

of prefix seems to have contracted with verbal augment *a-*, unless prevented by analogy; examples in §131.

III. Final *-i* before initial *ā-* keeps the writing *iyā*; the script does not show whether the *-i* is consonantized before the vowel, since it has no machinery for the distinction; but *pati-* never becomes **pašiy-* (= *pašy-*) in compounds, though *-ty-* becomes OP *-š(i)y-*: *patiy-āvahyāiy*, *patiy-āišān*, *patiy-ajatā*; *pariy-ait(iy)*, *nīy-apaišam*, *nīy-atarayam*.

The sequence *-iya-* seems in some instances to contract to *-i-*; all the examples are in augmented forms of compound verbs, in some of which the uncontracted forms also appear, in which the analogy of the separate uncontracted form is the cause of the failure to contract:

abi-jāvayam, also *abiy-ajāvayam*.

nī-šādayam, also *nīy-ašādayam*.

nī-štāya, also *nīy-aštāya* and *nīy-aštāyam*.

nī-yasaya for **nīy-ayasaya*; perhaps [a]tīya[siya] for **atīy-ayasīya*.

IV. Final *-u* before initial *ā-* is similarly ambiguous in its writing; but probably the prefix Aryan **su-*, pIr. **hu-*, became *hw-* before a vowel, as in *waspa-*, cf. Av. *hvaspō*, Phl. *hvasp*. Other examples of this prefix can be found in the Lexicon, under **u-*.

V. Final *m* of the prior element was of course not written before an initial consonant of the second part:

ham-gmatā, *ham-karta-*, *ham-dugā*, but *ham-aranam*.
ham-taxšataiy, but *ham-ataxšatā*.

VI. The initial *s-* of the second element appears as *š* after a final *-i* or *-u* of the preceding element, according to the Aryan phonetic variation (§115): pAr. **sad-*, pIr. **had-*, but pAr. *nī-šad-*, unchanged in Iranian: generalized in *nīy-ašādayam*, contracted *nī-šādayam*.

**nī-štā-*, pAr. *nī-štā-*, unchanged in Iranian and generalized: *nīy-aštāyam*, *nīy-aštāya*, contracted *nī-štāya*.

Skt. *sam-araṇam*, OP *hamaranam*; but with prefix, *ušhamaranakara*, with double writing of the initial, *š* being the value after *u*, and *h* being the value when initial in the separate word. Perhaps also OP *Pātišwariš* for *Pātišwariš*, see Lex. s.v. Cf. Reichelt, Aw. Elmb. §103, for the same phenomenon in Avestan.

For the initial *š-* of the enclitic pronoun *-šaiy* *-šim* *-šam* *-šiš*, see §117.

VII. Initial *y-* after a final consonant of the prior element must of course appear as *-iy-*, as in *dušiyāram*, from *duš-* + *yāram*.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

The origins of OP sounds, as expressed in the normalized transcription, may be traced from the following data (some references to Chapter II are included):

a < pIE *e o a* §61, cf. §36; pIE *ɔ ɔ* §63.I, §66.II, §67.I-II; pIE *ŋ ɲ* §67; pIE *ə* §71; graphic for *i* §22; see also *ar* below.

i < pIE *i* §64; pIE *ə* §63.II.

u < pIE *u* §64; analogical for *r* §66.I.

ā < pIE *ē ǝ ā* §62, §36; pIE *ṃ ṇ* §68; by contraction of *ā* + *ā* §131, of *āhā* §61, §131; graphic for *-ā* §36.I, §135; by vriddhi §126.

ī < pIE *ī* §65; by contraction of *ī* + *ī* §131, of *ī* + *ā* §131, §140.III; by vriddhi §126.

ū < pIE *ū* §65; by vriddhi §126.

ai < pIE *ei oi ai* §69; pIE *ei* §71; by contraction of *ā* + *i* §131; from *a* with epenthesis §127; graphic for *a* before *y* §48; cf. §136.

au < pIE *eu ou au* §70; pIE *eu* §71; by contraction of *ā* + *u* §131; graphic for *a* before *v* §48, and for *ahv* §70.

āi < pIE *ēi ǝi āi* §72; by contraction of *ā* + *ai* §131; graphic for *ai* §72, §179.IV; by vriddhi §126; cf. §136.

āu < pIE *ēu ǝu āu* §72; graphic for *āhu* §72; by vriddhi §126.

ar §29-§35.

= *r* < pIE *r* §66, §29, §30.

= *ar* < Iran. *ar* §31-§33; pIr. *vr vr* §66.II; pIE *r̄* §68.

k < pIE *q q** §98, §99; by borrowing §99.

x < pIE *qh q*^h* §100; pIE *q* §102; pAr. *k* §103.I-III; pAr. *gh* §103.IV; by borrowing §100.

g < pIE *g gh g*^h* §98, §101, §103.IV.

c < pIE *q q** §98, §99, §105; pIE *d* + *q** §105.

j < pIE *g gh g*^h* §98, §101; pIE *s* §120.

t < pIE *t th* §76, §76.I-II; pIE *dh* §103.IV; pIE *t(h)* in *tst(h)* and *d(h)* in *dzd(h)* §85; by borrowing §76.V, §83.III.

θ < pIE *th* §76, §76.II; pIE *t* §77-§81; pIE *č* §86, §87; for *d(h)* §83.II; by borrowing §76.V.

ç < pIE *tr tl* §78, §79; pIE *kl* §94; by borrowing §78.

d < pIE *d dh* §76, §76.III; pAr. *d* from pIE *dh* §76.III; pIE *d(h)* in *dzd(h)* §85; pIE *ġ ĝh* §86, §88; by borrowing §76.V.

p < pIE *p ph* §75, §75.I; pIE *ʷ* §75.IV, §90; by borrowing §75.V.

f < pIE *ph p* §75, §75.II; pIE *sy* §75.IV, §118.IV; by borrowing §75.V.

b < pIE *b bh* §75.III; pAr. *b* from pIE *bh* §75.III; pIE *ʷ* §75.IV, §91; pIE *p + bh* §75.IV, §130; by borrowing §75.V.

n < pIE *n* §110, cf. §67.I-II; pIE *dn* §83.I, §130; by borrowing §110.

m < pIE *m* §109, cf. §67.I-II; pIE *m + m* §130; by borrowing §109.

y < pIE *i* §113.

r < pIE *r l* §79, §106, §107; part of pIE *r ṛ ḷ ḹ* §66, §68; by borrowing §106.

l < by borrowing only, §107.

v < pIE *ʷ* §114.

s < pIE *s* §115, §116; pIE *ts* of *tst(h)* and *dz* of *dzd(h)* §85; pIE *k* §86, §87, §90, §93, §95; pIE *kʷ* §90; pIE *sk* §97, §130; pAr. *sc* §105; by borrowing §116.

