

stem-vowel *-o-*, gave *-ōm*, as in Gk. *λόκων*, but in Aryan was remodeled after the gen. pl. of *-n*-stems. Inst. pl. ending *-ais* (*-a-* indeterminate for *a e o!*), contracting with stem-vowel *-o-*, gave *-ōis*, seen with shortening in Greek *λόκοις*, and with retained length in Skt. and Av.; but the pronominal *-oibhīs* (stem-vowel *-o-* + pronominal pl. *-i* + inst. pl. *-bhīs*), remodeling of masc. dat.-abl. *-oibhīos* (Skt. *tēbhīas*, demonstrative pronoun) after fem. inst. pl. *-ābhīs* (Skt. *tābhīṣ*), is

seen in OP. Loc. pl. ending *-su*, added to stem-vowel *-o-* + pron. pl. *-i*, is found in Aryan and in Slavic; but *-oisu* was remodeled to *-oisi* in Gk. (dat. pl. *λόκοις*) after the loc. sg. ending *-i*.

III. The forms of the dual number: see §189.

§170. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF *-o-* STEMS IN ARYAN. A comparative table of the endings in pIE, pAr., Skt., Av., OP is here given, including the cases represented in the extant OP words; except that dual forms are in §189.

	pIE	pAr.	Skt.	Av.	OP
Sg. Nom.	-os	-ah <sup>1</sup>	-ah	-ō	-a <sup>b</sup>
Acc.	-om	-am	-am	-əm	-am
Inst.	-ē, -ō	-ā	-ena <sup>2</sup>	-ā -a <sup>3</sup>	-ā
Abl.	-ēd, -ōd	-ād	-ā <sup>1</sup>	-ā <sup>1</sup>	-ā <sup>1</sup>
Gen.	-osjo	-asya	-asya	-ahyā -ahe <sup>3</sup>	-ahyā
Loc.	-ei, -oi	-ai	-e	{ -ōi-, e <sup>3</sup> -ay-a <sup>3</sup>	{ -aiy -ay-ā }
Voc.	-e	-a	-a	-ā -a <sup>3</sup>	-ā
Pl. Nom.	-ōs	{ -āh <sup>1</sup> -āsah <sup>4</sup>	-āh	-ā -a <sup>3</sup> -āvāhō	{ -ā <sup>b</sup> -āha <sup>b</sup> }
Acc.	-ons	-ān <sup>5</sup>	-ān	-ān	-ā <sup>b</sup>
Inst.	-āis	-āiṣ	-āiṣ	-āiṣ	-aiḥiṣ <sup>6</sup>
Gen.	-ōm	-ānām <sup>7</sup>	-ānām	-ānām	-ānām
Loc.	-oisu	-aiśu	-eṣu	-aēśu	-aiśuw-ā
Neuter					
Sg. Nom.-Acc.	-o-m	-am	-am	-əm	-am
Pl. Nom.-Acc.	-ā	-ā	-ā <sup>8</sup>	-ā -a <sup>3</sup>	-ā

<sup>1</sup> And other sandhi-products. <sup>2</sup> With different suffix. <sup>3</sup> Short-vowel final in LAv.; long vowels or diphthong in GAv. <sup>4</sup> Double ending, with added *-as* from nom. pl. of consonantal stems. <sup>5</sup> With analogical length; and *-s* re-

tained in some sandhi combinations. <sup>6</sup> From *-oibhīs*, cf. dat.-abl. pl. Skt. *-ebhyaḥ*, Av. *-aēbyō* from *\*-oibhīos*. <sup>7</sup> By influence of *-n*-stems. <sup>8</sup> Ved. *-ā*, but classical Skt. *-āni* after *-n*-stems.

### ✓ §171. CASE-FORMS OF *-o-* STEMS IN OP:

Nom. Sg. *martiya*, *xšāyathiya*, *kāra*, *bagā*, *drauga*, *hamičiya*, *anušiya*; man's name, *Kabūjīya*; place names and ethnics *Pārsa*, *Māda*, *Sugda*, *Suguda*, *Saka*, *Sparda*, *Mudrāya*, *Ūja*, *Ūvja*, *Yauna*, *Parθava*, *Armina*, *Arminiya*, *Asagarta*, *Gadāra*, *Mārgava*, *Ūvjiya*.

Acc. Sg. *martiyam*, *xšāyathiyam*, *kāram*, *hamičiyam*; *Kabūjīyam*; *Pārsam*, *Mādam*, *Sugdām*, *Mudrāyam*, *Ūvjam*, *Arminam*, *Asagartam*, *ufrāš-tam*.

Inst. Sg. *kārā*, *Pārsā*, *Aurā*, probably *karšā*; nt. *artā*, *dātā*, *ariyā*; masc. or nt. *vašnā*, *pišā*.

Abl. Sg. *draugā*; *Kabūjīyā*, *Pārsā*, *Sugudā*,

*Spardā*, *Mudrāyā*, *Kūšā*, *Yaunā*, *Gadārā*, *Kar-mānā*; nt. *dušiyārā*, *vispā*, *gastā*.

Gen. Sg. *martiyahyā*, *xšāyathiyahyā*, *kārahayā*, *Pārsahyā*, *visahyā*, probably *māhyā*; nt. *uškahyā*, *waiḥpašiyahyā*, *jvāhyā*, [ha]kartahyā.

Loc. Sg. *Pārsaiy*, *Mādaiy*, *Mudrāyaiy*, *Ūjaiy*, *Ūvjaiy*, *Parθaiy*, *Arminiyaiy*, *Asagartaiy*, *Hagmatānaiy*; with added *-ā*, *dwarayā*, *dastayā*, *spāthmaidayā*, probably *karšayā*, [da]rtanayā; nt. *uzmayā*.

Voc. Sg. *martiyā*, *marikā*.

Nom. Pl. *martiyā*, *xšāyathiyā*, *hamičiyā*, *anušiyā*, *takabarā*, *tigraxaudā*, *haumawargyā*, *paruwā*, *Mādā*, *Sakā*, *Mudrāyā*, *Yaunā*, *Ūvijyā*; with double ending, *aniyāha bagāha*.

Acc. Pl. *martiyā, xšāyābhiyā, hamiçiyā, Sakā, Ūvjiyā, ufraštā*.

Inst. Pl. *asabāraibiš, martiyaibiš, hamiçiyaibiš, baçaibiš, vīðabiš, kamnaibiš; Mādaibiš, Sakai-  
biš, Parbavaibiš, Mārgavaibiš, Ūvjiyaibiš; nt.  
ūmraibiš*.

Gen. Pl. *martiyānām, xšāyābhiyānām, baçānām*.

Loc. Pl. *Mādaišw-ā*.

Nt. Nom. Sg. *xšaçam, dušiyāram, ardatam, darani-  
yam, arwastam, dātam, ðakalam, kartam, visam,  
kamnam; acc. xšaçam, slānam, daraniyam, aru-  
vastam, kartam, visam, wāipašiyam, waspam,  
probably cašam*.

Nt. Nom. Pl. *ūmarā, ðakatā, [d]ātā; acc. āyadanā,  
[waspā], uradhā*.

✓ §172. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE -o- DECLENSION IN OP.

Nom. Sg.: OP -ā, regular from pAr. -ah, pIE -os; the failure to write the final vowel long shows a final minimal consonant: -a<sup>1</sup>.

Acc. Sg.: OP -am, regular from pAr. -am, pIE -om.

Inst. Sg.: OP -ā, regular from pAr. -ā, pIE -ē or -o.

Abl. Sg.: OP -ā for -ā<sup>1</sup>, regular from pAr. -ū, pIE -ēd or -ōd (or -t).

Gen. Sg.: OP -ahyā, regular for pAr. -asya, pIE -osjo; OP -ā for -ā shows that no minimal consonant followed; for a few writings -ahyā, see §36.IV. For māhyā from \*māhahyā, see §131.

