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THE WORD *ĀTMÁN* IN THE *ṚGVEDA*

Ātmán-, the supreme principle of individual existence (“soul”), opposed to *bráhman*, the supreme objective reality, is one of the capital notions in the religious system of Hinduism. Before this opposition was established in the Upaniṣads, both the words had a long history of semantic and formal development the beginning of which (like all the other beginnings) is found in the *Ṛgveda* (RV).

This paper deals with the analysis of functions of the word *ātmán-* in the *Ṛgveda*. It is based on the general ideas expressed by L. Renou in his article “On the word *ātmán-*” (Renou 1952 – where the history of this word in the Vedic period is traced) and presents an effort to give a synchronic description of the usage of *ātmán-* in the most archaic linguistic system of the Old Indian language.

Ātmán- in the RV is a substantive of masculine gender used only in the singular. The word is of Indo-European origin, connected with the Old Saxon *āthum*, German *Atem* “breath” (Mayrhofer EWA I, 164). It is a polysemantic word peculiar in many respects. Its form is unusual, because practically it is represented by two variants, regarded by the dictionaries as two separate words: *ātmán-* and *tmán-* (e.g., Böhtlingk. I, 167 and III, 45). Historically the type of vowel alternation: \bar{a}/\emptyset which is not very frequent in Vedic takes place here (Kuiper 1942, 19 f.) and the paradigm of *ātmán-* is a reflection of an Indo-European accentually mobile paradigm: $*\acute{e}h_1t-m\bar{o}(n)$ – D.sg. $*h_1t-m\acute{e}n-ei$ (Mayrhofer ib.). As to its meanings, they are to a considerable degree distributed between the two stems, and within the limits of this distribution among separate cases.

There is a strong tendency to complementary distribution between the paradigms of *ātmán-* and *tmán-*: the former one is represented mainly by direct cases: N. and Acc., while the latter one consists almost exclusively of the indirect ones (first of all of the I. sg.). Besides, the forms of *tmán-* are inclined to be used adverbially, without any differences of nominal grammatical categories.

Ātmán- is used 22 times in the hymns of the RV as an independent word, 4 times as a member of compound words (Lubotsky I, 247-248). There exists also an adjective derived from *ātmán-* – *ātmavánt-* “possessing *ātmán-*” which is used 3 times. *Ātmán-* is a word that belongs mostly to the recent part of the RV: out of the 22 occurrences 13 are found in maṇḍalas I and X, only twice it is used in a “family” maṇḍala (VII, 87, 2 and VII, 101, 6), the rest belonging to maṇḍala IX – 4 times and VIII – 1 time. The variant *tmán-* is much more frequent, it is found 77 times in various parts of the text (Lubotsky I, 607-608). There exists also a feminine stem *tmānī-* found twice in the later part of the text in the I. case *tmānyā* (I, 188, 10 and X, 110, 10).

According to Renou (ib. 151), “the word *ātmán-* denotes something which is at the base of the “animated” character of living beings (or, what comes to the same thing from the Vedic point of view, of beings which are for us inert, but are conceived of as living)”. A detailed description of its meanings in the RV is given by Grassmann in his dictionary of this saṃhitā: 1) Hauch; 2) Athem, Odem, Lebenshauch; 3) Lebensgeist, Lebensprinzip; 4) vom Geiste der Krankheit (*yākṣmasya*) wird es einmal gebraucht; 5) der lebendige Leib, als Einheit aufgefasst (Grassmann 175). Only the meanings “person” and “self”, which are very close to that of a reflexive pronoun are missing here, whereas they are mentioned in other Sanskrit dictionaries (Böhtlingk I, 167; Monier-Williams 135). It should be said that the reflexive meaning occupies a peripheral place in the semantic volume of *ātmán-*, while it is the first meaning of the variant *tmán-*.

The paradigm of *ātmán-* consists of the following cases in the singular: N. – 15 times, Acc. – 4, Abl. – 2, L. – 1, thus the N. being the most frequent of cases. The usual function of the N., as it is well known, is that of the subject of a sentence coordinated with the verbal predicate. But the situation with *ātmán-* is different. Only 3 times out of 15 it is connected with a finite form of the verb. These are the following passages.

