

2.1. numerals

2.1.1. cardinals¹⁵⁶

The cardinals from ‘2’ to ‘1000’ consist of inherited material. Numbers ‘1’ to ‘4’ are inflected according to gender and case.

éka- ‘one’ is inflected as a nominal *-a-* stem with some pronominal elements, e.g. in the RV: **m.** sg. nom. *ékas*, acc. *ékam*, instr. *ékena*, gen. *ékasya*, loc. *éka-smín* (*éke* AV); pl. ‘some people’ nom. *éke*, dat. *ékebhyas*; **n.** sg. nom.-acc. *ékam*, pl. *ékā* in *ékam-ekā śatā* ‘each 100 (cattle)’ V 52,17; **f.** *ékā*, *ékāṃ*, *ékayā*, *ékasyās*. The loc. sg. *ékasmin* and nom. pl. *éke* in the m. as well as gen. sg. f. *ékasyās* follow the pronom. inflexion. *ékena* and *ékasya* are of pronom. origin but show endings consistently employed in the OIA nominal *-a-* stems. Iran. has another stem for ‘one’ **aīya-*: **m.** nom. OAv. YAv. *aēuuō*, acc. YAv. *ōiium*, *ōiūm*, (*ōim*, *ōīm*) < **aīyām*, OPers. *aivam*, instr. OAv. *aēuuā*, YAv. *aēuua*, gen. YAv. *aēuuahe*, loc. YAv. *aēuuahmi*, **n.** nom. acc. YAv. *ōiium*, (*ōīm*), **f.** nom. YAv. *aēuua*, acc. *aēuuqm*, instr. YAv. *aēuuaiia-ciṭ*, gen. *aēuuafhā*. The m. loc. sg. *aēuuahmi*, f. gen. sg. *aēuuafhā*, and perhaps m. abl. sg. YAv. *⁺aēuuahmāṭ*, if this is to be read instead of *anahmāṭ* Mss. in Nīr 99, are pronom. forms. A difference is that Av. has an old nominal form in the instr. sg. m./n. *aēuuā*, as opposed to OIA *ékena*.

dvā- ‘2’ is inflected only in the dual: **m.** nom. *dᵛvā*, *dvā* (YAv. *duua*), *dᵛváu*, *dváu*, instr. *dᵛvābhyām* (cf. YAv. dat. abl. *duuaēbiia*, cf. n. 11), gen. *dᵛvayos* (cf. YAv. *duuaiiā*, Goth. *twaddje*), loc. *dvayos*; **n.** *dᵛvé* (YAv. *duiie*, *duuaē-ca*), loc. *dᵛvayos*; **f.** *dᵛvé*, *dvé* (YAv. *duiie*), *dᵛvābhyām*. It follows the regular nominal inflexion, so that the same paradigm results with *ubhá-* ‘both’ (OAv. *uba-* YAv. *uua-*, OPers. *uba-*): in the RV m. *ubhá*, *ubháu*, *ubhābhyām* (cf. OAv. *ubōbiia*, YAv. *uuaēbiia*, cf. n. 11), *ubhayos*, n. *ubhé*, f. *ubhé*.

tráy-/tri- ‘3’ are inflected in the pl.: **m.** nom. *tráyas* (cf. YAv. *θrāiiō*, *θraiias-ca*), acc. *trín* (YAv. *θriš*; beside it, *θrāiiō*: borrowed from the nom., *tišrō*: from the f.), instr. *tribhís* (YAv. *θribiiō*: from the dat.-abl.), dat. *tribhyás*, gen. *trayāñám* (see KÜMMEL Academia.edu, 5.12.2012) YSP+ (RV X 185,1 *trīñám*; cf. YAv. *θraiiqm*, *θriiqm*), loc. *triśú*; **n.** *trí* (YAv. *θrī*, also *θrāiiō*, *tišrō*) / *trīṇi*, *tribhís*, *triśú*; **f.** has the stem *ti-sra-/ti-sṛ-*: nom. *tisrás* (YAv. *θrāiiō*: borrowed from the m.), acc. *tisrás* (YAv. *tišrō*), instr. *tisṛbhís*, dat. *tisṛbhyas*, gen. *tisṛñám*, *tisṛñāám*¹⁵⁷ (YAv. *tišraqm*), loc. *tisṛśu*. In addition, the multiplicative adv. *trís* is applied sometimes as indeclinable in place of the cardinal.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Hisashi MIYAKAWA, Die altindischen Grundzahlwörter im Rigveda, Dettelbach 2003; EMMERICK Indo-European Numerals (1992) 163–198.

