m) / toī	teue	tȳed	tȳeī	tȳeH <sub>1</sub>
*Iranian	tū(-om)	tȳēm / tȳē	teb <sup>h</sup> io / toī	teue	tȳed		tȳeH <sub>1</sub>
*Armenian	tū	tȳeġe	tȳeġ <sup>h</sup> eī	tȳeso	tȳed <sup>h</sup> en	tȳeġ <sup>h</sup> i	tȳeb <sup>h</sup> i

	2nd sg.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	loc.	instr.
*Greek	tŭ́(ne)	tŭe(ġe)	tŭoi	tŭeso	<sup>gen.</sup> tŭed <sup>h</sup> en		
*Albanian	tŭ	tŭuēm / te	?tVb <sup>ho</sup> / toŭ	so tŭos		<sup>abl.</sup> t(ŭ)oi-	
*Italic	tŭ(-om)	tē(-om) / ted	teb <sup>h</sup> eŭ	teŭs	ted		
*Celtic	tŭ	tē	toŭ	teŭe			
*Germanic	tŭ	teġe	teso	teŭnom/-eH <sub>2</sub>			
*Baltic	tŭ	tēm	teb <sup>h</sup> eŭ	teŭe			
*Slavic	tŭ	tem / tē	teb <sup>h</sup> eŭ / teŭ	teb <sup>h</sup> e		teb <sup>h</sup> eŭ	t[u]b <sup>h</sup> oi-eH <sub>2</sub> m
*Tocharian	tŭom			<sup>obl.</sup> teŭe vs. <sup>gen.</sup> tŭne			
*Anatolian	tŭ	tŭġe		tŭél <sup>o</sup>	tŭéd <sup>o</sup>		

	1st pl.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	loc.	instr.
*IA	ŭeŭom	ŭsme+oms / nos	ŭsmeŭ / nos ŭsmeb <sup>h</sup> ŭom	ŭsme+okom	ŭsmed	ŭsmeŭ ŭsme+osu	ŭsme+ob <sup>h</sup> is
*Iranian	ŭeŭom	ŭsme / nōs	ŭsmeb <sup>h</sup> ŭio / nos	ŭsme+okom / nos	ŭsmed		ŭsmeH <sub>1</sub>
*Armenian	me(ŭe)s	(ŭs)meġe	(ŭs)meġ <sup>h</sup> eŭ	(ŭs)merom	(ŭs)med <sup>h</sup> enŭos	(ŭs)meġ <sup>h</sup> i	(ŭs)meb <sup>h</sup> is
*Greek	ŭsme(e)s	ŭsme	ŭsmi	ŭsme(s)ōm			
*Albanian	nos	nōs	= gen.	nōsōm	nos-si		
*Italic	nōs	nōs	nōb <sup>h</sup> eŭ+s	nostreŭ	nōb <sup>h</sup> eŭ+s		
*Celtic	snēs	snōs		ŭsom ŭserōm			
*Germanic	ŭeŭs	ŭse	ŭseso	ŭserom/-eH <sub>2</sub>			
*Baltic	mēs	mōms < *nōms	nōmus	nōsōm			mūmīs < *nōmīs
*Slavic	mūs	nōms	nōmus	nōsom		nōs-su	nōmīs
*Tocharian	ŭos	/-ŭsmo-		ŭosoi(s)		ŭos-ne/o	
*Anatolian	ŭeŭ(e)s	ŭs <sup>o</sup> / -nos	ŭsós	ŭsel <sup>o</sup>	ŭséd <sup>o</sup>		

	2nd pl.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	loc.	instr.
*IA	ŭŭŭom	usme+oms (o-stem) / ŭos	usmeŭ / ŭos usmeb <sup>h</sup> ŭom	usme+okom usmeŭ / ŭos	usmed	usmeŭ usme+osu	usme+ob <sup>h</sup> is
*Iranian	ŭŭs(-om)	/ ŭōs	usmeb <sup>h</sup> ŭio / ŭos	usme+okom / ŭos	usmed		usmeH <sub>1</sub>
*Armenian	ŭŭs	ŭeġe	ŭeġ <sup>h</sup> eŭ	ŭerom	ŭed <sup>h</sup> enŭos	ŭeġ <sup>h</sup> i	ŭeb <sup>h</sup> is
*Greek	usme(e)s	usme	usmi	usme(s)ōm			
*Albanian	ŭes	ŭōs / ŭos	ŭosōm / ŭos	ŭosōm	ŭos-si		
*Italic	ŭōs/ŭēs	ŭōs/ŭēs	ŭōb <sup>h</sup> eŭ+s	ŭestreŭ	ŭōb <sup>h</sup> eŭ+s		

