

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE
SITZUNGSBERICHTE, 849. BAND

VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN ZUR IRANISTIK
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON BERT G. FRAGNER UND VELIZAR SADOVSKI

NR. 60

TOSHIFUMI GOTŌ

OLD INDO-ARYAN MORPHOLOGY
AND ITS INDO-IRANIAN BACKGROUND

in co-operation with

Jared S. Klein and Velizar Sadovski

Verlag der
Österreichischen Akademie
der Wissenschaften



Wien 2013

OAW

Vorgelegt von w. M. BERT G. FRAGNER
in der Sitzung am 1. Oktober 2010

Diese Publikation wurde einem anonymen, internationalen
peer-review Verfahren unterzogen.

This publication had been anonymously reviewed by international peers.

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ISBN 978-3-7001-6948-2

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Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Wien

Druck und Bindung:
Prime Rate kft., Budapest

Printed and bound in the EU

<http://hw.oeaw.ac.at/6948-2>

<http://verlag.oeaw.ac.at>

Old Indo-Aryan morphology and its Indo-Iranian background

Toshifumi Gotō

Dem Andenken

KARL HOFFMANN 26.2.1915 – 21.5.1996 und

MANFRED MAYRHOFERS 26.9.1926 – 31.10.2011

Recently I had occasion to write a short contribution on the morphology of Old Indo-Aryan for a handbook of historical linguistics. I soon recognized, however, that we lack an up-to-date summary on the subject, so I expanded my manuscript. My colleague Velizar Sadoski examined my rough draft on my visit to Vienna in September 2009 and suggested to me that I should write a booklet including more thorough-going references to the preceding Indo-Iranian stage. The present monograph is the result. It is admittedly only a sketch, which is to be revised and enlarged with corrections and completions, especially with regard to recent researches in this field. I hope it serves nevertheless as a basis for future studies.

I have put in this work many items of material and method I have learned from my teacher Karl Hoffmann, to whom I express my deepest respect, in Erlangen between 1977 and 1985, in those good days. This book is thus an “Erlangen program” of the eighties summarised from my perspective. Writing these lines, I remember Hoffmann’s words that one should have the courage to fail in order to bring advances to our discipline. My teacher seems to have had for himself too little courage, but I venture it. I owe my scholarly training in Erlangen also to Gert Klingenschmitt and other colleagues. I express my sincere thanks to them.

We have today a fundamental grammar of Avestan, which describes, so to speak, (Proto-)Indo-Iranian from the Avestan side: *Avestische Laut- und Flexionslehre* by Karl HOFFMANN and Bernhard FORSSMAN, Innsbruck 1996, ²2004. So, I may begin with Old Indo-Aryan.

Indo-European comparative grammar is important not only for philology and linguistics, but it is of fundamental importance for understanding human history as a whole and our position today in the “global” world. I try to trace word forms back to Proto-Indo-Iranian

and to Proto-Indo-European. Many books have accompanied my work: among others, Manfred MAYRHOFER, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, I–III, Heidelberg 1992–2001, and Helmut RIX, *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen. Laut- und Formenlehre*, Darmstadt 1976. I feel proud in going forward together with them.

May this booklet be of benefit for Vedic and Sanskrit philologists, Iranists, scholars of Indo-European studies, and those who are interested in language. I am indebted to Velizar Sadovski for his valuable advice and friendship. I should like to record my sincere thanks to Professor Dr. Manfred Mayrhofer, who also helped me with my first publication in the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Taking this occasion I extend my thanks to the following Professors and Doctors for their help and encouragement: above all, to my teacher Johanna Narten and Erlangen seniors Heiner Eichner, Bernhard Forssman, Rosemarie Lühr, Norbert Oettinger, Eva Tichy, and Michael Witzel, as well as to my colleagues and friends, Rahul Peter Das, George Dunkel, Harry Falk, José Luis García Ramón, Jost Gippert, Olav Hackstein, Jón Axel Hardarson, Heinrich Hettrich, Jean Kellens, Jared S. Klein, Thomas Krisch, Leonid Kulikov, Martin Joachim Kümmel, Beda Künzle, Reiner Lipp, Alexander M. Lubotsky, Michael Meier-Brügger, Gerhard Meiser, Thomas Oberlies, Georges-Jean Pinault, Eric Pirart, Salvatore Scarlata, Christiane Schaefer, Rüdiger Schmitt, Günter Schweiger, Xavier Tremblay, Chlodwig H. Werba, Albrecht Wezler, Sabine Ziegler, the late Jochem Schindler and Ronald E. Emmerick, as well as my best colleague, Junko Sakamoto-Gotō, and many other persons whom I may have only accidentally forgotten to name. I am much obliged also to our younger colleagues and students.

Dr. Naoko Nishimura (Sendai) read my manuscript through and compiled indices with the assistance of Mr. Tomoki Yamada (M. A., Sendai). Mr. Jonathan Morris (M. A., Sendai) and Prof. Dr. James Tink (Tōhoku University, Sendai) kindly read and corrected my English. Prof. Dr. Toshiya Tanaka (Kyūshū University, Fukuoka) gave me important suggestions for improvement of the English. Mr. Takaaki Araiwa (Leipzig) helped me with information about Slavic languages. I am much obliged to them for their assistance.

Sendai, June 2010

My respected colleagues Jared Stephen Klein (University of Georgia at Athens), Velizar Sadovski (Austrian Academy of Sciences), Rüdiger Schmitt (Laboe), and Jost Gippert (Frankfurt a. M.) read my book manuscript through and corrected not only my poor English but also many shortcomings in the scholarly contents. For their kindly efforts, which saved my honour in many points, I express my sincere thanks. Drs. Sunao Kasamatsu and Junichi Ozono (Sendai) were kind enough to help me with the last revision of the indices.

Morioka/Vienna, December 2012

The work on this book was supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B), No. 19320009, 2007–2010.

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0. The morphological elements of Old Indo-Aryan (language of *āryas*) [OIA] nouns, pronouns, and verbs are to a large extent inherited from Proto-Indo-European [PIE] through Proto-Indo-Iranian (Proto-Aryan) [PII], and agree with those of Old Iranian (Avestan [Av.] and Old Persian [OPers.]) very well. The oldest forms are represented in the language of the *Ṛgveda* [RV] (ca. 1200 B.C.), then the *Atharvaveda* [AV] and other Vedic *mantras* (ca. 1000 B.C.–), mostly in verse. The prose occurs in the “*brāhmaṇa*”s of the *Yajurveda-Samhitās* (ca. 800 B.C.–), in the *Brāhmaṇas* (7th c. B.C.–), and the oldest *Upaniṣads* (6th–5th c. B.C.). The language of these Vedic texts is called “Vedic”, and is handed down for the most part in accented form. The succeeding development of OIA, to which the grammar of Pāṇini (ca. 380 B.C.) was applicable as the standard, is “Classical Sanskrit”. “Epic Sanskrit”, a somewhat more popular form, is used in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*. Vedic, especially the language of the RV, is the major focus for reconstructing PII and for comparative and historical IE linguistics in general.

General references: MACDONELL *Vedic Grammar* (1910); WACKERNAGEL–DEBRUNER *Altindische Grammatik* [AiG] I–III (1896–1954); WHITNEY *A Sanskrit Grammar* (2nd 1889); RENOUEUX *Grammaire sanscrite* (1930, 2nd 1961). — HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN *Avestische Laut- und Flexionslehre* (1996); RIX *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen* (1976). — HOFFMANN *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik* I–III (1975, 1976, 1992); NARTEN *Kleine Schriften* I (1995). — BÖHTLINGK–ROTH *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* [PW] (1855–1875); VISHVA BANDHU ŚĀSTRĪ *A Vedic Word-Concordance* [VWC] (1942–1976); GRASSMANN *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda* (1872–1885); MAYRHOFER *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoirischen* [EWAia] I–III ([1986/1992–2001]).

0.1. We begin by introducing some terminology regarding the ablaut scheme in a paradigm.¹⁾ The term “dynamic” refers to a pattern in which the syllable having an accented **-e*-vocalism appears (in □); other elements show an unaccented zero grade or **-o*-grade). The dynamic scheme starts from the standard that a

¹⁾ Cf. PEDERSEN *La cinquième déclinaison latine* (København 1926); KURYŁOWICZ *Études indoeuropéennes* (Kraków 1935) 131ff.; KUIPER *Notes on Vedic Noun-Inflexion* (Amsterdam 1942); EICHNER *MSS* 31 (1973) 91, *Sprache* 20 (1974) 26ff. (bibliography in 27 n. 1); SCHINDLER *Sprache* 13 (1967) 191ff., 15 (1969) 144ff., 19 (1973) 148–157, *KZ* 81 (1967) 290ff., *BSL* 67 (1972) 31–38, 70 (1975) 1–10, *Flexion und Wortbildung* (1975) 259ff.; NARTEN *Fs. Kuiper* (1968) 9–19 = *Kl. Schr.* 97–107; BEEKES *KZ* 86 (1972) 30–63, *KZ* 87 (1973) 86–98; HOFFMANN *Aufs.* II (1976) 597ff., KLINGENSCHMITT *KZ* 92 (1978) 1–13 = *Aufs.* 159–169 (“prototon”), *Altarm. Verbum* (1982) 289 (“rhizoton”); RIX *MSS* 18 (1965) 79–92, *Hist. Gramm.* 123; STRUNK *Grammatische Kategorien* (VII. Fachtagung), 1985, 490–514; SZEMERÉNYI *Einführung in die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*³ (Darmstadt 1989) 170f.

word consists of three syllabic elements A-B-C, which correspond in most cases to root-suffix-ending. A formation without suffix (root-ending), as in the root nouns, inj. of the athemat. root pres. or aor., is regarded as B-C, observed from the end. The “strong form” in a paradigm (e.g., nom. sg. in nouns) has *-é- in A or B; the “weak form” (e.g., an oblique case) in A, B, or C; the place of *-é- in a weak form does not go back beyond that of the strong form:²⁾

acrodynamic: in strong forms	\boxed{A} -B-C,	in weak forms	\boxed{A} -B-C
proterodynamic:	\boxed{A} -B-C,		A- \boxed{B} -C
amphidynamic:	\boxed{A} -B-C,		A-B- \boxed{C} ,
hysterodynamic:	A- \boxed{B} -C,		A-B- \boxed{C} .