Loc. Sg.: OP -aiy in place-names, regular from pAr. -ai, pIE -ei or -oi; OP -ayā in common nouns, being -ai + postposition -ā (similar forms are found in Avestan.)<sup>1</sup>

Voc. Sg.: OP -ā, regular from pAr. -ā, pIE -e; with OP -ā because there is no final minimal consonant.

Nom. Pl.: OP -ā for -ā<sup>1</sup>, regular from pAr. āh, pIE -ōs; also OP -āha for -āhā<sup>1</sup> in *amiyāha baçaḥa* 'other gods', cf. §10 and the similar formations Av. *ahurānō* 'Ahuras', Skt. *devāsah* 'gods'.

Acc. Pl.: OP -ā for -ā<sup>1</sup>, either regularly from pAr. -āns with reduced *n*, in some sandhi-positions; or the nom. pl. as acc., by analogy (§168).

Inst. Pl.: OP -aibiš, regular for pAr. -aibhiš.

Gen. Pl.: OP -ānām, regular for pAr. -ānām, with

-nām from -n- stems (§187); for writing -ānām, see §52.III.

Loc. Pl.: OP -aišwā, regular from pAr. -aišw, pIE -oisu, + postposition -ā; -šw-ā should become -šwā, but the OP writing does not distinguish between this value and -šwā, in which the -u- is retained as a vowel by the influence of the original form and a glide consonant written between it and the following vowel.

Nt. Nom.-Acc. Sg.: OP -am, regular from pAr. -am, pIE -om.

Nt. Nom.-Acc. Pl.: OP -ā, regular from pAr. -ā, pIE -ā.

*dātā* DB 1.23, XPh 49, 52, when used with *pari-ay-* 'respect', is probably inst. rather than abl., because of the lack of prep. *hacā*; note that the text of DSe 37-9, as now restored, gives no support for the abl. in the other passages, despite my remarks JAOS 54.46, Lg. 13.303, JAOS 58.117. On inst. sg. *karšā*, loc. sg. *karšayā*, nt. acc. *cašam*, acc. pl. *ufrāštā-diy*, see Lex. s.vv.

*Artaxšaça-* has the regular gen. -çaḥyā,<sup>2</sup> but nom. -çā and acc. -çām have been assimilated to *Xšayār-šā -šām* (§187), and gen. *Artaxšaçaḥyā* (A<sup>2</sup>Hc) may have been assimilated to the late gen. *Xšayāršāhyā* (§187; unless there is mere addition of a character, §53).

§173. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF -ā-STEMS IN pIE: only those relevant to extant OP forms will be discussed.

I. In the singular, nom. -ā is the strong grade of the stem-vowel, without special case-suffix. Acc. -ām is stem-vowel -ā + case-suffix -m. From the evidence of non-Aryan languages, we should expect pIE to have inst. -ā (from -ā- + -a), abl.-gen. -ās (from -ā- + es), loc. -āi (from -ā- + -i);<sup>1</sup> but in Aryan we find dissyllabic terminations, inst. -āyā, abl.-gen. -āyās, loc. -āyā. Either a pre-IE variant stem in -āyā- here comes to light, though it does not appear outside these singular cases (and in the dative, lost in OP), or these cases are built upon a stem extracted from the loc. sg. -āyā (so in Iranian, but extended by -m in Skt.): for the loc. sg. should have been stem-vowel -ā- + ending -i, to which postposition -ā was added, making -āyā.

<sup>2</sup> Unless this form also is a neologism (§57).

§173.<sup>1</sup> Although ā + i regularly contracted to ai (§131), the loc. of -ā- stems seems to have had -āi by the influence of -ā in other cases; on Skt. inst. ending -āyā, see Thumb-Hirt, Handbuch d. Skt. §259, §351.

<sup>1</sup> The same phenomenon in Osc.-Umb.: \*en 'in' is attached to the loc. ending as an integral part of the case-form, in Osc. *hūrtin* 'in horto' from \*ei-en, and in Umb. *arven* 'in arvo' from \*āi-en.

To the extracted stem *-āyā-* it is simple to form inst. *-āyā*, gen. abl. *-āyās*.

II. The plural has pIE nom. *-ās* from *-ā-* + *-es*; acc. *-ās* from *-ā-* + *-ns*, with pIE loss of *n* between long vowel and final *s*; gen. *-ōm* from *-ā-* + *-ōm*, replaced in pAr. by *-ānām* after *-n-* stems; loc. *-āsu* from *-ā-* + *-su*.

§174. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF *-ā-* STEMS IN ARYAN. The comparative table includes only cases represented in extant OP forms.

Sg.	pIE	pAr.	Skt.	Av.	OP
Nom.	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā -a'</i>	<i>-ā</i>
Acc.	<i>-ām</i>	<i>-ām</i>	<i>-ām</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-ām</i>
Inst.		<i>-āyā<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>-ayā</i>	<i>-ayā<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>-āyā</i>
Abl.		<i>-āyās</i>	<i>-āyās</i>	<i>-ayās<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>-āya<sup>b</sup></i>
Gen.		<i>-āyās</i>	<i>-āyās</i>	<i>-ayā</i>	<i>-āyā<sup>b</sup></i>
Loc.		<i>-āi</i>	<i>-āyā</i>	<i>-āyām</i>	<i>-aya</i>
Pl.					
Nom.	<i>-ās</i>	<i>-ās</i>	<i>-ās</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā<sup>b</sup></i>
Acc.	<i>-ās</i>	<i>ās</i>	<i>ās</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā<sup>b</sup></i>
Gen.	<i>-ōm</i>	<i>-ānām</i>	<i>-ānām</i>	<i>-anām</i>	<i>-ānām</i>
Loc.	<i>-āsu</i>	<i>-āsu</i>	<i>-āsu</i>	<i>-āhu</i>	
				<i>-āhva<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>-ā<sup>b</sup>wā</i>

<sup>1</sup> Avestan forms with short final *-a* belong to the LAv.; note that the indication of length in interior syllables of Avestan words is not reliable. <sup>2</sup> Cf. §173n. <sup>3</sup> Remodeling of the gen. ending in Late Avestan after the abl. *-āt* of *-o-* stems.

✓ §175. CASE-FORMS OF *-ā-* STEMS IN OP:

Nom. Sg. *taumā* 'family', *hainā*, *framānā*, *yauviyā*, *didā*, *θikā*; *Aθurā*; adjectives *kartā*, *gastā*, *hamiçiyā*.

Acc. Sg. *taumām*, *yauviyām*, *didām*, *θikām*; *Paiçiyāwādām*, *Sakām*; adjective *abagainām*.

Inst. Sg. *framānāyā*, *aruwāyā*, perhaps *ha[natāyā]*.

Abl. Sg. *Paiçiyāwādāyā*, *haināyā*, *taumāyā*, *Yadāyā*.

Gen. Sg. *taumāyā*.

Loc. Sg. *Arbairāyā*, *Aθurāyā*, *Çūšāyā*; perhaps *avastāyā*, *stūnāyā* (see §176); adj. *vazrakāyā* (unless gen. in some passages).

Nom. Pl. *stūnā*, *hamiçiyā*, *kartā*.

Acc. Pl. [*stūnā*] (restored only).

Gen. Pl. *paruzanānām*, *vispazanānām*.

Loc. Pl. *maškā<sup>b</sup>wā*, *aniyā<sup>b</sup>wā*.