	2nd pl.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	loc.	instr.
*Celtic	suēs	suē(s)	suēs	suēsērōm			
*Germanic	iūs	isue(s)	isueso	isuerom/-eH <sub>2</sub>			
*Baltic	iūs	uōms	iūmōns < *uōmōms	iūsōn < *uōsōm			jūmīs < *uōmīs
*Slavic	uō(m)s	uōms	uōmus	uōsom		uōsu	uōmīs
*Tocharian	ios	/-usmo-		iosoi(s)		uos-ne/o	
*Anatolian	usmes or s(u)ues	(u)smós or s(u)uós		(u)smensom	(u)sméd°		

	1st person du.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen./enc.	abl.	loc.	instr.
IA	ueH <sub>1</sub> -om	ηH <sub>x</sub> ue-om	noH <sub>x</sub> u	ηH <sub>x</sub> uoioiūs	ηH <sub>x</sub> ued	ηH <sub>x</sub> uoioiū(s)	
Iranian	ueH <sub>1</sub>	ηH <sub>x</sub> ue		noH <sub>x</sub>			
Greek	noH <sub>1</sub>	noH <sub>x</sub> ue	noH <sub>x</sub> ui(N)				
Gmc.	ue-duo	ηg̃ue < *η-d̃ui-g̃e or ηH <sub>3</sub> ue?	ηg̃ueso or ηH <sub>3</sub> ueso?	ηg̃uerom/-ā or ηH <sub>3</sub> uerom/-ā?			
Baltic	ue-duoH <sub>1</sub>	noH <sub>x</sub> -du°					
Slavic	ueH <sub>1</sub>	noH <sub>x</sub>	noH <sub>x</sub> -moH <sub>1</sub>	noH <sub>x</sub> -oiōiūs		noH <sub>x</sub> oiōiūs	noH <sub>x</sub> -moH <sub>1</sub>
Toch.	uo-n-oH <sub>1</sub>			uo-n-ois-ne			

Note: H<sub>x</sub> = H<sub>1</sub> or H<sub>3</sub>. If the Gmc. \*-k- really originated via „hardening“ from any laryngeal, it should be \*H<sub>2</sub>, more probably than \*H<sub>1</sub>, if the latter has been interpreted as /?/. In this case H<sub>x</sub> = H<sub>3</sub>.

	2nd person du.						
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	abl.	loc.	instr.
IA	iūu-om	iūue-om		iūu(o)oiūs	iūu-ed		iūu-eH <sub>1</sub>
Iranian				iūue-okom			
Greek	?*sueb <sup>h</sup> i						
Gmc.	iū-duo	i(n)g̃ue < *i-d̃ui-g̃e or i(n)H <sub>3</sub> ue?	ig̃ueso or i(n)H <sub>3</sub> ueso?	ig̃uerom/-ā or i(n)H <sub>3</sub> uerom/-ā?			
Baltic	iū-du°	iū-du°					
Slavic	uoH <sub>1</sub>	uoH <sub>1</sub>	uoH <sub>1</sub> -moH <sub>1</sub>	uoH <sub>1</sub> -oiōiūs		uoH <sub>1</sub> -oiōiūs	uoH <sub>1</sub> -moH <sub>1</sub>
Toch.	io-n-oH <sub>1</sub>			io-n-ois-ne			