The reconstructed endings, however, do not have a complete variety of ablaut grades, but some endings can only be reconstructed with a full-grade (e.g., dat. sg. *-eġ, nom. pl. *-es), or zero-grade form (e.g., acc. pl. *-ḡs, *-ns).

1. nouns

Like PIE and other old languages, OIA distinguishes three genders: masculine [m.], feminine [f.], and neuter [n.]. Nouns consist of substantives [subst.] and adjectives [adj.]. The adj.s are declinable in three genders. Words designating male and female beings are m. and f. respectively. There are some motion suffixes inherited from PIE, e.g., -á- < *-é-h₂-, -yá-/í- < *-jéh₂-/ih₂-, cf. also -h₂- in -u-h₂- (1.4.1). Inanimate objects and concepts are m., f., or n., largely depending on their word-formation, i.e. the suffix. Words for trees are m. (: vr̥kṣá- m. ‘tree’), herbs are f. (: óṣadhi- f.), and fruits n. (: phála- n.). Animals are represented either by a m. (śván- ‘dog’ < *k_uén- :: śunī- ‘she-dog’, haṃśá- ‘goose, gander’) or a f. (gáv- ‘cow’ and ‘cattle’ < *g^wóu-, there are many terms for each kind of cattle according to gender, age, and use). OIA has three numbers: singular [sg.], dual [du.], and plural [pl.]. The du. is used to refer to two persons or objects in general, not restricted to forming a pair. Eight cases are used: nominative [nom.] for the subject, vocative [voc.] for addressing a person (or thing), accusative [acc.] for the direct object, dative [dat.] for the indirect object or aim, genitive [gen.] to indicate possession or part, instrumental [instr.] for means or association, ablative [abl.] to indicate separation, and locative [loc.] to indicate location.

1.1. The basis of the nominal inflexion (declension)³⁾ is the nominal stem, which carries the lexical meaning, and is in most cases with substantive nouns bound to one of the genders, at least originally. Every inflected form terminates

²⁾ Concerning the accent place, one can speak of acro-static, protero-kinetic, etc.

³⁾ Cf. LANMAN JAOS 10 (1872–1880) 325–601, AiG III (1930).

with an ending (“case ending”), which indicates number, case, and in part, gender. Nominal paradigms belong to one of two inflectional types: thematic and athematic, depending on whether or not a vowel *-a-* (PIE **-e/o-*) precedes the endings. The former type secondarily spreads to some forms, especially in “vowel stems”. Neuter nouns are inflected like masculines except that they have different endings in the nom. = acc. for all three numbers.

1.1.1. The **endings** (or terminations, *Ausgänge*, i.e. the ending fused together with the final part of the stem) **of the thematic *-a-* stems** are:⁴⁾

In the **singular**,

nom., m. °*as* < PII **-as* < PIE **-o-s*,

voc. °*a* < **-a* < **-e* (i.e. **-e* + Ø)

acc. °*am* < **-am* < **-o-m*,

nom. acc. n. °*am* < **-am* < **-o-m*,

instr. °*ā* < **-ā* < **-e-h₁*, but usually replaced by pronominal °*ena*^{4a)} < **-a₁nā* (cf. 2.2.2. [4]: p. 71),^{4b)}

dat. °*āya* < **āiā* (remodelled in PII after gen. **-as₁ja*, cf. WACKERNAGEL Kl. Schr. 274f.; OAv. *-āi.ā, -āiīā* beside OAv. YAv. °*āi* < PII **-āi* < PIE **-o-e₁*),

abl. °*āt*⁵⁾ < **.āt*, **-aat*⁶⁾ < **-o-at/d⁷⁾*, **-o-h₂et/d*, or **-o-et/d(?)*,

gen. °*asya* < **-as₁ja* < **-o-s₁jo* (beside **-o-so*, not continued in Indo-Iran.),

loc. °*e* < **-a₁i*⁸⁾ < **-o-i*;

⁴⁾ Some elements in the thematic inflexion are common to those in the pronominal inflexion.

^{4a)} Also *-enā*, cf. LANMAN 332, MACDONELL 256f., AiG III 92.

^{4b)} Only the forms in *-ā* < **-ā* occur in OIran. On relics in *-ā* in OIA (espec. in the n.; only uncertain examples are found in the prose; forms in *-ā* appear in older layers in Pāli beside *-ena*), cf. LANMAN 331ff. (espec. 334f.), MACDONELL 257. Cf. AiG III 90–92.

⁵⁾ Disyllabic *-aāt* (*-aat*) probably in *parākaāt* RV I 30,21, VIII 5,31, X 22,6, *antārikṣaāt* X 158,1, *sadāsthāāt* VIII 11,7; according to LANMAN 337f., however, “extremely doubtful”.

⁶⁾ Av. °*āy*, OPers. °*ā* (< **-āi*), unified with postposition *-ā* in YAv. *xšaθrāda* beside *xšaθrāi* ‘from the dominion’; with *-cā*: °*āat-cā* < **.āat-ca* in OAv. *ašāat-cā*, YAv. *yasnāat-cā* ‘from the worship’, furthermore, OAv. *ašāat-hacā* ‘on the basis of law’, and with shortening in the third-last syllable YAv. *nmānaat-hacā* ‘from house’, cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 119.

⁷⁾ Cf. STANG Vergleichende Grammatik der Baltischen Sprachen (1966) 128, DUNKEL Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie, Akten Leiden (1992) 175 with n. 91.

⁸⁾ OAv. °*ōi*, °*e*, °*aē-cā*, YAv. °*e*, °*aē-ca*, OPers. °*aiy*; unified with postposition *-ā*: OAv. *xšaθrōi.ā, akōiīā* ‘in bad...’, YAv. *Vo^hrukašaiīa, zastaiīa*, OPers. *dastayā* (cf. Ved. *hāsta ā* ‘on the hand’), cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 119.

in the **dual**,

nom. voc. acc. m. $^{\circ}ā^{9)}$ < PII $^{\circ}ā$ < PIE $^{\circ}o-h_1$, $^{\circ}au$ < $^{\circ}ā + ^{\circ}u$ (only in OIA),

nom. acc. n. $^{\circ}e$ < $^{\circ}ai^{10)}$ < $^{\circ}o-ih_1$,

instr. dat. abl. $^{\circ}ābhyā́m$ instead of $^{\circ}ebhy^{\circ}$ < PII $^{\circ}ai^b^hiā^{11)}$, + $^{\circ}m/-am$,¹²⁾

gen. loc. $^{\circ}ayos$: a blend of PII gen. $^{\circ}aiiā́s^{13)}$ < $^{\circ}oi-h_1ōs$ and loc. $^{\circ}aiiā́u^{14)}$ < $^{\circ}oi-h_1ou^{15)}$;

in the **plural**,

nom. voc. m. $^{\circ}ās$ < $^{\circ}o-es^{16)}$,

acc. $^{\circ}ān^{17)}$ (with long $ā$ introduced from the nom. $^{\circ}ās$; PII $^{\circ}ans^{18)}$ < PIE $^{\circ}o-ns$ < Pre-PIE $^{\circ}o-m-s$),

nom. acc. n. $^{\circ}ā$, $^{\circ}āni^{19)}$ < PIE $^{\circ}ā$ < $^{\circ}e-h_2$ (collective),

⁹⁾ Also $-a$ in the voc., especially in nouns referring to Mitra and Varuṇa, cf. AiG III 53. [Cf. KUIPER Shortening (1955).]

¹⁰⁾ OAv. $^{\circ}ōi$, YAv. $^{\circ}e$. The form $^{\circ}ai^H$ is postulated in the OIA “pragṛhya”-sandhi of $-e$ (FORSSMAN MSS 25, 1969, 49 n. 11), cf. also n. 27.

¹¹⁾ OAv. $^{\circ}ōibiiā$, YAv. $^{\circ}aēbiia$, OPers. $^{\circ}aibiyā$ preserve the old formation $^{\circ}oi-b^hi-$. In OIA, $-ā$ in the nom. voc. acc. is assumed to be introduced in place of $-ai-$, thus also YAv. forms in $^{\circ}ābiia$ (HOFFMANN Aufs. 55 n. 7).