¹⁵⁷ The Post-Vedic form *tisṛñám* is attested in RV V 69,2, but is metrically to be read as *tisṛñám*. The form *tisṛñám* appears in Ved. isolated only in MS–KS^m, and in the ŚB (2×).

catvār-/catru- ‘4’ shows a similar inflexion: **m.** nom. *catvāras* (YAv. *caθβārō*, *caθβaras-ca*), acc. *catūras* (cf. YAv. *caturē* < *-a-ns in the themat. inflexion), *catūrbhis*, *caturñāām* (cf. YAv. *caturam*); **n.** nom.-acc. *catvāri* (cf. YAv. *catura* with themat. inflex., beside *caθβārō* from the m.); **f.** from *cāta-sra-/cata-sr-*: nom. *cātasras*, acc. *cātasras* (YAv. *cataṣrō*), instr. *cataśbhis*.

‘5’ to ‘7’ and ‘9’ to ‘19’ are pl. adj.s, but without gender, and without endings in the nom. and acc. This corresponds to Av., where the indeclinable expression is applied (in part, also gen. forms are used), which seems to represent an older situation: *pāñca-* (YAv. *pañca*, *pañcā-ca*, *pañcanam*), *śas-* (YAv. *xšuuas*, cf. n. 161), *saptā-* (YAv. *hapta*), *nāva-* (YAv. *nauua*, *nauuanam*), *dāsa-* (in the RV: *dāsa*, *daśābhis*, *daśānām*, *daśāsu*; OAv. *dasā*, YAv. *dasa*, *dasanam*). The older indeclinable uses are found in the RV in, e.g., *saptā raśmibhis* ‘with seven sunrays’ beside *saptābhiḥ putráis* ‘with seven sons’, *dāsa kakṣyābhis* ‘with ten girdles’ beside *daśābhiḥ sahasraḥ* ‘with ten thousand(s) (cows)’.

aštā- ‘8’ shows a dual ending¹⁵⁸ in the nom. and acc. without gender difference: nom. *aštā*, *aštāu*, acc. *aštā*, *aštāu* (after the RV only *-āu*; analogic *aštā* in the AV and later), instr. *aštābhis*. The Av. has also here an indeclinable: YAv. *ašta*.

‘11’ to ‘19’ look like Bahuvrīhi compounds: *ékā-daśa-*, *dvā-daśa-* (YAv. *dnuu.dasa*), *trāyo-daśa-*, *cātur-daśa-*, *pāñca-daśa-* (YAv. *pañca.dasa*), *ṣoḍaśa-*, *saptā-daśa-*, *aṣṭā-daśa-*, *nāva-daśa-*; attested in the RV are only nom. *ékādaśa*, nom. acc. *dinvādaśa*, nom. *cāturdaśa*, acc. *pāñcadaśa*.