### 3. Internal reconstruction

case	1st sg.		2nd sg.	
	*protoform	distribution	*protoform	distribution
nom.	$H_1e\acute{g}(o)H$ $H_1e\acute{g}Hom$	Ir., Arm., Gr., Alb., It., Celt., Gmc., B., T., An. IA, Ir., ?Gmc., Sl.	$t\ddot{u}$ $tu\acute{u}om$ $t\ddot{i}$	Ir., Arm., Gr., It., Celt., Gmc., B., Sl. IA, Ir., It., T. An.
acc.	$H_1me-e/om$	IA, Ir., Alb., It., B., Sl.	$t\acute{u}e-e/om$	IA, Ir., Alb., It., B., Sl.
emph.	$H_1me-\acute{g}e$	Arm., Gr., Ven., Gmc., T., An.	$t\acute{u}e\acute{g}e$	Arm., Gr., Gmc., An.
encl.	$H_1m\acute{e}$	IA, Ir., Gr., Alb., It., Celt., Sl.	$t\acute{u}\acute{e}$	IA, Ir., Gr., Alb., It., Celt., Sl.
dat.	$H_1me-\acute{g}^hi$ $H_1me-b^hi$	IA, Ir.: Wakhi, Arm., It. Ir.	$t\acute{u}e-\acute{g}^hi$ $t(\acute{u})e-/tu-b^hi$	Arm. Ir., It., Sl. / IA, ?Sl.: instr.
symp.	$H_1me-so$	Gr., Gmc.	$t\acute{u}e-so$	Arm. & Gr.: gen., Gmc.
encl.	$H_1mo\acute{i}$	IA, Ir., Gr., Alb., Celt., ?Sl.	$t\acute{u}o\acute{i}$	IA, Ir., Gr., Alb., Celt., ?Sl.
gen.	$H_1mene$	?IA, Ir., ?Arm., Celt., B., Sl., T., ?An.	$tune$	T. vs. Gr.: nom.?
	$H_1me\acute{u}e$	Celt.	$te\acute{u}e$	IA, Ir., Celt., B., ?Sl., T.
abl.	$H_1med$	IA, Ir., It., Celt., Anat.	$t\acute{u}ed$	IA, Ir., It., An.
loc.	$H_1me\acute{i}$	IA, ?Alb.: abl., ?It.: gen., ?Gmc.: gen., Sl.: dat.	$t\acute{u}e\acute{i}$	IA, ?Alb.: abl., ?Sl.: dat.
adv.	$H_1me-d^hen$	Arm., Gr.: gen.	$t\acute{u}e-d^hen$	Arm., Gr.: gen.
instr.	$H_1meH_1$	??	$t\acute{u}eH_1$	IA, Ir.

case	1st pl.		2nd pl.	
	*protoform	distribution	*protoform	distribution
nom.	$\acute{u}e\acute{i}$ $(\acute{n}s?)mes$	IA, Ir., Gmc., ?T., An. Arm., B., Sl.	$\acute{i}\acute{u}s / ?\acute{i}\acute{u}\acute{i}$ $s\acute{u}es$	Ir., Arm., Gmc., B., ?T. / IA. Celt., ?Gmc.: acc., ?An.
acc.	$\acute{n}sme / \acute{n}se$	IA, Ir., Gr., ?T./Gmc., An.	$usme / (u)s\acute{u}e$	IA, Gr., ?T., ?An. / ?Celt., ?Gmc.
emph.	$\acute{n}sme\acute{g}e$	Arm.		
encl.	$n\acute{o}s$	IA, Ir., Alb., It., ?Celt., An.	$\acute{u}\acute{o}s$	IA., Ir., Alb., It., ?Sl.
dat. I	$\acute{n}sme\acute{i}$	IA	$usme\acute{i}$	IA
II	$\acute{n}sme-b^hi$	IA, Ir.	$usme-b^hi$	IA, Ir.
symp.	$\acute{n}se/oso$	Gmc., ?An.	$s\acute{u}eso$	Gmc.
encl.	$nos$	IA, Ir.	$\acute{u}os$	IA., Ir., Alb.
gen. I	$\acute{n}s(m)er\acute{o}m$	Arm., Celt., Gmc.	$\acute{u}erom / s\acute{u}e(se)r\acute{o}m$	Arm. / Celt., Gmc.
II	$\acute{n}sme(s)\acute{o}m$	Gr.	$usme[ns]\acute{o}m$	Gr., An.
III	$n\acute{o}s\acute{o}m$ $\acute{n}som$	/ Alb., B., Sl. / ?Celt.	$\acute{u}\acute{o}s\acute{o}m$	Alb., B., Sl.
abl.	$\acute{n}s(m)ed$	IA, Ir., ?An.	$usmed$	IA, Ir., An.
loc. I	$\acute{n}smi$	IA, Gr.: dat.	$usmi$	IA, Gr.: dat.
II	$n\acute{o}s-si/-su$	Alb., Sl.	$\acute{u}\acute{o}s-si/-su$	Alb., Sl.
instr.	$\acute{n}smeH_1$	Ir.	$usmeH_1$	Ir.



