

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–DEBRUNNER Altindische Grammatik [AiG] I–III (1896–1954); WHITNEY A Sanskrit Grammar (2¹⁸⁸⁹); RENOU Grammaire sanscrite (1930, 2¹⁹⁶¹). — 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 $\square$; 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); KURYLOWICZ 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 Sprachwissenschaft³ (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. *-e_i, nom. pl. *-es), or zero-grade form (e.g., acc. pl. *-ns, *-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., -ā- < *-é-h₂-, -yā-/-ī- < *-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’ < **k̥uén-* :: *śuntī-* ‘she-dog’, *haṁsá-* ‘goose, gander’) or a f. (*gáv-* ‘cow’ and ‘cattle’ < **gʷóu-*, 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* < **ā₁ya* (remodelled in PII after gen. **-as₁ya*, cf. WACKERNAGEL Kl. Schr. 274f.; OAv. *-āi.ā*, *-āiiā* 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* < **-as₁ya* < **-o-s₁yo* (beside **-o-so*, not continued in Indo-Iran.),

loc. *°e* < **-a₁*⁸⁾ < **-o-₁i*;

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 *parāk_aāt* RV I 30,21, VIII 5,31, X 22,6, *antāriks_aāt* X 158,1, *sadāsth_aāt* VIII 11,7; according to LANMAN 337f., however, “extremely doubtful”.

⁶⁾ Av. *°āt*, OPers. *°ā* (< **-āt*), unified with postposition *-ā* in YAv. *xšaθrāda* beside *xšaθ-rāt* ‘from the dominion’; with *-cā*: *°aat-cā* < **°aat-ca* in OAv. *ašāat-cā*, YAv. *yasnāat-cā* ‘from the worship’, furthermore, OAv. *ašāt-hacā* ‘on the basis of law’, and with shortening in the third-last syllable YAv. *nmānat-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*, *akōiiā* ‘in bad...’, YAv. *Vō^hrukašaiia*, *zastaiia*, OPers. *dastayā* (cf. Ved. *hásta ā* ‘on the hand’), cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 119.

in the **dual**,

- nom. voc. acc. m.** °ā⁹⁾ < PII *-ā < PIE *-o-h₁, °au < *-ā + *u (only in OIA),
nom. acc. n. °e < *-ai¹⁰⁾ < *-o-ih₁,
instr. dat. abl. °ābhyaṃ instead of *°ebhy° < PII *-ai^bh₁iā¹¹⁾, + *-m/-am,¹²⁾
gen. loc. °ayos: a blend of PII gen. *-aiiās¹³⁾ < *-oi₁-h₁ōs and loc. *-aiiay¹⁴⁾ < *-oi₁-h₁ou¹⁵⁾;

in the **plural**,

- nom. voc. m.** °ās < *-o-es¹⁶⁾,
acc. °ān¹⁷⁾ (with long ā introduced from the nom. °ās; PII *-ans¹⁸⁾ < PIE *-o-ns < Pre-PIE **o-m-s),
nom. acc. n. °ā, °āni¹⁹⁾ < PIE *-ā < *-e-h₂ (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. °ōi, YAv. °e. The form *-aiH is postulated in the OIA “pragṛhya”-sandhi of -e (FORSSMAN MSS 25, 1969, 49 n. 11), cf. also n. 27.

¹¹⁾ OAv. °ōibiiā, YAv. °aēbiiā, OPers. °aibiyā preserve the old formation *-oi₁-b^hi-°. In OIA, -ā in the nom. voc. acc. is assumed to be introduced in place of -ai-, thus also YAv. forms in °ābiiā (HOFFMANN Aufs. 55 n. 7).

¹²⁾ One assumes generally °ābhyaṃ in the case of a few trisyllabic forms (cf. LANMAN 343f.), but °ābhyaam (i.e. °ābhyaam) is equally possible. It seems that no trisyllabic form is found in athematic inflexions. A PIE form can be reconstructed without complete certainty: *-oi₁-b^hi-m or *-oi₁-b^hi-eh₁ (?), cf. RIX Hist. Gramm. 141.

¹³⁾ OAv. qṣaiiā ‘of both parties’, YAv. vīraiīā ‘of both men’, and numeral duuaiīā ‘of two’, uuaiīā ‘of both’ (HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 120).

¹⁴⁾ OAv. zastaiīō ‘in both hands’, ubōiīō, YAv. +uuaiīō ‘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 °ā < *-e-h₂ was generalised in the thematic inflexion in Iranian as in Pāli. Ved., OAv., YAv., and Pāli have also hyper-marked forms in °āsas (< *°ās-as) beside °ās or °ā. Such forms occur also in the -ā- stems (p. 21), and in pānthāsas ‘ways’ (p. 44); also aniyāha bagāha ‘the other gods’ in OPers., cf. KENT §10, §172, SCHMITT Fs. Eilers 265ff.]

¹⁷⁾ And *°āns in the sandhi-form °ānīs ca. Cf. n. 31.

¹⁸⁾ In OAv. °ēng, °qṣ-cā, YAv. °qṣ, °qṣ-ca (and variant forms °ē, °ēs-ca) < *-ans (cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 66: §35hc, 88: §54d). OPers. °ā seems to go back to *°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 °āni which is formed probably after -n- stems, e.g. nāmā :: 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^hiṣ*²¹,
gen. °*ānām* (also °*ānaam*/°*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*, *deváyā*, *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, *-m̐,
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. *tébhis* (RV and other mantras) beside *táis* (AV+, however, cf. OAv. *tāiš*, Grk. *toĩs* < **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. *mašiiānqm* ‘of men, people’ and *γ^onqñqm* (γ^o*nā*-/g^o*nā*- ‘woman’); the former could be interpreted as avoiding three short syllables (SAUSSURE–WACKERNAGEL’s law, cf. AiG I, Nachtr. 177 on 313,42) from **mártiyanaām* (the final °*qm* is scanned almost consistently disyllabically, thus < **-anaām*), 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. *gīrīnām* ‘of mountains’, OAv. *vohunqm* = Ved. *vásūnām* ‘of good...’, YAv. *tanunqm* = Ved. *tanūnām* ‘of bodies’, *-īnām*, *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. *raoḍaēšuuā*, OPers. *Mādaišuvā*.

²⁴ Indo-Iranian has generalised the ending *-eh₁ (originally in the amphi- 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 (*ūti*, *citti*, *ácitti*, etc., and with *-i*, originally from a pre-vocalic position with loss of *h*₁, e.g. *suvṛktī* ‘through good praising’, cf. LANMAN 380f., MACDONELL 281), and Avestan *-i-* and *-u-* stems (cf. n. 75, n. 79): OAv.

dat.²⁵⁾ $-e < *-\dot{a}i < *-\dot{e}i$,
abl.²⁶⁾ **gen.** $-as, -s < *-\dot{a}s, *-\dot{s} < *-\dot{e}s, *-\dot{o}s, *-\dot{s}$,
loc. ($\rightarrow$ 1.1.3.) $-i, -\emptyset < *-\dot{i}, *-\emptyset < *-\dot{i}, *-\emptyset$;

in the **dual**,

nom. voc. acc. m. f.²⁷⁾ $-\bar{a}, -au$ ($-\bar{a} + \bar{u}$), or lengthening of preceding vowel $< *-\bar{a}, *-\bar{H} < (*-\dot{e}h_1), *-\dot{h}_1$,
nom. acc. n. $-\bar{i} < *-\bar{i}^{28)} < *-\dot{i}h_1$,
instr. dat. abl. $-bhy\bar{a}m < *-\dot{b}^hi\bar{a} + *-\dot{m}/-am$ (cf. n. 12),
gen. loc. $-os$: a blend of PII gen. $*-\bar{a}s < *-\dot{h}_1\bar{o}s$ and loc. $*-\dot{a}u < *-\dot{h}_1\bar{o}u$ ²⁹⁾;

aṣṭi, ‘by reward’, *cistī* ‘by consciousness’, *xratū* ‘by mental power’, *mañiiū* ‘by mind, spirit’, *voḥū* ‘(by) good’, YAv. *axti-ca* ‘by pain’, *zaṇtu* ‘by tribe’, *voḥu*, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 597ff.

²⁵⁾ In the language of the theologists, the dat.-form with $\dot{a}i$ appears as gen. and abl. in the f. $-\bar{i}$ -stem ($-\dot{y}ai$), and influenced by it, in $-\bar{a}$ - ($-\dot{ā}yai$), $-\dot{i}$ - ($-\dot{y}ai$, especially $-\dot{h}yai$ from the $-\dot{t}i$ -stem), $-\dot{u}$ -stem ($-\dot{t}vai$, *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 $\dot{y}ai$ forms in $-\bar{a}$ -, $-\dot{i}$ - and $-\bar{i}$ -stems instead of $\dot{y}ās$ or $\dot{e}s$ (TS^p has only $-\dot{y}ai$ in the final dat. of the $-\dot{i}$ -stem). MS^p has, on the contrary, no such forms according to WITZEL. CALAND–RAGHU VIRA 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–Mādhyaṇḍina. 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. $-\dot{t}$ of $-\dot{a}t$ in the thematic inflexion has spread over all stems: $-\dot{a}t$ instead of OAv. $-\bar{o} < *-\dot{a}h$, $-\bar{o}i\dot{t}$ instead of OAv. $-\bar{o}i\dot{s}^* < *-\dot{a}i\dot{s}$, $-\dot{a}o\dot{t}$ instead of OAv. $-\dot{a}o\dot{s}/-\bar{o}u\dot{s} < *-\dot{a}u\dot{s}$, $-\dot{a}ii\dot{a}t$ instead of OAv. $-\dot{a}ii\dot{a}^* < *-\dot{a}i\dot{ā}h$, $-\dot{a}n < *-\dot{a}nt$ instead of OAv. $-\bar{a}n\dot{g} < *-\dot{a}n\dot{h} < *-\dot{a}ns$ (HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 116). The same process is assumed for OPers. *Bābirauv* ($*-\dot{a}u\dot{u} < *-\dot{a}u\dot{t}$ $< *-\dot{a}u\dot{t}$) besides *Bābirauš*, and *Hiḍdauv* (SCHMITT Altpersisch 72). Unified with postposition $\bar{a}$ in YAv. *zraiiaghada* ($-\dot{a}h$ -stem) ‘from a lake’, *āxštaēda* ($-\dot{i}$ -stem) ‘because of peace’.

²⁷⁾ In the derivative $-\bar{a}$ -stem (f.), the nom.-acc.-voc. in the dual has been clarified to PII $*-\dot{a}i$, with the neuter ending ($< \text{PIE } *-\dot{e}h_2-i\dot{h}_1$) or after the pronominal form $*-\dot{t}\dot{a}i$ ($< *-\dot{t}\dot{o}-i\dot{h}_1$ or $*-\dot{t}e\dot{h}_2-i\dot{h}_1$?, cf. n. 170): OIA $-\dot{e}$, OAv. $-\bar{e}$ as in *ubē* ‘both’, YAv. *uruuāre*, *duiie* = Ved. *duvé* ‘two’. OIA “pragṛhya”-sandhi in the du. (cf. Pāṇini I 1,11), $-\dot{e}$ in the $-\bar{a}$ -stem ($*-\dot{a}i\dot{H}$ or $*-\dot{a}i\dot{H}$), $-\bar{i}$ in the $-\bar{i}$ -stem ($*-\bar{i}\dot{H} < *-\dot{i}h_2-i\dot{h}_1$), and $-\bar{u}$ in the $-\bar{u}$ -stem ($*-\bar{u}\dot{H} < *-\dot{u}h_2-i\dot{h}_1$) is explained by the effect of the laryngeal, cf. FORSSMAN MSS 25 (1969) 49 n.11; cf. above n.10.

²⁸⁾ YAv. *vaṇhi* $< *-\dot{u}as\dot{u}i$ ‘good’, YAv. *aṣi* (possibly *aṣi*) = Ved. *akṣi* ‘(both) eyes’, YAv. *uṣi* = OPers. *uṣīy* ‘(both) ears’, YAv. *haxti* ‘(both) thighs’, OAv. *manahi-cā* ‘and both kinds of thinking’, *vacahi-cā* = Ved. *vācasī* ‘both kinds of speech’.

²⁹⁾ Gen. $-\bar{a} < *-\bar{a}s$ in OAv. *ahuuā* ‘of both kinds of existence’, *mañiiuuā*, *haxtiiā* (~ Ved. *sakthyōs*) ‘of (both) thighs’, YAv. *pasuuā* ‘of cattle’, *bāzuuā* ‘of (both) arms’, *aməṇtātā* ‘of both kinds of immortality’, *haṛruuāṭā* ‘of both kinds of completeness’, *cašmanā* ‘of both views’, *aṣaonā* ‘of both righteous ones’; loc. $-\bar{o} < *-\dot{a}u$ in OAv. *aṇhuuō* ‘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. $-i, -\emptyset$ (with or without lengthening of preceding vowel) $< *-h_2$ (collective),³³⁾

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

dat. abl. $-bhyas < *-b^hias^{35} < *-b^hios/*-b^hos/*-mos$ (see n. 21),

gen. $-\bar{a}m, -_aam, -n\bar{a}m, -n_aam < *-ā̃m, -aam, -nā̃m, -naam^{36} < *-om, *-oom$,

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

³⁰⁾ > Av. $-\bar{o}$, OPers. $-a$.

³¹⁾ $-ns$ in the sandhi-form, e.g. $-mśca$. 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: $-\bar{u}$ (OAv. *po^urū*, *vohū* = Ved. *purū* 'many', *vásū* 'good' HO[FFMANN–]FO[RSSMAN] 131, Ved. knows also the type *mádhu* and secondary *mádhuṇi* 'honey, mead', later also 'sweet'), $-\bar{i}$ (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-afšmān* 'benefits', *dāmān*, *dāmān* 'territories, creatures', *nāmān* 'names', *var^odāmān* 'aids', *hax^omān* 'followers', YAv. *dunmān* 'clouds', HoFo 144), $*-uānt$ (OAv. *mīždauuān* 'having reward', HoFo 150), $-\bar{ar}$ (OAv. *aiiār^o* 'days', *sax^oār^o* 'achievements', HoFo 153), $*-ān$ (YAv. *aiiqn* 'days', *ruθβān*, *ruθβān-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. *rōiθβān?* 'joining in', HoFo 150), $-iš$ (YAv. *x^oā.bar^oziš* 'being one's own cushion', *x^oā.stāriš* '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. *afšmānī* 'shortcomings', YAv. *cinmānī* 'desires' (HoFo 144); OAv. *var^ocā.hī-cā* 'abilities' (HoFo 155); added to forms with the full-grade suffix: YAv. *baēuuani* 'tens of thousands', OAv. *sāx^oēnī* '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 *madhū/mádhu/mádhuṇi* etc., *bhūrī/bhūrī/bhūrīni* etc., and *dirghasrūt*: *sānti* (participle of *as* 'be'), *mahānti* 'great', *ghṛtāvānti* 'equipped with butter-oil', *paśumānti* 'having cattle'; *akṣānti* 'eyes', *āhānti* 'days', etc. beside *āhā*, *śīrṣā* 'heads', *kārmāṇi/kārmā/kārma* 'deeds' etc., *dhānvāni/dhānva* 'steppes', *pārvāṇi/pārva* 'joints' (*pārvā* AV), *brhānti* 'high' (AV), etc.; with a secondary nasal *arcīmṣi* 'flames', *āyūmṣi* 'lives', *vācāmṣi* 'words' etc., and *nāvyāmṣi* 'newer'. Cf. p. 41f. [Cf. KUIPER Shortening (1955).]

³⁴⁾ Av. $-biš$, OPers. $-biš$.

³⁵⁾ Av. $-biiō$. Cf. n. 21.