§176. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *-ā-* DECLENSION IN OP. Reference to the table of endings in §174 will show that OP faithfully represents the endings as they were in pAr., with a few slight modifications. The failure to write the minimal

final consonants brings to a uniform writing *-āyā* the inst., abl., gen., loc. cases of the singular. It is impossible to determine whether OP shared the LAv. split of the Aryan abl.-gen. *-āyās* into gen. *\*-āyās*, abl. *\*āyāt* in imitation of the *-o-* stem abl. in *-āt*; in the absence of evidence we assume that OP abl. and gen. were identical, with *-āyā* from older *-āyās*. The OP loc. shared the general Aryan addition of *-ā*, but not the further Skt. addition of *-m*. The plural forms of OP also are quite regular, the gen. showing the Aryan remodeling after *-n-* stems, and the loc. the addition of *-ā* which occurs also in a few Avestan forms. There is the same ambiguity as to the phonetic value of *-ā<sup>b</sup>wā* in this declension that there is in the *-o-* stems (§172).

The fact that the pAr. loc. sg. of *-ā-* stems has the added *-ā* which passes to the loc. sg. of common nouns and adjectives of other stem-classes, and to the loc. pl., in OP, and to a smaller extent in Avestan, makes it likely that the *-ā-* stems are the starting point for this remodeling of the ending.

The puzzling form *stūnāyā* occurs only in the phrase *apadānam stūnāyā abagainām* 'palace stony . . . column'; as it occurs only in texts of Darius II and later, it may be a miswriting with omission of the final *a*, and stand for *stūnāyā*, inst. or loc. of specification (cf. the use of inst. *karšā* and loc. *karšayā* with a numeral, Lg. 19.227-9): 'palace stony as to column(s)', *stūnāyā* being singular in form but generic in meaning, and therefore to be taken as a collective.<sup>1</sup>

§177. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF *-ī-* AND *-ī-* STEMS IN PIE AND IN ARYAN: only those relevant to extant OP forms will be discussed.

I. The *-ī-* stems had pIE nom. sg. *-i-s*, acc. *-i-m*, gen. *-ei-s* or *-oi-s* (with strong grade of the stem-vowel); these are represented by Skt. *agnīṣ agnīm agnēṣ* 'fire'. The loc. had the long diphthong, without case-suffix, *-ēi*; this became *-ē* in pIE, since long diphthongs in pIE regularly lost the semivowel when they were final: Skt. (Ved.) has *agnā*.<sup>1</sup>

II. The *-ī-* stems had pIE nom. sg. *-ī*, acc. *-ī-m*,

<sup>1</sup> Hinz, ZDMG 95.250, takes as miswritten for *stūnāyam*, adj. modifying *apadānam*: 'Säulenhalle'.

§177.<sup>1</sup> Skt. *agnīv* is a new formation by influence of the *-u-* stem loc. *śatrā śatrāu* 'enemy', where both forms were still used.

abl.-gen.  $-(i)ḷēs$  or  $-(i)ḷās$ ,<sup>2</sup> inst.  $-(i)ḷā$ ,<sup>3</sup> loc.  $-(i)ḷē$  or  $-(i)ḷā$ <sup>2</sup> (from the final long diphthong, as in  $-ḷ$ -stems). The nom. pl. was pIE  $-i-es$ , giving  $-iēs$ . These are represented by Skt. *devī devīm devyās devyā devyā-m* 'goddess' (with  $-m$  attached to the loc., as in  $-ā$ -stems), pl. *devyās = devīyas*.

III. The  $-i$ -stems were exclusively feminine, but the  $-ḷ$ -stems included both masculines and feminines; both in Skt. and in Av. the fem.  $-i$ -stems optionally or regularly assumed the endings of  $-i$ -stems in the inst., dat., abl.-gen., loc. singular. Occasionally, also, the fem.  $-i$ -stems acquired a nom. sg.  $-s$  from the  $-ḷ$ -stems in Skt. and Av., giving nom.  $-iś$ .

#### §178. CASE-FORMS OF $-i$ - AND $-i$ -STEMS IN OP:

##### I. Masc. $-i$ -stems:

Nom. Sg.: *skauḍiś, pastīś, ṭarmiś, yāumainiś ayāu-(ma)iniś*; the personal names *Fravartīś, Dādarīś, Ciśpiś*; the ethnic *Pātiśwariś*; perhaps the place-names *Arakadriś, Kāpiśakaniś, Viś-[pa]u[ā]tiś*.

Acc. Sg. *skauḍim, uśabārim, duvarḍim, Fravartim, Dādarḥim*.

Gen. Sg. *skauḍaiś, Fravartaiś, Ciśpaiś, Ṭāigarcaiś, Bāgayādaīś*; also *Ciśpāiś, Ciciṛaiś*.

##### II. Fem. $-i$ -stems (some possibly $-i$ -stems):

Nom. Sg.: *arś[ī]ś, śiyātiś, iśtiś*, probably *dipi[ś]*.

Acc. Sg.: *śiyātim, bājim, dipim; paḍim* (to a heteroclitic stem).

Inst. Sg.: *[nip]iś[ī]yā*.

Loc. Sg.: *ḍ[ī]p[ī]yā*.

##### III. Fem. $-i$ -stems:

Nom. Sg.: *Uvārazmīy Uvārazmiś, Baxtriś; Harauvatiś* (Skt. *sārasvatī*), *Sikalāya)watiś; āpiś* (in *āpiśim = āpiś-ḥim*), *BU* 'earth' (ideogram only).

Acc. Sg.: *Harauvatim, būmim*, probably *yau[da]tim*.

Abl. Sg.: *Harawatīyā, Bāxtriṇyā, Uvārazmīyā*.

Loc. Sg.: *Harawatīyā, Bāxtriṇyā, āpi[y]ā, būmīyā*.

Nom. Pl.: *abagainīya*.

##### IV: Not included here:

Inst. Pl.: *abiś, araśaniś*: see Lex. s.vv.

#### §179. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE $-i$ - AND $-i$ -DECLENSIONS IN OP.<sup>1</sup>

I. The  $-i$ -stems and the  $-i$ -stems fell together in OP into one declensional paradigm, having nom. sg.  $-iś$ , acc.  $-im$ , gen.  $-aiś$ , abl.  $-iyā$ <sup>b</sup> (= Skt.  $-yās$ ), loc.  $-iyā$  (= Skt.  $-yā-m$ ), nom. pl.  $-iyā$ <sup>b</sup>. The only survival of separate declensional forms is nom. *Uvārazmīy*, with original  $-i$ , replaced in later inscriptions by *Uvārazmiś*. There is the possibility that when nom.  $-i$  of  $-i$ -stems took the ending  $-s$ , the length of the vowel remained to distinguish the  $-i$ -stems from the  $-i$ -stems; and similarly the long vowel in acc.  $-im$  may have remained. The OP system of writing leaves this ambiguous. But it is more likely that the new ending  $-iś$  and the old ending  $-im$  became  $-iś$  and  $-im$  in imitation of the corresponding forms of  $-i$ -stems.

II. It is true that in Aryan the abl. sg. and the gen. sg. of these stems have the same ending (so in all stems except  $-ḍ$ -stems!), and here we find gen.  $-aiś$ , abl.  $-iyā$ . But all the OP genitives are of masculine words, and all the locatives are of feminines; and as we noted in §177.III, feminine  $-i$ -stems were likely to assume  $-i$ -stem endings in certain oblique cases of the singular. It is possible then that the feminines may in OP have diverged in some case-forms from the pattern of the masculine  $-i$ -stems, without in reality preserving a separate declensional type. Note that *būmīyā* seems to be loc. only; if the form occurred in a passage where the gen. were certainly required, this differentiation would seem to be established. Yet in  $-i$ -stems we find both endings in masc. ablatives.

III. It is not always possible to determine whether the feminine common nouns are  $-i$ -stems or  $-i$ -stems; etymological comparison is necessary. The short vowel seems assured in *arśti*, Skt. *ṛṣṭi* 'spear'; *paḍim*, Skt. stem *paḥi-* in some case-forms; but it is only a probability in *śiyāti*, *iśti*, *bāji*, *dipi*. The long vowel seems assured in *būmi*- by Skt. Ved. nom. *bhūmī* (once only; against 12 occurrences of the new formation *bhūmiś*), and is certain in nom. pl. *abagainīya*, like Skt. *pāpyās* to sg. fem. *pāpī* which is one fem. formation to *pāpās* 'evil'.