## 4. Internal structure

The singular forms are relatively homogenous: only in the 1st person sg does the nominative stem differ from that of the other cases, which are all *m*-derivatives, while the forms of the 2nd person sg pronoun are uniformly *t*-derivatives. The plural pronouns of both persons are much more complex. Forms with initial *\*u-*, *\*m-*, *\*n-*, *\*sn-* in the 1st person and *\*i-*, *\*u-/u-*, *\*su-* in the 2nd person cannot be simply interpreted as suppletive. There are two strategies to explain them: 1. Reduplication. 2. Metanalysis in sandhi.

Assuming reduplication of hypothetical primary pronominal roots *\*mes* “we” & *\*ues* “you”, their reduplication (*\*mesmes* & *\*uesues*), following reduction (*\*ṛmsmes* > *\*ṛsmes* & *\*usues* > *\*sues*), resegmentation (*\*ṛs/mes* → *\*nōs*) and mutual contamination (*\*ṛsmes* & *\*usues* > *\*usmes*) etc. (see Cohen 1976a, 19; Szemerényi 1996, 217). These processes are in principle possible: e.g., reduplicated pronouns appear in Old Irish *snisni* besides *sní* “we”, *sisí* besides *sí* “you”, or Middle Welsh *nini* besides *ni* “we”, *chwichwi* besides *chwi* “you”. But it is not possible to explain in this way the forms in *u-* for the 1st person and in *i-* for the second person plural. For this reason Cohen (1976b, 20–21; 1982, 4), following Meillet (1922, 77), Muller (1926, 562) and Pokorny (1959, 513), proposes the reduplication of a hypothetical protoform *\*iues/\*iuos* “you”. But this reconstruction is more than problematic from the point of view of both word formation and congruence with corresponding verbal endings.

Explaining *s-* in Celtic *\*snēs*, Thurneysen (1946, 282) offered an alternative solution based on sandhi with the verbal ending: ... ‘The origin of this *s* is obscure; perhaps it arose through wrong separation where the pronouns were immediately preceded by a verbal form (such as 1 pl. in *\*-mos*).’

## 5. Congruence between personal pronouns and verbal personal endings

It is natural to expect some correlation between personal pronouns and verbal personal markers (cf. Szemerényi 1996, 329). For this reason it is useful to summarize the verbal personal endings (see Sihler 1995, 454–56, 470–71 with small modifications):

*	active		middle	
	‘primary’	‘secondary’	‘primary’	‘secondary’
sg. 1	athem. <i>-mi</i> & them. <i>-oH<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-H<sub>2</sub>er</i> & <i>-H<sub>2</sub>eī</i>	<i>-H<sub>2</sub>e</i>
2	<i>-si</i>	<i>-s</i>	<i>-tH<sub>2</sub>or</i> & <i>-soī<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>-tH<sub>2</sub>o</i> & <i>-so<sup>3</sup></i>
3	<i>-(t)i</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-(t)or</i> & <i>(t)oī</i>	<i>-(t)o</i>

*	active		middle	
	'primary'	'secondary'	'primary'	'secondary'
pl. 1	-mesi ~ -mosi <sup>1</sup>	-me(N)	-mesd <sup>h</sup> H <sub>2</sub>	-med <sup>h</sup> H <sub>2</sub>
2	-tesi <sup>2</sup>	-te(N)	-d <sup>h</sup> ue < *d <sup>h</sup> ue(s)d <sup>h</sup> H <sub>2</sub> < *t <sup>h</sup> ue(s)d <sup>h</sup> H <sub>2</sub> <sup>4</sup>	
3	-nti	-nt	-(ē)ror & -ntor/ī	-(ē)ro & -nto
du. 1	-ues/N(i) ~ -uos/N(i)	-ue(H <sub>1</sub> ) ~ -uo(H <sub>1</sub> )	-uosd <sup>h</sup> H <sub>2</sub>	-uod <sup>h</sup> H <sub>2</sub>
2	-tH <sub>1</sub> es/-teH <sub>1</sub> s	-tom	-HtoH <sub>1</sub>	-teH <sub>1</sub>
3	-tes	-teH <sub>2</sub> m	-Htē	-tē