š < pIE *s* §102, §105, §115, §117, §140.VI; pIE *k* §89, §93, §96, §120; pIE *g gh* §93, §96, §120; pIE *ks* §92, §102, §130; pIE *ḥ kh* §102; pAr. *č* §104; pIE *t* §80, §82; pIE *str* §79, §130; pIE *d* §105; *š + s* §130; by analogical extension §84; by borrowing §117.

z < pIE *ġ ĝh* §86, §88, §91, §95; pIE *ġhy* §91;

pIE *s* §120; pIE *d + ġh* §130; pIE *dz* in *dzd(h)* §85; by borrowing §120.

h < pIE *s* §118, §140.VI; by borrowing §118.V.

There are also certain losses and increments which could not be included in the preceding; these are merely graphic except when specified as phonetic:

Losses:

i after *h* §64, §27, §38; after *a*-consonant §22.

h before *i* §27, §64, §118.III; before *u* §28, §70, §118.IV, §140.IV; before *m r* §103.II, §118.II; (phon.) in *āh* from *āhāh* §131.

y final before enclitics §118.III, §136.

v final before enclitics §137.

t final §40, §84.

d final §40, §84.

n final §40, §84, §112; medial §39, §108, §111; (phon.) by dissimilation §68.

m medial §39, §108, §111, §140.V.

pIE *ʷ* (phon.) after labials §114.

pAr. *t* (phon.) in *-nt* §40, §84.

pAr. *h* (phonetic in some positions) §40, §105, §119.

syllables by haplology (phon.) §129.

Increments:

i after consonants §25, §140.VII.

u after consonants §26, §114; (phon.) by anaptyxis §128.

y after *-i* §37, §64, §113; after *ī* §23.I, §65.

v after *-u* §23.II, §38, §64; after *ū* §23.II, §65, §114.

x (phon.) before *š + consonant* §96.

CHAPTER IV. FORMATION OF NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS

§141. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS may be either the bare root, nominal or verbal (§142), or the same with a thematic vowel *-a-* (§143), or the same with suffix ending in *-ā-* (§144–§151) or in *-ē-* (§152) or in *-ā-* (§153) or in a consonant (§154–§158). A noun or adjective suffix attached directly to a verbal root is called a primary suffix; one attached to a noun or adjective stem is called a secondary suffix. Many stems have two or more suffixes, or are compounds of two elements, the prior of which is or becomes invariable. A fuller treatment of the stems than that given in the following sections will normally be found in the

Lexicon s.vv. The suffixes and the antecedent stems will here be presented not in pIE form, but in their pAr. or even Iranian or OP values, as convenience may dictate.

The following noun and adjective stems are not dealt with here or are dealt with only in part, because of uncertainty in their formation or because they are loan-words; possible interpretations of their formation will in some instances be found in the Lexicon:

-a- stems: *fraša-*, *spāθmāida-*, *Aimāira-*, *Autiyāra-*, *Atamāita-*, *Adukanaiša-*, *Arabāya-*, *Arza-*, *Armina-*, *Ū(v)ja-*, *Uvādaicāya-*, *Katpatuka-*, *Ka^m-*

pa^ada-, *Karka-*, *Karmāna-*, *Kūša-*, *Ga^adāra-*, *Ga^adu^atava-*, *Tigra-*, *Dātawahya-*, *Daha-*, *Dubāla-*, *Nadītabaira-*, *Nabukudracara-*, *Nabunaita-*, *Nisāya-*, *Parga-*, *Pirāva-*, *Frāda-*, *Maka-*, *Mu^adrāya-*, *Yauna-*, *Labanāna-*, *Sug(u)da-*, *Sku^aza-*, *Skudra-*, *Sparda-*, *Zazāna-*, *Zūzahya-*, *Zra^aka-*, *Harāwa-*, *Haldāta-*.

-ā- stems: *Aθurā-*, *Arbairā-*, *Aršādā-*, *Izalā-*, *Uyamā-*, *Kuganakā-*, *Tāravā-*, *Tigrā-*, *Čūšā-*, *Yautiyā-*, *Yadā-*, *Raxā-*, *Ragā-*.

-ī- stems: *Arakadri-*, *Kāpišakāni-*, *Cicixri-*, *Cišpi-*, *Pātišwāri-*, *Višpauzāti-*.

-ā- stems: *Abirādu-*, *Ku^aduru-*, *Bābiru-*, *Māru-*.

§142. ROOT NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES, some of them only in derivatives or in compounds, are found as follows:

āp- 'water', xšap- 'night', xšnau- in *u-xšnau-* 'well satisfied', gau- 'cow' in compounds, θard- 'year', duwar- 'door' in *duwara-*, nar- 'man' in *ūw-nara-*, nāv- 'ship', nāh- 'nose', pad- 'foot' in *nīpadiy* etc., vas- 'wish' in adv. *vasiy*, viθ- 'house', stā- in *upa-stā-* 'aid', zam- 'earth' in *u-zma-* etc.; perhaps *napāt-* 'grandson', an old PIE word, probably a compound; possibly *dā-* in *^huwādā-* as element of *Paišiyā-wādā-*, and *vaj-* in gen. *ābaha-vaJa*.

§143. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH THEMATIC -a- occur as follows:

I. Attached to a verbal root, the ablaut grade of the root varying: *kara-* in compounds, *u-cāra-*, *kāma-*, *karša-*, *gauša-*, *raga-*, adv. *daršam*, *drauga-*, *baga-*, *bara-* and *bāra-* in compounds, *zana-* in compounds; less certain formations in *ā-baha-* in *ābaha-vaJa*, *caša-*, *U-tāna-*, *u-tava-*, *gara-* in *bātu-gara-*, *Vi-vāna-*, *varga-* in *hauma-varga-*.

II. Extending a non-verbal stem: *ūw-nara-* to *nar-*, *^hwūti-pašiya-* to *pati-*, *pada-* *pāda-* to *pad-*, *Mārgava-* to *Mārgu-*, *duš-iyāra-* to *yār-*, *vazra-* in *vazra-ka-* to **vazr-*, *vāhara-* in *Θūra-vāhara-* to **vazr-*, *u-zma-* to *zam-*, *hama-* to *ham-*; perhaps *Gau-barwa-* to *baru-*, *māha-* to *māh-*, *viθa-* to *viθ-*.