I, 162, 20: *mā tvā tapat priyā ātmāpiyántam | mā svádhitis tanvā ā tiṣṭhipat te* “Let not your dear soul burn you as you go away. Let not the axe do lasting harm to your body” (O’Flaherty 91). This is addressed to the sacrificial horse, who should not be sad parting with his life. Renou in his comments notices: “Noter *ātmán-* en regard de *tanú*, le premier étant atteint moralement, le second atteint physiquement” (Renou EVP XVI, 87).

X, 16, 3: *sūryam cákṣur gachatu vātam ātmā* “May your eye go to the sun, your life’s breath to the wind” (O’Flaherty 49). These words are said in a funeral hymn to a dead man whose body is cremated by Agni, and who is said to go into the three worlds. O’Flaherty is of the opinion: “Indeed, it seems to be the body, not the soul of the dead man that Agni is asked to lead to heaven, to Yama, to the fathers, and to the gods, the body that is the focus of the entire hymn” (ib. 48). And Geldner comments on it that *ātmā* is used here in the meaning of a more recent *prāṇā* (the latter denoting physical breathing, respiration) (Geldner 3, 147). Important is also the connection of *ātmán-* with *vāta-* which testifies to the meaning of physical breathing.

X, 97, 11: *yád imā vājáyann ahám
óṣadhīr hásta ādadhé |
ātmā yákṣmasya naśyati
purā jīvagfbho yathā ||*

“When I take these plants in my hand, yearning for the victory prize, the life of the disease vanishes, as if before a hunter grasping at his life” (O’Flaherty 285-286).

This is a verse from a laudation of the healing plants, and the word *ātmán-* is used here as a synonym of *jīvá-* – Geldner translates *ātmán-* as “Lebensgeist” (Geldner 3, 307).

All the three passages speak for the fact that *ātmán-* is something that is situated inside of his subject, be it a horse, a man or a disease. It can burn or torment his subject from inside, can go outside by itself or be forced to do it.

The rest of the occurrences of *ātmán-* in the N. are found only in sentences without predicates, expressed by a finite form of a verb. It may be a sentence with an elided link-verb. E.g., I, 115, 1: *sūrya ātmā jágatas tashúṣas ca* “The Sun (is) the vital breath of what moves and what is still” (the same formula is in VII, 101, 6); VIII, 3, 24: *ātmā*

pitús tanúr vása | ojadā abhyāñjanam “Food (is) the soul, clothes the body, unguent is granting power”, where the opposition of soul and body takes place; X, 107, 7: *dakṣiṇānnaṃ vanute yó na ātmá* “Dakṣiṇā obtains food which (is) our soul” (or “vital breath”); I, 164, 4: *bhūmyā ásur ásr̥g ātmá kvà svit* “Where (was) the vital strength of the earth, blood and soul?”.

The N. case of *ātmán-* is used in the predicative function. E.g., IX, 2, 10:

*goṣá indo nṛṣá asy
aśvasá vājasá utá |
ātmá yajñásya pūrvyáḥ ||*

“You are gaining cows, O drop (of Soma), gaining men, gaining horses and gaining prizes. You are the ancient essence of the sacrifice”; IX, 85, 3: *ātméndrasya bhavasi dhāsír uttamáḥ* “You are the vital principle of Indra, the supreme nourishment”.

It should not escape one’s attention that *ātmán-* is three times identified with nourishment: *pitú-* (VII, 101, 6), *ánna-* (X, 107, 7) and *dhāsí-* (IX, 85, 8), which gives grounds to suppose that the “soul”, “living principle” was regarded as something physical, material, closely connected with the body.

The N. case of *ātmán-* is used as an apposition to the subject, which is characteristic of the style of the hymns (Elizarenkova 1995, 203 f.). E.g., VII, 87, 2: *ātmá te vāto rája ā navīnot* “The wind, your breath howled mightily through the space” (about Varuṇa); IX, 6, 8: *ātmá yajñásya ráṃhyā | suṣvānáḥ pavate sutáḥ* “Essence of the sacrifice, well pressed with rapidity, Soma is clarifying”; X, 168, 4: *ātmá devānām bhúvanasya gárbho | yathāvasám carati devá eṣáḥ* “Breath of the gods, embryo of the universe, this god wanders wherever he pleases” (O’Flaherty 176) (about Vāta).