³⁶⁾ The distribution $-\bar{a}m$, $-aam$ after consonants, and $-nā̃m$, $-naam$ 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. *amər²tā¹tī* ‘in immortality’, Ved. *uparātātī* ‘in superiority’, <with *-ā*> YAv. *uštātā¹tiia* ‘in desire’; the **-as-* stem, YAv. *manahi* = Ved. *mānasi* ‘in thinking’ OAv. *yāhī*, YAv. *yāhi* ‘in request’, OAv. *srauuahī* = Ved. *śrávasi* ‘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. *śārī*, YAv. *śāri* ‘in union’, Ved. *dhurī* ‘on a yoke-saddle’, *purī* ‘in a palisade’; the radical **-ć-* 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. *ˀxratāu* (*ˀ-ā*), *ˀpər²tāu* (*ˀ-ā*) ‘at a ford’, Ved. *krátau* ‘in mental power’, *sánitau* ‘in acquisition’, *sánau* ‘on a summit, back’, (radical) *mitá-drau* ‘in running solidly(?)’; — the *-i-* stem, PII **-ā < PIE *-ē(i)*, OAv. *gər²zdā* ‘in a step’, YAv. *gara*, Ved. *giráu* (*-ā* + *u* of secondary origin) ‘in a mountain’, *súcā*, *súcāu* ‘in purely bright ...’.

(2) Long grade in the stem: the radical *ˀm-* stem, OAv. *dqm*, <+ *-i*> *dqmi* ‘in a house’; the radical *ˀā-* stem <+ *-i*> OAv. *ā-dāi* (with disyllabic *āi*) ‘at the endowment(?)’ Y 33,11 < **ˀāH-i* (also possible: < **ˀaH-ai*, or **ˀaH-i* with analogic *ā*, so HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 124).

(3) Suffix in the full grade (mostly PIE **-e-*): the *-u-* stem³⁸⁾, OAv. *pər²tō* ‘at a ford’, YAv. *añhuuō* ‘in existence’, *dañhō*, *dañhuuō* (< **dahīau*) ‘in a land’, *vaštō* ‘in desire’, *šātō* ‘in peace’, *haētō* ‘on a bridge’, *həntō* ‘in gain’, OPers. *Margauv*, <with *-ā*> YAv. *añhauua* (< **añhau-ā*), *dañhauua*, OPers. *dahayauvā*, <+ *-i*> Ved. *dásyavi* ‘in the Dasyu, enemy’, *sánavi* ‘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’, *bar²θrišuua* ‘among mothers’, *pasuš.huua* (< **pasu-šu-ā*) ‘among cattle’, *ˀvar²šuua* ‘in citadels’, *dāmahuua* ‘among creatures’, *ˀruθβō.huua* ‘in entrails’, *raocōhuua* ‘in lights’, *ušahuua* ‘at dawns’, and OPers. *maškāuvā* ‘in skins’, *aniyāuvā* ‘among the others’, *dahayušuvā* ‘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-*, -*uan-* stem, <± -i> Ved. *rājān(i)*, (to the zero-grade stem: *rājñi* etc. ŚB+) ‘in, at a king’; OAv. *ānmānī* ‘on breath’, *cašmañī* ‘in sight’, Ved. (*ā*)*tmān(i)*, ‘in one’s self’, *ásman(i)* ‘on a rock’, (zero grade: *lómni* ‘in hair’ etc. AV+); *ádihvan(i)* ‘in a way’, <with -ā> YAv. *ⁱašauuaniia* ‘righteous’ (~ Ved. *ṛtāvani*); the -*ant-*, -*uant-* stem, <+ -i> YAv. *astuuāñti* ‘having bone’, <with -ā> YAv. *bərⁱzañtiia*, (in Ved., to the zero-grade stem *bṛhatī* ‘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. *usrí*, also *usrā́m* ‘at dawn’; *nánāndⁱri* ‘in a husband’s sister’); — the -*tar-* stem <+ -i> Ved. *pítari* ‘at a father’, *netári* ‘in a leader’, *kartārī sácā* ‘with a maker’, *hótari* ‘in a Hotar-priest’; — the -*r-/n-* stem, <± -i> Ved. *áhan(i)* ‘on a day’, *sūvār* ‘in sun’s light’, (zero grade: YAv. *asni* ‘on a day’); — the -*yas-* (-*yāms-*) stem <+ -i> Ved. *sáhīyasi* ‘stronger’; the -*au-*, -*ai-* stem, <+ -i> Ved. *gávi* ‘in a cow’, *dyávi* (zero grade: *diví*, very frequent) ‘in heaven’; — the “radical” -*p-* stem <+ -i> OPers. *api*, <with -ā> OPers. *apiyā* ‘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. *tanuui* = Ved. *tanūvi*, *tanūvī*; in Ved. secondarily with -*ām*: *śūvaśrūvām* ‘in a mother-in-law’, *tanūvām* (AV); — Ved. <+ -i>, the -*añc-* stem, *prāci* (m.) ‘eastward’; the -*ant-* stem, *á-sati* (*sati* AV+) ‘not being’; the -*vant-* stem, *árvasi* ‘in a race-horse’; the -*ma(m)s-* stem, *pumsí* ‘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’, *ásiknyām* ‘in the dark’, *araṇyānyām* ‘in, at Araṇyānī, genius of the wilderness’, *devyām* ‘in, at a goddess’); — zero-grade form <+ -i> in the radical -*h-* stem *anađūhi* (AV) ‘in a draught-ox’.

(5) From the stem in various grades: full grade <+ -i> YAv. *zəmi* ~ Ved. *kṣāmi* ‘on the earth’; zero grade + PIE *-*ai* (cf. Grk. *χαμαί*) YAv. *zⁱmē*, <unified with -ā> Ved. *jmay-ā*; probably + *-*en* (cf. p. 34), to the *-*o-* full-grade stem *kṣām-an*, *kṣām-an-i*, to the zero-grade *jm-án*; + -*er/-r* YAv. *ⁱzamarə*; 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-*, *-vāms-/vās-/ús-*, *-án-/n-/a-*, *-ván-/va-/un-*, *-mán-/mn-/ma-*, *-añc-/ac-/(-īc-)*, *-tár-/tr-/tṛ-*, *-ár-/r-/ṛ-*, 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 noun⁴⁰⁾ *diś-* 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-hāṇam* (YAv. *vər^oθrā-janəm*), instr. *vṛtra-ghn-ā* (YAv. *vər^oθrājana*), dat. *-ghn-é* (YAv. *vər^oθrayne*), gen. *-ghnás* (YAv. *vər^oθraynō*), pl. nom. *śatru-hānas* 'slaying enemies' (YAv. *vər^oθrā-janō*), instr. *vṛtra-há-bhis*: < **-g^{wh}én-s*, **-g^{wh}én-m*, **-g^{wh}n-éh₁*, **-g^{wh}n-éj*, **-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/*sñh₂*) 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*, *-sāām*, *-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 **-m*); gen. sg. *-san-as* stands for **-sñh₂-és*; *-sā-* might go back to an unattested pl.-form such as **-sābhis* < **-sñh₂-b^his*, or the nom. sg. **-sénh₂-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** *pád-/pad-* m. ‘foot’ is particularly archaic: sg. nom. *pát*, acc. *pád-am* (from this a new stem *páda-*; YAv. *pāḍam*), gen. *pad-ás*, loc. *pad-í*, du. nom. acc. *pád-ā* (YAv. *pāḍa*), pl. acc. *pad-ás* (YAv. *paḍō*): < **pód-s*, **pód-ṃ*, **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 *pád-/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-ā-* ‘river basin’, *dvīp-ā-* ‘island’, etc. In Av.: sg. nom. YAv. *āfš*, 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. *aβiūō*, gen. *apqm*. — 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*, *dyāus*, acc. *dyám*, *dyám* (secondary *div-am*), instr. *div-ā*, dat. *div-é*, abl. gen. *div-ás*, (secondary *dyó-s*), loc. *dyáv-i*, *div-i*; du. nom. acc. *dyáv-ā*^{41a)}; pl. nom. *dyáv-as*, acc. *dyín*, *div-as*. In Iran., only YAv. gen. sg. *diiaoš* 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 **gaṃ-s*), cf. AiG III 224. The PIE paradigm is: sg. nom. **diēu-s* (Grk. *Ζεύς*), **diēu-s*⁴²⁾, acc. **diēm* (Grk. *Ζῆν*, *Ζῆν-α*) < **diēu-m* (after STANG’s law), **diēm*⁴²⁾, dat. **diu-éj* (Grk. Corinthian *Διεί*, Cyprian *Διφεί-φίλος*, Mycenaean *di-we /diwei/*), abl. gen. **diu-és/ós* (Grk. *Διός*), loc. **diēu + -i* (Lat. *Ioue*), **diēu*⁴²⁾ (Lat. *diū*), (Grk. *Δί*, probably < **diu-i*, i.e., secondary after the forms with **diu-* just like Ved. *div-i*); pl. nom. **diēu-es* (with *é* after sg.?), acc. **diu-ns* or **diu-ṃs*.

⁴¹⁾ The alternation between *pūr* and *pur* in the stem *pūr-* f. ‘palisade, fortification’ is phonological in nature. The stem **plh₁-* had no ablaut, or abandoned it (cf. Grk. *πόλις* < **pólh₁-i-s?*, with dat. [loc.] Hom. *πόλῃ* < **pollh₁-ēj + -i*, KLINGENSCHMITT in lectures). It appears regularly as *pūr* before vowels and *pur* before consonants (i.e., PII **prH°* or **plH°* > **parH°* or **palH°*, and according to the constellation, **parH₁V°* or **parH₁CV°* > *pur°* or *pūr°*, respectively, preserving its syllabic quantity): sg. nom. *pūr*, acc. *pūr-am*, instr. *pur-ā*, pl. loc. *pūr-sú*, probably < **plh₁-s*, **plh₁-ṃ*, **plh₁-éh₁*, **plh₁-sú*. Cf. n. 147.

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

⁴²⁾ Disyllabic LINDEMAN variant.

gáv- f. ‘cow’ maintains its acrodynamic pattern: *gáu-s* (< **g^wóu-s*, OAv. YAv. *gāuš*), *gám* (< **g^wóm* < **g^wóu-m*, after STANG; OAv. YAv. *gām*, YAv. secondary also *gaom*), gen. *gós* (< **g^wáu-s*, OAv. YAv. *gəuš*, YAv. *gaoš*), loc. *gáv-i*, pl. nom. *gáv-as* (< **g^wóu-es*; YAv. *gauuō*⁴³), acc. *gás* (OAv. YAv. *gā*, after *gám*, *gām*).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* (< **nāu-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. *νήα*, Lat. *nāuem*), gen. *nāv-ás* (**náh₂-u-és*, cf. *νηός*), pl. nom. *náv-as* (**náh₂-u-es*, *νηες*), acc. *náv-as* (**náh₂-u-ms*, *νηας*), *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*, *duvār-ā*, *dvār-au*; pl. nom. *dvār-as* (5×), acc. *durás* 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. *duuar^o* (Vid 3,29) are attested; OPers. has a thematised loc. sg. *duvarayā* < **d^huyara-ī* + *ā*. They go back to PIE **d^huór*, **d^huér-m*, **d^hur-és*, **d^huér*, **d^huór-es*, **d^hur-m̐s*. 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. *z³mā*), abl. *kšm-ás*, *jm-ás*⁴⁶ (YAv. *z³mat*, *z³māt*, *z³māat-ca*, *z³māda*), gen. *jm-ás* (YAv. *z³mō*, *z³mas-ca*)^{46a}, loc. *kšám-i* (YAv. *zəmi*), *kšm-ay-ā*, *jm-ay-ā* (YAv. *z³mē*, < PIE **-ai*, cf. Grk. *χαμαί*), *kšām-an*, *kšām-an-i*, *jm-án*; du. *kšām-ā*; pl. nom. *kšām-as* (YAv. voc. *zə-mō*), acc. *kšās*, *kšāās* IV 28,5 (YAv. *zəmas-ca*), (gen. YAv. *zəmqm-ca*), loc. *kšā-su*.⁴⁷ — These start from a PIE *-em- stem: sg. nom. **d^hég^hōm* (Hitt. *tégan* < *te-e-kán*) → **g^hōm*^{47a} (*χθών*); acc. **d^hég^hōm* (from **d^hég^hōm-m* after STANG’s law; Hitt. just as in the nom.) → **g^hōm* (*kšā-m*; and from *-m̐: *kšāām*, *χθόνα*),

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

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

⁴⁵ In YAv. in *nauu-āza-* ‘sailor, navigator’ = Ved. *nāv-ājā-* (cf. n. 43) < **náh₂-u-h₂oǵo-*, cf. Lat. *nāuigāre*.

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

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

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

^{47a} **g^hōm* is used here as a symbol for the combination of **g^h* + *ōm* (allomorph of *p*).

and **ǵ^hóm⁴⁸⁾* (*zqm*); abl. gen. **d^hǵ^hm-és/ós* (cf. Hitt. *tagnas* <*ták-na-(a-)aš*>) > **ǵ^hóm-és/ós* (*kšmās*, cf. *χθovós*), and **ǵ^hm-és* (*jmās*, *z^omō*); instr. **d^hǵ^hm-éh₁* > **ǵ^hóm-éh₁* (→ *kšamā*), and **ǵ^hm-éh₁* (*jmā*, *z^omā*); — loc. **d^hǵ^hém(-i)* (cf. Hitt. *dagān* from **-óm⁴⁹⁾*) > **ǵ^hém-i* (*kšāmī*), and **ǵ^hém-i* (*zāmī*); PIE **-a-* case (cf. p. 149: 4.3.) in: **ǵ^hóm-a_i/*ǵ^hm-a_i* > *χαμαί* (from the LINDEMAN variant **ǵ^hēm-a_i*), *z^omē*, with + *ā* > *kšmayā*, *jm-ay-ā*, **ǵ^hóm-a_i* (reformed after **ǵ^hóm*) > Lat. *humī*, *homī*; with **-en*: **ǵ^hóm-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_i*; — Indo-Iran. pl. forms come from **ǵ^hóm-és*, **ǵ^hm-ńs⁵⁰⁾*. 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 *bhavⁱ/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 pr̥θβīm*, *pr̥θβε ... zāmō-*; *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_lth₂-u-ih₂* > *pr̥thivī* ‘wide’, gen. **p_lth₂-u-ieh₂-s* > **pr̥t^(h)ivyās* > *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’, *ákš-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 ^oā- are inflected as follows: **sg.** nom. m. *sthā-s* ‘standing’ (used also as n.), *rathe-ṣthā-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^hóm* would have become **z* in Av.).

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

⁵⁰⁾ **ǵ^hóm-ńs* has become **ǵ^hēm-ńs* (YAv. *zamas-ca*) as a LINDEMAN variant, or simplified **ǵ^hēm-ńs* (*kšās*, *kšāś*).

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-khyāi* ‘to see’, *upa-yāi* ‘to travel near’, etc. < **ieh₂-éj*(?), (YAv. *raθaē-štāi*⁵⁵); gen. m. *kṛṣṭi-prās* ‘filling boundaries’, (YAv. *raθaē-štā* instead of *-ō*); in OAv. loc. *ā-dāi* (cf. p. 14: (2)); **du.** m. *kṛṣṭi-prā*, *go-pā*, *go-pāu* ‘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. *daēnaiiā*, YAv. *daēnaiiā*⁵⁶ ‘by religious vision’; OPers. *framānāyā* ‘command’ is a mixed formation) < PII **-āiā*, 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* < **taijā-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. *vay^hhī 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-dhé* 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-daā* < **°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 *raθōišṭi* (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 °*iiā*: *xšaθrō.kāmaia* Y 9,24 (°*kāmaia*?).

daēnā, YAv. *daēna*) < PII *-ā < *-ah₂-eh₁; — dat. -āyāi:⁵⁷⁾ *manāyāi* ‘for devotion’ etc. < PII *-āiāi, probably *-ā- + *-iāi of the *devī-* inflexion, (YAv.⁵⁸⁾ *daēnaiiāi*⁵⁹⁾); — abl.⁶⁰⁾ gen. -āyās: *sēnāyās* ‘army’ etc. < PII *-āiās, probably *-ā- + *-iās of the *devī-* inflexion, (OAv. YAv. *daēnaiiā* [YAv. form, cf. n.58], YAv. *haēnaiiā*, YAv. *haēnaiiās-ca*, OPers. *haināyā* ‘army’); — loc. -āyām: *grīvāyām* ‘on the neck’ etc. < *-ā- + *-iām of the *devī-* inflexion; PIE *-ā: YAv. *grīuuiā* (cf. n. 58), OPers. *Aθurāyā*; — voc. (1) -e: *jāye* ‘wife’ etc. < PII *-ai of unknown origin, (OAv. *bər²xδē* ‘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. *pər²ne* ‘full’.