The cardinals ‘20’, ‘30’, ‘40’, ‘50’ are collective substantives in the f., originally derived from ‘ten’ (*^o*V̄-sat(i)-*/*^o*im̥sat(i)-* < **-dk̑m̥-t-*): *vim̥satī-* (cf. YAv. *vīsq̑s* < **ū̄-cant-s-*: from an *-ant-* stem, du. *vīsa’ti*), *triṃśāt-* (cf. YAv. *θrisq̑s*, *θrisatəm*, gen. *θrisatanam*), *catvāriṃśāt-* (cf. YAv. *caθβar̥satəm*), *pañcāśāt-* (cf. YAv. *pañcāsatəm*, instr. *pañcāsaḥbīs-ca*). They are used in principle in the sg., but also the acc. pl. appears: *tisrāḥ pañcāśātas* ‘150’.

‘60’ to ‘90’ are collective f. subst.s with *-tī-*: *ṣaṣṭī-* (cf. YAv. *xšuuasṭi-*), *saptatī-* (cf. YAv. *haptā’ti-*), *aṣṭī-* (cf. YAv. *aṣṭā’ti-*), *navatī-* (YAv. *nauuā’ti-*), inflected in the sg. and pl., e.g. acc. *pūro navatīm* ‘ninety palisades’ III 12,6, instr. *catūrbhiḥ sākāṇi navatīṇi ca nāmabhis* ‘with 94 names at once’ I 155,6 (MIYAKAWA 150), *ā pañcāśātā surāthebhir ... ā ṣaṣṭyā saptatyā ... āṣṭyā navatyā yāhi* ‘drive hither with 50 [horses] with good chariots ... hither with 60, 70 ... hither with 80, 90’ II

¹⁵⁸ On the PIE situation (cf. Grk. *ὀκτώ*, Lat. *octō*, Goth. *ahtau*, etc.) and etymological speculations, cf. MAYRHOFER EWAia s.v., BLAŽEK HS 111 (1998) 209–224, MIYAKAWA 101f.

18,5f. (op.cit. 142, preceded by *dvābhyām*, *catūrbhis*, *ṣaḍbhis*, *aṣṭābhis*, *daśābhis*, *viṃsatyā*, *triṃśatā*, *catvāriṃśatā hāribhis*), gen. *navānām navatīnām viśāsyā rūpuṣiṇām sārvasām ... nāma* ‘the names of all 99 destroyers of the gift’ I 191,13 (op.cit. 154), acc. *pūro ... nāva ... navatīs* ‘99 palisades’ (loc. cit.).

‘100’ is a n. collective subst. *śatā-* (YAv. *sata-*), inflected as a nominal *-a-* stem in the sg., du., and pl. An indeclinable use is known only in the instr., five times in the RV, e.g. *śatām ūtibhis* ‘with 100 helps’. — ‘1000’ is expressed by *sahasra-* (YAv. *hazaṇra-*), a n. collective subst. inflected as the nominal *-a-* stem, attested in the sg. and pl. There is also an indeclinable use, many times in the instr. with *sahasram*.

In the case of the collective substantives, the counted things are expressed in the gen. sg., gen. pl., or appositionally in the same case: *cātuḥsahasram gavyasya paśvāḥ* ‘1004 of cattle consisting of cows’, *uṣṭrānām viṃsatīm śatā* ‘twenty hundreds of camels’, *sahasram ūtāyaḥ* ‘a thousand helps’, *navatīm pūraḥ* ‘90 palisades’, *pūro ... nāva ... navatīḥ* ‘99 palisades’.

The numbers intermediate between decades 20 and 100 are, in principle, expressed by Dvandva compounds formed by prefixing the accented unit to the decade, e.g. in the RV *trāyas-triṃśat-* ‘33’, *cātus-triṃśat-* ‘34’. For ‘36’, there is a complexive compound *ṣaṭtriṃśa-*. Other examples in the RV are, ‘21’: *ekaṃ ca ... viṃsatīm ca* ‘one and twenty’, *triḥ sapta-* ‘three-times seven’, *triṣaptā-* ‘three-sevens’; ‘33’: *tri-ekādaśa-* ‘three elevens’; ‘63’: *triḥ ṣaṣṭis* ‘three- times [i.e. three] (and) sixty’; ‘77’: *saptatīm ca sapta ca* ‘seventy and seven’; ‘94’: *catūrbhis ... navatīm ca* ‘with four and ninety (instr.)’; and for ‘99’: *navatir nāva* ‘ninety-nine’, *nāva ... navatīm* ‘nine-ninety’, etc.