This case is also found in comparisons which are usually elliptical. E.g., I, 34, 7: *tisró nāsatyā rathyā parāváta | ātméva vātaḥ svásarāṇi gachatam* “O Nāsatyas-charioteers, come through three distances to the pastures like the wind!”; I, 73, 2: *purupraśastó amátir ná satyá | ātméva śévo didhiṣāyyo bhūt* “The one who is much extolled, who is real like the image (of the sun), precious like his own self (for a person), he should be gained!” (about Agni).

The analysis of the functioning of *ātmán-* in the N. case in the RV

shows that one cannot be certain in answering the question: what is *ātmán*- doing in the RV. It simply exists inside of his subject. It seems to be connected with the body, being sometimes identified with food, and at the same time it has the nature of the wind (I, 34, 7; VII, 87, 2; X, 16, 3; X, 168, 4).

The Acc. case of *ātmán* – is found 4 times. It is governed by the verbs *jñā* – “to know”, “to comprehend”; *arc* – “to praise, sing, honour”; *san* – “to gain, acquire”. E.g., I, 163, 6: *ātmāṁ nam te mānasārād ajānām* “I have comprehended your essence from afar by my thought” (about a deified horse) – Geldner translates it: “dein eigenes Selbst” (Geldner 1, 226); X, 92, 13: *ātmānaṁ vāsyo abhi vātam arcata* “Praise the wind, breath (of the gods), so that (things may become) better (for us)!¹” – again with the identification of *ātmán*- with the wind; X, 97, 4: *sanéyam áśvaṁ gām vāsa | ātmānaṁ tava pūruṣa* “Let me win a horse, a cow, a robe – and your very life, O man” (O’Flaherty 285) (the words of the curer in the hymn to the healing plants); X, 97, 8: ... *[ś]júṣmā óṣadhīnām | ... dhānaṁ sanīṣyāntīnām | ātmānaṁ tava pūruṣa* “... the powers of the plants that will win wealth – and your life, O man” (ib.) (the last two examples containing the same formula). In all these examples *ātmán*- is an abstract notion that can be understood, gained, and that should be praised.

The Abl. case of *ātmán*- is testified twice in the two last verses of a hymn the aim of which is to remove the illness called *yákṣmā*² from a sick man – X, 163, 5 and 6. Verse 6, for instance, reads as following:

*āṅgād-aṅgād lómno-lomno
jātám párvani-parvani |
yákṣmaṁ sárvasmād ātmānas
tám idám ví vṛhāmi te ||*

“From every limb, from every hair, from the entire body, I tear away for you this *yákṣma* born in every joint” (Zysk 108). A similar enumeration of various parts of the body as opposed to the whole body, *ātmán*-, takes place in verse 5.

1. Commenting on this passage Renou says: L’un des exemples les plus nets pour confirmer le sens premier d’*ātmán* (Renou EVP IV, 126).

2. According to Zysk, it is tuberculosis or consumption (Zysk, 12 f.).

Once *ātmán-* is found in the L. case – IX, 113, 1: *śaryaṇāvati sómam | índraḥ pibatu vṛtrahá | bálaṃ dádhāna ātmáni* “Let Indra, the killer of Vṛtra, drink Soma in Śaryaṇāvat gathering his strength within himself ...”. The meaning of *ātmán-* in this context is that of a reflexive pronoun.

The analysis of the lexical meanings of *ātmán-* represented by various cases gives a scale of meanings, beginning with “breath”, “soul” and ending with “body”. Thus, the concept of soul was not strictly separated from the physical substance – they were linked together by a continuous chain of lexical shades.

It should not escape one’s attention that the G. case (which in general, is a frequent one) is missing in the paradigm of *ātmán-*. As the concept “which is at the base of the “animated” character of living beings” (Renou), *ātmán-* stands by itself, and is not characterized by any other notions. At the same time it takes part in G. constructions as its governing member: *ātmá jágatas tasthúṣaś ca* (I, 115, 1; VII, 101, 6) “the vital breath of what moves and what is still”; *ātmá yajñásya* (IX, 2, 10; IX, 6, 8) “the essence of the sacrifice”; *ātméndrasya* (IX, 85, 3) “the vital principle of Indra”; *ātmá yáḥśmasya* (X, 97, 11) “the life of the disease”; *ātmá devánām* (X, 168, 4) “breath of the gods”; *ātmánam táva pūruṣa* (X, 97, 4 and 8) “your life, O man”.