Other forms are regularly built: nom. -ā, -ā; acc. -ām, -ām; — **du.** nom. acc. voc. -e (cf. n. 27); abl. -ābhyām; gen. loc. -āyos, -ayos < PII loc. *-aH-Ha_u × gen. *-aH-Hās, PII gen. *-aiās in YAv. *uruuaraiiā* ‘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. -ābhis, -ābhis; dat. abl. -ābhyas, -ābhyas; gen. -ānām, -ānām, also with ^o*nām* (cf. n. 22); loc. -āsu, -āsu.⁶¹⁾

1.2.3. The **-ī-** stem inflexion has two main types. [1] The *vrkī-* (‘she-wolf’) type, comprising root nouns, e.g. *dhī-* ‘thought, reflexion’, and derivative feminines from m. -a- stems⁶²⁾, as well as some m., e.g. *rathī-* ‘charioteer’, has no ablaut in the stem.⁶³⁾ **sg.** nom. *dhī-s*, acc. *dhīy-am*, *rathīy-ām*, instr. *dhīy-ā*, *rathīy-ā*, dat. *dhīy-é*, *rathīy-ā*, gen. *dhīy-ās*, *ahīy-ās* ‘mother-cow’, loc. *gaurī*, *sarasī*, *nadī* (cf. 1.1.3. (4): p. 15), voc. *nadi* ‘river’, *yami* ‘Yamī’; — **du.** nom. acc. *abhi-śrīy-ā*, -*au*

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

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

⁵⁹⁾ Also ^o*iiāi* in *gaēθiiāi* ‘for the living being’ Y 9,3 (**gaēθaiiāi*?), 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. *napṭī-* ‘granddaughter’ (beside AV+ *napṭrī-*, *napṭi-*) 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. *ər²ž²-jī-s* ‘living honestly’, YAv. *zar²naēnīs* ‘golden’, acc. OAv. *raθīm* ‘charioteer’ (with disyllabic -īm, i.e. a YAv. form < **raθijām*), YAv. *yauuaē-jim* ‘living eternally’ (< **jijām*), dat. OAv. *ər²ž²-jiiōi* (< **jijāi*), gen. *Srūtā.f²driiō* (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. *tištriiaēniō*, ^o*aēnias-ca* ‘Sirius-stars’, dat. YAv. *yauuaē-jiiō*. The endings, e.g. in the gen. sg. -ās, may point to a hysterodyn. origin.

‘completing ones’ (AV), *rath_{iy}-ā*; — **pl.** nom. acc. *dhīy-as*, *ah_{iy}-ās*, instr. *dhī-bhis*, *nadī-bhis*, dat. *ṛta-ni-bhyas* ‘the ones who lead Ṛta’ (with short *-i-*), *aparī-bhyas* ‘for the future’, gen. *dhī-nām*, *rathī-nām*, loc. *dhī-śu*, *nadī-śu*.

[2] The *devī-* (‘goddess’) type, which includes, except some m. proper names (*Tiraścī-*, *Nāmī-*, *Mātālī-*, *Pṛthī-*, *Sóbhaltī-*), mostly primary *-ī-* feminines and feminine forms of athematic stems (exceptions from the thematic stem, e.g., *aruṣ-ī-* :: *aruṣ-ā-* ‘ruddy’, *mānuṣ-ī-* from the *vrddhi*-stem *mānuṣ-a-* ‘human’; and *devī-* ‘goddess’, YAv. *daēuuī-* ‘she-demon’, which is seemingly a derivative f. of *devá-* ‘heavenly; god’ < **dāi_yuá-* < PIE *vrddhi*-formation **dēi_yu-ó-*⁶⁴), cf. 1.4.1.[2]: p.51f.), goes back, in principle, to a proterodyn. inflexion, but shows always a strong form (with or without accentuation) in the first (root) part:⁶⁵ **sg.** nom. *devī*, *jānitṛī* ‘mother’, *maghónī* ‘woman having ability’, voc. *devi*, acc. *devī-m*, *táviṣī-m* ‘strong’, instr. *dev_{iy}-ā*, *pátn_{iy}-ā* ‘by a mistress’, *pṛthivy-ā* ‘earth’, *śámī/śámī/śám_{iy}-ā*⁶⁶ ‘work, exertion’, dat. *devyái* (< **dēi_yu-īéh₂-eī*), *īyatyai* ‘so much’⁶⁷), abl. *Urváśyās*, *mahyās* ‘from a great ...’, gen. *dev_{iy}ās* (< **dēi_yu-īéh₂-s*), *rátryās/rátr_{iy}ās* ‘of the night’, loc. *dev_{iy}-ām* (< **-iy-ā + am?*), *rátry-ām*, *ásikn_{iy}-ām* ‘in a dark ...’; — **du.** nom. acc. *devī*, *ródasī* ‘heaven and earth’, dat. *ródasī-bhyām*, abl. *akṣī-bhyām* ‘from (the two) eyes’, gen. loc. *ródasīyos*; — **pl.** nom. *devī-s* (instead of **dāi_yu-ī-_{as}*), *pátnī-s*, acc. *devī-s* (instead of **dāi_yu-ī-_{as}* or the like), *pátnī-s*, instr. *śácī-bhis* ‘with abilities’, *yahvī-bhis* ‘young, fresh’, dat. *óṣadhī-bhyas*, *vṛṣanyántī-bhyas* ‘for females desiring a bull’, (*nārī-bhyas* ‘women’), gen. *bahvī-nām* ‘of many’, *óṣadhī-nām*, loc. *yahvī-śu*, *óṣadhī-śu*, (*nārī-śu*).

These two types influenced each other and joined into the Classical feminine *-ī-* stems, namely, (1) monosyllabic and (2) polysyllabic inflexion: (1) **sg.** *dhī-s*,

⁶⁴ From this exceptional position, also, the confirmation of DARMS 379f. is convincing, cf. MAYRHOFER EWAia s.v. “Nicht einfache Motionsbildung zu *devá-*, sondern wohl **dēi_yu_{h2}/dēi_yéh₂-s* < **dēi_yu-*, vgl. gr. *ḗōa* f. ‘Göttin’ (RV *devīm uṣásam* u.a. = hom. *Ῥόα δῖαν*, *Ῥὸς ... δῖα*); die beiden voneinander unabhängigen Ableitungen von **dēi_yu-*, **dēi_yuó-* m. (*devá-*) und **dēi_yu_{h2} → *dēi_yu_{h2} f. (*devī-*) ...”.*

⁶⁵ In Av: e.g., sg. nom. OAv. *nāṛī*, YAv. *nāṛi* (Ved. *nāṛī*) ‘woman’, acc. OAv. YAv. *vaṇhīm* (Ved. *vásvīm*) ‘good’, dat. OAv. *vaṇhuiiāi*, YAv. *haṭhiāi* (Ved. *satyai* ‘for true, real ...’), gen. OAv. *aziiā* ‘of a mother-cow’, YAv. *nāṛiiā* (Ved. *nāryās*), abl. YAv. *druuō.ṭhiāt* ‘from a deceitful ...’ (cf. n. 26); du. nom. acc. OAv. *azī*, YAv. *hamōistri* ‘oppressor’; pl. nom. OAv. YAv. *vaṇhīs* (Ved. *vásvīs*), acc. OAv. *azīś-cā*, OAv. *vaṇhīs-cā*, YAv. *vaṇhīs* (Ved. *vásvīs**), gen. OAv. *nāṛinām-cā*, YAv. *nāṛinām*.

⁶⁶ *śámī-* has in the RV, furthermore, the sg. acc. *śámī-m*, gen. *śamyās*, and pl. instr. *śámī-bhis*. — The prevailing *-iyā* in the instr. suggests **d(e)ī_yu-ih₂-éh₁* (with preserved consonant *u*, and **ih₂ > iḡ*), thus an amphidynamic pattern, cf., however, n. 24.

⁶⁷ On *ai* for the gen., abl. in the language of the theologists cf. n. 25.

dhiy-am, *dhiy-ā*, *dhiy-e/dhy-ai*, abl. gen. *dhiy-as/dhī-yā-s*, loc. *dhiy-ām/dhiy-ī*; **du.** nom. acc. *dhiy-au*; **pl.** nom. acc. *dhiy-as*, gen. *dhī-nām/dhiy-ām*, loc. *dhī-ṣu*; — (2) **sg.** *devī*, *devī-m*, *dev-yā*, *dev-yai*, *dev-yās*, *dev-yām*; **du.** nom. voc. acc. *devy-au*, *devī-bhyām*, *devy-os*; **pl.** nom. *devy-as*, acc. *devī-s*, *devī-bhis*, *devī-bhyas*, *devī-nām*, *devī-ṣu*.

The stem *strī-* ‘woman’ is inflected mainly in the *devī-* type: **sg.** nom. *strī* ‘woman’, dat. *strī-yāi* (AV), gen. *strī-yās*, loc. *strī-yām* (AV), but **sg.** acc. *strīy-am* and **pl.** nom. acc. *strīy-as* analogically in the *vr̥kī-* inflexion already in the RV; also the accentuation in instr. *strī-bhis*, loc. *strī-ṣu* (AV+), gen. *strī-ṇām* (AV+) are the forms found in the *vr̥kī-* type, maybe also *strī-bhyās* (YSP). The same is valid for Cl.Skt., but there occur also acc. sg. *strī-m* beside *strīy-am*, acc. pl. *strī-s* beside *strīy-as*.⁶⁸⁾

1.2.4. The *-ū-* stem inflexion is rather homogeneous, and shows no ablaut in its stem parts. The stems comprise root nouns, elemental words or the like (*bhū-* f. ‘world’, *sū-* m. f. ‘mother’, *jū-* m. ‘race-horse’; *bhrū-* f. ‘brow’, etc.), *-ū-* feminines like *tanū-* f. ‘body’ (OAv. YAv. OPers. *tanū-* f.), *juhū-* f. ‘tongue, ritual spoon’⁶⁹⁾, and f. forms of the *-u-* stem like *agrū-* ‘maid’ (YAv. *agrū-*) :: m. *á-gru-* ‘unmarried’, *babhrū-* ‘brown’ :: *babhrū-*, which can be interpreted as derivations in PII **-ū-* < **-ú-h₂-*, presumably through analogy after *-ā-* (< **-eh₂-*) :: *-a-* (< **-o-*), perhaps also under the influence of *-ī-* (< **-ih₂-*):⁷⁰⁾ **sg.** nom. *bhū-s*, *tanū-s*,

⁶⁸⁾ Cf. EICHNER “Zur Etymologie und Flexion von vedisch *strī* und *pūmān*”, Sprache 20 (1974) 26–42.

⁶⁹⁾ The OAv. YAv. *-ū-* stem *hizū-* ‘tongue’ is a masculine, and has forms like sg. instr. OAv. *hizuuā* (**hizuuā* or **hizūā*), YAv. *hizuuā*, gen. OAv. *hizuuō*, *hizuuas-cā* (**hizuu-ah*), YAv. *hizuuō*, *hizuuas-ca*, pl. instr. OAv. *hizubīš*. Beside it, the acc. sg. *hizuuqm* (**sij^huām*) occurs several times in YAv., with which one can compare Ved. *jihvā-m* (**jij^huā-m*) of the f. *-ā-* stem *jihvā-* ‘tongue’. Ved. *juhū-* f. with the meaning ‘tongue’ and ‘ritual spoon’ is surely related to the Av. forms. In OPers., the acc. sg. *hazzānam* is attested, i.e. for **hazzānam* < **hizūān-am*, concerning *-an-* cf. 1.2.8.: p. 34. They go back in the last analysis to the group of PIE m. **-eh₂-* stem **d̥ǵʰuáh₂-/d̥ǵʰuh₂-és* ‘tongue’, cf. OLat. *lingua* (Lat. *lingua*), Germ. *Zunge*, Engl. *tongue*, etc., through various remodelling processes. [GIPPERT (private communication) interprets Proto-Iran. **sij^hū-* as dissimilated from **jij^hū-*]

⁷⁰⁾ In OIran.: e.g., sg. nom. OAv. f. *fs³ratus* ‘invigoration of pleasure’, YAv. f. *tanuš* ‘body’, OPers. *tanūš* (Ved. *tanūš*), acc. YAv. m. *yauuaē-sum* (< **³uəm*) ‘thriving forever’, OAv. *tanuuōm* (Ved. *tanūvām*), also OAv. YAv. OPers. *tanūm*, instr. YAv. *tanuuā* (Ved. *tanūvā*), dat. OAv. *tanuiiē*, YAv. *tanuiie*, *tanuuāē-ca* (Ved. *tanūvā*), abl. YAv. *tanuuat* (cf. n. 26), gen. OAv. YAv. *tanuuō*, YAv. *tanuuas-cī* (Ved. *tanūvās*), loc. YAv. *tanuui* (Ved. *tanūvi*); pl. nom. OAv. YAv. *pəšō.tanuuō* ‘with lost body’ (Ved. *tanūvās*), YAv. *ayruuō* (Ved.

acc.⁷¹⁾ *maṇyo-bhūv-am* ‘refreshing’, *a-sūv-ām* ‘barren’, *tanūv-ām*, instr. *bhuv-ā̃*, *sūv-ā̃bhūv-ā̃*, *vi-bhūv-ā̃*, *tanūv-ā̃*, dat.⁷²⁾ *abhi-bhūv-e*, *vi-bhūv-ā̃*, *tanūv-ā̃*, abl. *bhuv-ās*, *a-sū-sūvās* (AV X 10,23), *kadrūv-as*, *tanūv-ās*, gen.⁷³⁾ *śam-bhūv-as*, *bhuv-ās*, *tanūv-ās*, loc. *bhuv-ī* (VS), *tanūv-ī* (3× in the RV), *tanūv-ī̃* (4×), *camūv-ī* (1×), *tanū̃* (1×), *camū̃* (6×), *śūvaśrūv-ām*, *tanūv-ām* (AV), voc. *bābhru*, *vādhu*; **du.** nom. acc. *-bhūv-ā̃*, *srūv-ā̃* ‘?’, *tanūv-ā̃*, instr. *bhrū-bhyām* (VS), loc. *bhruv-ós*, *camūv-os*; **pl.** nom. *bhūv-as*, *juhūv-ās*, *tanūv-ās*, *agrūv-as*, acc. *bhūv-as*, *prasūv-ās*, *tanūv-ās*, *agrūv-as*, instr. *juhū-bhis*, *tanū-bhis*, dat. *tanū-bhyas*, gen. *jóguv-ām* ‘of the ones who are jubilating’, *yātu-jū-nām* ‘of the ones urged by sorcery’, *tanū-nām*, loc. *ā-bhū-ṣu* ‘appearing, existing’, *tanū-ṣu*.

1.2.5. In the *-i-* and *-u-* stem inflexions, there are many forms in which a full grade in the suffix has been generalised, which means that a proterodynamic inflexion lies at the base. Also a long grade of the suffix in the loc. sg. is characteristic in these stems, cf. p.14f.: **1.1.3.**(1), and (3). The productive *-ti-* stems (almost all f.) and *-tu-* stems (almost all m.) follow this scheme.

1.2.5.1. The standard *-i-* stem⁷⁴⁾ inflexions are:⁷⁵⁾ **sg. nom. m.** *agn-ī-s* ‘fire’, *yay-ī-s* ‘traveling, speeding’, f. *ōśadh-ī-s* ‘plant’, *bhū-mi-s* ‘earth’, *yuva-ti-s* ‘young woman’, **n.** (cf. p.41f.) *māh-i* ‘great’, *bhūr-i* ‘many, rich (cf. p.50)’; **acc.**

agrīvas), acc. YAv. *tanuuō*, *tanuuas-ca* (Ved. *tanūvās*), instr. OAv. *hizubīš*, dat. YAv. *tanubīō* (Ved. *tanūbhyas*), gen. YAv. *tanunqm* (Ved. *tanūnām*), loc. YAv. *tanūṣu* (Ved. *tanūṣu*).

⁷¹⁾ AV+ also *kuhū-m* ‘new moon’ etc. like *devī-m*.

⁷²⁾ AV+ also *tanūv-ā̃i*, *vadhv-ā̃i*, *vadhv-ā̃i* ‘bride, young wife’ etc. like *devyāi*.

⁷³⁾ AV+ also *punar-bhūv-ās*, *tanv-ās*, *śvaśrūv-ās* ‘mother-in-law’, etc. like *devyās*.