III. With no obvious simpler nominal or verbal form: *ama-* in *Aršāma-*, *asa- aspa-*, *u-ba-*, poss. *^huwa-*, *kaufa-*, *kāra-*, *daiva-*, *darga-*, *naiba-*, *Pārsa-*, *pisa-*, *Māda-*, *raba-* in *u-raba-*, *varka-* in *Varkāna-* and *Varka-zana-*, *Saka-*, *spāda-* in *Taxma-spāda-*, *spāra-* in *Vāya-spāra-*; the restored *hana-* in *hana-tā-*; *mayūza-*, of uncertain etymology; the possible *vāra-* in *^hU-vāra-zmā-*.

IV. Corresponding feminine formations in -ā-:

iswā-, *xaudā-*, *θikā-*, *didā-*, *yakā-*, *Sakā-*, *ha^mdugā-*, *kzā-* in *kzānam*, the uncertain *paradayadām*, the borrowed *maškā-*; the feminines to adjectives in masc.-neut. -a-.

V. These formations have varying meanings, including the following:

Abstracts: *kāma-* 'desire'.

Agents: *baga-* 'dispenser, god'; *drauga-* 'deceiver, the Lie'; *aršti-bara-* 'spear-bearer'; *zūra-kara-* 'evil-doer'; *dāranīya-kara-* 'gold-worker, goldsmith'.

Passives: *ha^m-dugā-* 'im-pressed' = 'inscription'; *pāti-kara-* 'made thereto' = 'sculptured figure'; *asa-bāra-* 'horse-borne'.

Adjectives of relation: *Mārgava-* 'related or belonging to *Mārgu-*, Margian'; *ūw-nara-* 'good belonging-to-a-man, skillfulness'.

VI. The vocalism of the root varies in these formations, being either -a- (pIE -e- or -o- or -a-), as in *baga-*, *bara-*, *daiva-*; or a zero grade, as in *karša-*, *u-zma-*, *darga-* (see Lex. s.vv.); or a vriddhied or lengthened grade (§126), as in *kāma-*, *asa-bāra-*, *Mārgava-*.

§144. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX -(i)ā-: these are adjectival formations which may acquire substantival use; before the suffix a stem-final -a- regularly, and -ā- sometimes, disappears. The OP examples are the following:

I. Perhaps primary, in *ariya-*.

II. In words of numerical value: -iā- in *an-iya-*; -īā- in *duwit-īya-*, *čit-īya-*, to pAr. **dyita-* **bita-*.

III. Forming ethnics: *Ākaufac-īya-* to **Ākau-faka-*; *Aθur-īya-* to *Aθurā-*; *Armin-īya-* to *Armina-*; *Asagart-īya-* to *Asagarta-*; *Ū(v)j-īya-* to *Ū(v)ja-*; *Uvārazmi-ya-*; *Kūš-īya-* to *Kūša-*; *Ga^adāra-ya-* (possibly error for *-riya-*) to *Ga^adāra-*; *Θatagu-īya-* (error for *-wiya-* or *-udaya-* or *-udiya-*?) to *Θatagu-*; *Putā-ya-*; *Bābiru-īya-*; *Mac-īya-* to *MaKa-*; *Spard-īya-* to *Spardu-*; *Haxāmaniš-īya-*; *Harawati-īya-*; *Hi^adu-ya-* (error for *Hi^adu-īya-*?).

IV. Other formations, including some personal names: *agr-īya-* to *agra-* (§148.I), *θanuwan-īya-*, *daran-īya-*, *brazman-īya-*, *mart-īya-* to *marla-*, *haš-īya-* to *hat-* (§240), *ha-miç-īya-* to *miθra-*; *Artavard-īya-*, *Ka^mbūj-īya-*, *Bard-īya-*, *Mardun-īya-*.

V. Corresponding feminine forms as abstracts, which may become concretes: *yaw-iyā* 'course, canal'; *nāv-iyā* 'navigability'; perhaps *paiš-iyā* 'writing, document'.

VI. With suffix *-tja-*, becoming Med. *-θja-* in *xšāyabīya-*, and OP *-šja-* in *anušīya-*.

§145. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-ta-* found in OP are mostly participles (§242), superlatives (§190.II), and ordinal numerals (§204). The remaining examples are *arwasta-*, a neuter abstract seemingly formed upon an adjective **arwant-* (see Lex. s.v.); *Xšāvrita-*, a hypocoristic to a compound personal name; *ardata-* 'silver', perhaps an *-a-* extension of a participle in *-nt-*, cf. Lat. *arg-ent-um*; *dasta-* 'hand', which cannot be related to any simpler extant root; and three feminine abstracts *arštā-*, *hanatā-*, *avastā-*, the last two of which are dubious and the third is taken as having acquired concrete meaning.

§146. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-ka-* are adjectives which may assume substantival meanings. This *-ka-* may be attached directly to a stem, nominal or verbal; it may appear as *-aka-* or *-ika-*, in which it can often not be determined whether the vowel belongs to the suffix or to the basic stem. Only when *-ika-* is attached to an *-a-* stem is it clear that the *-i-* belongs to the suffix. The OP examples are:

I. Perhaps primary: *uš-ka-*, *karnw-aka-*.

II. Secondary: **Ākaufja-ka-* in *Ākaufaciya-*; *Anāma-ka-*; *a^r-ika-*, to pAr. **asra-*, LAV. *avra-*; *Arša-ka-*, hypocoristic to a compound name; *ārštika-*, probably with vriddhi; *kapautja-ka-*; *kāsa-ka-*; *ba^rda-ka-*; *vazra-ka-*; *Vahau-ka-*, hypocoristic to a compound name.

III. Of somewhat uncertain analysis: *niyāka-*, *apa-niyāka-*, *marī-ka-* (see Lex. s.vv.).

§147. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-na-*, varying with *-ana-*, are not infrequent in OP; there are also extensions of the *-na-* to *-ina-* and *-mna-*.

I. Primary *-na-*, added to the root or to the thematic verbal stem (often not distinguishable from verbal nouns!), making nouns of various meanings:

Expressing place: *apa-dā-na-*, *daiva-dā-na-*, *āyada-na-*, fem. *us-taša-nā-*, *āvaha-na-*, *stā-na-*, *varda-na-*.

Expressing abstracts (actions): fem. *fra-mā-nā-*, loc. adv. *aš-naiy*, adj. *^hu-rada-na-*, *yā-na-*, *vaš-na-*, *ham-ara-na-*; possibly fem. *Patī-graba-nā-*, becoming a place-name.

Expressing concretes: *arja-na-*, fem. *stū-nā-*, fem. *hai-nā-*.

Expressing adjectival actor, as personal name: *Vidar-na-*; name of month, *Vi-yax-na-*.

Forming adjectives: *a-zšai-na-*.

Forming passive participles, see §243.