¹²⁾ One assumes generally $^{\circ}ābhyā́m$ in the case of a few trisyllabic forms (cf. LANMAN 343f.), but $^{\circ}ābhyā́m$ (i.e. $^{\circ}ābhyaam$) is equally possible. It seems that no trisyllabic form is found in athematic inflexions. A PIE form can be reconstructed without complete certainty: $^{\circ}oi-b^hi-m$ or $^{\circ}oi-b^hi-eh_1$ (?), cf. RIX Hist. Gramm. 141.

¹³⁾ OAv. $^{\circ}asaiiā́$ ‘of both parties’, YAv. $^{\circ}viraiiā́$ ‘of both men’, and numeral $^{\circ}duaiiā́$ ‘of two’, $^{\circ}uuiiā́$ ‘of both’ (HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 120).

¹⁴⁾ OAv. $^{\circ}zastaiiō$ ‘in both hands’, $^{\circ}ubōiīō$, YAv. $^{\circ}uuiiō$ ‘in both’ (loc. cit.).

¹⁵⁾ About gen. and loc. du. in PIE cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 561 n. 2, 599 n. 14, LINDEMAN NTS 26 (1972) 231, Triple representation (1982) 31 n. 23, LÜHR MSS 35 (1977) 84 n. 3.

¹⁶⁾ Collective $^{\circ}ā$ < $^{\circ}e-h_2$ was generalised in the thematic inflexion in Iranian as in Pāli. Ved., OAv., YAv., and Pāli have also hyper-marked forms in $^{\circ}āsas$ (< $^{\circ}ās-as$) beside $^{\circ}ās$ or $^{\circ}ā$. Such forms occur also in the $-ā-$ stems (p. 21), and in $^{\circ}pānthā́sas$ ‘ways’ (p. 44)[; also $^{\circ}aniyā́ha bagā́ha$ ‘the other gods’ in OPers., cf. KENT §10, §172, SCHMITT Fs. Eilers 265ff.]

¹⁷⁾ And $^{\circ}āns$ in the sandhi-form $^{\circ}āniś ca$. Cf. n. 31.

¹⁸⁾ In OAv. $^{\circ}āng$, $^{\circ}as-cā$, YAv. $^{\circ}as$, $^{\circ}as-ca$ (and variant forms $^{\circ}ā$, $^{\circ}ās-ca$) < $^{\circ}ans$ (cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 66: §35hc, 88: §54d). OPers. $^{\circ}ā$ seems to go back to $^{\circ}āns$ as in OIA, judging from the fact that the final $-a$ caused by the loss of a consonant (t , n , h) preserves its quantity (HOFFMANN Aufs. 634).

¹⁹⁾ Later (Vedic prose +) only $^{\circ}āni$ which is formed probably after $-n-$ stems, e.g. $^{\circ}nāmā$:: $^{\circ}nāmāni$ ‘names’ (cf. p. 41). No form with short $-a$ is reported. In Iranian only $-ā$ (in YAv. regularly to $-a$, in OPers. only $āyadanā$).

instr. °*ais* < **-āiṣ* < **-ōiṣ*²⁰,
dat. abl. °*ebhyas* < **-ai-b^hias*²¹,
gen. °*ānām* (also °*ān_aam*/°*ānaam*) < **-ānām*/°*-ānaam*²² < **-o-om*,
loc. °*eṣu* < **-aiṣu*²³ < **-oiṣu*.

Many nouns have this thematic inflexion, e.g., *devá-* ‘heavenly; god’: *devás*, *deva*, *devám*, *devéna* (also *devénā*, *devá*), *devát*, *deváya*, *devásya*, *devé*; *devá* or *deváu*, *devábhyām*, *deváyos*; *devás* (also *devásas*), *devās* (also *devāsas*), *deván*, *deváis* (also *devébhis*), *devébhyas*, *devánām*, *devéṣu*.

1.1.2. Other inflexions are characterised by the same set of **endings**:

In the **singular**,

nom., m. f. -*s* < PII, PIE **-s*, or -Ø (in the case of long-grade stems),

voc. -Ø,

acc. m. f. -*m*, -*am* < **-m*, **-m*,
nom. acc. n. -Ø,

instr.²⁴ -*ā*, or lengthening of preceding vowel < **-ā*, **-H* < **-eh₁*, **-h₁*,

²⁰ In the RV and other mantra text portions also °*ebhis* (cf., e.g. *-ā-bhis* in f. *-ā-* stem) as in the pronom. inflexion, e.g. *tébbhis* (RV and other mantras) beside *táis* (AV+, however, cf. OAv. *tāiš*, Grk. *τοῖς* < **tōiṣ*). Cf. also Pāli °*ehi*.

²¹ Probably PIE **-o-mo-s* crossed with instr. **-o-b^hi(-s)*.

²² OPers. °*ānām*, but OAv. YAv. °*anqm* with short *a* before °*nām* (also in the *-ā-* inflexion; for the explanation cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 60: §26bd. There are two exceptions YAv. *maṣiiānqm* ‘of men, people’ and *γ^onānqm* (*γ^onā-*/*g^anā-* ‘woman’); the former could be interpreted as avoiding three short syllables (SAUSSURE–WACKERNAGEL’s law, cf. AiG I, Nachtr. 177 on 313,42) from **mártiyanaā̃m* (the final °*qm* is scanned almost consistently disyllabically, thus < **-anaā̃m*), but there are also contra-examples. The termination in PIE is **-ōm* < **-o-om* (cf. n. 36). In Indo-Iranian, the formant *-nām* is introduced in the ‘vowel stems’ as °*Vnām*: YAv. *ga^rinām* = Ved. *girīnām* ‘of mountains’, OAv. *vohunqm* = Ved. *vásūnām* ‘of good...’, YAv. *tanunqm* = Ved. *tanūnām* ‘of bodies’, *-ī-nām*, *yātu-jūnām* ‘of the ones urged by sorcery’ beside *jóguv-ām* ‘of the ones who are jubilating’, etc. The disyllabic *-naam* is known a few times in *-ā-* stems, and more than ten times in *-i-* stems (MACDONELL 267, 287). The precise process of this development is unknown, cf. n. 36. The alleged Vedic forms with °*ām* (such as *devām*; candidates in ib. 262) are all uncertain.

²³ OAv. *-aēšū*, YAv. *-aēšu*, and unified with postposition *-ā*: YAv. *raoḍaēšūua*, OPers. *Mādaišuvā*.

²⁴ Indo-Iranian has generalised the ending **-eh₁* (originally in the amphio- or hysterodynamic type). The ending **-h₁*, which must have been generated as an ablaut variant in the acro- and proterodynamic types, is preserved in Vedic *-i-* stems (*ūtī*, *cītī*, *ácītī*, etc., and with *-i*, originally from a pre-vocalic position with loss of *h₁*, e.g. *suṛṣktī* ‘through good praising’, cf. LANMAN 380f., MACDONELL 281), and Avestan *-i-* and *-u-* stems (cf. n. 75, n. 79): OAv.

dat.²⁵⁾ *-e* < **-aj* < **-ej*,
abl.²⁶⁾ **gen.** *-as*, *-s* < **-as*, **-s* < **-és*, **-os*, **-s*,
loc. (→ 1.1.3.) *-i*, *-Ø* < **-i*, **-Ø* < **-i*, **-Ø*;

in the **dual**,

nom. voc. acc. m. f.²⁷⁾ *-ā*, *-au* (*-ā* + *u*), or lengthening of preceding vowel < **-ā*, **-H* < (**-eh*₁), **-h*₁,

nom. acc. n. *-ī* < **-ī*²⁸⁾ < **-ih*₁,

instr. dat. abl. *-bhyām* < **-b^hiā* + **-m/-am* (cf. n. 12),

gen. loc. *-os*: a blend of PII gen. **-ās* < **-h*₁*ōs* and loc. **-au* < **-h*₁*oū*²⁹⁾;

aṣṭī, ‘by reward’, *cistī* ‘by consciousness’, *xratū* ‘by mental power’, *maññiū* ‘by mind, spirit’, *vohū* ‘(by) good’, YAv. *axti-ca* ‘by pain’, *zantū* ‘by tribe’, *vohu*; cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 597ff.

²⁵⁾ In the language of the theologists, the dat.-form with °*ai* appears as gen. and abl. in the f. *-ī*- stem (*-yai*), and influenced by it, in *-ā*- (*-āyai*), *-i*- (*-yai*), especially *-tyai* from the *-ti*- stem), *-u*- stem (*-tvai*, *dhenvái*), and in the pron. *tásyai*, *etásyai*. This phenomenon has spread to AV, YS^m, and especially to YS^p, Br. and Sūtras. TS^p shows, according to KEITH TS p. cxlv–cxlvii, only °*yai* forms in *-ā*-, *-i*- and *-ī*- stems instead of °*yās* or °*es* (TS^p has only *-yai* in the final dat. of the *-i*- stem). MS^p has, on the contrary, no such forms according to WITZEL. CALAND–RAGHU VIRĀ ŚBK, introd. 65 write “this genitive-ablative-like dative ... is never found in the seven Kāṇva books”, while it is the norm in the ŚB–Mādhyaṇdina. Cf. AiG III 39–41, 135, 150, 505; for details and explanation, cf. WITZEL “Tracing the Vedic dialects” (1989) 132–139 with notes. Cf. n. 57, n. 67, n. 78, n. 84, n. 172.