⁷⁴⁾ On the *-ti-* stems, cf. Gösta LIEBERT *Das Nominalsuffix -ti- im Altindischen*, Lund 1949.

⁷⁵⁾ OIran. correspondences in the *-i-* stem inflexion: **sg. nom. m.** *-i-š*, acc. Av. **-i-m* in OAv. f. *ašīm*, YAv. *daršīm* ‘daring’, etc., OPers. *-i-m*, nom. acc. n. Av. *-i* in OAv. *būri-cā*, YAv. *būri* ‘many’, instr. Av. **-ī* (cf. n.24) in OAv. *ašī* ‘by reward’, YAv. *ārma’ti-ca* f. ‘ready-mindedness, devotedness’ etc., dat. Av. **-ai-ai* in OAv. *axtōiōi* m. ‘pain’, YAv. *anumatāe* f. ‘following in mind’, etc., abl. YAv. *garōi* m. ‘mountain’, *āxštaēda* f. ‘peace’ (cf. n.26), gen. Av. **-ai-š* in OAv. YAv. *ārma’tōiš*, OPers. *-aiš*, loc. Av. **-ā* in OAv. *gər²zdā* ‘step’, YAv. *gara* (cf. **1.1.3.**); — **du.** nom. acc. Av. **-ī* in OAv. *x’īti-cā* *ēnə’tī* f. ‘good-going and not-going’, YAv. *aēθra-pa’tī* m. ‘both chiefs of school’, n. **-ī* in YAv. *aši* ‘(both) eyes’, *uši* = OPers. *ušīy* ‘(both) ears’, instr. **-i-bīā*: OAv. *ašibīā*, YAv. *ušibīa* (OPers. *ušībiyā* : *-ī-* stem), gen. OAv. *haxtīā* ~ Ved. *sakthiyōs* n. ‘(both) thighs’; — **pl.** nom. Av. **-ai-ah* in *-aiiō*, acc. Av. **-i-Nš* (*N*: post-uvular nasal) in OAv. *ašīš*, YAv. f. *ja’niš* ‘wives’, n. Av. **-ī* in YAv. *zaraθuštri* ‘Zoroastrians’, dat. **-i-bīah* in YAv. *ga’ribīō*, gen. **-ī-nām* in YAv. *ga’ri-nqm*, *ja’ninqm* ‘wives’, **-ī-ām* in YAv. *kaoiqm* (< **kauiām*) m. ‘seers, sovereigns’, *hašqm* (< **sak’hīām*) m. ‘followers, attendants, colleagues’, loc. not attested.

m. *agn-i-m*, f. *óṣadh-i-m*, *ma-tí-m* ‘mind, opinion’; **instr.** m. (1) with *-ā*: *pát-(i)y-ā* ‘husband’ (cf. p.29), *ūr-m(i)y-ā* ‘wave’, (2) with *-nā*: *áh-i-nā* ‘serpent’, *agn-i-nā*, *ūr-mí-nā*; f. (1) with *-ā*: *ma-ty-ā*, *ū-ty-ā* ‘help’, *aśán-y-ā* ‘thunderbolt’, *bhūt-my-ā* ‘earth’, (2) with *-ī* (cf. n.24, n.75), mostly from *-ti-* stems: *a-vyath-ī* ‘not-unsteady’, *ū-tī*, *cít-tī* ‘consciousness’, (3) with *-i* in compounds: *suv-ṛk-tí* ‘good praising’, *úpa-sru-ti* ‘hearing’, (4) with *-nā*: *nābh-i-nā* ‘navel’; **dat.** m. *agn-áy-e*, *ṛṣ-ay-e* ‘for a Ṛṣi’, f. *ū-táy-e*, *tuj-áy-e* ‘propagation, reproduction’; **abl.** m. *uda-dh-é-s* ‘water receptacle’, *áh-e-s*, *gir-é-s* ‘mountain’, f. *dhūr-té-s* ‘injury’, *Á-di-te-s*; **gen.** m. *agn-é-s*, *bhūr-e-s*, f. *vṛṣ-ṭé-s* ‘rain’, *Á-di-te-s*, n. *bhūr-e-s*; **loc.** *agn-ā*, *yón-ā* ‘abiding place, womb’, *agn-áu*, *yón-au*, f. *aván-ā* ‘river-bed’, *pī-tā* ‘drinking’, *sā-táu* ‘gaining’, n. *a-prat-ā* ‘irresistible’, *saptá-raśm-au* ‘seven-stringed’ (AV); **voc.** m. *ágn-e*, f. *iṣ-ṭe* ‘impetus’; — **du. nom. acc.** m. *upa-dh-ī* ‘wooden segments on the wheel’s hub’, *hár-ī* ‘fallows; dun horses’, f. *ū-tī*, *jām-ī* ‘blood-related’, n. (cf. p.41f.) *śúc-ī* ‘purely bright’, *máh-i*, (*ákṣ-i-nī*, *hár-i-nī*? AV+); **instr.** m. *hár-i-bhyām*, f. *varta-ni-bhyām* ‘both tracks’, n. *sákth-i-bhyām* ‘(both) thighs’, **dat. abl.** m. *hár-i-bhyām*, f. abl. *śróṇ-i-bhyām* ‘(both) buttocks’; **gen. loc.** m. *hár-y-os*, f. *yuva-ty-ós*, f. *jā-mī-y-ós*; — **pl. nom.** m. *ni-dh-áy-as* ‘receptacles, stocks’, *agn-áy-as*, *śúc-ay-as*, f. *óṣadh-ay-as*, *ū-táy-as*; **acc.**⁷⁶⁾ m. *ni-dh-ín*, *agn-ín*, *áh-ín*, f. *bhūt-mīs*, *kṛṣ-ṭīs* ‘furrows, boundaries, lands, tribes’; n. nom.-acc. (cf. p.41f.) *śúc-ī*, *jā-mí*, *bhūr-i*, secondary *bhūr-ī-ni*, *śúc-ī-ni*; **instr.** m. *ni-dh-i-bhis*, *hár-i-bhis*, *raś-mi-bhis* ‘reins, sunbeams’, f. *ū-ti-bhis*; **dat.** m. *ṛṣ-i-bhyas*, *raś-i-bhyas*, *san-i-bhyas* ‘gaining’, f. *kṣi-ti-bhyas* ‘settlements’, **abl.** m. *agn-i-bhyas*, *Átr-i-bhyas*, f. *kṣi-ti-bhyas*, *ján-i-bhyas* ‘women, wives’; **gen.** m. *ni-dh-ī-nām*, *agn-ī-nām*, *ṛṣ-ī-nām*, f. *kṣi-ti-nām*, *ján-ī-nām*; **loc.** m. *ni-dh-ī-ṣu*, *agn-ī-ṣu*, *ṛṣ-ī-ṣu*, f. *jām-ī-ṣu*, *ū-ti-ṣu*, n. *bhūr-ī-ṣu*.

Feminine *-i-* stems show sometimes also forms of the *-ī-* stems in the *devī-* inflexion (1.2.3. [2]:p.22f.)⁷⁷⁾: sg. dat. *turyái* X 106,4 ‘pressing forward’ (?), *puṣ-tyái* ‘thriving’ (beside gen. *puṣṭés*), *śrútyai* ‘hearing’ etc.⁷⁸⁾ (7 forms in the RV), abl. *nābhyaś* ‘navel’ (loc. *nābhyau*), *bhūmyāś* ‘earth’, *hetyāś* ‘missile’, gen.

⁷⁶⁾ From PII **-i-ns*, cf. Proto-Av. **-iNš* (n.75). In the m., it appears as *-ī-n*, just like **-u-ns* > *-ūn*, probably after *-ā-n* in the *-a-* stems (< **-āns* instead of **-ans*, cf. 1.1.1.; sandhi-form *-īm* before vowels, y, r, v, and h, also *-īm* before p); in the f. *-ī-s*, just like *-ūs*, after *-ā-s* in the *-ā-* stems. Cf. also n. 91: *‘fīn*, (*‘fīs*).

⁷⁷⁾ In the reverse direction *nāri-bhyas*, *nāri-ṣu* from *nārī-* in the *devī-* inflexion, cf. below, on *óṣadhi-*. — CALAND—RAGHU VIRA ŚBK, introd. 37f. point out the contrast in the dat. sg. f. *-taye* ŚBK :: *-tyai* ŚBM: *āvaruddhaye* ~ *āvaruddhyai*, *gūptaye* ~ *gūptyai*, *āgataye* ~ *āgatyai*, and in the gen. *ānumatyāḥ* ~ *ānumateḥ*.

⁷⁸⁾ In the language of the theologists the dat.-form *ai* is used for gen. and abl. Cf. n. 25.

bhūmyās (no **bhūmes*), *yuvatyās* ‘young woman’ (no **yuvatés*) etc. (6 forms in 17 occurrences), loc. *bhūmyām* (no **bhūmā/au*), *yuvatyām* etc. (5 forms); pl. nom. acc. *bhūmīs* (beside nom. *bhūmayas*), *ūtīs* (beside nom. *ūtāyas*) etc. (about 10 forms). This phenomenon increases in the AV and the younger language.

śadhi- ‘plant, grass, herb’ forms partly a suppletive paradigm with *śadhī-*: in the sg. *śadhi-s*, -*m*, voc. -*dhe*, RV–Cl. Skt. (*śadhī-m* only in one phrase in the AV); in the pl. nom. *śadhayas* and *śadhīs*, in other cases only -*ī-* forms: acc. -*īs*, -*ibhis*, -*ibhiyas*, -*īn(ā)ām*, -*īṣu* in the RV and AV, but -*ibhis*, -*ibhyas*, -*iṣu* in Vedic prose; Cl. Skt. exhibits only the -*i-* inflexion, but Ep. Skt. shows also sg. nom. -*dhī*, acc. -*dhīm*, pl. nom. -*dhyaḥ*; cf. AiG III 186.

Some forms follow the *vr̥k̐t̐-* inflexion (1.2.3. [1]: p. 21f.): pl. nom. *yayīy-as* (*yayī-* ‘traveling, speeding’), and in the AV *śubhrīy-as* ‘beautiful’ (? cf. AiG II-2 373, III 135), *karkarīy-ās* ‘a kind of lute’, du. nom. in the YS^p *śrōṇyau* ‘(both) buttocks, both parts of the hip’, *pañktyāu* ‘two sets of five’.

1.2.5.2. The standard inflexions of the *-u-* stem are as follows; on *dyāv-/dyu-/div-* m. (f.) ‘heaven’, *nāv-* f. ‘ship’, cf. 1.2.1.: p. 17f.:⁷⁹⁾ **sg. nom. m.** *vi-bh-ū-s*

⁷⁹⁾ The OIran. *-u-* stem inflexions show more traces of ablaut variation: **sg. nom. -u-š**; **acc.** (1) **-u-m* in OAv. YAv. *ahūm* m. ‘existence’, OAv. *xratum*, OPers. *xratum/xraθum* m. ‘mental power’, YAv. *pasūm* m. ‘cattle’, etc., (2) **-aṃ-am* (probably < **-ēṃ-ṃ*) in YAv. *dañhaom* f. ‘land’, **-āṃ-am* (probably < **-oṃ-ṃ*) in YAv. *nasāum* m./f. ‘corpse’, *arⁿnāum* m. ‘battle’, OPers. *dahayāvam*, *dahayāum* f. ‘land’, **n. Av.** **-u* in OAv. *vohū*, YAv. *vohu* ‘good’, OPers. *paruv*, YAv. *po^uru* (= Ved. *purī*) ‘many’; **instr.** (cf. n. 24) (1) **-u-ā* in OAv. *xraθβā* = Ved. *krátvā*, YAv. *po^uruua*, (2) **-ū* in OAv. *xratū*, *vohū*, *mañiiiū* m. ‘mind, spirit’; **dat.** (1) **-aṃ-aṃ* in OAv. *vañhauuē*, *vañhauuē* = Ved. *vásave*, YAv. *dañhauue* (= Ved. *dásyave*), (2) **-u-aṃ* in OAv. *añhuiiē*, YAv. *añ^hhe*, *xraθβe* = Ved. *krátve*; **abl.** Av. **-aṃ-š*, OPers. -*aṃš* in OAv. *xratēuš*, OPers. *Bābirauš*, YAv. *añhaoṣ*, *xrataoṣ*, OPers. *Bābirauv* (cf. n. 26); **gen.** (1) **-aṃ-š* in OAv. YAv. *añhēuš*, *xratēuš*, *pasēuš*, *vañhēuš* (= Ved. *vásos*), OPers. *Kurauš*, (2) **-u-ah* in YAv. *xraθβō* (= Ved. *krátvas*), *pasuuō*, *raθβō* m. ‘Supervisor’; **loc.** (1) **-āṃ* in OAv. YAv. *vañhāu* (= Ved. *vásau*), (2) **-aṃ* in OAv. *pər³tō* m. ‘ford’, YAv. *añhuuō*, *dañhō*, *dañhuuō*, OPers. *Margauv*, with -*ā* in YAv. *añhuua*, *dañhauua*, OPers. *dahayauvā*; **voc.** YAv. *mañiiiō*, *ər²zuuō* ‘straight’; — **du. nom. acc. m. f.** (1) **-ū* in OAv. *mañiiiū*, YAv. *vohū* (= Ved. *vásū*), *dañiiu*, *dañhu*, (2) **-aṃ-ā* in YAv. m. *bāzauua* ‘arms’ (= Ved. *bāhāvā*), *zauua* f. ‘jaws’; **n. -u-ī in YAv. *vañ^hhi*; **instr. -u-bīā** in YAv. *bāzubiiā*, *bāzuṣe*; **dat. -u-bīā** in OAv. *ahubiiā*, YAv. *pasubīia*, *bāzuṣe*; **gen. -uṃ-āḥ** in OAv. *ahuuā*, YAv. *pasuā*; **loc. -uṃ-aṃ** in OAv. *añhuuō*; — **pl. nom. m. f.** (1) **-aṃ-ah* in OAv. *xratuuō* (= Ved. *krátavas*), *vañhauuas-ca*, (2) **-aṃ-ah* in YAv. *dañhāuuō*, OPers. *dahayāva*, (3) **-u-ah* in YAv. *pasuuas-ca*; **acc. m. f.** (1) Av. **-u-Nš* in OAv. *xratūš*, YAv. *dañhuš*, OAv. *pər³tūš*, YAv. *bazūš*, (2) **-u-ah* in YAv. *pasuuō*, *pər³θβō*, (3) **-āṃ-ah* in YAv. *dañhāuuō*, OPers. *dahayāva*; **n. Av.** **-ū* in OAv. *po^urū*, *vohū* (= Ved. *vásū*); **instr. -u-bīš** in YAv. *yātuš* < **iātuṣiš* (= Ved. *yātubhiṣ**) m. ‘sorcerer’, *auuañhūš* <**