2.1.2. ordinals

The ordinals are derived with *-thá-* (*-th₂o-), *-má-* (*-mó-), and *-(t)īya-* (probably from *-ih₂o- added directly, or from a *-tó-* stem meaning perhaps *[group] with so-and-so number’), cf. also the superlative suffix (cf. 1.3.2.: p. 50). They can be traced back in most cases at least to PII: *pra-tha-má-* ‘foremost’ (YAv. *fra-tāma*), *dvi-tīya-* ‘2nd’ (OAv. *d^{vi}bi-tiia-*, YAv. *bi-tiia-*, OPers. *duvi-tīya-*), *tṛ-tīya-* ‘3rd’ (cf. YAv. *θri-tiia-*, OPers. adv. *çi-tiyam*, Lat. *ter-tius*, Goth. *pri-dja* < *tri-tī₂o-¹⁵⁹), *tur-tīya-* RV+ (YAv. *tūr-tiia-*, adv. *ā-xtūr-tīm* < *ā-ktur-tī₂am-, PIE *k^wtur-ih₂o-) or

¹⁵⁹ Probably < *tri-t-ih₂o-, derived from *tritó- (cf. Grk. *τρίτος*, Ved. *Tritá-*, YAv. *Θrita-*). The OIA form with *tṛ* is generally considered as original, while forms with *tri* as levelled after *tri-* ‘three’. However, a dissimilation from *ri* before *tī* on the side of OIA seems also possible. [*-ih₂o- > *-i₂o- > OIA *-tī₂o- as in the pass. stem from roots ending in -i(?). OPers. adj. *çitīya-* probably in DB V 3, see R. SCHMITT *Orientalia* 32 (1963) 439.]

catur-thá- AV+ ‘4th’, *pak-thá-* RV (cf. YAv. *puṣṭha*-¹⁶⁰) or *pañca-má-* AV+, *ṣaṣ-thá-*¹⁶¹ AV+ (cf. YAv. *xštūua-*, originally a fraction number, **šuš-t^ha-* is postulated, cf. n.160), *saptá-tha-* RV, *sapta-thá-* KS^p (OAv. YAv. *hapta-θa-*), or *sapta-má-* AV+, *aṣṭa-má-* (YAv. *aṣṭa-ma-*), *nava-má-* (YAv. *nao-ma-*, *nāu-ma-*), *daśa-má-* (OAv. YAv. *dasə-ma-*, OPers. **daθa-ma-*), also *katithás cid* ‘the so-and-so manyeth’.

From ‘11th’ on, *ekā-daśá-*, *dvā-daśá-* (YS^m+), *trayo-daśá-* (AV+), etc. are distinguished from the corresponding cardinals by their oxytone accent; only later *ekādaśa-ma-*, etc. ‘20th’ to ‘50th’ are made with *-śá-*: YS^m+ *trayo-vimśá-* ‘23rd’, *dvā-pañcāśá-* ‘52nd’, also *trīṃśat-tamá-* ‘30th’ (ŚB); ‘60th’ to ‘90th’ with *-á-*: *eka-ṣaṣṭá-* ‘61st’ ŚB; from ‘100’ on with the superlative-suffix *-tamá-*: *ekaśata-tamá-* ‘101st’ ŚB. Cf. YAv. *aēuuan-dasa-*, *duua-dasa-*, *θri-dasa-*, *caθru-dasa-*, *pañca-dasa-*, *xštūuaš.dasa-*, *hapta-dasa-*, *aṣṭa-dasa-*, *nauua.dasa-*; *viṣṣ-təma-*, *θriṣas-təma-*. *ekā-daśá-* RV+, *trayo-daśá-*, *aṣṭā-vimśá-*, *eka-ṣaṣṭá-* etc. AV+ mean homonymously ‘11th, 13th, 28th, 61st’ and ‘consisting of 11, 13, 28, 61’ (SOMMER-compounds).