II. Secondary *-na-*, forming adjectives: *parana-*, perhaps here *kam-na-*; as masc. sb., *drauijana-*, as nt. abstract *pariy-ana-*; forming hypocoristic personal name, *Āci-na-*; perhaps *Marduna-* in *Mardun-īya-*; forming place names, with lengthening of preceding vowel, *Varkāna-* to *varka-*, *Ha^m-gmatāna-* to *ha^m-gmata-*; with *-na-* of uncertain origin, *h^zāna-* (see Lex. s.v.).

III. Secondary *-ina-*, forming adjectives: *abaⁿ-ga-ina-*, *kāsaka-ina-*, *nauca-ina-*.

IV. *-mna-* in present middle participles, see §241.

V. For the dubious neuter abstract *dar-tana-*, see §238.

§148. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-ra-* occur in OP as follows:

I. The suffix *-ra-*, sometimes primary and sometimes secondary, appears in *agra-* whence *agriya-*, *A^hu-ra-*, *ti^g-ra-*, personal name *θux-ra-*, *θū-ra-* in *θūra-vāhara-*; adj. *dū-ra-*, whence adv. *nū-ram*; the uncertain *^hu-raša-ra-*. Problematic, and perhaps not Iranian, *tacara-dacara-*. On *vazra-* in *vazra-ka-*, *vāhara-* in *θūra-vāhara-*, *partara-*, see §154.I.

II. Comparatives in *-(a)ra-*, *-lara-*, *-θara-*, see §190.III.

III. Primary suffix *-tra-* appears in *ci-ça-*, *xša-ça-*, *pu-ça-*, *va-ça-* in *vaça-bara-*; *^hU-vāxš-tra-* (with Med. *tr* after *s*); loanword *Mitra-Mītra-*, also in *ha-miç-īya-* and *Va^hu-misa-*.

§149. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-ma-*.

I. Primary, in the following: *dar-ma-* in personal name *Upa-darma-*, *gar-ma-* in month name *Garma-pada-*, fem. *tau-mā-*, adj. *tax-ma-* in personal names (see Lex.), *hau-ma-* in *hauma-varga-*. On dubious *siyamam*, see Lex.

II. Secondary, in ordinal *nava-ma-* (§204.IV).

§150. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-ya-* are a miscellaneous group. They include *ai-va-* 'one'; adjective *duru-va-*, to verbal root *dar-*; adj. *par-ua-*; ethnic *Parθa-va-*, cf. *Pārsa-*; *yā-va-*, to relative *ya-*; *har-ua-*; *visa-* and (Med.) *vispa-*, from PIE **yik^h-yo-*; *jī-va-* 'living', unless the *v* is somehow radical (cf. §216). On *Gau-barwa-*, see Lex. s.v.; on fem. *arwā-* as abstract, see Lex. s.v.

§151. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH MISCELLANEOUS *-a-* SUFFIXES, not already given, include the following:

-θa- in fem. *gai-θā-*.

-ga- in *abaⁿ-ga-*, cf. *asan-*.

-sa- in *bux-ša-*, in personal name *Baqa-buxša-*.

§152. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS ENDING IN *-ī-*, apart from some names of persons and places listed in §141, are the following; stems in *-ī-* and those in *-ī-* cannot be distinguished except by correspondences in other languages, which sometimes are lacking (§22):

I. Stems in *-ī-*: acc. *paθ-im*, *bāj-im*; *ābi-* in personal name *Āθiy-ābaušna-*; *dīp-i-*; *uša-bār-i-*; *Āçi-* extended from **ātr-* in hypocoristic personal name *Āçi-na-* and in month name *Āçi-yādiya-*; personal names *Dādarš-i-*, month names *Θāigarc-i-*, *Bāga-yād-i-*; secondary in adjective *yāuman-i-*; loanword *skauθ-i-*.

II. Stems in *-ī-*, some of which may have been transferred to *-i-* stem declension (§179.I): *āp-ī-* (see Lex. s.v.); dual *uš-ī-*; fem. adj. to stems in *-vant-*, as place names, *Sikaya^θ-wat-ī-*, *Hara^θ-wat-ī-*; fem. ptc. *yau[daⁿtim]*, to masc. *-ant-*; to stem in *-tar-*, *Bāx-tr-ī-*; **Uvārazm-ī-*; adj., *abaⁿgain-ī-* in npf. *-iya*, to masc. *abaⁿgaina-*.

III. Suffix *-ti-*: *arš-ti-*, *iš-ti-*, *pa-ti-* in **wāšipa-šiya-*, *šiyā-ti-*, *pas-ti-* to *pad-* 'foot', *mar-ti-* (pIE **m^r-ti-*) 'death' in *wā-maršiyu-*, *Fravar-ti-*, perhaps *ni-piš-ti-*.

IV. Miscellaneous: *-θi-* in *duwar-θi-*; *-mī-* in *bū-mi-*; perhaps *-mi-* in *θar-mi-*.

§153. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS ENDING IN *-ū-*, apart from some place names listed in §141, are as follows:

I. Stems in *-ū-*: adj. *par-u-*, *ard-u-* in personal name *Ardu-maniš-*, *va^θ-u-* in personal names *Dāraya-vau-* *Vau-misa-* *Vahau-ka-*; substantives *baru-* in *Gau-baru-a-*, *maršiy-u-* 'death' in adj. *wā-maršiyu-*, *mard-u-* in *Marduniya-*, *Maq-u-*, *Hī^rd-u-*, *Marg-u-*, *Kūr-u-*, uncertain *bāt-u-* in *bātu-gara-*; loanwords *pir-u-*, *Ufrat-u-*; restored loanword *agur-u-*; uncertain as to stem, *Θatag-u-*, *sikabr-u-*.

II. Stem in *-ū-*; *tan-ū-*.

III. With suffix *-tu-*: *gā-θu-*; *xra-θu-* (unless the *-t-* is in this word radical rather than suffixal). For *θ*, see §81.

IV. With suffix *-yu-*: *dah-yu-*, with uncertain root.

§154. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS ENDING IN *-r-*, as found in OP, consist of two classes of nouns.

I. Neuter nouns with nom.-acc. ending in *-r*, replaced by *-n-* in other case-forms; in OP, only in derivatives: pAr. **yaš-r*, in OP *vazr-a-ka-*; pAr. **yas-r* in OP *Θūra-nāhar-a-*; pAr. **prt-r* in OP *partara-*. An extension of the *-n-* form of the suffix *-tr/-tn-* is probably to be seen in the OP infinitive (§238), perhaps also in [da]rtanayā (§238).