‘prominent’, *ke-tú-s* ‘appearance, brightness, banner’, *vás-u-s* ‘good’, f. *dhe-nú-s* ‘milch cow’, *gā-tú-s* ‘course’, *is-u-s* ‘arrow’, **acc.** m. *vi-bh-ú-m*, *ke-tú-m*, *śát-ru-m* ‘enemy’, f. *dhe-nú-m*, *śár-u-m* ‘arrow, spear’; nom.-acc. **n.**⁸⁰ *vás-u*, *ur-ú* ‘broad’; **instr.** (cf. n.24) m. (1) with *-ā*: *paraśv-ā* ‘with hatchet’, *paśv-ā* ‘cattle’ (in the RV [thus to be understood also in the following] 2×), *krátu(v)-ā* ‘mental power’ (59×), (2) with *-nā*: *aktú-nā* ‘colouring’, *ṛtú-nā* ‘fixed time, season’, *paśú-nā* (1×), *krātu-nā* (12×), *mayo-bhú-nā* ‘refreshment’; f. with *-ā*: *panv-ā* ‘praise’, *śárv-ā*, *hánv-ā* ‘jaw’; n. (1) with *-ā*: only *mádhv-ā* ‘honey, mead’, (2) with *-nā*: *mádhv-nā*, *urú-nā*, *ṛṣú-nā* ‘thirst’; **dat.** m. (1) *krá-tv-e*, *śís-v-e* ‘for a child’, (2) *ádhrī-g-av-e*, *mán-av-e* ‘Manu’, *sū-náv-e* ‘son’, *paś-áv-e*, *āy-áv-e* ‘living’, f. *jīvátav-e* ‘life’, *dhe-náv-e*, n.⁸¹ (1) *pás-v-e*, (2) *ur-áv-e*, *viśvāyav-e* ‘all life long’; **abl.** m. (1) only *pī-tv-ás* ‘from nourishment’, (2) *amh-ó-s* ‘distress’, *gán-to-s*, *ṛ-tó-s*, f. *dhán-o-s* ‘?’, *vás-to-s* ‘dawning’, n. (1) only *mádhv-as*, (2) *mádh-o-s*, *ur-ó-s*, *sán-o-s* ‘summit, back’, (3) *mádh-u-n-as*, *sán-u-n-as*; **gen.** m. (1) *paś-v-ás*, *vás-v-as*, *mádhv-as*, (2) prevailing form: *āy-ó-s*, *dás-yo-s* ‘of the Dasyu, enemy’, *vás-ó-s*,⁸² f. *dhe-nó-s*, *vás-to-s*, n. (1) *mádh-(u)v-as* (67×), *vás-v-as* (38×), (2) *ur-ó-s*, *mádh-o-s* (13×), *vás-o-s* (8×), (3) *mádh-u-n-as* (9×), *vás-u-n-as* (11×); **loc.** (cf. p. 14f.: 1.1.3.) m. (1) *dás-yav-i*, *sū-náv-i*, (2) usual form: *paś-áu*, *mitá-dr-au* ‘running steadily’, *ur-áu*, *ak-táu*, *sé-tau* ‘at a weir, bridge’, f. in the RV only *sindh-au* ‘Sindhu, stream’, *sú-tau* ‘pregnancy’ (AV), n. (1) *sán-av-i*⁸³, (2) *ur-áu*, *vás-au*, *sán-au*⁸³, (3) *sán-u-n-i*⁸³; **voc.** *vaso*, *sindho*; — **du. nom.-acc. voc.** m. (1) *bāh-ú*, *vṛṣaṇ-vas-ū*, (1a) *jigat-nú* ‘speeding’, *su-hán-tu* ‘easy to slay’ VII 19,4, (2) *bāh-áv-ā* (3×, cf. n.79, AiG III 50), (3) *paś-v-ā*; f. *jigat-nú*, *dhe-nú*, *hán-ū*; n. only *urv-í*, (*jān-u-n-ī* ‘knees’ YS^m); **instr. dat. abl.** m. *bāh-ū-bhyām* ‘arms’, **gen.** m. *ūr-v-ós*, *bāh-v-ós*, n. *jānu-n-os* (AV); **loc.** m. *bāh-v-ós*, f. *hán-v-os*; — **pl. nom.** m. (1) *mádhv-as*, (2) usual form: *ak-táv-as*, *paś-áv-as*, *āy-áv-as*, *vás-av-as*, f. (1)

a-vaṇhuṣīṣ*, *bāzubiiō*; **dat. *-*u-bīah* in YAv. *daṇhubiiō* (= Ved. *dasyubhyas*), *vaṇhubiiō* (= Ved. *vásubhyas*); **gen.** (1) *-*ū-nām* in OAv. YAv. *daṇhiunqm*, OPers. *dahayū(v)nām* (= Ved. *dasyūnām*), *poʻrunqm*, OPers. *parū(v)nām* (= Ved. *purūṇām*), OAv. *voḥunqm* (= Ved. *vásūnām*), (2) *-*ū-ām* in YAv. *pasuuqm*, *vaṇhuuqm*; **loc.** *-*u-šu* in OAv. *poʻru-šū*, YAv. *vaṇhu-šu*, with *-ā* YAv. *pasuṣ.huuā*, OPers. *dahayūšuvā*; **voc.** *-*au-ah* in YAv. *daṇhauuō* (= Ved. *dasyavas**), YAv. *vaṇhauuō*.

⁸⁰ Also *pur-ú* 12×, *mith-ú* 2×, and *ur-ú* 1× in the RV. Cf. p. 41f.

⁸¹ Practically no forms in *-ne*; *mádhv-ne* RV IV 45,3 is presumably only a nonce form after *mádhv-nā* in the same stanza; in AV VI 138,5, however, also *kaśīpu-ne* ‘for the mat’.

⁸² Once *cāru-n-as* RV VIII 5,14.

⁸³ Cf. 1.2.5.4.: p.30. *sānavi* 9×, *sānavi* 10×, *sānuni* 1× in the RV; furthermore, *sāno ávye/avyáye* in the same phrase in Book IX, probably from the constellation **sānavi Havy*°. In the later language both *-au* and *-u-ni* appear.

mádh-v-as, **voc.** *śata-kra-tv-as* ‘equipped with a hundred/hundreds of mental powers’, (2) usual form: *iṣ-av-as*, *dhe-náv-as*; **acc.** m. (1) only *paś-v-ás*, and *kṛ-tv-as* ‘times’ as adv., (2) usual form (cf. n. 76): *paś-ú-n*, *dás-yū-n*, *ṛ-tú-n*, f. (1) only *mádh-v-as*, (2) *iṣ-ū-s*, *dhe-nú-s*; nom-acc. **n.** (cf. p. 41f.) (1) *vás-u* (19×), *pur-ú* (12×), *vás-ū* (2×), *pur-ú* (24×), (2) more usual form: *vás-ū-n-i*, *pur-ú-n-i*; **instr.** m. *vás-u-bhis*, *ṛ-tú-bhis*, f. *dhe-nú-bhis*, n. *vás-u-bhis*, *bah-ú-bhis* ‘many’, **dat.** m. *dás-yu-bhyas*, *ṛbh-ú-bhyas*, f. *iṣ-u-bhyas* (AV), *dhe-nú-bhyas* (AV), n. *sán-u-bhyas* (YSP); **abl.** m. *dás-yu-bhyas*, *ak-tú-bhyas*, *paś-ú-bhyas*, f. *dhán-u-bhyas*; gen. m. *ṛ-tú-nām*, *dás-yū-nām*, f. *dhe-nū-nām*, *sindh-ū-nām*, n. *mádh-ū-nām*, *vás-ū-nām*; **loc.** m. *ak-tú-ṣu*, *śát-ru-ṣu*, f. *vás-tu-ṣu*, *sindh-u-ṣu*, n. *ur-ú-ṣu*, *vás-tu-ṣu* ‘dwellings’.

The analogic f. forms depending on the *-ī-* stem inflexion are found in the RV in sg. gen. *iṣ-v-ās* X 18,14, *su-vās-tv-ās* VIII 19,37, dat. *iṣ-v-ai* VI 75,15.⁸⁴ An adj. *-u-* stem can be used as m., f., or n.; when it is to be marked as the f., however, the suffix *-ī-* of the *devī-* inflexion (1.2.3.: p. 22f.) is added, as *urv-ī-* ‘wide’ (: *urí-*, cf. Grk. *εὐρεῖα* < **eu-ih₂*), *pūrv-ī-* (YAv. *paoṛī-*, **pḷh₁-μ-ih₂* :: *purú-* ‘many’, OAv. YAv. *poṛu-*, OPers. *paru-*, < **pḷh₁-ú-*), *vásv-ī-* (OAv. YAv. *vayṽhī-* :: *vásu-* ‘good’), cf. 1.4.1.[2]: p. 51f. In this regard *-u-* stems differ from *-i-* stems.

1.2.5.3. The original inflexion is preserved in some cases to a greater extent: *rayí-* m. (seldom f.) ‘wealth’ points to an amphidynamic origin, the alternation between long or short *a* is due to a laryngeal: sg. nom. *ray-í-s* < **reh₁-i-s*, acc. *rayím* (= YAv. *raēm*) < **reh₁-i-m*, instr. *rā-y-ā* (= YAv. *raīia*, cf. n. 58) < **reh₁-ī-éh₁*, dat. *rāy-é*, abl. gen. *rāy-ás* (= OAv. gen. *rāīiō*) < **reh₁-ī-és*; pl. nom. *rā-y-as* < **reh₁-ī-es*, acc. *rāy-ás* < **reh₁-ī-ṛis*, (YAv. *raēs-ca* < **raīas*, cf. n. 58), instr. *rayibhis*, gen. *rāyāām* (= YAv. *raīiqm*) < PII **raH-ī-aam*.⁸⁵

The word for ‘bird’ *vī-* (m.) has generalised in PII the weak forms of its PIE proterodynamic inflexion (PIE sg. nom. **h₂éu-i-s* [> **h₂áy-i-s* > Lat. *avis*], gen. **h₂u-éi-s* [> OIA *vés*]): sg. nom. *ví-s* (like a regular *-i-* stem, 6× in the RV), YAv. *vīš*, and *vé-s*⁸⁶ (5×), acc. *ví-m*, gen. *vé-s*⁸⁷ (< **h₂u-éi-s*); pl. nom. *váy-as*⁸⁸, YAv.

⁸⁴ In Vedic prose, e.g. *jīvátvai* MS ~ *jīvátave* KS–TS. On the parallel gen. *dhenós* ŚBK ~ *dhenvái* ŚBM, cf. AiG III 39, 150, CALAND–RAGHU VIRA ŚBK 37. Cf. n. 25.

⁸⁵ Secondary forms appear already in the RV: sg. instr. *ray-y-ā*, *ray-i-nā*, pl. gen. *ray-ī-nāām*; in the gen. sg. and acc. pl. one finds also *rāyas* instead of *rāyás*. The sg. acc. *rām* belongs to the root noun *rā-*, cf. EWAia II 438.

⁸⁶ From a secondary strong form *vāi-*, which goes back to the reinterpretation of *v-ai-* as a strong form to *vī-* (*vāi-*). [As to *vī-*, cf. also SCHINDLER Sprache 15, 144–167.]

⁸⁷ Probably disyllabic *vī-* (**vá-iṣ*) I 130,3, VI 48,17.

vaiiō (< *h₂u-éj-es, with the ablaut after acc. pl.), acc. váy-as (< *h₂u-éj-ms), instr. ví-bhis, dat. abl. ví-bhyas, gen. vī-nāām, (YAv. vaiiqm < PII *u-áj-ām).

The word for ‘sheep’ **áv-i-** (m., f.), consisting of similar phonetic components, had an amphidynamic or acrodynamic origin (sg. nom. *h₂óu-i-s [> Grk. ὄϊς, ὄφτης, Lat. *ovis*, OIA *áv-i-s*], gen. *h₂ou-ġ-és/ós or *h₂óu-ġ-os [Grk. οἶός, Lat. *ovis*, OIA *áv-y-as*]): sg. nom. ávis, gen. ávyas; pl. instr. ávibhis, gen. ávīn_(a)ām. — In the case of **arí-** (m.) ‘member of a tribe; enemy; chief of one’s own tribe’, the gen. sg. *aryás* points to an amphidynamic origin: nom. *ar-i-s*, gen. *ar-y-ás* (also *ar-y-ás*), pl. nom. *ar-y-ás*, but dat. *ar-áy-e* as in the standard *-i-* stem inflexion.

páti- (m.) ‘lord; husband’ exhibits, in both meanings, an original PIE proterodynamic inflexion (sg. nom. *pót-i-s, gen. *pot-éj-s) in the same manner as in the regular *-teġ/*-ti- stems: (the RV forms unmarked) **sg.** nom. ^{1,2}pát-i-s = OAv. YAv. ¹pátiš, acc. ^{1,2}pát-i-m, dat. ¹pát-ay-e (AV), *bṛhas-¹pát-ay-e* = YAv. *vīš-¹pat-ē-e*, abl. YAv. *patōit*, gen. ¹pát-e-s = OAv. *pat-ōi-š*, loc. *gó-¹pat-au*, voc. ¹pát-e = YAv. *vīš-¹pát-e*; **du.** nom. acc. voc. ^{1,2}pát-ī = YAv. *aēθra-¹páti*; **pl.** nom. ¹pát-ay-as = YAv. *pat-aīi-ō*. In the meaning of ²‘husband’, zero-grade suffixes appear, commonly in Indo-Iranian, in weak cases in the **sg.**: dat. ²pát-y-e = OAv. *paθ-aē-cā*, YAv. *paθ-e*, gen. ²pát-y-ur (after the *-tar-* stem in the words for relatives), loc. *paθ-y-au*. Other occurring forms are: **sg.** instr. ²pát-y-ā, ¹pát-i-nā, and YAv. ¹pát-i, **pl.** acc. ^{1,2}pát-ī-n, YAv. *paṭ-i-š*, gen. YAv. *paṭ-i-nqm*, dat. ²pát-i-bhyas.

A hysterodynamic origin is postulated in the case of **sákh-āy-/sákh-i-** m. ‘follower, attendant, colleague’ (sg. nom. *sok^wh₂-ó(ġ)-Ø, acc. *sok^wh₂-óġ-m, gen. *sok^wh₂-ġ-és, pl. nom. *sok^wh₂-óġ-es[?]), attested in the RV: **sg.** nom. *sákh-ā* (= YAv. *haxa*, OAv. *huš.haxā*), acc. *sákh-āy-am* (= OAv. *huš.haxāim*), instr. *sákh-(i)y-ā* (= YAv. *haša*), dat. *sákh-y-e* (= YAv. *haše*), abl. *sákh-y-ur* (analogic after the *-tar-* stem of relatives), gen. *sákh-(i)y-ur* (analogic after the *-tar-* stems), **du.** nom. acc. *sákh-āy-ā* (= YAv. *haxaiia* < *-āġ-ā; *haša* < *-ġ-ā), acc. *sákh-āy-au*; **pl.** nom. *sákh-āy-as* (= YAv. *haxaiiō* < *-āġ-as), acc. *sákh-īn*, instr. *sákh-i-bhis*, dat. abl. *sákh-i-bhyas*, gen. *sákh-ī-n_(a)ām* (YAv. *hašqm* < *sak^h-ġ-ām).

A similar type is assumed in Av. **kauuāi-** m. ‘seer; non-Mazdayasnian sovereign’: sg. nom. OAv. *kauuā*, *kauua-cā*, YAv. *kauua*, acc. YAv. *kauuaēm* < *kaṷ-āġ-am, pl. nom. OAv. *kāuuiiāš-ciṭ* < *kaṷ-āġ-as, gen. *kauiiqm* < *kaṷ-ġ-ām. The OIA correspondent *kávi-* ‘seer’, however, follows the usual *-i-* stem inflexion (1.2.5.1.: p. 24ff.): sg. nom. *kav-i-s*, instr. *kav-i-nā*, dat. *kav-áy-e*, gen. *kav-é-s*, voc. *kav-e*; du. nom. acc. voc. *kav-ī*; pl. nom. *kav-áy-as*, acc. *kav-īn*, instr. *kav-i-bhis*, gen. *kav-ī-n_(a)ām*.

⁸⁸⁾ Based on this form, a new n. stem *váyas-* ‘bird’ was produced.

1.2.5.4. An original proterodynamic scheme is preserved in some **neuter -u-** stems: sg. nom. *dār-u* ‘wood’ = YAv. *dā^rr-u*, OPers. *dār-uv* < **dór-u-Ø*, gen. *dr-ó-s* = YAv. *dr-ao-š* < **dr-éu-s* (beside them: instr. *dr-ú-nā*, gen. *dr-ú-ņas*, pl. *dār-ū-ni*; furthermore, sg. loc. RVKh. *dr-ú-ni*, AV *dār-u-ni*); — *jān-u* ‘knee’ is attested in the RV only in this sg. acc. form, in YAv. in *zān-u.drājah-* ‘thrusting out one’s knee’ (cf. NARTEN Kl.Schr. 168ff.), and sg. acc. *žnū-m* (secondary in m.), pl. abl. *žnu-biias-ciṭ*; *jñu-* in the RV in *abhi-jñ-ú* (adv.), *mitá-jñ-u-*, *jñ-u-bādh-*; — *sān-u-* ‘summit, back’: sg. acc. *sān-u*, abl. *sn-ó-s*, pl. nom. acc. *sān-ū-n-i*, *sān-u*; other forms in the RV: sg. acc. (m.) *sān-u-m*, instr. *sān-u-n-ā*, abl. *sān-o-s*, *sān-u-n-as*, loc. *sān-av-i*, *sān-au*, *sān-o*, and *sān-u-n-i* (cf. n. 83), pl. loc. *sān-u-ṣu*; sg. instr. *sn-ú-n-ā*, pl. instr. *s_(a)n-ú-bhis*, loc. *sn-ú-ṣu* (YS^m).