IV. The gen.  $-aiś$  in *Ciśpāiś* and *Ciciṛaiś* is only graphic for  $-aiś$  in words where the nom. and the gen. would be written alike:  $aiśaiś = aiś$  = nom.

<sup>2</sup> Variation between  $-i$ - and  $-i$ - by Sievers' Law (cf. Edgerton, Lg. 10.235-65); differentiation between pIE  $e$  and pIE  $a$  cannot be made because of lack of adequate non-Aryan cognates. <sup>3</sup>pAr.  $a$ , cf. preceding note; probably pAr.  $a$  extended from  $-ḍ$ -stem instrumentals.

<sup>1</sup> Debrunner, IF 52.131-6; Kent, Lg. 19.221-4.

*Cišpiš* or gen. *Cišpaiš*; similarly *-riš\** = *-riš* or *-raiš*.

V. In forms ending in *-iyā*, the *-i-* is probably syllabic and not merely graphic; for *\*Harahvatyā* would become *\*Harawašiyā* and not *Harawa-tyā*, and *\*dīpyā* would become *\*dīfiyā* and not *dīpiyā*.<sup>2</sup> In the others the long preceding syllable would cause Sievers' Law to operate, changing *-yā* to *-iyā*.

§180. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF *-ū-* STEMS IN PIE AND IN ARYAN: again, only those relevant to extant OP forms will be discussed.

The *-ū-* stems had pIE nom. sg. *-u-s*, acc. *-u-m*, gen. *-eu-s* or *-ou-s* (with strong grade of the stem-vowel), seen in Skt. *śātrus śātrum śātroḥ* 'enemy', Av. *vahuš vohūm vahōuš* 'good'. The inst. sg. was the stem in *-ū-* + pAr. ending *-ā*; the *-ū-* remained vocalic if after a single consonant preceded by two consonants or by a single consonant after a long vowel or a diphthong, but became consonantal after a single consonant preceded by a short vowel. The loc. sg. ended in the strong grade or the lengthened grade of the stem vowel, *-eu* or *-ēu*, to which the postposition *-ā* was often added in Iranian: Skt. *śātrāu*, Av. *vahāu*, also *ahava* to *avhuš* 'existence'. The nom.-acc. sg. nt. was the bare stem, and ended in *-u*: Skt. *mādhu* 'honey', GAv. *vohū* 'good' (all final vowels are long in GAv.). The gen. pl. was pIE *-(u)uōm*, but became *-ū-nām* in pAr. in imitation of the *-n-* stems; Av. has both endings in *vahvəm* and *vohvəm*.

✓ §181. CASE-FORMS OF *-ū-* STEMS IN OP:

Nom. Sg. Masc.: *maguš*, *piruš*, *sikabruš*, adj. *wāmaršiyuš*; names of kings, *Dārayavauš*, *Kūruš*; place-names, *Abirādūš*, *Kud'ruš*, *Θataguš*, *Bābiruš*, *Māruš*, *Marguš*, *Hirduš*.

Acc. Sg. Masc.: *magum*, *xraθum*, *gāθum*; *Dārayavaušum*; *Bābirum*, *Margum*; *visadahyum*; perhaps *[agurum]*.

Inst. Sg.: *Ufrātūwā*.

Gen. Sg. Masc.: *Kūrauš*; *Dārayavahauš*, with neologisms *Dārayavaušahyā* *Dārayavašahyā*.

Abl. Sg. Masc.: *Bābirauš* *Bābiraw*, *Hidaw*, *gāθavā*.

Loc. Sg. Masc.: *Bābiraw*, *Margaw*, *gāθavā*.

Gen. Pl. Masc.: *parūnām* *parūwām*. Fem.: *parūnām*.

Nt. Nom. Sg.: *paruw*, *dāruw*.

Nt. Acc. Sg.: *[dār]w*.

For forms of *tanūš*, *dahyāuš*, *uzšnavuš*, *nāuš*, see §183.

✓ §182. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *-ū-* DECLENSION IN OP. The development of the endings from pIE and pAr. are quite perspicuous for the most part, and call for but few remarks.

I. The neologisms *Dārayavaušahyā* and *Dārayavašahyā* are mere attempts to build up genitives on the nom. as a stem, at a time when the endings had worn down and were not distinguished in speech; §57.

II. The loc. in *-aw* represents the short diphthong (unlike the long diphthong in Skt.), without case-suffix; and that in *-avā* is the regular phonetic development of *-au* + *-ā*.

III. The abl. *Bābirauš* is the gen., for in Aryan the same form functioned as gen. and as abl., except in the *-ō-* stems; the other ablatives are locative forms (cf. the fusion of loc. and abl. forms and functions in Latin).

IV. The gen. pl. has the regular Aryan *-nām* from *-n-* stems; it is to be observed that the masc. form of the adjective functions also as fem.

V. The nom.-acc. nt. sg. inherits the old ending; OP nom. *paruw* is the exact equivalent of Av. *pouru*, Skt. *purū*, Gk. *πολύ*.

✓ §183. THE *-ū-* STEMS AND *u-* DIPHTHONG STEMS IN OP.

I. The only *-ū-* stem in OP is *tanū-* 'body, self', which is shown by Skt. and Av. *tanū-* to have the long vowel; its forms in OP are nom. *tanūš*, acc. *tanūm*, unless indeed it has *-uš -ūm* by assimilation to the *-ū-* stems.

II. OP fem. *dahyau-* 'land, province' has in most case-forms the diphthong and not the zero-grade *-u-*, a peculiarity which in general it shares with the Avestan cognate. The diphthong is lengthened as a mark of the nom. sg.: OP *dahyāuš* (but Av. *daivhuš*). This length is extended to the acc. sg. OP *dahyāvam* and *dahyāum* (of which the prior is phonetically correct<sup>1</sup> and the second is an-

<sup>2</sup> The tendency in OP is to level toward changed forms of the stem-consonant, not back to the original sound; cf. Lex.s.vv. *gāθu-* *xraθu-*, *arašan-*.

<sup>1</sup> In pIE, diphthong before nasal in the same syllable automatically became vowel + consonantal semivowel, after which the nasal became vocalic: thus *-ēum* > *-ēym*, whence OP *-āvam*. But nom. *-ēus* remained and induced

alogical to the nom.;<sup>2</sup> Av. *daiðhaom* graphic for *ðvam*); but as second element of a compound we find *-dahyum* in *visadahyum* (or *-dahyaum*, as *-yrum*<sup>a</sup> is ambiguous), and in A<sup>3</sup>Pa 26 we have *DH<sup>y</sup>rum*<sup>a</sup>, which may be either *DHyaum* or *DHyum* (Av. *dahyūm* is probably for *-yūm*). OP loc. *dahyauwā* is *dahyauw* like *Bābiraw*, with added *-ā*; but the diphthong is here kept before the added vowel (unlike *gāθavā*). Nom. pl. *dahyāva* has the long diphthong extended from the nom. sg., and represents pAr. *-āvas* (so also Av. *daiðhāvō*); this form was extended to serve as acc. pl. in OP (so also in Av.). OP gen. pl. *dahyūnām* and *dahyūnām* is a regular gen. pl. of *-u-* stems in Aryan (Av. *dahyūnam*). OP loc. pl. *dahyūšuwā* is the *-u-* stem loc. pl. with ending *-su*, + the postposition *-ā*; whether phonetically *-ušuwā* or *-ušwā* depends on whether the *u* of *-su* was consonantized before the added vowel, or retained by analogy.<sup>3</sup>

III. Nom. sg. *u{xšna}uš* 'well satisfied' is formed with the case-suffix *s*, but no lengthening.

IV. Nom. pl. [*nāna*] corresponds to Skt. *nāv-as*, Gk. *νη-ες*, the regular nom. pl. of the diphthongal stem *\*nāu-* (PIE *\*nāy-es*).