²⁶⁾ In YAv. *-t* of *-āt* in the thematic inflexion has spread over all stems: *-at* instead of OAv. *-ō* < **-ah*, *-ōi* instead of OAv. *-ōiš** < **-aiš*, *-ao* instead of OAv. *-aoš/-əuš* < **-auš*, *-aiiāt* instead of OAv. *-aiiā** < **-āiāh*, *-ən* < **-ənt* instead of OAv. *-əṅ* < **-aṅh* < **-ans* (HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 116). The same process is assumed for OPers. *Bābirauv* (**-auu* < **-au* < **-au-t*) besides *Bābirauš*, and *Hi^hdauv* (SCHMITT Altpersisch 72). Unified with postposition *ā* in YAv. *zraiaṅhaḍa* (*-ah*-stem) ‘from a lake’, *āxštaēda* (*-i*-stem) ‘because of peace’.

²⁷⁾ In the derivative *-ā*- stem (f.), the nom.-acc.-voc. in the dual has been clarified to PII **-aj*, with the neuter ending (< PIE **-eh₂-ih₁*) or after the pronominal form **t-aj* (< **tó-ih₁* or **teh₂-ih₁*?, cf. n. 170): OIA *-e*, OAv. *-ē* as in *ubē* ‘both’, YAv. *uruua’re*, *duiie* = Ved. *dvé* ‘two’. OIA “pragṛhya”-sandhi in the du. (cf. Pāṇini I 1,11), *-e* in the *-ā*- stem (**-ajH* or **-aiH*), *-ī* in the *-ī*- stem (**-īH* < **-ih₂-h₁*), and *-ū* in the *-ū*- stem (**-ūH* < **-uh₂-h₁*) is explained by the effect of the laryngeal, cf. FORSSMAN MSS 25 (1969) 49 n.11; cf. above n.10.

²⁸⁾ YAv. *vaṅ^hhi* < **u^hasū* ‘good’, YAv. *aši* (possibly *āśi*) = Ved. *akṣī* ‘(both) eyes’, YAv. *uši* = OPers. *ušīy* ‘(both) ears’, YAv. *haxti* ‘(both) thighs’, OAv. *manahi-cā* ‘and both kinds of thinking’, *vacahi-cā* = Ved. *vācasī* ‘both kinds of speech’.

²⁹⁾ Gen. *-ā* < **-ās* in OAv. *ahuuā* ‘of both kinds of existence’, *maññiūā*, *haxtiūā* (~ Ved. *sakthyōs*) ‘of (both) thighs’, YAv. *pasuuā* ‘of cattle’, *bāzuuā* ‘of (both) arms’, *aməṛ^htātā* ‘of both kinds of immortality’, *ha^hruuātā* ‘of both kinds of completeness’, *cašmanā* ‘of both views’, *aṣaonā* ‘of both righteous ones’; loc. *-ō* < **-au* in OAv. *aṅhuuō* ‘in both kinds

in the plural,

nom. voc. m. f. *-as* < **-as*³⁰) < **-es*,

acc. m. f. *-as/-n(s)*³¹) < **-as*/**-ns* < **-ns*³²)/**-ns* (< ***-ms*),

nom. acc. n. *-i, -Ø* (with or without lengthening of preceding vowel) < **-h₂* (collective),³³)

instr. *-bhis* < **-b^hiš*³⁴) < **-b^hi(-s)*,

dat. abl. *-bhyas* < **-b^hiās*³⁵) < **-b^hiōs*/**-b^hos*/**-mos* (see n. 21),

gen. *-ām, -_aam, -nām, -_naam* < **-ām, -aam, -nām, -naam*³⁶) < **-om, *-oom*,

of existence'. YAv. *uruuaraiiā* (*uruuarā-* 'plant') is attested both in the loc. and gen. Cf. n. 13–15.

³⁰) > Av. *-ō*, OPers. *-a*.

³¹) *-ns* in the sandhi-form, e.g. *-nis ca*. Cf. n. 17, n. 76, n. 91.

³²) Hitt. *-us* suggests that **-ns* had not been assimilated to **-ns*.

³³) In Iranian: 1) with lengthening of the suffix-vowel: *-ū* (OAv. *po^hrū, vohū* = Ved. *purū* 'many', *vásū* 'good' HO[FFMANN–]FO[RSSMAN] 131, Ved. knows also the type *mádhū* and secondary *mádhūni* 'honey, mead', later also 'sweet'), *-ī* (YAv. *zaraθuštri* 'Zoroastrian', cf. Ved. *śúcī*, HOFO 135, Ved. also type *bhūrī* and *bhūrīni* 'much'); — 2) with long suffix-syllable going back to the PIE long-grade in the collective formation: **-mān* (OAv. *an-afšmaq* 'benefits', *dāmaq, dāmaq* 'territories, creatures', *nāmaq* 'names', *var^odmaq* 'aids', *hax^omaq* 'followers', YAv. *dummaq* 'clouds', HOFO 144), **-uānt* (OAv. *mīzdauuq* 'having reward', HOFO 150), *-ār* (OAv. *aiiār^o* 'days', *sax^oār^o* 'achievements', HOFO 153), **-ān* (YAv. *aiiq* 'days', *ruθβq*, *ruθβq-ca* 'entrails', HOFO 153), **-ās* (OAv. YAv. *manā* 'thinking, minds', YAv. *manās-ca*, OAv. YAv. *raocā*, OAv. *raocās-cā* 'lights', YAv. *vajhās-ca* 'better ones', HOFO 155); — 3) with no markers **-uant* (OAv. *rōiθβan?* 'joining in', HOFO 150), *-iš* (YAv. *x^oā.bar^oziš* 'being one's own cushion', *x^oā.sta^oriš* 'being one's own lair, bed', HOFO 157), cf. Ved. *dirghasrūt* 'to be heard at a long distance' (VII 61,2, VIII 25,17, cf. SCARLATA 555); — 4) with *-i*, added to forms of type 2): Av. *afšmāni* 'shortcomings', YAv. *cinmāni* 'desires' (HOFO 144); OAv. *var^ocā.hī-cā* 'abilities' (HOFO 155); added to forms with the full-grade suffix: YAv. *baēuani* 'tens of thousands', OAv. *sax^oāni* 'instructions' (HOFO 153), as well as YAv. *ast-i* (HOFO 140). No form is attested in OPers., on *taumanī* 'powers' cf. HOFO 144: dual.

In Ved., in addition to *mádhū/mádhū/mádhūni* etc., *bhūrī/bhūrī/bhūrīni* etc., and *dirghasrūt: sánti* (participle of *as* 'be'), *mahánti* 'great', *ghṛtāvanti* 'equipped with butter-oil', *paśu-mānti* 'having cattle'; *akṣāni* 'eyes', *áhāni* 'days', etc. beside *áhā, śirṣā* 'heads', *kármāni/kármā/kárma* 'deeds' etc., *dhánvāni/dhánva* 'steppes', *párvāni/párva* 'joints' (*párvā* AV), *brhánti* 'high' (AV), etc.; with a secondary nasal *arcīmṣi* 'flames', *āyūṃṣi* 'lives', *vácāmsi* 'words' etc., and *návyāmsi* 'newer'. Cf. p. 41f. [Cf. KUIPER Shortening (1955).]

³⁴) Av. *-biš*, OPers. *-biš*.

³⁵) Av. *-biiō*. Cf. n. 21.

³⁶) The distribution *-ām, -aam* after consonants, and *-nām, -naam* after sonants ('vowel

loc. *-su* < **-su*³⁷⁾ < **-su*.

1.1.3. notes on the locative singular

There is a variety of forms in the locative singular in Indo-Iranian athematic inflexions. In the case of stems without ablaut, *-i* is simply added in general (in Iranian, the form is not seldom unified with postposition *ā*), e.g., the *-t-* stem, OAv. *amər^ətāⁱtī* ‘in immortality’, Ved. *uparātāti* ‘in superiority’, <with *-ā*> YAv. *uštātāⁱtīia* ‘in desire’; the **-as-* stem, YAv. *manahi* = Ved. *mānasi* ‘in thinking’ OAv. *yāhī*, YAv. *yāhi* ‘in request’, OAv. *srauuahī* = Ved. *śrāvasi* ‘in fame’, <with *-ā*> OPers. *drayahayā* ‘in a lake’; the **-iš-* stem, YAv. *vīθiši* ‘in trial’, Ved. *barhīši* ‘on ritual grass’; the radical *-r-* stem, <+ *-i*> OAv. *sa^rrī*, YAv. *sa^rri* ‘in union’, Ved. *dhurī* ‘on a yoke-saddle’, *purī* ‘in a palisade’; the radical **-é-* stem, YAv. *vīsi* = Ved. *viśi*, <with *-ā*> YAv. *vīsiia*, OPers. *viθiyā* ‘in a settlement’. Otherwise, see the ablaut-scheme in the following overview:

(1) Suffix in the long grade: the *-u-* stem³⁸⁾, PII **-āu*, OAv. YAv. *vañhāu* = Ved. *vásau*, OAv. ⁺*xratāu* (×*-ā*), ⁺*pər^ətāu* (×*-ā*) ‘at a ford’, Ved. *krátāu* ‘in mental power’, *sánitau* ‘in acquisition’, *sānau* ‘on a summit, back’, (radical) *mitá-drau* ‘in running solidly(?)’; — the *-i-* stem, PII **-ā* < PIE **-ē(i)*, OAv. *gər^əzdā* ‘in a step’, YAv. *gara*, Ved. *giráu* (*-ā* + *u* of secondary origin) ‘in a mountain’, *śúcā*, *śúcau* ‘in purely bright ...’.