OAv. preserves a peculiar inflexion in a neuter word for ‘vital power, life’: nom. *āii-ū* (also YAv. *āii-u*), instr. *y-auu-ā*, dat. *y-auu-ōi*, *y-auu-ē*, gen. *y-ao-š*, < PIE nom. **h₂óǵ-u*, gen. **h₂ǵ-éu-s*; in OIA sg. nom. *āy-u*, and loc. *āy-u-n-i*; perhaps gen. sg. (or acc. sg.) also in *y-ó-s* = OAv. *y-ao-š* (cf. EWAia s.v.). The *-uṣ-* stem *āy-uṣ-* n. ‘vital power, life, life span’ (once *yúr* RV VIII 18,13) is much more common in OIA; the *-u-* stem adj. *āy-ú-* means ‘lively, agile’.

krátu- m. ‘mental power’ is based on the acrodynamic scheme: *krát-u-s* (OAv. *xratuṣ*), *-u-m* (OAv. *xrat-u-m*, OPers. *xrat-u-m/xraθ-u-m*), *-t_(u)v-ā* (OAv. *xraθ-β-ā*, also *xrat-ū*), *-v-e* (YAv. *xraθ-β-e*), pl. acc. *-ūn* (OAv. *xrat-ū-š*); only scarcely *-o-s* (OAv. abl. gen., YAv. gen. *xrat-ōu-š*), *-av-e*, pl. *-av-as* (OAv. *xrat-uu-ō*).

The origin of the co-existing inflexional types has yet to be determined, especially in the case of *vás-u-*, Av. *vayh-u-/voh-u-* adj. ‘good’, n. ‘good’, and *paś-ú-* m., *pás-u-* n., Av. *pas-u-* m. ‘cattle’ (1.2.5.2.: p. 26ff. with n. 79).

1.2.6. Stems in **-tar-/tr-/tṛ-**,⁸⁹⁾ m. and f., have generalised forms partially of an acrodynamic and partially of a hysterdynamic paradigm. The nom. sg. consists of the accentuated full-grade root (in the acrodyn. type), long-grade suffix (in the hysterdyn. type), and the zero-ending: *hó-tā* ‘Hotar-priest’ = OAv. *zao-tā* < **ǵ^héu-tōr-Ø*; the voc. sg. is *-tar*, as in Av. The nom. acc. du. have taken up the full-grade ending **-eh₁*: *hó-tār-ā* < **ǵ^héu-tor-eh₁*, cf. YAv. *vaš-tār-a* ‘draught animals’, *hamaēš-tār-a* ‘oppressors’. The other cases are formed from the acrodyn. pattern: sg. acc. *hó-tār-am* (YAv. *zao-tār-am*; < **ǵ^héu-tor-ṃ*, with BRUGMANN’s law), dat. *hó-tr-e* (YAv. *zao-θr-e*; < **ǵ^héu-tr-e₁*), gen. *hó-tur* (YAv. *zao-tar-š*, < **ǵ^héu-tṛ-s*); pl. nom. *hó-tār-as* (< **ǵ^héu-tor-es*, cf. YAv. *dā-tār-ō* ‘creators’), acc. *hó-tṛ-n* (< **ǵ^héu-tṛ-ns*, cf. n. 76), gen. *hó-tṛ-n_(a)ām*, loc. *hó-tṛ-ṣu*. The postulated

⁸⁹⁾ Cf. Eva TICHY Die Nomina agentis auf *-tar-* im Vedischen, Heidelberg 1995. On the m. forms instead of the n., nom./acc. sg. in *-tūr*, and *-tṛ*, *-tṛṇi* TB^m BÄU+, cf. op.cit. 66–71.

hysterodyn. type (sg. nom. *-tér, gen. *-tr-és) preserves its accent position throughout, irrespective of its form: *stotā́* ‘praiser’, *stotā́ram*, *stotré́*, *stotúr*, *stotā́ras*, *stotṛ́n*, *stotṛ́bhyaś*, *stotṛ́n_(a)ām*. The gen. *-tr-és is attested in YAv. *dā-θr-ō* ‘creators’ (< PII *d^hā-tr-as), and *sāθras-ciṭ* ‘commander’, the OIA correspondents of which are oxytone: *dhātár-* ‘creator, arranger, determinator’ (cf. *dhātár-* as verbal agent of *dhā*), *pra-śāstá* ‘instructor, director’ RV, *śāstár-* TS^m+; cf. also YAv. *brāθrō*, *naṣṣṣrō*, OPers. *piça* < **piθrah* in the next paragraph.

The stems for words denoting family relationships with the suffix PIE *-h₂ter- have preserved their original hysterodyn. paradigm except in the gen. sg. with -ur < **r̥-s* which has its origins in the acrodyn. type (the original gen. form occurs in OPers. *piça* < **piθrah*; similarly in YAv. *brāθrō*, which is, however, of acrodyn. origin), e.g., the word for ‘father’ m.: sg. *pitā́* (OAv. *ptā́*, *tā́*, YAv. *ptā́*, *pīta*,⁹⁰) OPers. *pitā́*; PIE **p-h₂tér-Ø*), *pitar*, *pitáram* (OAv. *p^atarēm*, YAv. *pitarām*; PIE **p-h₂tér-m̐*), *pitṛā́*, *pitṛé* (OAv. *f^ədrōi*, *piθrē*, YAv. *piθre*), abl. gen. *pitúr*, *pitári*; du. *pitārā*, -au, *pitṛbhyaṃ*, gen. loc. *pitarós*; pl. *pitáras* (YAv. *p^atarō*), *pitaras* (cf. YAv. *mātārō*), *pitṛ́n* (cf. n. 91), *pitṛbhis*, dat. abl. *pitṛbhyaś* (YAv. *ptār^əbiiō*), *pitṛ_(a)ām*, *pitṛṣu* (AV). In the case of *mātár-* f. ‘mother’, *mātṛ́s* appears in the acc. pl. (4× in the RV, and later) beside *mātṛ́n* (RV X 35,2).⁹¹ The acrodyn. type *bhrátar-* ‘brother’ (gen. **b^hré-h₂tr-s* in *bhrátur*, ONord. *bróðor* with VERNER’s law, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 598) preserved only its accent position and not its structure.

The **-ar-** stem *devár-* m. ‘husband’s brother’ (PIE **deh₂i-uer-* like **suek₂-uer-* ‘father-in-law’, according to EICHNER, cf. EWAia s.v.) is inflected like *pitár-* in the RV: *de-vár-am*, *de-vṛ́ṣu*. — *svá-sar-* f. ‘sister’ (PIE **syé-sor-*) and *nánāndar-* f. ‘husband’s sister’ are inflected according to the type of *hótar-* (acrodyn. -tar- stem) except pl. acc. *svásṛ́s*: sg. *svá-sā́*, *svá-sār-am*, *svá-sr-e*, *svá-sur*, *svá-sur*; du. nom. acc. *svá-sār-ā́*, -au, gen. *svá-sar-os*; pl. *svá-sār-as*, *svá-sṛ́-s*, *svá-sṛ́-bhis*, gen. *svá-sṛ́-nām* and *svá-sr-ām*; — sg. gen. *nánāndur* (AV), loc. *nánānd^ri*.

nāpāt- ‘grandson’ m. (*náp_(a)āt*, *nāpāt-am*, du. *nāpāt-ā*, pl. *nāpāt-as*, *nád-bhyas* < **nābd-b^hias*)⁹² shows secondary forms with the -tar- inflexion of the *hótar-*

⁹⁰ On the phonological development in Av., cf. GOTÖ Fs. Klingenschmitt (2005) 212.

⁹¹ PIE **-tṛ_{ns}* > Proto-Av. **-tṛ_{ns}* > **-tṛ^əNs* > in OAv. *mātār-qṣ-cā*, just the same as in the -ar- stems: OAv. *nār-qṣ*, YAv. *nār-āṣ* ‘men’, YAv. *str-āṣ* ‘stars’ (on the phonological development cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 66: hd), — and in OIA > *-tṛ_n*, *-ṛ_n*, just as *-ī_n*, *-ū_n* in the -i- and -u- stem inflexions (cf. n. 76), and in the sandhi-form, e.g., in *nṛ̐nṛ̐* before *p*. The secondary standard form *mātṛ́-s* (*ṛ́s*) is formed after f. *-ā-s*, *-ī-s*, *-ū-s*; in the same way *svásṛ́-s* RV+. A form with *-as is attested in YAv. *fədr-ō* < **p-h₂tr-n̐s*.

⁹² PIE **népōt-s*, **népōt-m̐*, **nept-és* in Lat. *nepōs*, *nepōt-* ‘grandson, descendant’, later ‘nephew’, Lith. *nepuotis* ‘grandson, nephew’, OE *nefa* ‘grandson, nephew’; f. **nept-iḥ₂*-

type; in the RV: sg. instr. *nápt-r-ā*, dat. *nápt-r-e*, gen. *nápt-ur*, pl. instr. *nápt-r-bhis*; in the YS^m *nápt-ār-am*, Br. *nápt-ṛ-n*, *nápt-ār-as*, etc. This phenomenon occurs also in YAv.; forms in OIran.: sg. nom. YAv. *napā*, *napās*⁹³ (*tā*), OPers. *napā* (< **napās* < **napāt-s* < **népōt-s*), acc. YAv. *napāt-am*, gen. YAv. *napt-ō*, loc. OAv. *naṣ-šu-cā*; and YAv. sg. acc. *napt-ār-am*, gen. *naṣṣ-r-ō* (cf. OPers. *piça* < **piθr-ah*, YAv. *brāθr-ō*, see above).

nár- m. ‘man’ follows in principle the hysterodyn. inflexion of the type *pitár-*, however, the constellation *nr-* before a vowel has been avoided; instead of it, in the sg. dat. *nár-e*, gen. *nár-as*, and pl. gen. *nár-(a)ām*; in the pl. nom., **nár-as* is postulated beside *nár-as* (cf. n.93): **sg.** acc. *nár-am* (OAv. *nar-əm*, OAv. YAv. *nar-əm*), dat. *nár-e* (OAv. *nar-ōi*, YAv. *naṣ-r-e*), gen. *nár-as* (cf. OAv. *nər-š*, YAv. *nar-š*), loc. *nár-i* (YAv. *naṣ-r-i*); **du.** nom. acc. *nár-ā* (YAv. *nar-a*), voc. *nár-ā*, -*au*; **pl.** nom. *nár-as* (OAv. YAv. *nar-ō*, YAv. *nar-as-ca*), voc. *nar-as*, acc. *nṛ-n* (OAv. *nər-qš*, YAv. *nər-šš*), instr. *nṛ-bhis*, dat. abl. *nṛ-bh(i)yas* (OAv. *nər-biias-cā*, YAv. *nər-biiō*, *nər-uiiō*, *nur-uiiō*), gen. *nár-(a)ām* (OAv. YAv. *nar-qm*), *nṛ-n(a)ām*, loc. *nṛ-šu*.⁹³ The nom. sg. (OAv. YAv. *nā* = Grk. *άνήρ* < **h₂nér*) is not attested in the RV, and is supplied by *nāra-s*, which, produced secondarily through reinterpretation of the acc. *nár-am* as a thematic *nāra-m*, forms its own paradigm from RVKh, SV (RV-variations), YS^m onward. In YAv. the following forms are attested beside those just cited: abl. sg. *nər-ṣ*; du. gen. *nar-ā*. The f. is *nār-ī* in the *devī-* inflexion (cf. also n. 65), *ā* of which is interpreted either as a *vṛddhi*-form or from PIE *-*o-*, cf. *āsura-*, *āsurá-*, both RV+, and *āsurī-* AV+, cf. OAv. *ahurānī-* pl. ‘mistresses’ (of the waters) YH (on the formation, cf. p. 52 f.).

stár- ‘star’ (probably f.) is attested only in *stṛ-bhis* (8×) and *tār-as* (VIII 55,2) in the RV. The nom. pl. *tār-as* = YAv. *stār-ō*, *star-as-ca* (< **stār*^o) seems to point to *-*tor-es*, thus an acro- (or amphi-)dynamic inflexion, but Grk. *ἀστὴρ* points rather to hysterodyn. **h₂stér*. In Av., further forms occur: sg. acc. YAv. *stār-am*, gen. *stār-ō*, pl. acc. *str-āš(-ca)*, dat. abl. *stār-biiō*, gen. OAv. *str-əm-cā* (with disyllabic *ē*), YAv. *str-qm*. A new stem *tārakā-* ‘star’ AV+ was formed from the pl. nom. *tār-as*.

1.2.7. Neuter -*ar-*/*-r-*/*-ṛ-* stems (OIA *r* < PIE **r* or **l*) and -*an-*/*-n-* stems build well-known heteroclitic paradigms.

in Lat. *neptis* ‘granddaughter’, later ‘niece’, OIr. *necht* ‘neptis’, OHG *nift(a)* ‘niece’, etc., cf. Grk. *ἀνεψιός* ‘cousin’, SerbChSlav. *netbji* ‘nephew’.

⁹³ Instead of the forms in the text to be read: pl. nom. **nár-as* I 62,3, II 19,1, V 33,5 (cf., however, OLDENBERG *Noten* ad V 33,10), some disyllabic form for *nṛn* VII 28,3, X 50,4, gen. **nṛ-ṇām* and **nṛ-ṇaām* (many times, in all occurrences possibly to be read thus instead of *nṛ*; *nṛṇām* is the regularly attested form in Vedic, and *nṛṇām* in Post-Vedic). On the problematic employment of *nṛn* as gen. or dat., cf. OLDENBERG *Kl. Schr.* 744–748.

The word for ‘udder’ is inflected: sg. nom.-acc. *údh-ar*, abl. *údh-n-as*, loc. *údh-an(-i)*, pl. *údh-a-bhis*, *údh-aḥ-su* (from *údhar*, *údhahsu*, a new stem *údhas-* was built), probably from a hysterodyn. type: nom. sg. **HouHd^h-ér* or **Hé/é/óuHd^h-r*, gen. sg. **HuHd^h-n-és*. — The word for ‘day, daytime’ *áh-ar* and *áh-an-/áh-n-/áh-a-* shows a similar proportion: sg. nom. acc. *áh-ar*, dat. *áh-n-e*, abl. gen. *áh-n-as*, loc. *áh-an(-i)* (cf. YAv. *as-n-i*); du. *áh-n-ī*; pl. nom. acc. *áh-ā*, *áh-ān-i*, instr. *áh-a-bhis*, *áh-o-bhis*, abl. *áh-a-bhyas*, gen. *áh-n-ām* (= OAv. *as-n-qm*), *áh-ān-ām*, loc. *áh-a-su*.⁹⁴ — Only *-n-* stem forms are preserved in the word for ‘water’: sg. abl. gen. *ud-n-ás*, loc. *ud-án*, *ud-án-i*, pl. nom. acc. *ud-ā*; in PIE probably: sg. nom. **uód-r*, gen. **uéd-n-s* or **ud-n-és*, loc. **ud-én*; collective **uéd-ōr*.⁹⁵

The word for ‘liver’ suggests another pattern: sg. nom. *yák-r-t* AV (cf. YAv. *yāk-ar^o*; is *t* identical with that in 1.4.5.: p. 54f.?), abl. *yak-n-ás* RV, instr. *yak-n-ā* YS^m, presumably from an amphidynamic paradigm **iēk^w-r*, **iok^w-n-és(?)*, cf. Grk. *ἥπαρ*, *ἥπατ-ος*, Lat. *iec-ur*, *ioc-in-er-is*, Lith. *[j]ėknos* (pl.).

The word for ‘sun’s light’ is synchronically hysterodynamic in structure: *svār* (*sív-ar*), gen. sg. *súr-as* (from an artificial zero-grade **súur-*), dat. *sūr-é* for **sū-n-ás*, **sū-n-āi*, thus from **suu-ár*, **suu-n-ás*.⁹⁶ Av. ‘sun’ preserves more relic forms of the PIE proterodyn. paradigm **séh₂u-l*, **sh₂(u)u-én-s*: sg. nom. OAv. *huu-ar^o*, YAv. *huu-ar^o*, gen. OAv. *x^vəng* (disyllabic: < **huuáng^h* < **sh₂uu-én-s*), YAv. *hū* (< **huuū* < **huuā* < **huuáng^h* < **sh₂uu-én-s*), thus **suu-ár*, **suu-én-s*. In YAv. appears also gen. sg. *hūr-ō* = Ved. *súr-as*.