1) 1st pl.: \*-mesi/\*-mosi > athem. Vedic *smāsi*, Old Avestan *mahi* (\**hmahi*), Old Persian *amaḥay* “we are”; them. Vedic *bhārāmasi*, Young Avestan *barāmahi* “we carry” (Brugmann 1916, 618–623; Hoffmann & Forssman 1996, 190, 200); Gaulish (Châteaubleau) *petamassi* “we request” (Lambert 2001, 101); perhaps Old Irish *bermai* & *bermi*, Old High German *beramēs* “we carry” < \**b<sup>h</sup>er-o-mēsi* (Brugmann 1916, 621). 2) 2nd pl.: \*-tesi > them. Gaulish (Châteaubleau) *īxsetesi* in the formulation *īxsetesi sue regenia tu* “may you try & get, ye, ancestors, (and) thou”. The formation *īxsetesi* is segmented in \**ēg-s-e-tesi*-(e)s or -(e)t (Lambert 2001, 95; Schrijver 2001, 139–41; IE \**H<sub>1</sub>eǵ<sup>h</sup>*). 3) Probably originated in analogy – see Sihler 1995, 475. 4) See Szemerényi 1996, 329.

Assuming the original correspondence between the personal pronouns and verbal personal endings, the following conclusions may be formulated:

(1) The best agreement appears in the first person sg. indicated by [\*]m and \*-oH<sub>2</sub> (thematic conjugation) corresponding to the oblique cases and the nominative sg. \**H<sub>1</sub>eǵoH<sub>2</sub>* “1” respectively.

(2) In the 1st person pl. the dominant indicator \*-me- ~ \*-mo- implies the corresponding pronoun \**mes* (or \**ṅsmes*?).

(3) The forms of the 1st person pl. derivable from \**uei*- correspond only with the dual endings of the first person and originally were probably limited only to the dual.

But in the second person the situation is more complex.

(4) The s/t-distinction, reflected in the active vs. stative singular endings, has a surprising analogy in the independent personal pronouns of plural of the type \**sues* vs. singular of the type \**tū*. Existence of the singular counterpart of \**sues* may be deduced from the active verbal ending \*-s(i). This implies a hypothetical suppletive paradigm in the second person singular, represented by the minimal opposition of nom. \**s[i]* vs. obl. \**tue*<sup>o</sup>. Their hypothetical plural counterparts could be reconstructed as \**sies* and \**tues*, later merged into \**sues*.

These three forms allow us to explain both the peculiarities of some forms of the 2nd person plural pronouns of the type (a) \**iūs*/\**ios*; (b) \**uēs*/\**uōs*/\**uo*<sup>o</sup>, and verbal endings of the type \*-d<sup>h</sup>ue < \**d<sup>h</sup>ue(s)d<sup>h</sup>H<sub>2</sub>* < \**t<sup>h</sup>ue(s)d<sup>h</sup>H<sub>2</sub>* (see above), or the asymmetry in the ‘primary’ active endings \*-mesi/\*-mosi vs. \*te (the ending \*-tesi is attested only in Gaulish). Let us stress that with respect to the final \*-i in the ‘primary’ endings \*-mi, \*-si, \*-ti, \*-nti of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd sg. and 3rd pl. respectively, it is natural to expect the same termination in the remaining endings of the 1st & 2nd pl., hence

\*-mesi/\*-mosi & \*-tesi. The following steps caused by metanalysis in sandhi are expectable:

- (6) \*-tesi+s<sub>2</sub>ies > \*-te + \*s<sub>2</sub>ies.
- (7) \*-tesi & \*-te+ \*s<sub>2</sub>ues > \*-tes+ \*<sub>2</sub>ues.
- (8) \*-tesi+ \*<sub>2</sub>ues > \*-tes+ \*<sub>2</sub>ues > \*-tes+<sub>2</sub>i<sub>2</sub>ues > \*-tes+ \*<sub>2</sub>i<sub>2</sub>us.