II. Nouns with suffix *-tar-*, including agents *jaⁿtar-*, *fra-mā-tar-*, *dauš-tar-*; words of relationship *pi-tar-*, *mā-tar-*, *brā-tar-*; also *ā-tar-* 'fire', in derivative personal names.

§155. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS ENDING IN *-n-* are of several kinds in OP:

I. Stems in *-an-*: *as-an-* and its derivative *abaⁿ-ga-*, *arš-an-* varying with *arš-a-*, *barš-an-*.

II. Stems in *-tan-*: *ara-šan-* (for *-š-*, §82).

III. Stems in *-man-*: *as-man-*, *tau-man-*, *nā-man-*, *braz-man-* in adj. *brazman-iya-*, *yāu-man-* in adj. *yāuman-i-*.

IV. Stems in *-van-*: *artā-van-*, *xšaça-pā-van-*, *θan-wan-* in *θanwan-iya-*.

V. Stem in *-vin-*: adj. *mana^θ-win-*.

§156. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS ENDING IN *-s-* are of several kinds in OP:

I. Stem in *-s-*: *Maz-dā-h-*, also in *A^hura-mazdāh-*.

II. Neuters in *-as-*: *dray-ah-*, *man-ah-*, *miθ-ah-*, *rauc-ah-*, *zūr-ah-*, *har-ah-* in *Hara^θ-wati-*; *can-ah-* assuming masc. forms in cpd. personal name *Aspacanah-*; suffixal *-tas-* in *rau-tah-*; suffixal *-nas-* in *far-nah-* assuming masc. forms in cpd. personal name *Viⁿdaⁿ-farnah-*.

III. Stems in *-ias-*: *sika-yah-* in place name *Sikaya^θ-wati-*; comparatives *tawī-yah-*, *vah-yah-* in personal name *Vahyaz-dāta* (§120); zero grade *-is-* in superlative ending *-iš-ta-*, in *maθ-išta-duwa-išta-*, §190.II.

IV. Stems in *-is-*: neuters *abi-carīš-*, *had-iš-*; becoming masc. in personal names *Ardu-man-iš-*, *Harā-man-iš-*.

§157. ADJECTIVE STEMS WITH SUFFIX *-vant-* are found in OP only in derivatives; the OP syllabary does not make clear whether these derivatives are formed on *-vant-* (pIE *-yent-*) or on zero grade *-vat-* (pIE *-yⁿt-*); more probably they are made upon *vat-*: *ar-want-* in *arwas-ta-*, *sikaya^θ-want-* in *Sikaya^θwat-i-*, *hara^θ-want-* in *Hara^θwat-i-*.

§158. OTHER NOUN AND ADJECTIVE STEMS ENDING IN CONSONANTS are to be found listed among Root Nouns and Adjectives, §142.

§159. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS IN OP, apart from phrasal adverbs (§191.IV), may have as prior element an inseparable adverb as in *xšata-*, *hu-cāra-*, *duš-iyāra-*, *ham-arana-* (§268); or a prepositional adverb, as in *apa-dāna-*, *pāti-kara-* (§268); or a noun or adjective stem.¹ They have as second element a noun or adjective stem, which may receive an additional suffix.

Only compounds of stem + stem will be here discussed. Either stem may itself be a compound; either stem may already have one or more suffixes. The initial syllable of the first element, especially in adjectives, may show *vriddhi* or lengthening of the vowel, as in *dāraniya-kara-* 'gold-worker' to *daranīya-* 'gold'; less often this appears in the second part, as in *Bāga-yādi-* 'god-worshipping (month)', where it is seen in both parts, and in *asa-bāra-* 'horse-borne', where it indicates passive meaning.

Compound adjectives with second elements of a specific gender assume the genders of their derived meaning and use, with change of form if necessary. Thus the masc. name *Haxā-maniš* 'Having the mind of a friend, Achaemenes' has a neuter stem as its second element, used without change in the masculine adjective as noun; the masc. adjective *tigra-xauda-* 'wearing a pointed cap' has as second element the fem. *xaudā-* 'cap'.

Derivative adjectives to compounds may be made by the addition of suffixes: *Haxāmaniš-īya-* 'Achaemenian' to *Haxāmaniš-*, *Asagart-īya-* 'Sagartian' to *Asa-garta-*.

Compounds of stem + stem, so far as they occur in OP, may be divided into (1) Determinative Nouns and Adjectives, dependent and descriptive; (2) Possessive Adjectives, dependent and

descriptive; (3) Participial Adjectives, the prior element governing the second. Adjectives of all these classes may become nouns as names of persons and places.

The following will not be dealt with here, because of uncertainties or difficulties in their interpretations; but some information may be found in the Lex. s.v.v.:

Common nouns: *ābahawaja*, *hwādā-*.

Personal names: *Ka^mbūjīya-*, *Gaumāta-*, *Cišpi-*.

Place names: *Uvādaicīya-*, *Uvārazmī-*, *Paišī-yāwādā-*.

Personal and place names of Elamite, Akkadian, and Armenian origin also cannot be discussed among OP compounds.

§160. DETERMINATIVE NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES, compounded of stem + stem; the prior element determines or limits the second.

I. Dependent determinatives, the prior element standing in some case relation to the second:

a. Accusative:

hamarana-kara- 'battle-making'; *zūra-kara-* 'evil-doing'; *dāraniya-kara-* 'gold-working'; *ciyā-kara-* 'doing how much', *awā-kara-* 'doing that'. *aršti-bara-* 'spear-bearer'; *vaça-bara-* 'bow-bearer'; *taka-bara-* 'petasos-wearing'.

xšāça-pāwan- 'kingdom-protecting, satrap'; *du-varθi-* (for **duwar-varθi-*) 'doorway-covering, colonnade'; *hauma-varga-*, *maz-dāh-*, *bātu-gara-*, see Lex. s.v.v.

Arta-varθīya- 'Justice-worker'.

b. Genitive:

arda-stāna- 'place of light'; *daiva-dāna-* 'holder of demons'.

Xšayāršan- (from **xšaya-aršan-*) 'Hero of Kings'; *Gau-baruwa-* 'Lord of cattle'; *Va^u-misa-* 'Friend of the good'.

c. Instrumental:

asa-bāra- 'borne by horses'; *uša-bari-* 'borne by camels'; [*dasta*]*karta-* 'done by hand'.

Baga-buzša- 'Freed by God'; *Bagābigna-* perhaps 'Begotten by God'.

d. Ablative: *Āθīy-ābaušna-* 'Freed from misfortune'.

e. With idea of specification: *Čiça-tazma-* 'Brave in lineage'.

II. Descriptive determinatives,¹ the prior ele-

¹ The greatest part of this class consists of those whose first part is an inseparable adverb or a prepositional prefix; under our plan these are not here considered (§159).