(2) Long grade in the stem: the radical *°m-* stem, OAv. *daqm*, <+ *-i*> *daqmi* ‘in a house’; the radical *°ā-* stem (<+ *-i*> OAv. *ā-dāi* (with disyllabic *āi*) ‘at the endowment(?)’ Y 33,11 < **°āH-i* (also possible: < **°aH-ai*, or **°aH-i* with analogic *ā*, so HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 124).

(3) Suffix in the full grade (mostly PIE **-e-*): the *-u-* stem³⁸⁾, OAv. *pər^ətō* ‘at a ford’, YAv. *añhuuō* ‘in existence’, *dañhō*, *dañhuuō* (< **dahⁱau*) ‘in a land’, *vaštō* ‘in desire’, *šātō* ‘in peace’, *haētō* ‘on a bridge’, *həntō* ‘in gain’, OPers. *Margauv*, <with *-ā*> YAv. *añhauua* (< **añha^u-ā*), *dañhauua*, OPers. *dahayauvā*, <+ *-i*> Ved. *dásyavi* ‘in the Dasyu, enemy’, *sānavi* ‘on a summit, back’; — the *-an-*,

stems”) has originated in PII, cf. also n. 22. The question as to whether the disyllabic ending in PIE should be interpreted as a replacement by the thematic termination, or there was a special disyllabic ending, is still open.

³⁷⁾ OAv. *-hū*, YAv. *-hu*, and its *ruki*-variant *-šū*, *-šu*. Unified with postposition *-ā* in YAv. *gaēθāhuua* ‘among living beings’, *bar^əθrišuua* ‘among mothers’, *pasuš.huua* (< **pasušu-ā*) ‘among cattle’, ⁺*var^əšuua* ‘in citadels’, *dāmahuua* ‘among creatures’, ^u*ruθβō.huua* ‘in entrails’, *raocōhuua* ‘in lights’, *ušahuua* ‘at dawns’, and OPers. *maškāuvā* ‘in skins’, *aniyāuvā* ‘among the others’, *dahayūšuvā* ‘in lands, provinces’.

³⁸⁾ The loc. sg. forms attested in the manuscripts of some Av. *-u-* stems are collected in SKJÆRVØ Gs. MacKenzie (2005) 197ff.

-man-, *-man-* stem, ⟨± *-i*⟩ Ved. *rājan(i)*, (to the zero-grade stem: *rājñi* etc. ŚB+) ‘in, at a king’; OAv. *ānmānī* ‘on breath’, *cašmañī* ‘in sight’, Ved. (*ā*)*tmán(i)*, ‘in one’s self’, *ásman(i)* ‘on a rock’, (zero grade: *lómni* ‘in hair’ etc. AV+); *ádhvān(i)* ‘in a way’, ⟨with *-ā*⟩ YAv. ⁺*ašauuanīia* ‘righteous’ (~ Ved. *ṛtāvani*); the *-ant-*, *-mant-* stem, ⟨+ *-i*⟩ YAv. *astuuañti* ‘having bone’, ⟨with *-ā*⟩ YAv. *bəṛ²zañtiia*, (in Ved., to the zero-grade stem *brhati* ‘high’, also in *-mant-* stems, e.g. *gó-mati* ‘having cattle’); — the *-ar-* stem ⟨+ *-i*⟩ YAv. *nañri* = Ved. *nári* ‘in a man’ (zero grade: f. *usri*, also *usraám* ‘at dawn’; *nánānd^ari* ‘in a husband’s sister’); — the *-tar-* stem ⟨+ *-i*⟩ Ved. *pitári* ‘at a father’, *netári* ‘in a leader’, *kartári* *sácā* ‘with a maker’, *hótari* ‘in a Hotar-priest’; — the *-r/-n-* stem, ⟨± *-i*⟩ Ved. *áhan(i)* ‘on a day’, *s_ivār* ‘in sun’s light’, (zero grade: YAv. *asni* ‘on a day’); — the *-yas-* (*-yāms-*) stem ⟨+ *-i*⟩ Ved. *sáhīyasi* ‘stronger’; the *-aṃ-*, *-aṅ-* stem, ⟨+ *-i*⟩ Ved. *gávi* ‘in a cow’, *dýávi* (zero grade: *divi*, very frequent) ‘in heaven’; — the “radical” *-p-* stem ⟨+ *-i*⟩ OPers. *api*, ⟨with *-ā*⟩ OPers. *apīyā* ‘in water’ (zero-grade formation in YAv. *kəhrpiia* ‘on a body’); furthermore Ved. *pad-í* ‘on a foot’).

(4) Suffix in zero grade (cf. also under (3)): the *-ū-* stem, Ved. *tanú* ‘on a body’, *camú* ‘in a vessel’, ⟨+ *-i*⟩ YAv. *tanuuī* = Ved. *tan_ivī*, *tan_ivī*, in Ved. secondarily with *-ām*: *ś_ivāś_rvām* ‘in a mother-in-law’, *tan_ivām* (AV); — Ved. ⟨+ *-i*⟩, the *-añc-* stem, *práci* (m.) ‘eastward’; the *-ant-* stem, *á-sati* (*sati* AV+) ‘not being’; the *-vant-* stem, *ár_vati* ‘in a race-horse’; the *-ma(m)s-* stem, *pur_si* ‘in a man’; — the *-ī-* stem, not attested in Iran., (*vṛkī-* type) Ved. *gaurí* ‘in a she-Gaura-buffalo’ RV IX 12,3, *sarasí* ‘in a pond, lake’, *nadí* ‘in a river’, (in the *deví-* type + *-ām*: *rātryām* ‘in the night’, *ásikn_vyām* ‘in the dark’, *araṇyānyām* ‘in, at Aranyāni, genius of the wilderness’, *dev_vyām* ‘in, at a goddess’); — zero-grade form ⟨+ *-i*⟩ in the radical *-h-* stem *anaḍūhi* (AV) ‘in a draught-ox’.

(5) From the stem in various grades: full grade ⟨+ *-i*⟩ YAv. *zəmi* ~ Ved. *kṣámi* ‘on the earth’; zero grade + PIE **-aṅ* (cf. Grk. *χαμαι*) YAv. *z²mē*, ⟨unified with *-ā*⟩ Ved. *jmav-ā*; probably + **-en* (cf. p. 34), to the **-o-* full-grade stem *kṣám-an*, *kṣám-an-i*, to the zero-grade *jm-án*; + *-er/-r* YAv. ⁺*zamarə*; cf. p. 18f.

1.2. stem formations³⁹⁾ and ablaut

The *-a-* stems from PIE **-e/o-* stems show no ablaut other than the “*abtönung*” of the PIE thematic vowel itself. On their inflexion, cf. 1.1.1.: p. 9ff. Also the *-ā-* stems (substantives and feminine forms of the thematic adjectives) have no ablaut, showing always a full grade in the suffix, thus already the PIE **-eh₂-* stems (or “mesodynamic”, if one wants to speak of the ablaut-scheme); but there are case forms not directly inherited (→ 1.2.2.: p. 20f.).

³⁹⁾ Cf. LINDNER Altindische Nominalbildung (1878), AiG II-2 (1954).

Ablaut is observed in stems in *-ánt-/at-*, *-vánt-/vat-*, *-mánt-/mat-*, *-vāns-/vās-/ús-*, *-án-/n-/a-*, *-ván-/va-/un-*, *-mán-/mn-/ma-*, *-añc-/ac- (/īc-)*, *-tár-/tr-/tr̥-*, *-ár-/r-/r̥-*, root nouns, some nouns originating in elemental vocabulary ('dog', 'cow', 'mouse', etc.), and partially nouns in *-ay-/i-*, *-av-/u-*, *-yā-/ī-*, etc. The nom. voc. and acc. in the singular and dual, the nom. and voc. in the plural, and the loc. sg. are strong cases (cases having a strong form according to the scheme cited in 0.1.) in PIE, on which the nominal inflexions in Indo-Iranian and OIA are based. In Indo-Iranian, neuter nouns predominantly show weak stem-forms in the nom.-acc. in the sg. and du., but strong forms in the nom.-acc. pl., partly with a long grade which probably came from the collective formation. On the ablaut in the loc. sg. cf. 1.1.3. Many stems and forms have lost totally or partially the ablaut which is postulated for them in particular positions on theoretical or comparative grounds.