## 6. Conclusion

The preceding steps lead to reconstruction of the minimal paradigm with hypothetical suppletion:

	1 sg.	2 sg.	1 pl.	2 pl.	1 du.	2 du.
nom.	*H <sub>1</sub> eġ-oH <sub>2</sub>	*sī (*siH?)	*mes	*s <sub>2</sub> ies > * <sub>2</sub> ies > * <sub>2</sub> i <sub>2</sub> us	* <sub>2</sub> ue-H <sub>1</sub>	* <sub>2</sub> i <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>
obl.	*H <sub>1</sub> me <sup>o</sup>	* <sub>2</sub> ue <sup>o</sup>	* <sub>2</sub> us <sup>o</sup>	* <sub>2</sub> ues <sup>o</sup> > s <sub>2</sub> ues <sup>o</sup>	* <sub>2</sub> H <sub>1/3?</sub> ue <sup>o</sup>	?

**Abbreviation of grammatical terms:** a. archaic, abl. ablative, abs. absolutive, acc. accusative, agent. agentative, athem. athematic, d(ial). dialect, dat. dative, dir. directive, du. dual, e. exclusive, E = encl. enclitics, f. feminine, gen. genitive, i. inclusive, indir. indirect, inf. infixes, instr. instrumental, lat. lative, loc. locative, m. masculine, nom. nominative, ntr. neuter, obj. object, obl. casus obliquus (also used as a designation for cases other than the nom.), p. person, pl. plural, poss(es). possessive, red. reduplicated, s. stressed, sg. singular, suf. suffixal, symp. symathicus, them. thematic, uns. unstressed.

**Abbreviation of languages:** Afr. Afrikaans, Ardha-Mag. Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit, Arag. Aragonese, Arm. Armenian, Arom. Aromunian, Aś. Aśokan, Att. Attic, Av. Avestan, Bactr. Bactrian, Balt. Baltic, BM Bokmål, Boeot. Boeothic, Bret. Breton, Brit. Britton, BRus. Belorussian, Bulg. Bulgarian, C. Central, Campid. Campidanese, Cat. Catalan, Chwar. Chwarezmian, Cl. Classical, CLuv. Cuneiform Luvian, Corn. Cornish, Cz. Czech, Dalm. Dalmatian, Dan. Danish, Di. Digor, Dor. Doric, e. emphatic, <sup>E</sup>enclitic, E. East(ern), Eng. English, Engad. Engadinese, Faer. Faeroese, Fr. Franco-, Franc. Franconian, Fris. Frisian, Galic. Galician, Germ. German, Gmc. Germanic, Goid. Goidelic, Got. Gothic, Gr. Greek, Gujar. Gujarātī, Gut. Gutnic, H High, Hitt. Hittite, HLuv. Hieroglyphic Luvian, Hom. Homeric, I. Iron, IA Indo-Aryan, Icel. Icelandic, Ion. Ionic, Ir. Irish, Istr. Istro-Romanian, Kašub. Kašubian, Khot. Khotan Saka, Kurd. Kurdish, L Low(er), Lat. Latin, Latv. Latvian, Lesb. Lesbian, Lit. Lithuanian, Lugud. Lugudorish, Luv. Luvian, Lyc. Lycian, M. Middle, Mac. Macedonian, Mag. Māgadhī Prakrit, Mald. Maldivian, Mar. Marāṭhī, Mazend. Mazendarani, Māh. Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit, Megl. Megleno-Romanian, Mo Modern, N New, N. North, Northern, NE. Nort-East, Nor. Norwegian, NN Nynorsk, NW. North-West, O Old, OCS Old Church Slavonic, OCz. Old Czech, ON Old Norse, Osc. Oscan, Osset. Ossetic, Paelign. Paelignian, Paiś. Paiśācī Prakrit, Pal. Palaic, Parth. Parthian, Pen. Pennsylvania, Pers. Persian, Pic. Picenian, Pkt. Prakrit, Plb. Polabian, Pol. Polish, Port. Portuguese, Prov. Provençal, Prus. Prussian, Rj. Rājasthānī, Run. Runic, Rum. Rumanian, Rus. Russian, S. South, Southern, Sax. Saxon, SCR. Serbo-Croatian, Skt. Sanskrit, Slk. Slovakian, Sln. Slovenian,

So. Sorbian, Sogd., Sogdian, Sp. Spanish, Surselval, Sw. Swedish, Ś. Śaurasenī Prakrit, Toch. Tocharian, Tsakon. Tsakonian, Tumsh. Tumshuq Saka, U Upper, Ukr. Ukrainian, Umb. Umbrian, Venet. Venetic, W. West, Western, Y Young, Žem. Žemaitic.

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