The list of adjectival attributes to *ātmán-* is rather short: *śéva* – “precious”; *priyá* – “dear” (and “one’s own”); *pūrvyá* – “ancient”; *sárva* – “whole”.

Ātmán- is also used as a member of two compound words, both being adjectives: *ātmadā* – “giving life” and *śatātman* – “having hundred lives”. The first one is found only once in a cosmogonic hymn addressed to an unknown god (*ká* – “who?”). X, 121, 2: *yá ātmadā baladā yásya víśva | upásate praśíṣam yásya deváh* “He who gives life, who gives strength, whose command all the gods, his own, obey ...” (O’Flaherty 27). The second one is testified three times. IX, 98, 4: *índo sahasrīnam rayīm | śatātmānam vivāsasi* “O drop (of Soma), you want to gain a treasure, consisting of thousand (different objects), possessing hundred lives”. This is the interpretation of Geldner: “der hundert Leben hat” (Geldner 3, 102). But Renou understands it in a somewhat different way: “consistant en cent êtres-animés” (Renou EVP IX, 52), and explains it in his comment: “Ici, il s’agit de la richesse con-

sistant en *vīrá's*, le *vīrávantam rayím*, passim”.

The two other examples are found in the most recent parts of the text. I, 149, 3: *sūro ná rurukvāñ chatātmā* “... shining like the sun, possessing hundred lives”. It is said about Agni. Geldner’s translation is “mit hundertfachem Leben” (Geldner 1, 207), that of Renou: “doué de cent principes-animés” (Renou EVP XII, 39). X, 33, 9: *ná devānām áti vratám | śatātmā caná jīvati* “No one lives beyond the decree of the gods, not even if he has a hundred souls” (O’Flaherty, 65). Geldner’s translation seems to suit more to this context: “auch wenn er hundert Leben hätte” (Geldner 3, 183). Renou’s comment is in accordance with his general views: “(un mortel) qui disposerait (même) de cents principes – vitaux” (Renou EVP IX, 111).

No matter how to understand the meaning of *ātmán-* as a member of a compound: as life, animated being or vital principle, it is clear that in this function it is neither reflexive, nore connected with the body.

There exists also an adjective derived from *ātmán-* – *ātmanvant-* “animated” which is found three times in the hymns. Once it is an attribute to the cloud – IX, 74, 4: *ātmanván nábho duhyate ghṛtám páya[h]* “The animated cloud is yielding clarified butter (and) milk” (about Soma). The two other occurrences belong to the Aśvin-myth and their animated ships. I, 182, 5: *yuvám etám cakrathuḥ síndhuṣu plavám | ātmanvántam pakṣīnaṃ taugryāya kám* “You made this animated winged ship amid the streams for the son of Tugra”; I, 116, 3: *tám ūhathur naubhír ātmanvátūbhír ...* “You brought him back ... in ships that were alive ...” (O’Flaherty, 182). These contexts show that *ātmán-* functioning as an underlying word means “life”.

If one wants to establish the meaning of a word in a certain text, the investigation of its paradigm, of characteristic syntactic structures and derivational models is, so to say, an inner analysis which is necessary, but not enough. It should be supplemented by an “outer” analysis – the investigation of the semantic field to which this word belongs so as to draw the lines of demarcation between the synonyms. Renou begins his description with this procedure, saying that *ātmán-* in the RV is akin to two terms: *ásu-* and *prāṇá-*. Both are “the vital breath”, *prāṇá* in the proper and so to say physiological sense; *ásu* in clear connection with death and the beyond, and at times approaching the notion of “psychè” (Renou 1952, 151).

The comparison with *prāṇá-* is the most obvious one. *Prāṇá-* which is found in the hymns 5 times (4 times in the recent part of the text) (Lubotsky II, 947-948) is explained by its etymology, being derived from the verbal root *an-* “to breathe” with the prefix *prá-*. The meaning is “breath” in general and “expiration”. Once this etymology is played upon by the Ṛṣi – X, 189, 2: *antás carati rocanā- | asyá prāṇād apānātí* “She is moving between the two luminous spaces, inhaling (life) from his expiration”. Renou comments that Uṣas (she) and Sūrya (he) are regarded here as the total respiration of the world (Renou EVP XV, 13). In the Puruṣa-sūkta *prāṇá-* is mentioned in the same list with other parts of the body, like the eye (*cákṣu-*) and the mouth (*múkha-*). It says in X, 90, 13: *prāṇād vāyúr ajāyata* “The wind was born from his breath”. Thus, similar to *ātmán-* *prāṇá-* is correlated with the wind.