¹ In *Čiça-tazma-* the prior element is not the bare stem, but the stem with an added nasal, attested in the transliterations into Elam., Akk., and Greek. This nasal can hardly be the acc. case-ending (as tentatively suggested by Bthl. AiW 587); it seems unexplainable except as a transfer from some other cpd. in which a nasal in this position was justified (Schulze, KZ 33.216.n3; Richter, IF 9.203-4; Foy KZ 37.504-5). Cf. Gk. *Ἀρετῆ-βάρης* (Hdt. 1.114-6, 9.122; Aesch. Pers. 29, 302, 971) = OP **Artam-bara* 'Arta-upholder', where the prior element seems to be in the accusative (cf. Stonecipher, Graeco-Persian Names 27).

ment directly modifying the second as adjective or appositive:

Ahura-mazdāh- 'Ahuramazda', lit. 'Lord Wise'; cf. Lex. s.v.

§161. POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVES, often differing from the preceding only by a shift of accent which can be observed in accented Sanskrit words, but cannot be determined in OP or Avestan.

I. Determinative compounds (cf. §160.I); the OP examples are all names of persons or of places or of months:

a. Accusative: *Aspa-canaḥ*- 'Having love of horses'; *Bāga-yādi*- '(Month) marked by the worship of the *bagas*'.

b. Genitive: *Arta-xšaça*- 'Having a kingdom of justice'; *Aršāma*- (from **arša-ama*-) 'Having the might of a hero'; *Haxā-maniš*- 'Having the mind of a friend'; *Garma-pada*- '(Month) having the place of heat'; *Asa-garta*- '(Land) having caves of stone'.

II. Descriptive compounds (cf. §160.II.):

a. The prior element is an adjectival modifier: *paru-zana*- 'having many men'; *vispa-zana*- 'having all (kinds of) men'; *visa-dahyu*- 'containing all lands'; *hama-pītar*- 'having the same father'; *ha-mātar*- 'having the same mother'; *tigra-zauda*- 'wearing pointed caps'; *wā-maršiyu*- 'having one's own death' (see Lex.).

Ariya-ciça- 'Having Aryan lineage'; *Ardu-maniš*- 'Having an upright mind'; *Taxma-spāda*- 'Having a brave army'; *Vahyaz-dāta*- 'Following the better law'; *Vištāspa*- from **višta-aspa*- (see Lex. s.v.) 'Having ready horses'; *Θala-gu*- '(Land) having hundreds of cattle' (but see Lex. s.v.); *Θūra-vāhara*- '(Month) having vigorous spring-time'.

b. The prior element is appositive to the second:

Varka-zana- '(Month) belonging to the wolf-men'. *wāi-pašiya*- 'having self as lord', with adjectival suffix.

c. The second element is predicate to the prior: *Ariyāramna*- from **ariya-āramna*- 'Having the Aryans pacified'; so to be interpreted because the *-na*- participles are passive.

§162. PARTICIPIAL COMPOUND ADJECTIVES, the participle as prior element of the compound governing the second; all the OP examples are personal names:¹

Dāraya¹-va¹u- 'Holding firm the good'.

Vi¹da¹-farnah- 'Finding the Glory'.

Vāya¹-spāra- 'Weaving shields', = 'Maker of wicker shields'; unless *vāya*- is not a participle, but a noun of action (*-a*- stem), and the name is a possessive adjective (§161.I.b.), 'Having a shield of weaving, = wicker shield'.

§163. NAMES OF PERSONS in the OP inscriptions must be divided according to nationalities, which in the main show the linguistic nature.

I. Names of Persians are far the most numerous; but some show Median phonetics, indicated by a following M in parenthesis:

a. Names of the Achaemenian dynasty: *Ariyāramna*-, *Artaxšaça*-, *Aršāma*-, *Uvaxštra*- (M), *Kabūjiya*-, *Kūru*-, *Xšayāršan*-, *Gaubarwa*-, *Cišpi*-, *Dārayavau*-, *Bardiya*-, *Vištāspa*- (M).

b. Names of other Persians: *Artavardiya*-, *Ardumaniš*-, *Aspacanah*- (M), *Utāna*-, *Θuxra*-, *Dātawahya*-, *Dādarši*-, *Bagābigna*-, *Bagabuxša*-, *Marduniya*-, *Vaumisa*- (with *-s*- which is not Persian nor Median), *Vāyaspāra*-, *Vahauka*-, *Vahyaz-dāta*-, *Vida¹farnah*- (M), *Vidarna*-, *Vivāna*-, *Haxā-maniš*-.

II. Names of Medes: *Xšātrita*-, *Gaumāta*-, *Taxmaspāda*-, *Frawarti*-, and the Sagartian *Çiçaxma*-.

III. Names of other Iranians: the Margian (Bactrian) *Frāda*-; the Scythian *Skuxa*-; unspecified *Āθiyābaušna*-, *Aršaka*-.

IV. Names of Armenians: *Arxa*-, *Dādarši*-, *Haldita*-.

V. Names of Elamites: *Atamaita*-, *Cicizri*-, and four which have the appearance of IE names: *Āçina*-, *Upadarma*-, *Martiya*- (see Lex. s.vv.), which may have been more or less etymologized when transcribed into OP; and *Imaniš*-, the name assumed by the Persian Martiya as usurping king of Elam, with *-maniš*- reminding of *Haxāmaniš*- and *Ardumaniš*-.

VI. Names of Babylonians: Akkadian *Ainaira*-, *Naditabaira*-, *Nabukudracara*-, *Nabunaita*-.

VII. Uncertain writings, probably corrupt: *Xaršādašyā* (= *Xšayāršā*?), *Ardacaxša* (prob-

ing' and *arša*- 'just', and therefore meaning 'Ruling with justice'. But there is no example in which contraction of a short vowel takes place despite the reduced final *-t*; for another objection, and the proper interpretation of the case-endings, see §187 and note 2, and Lex. s.v.

¹ *Xšayāršā* is taken by Bv. Gr. §315 as an *-āh*- stem like *Aršama* etc., based on a contraction of *aršā* and *aršā*.

ably = *Artaxšaça*), *Vašdāsaka*, *Vahyav*¹*šdāpaya*, *Hadaxaya*.

§164. PERSONAL NAMES OF IRANIANS are of the usual IE types.

I. The typical IE name consisted of a compound of two stems; such names have mostly been interpreted in §160–§162. To these must be added the following, which are of uncertain interpretation: *Ka*^m*būjiya*, *Gaumāta*- (see Lex. s.vv.).