The f. forms are *prathamā-*, *dviṭyā-* etc., or *caturthī-*, *pañcamī-*, *saptāthī-* etc. Some pronominal forms occur after the RV, e.g. *prathamāsyās* AV, *prathamāsyām* ŚBK (:: *prathamāyām* ŚB), nom. pl. *prathame* Br.^v, Sū.; *dviṭyasyām* ĀśvŚrSū, *tṛtīyasyām* AV AVP YS^m YS^p Sū., *tṛtīyasyai* ŚrSū.^m, cf. AiG III 586.

2.1.3. fractions

A system for fractional expression does not exist yet in the RV. In Ved. prose (YS^p Br.), we meet examples such as *dvi-bhāga indras tṛtīye viṣṇuḥ* ‘with regard to two portions (lit.: a complex/part consisting of two portions) Indra [has got it], with regard to one third Viṣṇu’, *sá tṛtīyaṃ babhūva, sá dvi-bhāgaṃ babhūva* ‘He got control over one third. He got control over two portions’, *turīya-bhāg indro bhavat, tri-bhāg vāyuḥ* ‘Indra became possessing of the fourth portion, Vāyu of three portions’. *tṛtīya-m* ‘one third’ occurs in the YS^p (:: *tṛtīya-* ‘3rd’); for ‘one fourth’, there are the forms *caturthá-m* YS^p (= the ordinal), *caturtha-m* ŚB (there, beside *caturthá-* ‘4th’), *túrīya-m* AV+, *turīya-m* TB (= the ordinal), and *turyá-* AVP, VSK, Cl.Skt. The same forms with the ordinals are used: *ṣoḍaśám* ‘one sixteenth’ AV, and *pañcamám*, *ṣaṣṭhám*, *saptamám*, *aṣṭamám* YS^p.

Av. uses a special suffix *-huua-*, or its *ruki*-variant *-šuu-*: YAv. *θrišuu-* ‘a third’, *caθuršuu-* ‘a fourth’, *pañtahuua-* ‘a fifth’, *haptahuua-* ‘a seventh’, *aṣṭahuua-* ‘an eighth’. OPers. forms are preserved in loan-words in Elamite: **čišuva-*

¹⁶⁰) With *u* after **šuš-t^ha-* ‘6th’, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 190.

¹⁶¹) With *a* after *pak-thá-* ‘5th’; *ṣaṣ-thá-* gave the basis for the cardinal *śaṣ* without *v*, cf. HOFFMANN loc.cit. [Analogical *paṣ-tha-* perhaps in *paṣṭha-váh-*, °*auhī-* ‘cattle in 5 years’.]

‘a third’, **caçušuva-* ‘a fourth’, **pancauva-* ‘a fifth’, **aštauva-* ‘an eighth’, **navauva-* ‘a ninth’. On the OIran. forms and their origin, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 183–190: *-*sua-* has been abstracted from **θriš-ua-*, i.e. *θriš* ‘three times’ (Ved. *trīṣ*, Grk. *τρίς*, Lat. *ter*) + suffix *-*ua-*.¹⁶²

ardhá- and *árdha-* (this means also ‘side, part, place [where something is located]’) are used for ‘one half’ from the RV onwards. The adj. *néma-* means in the RV ‘one, another, some’, but YS^p + also ‘half’, cf. YAv. *naēma-* ‘half (adj. and subst.), part’, Parth. *nym*, MPers. *nēm* ‘half’. The adv. *sāmi* ‘half, incompletely, not-completed’ is attested since the YS^p as simplex and in compounds, in the RV adv. *á-sāmi* ‘completely’; it goes back to PIE **sēmi-* ‘half-’ found as the first member of some compounds.