As to *ásu-*, the situation here is much more complicated. It is a word which is not frequent in the hymns, found only 10 times used independantly (only once in a family maṇḍala, and the rest in the recent maṇḍalas I and X). Besides it is found as a member of compounds *ásunīti-* f. “sending off of the existence (to the other world)”, also personified, and *asutṛp-* adj. “taking away the existence” (Lubotsky I, 181). Renou takes *ásu-* for one of the denominations of “the vital breath” (Renou 1952, 151). This is the meaning given in the St. Petersburg dictionary: “Lebenshauch, Leben” (Böhtlingk 1, 150), as well as by Monier-Williams: “breath, life” (Monier-Williams 121). And only in Grassmann’s dictionary the meaning “breath” is missing, and the main meaning of *ásu-* is “Leben” (the word *ásu-* being derived from the root *as-* “to be”, “to exist”) (Grassmann 155).

Much later Schlerath argued in an article in favour of this latter viewpoint, basing on the material of *ásu* in the RV and *ahu-* in the Avesta. He comes to the conclusion, “dass *ásu-* im RV/AV nicht “Lebensodem, Orenda” bedeutet, sonder “Leben, Existenz, individuelle Existenz (auch nach dem Tode)”. Alles spricht für Ableitung aus *as-*, nichts für Ableitung aus *an-*” (Schlerath 1968, 150). Mayrhofer in his etymological dictionary accepts Schlerath’s interpretation (Mayrhofer EWA I, 147).

As *ātmán-* is treated in the RV as the vital breath, vital principle, it is semantically very close to *ásu-*, denoting life and individual exis-

tence. The two words are synonymous in this meaning, but some differences between the synonyms can also be traced in the hymns. It was noticed both by Renou and by Schlerath that *ásu-* is correlated to death. Existence denoted by *ásu-* can also last after death. Cp. X, 12, 4: *áhā yád dyáǎvó 'sunītim áyan | mádhvā no átra pitárā śísītām* “When (our) days, days and nights go to the other world, let our two parents charpen then our (poetical vision) with the help of the sweet (Soma)³”. Commenting on these lines, Renou says: “*ásunīti* – expression typique du Livre X, notamment dans la brève *saṃhitā* mortuaire – équivaut à “mort” (avec idée latente d’un autre monde” (Renou EVP XIV, 72). *Ātmán-* in contradistinction to *ásu-* is not connected with death in any way.

Ātmán- is situated inside its subject, while *ásu-* is a state which can be entered by the subject. Cp. X, 12, 1: ... *devó yán mártān yajáthāya kṛṇván | sídad dhótā pratyāñ svám ásuṃ yán* “...when the god making the mortals sacrifice, takes his place as hotar, coming into the state of existence which is proper to him”. The god Agni is meant here, who becomes a hotar again after a period, when he was smoldering under the ashes. Renou translates it: “retournant (ainsi) vers son proper être-vital” (Renou EVP XIV, 9).

Though *ātmán-* in some contexts is opposed to *tanú-* “body” (VIII, 3, 24; I, 162, 20), there are cases, when *ātmán-* is denoting the body and not the soul (X, 163, 5 and 6, where *yákṣma-* is expelled from *ātmán-* “the body” in the Abl. case). Besides, the meaning of a reflexive pronoun which is found in the L. case of *ātmán-* (IX, 113, 1: *bálaṃ dádhāna ātmáni*) is rather close to that of the body: “gathering his strength within his body”⁴. The concept of *ásu-* is not correlated in a strict sense to the body.