1.2.1. The **root noun**⁴⁰⁾ *dīs-* f. 'direction' has columnar accentuation without ablaut. The accent position moves in the case of *vāc-* f. 'speech, voice' between stem (root) and ending, thus nom. *vāk*, gen. *vāc-ás* (cf. Lat. *uōx*, *uōcis*), but the alternation of the vowel quantity is abandoned (BRUGMANN's law may have influenced this partially), cf. Av. *vāc-/vac-* (no **uc-*): OAv. YAv. *vāxš*, gen. YAv. *vacō*, pl. nom. *vācō*, acc. *vacō*. — *-hán-* 'slaying (someone, something)' largely maintains its ablaut (partially with analogic *-ha-*): nom. *vṛtra-há* 'slaying Vṛtra, obstacles' (OAv. *vər^oθrəm.jā*, YAv. *vər^oθraja*), acc. *vṛtra-hánam* (YAv. *vər^oθrā-janəm*), instr. *vṛtra-ghn-ā* (YAv. *vər^oθrājana*), dat. *-ghn-é* (YAv. *vər^oθrajne*), gen. *-ghnás* (YAv. *vər^oθrajnō*), pl. nom. *śatru-hānas* 'slaying enemies' (YAv. *vər^oθrā-janō*), instr. *vṛtra-há-bhis*: < **-g^{wh}én-s*, **-g^{wh}én-ṃ*, **-g^{wh}n-éh₁*, **-g^{wh}n-éj̥*, **-g^{wh}n-és*, **-g^{wh}én-es*, **-g^{wh}ṇ-b^his*. — These developments seem rather to be isolated cases, and not dependent on some phonological circumstance.

The root nouns with *-sani-/sā-* 'conquering' (**senh₂/*sṇh₂*) in the last member of compounds show mixed paradigms from *-sáni-*, *-san-*, *-sā-*, *-s-*, *-sa-*. SCARLATA *Wurzelkomposita 577–586* investigates all the forms and summarizes 585f. as follows: sg. nom. *-sās* and *-sáni-s*, acc. *-sām*, *-saām*, *-sáni-m*, gen. *-s-ás*, *-san-as*, dat. *-s-é*, pl. nom. *-sās*, *-sāsas*, instr. *-sáis*. The form *-sáni-* is introduced from acc. sg. *-sáni-m* < **-senh₂-m* (instead of **-ṃ*); gen. sg. *-san-as* stands for **-sṇh₂-és*; *-sā-* might go back to an unattested pl.-form such as **-sābhis* < **-sṇh₂-b^his*, or the nom. sg. **-sēnh₂-s* could have become *-sās* with the nasal's loss as SCARLATA proposes among other possibilities. This phenomenon is al-

⁴⁰⁾ Cf. Jochem SCHINDLER *Das Wurzelnomen im Arischen und Griechischen*, Diss. Würzburg 1972, Salvatore SCARLATA *Die Wurzelkomposita im R̥g-Veda*, Wiesbaden 1999, cf. also KELLENS *Les noms-racines de l'Avesta*, Wiesbaden 1974.

ready seen in Indo-Iranian, as shown in dat. sg. *pašu-š-é*, gen. sg. *pašu-š-ás*, YAv. gen. sg. *fšū-š-ē, fšū-š-ō* ‘cattle-gainer’, cf. also KELLENS Noms-racines 106–111.

The PIE **elemental vocabulary item** *pād-/pad-* m. ‘foot’ is particularly archaic: sg. nom. *pāt*, acc. *pād-am* (from this a new stem *pāda-*; YAv. *pādām*), gen. *pad-ás*, loc. *pad-i*, du. nom. acc. *pād-ā* (YAv. *pāda*), pl. acc. *pad-ás* (YAv. *padō*): < **pōd-s*, **pód-ŋ*, **ped-és* (< **ped-és*?; Lat. *pedis*). — *áp-/ap-* f. ‘water’, imagined as living being(s) and used mostly in the pl., shows ablaut between *áp* and *ap*, just like *pād-/pad-*, or Av. *vāc-/vac-*:⁴¹⁾ sg. instr. *ap-ā*, gen. abl. *ap-ás*, pl. nom. *áp-as*, acc. *ap-ás*, instr. *ad-bhís*, dat. *ad-bhyás*, loc. *ap-sú*. The zero-grade form **-h₂p-* is found in *anūp-á-* ‘river basin’, *dvīp-á-* ‘island’, etc. In Av.: sg. nom. YAv. *āš*, acc. *āpəm*, *apəm-ca*, instr. *apa*, *apā-ca*, dat. *ape*, *apaē-ciṭ*, abl. *apaṭ*, gen. *āpō*; du. nom. acc. *āpa*; pl. nom. *āpō*, acc. OAv. YAv. *apō*, *apas-cā*, (YAv. also *āpō*), dat. YAv. *aβiiō*, gen. *apaṃ*. — Hysterodynamic inflexion underlies these paradigms (or amphidynamic, if one should assume the absence of a suffix).

The **monosyllabic noun** *dyáv-* m. (f.) ‘heaven’ preserves its original hysterodynamic scheme: sg. nom. *dyáu-s*, voc. (after nom.) *dyaus*, *dyáus*, *dyáus*, acc. *dyám*, *dyám* (secondary *dív-am*), instr. *div-ā*, dat. *div-é*, abl. gen. *div-ás*, (secondary *dyó-s*), loc. *dyáv-i*, *dív-i*; du. nom. acc. *dyáv-ā*^{41a)}; pl. nom. *dyáv-as*, acc. *dyúm*, *dív-as*. In Iran., only YAv. gen. sg. *dīiaoš* is attested (Yt 3,13, according to HUMBACH KZ 81, 282f. ‘der [Brut der] Hölle’, cf. also KELLENS Noms-racines 402); the form is identical with Ved. *dyó-s* (6× in the RV :: *div-ás* more than 400×), but is to be judged as analogic after *gós* (PII **gau-š*), cf. AiG III 224. The PIE paradigm is: sg. nom. **dīēu-s* (Grk. *Ζεύς*), **dīēu-s*⁴²⁾, acc. **dīēm* (Grk. *Ζῆν*, *Ζῆν-α*) < **dīēu-m* (after STANG’s law), **dīēm*⁴²⁾, dat. **dīu-éi* (Grk. Corinthian *Δεί*, Cyprian *Διφεί-φίλος*, Mycenaean *di-we /diwei/*), abl. gen. **dīu-és/ós* (Grk. *Διός*), loc. **dīēu + -i* (Lat. *Ioue*), **dīēu*⁴²⁾ (Lat. *diū*), (Grk. *Δί*, probably < **dīu-i*, i. e., secondary after the forms with **dīu-* just like Ved. *div-i*); pl. nom. **dīēu-es* (with *é* after sg.?), acc. **dīu-ns* or **dīu-ŋs*.

⁴¹⁾ The alternation between *pūr* and *pur* in the stem *pūr-* f. ‘palisade, fortification’ is phonological in nature. The stem **p̥l̥h₁-* had no ablaut, or abandoned it (cf. Grk. *πόλις* < **pólh₁-i-s*?, with dat. [loc.] Hom. *πόλη* < **polh₁-ē* + *-i*, KLINGENSCHMITT in lectures). It appears regularly as *pūr* before vowels and *pur* before consonants (i. e., PII **p̥rH°* or **p̥l̥H°* > **p̥arH°* or **p̥alH°*, and according to the constellation, **p̥ar|HV°* or **p̥arH|CV°* > *pur°* or *pūr°*, respectively, preserving its syllabic quantity): sg. nom. *pūr*, acc. *pūr-am*, instr. *pur-ā*, pl. loc. *pūr-sú*, probably < **p̥l̥h₁-s*, **p̥l̥h₁-ŋ*, **p̥l̥h₁-éh₁*, **p̥l̥h₁-sú*. Cf. n. 147.

^{41a)} On the du. *dyávī* RV IV 56,5, cf. GOTÖ 14th World Skt. Conf. 2009, forthcoming.

⁴²⁾ Disyllabic LINDEMAN variant.

gáv- f. ‘cow’ maintains its acrodynamic pattern: *gáu-s* (< **g^wǵu-s*, OAv. YAv. *gāuš*), *gām* (< **g^wǵm* < **g^wǵu-m*, after STANG; OAv. YAv. *gqm*, YAv. secondary also *gaom*), gen. *gós* (< **g^wǵu-s*, OAv. YAv. *gəuš*, YAv. *gaos*), loc. *gáv-i*, pl. nom. *gáv-as* (< **g^wǵu-es*; YAv. *gauuō*⁴³), acc. *gās* (OAv. YAv. *gā*, after *gām*, *gqm*).⁴⁴

náv- f. ‘ship, boat’⁴⁵ goes back to **náh₂-u-* (and perhaps also **náh₂-u-*) which does not alter this shape: nom. *náu-s* (< **nā₂u-s* < **náh₂-u-s*, Hom. *νηῦς*; probably disyllabic *ná-us* RV V 59,2 < **náh₂-u-s* < **néh₂-u-s*), acc. *návam* (**náh₂-u-m*, Hom. *νῆα*, Lat. *nāuem*), gen. *nāv-ás* (**náh₂-u-és*, cf. *νηός*), pl. nom. *náv-as* (**náh₂-u-es*, *νηεç*), acc. *náv-as* (**náh₂-u-ms*, *νηαç*), *náubhis* (*ναῦφι*).

dvār-/dur- f. ‘door’ follows a hysterodynamic (or amphidyn.) inflexion just like *pād-/pad-*, *āp-/ap-*: sg. nom. *dvār* (AV+); du. *dvār-ā*, *d_vdvār-ā*, *dvār-au*; pl. nom. *dvār-as* (5×), acc. *dúras* I 193,7, *dúras* (many times, also in I 188,5), *dvār-as* I 130,3, voc. *dvār-as*. In YAv., acc. sg. *duuarəm* and perhaps loc. sg. *duuarə*² (Vīd 3,29) are attested; OPers. has a thematised loc. sg. *duvarayā* < **d^(h)uvara-ī* + *ā*. They go back to PIE **d^huór*, **d^huér-m*, **d^hur-és*, **d^huér*, **d^huór-es*, **d^hur-ŋs*. OIA *d* instead of **d^h* is interpreted through association with *dváu* ‘two’.