II. Compounds of which the prior part is an inseparable or a prepositional prefix are the following: *U*-*vaxštra*-, *Vi*-*darna*-, *Vi*-*vāna*-, *Fra*-*varti*-, perhaps *U*-*tāna*-. It is possible that some of these are only shortenings of longer compounds of which these were the prior part, and that they belong under III.

III. Hypocoristics or nicknames were formed in pIE by limiting the compound name to approximately its prior part, to which there might or might not be added a suffix. There are the following probable examples in the OP names: *Θuara*-, *Bard*-*iya*-, *Vahau*-*ka*-, *Arša*-*ka*-, *Xšaθr*-*ita*-, *Frāda*-, *Martiya*-

IV. Still other names are appellatives indicating the qualities of the persons, like the reduplicated *Dā*-*darši*- 'Bold'. Possibly *U*-*vaxštra*-, *Vi*-*darna*-, *Vi*-*vāna*- (given under II) also belong here. Or names may denote occupations, as perhaps in the adjectival derivative, possibly patronymic, *Mardun*-*iya*- 'Vintner's son'.

V. Uncertain names: *Cišpi*- (or *Ca*^m*išpi*-); *Kūru*-; *Dātawahya*-; *Arxa*-, name of an Armenian, of unknown meaning, and probably belonging under III or IV.

§165. NAMES OF MONTHS in OP are adjectives, or substantives as adjectives, modifying the word 'month'; the phrase is always in the genitive.¹ All are compounds of two stems or of prefix + stem, and some end in an adjectival suffix.

With vriddhi in first part: *Θāigarci*- (etymology uncertain); perhaps in *Adu*-*kanaiša*- (etymology uncertain), *A*-*nāma*-*ka*-.

With vriddhi in both parts: *Bāga*-*yādi*-.

With vriddhi in second part: *Āçi*-*yād*-*iya*-, *Θūra*-*vāhara*-.

Perhaps with vriddhi in prefix: *Vi*-*yax*-*na*- (radical element uncertain).

Without vriddhi in either part: *Garma*-*pada*-, and the restored *Varka*-*zana*- (but see Lex. s.v.).

For further details, see Lex. s.vv. and §161.

§166. NAMES OF PLACES are less likely to be of perspicuous etymology even than names of persons, since names of places often persist even when there has been a change of population and an attendant change of language.¹ The OP place-names include the following types: *dahyāu*^š 'administrative province' and also 'district' of a province; 'city', generic word not given in OP; *vardanam* 'town'; *āvahanam* 'village'; *didā* 'fortress'; *kaufa* 'mountain'; *rauta* 'river'. At the first introduction of less-known place names the generic word is regularly given; but it is given with names of provinces only when there is a list of all or several, and is omitted with some larger districts (*Karmāna*, *Varkāna*), with cities (*Pārsa*, if = 'Persepolis'; *Paišiyāwādā* 'Pasargadae'; *Hagmatāna* 'Ecbatana'; *Arbairā* 'Arbela'; *Bābiru*^š 'Babylon'), and with well-known rivers (*Ufrātu*^š 'Euphrates'; *Tigrā* 'Tigris'). The place names may be geographically, and to a certain extent linguistically, grouped together as follows:²

I. Indo-Iranian provinces:

Pārsa 'Persis, Persia': including districts *Karmāna*, *Yautiyā*; cities *Paišiyāwādā*, perhaps *Pārsa*; towns *Uvādaicaya*, *Kuḡanakā*, *Tārawā*, *Raxā*; mountains *Arakadriš*, *Parḡa*.

Māda 'Media': including districts *Asargarta* (given as administrative province in DPe 15), *Kapada*, *Nisāya*, *Ragā*; city *Hagmatāna*; towns *Kuduru*^š, *Māru*^š; fortress, *Sikayawati*^š.

Parḡava 'Parthia': including district *Varkāna* 'Hyrcania' and towns *Patigrabanā*, *Višpauzā*-*tī*^š.

Harawati^š 'Arachosia': including district *Gadutava*; fortresses *Aršādā*, *Kāpišakāni*^š.

¹ Cf. the names of the states of the United States of America; about half of them are derived from aboriginal American languages, and the rest come directly or ultimately from English, German, Celtic, French, Spanish, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Indo-Iranian. For the OP place-names which can with certainty or with some probability be interpreted etymologically, see Lex. s.vv. ² This section attempts only to list and classify the nouns and ethnic adjectives used as geographical terms in the OP texts; a complete list of the provinces of the Persian Empire, as given in the OP texts, will be found in JNES 2.302-6, with discussion of the variations. The classification of *Yadā* DB 3.26, apparently the OP name for

¹ The form *māhyā* is more probably a contracted gen. **māhahyā*, to stem *māha*-, than a loc. *māhyā* to stem *māh*-,

Bāxtriš 'Bactria': including district *Marguš* 'Margiana'.

Ākaufaciya 'Men of Akaufaka'; *Uvārazmīy* and *-mīš* 'Chorasnia'; *Gadāra* 'Gandaritis'; *Θataguš* 'Sattagydia'; *Dahā* 'the Daae'; *Maka* or ethnic *Maciya*; *Saka* or fem. *Sakā* 'Scythia' or *Sakā* 'the Scythians'; *Sug(u)da* 'Sogdiana'; *Harāiva* 'Aria'; *Hiduš* 'Sind'.

II. Elam:

Ū(v)ja 'Elam', including city *Çūšā*, village *Abirāduš*.

III. Semitic provinces:

Bābiruš 'Babylonia': including district *Dubāla*; city *Bābiruš* 'Babylon'; town *Zazāna*; rivers *Ufrātuš*, *Tigrā*.

Aθurā 'Assyria and Syria': including district *Izalā*; city *Arbairā*; mountain *Labanāna*.

Arabāya 'Arabia'.

IV. Armenia:

Armina or *Arminiya* 'Armenia': including district *Autiyāra*; village *Zūzahya*; fortresses *Uyamā*, *Tigrā*.

V. Provinces of Asia Minor and Southeastern Europe:

Katpatuka 'Cappadocia'; *Karkā* 'the Carians'; *Yauna* 'Ionia' or *Yaunā* 'the Ionians'; *Sparāda* 'Sardis, Lydia'; *Skudra* 'Thrace and Macedonia'.

VI. Provinces of Africa:

Mudrāya 'Egypt' or *Mudrāyā* 'the Egyptians', including river *Pirāva* 'Nile'.

Kūša 'Ethiopia' or *Kūšiyā* 'the Ethiopians'.

Putāyā 'the Libyans'.