The variant of the stem *tmán-* is found in the text as an independent word 77 times in all the *maṇḍalas* (Lubotsky I, 607-608). It is also used like *ātmán-* only in the singular. Its paradigm consists almost exclusively of indirect cases – the Acc. is found only once. The I. case

3. The translation follows in general Renou’s interpretation of this passage (Renou EVP XIV, 9).

4. Some considerations about the mutual relations of *tanú-* and *ātmán-* see (T. Elizarenkova, 2003).

is the most frequent one – it is used 63 times, the rest are the L. – 7 times and the D. – 6 times. Besides, there exists a stem with a feminine ending *tmānī-* which is used twice. Thus, there exists an evident complementary distribution between the two variants of the stem: *ātmān-* direct cases, *tmān-* indirect ones. It is broken by a single occurrence of the Acc. case from the stem *tmān-* – I, 63, 8: *tvāṃ ...| iṣam ... pīpayah ...| yáyā sūra práty asmábhyaṃ yaṃsi | tmānam ūrjaṃ ná viśvādha kṣáradhyai* “You made swell the refreshment, by means of which you, O hero, bestow on us vigour (which is your) apanage, so that it may stream in all directions”⁵. One can understand here *tmānam-* as the characteristic feature of Indra, the essence of his nature. This way, *tmān-* is used here in the meaning of *ātmān-*, from which it is formally differentiated only by the short a of the stem vowel.

The lexical meaning of all the indirect cases of *tmān-* is largely that of a reflexive pronoun based on the notion of “person” (Renou, 1952, 153). Renou notices that these are weak reflexives: “by itself”; “in one’s own”, and that they fall to the level of particles (ib.).

Grassmann notes that the singular of *tmān-* can be correlated to all the grammatical numbers of the corresponding substantive. E.g. III, 3, 10: *ágne tá víśvā paribhūr asi tmānā* “O Agni, you envelop by yourself all these (things)” (or “by your person”); IX, 102, 7: *samīciné abhī tmānā | yahvī ṛtásya mātārā* “Two young women, mothers of the Cosmic Law, (rush) to (him) in their own persons”; VII, 34, 6: *tmānā samátsu hinóta yajñám* “Hurry yourselves the sacrifice in the contests!”. That means that *tmān-* does not express the grammatical category of number.

The same can be said about the grammatical category of gender. Forms of *tmān-* with the inflexion of the masculine-neutral type can be correlated to the substantives of the feminine gender. E.g., VII, 84, 1: *prá vāṃ ghṛtācī bāhvór dádhānā | pári tmānā vísurūpā jigāti* “(The sacrificial spoon [f.]) full of ghee; which (we) are holding in our hands, is moving round you by itself, acquiring various forms” (to Indra and Varuṇa) – cp. with V, 15, 4, where the subject is Agni: *pári tmānā vísurūpo jigāsi* “You are moving around by yourself”.

5. The translation follows Renou’s interpretation (Renou EVP XVII, 27).

The two occurrences of the I. sg. *tmányā* from the feminine stem *tmānī-* are found in similar contexts in the 10th verse of the *āpri* hymns which is addressed to the sacrificial pole *vānaspāti-* (this substantive being of the masculine gender). I, 188, 10: *úpa tmányā vanaspate | pátho devébhyaḥ srja* “O great tree, you should by yourself let (the sacrificial animal) go under the guard to the gods!” The other passage X, 110, 10 is very close to this one.

The ability of the stem *tmán-* to express the grammatical category of case is rather limited. The single occurrence of the Acc. case of *tmán-* does express the usual meaning of this case grammeme – that of the direct object governed by a transitive verb (see p. 13).

The most frequent I. case (63 times) has usually the meaning of a reflexive pronoun of various lexical shades, which are indistinct and bordering with the meaning “person”. Sometimes they lose their pronominal status, becoming adverbs (like *svayám*) or particles. Still there are some contexts which give grounds to trace the meanings of instrumentality, agency and the like of the form *tmánā*, but they are rather vague. E.g., IV, 53, 5: *tribhír vratáir abhí no rakṣati tmánā* “He protects us by himself with his three decrees” (about Agni). Geldner translates it: “in eigner Person” (Geldner 1, 484), Renou: “de lui-même” (Renou EVP, XV, 21). But more often the meaning of the I. case is not at all evident. E.g., I, 54, 4: *-áva tmánā dhṛṣatā sámbaram bhinat* “You yourself have boldly split Shambara”. II, 25, 2: *góbhī rayím paprathad bódhati tmánā* “He expanded his riches by means of cows: (thus) he attends to himself”; VIII, 84, 3: *rákṣā tokám utá tmánā* “Protect (our) offspring and also ourselves!” etc.