In the case of *kšám-/kšā-/kšm-/jm-* f. ‘earth’, various forms are developed through phonological change, simplification of the consonant group, analogy, or preservation of old formations (in the loc.): **sg.** nom. *kšā-s* (YAv. *zā*), acc. *kšā-m*, *kšāām* (OAv. YAv. *zqm*), instr. *kšam-ā*, *jm-ā* (YAv. *z²mā*), abl. *kšm-ás*, *jm-ás*⁴⁶ (YAv. *z²maṭ*, *z²māt*, *z²māta-ca*, *z²māda*), gen. *jm-ás* (YAv. *z²mō*, *z²mas-ca*)^{46a}, loc. *kšám-i* (YAv. *zəmi*), *kšm-ay-ā*, *jm-ay-ā* (YAv. *z²mē*, < PIE *-aj, cf. Grk. *χαμοί*), *kšám-an*, *kšám-an-i*, *jm-án*; **du.** *kšám-ā*; **pl.** nom. *kšám-as* (YAv. voc. *zə-mō*), acc. *kšās*, *kšās* IV 28,5 (YAv. *zəmas-ca*), (gen. YAv. *zəmaq-ca*), loc. *kšā-su*.⁴⁷ — These start from a PIE *-em- stem: sg. nom. **d^héǵ^hōm* (Hitt. *tégan* < *te-e-kán*) → **ǵ^hǵ^hōm*^{47a} (*χθών*); acc. **d^héǵ^hōm* (from **d^héǵ^hōm-m* after STANG’s law; Hitt. just as in the nom.) → **ǵ^hǵ^hōm* (*kšā-m*; and from *-ŋi: *kšāām*, *χθόνα*),

⁴³ With YAv. / East-Iranian phonological change **-āya-* > **-aṃa-*, cf. n. 45, n. 58.

⁴⁴ Throughout with the PIE **-ó-* vocalism because of its onomatopoeic origin.

⁴⁵ In YAv. in *nauu-āza-* ‘sailor, navigator’ = Ved. *nāv-ājá-* (cf. n. 43) < **náh₂-u-h₂ǵo-*, cf. Lat. *nāuigāre*.

⁴⁶ Dissimilated in *divás ca gmás ca* in the abl. and gen.

^{46a} Also LINDEMAN variant OAv. *zimō*, YAv. *zə-mō* is attested.

⁴⁷ *kšé* in IV 3,6 *násatyāya kšé* (according to GRASSMANN a dat. sg. of *kšā-*) is to be emended to **násatyāya yakšé²*, cf. HOFFMANN apud SCHINDLER Diss. (1972) 15, GOTÖ Linguistics, Archaeology and Human Past (2009) 208.

^{47a} **ǵ^hǵ^h* is used here as a symbol for the combination of **ǵ^h* + *ǵ^h* (allomorph of *ǵ*).

and **ǵ^hōm*⁴⁸⁾ (*zqm*); abl. gen. **d^hǵ^hm-és/ós* (cf. Hitt. *tagnas* <*ták-na-(a-)aš*> > **ǵ^hōm-és/ós* (*kšmās*, cf. *χθovós*), and **ǵ^hm-és* (*jmās*, *z^omō*); instr. **d^hǵ^hm-éh₁* > **ǵ^hōm-éh₁* (→ *kšamā*), and **ǵ^hm-éh₁* (*jmā*, *z^omā*); — loc. **d^hǵ^hém(-i)* (cf. Hitt. *dagān* from **-óm*⁴⁹⁾) > **ǵ^hōm(-i)* (*kšāmi*), and **ǵ^hém(-i)* (*zəmi*); PIE *-a- case (cf. p. 149: 4.3.) in: **ǵ^hōm-ai*/**ǵ^hm-ai* > *χουαί* (from the LINDEMAN variant **ǵ^hōm-ai*), *z^omē*, with + *ā* > *kšmayā*, *jm-ay-ā*, **ǵ^hōm-ai* (reformed after **ǵ^hōm*) > Lat. *humī*, *homī*; with *-en: **ǵ^hōm-en* > *kšām-an*, *kšām-an-i*, **ǵ^hm-én* > *jm-án*; with *-(e)r: YAv. ⁺*zamar^o* ‘in the earth’ (Yt 1,29, after BARTHOLOMAE) < **ǵ^hém-er* or **-r*; — Indo-Iran. pl. forms come from **ǵ^hōm-és*, **ǵ^hm-ṇīs*⁵⁰⁾. The nom. sg. Ved. *kšā-s*, YAv. *zā*, Ved. loc. pl. *kšā-su* have been formed analogically after the -*ā*-stems through the link of acc. sg. *kšā-m*, *zqm*, acc. pl. *kšās*. The frequently attested n. nom. sg. *kšāma* or *kšāmā* owes its -*man*- stem form to an imitation based on the loc. *kšāman*, *kšāmani*. This vocabulary item was, as is the case in many IE languages, no longer in use, and an epithet *pr̥thivī-* ‘(the) wide one’ was (euphemistically) used as a common word for ‘earth’ beside *bhūmi-* (OAv. *būmī-*, YAv. *būmī-*, OPers. *būmī-*) from *bhav*/*bhū* ‘come into being, become’, etc. The word *pr̥thivī-* is originally the f. of the adj. *pr̥thū-* ‘wide’ (cf. *kšām ... pr̥thvīm* RV X 31,9 ~ YAv. *zqm pə^oθβīm*, *pə^oθβε ... zə^omō*; *urvī pr̥thvī ... dyāvāpr̥thivī* VI 70, 1.4) but has been fixed in this form and meaning, whereas the f. adj. ‘wide’ shows the form *pr̥thivī-* without vocalization of **h₂*. The starting point was: **p^hth₂-u-ih₂* > *pr̥thivī* ‘wide’, gen. **p^hth₂-u-ih₂-s* > **pr̥t^(h)iviyās* > *pr̥thivyās*/*pr̥thiviyās* (used in the value ‘of the earth’; oblique cases of the f. adj. seem not to be attested).⁵¹⁾

On *nár-* m. ‘man’ and *stár-* ‘star’, cf. p. 32; on *hárd-* ‘heart’, *ās-* n. ‘mouth’, *dós-* ‘forearm’, *áks-i* ‘eye’, and *yūs-* n. ‘broth’, cf. p. 34f.; on *śván-* ‘dog’, cf. p. 39.

1.2.1.1. The **root nouns**, or the nouns to be regarded as such, ending in °*ā*- are inflected as follows: **sg.** nom. m. *sthā-s* ‘standing’ (used also as n.), *rathe-št^hā-s* (YAv. *raθaē-štā*); f.⁵²⁾ *gnā-s* ‘god’s wife’, (YAv. *xā* ‘spring’); acc. *sthā-m*, *rathe-*

⁴⁸⁾ All Av. forms come from simplified **ǵ^h* (**ǵ^hōm* would have become **z* in Av.).

⁴⁹⁾ Cf. MELCHERT Anatolian Historical Phonology (1994) 135.

⁵⁰⁾ **ǵ^hōm-ṇīs* has become **ǵ^hṇm-ṇīs* (YAv. *zəmas-ca*) as a LINDEMAN variant, or simplified **ǵ^hṇm-ṇīs* (*kšās*, *kšāās*).

⁵¹⁾ Cf. also DUNKEL Sprache 34 (1988–1990) 12.