§184. THE CASE-ENDINGS OF CONSONANT-STEMS IN PIE AND IN ARYAN. Again only part of the cases have extant forms in OP.

Nom. Sg. Masc. and Fem.: formed by adding *-s*, or by lengthening the last vowel of the stem, rarely by both together. After a lengthened vowel a final liquid or nasal was lost in PIE.<sup>1</sup>

Acc. Sg. Masc. and Fem.: formed by adding *-m*, which here automatically became *-n*, since it stood after another consonant.

Nom.-Acc. Sg. Nt.: the bare stem, without suffix.

Gen. Sg.: PIE *-es* and *-os*,<sup>2</sup> Aryan *-as*.

Loc. Sg.: the bare stem, in the strong grade if hav-

ing ablaut variation; or the same + case-ending *-i*.  
Inst. Sg.: formed by adding (Aryan) *-ā*, from PIE *-ē* or *-ō*.  
Inst. Pl.: formed by adding *-bhis*, Aryan *-bhiš*.  
It is to be noted that in Aryan, when a word ended in two or more consonants, the final consonant or consonants fell off until only one was left; thus PIE nom. *\*nepōt-s* 'grandson', Lt. *nepōs*, became pAr. *\*napāt*, Skt. *nápāt*.  
✓ §185. THE *-s-* STEMMS IN OP: of these there are several varieties.  
I. The neuter formation with suffix *-os* in nom.-acc. sg., *-es-* in other forms: type Lt. *gen-us gener-is*, Gk. *γεν-ος γεν-ε-ος*, Skt. *ján-as ján-as-as*. OP has nom. *rauta<sup>b</sup>* 'river', Skt. *srótas*; nom.-acc. *rauca<sup>b</sup>* 'day', Av. *raocō* 'light', Skt. *rócas* 'light'; acc. *draya<sup>b</sup>* 'sea' (and *draiya<sup>b</sup>*, §48), Av. *zrayō*, Skt. *jráyas*; acc. *manāš-cā* (§105), Av. *manō*, Skt. *mānas*; acc. *zūra<sup>b</sup>* 'evil', Av. *zūrō*; acc. *miðā<sup>b</sup>* 'evil'. Inst. *manahā*, Skt. *mānasā*. Loc. *drayahy-ā* (with added *-ā*; also written *drayahiyā*, but whether the *-i-* is syllabic cannot be determined), Skt. *jráyasi*, cf. Av. *manahi-cā*. Inst. pl. *raucabiš*, probably for *\*rauca<sup>b</sup>biš*, cf. Av. *manābiš*, Skt. *mānobhis*: the *-h* from *-s* in certain sandhi positions here transferred to the medial position before the consonant of the case-suffix, and then voiced before the voiced consonant and lost with the same products as when final in the respective languages.  
II. When a nt. *-es-/os-* stem forms the second element of a compound, whether adjectival or a man's name, the nom. sg. has *-ēs*, the other cases have *-es-*: Gk. *δυσμενής, Διογένης το μένος, γένος*. This *-ēs* became Ar. *-ās -āh*, OP *-ā<sup>b</sup>*: *Vi<sup>r</sup>da-jarnā<sup>b</sup>*, cf. Av. *x<sup>r</sup>arəñō* 'royal splendor', PIE *\*syelnos*; *Aspacanā<sup>b</sup>*, cf. Skt. *cānas* 'delight'.  
III. Apparently there was also a nt. suffix *-os-*, not varying within the paradigm nor in the corresponding masc. formation: type Skt. *kravīš* 'raw flesh', Gk. *κρέας*. OP nom.-acc. *hadiš* from *\*sed-əs*, cf. Gk. *έδος* from *\*sed-os*; acc. *abīcarīš* 'pastureland', see Lex. s.v. In names, *Haxā-maniš*, *Ardu-maniš*, perhaps *I-maniš*; late gen. *Haxāmaniš-ahyā* adds the gen. ending of *-o-* stems to the nom. as stem.<sup>1</sup>

OP acc. *-āum* (which indeed might have come down from PIE in the position before an initial vowel). An alternative development of a long diphthong before final *m* in PIE was the loss of the semivowel of the diphthong; there are no examples in OP.<sup>2</sup> Cf. PIE nom. *\*nāus*, acc. *\*nāym* 'ship': Skt. *nāus*, *nāyam*; Gk. Hom. *νηός νηα*, Att. *ναός ναών*.<sup>3</sup> For further speculations on the declension of *dahyūš*, see Bv. Gr. §287.

§184.<sup>1</sup> The liquid or nasal was restored in the nom. in some IE branches, by the influence of the stem in the oblique cases: thus Skt. *pitā* 'father', but Gk. *πατήρ*, Lt. *pater*; Skt. *tāksā* 'carpenter', but Gk. *τέκτων*.<sup>2</sup> *-es* as in Lt. *ped-is*, *-os* as in Gk. *ποδ-ός*.

<sup>1</sup> If we could accept *Haxāmanišahyā* at face-value, we could be quite sure that these three names are *-s-* stems and not *-i-* stems with nom. *-š*, as some have supposed;

IV. The remaining -s- stems of OP are *nāh-* 'nose', *tawīyah-* 'stronger', *A<sup>h</sup>uramazdāh-* 'Ahura-mazda', and possibly *māh-* 'month'.

OP acc. *nāh-am*, Skt. *nāsam*, has the ending -*ṃ* generalized in its antevocalic value, assisted by the -*am* of -*o-* stems. OP nom. sg. masc. *tawīyā<sup>h</sup>* has the comparative suffix in the long-vowel form, pIE -*īōs*, pA. -*īās*; Av. *spanyā* 'holier' has the same suffix and case-formation, while Skt. *śhāvī-yān* 'stronger' stands for -*yāns*, with an intrusive -*n*<sup>2</sup> and loss of the final consonant of the cluster, but a stem-formation closer to that of OP *tawīyā* (on -*aw-*, §48). OP *māhyā* probably does not belong here as loc. \**māhi-* + -*ā*, cf. Skt. loc. *māśi*, but is rather gen. sg. \**māhahyā* to *māha-*, Skt. *māsa-*, with reduction of -*āhah-* (§131).

OP nom. *Auramazdā<sup>h</sup>* ends in pIE \**-dhēs*, an -*s-* formation to a long-vowel root which in this formation shows no ablaut variation (cf. Lt. *flōs flōr-is* and other monosyllables); a nom. -*s* added to -*dhēs-*, pA. -*dhūs-*, produces no change, since the -*ss* is shortened automatically to -*s*. Acc. *Auramazdām* instead of \**-dāham* shows that the form was transferred to the -*ā-* stems.<sup>3</sup> Gen. *Auramazdāha<sup>h</sup>* is regular for the stem in -*dāh-*, as is also the unique *Aurahya Mazdāha<sup>h</sup>* declined in both parts;<sup>4</sup> gen. *Auramazdāhā<sup>h</sup>* has -*āhā<sup>h</sup>* by influence of gen. -*āyā<sup>h</sup>* of -*ā-* stems, since the nom. -*dā*, acc. -*dām* already agreed with the nom. -*ā*, acc. -*ām* of -*ā-* stems.<sup>5</sup> Gen. *Auramazdāhā* is an error of writing which is to be classed with gen. pl. *xšāyabī-yānām* 'of kings', for -*ānām* (§52.III).

but *Hazāmanišahyā* stands in the much miswritten Ariaramnes inscription, and may replace a gen. in \**-manaiš* as *Dārayavauš-ahyā* (in inscriptions of Artaxerxes I and II) replaces the old gen. *Dārayavahauš*. However, the derivative *Hazāmaniš-īya* 'Achaemenian' seems to justify us in regarding the -*š-* as belonging to the stem.<sup>2</sup> This -*n-* may come from the perf. ptc. nom. Skt. *vidān*, pIE -*yōs* as in Gk. εἰδ(ε)ός 'knowing'; and in the perf. ptc. of Skt. it seems to have come from the -*nt-* of the pres. ptc.<sup>3</sup> Cf. similar phenomena in the declension of *Xšāyāršan-*, §187. Pisani, Riv. Stud. Or. 19.81-2, argues that *Auramazdā* is by origin a root-noun in -*ā-*, with analogical gen. to avoid identity of nom. and gen., but this is very improbable.<sup>4</sup> The divine name is always declined in both parts in the Avesta; in the *Gāthās* other words commonly intervene between its two parts, and in the Later Avesta *mazdā ahurō* is more frequent than *ahurō mazdā*.<sup>5</sup> This rather indicates that -*h* was lost in OP after *ā*, and remained only after *ā*; §40.