1.2.7.1. Two stems for ‘joint, joint-piece’ n. *pár-uš-* (RV *pár-uš*, *pár-uš-ā*, gen. *pár-uš-as*, *pár-uš-i*) and *pár-vaṇ-* (RV *pár-vaṇ-ā*, abl. *pár-vaṇ-as*, *pár-vaṇ-i*, pl. nom. acc. *pár-va*, *pár-vān-i*, *pár-va-bhis*, *pár-va-su*), come from a presumably acrodynamic heteroclitic **pér-ur* and **pér-uon/un/ūn-*; — likewise, ‘bow’ n. in *dhán-uš-* (*dhán-uš* RV+, *dhán-uš-ā* RVKh, ŚB+, *dhán-ūmṣ-i* ŚB+, *dhán-ur-bhis* AV+) and *dhán-van-* (in the RV: *dhán-va*, *dhán-van-ā*, *dhán-van-as*, *dhán-van*, pl. nom. *dhán-vān-i*, acc. *dhán-va*, loc. *dhán-va-su*) from proterodyn. **d^hén-ur*, **d^hén-én-s*; cf. YAv. sg. nom. *θan-uuar^o*, abl. *θan-uuan-āt*.

⁹⁴ The Av. word for ‘day’ *aiiar-/aiian-* points to another, maybe an acro- or proterodynamic paradigm: sg. nom. YAv. *aiiar^o*, gen. YAv. *aiiaṇ* (< **aiāṇh* < **ai-an-s*), pl. nom. acc. OAv. *aiiār^o* (< **ai-ār*), YAv. *aiiaṇ* (< **ai-ān*).

⁹⁵ Cf. SCHINDLER BSL 70 (1975) 1–10.

⁹⁶ Disyllabic forms **suu-ár*, **suu-n-ás* are originally LINDEMAN variants. Monosyllabic gen. *svār* in RV II 35,6 stands perhaps for **sván* < **sh₂u-én-s*, cf. disyllabic OAv. *x^vəng*, YAv. *hū*.

Adjectives from m. **stems in -van-** (used also for clarifying the agent meaning of root nouns, and for producing an easier inflexion, cf. 1.2.10. [2]: p. 40) are built with *-var-a-*, and f. *-var-ī-*: *īś-* ‘lord (being master)’, *īś-var-á-* ‘capable of’; *it-var-á-* ‘going’, *áti-it-var-ī-* VS–VSK–TB^m ‘going over’; *śák-van-*, *śák-var-ī-* ‘capable, skillful’; also *ádth-van-* ‘way’, *adh-var-á-* ‘(ritual) process’, *pṛ-van-*, *pṛ-var-ī-*, Ep. also *pī-var-a-* ‘swelling, fat’.

Beside *uṣás-* f. ‘dawn, aurora’ (1.2.9.), the stem *uṣár-* occurs: voc. *uṣ-ar*, gen. *us-r-ás* (also *us-r-ás*), loc. *us-r-í*.

1.2.8. Also neuters designating body parts show frequently suppletive paradigms, especially with *-i-* and *-an/-n-*, which might go back to a kind of local particle (cf. *-an* in the loc., p. 15: 1.1.3. (5); *-an* is not attested in Iran.): sg. nom. acc. *ákṣ-i* ‘eye’, abl. *akṣ-n-ás*; du. nom. acc. *akṣ-ī* (YAv. *aś-i* [or *aś-ī*]; from this *akṣī-bhyām* ~ YAv. *aśi-biiā*, *akṣ-y-ós* AV etc., *akṣ-y-òs* VS; furthermore, *ákṣ-i-nī* AV); pl. *akṣ-ān-i* (*ákṣ-ī-ni* AV), *akṣ-á-bhis*; — sg. nom. acc. *sákth-i* ‘thigh’, pl. *sakth-ān-i*; du. acc. *sakth-y-ā* (i. e. *sakthiyā*, extended from **sakth-ī/*sákth-ī* < **°-i-h₁*), cf. OAv. gen. du. *haxt-ii-ā*; — AV *ástth-i*, *asth-n-ás*, RV *asth-á-bhis* ‘bone’, secondary AV *ástth-ī-ni*, *asth-i-bhyás*, etc., in PIE perhaps **h₂óst-h₂* + *i/en*, from the latter to **h₂ost-(h₂)-n-és* etc., cf. YAv. n. pl. *ast-i*, *azd¹bīš*.

śíras- n. ‘head’ is an *-as/-s-* stem extended with an *-an/-n-* suffix: sg. nom. *śír-as* ‘head’, abl. *śír-ṣ-a-tás*, gen. *śír-ṣ-n-ás*, loc. *śír-ṣ-án*, pl. nom. acc. *śír-ṣ-ā*, *śír-ṣ-ā-ni*, from PIE nom. **kṛh₂-és* or **kṛh₂-os*,⁹⁷⁾ abl. **kṛh₂-s-n-tós* (Hom. gen. *κράτος*), gen. **kṛh₂-s-n-és*, loc. **kṛh₂-s-én*, pl. (collective) **kṛh₂-s-n-h₂* (cf. Hom. *κάρηνα* < **kárahva* < **kṛh₂-s-n-ə₂*); in Av., only loc. pl. *sar-a-hu* Yt 10,40 occurs.⁹⁸⁾ Later also forms of the *-as/-s-* stem appear, e.g. *śír-as-ā* RVKh, *śír-āms-i* AVP V 15,9; ŚBK has only *-as/-s-* forms: sg. nom.-acc. *śír-as*, instr. *śír-as-ā*, abl. *śír-as-tás*, gen. *śír-as-as*, loc. *śír-as-i*, pl. *śír-āms-i*; the only such form in the ŚB(M) is *śír-as-ā*, which is attested in a part assumed to have originated in the Kāṇva school (XIV 2,2,50).⁹⁹⁾ [Cf. NUSSBAUM Head and Horn 1986.]

yūṣ- n. ‘broth’ (PIE **juH-s-*, cf. Lat. *iūs*, *iūr-is*) is attested in sg. nom.-acc. *yūṣ* MSP, TS^p, ŚB–ŚBK, instr. *yū-ṣ-n-ā* VS–MS^m (~ *yū-ṣ-ēṇa* KS–TS^m, thematic

⁹⁷⁾ In Grk.: Att. *κάρᾱ* < **kárahva* < **kṛh₂-s-n*, Hom. *κάρη* after pl. *κάρη-να* (?).

⁹⁸⁾ Du. nom. *śír-ṣ-é* RV IV 58,3 might be traced back to **kṛh₂-s-n-īh₁*, instead of **śír-ṣ-ī* < **kṛh₂-s-n-ih₁*, but the form in a supplemental hymn seems to be a secondary thematic form built after the reinterpretation of pl. *śír-ṣ-ā*, *śír-ṣ-ā-ni* as *śír-ṣ-á*. *śír-ṣe* appears also in KS XXX 1^p:182,9–KpS as the acc. du.; furthermore, loc. sg. *śír-ṣ-é* AV 3× (~AVP), nom. sg. *śír-ṣ-ám* AV IV 34,1, instr. pl. *śír-ṣ-āis* KS–KpS^p. Cf. S. KASAMATSU “On the inflection of OInd. *śíras-/śírṣan-*, n. ‘head’”, Journ. of Ind. and Buddh. Stud. 52-2 (2004) 954f.

⁹⁹⁾ On the history of this word in OIA, cf. the article of S. KASAMATSU, cited in n. 98.

forms also in the Sū. and comm.), TS^p, gen. *yū-s-ñ-ás* RV, loc. *yū-s-án* TS^p (~ *yūśé*? MS III 10,4^p:134,8). Forms with *-an/-n-* are explained usually by analogy after *ud-án-* ‘water’ (AiG III 316).

ā-s- n. ‘mouth, face’ has the sg. instr. *ā-s-ā* = YAv. *ā-ñh-a*, abl. *ā-s-ás* = gen. OAv. *ā-ñh-ō*, (< PIE nom. **h₃éh₁-os*, gen. **h₃h₁-és-os*?), and extended forms: loc. sg. *ā-s-án*, *ā-s-án-i*, instr. *ā-s-n-ā*, *ā-s-n-é*, *ā-s-n-ás*, *ā-s-á-bhis*. — Likewise, beside *dó-s-* n. ‘forearm’ in the acc. sg. *dó-s* RV+ (YAv. nom. *dēu-š*), du. *do-s-ī* KauśSū XLV 3, GautDhSū XVIII 22, *do-r-bhyām* AVP, YS^m+, there appear also *do-s-án-ī* AV, YS^p, Br.+ , *do-s-ñ-ás* MS^p, ŚB–ŚBK+, *do-s-á-bhyām* KS–TS^m+, etc. In both cases, no certain support is found for *-n-* elements beyond OIA.

From *hārd-/hṛd-* n. ‘heart’ are attested in the RV: sg. nom. acc. *hārd-i*, instr. *hṛd-ā* (= OAv. *zər^odā-cā*), dat. *hṛd-é*, abl. gen. *hṛd-ás*, loc. *hṛd-i*, pl. *hṛd-bhis*, and *hṛt-sú*, thus < PIE **ǵ^hérd + i*, **ǵ^hrd-és*, etc. The long-grade nom. acc. sg. (cf. also *su-hārd-* ‘well disposed’) lies also in **kérd*, another word for ‘heart’: Hom. *κῆρ*, Arm. *sirt*, and Hitt. *ker*. For the *i* element, cf. the extended stem *hṛd-ay-a-* n. ‘heart’ RV+ = YAv. *zər^oδ-aii-a-* (cf. *óστ-é-o-v* n. ‘bone’ < **h₂óst-eĵ-o-m*), and from **kṛd-*, Hitt. *kard-/kard-i-*, Grk. *καρδ-ί-α*, Lith. *šird-i-s*; an *n*-extension is found in the Germ. *-n-* stem, Goth. *hairt-ō*, ONord. *hiart-a*.

1.2.9. The neuter -as- stems are very common. They inherit PIE acrodynamic inflexion, but the Indo-Iranian uniform inflexion shows no ablaut except nom. acc. pl. **-ās(-i)*; e.g., from *mán-as-* ‘thinking organ, thinking function, thought’: sg. nom. acc. *mán-as* (OAv. YAv. *man-ō*, OAv. *man-as-cā*), instr. *mán-as-ā* (OAv. *man-añh-ā*, YAv. *man-añh-a*, OPers. *man-ah-ā*), dat. *mán-as-e* (YAv. *man-añh-e*), abl. gen. *mán-as-as* (OAv. *man-añh-ō*, *man-añh-as-cā*, YAv. *man-añh-aṭ* or *man-añh-ō*), loc. *mán-as-i* (YAv. *man-ah-i*); (du. OAv. *man-ah-i-cā*); pl. instr. *vác-o-bhis* ‘with speech’ (OAv. *vac-ā-bīš-cā*, YAv. *vac-ā-bīš*). The nom.-acc. pl. Ved. *mán-āñs-i* and OAv. YAv. *man-ā*, YAv. *man-ā-ca* (cf. OAv. *var^oc-ā.h-ī-cā* ~ Ved. *vārc-āñs-i* ‘abilities’) go back to PII **mán-ās(-i)* < PIE collective **mén-ōs-h₂*; the nasal in OIA *mán-ā-ñs-i* is due to the analogy after *náv-yas* :: *náv-yāñs-i*, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 556.¹⁰⁰ — Cf. NOWICKI Die neutralen s-Stämme im indo-iranischen Zweig (1976).

A PIE amphidynamic paradigm (**h₂éus-ōs*, **h₂éus-os-ñ*, **h₂us-s-és*; **h₂éus-os-es*)¹⁰¹ underlies **f. ušás-** ‘dawn, aurora’, which is inflected, however, largely

¹⁰⁰ AiG III 288 assumes an analogy, e.g. after sg. *s-át* :: pl. *s-ānti* = *-as* :: *x*.

¹⁰¹ The full grade in the first syllable appears in Lesb. *αῦως*, Att. *ἔως* < Proto-Grk. **áwh-ōs*, Lat. *aurōra*, and in Iran. **auš-ah-* (Waxi *yišī*, Baluči *pōšī* ‘the day after tomorrow’ < **upa-cauš-ah-*, cf. MAYRHOFER EWAia s.v.). [GIPPERT assumes nom.Sg. **ošāh* in RV VII 76,1 in cadence.]

like other m. f. *-as-* stems (: the next paragraph) except the forms with *uṣ-ās-* in the sg. acc., du. nom. acc., and pl. nom. because of BRUGMANN's law: sg. nom. *uṣ-ās* (OAv. *uṣ-ā*), acc. *uṣ-ās-am* (YAv. *uṣ-āṇh-am*), also *uṣ-ās-am*, instr. *uṣ-ās-ā*, dat. *uṣ-ās-e*, abl. gen. *uṣ-ās-as*, loc. *uṣ-ās-i*, voc. *uṣ-as*; du. *uṣ-ās-ā*, *uṣ-ās-au*, *uṣ-ās-ā*; pl. nom. *uṣ-ās-as*, *uṣ-ās-as*, acc. *uṣ-ās-as*, instr. *uṣ-ād-bhis*, gen. *uṣ-ās-ām* (YAv. *uṣ-āṇh-qm*), (loc. YAv. *uṣ-a-huu-a*). From the nom. sg. *uṣ-ās* secondary forms of the *-ā-* stem are produced: sg. acc. *uṣ-ā-m*, pl. acc. *uṣ-ā-s*. The original amphidyn. form is living in the sg. gen. and pl. acc. *uṣ-ās* < **uṣ-s-ās* < **h₂us-s-és*/**h₂us-s-ṛs*.

The **adj.** (nomina agentis in **m. f.**, and **n.**) with the same suffix have always an accent in *-ās-* in the simplex forms, and the form *-ās* in the nom. sg. m. f.: *āpas*, *āp-as-as*, *āp-āṁs-i* 'work' :: m./f. sg. nom. *ap-ās**, acc. *ap-ās-am*, gen. *ap-ās-as*, pl. nom. *ap-ās-as*, acc. *ap-ās-as*, and **n.** acc. sg. *ap-ās* '(good) working'; *rākṣ-as*, *rākṣ-as-e*, *rākṣ-āṁs-i* **n.** 'damaging power' :: *rakṣ-ās*, *rakṣ-ās-am*, *rakṣ-ās-e*, *rakṣ-ās-as*, *rakṣ-ās-as* **m.** 'damaging, damaging demon'; *yás-as-* 'fame, glory' :: *yás-ās-* 'famous, glorious'. Bahuvrīhi compounds are used in the **m.** and **f.**: nom. sg. *su-mán-ās* 'having good thought, good thinking', nom. pl. m. *su-mán-as-as* :: **n.** *mán-as*, *mán-as-as*, *mán-āṁs-i* 'thinking organ, thought'. Cf. YAv. sg. nom. *nd're.man-ā* 'manly thinking' (cf. Ved. *ṛ-māṇ-ās*), acc. *hu-man-aṇh-am* (*su-mán-as-am* AV), gen. *hu-man-aṇh-ō* (cf. *ṛ-cákṣ-as-as* 'gazing with manly look'); OAv. du. *an-aoc-aṇh-ā* 'homeless' (cf. *sam-ok-as-ā* 'having the same home'), pl. nom. YAv. *hu-man-aṇh-ō* (*su-mán-as-as*), acc. OAv. *duṣ-man-aṇh-ō* (cf. *su-mán-as-as*). Cf. *-yāṁs-/yas-* stem inflexion, p. 49ff.

mās- 'moon, month' **m.** (sg. acc. *mās-am*, loc. *mas-i*, pl. instr. *mād-bhis*, gen. *mas-ām*) is not an *-as-* stem. It goes back to PIE **méh₁-ṛs-* with loc. **meh₁-nēs-i*, together with OAv. nom. sg. *maā*, YAv. nom. sg. *mā*, gen. sg. *māṇh-ō* (also a secondary *-a-* stem *māṇh-a-*), OPers. *māh-* 'moon, month', and Grk. *μήν* (Att. *μείς*), gen. *μηνός* (Aeol. *μῆννος*) 'moon', Lat. *mēnsis* 'month', Got. *mena*, OHG *māno* 'moon', etc., cf. SCHINDLER Sprache 26 (1980) 84, MAYRHOFFER EWAia s.v.¹⁰²⁾

A peculiar paradigm lies in *púmāṁs-* 'man, male being': sg. nom. *púmān*, voc. *pumas*, acc. *púmāṁs-am*, abl. gen. *puṁs-ās*, pl. loc. *puṁsú* AV (< **puṁs-sú*), and dat. *puṁ-bhyas* Sū.; furthermore, f. *puṁsī-* 'cow with male calf' Sū. It seems to go back to PIE **péu-mōs*, **péu-mōs-ṛ*, **pu-ms-és*, cf. Lat. *pūbēs*, *pūbēr-* 'having manhood' etc., cf. MAYRHOFFER EWAia s.v. with lit. The *m* of *púmāṁs-* might be analogic after *māṁs-ā-* **n.** 'flesh, meat' (with an athematic acc. sg. *mās* RV, PIE **mēms-*); cf. also

¹⁰²⁾ In order to distinguish the meaning of 'moon' from 'month', a compound *candrā-mās-* 'the shining *mās*' is used from the RV on (nom. *candrā-mās*, gen. *-masas*, du. *-masā*), and *candrā-* **m.** itself can mean 'moon' in the AV and later.

the authentic *m̐* in the gen. sg. *puṁśás*, and the secondary *m̐* in the stems in *-vāṁs-* (1.2.16.:p.47f.), *-vāṁs-* (1.3.2.:p.49ff.), and in the inflexion of *-vant-*, *-mant-* stems (1.2.15.:p.46f.), and furthermore in *-as-* :: *-āṁṣi*, *-iṣ-* :: *-ūṁṣi*, *-uṣ-* :: *-ūṁṣi*.