⁵²⁾ Forms without -*s* in the nom. sg. f. are to be identified as pertaining to the -*ā*- stem inflexion. A transition happens easily through the link of PII formations such as instr. sg. -*ā* beside -*áyā* in the -*ā*- stems, oblique cases in the pl. -*ā-bhis*, -*ā-bhyas*, -*ā-su*, cf. 1.2.2.: p. 20f. Forms with -*ā*- stem inflexion increase after the RV in the abstract substantives and f. adjectives. Cf. the discussion by SCARLATA cited in the next footnote, and *ibidem*, p. 378,

ṣṭhā-m (YAv. *raθaē-ṣṭam*), *gnā-m*, *khā-m* ‘spring’; instr. (only f., and not always certain) *apa-dhā* ‘by removal’ II 12,3 < **d^hh₁-éh₁*,⁵³) *prati-dhā* VIII 77,4 ‘in (one) draught(?)’, *abhi-khyā* ‘by glance, looking-at’, etc., (OAv. *ā-daā* ‘through endowment’, Y 33,12); dat. (1) m. *d-é* ‘for giving’ < **dh₃-éj*, *śuci-p-é* ‘for the drinker of the clear (Soma)’, (YAv. *raθaē-šte*⁵⁴), (2) as inf. *pra-khyái* ‘to see’, *upa-yái* ‘to travel near’, etc. < **ieh₂-éj*(?), (YAv. *raθaē-štāi*⁵⁵); gen. m. *kr̥ṣṭi-prás* ‘filling boundaries’, (YAv. *raθaē-štā* instead of *-ō*); in OAv. loc. *ā-dāi* (cf. p. 14: (2)); **du.** m. *kr̥ṣṭi-prā*, *go-pā*, *go-páu* ‘herdsmen’; **pl.** nom. m. *rathe-ṣṭhās*, (YAv. *armaē-štā* ‘standing still’), f. *gnās*, (YAv. *xā*); acc. m. (no certain examples in Ved.; YAv. *raθaē-štā*, *raθaē-štās-ca*), f. *gnās*, *jās* ‘children’, (YAv. *xā*); instr. m. *agre-p-ā-bhis* ‘drinking at first’, (YAv. *akō.dābiš* ‘producing bad things’), f. *gn-ā-bhis*, *ratna-dh-ā-bhis* ‘treasure-giving’; abl. m. *bhūri-d-ā-bhyas* ‘than many giving ones’; loc. f. *gn-ā-su*, *j-ā-su*, (OAv. *adāhū* ‘at the oblations’ < **ā-d^hā*-); and in YAv. gen. *xam*, (no root-form is attested in the gen. pl. in Ved.).

1.2.2. The *-ā-* suffix stems are the descendants of PIE **-ah₂-* < **-eh₂-* stems with the endings presented in 1.1.2. (p. 11ff.). But there are some PII or OIA innovations, especially the forms which have been clarified by employing formations from the *devī-* inflexion (proterodynamic type) of the **ieh₂-/ih₂-* stems or the like:

In the **sg.** instr. (1) *-āyā*: *jihvāyā* ‘with a tongue’, etc., (OAv. *daēnatiā*, YAv. *daēnatiā*⁵⁶) ‘by religious vision’; OPers. *framānāyā* ‘command’ is a mixed formation < PII **-ājā*, analogically after [**dajū-i-ā* :: **dajū-i-ā* = *d^hār-ā* :: *x*, *x* = *d^hār-a-ā*], or after instr. *sg.* *tāyā* of the pronoun *tā-* < **téh₂-* (cf. OChSlav. *tojō* < **tajā-m*, n. 170); (2) *-ā*: *jihvā* etc. (Vedic, frequently in *-yā-* and *-tā-* stems; OAv.

on *pra-mā-*, *prati-mā* X 130,3 and *pramē* IX 70,4. OAv. *vaṇ^hī ādā* Y 49,1 (‘good endowment’?) is the nom. *sg.* of the derivative *-ā-* stem (**-d^hh₁-éh₂-*), on the original root noun *ā-dā-* cf. above p. 14: (2), cf. NARTEN Yasna Haptaṅhāiti 268.

⁵³ *sva-dhā* ‘by one’s own decision’ possibly in VIII 32,6; but the frequently attested *sva-dhāyā* suggests an *-ā-* stem (**-d^hh₁-éh₂-*), or, at least, a transition to it, cf. SCARLATA 264f. A similar remark applies also to several other °*ā-* formations. On *śrad-dhē* I 102, 2 and *śrad-dhā* it VII 32,14 from *śrad-dh-ā-* (**kred-d^hh₁-éh₂-*), as opposed to the OAv. root noun *zraz-dā-* ‘believing, trusting’ (nom. pl. *zraz-dā* < **aH-as*, Y 31,1; YAv. *a-zraz-da-* is a thematic stem), cf. ib. 263.

⁵⁴ Thus presumably Vīd 14,9 (2×) instead of *raθōiṣti* (according to BARTHOLOMAE the loc. *sg.*). — YAv. shows also forms from the *-tar-* stem.

⁵⁵ Always preceding *vāstriiāi* ‘for the farmer’, Yt 19,8; 13,88, Vīd 5,57.58.

⁵⁶ In addition, there occurs a form with °*iū*: *xšaθrō.kāmiia* Y 9,24 (°*kāmiia*?).

daēnā, YAv. *daēna*) < PII **-ā* < **-ah₂-eh₁*; — dat. *-āyai*:⁵⁷⁾ *manāyayai* ‘for devotion’ etc. < PII **-āiāi*, probably **-ā-* + **-iāi* of the *deví-* inflexion, (YAv.⁵⁸⁾ *daēnāiāi*⁵⁹⁾); — abl.⁶⁰⁾ gen. *-āyās*: *sénāyās* ‘army’ etc. < PII **-āiās*, probably **-ā-* + **-iās* of the *deví-* inflexion, (OAv. YAv. *daēnāiā* [YAv. form, cf. n. 58], YAv. *haēnāiā*, YAv. *haēnāiās-ca*, OPers. *haināyā* ‘army’); — loc. *-āyām*: *grīvāyām* ‘on the neck’ etc. < **-ā-* + **-iām* of the *deví-* inflexion; PIE **-ā-*: YAv. *grīuuaiia* (cf. n. 58), OPers. *Aθurāyā*; — voc. (1) *-e*: *jāye* ‘wife’ etc. < PII **-ai* of unknown origin, (OAv. *bər³xōē* ‘estimated’, YAv. *daēne*); (2) PII **-ā* in OAv. *Pourucištā*, YAv. *sūra* ‘strong’; the co-existence of two voc. forms has produced the YAv. nom. sg. *pər³ne* ‘full’.

Other forms are regularly built: nom. *-ā*, *-ā*; acc. *-ām*, *-ām*; — **du.** nom. acc. voc. *-e* (cf. n. 27); abl. *-ā-bhyām*; gen. loc. *-āyos*, *-ayos* < PII loc. **-aH-Hau* × gen. **-aH-Hās*, PII gen. **-aiās* in YAv. *uruuaraiā* ‘of the two plants’ (cf. n. 58); — **pl.** nom. voc. *-ās*, *-ās*, and the double formation *-āsas*, *-āsas* (cf. n. 16); acc. *-ās*, *-ās*; instr. *-ā-bhis*, *-ā-bhis*; dat. abl. *-ā-bhyas*, *-ā-bhyas*; gen. *-ānām*, *-ānām*, also with **nām* (cf. n. 22); loc. *-ā-su*, *-ā-su*.⁶¹⁾

1.2.3. The **-ī-** stem inflexion has two main types. [1] The *vṛkí-* (‘she-wolf’) type, comprising root nouns, e.g. *dhí-* ‘thought, reflexion’, and derivative feminines from m. *-a-* stems⁶²⁾, as well as some m., e.g. *rathí-* ‘charioteer’, has no ablaut in the stem:⁶³⁾ **sg.** nom. *dhí-s*, acc. *dhíy-am*, *rathíy-ām*, instr. *dhíy-ā*, *rathíy-ā*, dat. *dhíy-é*, *rathíy-ā*, gen. *dhíy-ás*, *ahíy-ás* ‘mother-cow’, loc. *gaurí*, *sarasí*, *nadí* (cf. **1.1.3.** (4): p. 15), voc. *nadi* ‘river’, *yami* ‘Yamí’; — **du.** nom. acc. *abhi-śríy-ā*, *-au*

⁵⁷⁾ On °*ai* for gen., abl. in the language of the theologians cf. n. 25.

⁵⁸⁾ With YAv. / East-Iranian change **-āja-* > *-aija-*, cf. n. 43.

⁵⁹⁾ Also °*iāi* in *gaēθiāi* ‘for the living being’ Y 9,3 (**gaēθaiāi*?), cf. GOTÖ Akten Kraków 161 n. 3.

⁶⁰⁾ About YAv. abl. *-aiiāi*, cf. n. 26.

⁶¹⁾ *kanyā* ‘girl’ (f.) shows in the nom. sg. *-ā*, but the stem goes back to a formation with HOFFMANN’s possessive suffix *-h₃ón-* (< **-h₃én-*)/*-h₃n-*, cf. **1.2.10.** [3]: p. 42f.

⁶²⁾ Cf. p. 51:[2]. Also, e.g. *naptí-* ‘granddaughter’ (beside AV+ *naptṛí-*, *naptí-*) to *nápāt-* ‘grandson’.

⁶³⁾ Thus also in Av. (in OPers., the *-ī-* stem inflexion has been partially transferred to the *-i-* inflexion): e.g., sg. nom. OAv. *ər³z²-jī-s* ‘living honestly’, YAv. *zar³naēnīs* ‘golden’, acc. OAv. *ra³θīm* ‘charioteer’ (with disyllabic *-īm*, i.e. a YAv. form < **raθijam*), YAv. *yauuaē-jim* ‘living eternally’ (< **-jijam*), dat. OAv. *ər³z²-jiiōi* (< **-jiiāi*), gen. *Srūtaf³driiō* (girl’s name, ‘having a famous father’); du. nom. YAv. *ratu-friia* ‘pleasing the Supervisor(s)”; pl. nom. YAv. *ratu-friiō*, acc. OAv. *yauuaē-jiiō*, YAv. *tištrīaēniō*, °*aēniias-ca* ‘Sirius-stars’, dat. YAv. *yauuaē-jibiō*. The endings, e.g. in the gen. sg. *-ás*, may point to a hysterodyn. origin.