✓ §186. THE -*r-* STEMS IN OP: these fall into two groups.

I. Agency nouns with suffixes pIE -*tor-* and -*ter-*, showing ablaut variation in the declension; the nom. sg. has the long vowel, which is commonly extended to some or all of the other case-forms: Lt. *dator*, gen. *datōr-is* (*ō* throughout); Gk. δῶτωρ δῶτορ-ος (*ō* only in nom. sg.), δοτήρ δοτήρ-ος, δωτήρ δωτήρ-ος (*ē* throughout except in voc. sg. δῶτερ); Skt. *dātā*, acc. *dātāram*, dat. *dātṛé*, loc. *dātāri*, etc. OP has nom. sg. *ja<sup>h</sup>tā* 'slayer', Av. *janta*, Skt. *hanṭā*; *dauštā* 'friend'. OP acc. *framātāram* 'lord', with extension of the long vowel of the nom., and the antevocalic value of the acc. ending (§67.II).

II. Words of relationship had suffix -*ter-*, nom. -*tē* or restored -*tēr*, other cases -*ter-* or -*tr-*. OP has nom. *pitā* 'father', Skt. *pitā*, Gk. πατήρ, Lt. *pater*; also in cpd. *hama-pitā* 'having the same father'. OP nom. *mātā* 'mother' in *hamātā* 'having the same mother', Skt. *mātā*, Gk. (Dor.) μήτηρ, Lt. *māter*. OP nom. *brātā* 'brother', Skt. *bhrātā*, Gk. φράτηρ 'clan-brother', Lt. *frāter*.<sup>1</sup> OP gen. *piçā<sup>h</sup>*, Gk. πατρός, Lt. *patris*, from \**patr-* or -*es*, unlike Skt. *pitūṣ* from \**pitṛs*.

✓ §187. THE -*n-* STEMS IN OP: these also fall into several groups.

Those with suffixes (Aryan) -*man-* -*van-* -*an-* (pIE vowel -*e-* or -*o-*) had nom. in -*mā-vā-ā-*: OP *taumā* 'power', stem *tauman-*; *artāvā* 'blessed', GA. *ašavā*, LA. *ašava*, Skt. *ṛtāvā*, cf. GA. acc. *ašawanam*; *asā* 'stone', cf. LA. *asōngā-* in cpds., OP *aša<sup>h</sup>ga-* 'stone'; *xšaçapāvā* 'kingdom-protecting, satrap', with stem -*pāvan-* as in Skt. (Ved.) *tanū-pāvan-* 'person-protecting'. Acc. with extension of the long vowel, in OP *asmānam* 'sky', cf. acc. Lith. *akmenī* 'stone' and Gk. ἀκμωνα 'anvil' with -*mēn-* and -*mōn-* respectively. It is uncertain whether acc. *h<sup>z</sup>ānam* (for *hizānam*) is an -*an-* stem with the long vowel, or an -*āna-* stem; at any rate it is an extension of the stem seen in Av. *hizvā-* (see Lex. s.v. *hazāna-*). Neuters with suffix -*men-* have nom.-acc. in the zero-grade -*m<sup>h</sup>*;<sup>1</sup> acc. OP *nāmā*, Skt. *nāma*, Lt. *nōmen*, from \**nōm<sup>h</sup>*.

<sup>1</sup> OP *hamapitā* and *hamātā* do not distinguish, and cannot distinguish, between the two vocalisms seen in Gk. ὁμοπάτηρ and ὁμοπᾶτωρ; but the -*ōr* forms are those proper in original compounds.

✓ §187.<sup>1</sup> OP *c<sup>h</sup>m<sup>h</sup>* is not to be read *cašma* as a neut. -*n-*

The stem *Xšayāršan*-<sup>2</sup> has the regular nom. *Xšayāršā*, but the other cases are remodeled to the type of *Auramazdā*, acc. *-dām*, gen. *-dāha* (§185.IV): acc. *Xšayāršām*, gen. [*Xšayār*]šāha, with late genitives *Xšayāršahyā* (§57) and *Xšayāršāhyā* (A<sup>2</sup>He), with the medial *-ā*- of the other cases. On forms of *Artaxšaça*-, see §172.

Of the other forms, OP *baršnā* is inst. sg. to stem *baršan*-, cf. Av. inst. *barəšna* to *barəzan*-, Skt. *rājñā* to *rājan*- 'king'. OP *nāma* is probably a suffixless loc. *nāma*-. Inst. pl. *taumaniš* and *arašaniš* are analogical for *-abiš*, since the paradigm would have been nom. *-anaš*, gen. *-anām*, inst. *-abiš* (from *-ŋ-bhis*).<sup>3</sup>

OP nom. *manawiš* is probably for *\*manas-vi*, nom. to *-vin-* (cf. Skt. nom. *batī* to stem *baltn-* 'strong'), with added nom. *-s*.<sup>4</sup>

✓ §188. THE STEMS IN STOPS, IN OP: these include stems ending in *t* (*napāt-* 'grandson'), *nt* (*\*tunvant-* 'strong'), *d* (*θard-* 'year', *pad-* 'foot', *rād-* 'cause'), *p* (*xšap-* 'night', *ap-* 'water' cf. *āp-*) *k* (*viθ-* 'house', *vas-* 'will').

I. Nom. *napā* = *napā*, Skt. *nāpāt*, from PIE *\*nepōt-s* with Aryan loss of last consonant of the final cluster; or = *napāš* from a remade Iranian *\*napās* seen in Av. *napāš*.

II. Nom. *tunawā* = *\*tunwān* with PIE *-ōnt* (long vowel nom.) as in Gk. *φέρων* 'bearing', or the same + nom. *-s* as in Av. *haš* 'being' from Iran. *\*hānt-s*, cf. Skt. nom. *sān* from *\*sant-s*, PIE *\*s-ent-s*. Acc. *tunwataṃ* = *\*tunwantam*, with the regular acc. *-am* from *-ŋ* (§67.II). Gen. *tunwatahyā* = *\*tunwantahyā*, with transfer to *-o-* stem ending, and retention of the *-ant-* of the suffix as in Av. gsm. *fšuyantō* 'cattle-raising', despite Av. *hatō* = Skt. *sat-ās*, PIE gsm. *\*sntēs* (or *\*sntós*) 'being' with strong grade in nsm. *\*sent-s*.

III. Acc. *θardam*, gen. *θarda*, gen. *xšapa*, loc. *rādiy*, *-padiy* in *nī-padiy*, *vasiy* (but cf. Lex. s.v.) have the regular PIE endings of their cases: acc. *-ŋ*; gen. *-es* or *-os*; loc. *-i*, without added *-ā* because the forms function as preposition, phrasal adverb, adverb respectively.

stem, because of the final short vowel (§36.III), but is *cašam*, acc. nt. of an *-a-* stem. <sup>2</sup> Bv. Gr. §290 takes as stem *Xšayāršāh-* because of the gen. *-āha*, the second element being *arša-* 'just' made into an (Ar.) *-ās-* stem; the objection to this is that *-ās-* stems are hardly made upon *-ā-* stems. Cf. also §162 note. <sup>3</sup> Lg. 15.175-6; for other interpretations of these two forms, see Lex. s.v.v. <sup>4</sup> Lg. 15.170.