The L. case is represented by two forms: *tmán* at the end of a *pāda*, and *tmáni* in other positions. Not a single one out of the 7 testified forms (*tmán* – 5 times and *tmáni* – 2) expresses the meaning of this case grammeme: sphere where the action takes place, or place of destination with the verbs of movement. Forms of the L. case of *tmán-* have practically the same meanings as those with the inflexion of the I. case. E.g., IV, 4, 9: *ihá tvā bhúry á cared úpa tmán* “He should take much care of you here himself”; IV, 29, 4: *úpa tmáni dádhāno dhury àśūn | sahásrāṇi śatāni vájrabāhuḥ* “(When) he who wields the thunderbolt in his hand himself (was) yoking swift horses to the pole – thousands, hundreds”.

Only forms with the inflexion of the D. case possess the meaning of this grammeme – they express the person for whose advantage the action takes place. All the 6 occurrences of the D. sg. *tmáne* are used in opposition with *tánayāya* or *tokāya* – the poet asks the deity to do something “for our offspring and for ourselves”. E.g., I, 114, 6: *tmáne tokāya tánayāya mṛṣa* “Have mercy on ourselves, on (our) children and grandchildren!” (to Rudra); VII, 62, 6 (= VII, 63, 6): *nū mitró váruṇo aryamā nas | tmáne tokāya várivo dadhantu* “So, let Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman grant wide space on ourselves and on (our) offspring!”. A similar situation is found in the rest of examples (I, 183, 3 = VI, 49, 5; I, 184, 5).

The loss of the reflexive meaning and transition to the meaning of adverbs, particles (or other emphatic devices) concerns indiscriminately forms with the inflexion of the I. and L. cases. Cp. *iva tmánā* in III, 9, 5: *sasṛvāmsam iva tmánā- | agním itthā tiróhitam | áinaṃ nayan mātariśvā parāvāto ...* “Agni who had run away as if deliberately, (who) had been hidden that way – Mātariśvan brought him from afar” (or “as if by himself”) and *iva tmán* in IX, 88, 3: *viśvāvāro draviṇodā iva tmán- | pūṣēva dhījāvano 'si soma* “Having all the treasures like a real Draviṇodas, you are like Pūṣan, inciter of poetical thoughts, o Soma”. Renou translates it: “Draviṇodas en personne” (Renou EVP IX, 38).

One can say, drawing the conclusion, that the stem *tmán-* distinguishes practically two cases: the D. case and the non- D. case, represented by two variants with the inflexion either of the I. or of the L. case, both expressing the meaning of a reflexive pronoun. The single form of the Acc. case with the typical meaning of this grammeme makes an exception.

There is one occurrence of a compound word with *tmán-* – *purutmán-* “having various existences”, an epithet of Indra in VIII, 2, 38: ... *śrāvaskāmam purutmánam | káṇvāso gātā vājīnam* “O Kaṇvas, sing the one who is fond of fame, who has various existences, the victorious one!”. The stem *tmán-* as a member of this compound has the lexical meaning of *ātmán-*.

This way the word *ātmán-* / *tmán-* distinguishes itself in the RV in many respects. It is by the existence of two variants of the stem, reflecting an ancient type of vowel alternation, and functioning as two

separate words; by the difference in their ability to express the grammatical categories; by the distribution of lexical meanings between them.

Unusual is also the further history of this word in the development of the Indo-Aryan languages. The variant *tmán-* has almost disappeared after the RV, and, as Renou says, it is very probable that before disappearing, it has transferred its meanings “person” and that of a reflexive pronoun to *ātmán-* (Renou 1952, 153). As a result of this development, tadbhava words in the New Indo-Aryan languages that originate from *ātmán-* are pronouns like the Hindi *āp* “you” (politely) (Turner 1966, 51). At the same time *ātmán-* opposed to *bráhmaṇ*⁶ – as a tatsama word, that is a borrowing from Sanskrit, became a denomination of one of the central concepts of all the Indian schools of philosophy.

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6. It should be said that the two words *ātmán-* and *bráhmaṇ-* are not correlated to each other in any way in the RV, and *bráhmaṇ-* in the hymns denotes sacred speech, spell etc.

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