In a society where cattle played so important a part, some interesting expressions are applied for the fraction: *pād-* ‘foot’ for ‘one fourth’ (*tri-pād-* ‘three fourths’), *śaphá-* ‘hoof’ for ‘one eighth’, *kalā-* ‘?’ for ‘one sixteenth’, and *kūṣṭhā-*, *kūṣṭhikā-* AV YS^m Br. ‘pseudo-claw’, originally ‘where are they?’ (-*sthā-*) or ‘where are ye? (-*thas-*)’, for ‘one twelfth’ MS III 7,7^p:84,14 (*kūṣṭhā-*).

2.1.4. other numeral adjectives and adverbs

The adjectives *dvayá-* ‘double, twofold’ and *trayá-* ‘triple’ are old derivations with *-*ó-* from the respective cardinal numbers: Grk. *δοιός*, du. *δοιός* ‘both, two’, *δοιός* ‘double’, OChSlav. *dvъojъ*, etc. < **duoj-ó-* from the basis with *-*i-*; and < **trej-ó-*, cf. OChSlav. *trojъ* (< **troj-o-*), Lith. *treji* ‘three to each’. They are used also as the collectives in the n. The collective for ‘a group of five’ is *pañkti-* (OChSlav. *pęť* ‘five’, cf. n. 162); the adj. *pāñkta-* ‘fivefold’ AV + is a vṛddhi-formation derived from this noun. In the RV we meet *dāśa-taya-* ‘consisting of 10 parts’, and after the RV, *cātuṣ-taya-* AV, *éka-tayī-* MS^p, *cātuṣ-tayī-*, *saptá-taya-*, *aṣṭā-taya-*, *ṣaṭ-taya-* KB XX 1, *bahú-taya-* ‘manifold’ TS^p.

¹⁶² The suffix *-*ua-* is the same as the one found in Iran. **ai-ua-*, Grk. *αἰ-φο-ς* < PIE **oi-uo-* ‘one’, Iran. **par-ua-* (YAv. *pa^rr-uua-*, *pa^mr-uua-*, *po^rr-uua-*), Ved. *pūr-va-*, OChSlav. *prъ-vъ* < PIE **pr^h2-uo-* ‘the first’. **θriš-ua-* means thus originally ‘existing three times’. This argument is also available for *caθruš-uua-* which comes from *caθruš* ‘four times’ (Lat. *quater* < **k^wetru-s* < **k^wet^hu-s*; cf. *catir* AV+ < **catur-s* with analogic -*ur-*) + *-*ua-*. **tris-uo-* ‘consisting of three parts’ goes back even to PIE, cf. ONord. *þris-var* ‘three times’ (cf. *tvis-var* ‘two times’), and possibly *þpō-v* ‘fig-leaf’ (< **tris-uo-*, according to SOMMER). The relation of **tris-uo-* to **tris-no-* (Lat. *ter-nī* ‘three to each, three at once’, ONord. *þren-nr* ‘threefold’) is just as **oi-uo-* to **oi-no-* (Lat. *ū-nu-s*, Goth. *ai-n-s*, ONord. *ei-nn*). See HOFFMANN op.cit. 187. HOFFMANN points out a further possibility that a reinterpretation of the loc. pl., e.g. *hapta-huua* ‘among seven’ (< *-*su* + *ā*) as ‘the one among seven’ has played a role for the genesis of the fractional forms with *-*sua-*, and that *pañta-huua-* could be interpreted as reformed from **pañtā* (the loc. of **pañti-* = *pañkti-* ‘fivefoldness’) with -*ahuua-*.