IV. Acc. *viθam*, inst. *viθā*, loc. *viθiyā*, to stem *viθ-* from PIE *\*uik-*, also have the regular endings: acc. *-ŋ*, inst. *-ē* or *-ō*, loc. *-i*, here with added *-ā* because *viθiyā* is a true locative in use.

V. Inst. pl. *viθiš* and *abiš* show the regular *-bhis* seen in Skt. *-bhis*, Av. *-biš*, *-θb-* as a cluster remains by the influence of the separate stem and ending (we expect *-db-* from *-k-bh-*), and the *-b-* of *abiš* is for *-bbh-* from *-p-bh-*.

✓ §189. THE DUAL CASE-FORMS OF OP: nom. *ubā* 'both', *ušiy* 'two ears, understanding'; acc. *gaušā* 'two ears', [*uš*]ī-cā; inst. *dastaibiyā* 'with two hands', *pādaibiyā* 'with two feet', *ušibiya*, *ušiyā*, *gaušāyā*.<sup>1</sup> These are masculines, except *ušiy*, which is neuter.<sup>2</sup>

The nom.-acc. of *-o-* stems ended in PIE *-ō* or *-ōu*, seen in Skt. *ubhā ubhāu*, Lt. *am-bō*, OP *ubā*, *gaušā*. That of neuter *-i-* stems ended in *-ī*, seen in Skt. Ved. dual *trī* 'three', Lt. *trī-gintā* 'three tens', and this *-ī* was transferred in Aryan to consonant-stems, as in Skt. *mānas-ī*, dual to *mānas-* 'mind'; thus *ušiy* is the proper form whether the stem is *uš-* or *uši-*, a point which cannot be determined.

The inst. *dastaibiyā* and *pādaibiyā* have the stems *dasta-* and *pāda-*, with the pronominal plural element *-i*, plus the inst. ending *-bi* + *-ā*, as in Av. dat. du. *aspaēbiya* 'two horses' = *\*aspaibiyā*: the dat., inst., loc. are identical in the dual, in Aryan languages. Skt. has in this form *āsuabhyām*, with *-bhyā* (as in Iranian) added to the dual in *-ā* as a stem, and a final *-m* attached; OP *ušibiya* is the same formation to *ušiy*, cf. Skt. *akṣibhyām* to *akṣī* 'two eyes'. OP *ušiyā* seems to be an inst. dual (it has the same use and meaning as *ušibiya*) formed on the dual stem with the inst. sg. ending *-i*; *gaušāyā* is a like formation to *gaušā*. The *ī* before the *-ā* in *ušiyā* is responsible for the glide *-y-*, which has spread to *gaušāyā* as a vowel-separator; the prior *ā* in *gaušāyā* indicates that the *-ī-* in *ušiyā* also is long.<sup>3</sup>

§190. ADJECTIVES IN OP have all their customary uses and forms. For those which are cardinal and ordinal numerals, see §204; for the semi-

<sup>1</sup> Nom. *hamciyā* DB 2.93 is predicate to two singular masculine nouns, but is more probably plural than dual; cf. §259. <sup>2</sup> The form *karšā* does not belong here, nor probably *artā-cā brazmaniya* (if so normalized) nor *taumanišaiya*; on these words see the Lexicon s.v.v. <sup>3</sup> On these forms, cf. Kent. Lg. 19.225.



pronominal *aniya-*, *harwa-*, *hama-*, §203; for the demonstrative and determinative adjectives, which function also as pronouns, §199, §200, §202; for the relative, §198; for those which are participles, §239-244.

I. Adjectives are found in all classes of stems, and the history of their case-forms has been included with that of the substantives. The commonest type of adjectival stems ends in *-o-* for masc. and nt., with *-ā-* for the fem.: nom. pIE *-os -om -ā* = OP *-a<sup>b</sup> -am -ā* (§169-§176). The *-i-* stems are *skauθ-iš -im -aiš*, *yāumainiš ayāu(ma)iniš*, *ušabārim*; the *-ī-* stems are acc. sg. *yau[datim]*, probably *yau[da<sup>a</sup>tīm]*, to masc. *yaudant-*, and nom. pl. *adaḡainiya* to masc. *adaḡaina-* (§§177-9). The *-ū-* stems are *paru-* (nt. *parw*, gen. pl. *parūnām*), nom. sg. masc. *wāmaršiyu-š* and *u[xšna]u-š*, acc. sg. masc. *visadahyu-m* (§§180-3). The consonantal stems are *artāvan-*, *mana<sup>a</sup>wīn-*, *tawīyah-*, *hamapitar-*, *hamātar-*, *tunwa<sup>a</sup>t-*, all in nom. sg. masc.: *artāvā*, *manawīš*, *tawīyā*, *hamapitā*, *tunwā* with acc. sg. *tunwa<sup>a</sup>tam* and gen. sg. *tunwa<sup>a</sup>tahyā* of *-o-* stem formation (§§184-8).

II. The oldest comparison of adjectives was by the suffixes *-ies-/-ios-* for the comparative, *-is-to-* for the superlative; both added to the root rather than to the stem of the adjective in the positive degree. There are these examples in OP:

Comp. nsm. *tawīyā* with *-īōs* (§48 for *-aw-*), to a positive *\*tau-ma-* 'strong'; cf. Skt. nsm. *sthāvīyān* to positive *sthū-rā-*.

Comp. stem *vah-yas-* in *Vahyaz-dāta-* (for *z*, see §120), to positive *va<sup>a</sup>-u-* 'good', Skt. *vāsu-*, cf. Lex. s.v. *va<sup>a</sup>-u-*.

Superl. nsm. *mabišta* 'greatest', asm. *mabištam* with *-isto-*; cf. Av. *masista-*, Gk. Dor. *μάκιστος* to *μάκιστος*.

Superl. asn. *duvaiš[ta]m* as adv. 'for a very long time', Skt. *dāvišta-* 'farthest', superl. to OP Av. Skt. *dūra-* 'far'.

III. Secondary comparison, that is, comparison by suffixes attached to the stem of the adjective as seen in the positive degree, was made in Aryan by the use of *-lara-* and *-lama-*, cf. Gk. *-τέπος -τατος*, Lt. *ex-terus* and *ex-timus*. The comparative is seen in OP *fratarā-* and adv. *apataram*, the superlative in *fratama-*. Nt. comp. *frabaram* has an alternative suffix with aspirated stop, seen in the Skt. superlative *prathamā-*. A simpler form of the

comparative suffix is that in Aryan *-ra-* (pIE *-ro-*), seen in *apara-*, formed upon the local adverb OP *apa-*.

IV. Adjectives were used in OP not merely as attributive and predicate adjectives, but also as substantives: thus *skauθiš* 'lowly', as a masc. sg., means 'person of lowly station'. In certain case-forms they function as adverbs (§191).

§191. THE ADVERBS OF OP will be listed here, except the conjunctions (coordinating, §291; subordinating, §§293-9) and the prepositions and verbal prefixes, with the inseparable prefixes (§268-§271), which are elsewhere adequately discussed; further information may be sought in the Lexicon. These adverbs are by meaning local, temporal, modal, and serial, as in other languages; we group them here according to their formation:

#### I. Old Adverbs:

Negative: *naiy*, *mā* (§292).

Ending in *-i-*: *apiy* (also enclitic), *upariy*, *-diy*, *patiy* (also enclitic).

#### II. Adverbs having special adverbial endings:

In modal (pAr.) *\*-thā-*: *avathā* (cf. conj. *yathā*), [*parw*] *iyathā*, *an[īya]thā*.