§167. PROVINCE NAMES AND ETHNICS. In certain instances the province name is merely the masculine ethnic, with ellipsis of a masculine noun for 'country'; once it is the feminine ethnic. But more frequently the ethnic is formed from the province name by the *-ya-* suffix; and the plural of the ethnic thus formed, as well as that of other ethnics, may be used as province name. Once the *-ya-* ethnic in the singular is used for the province as alternative to the suffixless form. In the accompanying table, the occurrence of the province name and the ethnic in identical form is indicated in the second column by x, and ethnics which in the singular are extant in full only in the late text A?P are indicated by a following *.

To these names may be added those of three large districts which were not governmental provinces: *Karmāna*, *Varkāna*, *Marguš* with ethnic *Mārgava*; ethnic *Pātišwariš*, to an unknown place-name; *Haxāmanišiya*, patronymic family-name to *Haxāmaniš*; *Maguš*, denoting a member of the priestly clan of Media.

Of the province names used as ethnics, *Bābiruš* and *Ūva* as ethnics are certainly errors. Of the ethnics in A?P, *Kūšāya* is probably miswritten for *Kūšiya*; *Gadāraya* for *Gadāriya*; *Θataguīya* for *Θatagwiya*, or misread for *Θatagudaya*, a miswriting for *Θatagudiya*; *Hiduya* for *Hidwiya*.

| Province | Same as Ethnic | Fem. as Province | Derivative Ethnic | Pl. Ethnic as Province | Masc. as Province |
|---------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Aθurā</i> | | | <i>Aθuriya</i> | | |
| <i>Arabāya</i> | x* | | | | |
| <i>Armina</i> | | | <i>Arminiya</i> | | <i>Arminiya</i> |
| <i>Asagarta</i> | | | <i>Asagartiya</i> | | |
| <i>Ū(v)ja</i> | x | | <i>Ū(v)jiya</i> | | |
| <i>Uvārazmīy-iš</i> | | | <i>Uvārazmīya*</i> | | |
| <i>Katpatuka</i> | x* | | | | |
| | | | <i>Karka</i> | <i>Karkā</i> | |
| <i>Kūša</i> | | | <i>Kūšāya*</i> | <i>Kūšiya</i> | |
| <i>Gadāra</i> | | | <i>Gadāraya*</i> | | |
| <i>Θataguš</i> | | | <i>Θataguīya*</i> | | |
| | | | | <i>Dahā</i> | |
| <i>Parθava</i> | x | | | | |
| <i>Pārsa</i> | x | | | | |
| | | | <i>Putāya*</i> | <i>Putāyā</i> | |
| <i>Bāxtriš</i> | | | | | |

| Province | Same as Ethnic | Fem. as Province | Derivative Ethnic | Pl. Ethnic as Province | Masc. as Province |
|------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Bābiruṣ</i> | x | | <i>Bābiruṣiṃ</i> | | |
| <i>Maka</i> | | | <i>Makiya*</i> | <i>Makiyā</i> | |
| <i>Māda</i> | x | | | | |
| <i>Mudrāya</i> | x | | | <i>Mudrāyā</i> | |
| <i>Yauna</i> | x | | | <i>Yaunā</i> | |
| <i>Saka</i> | x | <i>Sakā</i> | | <i>Sakā</i> | |
| <i>Sug(u)da</i> | | | | | |
| <i>Skudra</i> | x* | | | | |
| <i>Sparda</i> | | | <i>Spardiya</i> | | |
| <i>Zraka</i> | x* | | | | |
| <i>Haraiṃ</i> | | | | | |
| <i>Harawatiṣ</i> | | | <i>Harawatiya*</i> | | |
| <i>Hiduṣ</i> | | | <i>Hiduya*</i> | | |

CHAPTER V. DECLENSION OF NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, PRONOUNS

§168. DECLENSION IN OP. The OP noun, along with the pronoun and the adjective, shows approximately the expected assortment of forms. There are nouns and adjectives with stems ending in *-a -ā-, -i -ī-, -u -ū-, -āh- -ah- -iṣ-, -tār- -tar-, -an- -man- -van- -vin- -vant-, -t- -d- -θ- -s-*. Some categories are but scantily represented, and in the discussion of each class all extant forms are listed, except where the examples are numerous.

All the cases found in Sanskrit and Avestan are found in OP, except the dative, which has been lost, its functions being assumed by the genitive form. The ablative has no distinctive form, but has been merged in the instrumental and the locative either by phonetic development or by analogy; except for one form, *Bābirauṣ*, which is identical with the genitive, as in Sanskrit. Similarly the accusative plural has become identical with the nominative, either by phonetic process or by analogy, except in the enclitic pronouns which have no nominative form.

Both singular and plural numbers are represented in OP, and there are a few dual forms.

§169. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF *-o-* STEMS IN PIE: these are added to the stem-vowel, which is either *e* or *o*, and when vowel is added to vowel a contraction results, giving either a long vowel or a diphthong.

I. The endings of the singular: Nom. *-s* and acc. *-m* are added to stem-vowel *-o-*, giving *-os -om-*; and the voc. is the bare stem in *-e*: Lt. *lupus*

lupum lupē, Gk. *λύκος λύκου λύκε* 'wolf'. The neuter has *-m* as ending for the nom. as well as for the acc.

Gen. ending *-sjo* is found in Aryan and in Greek, added to stem-vowel *-o-*: **tosjo*, Skt. *tásya*, Gk. (Hom.) *τοῖο*, (classical) *τοῦ*; and with added *-s* in a few Latin words: *eiūs*, Skt. *asyá*; *ciūs*, Skt. *kásya*, from **q*osjo*. This ending was original in pronouns only, and spread from pronouns to certain classes of nouns in some languages.

The inst. ended in *-ē* and *-ō*, evidently by contraction of the stem-vowel *-e-* and *-o-* with another vowel whose quality cannot be determined. The abl. had *-ēd* and *-ōd*, a similar contraction with an unidentifiable vowel plus a dental consonant, which may have been either *t* or *d*; sandhi processes make it impossible to determine its original nature.¹ The loc. ended in *-i*, added to either stem-vowel: cf. Gk. *οἴκου* and *οἴκει* 'at home'.

II. The forms of the plural number: Nom. pl. ending *-es*, added to stem vowel *-o-*, gave *-ōs*, which remained in Aryan, Germanic (Gothic *wulfōs* 'wolves'), Oscan-Umbrian (but was replaced by *-oi*, with pronominal plural-sign *-i*, in Greek, Latin, Balto-Slavic). Acc. pl. ending *-ns*, added to *-o-*, gave *-ons*. Nom.-acc. nt. pl. in *-ā* was properly a fem. nom. sg. in *-ā*, with collective meaning. Gen. pl. ending *-ōm*, contracted with the

¹ For a theory of the origin of this ending, see Sturtevant, Lg. 8.1-10.