The word for ‘both’, *ubhá-* (OAv. *uba-* YAv. *uua-*, OPers. *uba-*, cf. also Grk. *ἄμφω*, Lat. *ambō*, etc.) is inflected just like *dvā-* ‘2’ (2.1.1.: p. 60). Its derivative *ubháya-* (YAv. *uuaia-*) appears in the sg. (‘each of a pair’) or pl. ‘ones in both parties’; this is inflected in the RV in part pronominally: m. pl. nom. *ubháye*, gen. *ubháyeṣām*, in part nominally: m. sg. dat. *ubháyāya*, pl. nom. *ubháyāsas*, *ubhá-yās*; after the RV only pronominal. The f. is *ubháyī-* in the *devī-* inflexion, attested only in the pl. in Ved. (AV+), and in all forms in Cl.Skt.; an isolated gen. pl. *ubháyīṣām* appears in TSP V 2,5,5, V 4,9,2, VII 3,4,1.¹⁶³

The multiplicative adverbs of time are: *sa-kṛt* ‘once’ (YAv. *ha-kar²t*, originally a compound of **sm* ‘one’ with a root-noun, perhaps ‘time’); with *-s* (PIE **-s*): *dvi-s* (*dvi-s*), *duvi-s* ‘twice’ (YAv. *bi-s*, Grk. *δις*, Lat. *dui-s*, *bi-s*), *tri-s* ‘three times’ (YAv. *θρις*, Grk. *τρις*, Lat. *ter*), *catūr* AV+ ‘four times’ (cf. YAv. *caθru-s*, Lat. *quater* < **kʷetru-s* < **kʷetūr-s*, cf. n. 162). For other numbers, an indeclinable *kṛtvas* is used: in the RV only *bhūri kṛtvas* ‘many times’ and *śásvat kṛtvas* ‘many times one after another’, in the AV, e.g. *daśá kṛtvas* ‘10 times’, *aṣṭa-kṛtvas* ‘8 times’, etc.; the cardinal *ṣát* appears in the ŚB in the meaning of ‘6 times’ beside *cātuṣ* ‘4 times’.

Adverbs of manner are formed with the suffix *-dhā* (cf. p. 146), in the RV: *dvi-dhā* ‘twofold, in two parts’ (*dve-dhā* ‘in two parts, asunder’ YSP+), *tri-dhā* ‘in three ways’, *tre-dhā* (mostly trisyllabic, probably **trayi-dhā* < **traya-dhā*) ‘triply, in three ways’, *catur-dhā*, *ṣoḍhā*, *sahasra-dhā*; *eka-dhā* ‘singly’ is attested AV+; furthermore, in the RV: *viśvá-dhā* ‘everywhere, at all times’, also *viśvá-thā*; *śásva-dhā* ‘one after another’; *kati-dhā* ‘in how many places, times’.¹⁶⁴

The distributive adverbial suffix *-śás*¹⁶⁵ is applied also after numerals, in the RV: *sahasra-śás* ‘by thousands’. *dvi-tā* ‘once more, just as before’ is a PII formation, cf. OAv. *d^{ai}bi-tā*, OPers. *duvi-tā-* in compounds.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ AiG III 345 interprets *ubháyīṣām* as a rhyme form to the m. *amīṣām* ‘of those’.

¹⁶⁴ *-dhā* seems to go back to the old instr. of the root noun **dʰéh₁-* ‘creation, appointment, decision’, cf. SCARLATA 265f. This formation is not assured as such in Iran, but is postulated in OAv. OPers. *azdā* = Ved. *addhā* ‘evidently, obviously’, cf. GOTÖ Fs.Klingenschmitt (2005) 204 with n. 44.

¹⁶⁵ For the etymology cf. KLINGENSCHMITT MSS 33 (1975) 70 = Aufs. 152: identical with Grk. *-κάς*, from the root **kās* ‘appear in continuous series, follow continuously’, cf. n. 131, 4.2. [5]: p. 146.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. TICHY MSS 42 (1983) 207ff.