In abl. (pIE) *\*-to-*: *amata*, *parwiyata*, *fravata*.

In loc. (pIE) *\*-ta-*: *ciitā* (cf. conj. *yātā*).

In loc. (pIE) *\*-dhe-*: *ada-*, *avadā*, *idā*, [*harwadā*], *dūrādā*.

In abl. (OP) *-ša-*: *avadaša*, *dūradaša*, perhaps *avathāša-*.

#### III. Case-forms as adverbs:

Acc. Nt.: *apataram*, *aparam*, *ciitīyam*, *dargam*, *ragam*, *daršam*, *duwāštam*, *nūram*, *paranam*, *parwam*, *duwītyam*, *-ciy*, perhaps *hama* (DB 4.90); compounds *duwitā-paranam* (first part instr.), *fra-haravam* (first part adv.), *ha-karam* (first part insep. numeral), *hyāparam* (abl. *hyā + aparam*); cf. conj. *yad-iy*.

Inst.: *azdā*, *kā*, *ci[nā]*; dubious *avā* (see Lex. s.v.); cf. *duwitā-* above.

Abl.: probably *hyā* (cf. *hyāparam*, above).

Loc.: *ašnaiy*, *dūraiyy*, *vasiyy*, *-kaiyy*; cf. conj. *yaniyy*.

IV. Phrasal Adverbs, of prep. + acc. or loc., and of acc. or gen. + postpos.:

*abiy-apataram* (written *abiyapara*), *patī-padam*, *para-draya* (also as two words), *pasāva* (from *\*pasā ava*), *ni-padiy*.

*awa-parā*, *avahya-rādiy*: cf. conj. *yad-ā*.

§192. THE PRONOUNS OF OP are the following, which will be discussed in the order in which they are here listed:

- (a) Personal pronouns: *adam* 'I', *tuwam* 'thou'.
- (b) Enclitic pronouns of the third person: *ši-*, *di-*.
- (c) Nom. pronoun of the third person: *haw*.
- (d) Survivals of the pIE relative *\*jo-*.
- (e) The OP relative and article *hya hyā tya*.
- (f) The demonstrative *iyam ima* and its suppletions.
- (g) The demonstrative *awa-* 'that'.
- (h) The interrogative-indefinite pIE *\*q<sup>u</sup>o- \*q<sup>u</sup>i-*.
- (i) Demonstrative *aita-* 'this'.
- (j) Demonstrative *ama-* 'that', only in adv. *amata* 'from there'; see Lex. s.v.
- (k) Reflexive *<sup>h</sup>uwa-*, pronoun and possessive adjective of the third person, only in compounds; see Lex. s.v. *uwa-*.
- (l) Semi-pronominal adjectives: *aniya-* 'other', *haruwa-* 'all', *hama-* 'one and the same'.

§193. THE FIRST PERSONAL PRONOUN.

I. Nom. sg. *adam*, Av. *ažəm*, is pIE *\*eǵhom* or *\*eǵom*; it cannot be determined whether the Iranian forms agree with Skt. *ahám* in having *ǵh* by influence of the dat. *\*meǵhi* (Skt. *máhy-am*, Lt. *mihē*), or this extension of the aspirate was limited to Indic, and the Iranian preserved the unaspirated pIE *ǵ* and thus agreed with Lt. *ego*, Gk. *ἐγώ*.

II. Acc. sg. *mām* agrees with Skt. *mām*, in having the acc. ending *-m* of nouns added to the pIE *\*mē*, which was the accented form: enclitic acc. *-mā* is probably the same without the *-m*, since Skt. has *mā* as an enclitic (although OP *-mā*, Av. *mā* might be for pIE encl. *\*mē*, Gk. *με*, because OP writes final *ā* as long, and Av. writes all final vowels long in monosyllables).

III. Gen. sg. *manā*, before enclitics sometimes *manā-*, is for pAr. *\*mana*, Av. *mana*, cf. Skt. *māna* with consonantal assimilation: the case-suffix *-na*, which appears in a number of non-Indo-Iranian languages, is of uncertain origin, but possibly was transferred from the instrumental (OP *tyanā*; Skt. *kāmena*, instr. to *kāma-* 'desire'). Enclitic gen. *-mai*y (written *-ma* in A<sup>3</sup>Ša, §52.I) is for pIE *\*moi*, encl. gen.-dat. in GAV. *mōi*, Skt. *me*, Gk. dat. *μοι*.

IV. Encl. abl. *-ma* is for pIE *\*med*, Av. *maš*, Skt. *mat*, cf. accented pIE *\*mēd* in oLt. *mēd*, cLt. *mē*.

V. Nom. pl. *vayam* is pIE *\*yei + -om* from

other pronouns such as *adam*, *tuwam*; Skt. *vayám*, Av. *vaēm*, cf. Gothic *wei-s* with pluralizing *-s*.

VI. Gen. pl. *amāxam* corresponds to Av. *ahmākəm*, Skt. *asmākam*, nt. adj. in genitive function, from the stem seen in Skt. instr. *asmābhiḥ*, loc. *asmāsu*. The source of the aspiration which gives *-x-* in OP is unknown.

§194. THE SECOND PERSONAL PRONOUN.

I. Nom. sg. *tuwam* is the same as Skt. *tuwám*, from pIE *\*tū + -om* (spreading from 1st person *adam*, etc.): *tuwa* without *-m*, §52.V.

II. Acc. Sg. *θuwām* is the same as Skt. *tvám*, from pIE *\*tue + acc. -m* of nouns (cf. *mām* 'me').

III. Gen. encl. *-tai*y is the same as Skt. gen.-dat. *te*, pIE *\*toi*; *-tay*, §52.II.

§195. THE ENCLITIC PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON.

I. Acc. *-šim* is the acc. of pIE *\*sē-*, in the pAr. sandhi-form with *š* after final *-i* and *-u* (§117); Skt. *šim* has the long vowel; Av. *hīm* has pAr. *h* which is regular initial antevocalic, but the long vowel is not significant because *ī* is in Av. often written long before final *-m*.<sup>1</sup> To *-šim*, the gen.-dat. *-šai*y was formed by analogy to 1st person *-mai*y, 2d person *-tai*y. The abl. *-ša*t was used only as a suffix to ablative adverbs; in form it is analogical to 1st person *-ma*t, Av. *maš*, Skt. *māt*, and to 2d person Av. *θwaš*, Skt. *tvāt*; but in DB 1.50 *-šim* functions as ablative. Pl. acc. *-šiš* (Av. *hiš*) and gen. *-šām* were formed by analogy, though *-šim* was used also to refer to a plural antecedent.

II. Acc. *-dim* (Av. *diš*), not differentiated in function from *-šim*, seems to have originated by wrong division in such combinations as *pasāvad-im* (cf. DNa 33, where we divide it *pasāva-dim*), in which *-im* was acc. to *\*is*, Lt. *is* 'this, he'. Acc. pl. *-diš* (Av. *diš*) is formed by analogy to *-šiš*, and is sometimes written as a separate word (DB 4.34, 35, 36); for a misread acc. pl. *dai*y (DB 5.11), see Lex. s.v. *dai*y.

III. *-šiš* and *-diš* are the only OP acc. pl. forms with endings distinctive of the case; all other OP acc. pl. forms are identical with the nom. pl., either by phonetic development or by analogy.

<sup>1</sup> The source of pIE *\*sē-* is not clear. Perhaps it is a conflux of pIE nsm. *\*so*, nsf. *\*sā* (Skt. *sā-s* *sā*, Gk. *ῥ* *ῥ*) and pIE nsm. *\*i-s*, nsf. *\*i* (Lt. nsm. *is*; Skt. nsf. *iyām* from *\*i + -om*), asm. *\*i-m*, asf. *\*i-m*. In this way even the variation in vowel length is accounted for.