1.2.9.1. An accent distribution such as *áp-as-* n. ‘work’ :: *ap-ás-* adj. ‘working (well)’ (preceding page) is observed elsewhere, e.g., *bráh-man-* n. ‘poet’s word with realising power’ :: *brah-mán-* m. ‘priest characterised with *bráh-man*’, each in columnar accent: *bráh-ma*, *bráh-man-as*, *bráh-māṇ-i* :: *brah-má*, *brah-mán-as*, pl. nom. *brah-māṇ-as*, acc. *brah-mán-as*; *dhár-man-* ‘support, basis, order’ :: *dhar-mán-* ‘bearer, supporter’. In the case of *kárṇa-* m. ‘ear’ RV+ (YAv. *karṇa-* ‘ear [of the Daēuua beings]’ :: *karṇá-* ‘having long ears, defective ears’ AV+ (YAv. *karṇa-* ‘deaf’), a special suffix *-á-* could be assumed: ‘equipped with an ear [in remarkable manner]’(?; cf. *karṇá-*, *ákarnā-* ‘eared’ [unhusked] and ‘uneared’ [husked] of *taṇḍulá-* ‘grain’ TS I 8,9,3^p). Cf. also, e.g., *bhāra-* ‘carriage’ :: *bhará-* ‘carrying’.

1.2.9.2. The *-iṣ-* stems, always n., are inflected without ablaut like n. *-as-* stems: (1) column-accented on the syllable *-iṣ-*: sg. nom.-acc. *barh-iṣ* ‘ritual grass, straw’ (YAv. *barṇ-iṣ*), instr. *arc-iṣ-ā* ‘with ray’ (YAv. *barṇ-iṣ-a*), gen. *barh-iṣ-as* (YAv. *had-iṣ-aṣ-ca* ‘of the seat’), loc. *barh-iṣ-i* (YAv. *vīθ-iṣ-i* ‘in the trial’); pl. *arc-ūṁṣ-i*, gen. *hav-iṣ-ām* ‘of oblations’ AV (YAv. *snaiθ-iṣ-qm* ‘weapon’); (2) column-accented on the root-syllable: *jyót-iṣ-* ‘light’, in the RV: *jyót-iṣ*, *jyót-iṣ-ā*, *jyót-iṣ-as*, *jyót-iṣ-i*; *jyót-iṣ-i*, *jyót-iṣ-ām*, likewise, loc. sg. *ām-iṣ-i* ‘on flesh’.

1.2.9.3. The n. *-uṣ-* stems are used as action nouns. They are inflected like *-iṣ-* stems, but with the accent always on the root part, e.g., *cákṣ-us-* ‘eyesight’: sg. nom.- acc. *cákṣ-uṣ* (cf. OAv. YAv. *hañh-uṣ* ‘win’), instr. *cákṣ-uṣ-ā* (YAv. *arṇ-d-uṣ-a* ‘damage’), dat. *cákṣ-uṣ-e*, gen. *cákṣ-uṣ-as* (cf. YAv. abl. *arṇ-d-uṣ-at*); pl. *cákṣ-ūṁṣ-i*, gen. *cákṣ-uṣ-ām* AV (YAv. *arṇ-d-uṣ-qm*).

The m.¹⁰³ appears, e.g., in *mán-uṣ-*¹⁰⁴ ‘Manuṣ as the ancestor of the human race; human being’: sg. *mán-uṣ-ā*, *-e*, *-as*, pl. nom. acc. *mán-uṣ-as*, and in compounds, e.g., sg. nom. *dīrghāy-uṣ*, acc. *°y-uṣ-am* ‘having long life (*āy-uṣ-*)’, instr. *śatāy-uṣ-ā*, acc. *°y-uṣ-am*.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ On the f. *mīḍh-uṣ-ī-* ‘paying remuneration duly’ and the strong stem of the m. *mīḍh-vāṁs-*, cf. GOTÖ Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik (2000) 147 n.3. *vāp-uṣ-ī-* seems to be a f. form of *vāp-uṣ-a-* ‘wonderful’, derived from *vāp-uṣ-* n. ‘wonderful, miraculous appearance’ and adj. ‘wonderful, miraculous’.

¹⁰⁴ Nom. *mānuṣ* could belong to the stem *mānu-*; the acc. of *mānuṣ-* is not attested in Vedic, but only *mānu-m*.

¹⁰⁵ In *árur vái píruṣaḥ* ‘the man is wounded’ ŚB, which AiG II-1 3 cites as an example for the transition of the n. subst. (‘wound’ AV+) to the adj., an *idám + as/bhū* construction

Agent nouns show the accent on *-ús-*, e.g., *jay-ús-* ‘victorious’ in the du. *jay-ús-ā*, *vanús-* ‘eager’ in *van-ús-ā*, *van-ús-e*, *van-ús-as*, pl. nom. acc. *van-ús-as*, gen. *van-ús-ām*.

jan-ús- ‘birth, race’ is inflected in the n.: du. *jan-ús-ī*, pl. *jan-úns-i*, and in the m. (or f.): acc. sg. *jan-ús-am* (3× in the RV); other forms in the RV are instr. *jan-ús-ā*, dat. *jan-ús-e*, abl. *jan-ús-as*, pl. gen. *jan-ús-ām*¹⁰⁶. The nom. sg. *jan-ús* RV VII 58,2 is interpreted as *jan-ús* like *tan-ús* from the *-ū-* stem, cf. AiG II-2 479, 490, 496. The starting point for *jan-ús-am* is to be sought in its accentuation, giving it the appearance of an agent noun, which might have originated in the collective.

1.2.10. The stems in *-n-* go back to [1] hysterodynamic **-én-* type (**h₂uks-é(n)*, **h₂uks-n-és*), [2] amphidynamic **-on-* type (**tékp-ō(n)*, **tékp-n-és* < ***tetk°*), and [3] forms with suffix PIE **-h₃én-* (*-h₃ón-*)/*-h₃n-*.¹⁰⁷

[1] **hysterodynamic **-én-* type:** *ukṣ-án-* m. ‘ox’: sg. *ukṣ-ā* (OAv. *uxš-ā*), *ukṣ-án-am* (4× in the RV), *ukṣ-án-am* (I 164,43 = YAv. *uxš-ān-am*, after type [2]), *ukṣ-n-ás*, pl. nom. *ukṣ-án-as* (OAv. *uxš-ān-ō*, after [2]), acc. *ukṣ-n-ás* X 28,11, X 86, 14, *ukṣ-án-as* (X 86,13, after [2]), instr. *ukṣ-ā-bhis*; *vṛṣ-aṇ-* m. ‘bull’: *vṛṣ-ā*, *vṛṣ-aṇ-am* (53×), *vṛṣ-aṇ-am* (2×, after [2]), *vṛṣ-n-e*, *vṛṣ-n-as*; *vṛṣ-n-ā*, *vṛṣ-aṇ-au*, *vṛṣ-a-bhyām*; *vṛṣ-aṇ-as*, acc. *vṛṣ-n-as* (VIII 20,19), *vṛṣ-aṇ-as* (IV 2,2, *vṛṣ-aṇ-as* VIII 7,33, after [2]), *vṛṣ-a-bhis*, gen. *vṛṣ-n-(a)ām*; *úr-aṇ-* m. ‘lamb’: *úr-ā*, *úr-aṇ-am* II 14,4, (therefrom f. *úr-ā-m*, later *uraṇa*). — The root noun *-hán-* (p. 16: **1.2.1.**) belongs to this type.

-man- stems: m. *mahi-mā* ‘greatness, majesty’, *mahi-mán-am* (after [2]), *mahi-mn-ā*, *mahi-n-ā*, *mah-n-ā*¹⁰⁸, *mah-n-ā* (< **megh₂-mn-éh₁*), *mahi-mn-é*, gen. *mahi-mn-ás* (2×), *mahi-mán-as* (2×, after [2]); pl. nom. *mahi-mán-as* (after [2]); *Arya-mā*, deified tribal custom, an Indo-Iranian artificial formation from a noun, (OAv. *d̥rīiṣ-mā*), *Arya-mán-am* (YAv. *d̥rīia-man-am*), *Arya-mn-é* (also *Arya-m_an-é*, cf. OAv. instr. *d̥rīia-mn-ā*, abl. *d̥rīia-m^an-as-cā*), pl. nom. *Arya-mán-as*.

-van- stems: *maghá-van-* ‘well-to-do, wealthy’ m.: sg. nom. *maghá-vā* (also *maghá-vān* from a *-vant-* stem¹⁰⁹), acc. *maghá-vān-am* (after [2]), gen. *maghón-as*

is to be assumed; on this phenomenon, cf. GOTÖ “Reisekarren und das Wohnen in der Hütte: *śālām as* im Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa”, Elizarenkova Mem.Vol. 1 (2008) 115–125.

¹⁰⁶ In RV I 151,1 – – –, thus from *janH-ús-ām*.

¹⁰⁷ On the *-man-* stems, cf. Claes WENNERBERG Die altindischen Nominalsuffixe *-man-* und *-iman-* in historisch-komparativer Beleuchtung, I., Göteborg 1981. On the **-h₃én-*/*-h₃n-* suffix, cf. HOFFMANN MSS 6 (1955) 35–40 = Aufs. 378–383.

¹⁰⁸ Dissimilated from **mah-mn-ā*, cf. GOTÖ Fs. Klingenschmitt 209, and lit. in footnotes.

¹⁰⁹ Furthermore: pl. instr. *maghá-vad-bhis*, dat. *maghá-vad-bhyas*, *maghá-vat-su*.

(< *mag^há-*un-as*)¹¹⁰, voc. *magha-van*; du. *maghá-vān-ā* (after [2]), gen. *maghón-os*¹¹¹; pl. nom. *maghá-vān-as* (after [2]), acc. *maghón-as* (OAv. *magaonō*), gen. *maghón-ām*, *maghón-aām*; (f.: *maghón-ī-*, *devī-* inflexion); — *ṛtā-van-* m. ‘following the cosmic order, righteous’: inflected mostly in the type [2] in Ved., whereas Av. forms preserve the older inflexion: sg. nom. *ṛtā-vā* (= OPers. *artā-vā*, cf. OAv. *aša-uua*, YAv. *aša-uua*: < **ártā-*uā** with *aša-* < **árta-*, and the YAv. form *-auua-* < **-āuua-*, cf. n.43), acc. *ṛtā-vān-am* (after [2], cf. OAv. YAv. *aša-uuan-əm*), dat. *ṛtā-vān-e* (cf. YAv. *ašaone*, OAv. *ašāunē*, abl. gen. OAv. *ašāunō*, YAv. gen. *ašaonō*, *ašaonat*), loc. *ṛtā-van-i* (cf. YAv. ⁺*aša-uuan-ii-a*), voc. *ṛtā-vas*¹¹² (cf. YAv. *ašāum* < **ašā-*uən**); du. *ṛtā-vān-ā*, *-au* (after [2]; cf. YAv. *aša-uuan-a*); pl. nom. *ṛtā-vān-as* (after [2]; cf. OAv. YAv. *aša-uuan-ō*, acc. OAv. *ašā-un-ō*); f.: *ṛtā-var-ī-* with pl. nom. acc. *ṛtā-var-īs* in the *devī-* inflexion.¹¹³

[2] **amphidynamic *-on- type:** PIE **ték_hp-ō(n)*, **t_hk_hp-n-és* < ***tetk^o*, with loc. sg. **-én* ± **i* (cf. *ás-man*, *ás-man-ī*) in *ták_h-an-* m. ‘carpenter’: sg. nom. *ták_h-ā* RV+ (OAv. *taš-ā* or *taš-ā*), acc. *ták_h-ān-am* YS^{m,p}+ (OAv. *taš-ān-əm*), dat. *ták_h-n-e* (YAv. *taš-n-e*), gen. *ták_h-n-as* YS^p+ (YAv. *taš-n-ō*), pl. nom. *ták_h-ān-as* AVP III 13,7; — *śv-án-/śu-n-* m. ‘dog’: sg. *śv-ā* (YAv. *sp-ā*), *śuv-ā*, *śv-ān-am* (YAv. *sp-ān-əm*), gen. *śu-n-as* (YAv. dat. *sū-n-e*); du. *śv-ān-ā* (YAv. *sp-ān-a*), *śuv-ān-āu*; pl. nom. *śv-ān-as* ŠB (YAv. *sp-ān-ō*, *sp-ān-as-ca*), acc. *śu-n-as* (YAv. *sū-n-ō*), *śu-n-ām* AV (YAv. *su-n-qm*): < PIE **k_uō(n)*, **k_uō(n)* (LINDEMAN variant), **k_uón-*n**, **k_un-és*, **k_uón-es*.

-*man-* stems: *ás-man-* m. ‘stone’ sg. *ás-mā* (YAv. *asma*), *ás-mān-am* (OPers. *asmānam* ‘heaven’; YAv. *asmanəm* after [1]), instr. *ás-man-ā* (in the RV: 2×), *ás-n-ā*¹¹⁴ (3×), abl. *ás-man-as*, gen. *ás-n-as* (YAv. *ašnō* ‘of heaven’)¹¹⁴, loc. *ás-man*, *ás-man-ī*; du. loc. *ás-man-os*; pl. acc. *ás-man-as*, instr. *ás-ma-bhis*, (*ásnais*, from the reinterpretation of *ásnā* as if **ásna-ā*): < PIE sg. nom. **h₂ék-*

¹¹⁰ In V 16,3, IX 32,1 ~ ~ ~: **mag^hā-un-as*(?).

¹¹¹ Only in V 86,3, metrically ~ ~ ~: **mag^hā-*uān-ay-s** < **mag^hā-*uān-Hay-s**(?).

¹¹² From the -*vant-* stem; on voc. -*vas* in the -*vant-* stems, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 555f., cf. 1.2.15.: p. 47.

¹¹³ In Av., furthermore: dat. OAv. YAv. *aša-uua-biiō*, YAv. *ašā-uuaioiō*, gen. OAv. *ašā-un-qm*, YAv. *ašaon-qm*, and possibly instr. YAv. *ašaon-īs*. The long *ā* before -*uān-* can be explained from PIE **o* (BRUGMANN’S law, cf. ZEHNDER Rz. VOLKART, Cahiers F. d. Saussure 48, 1994[1995], 179), or from the collective (**h₂rté-h₂*, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT Das altarmenische Verbum, 1982, 91, TICHY Sprache 32, 1986, 92). No form is attested in Ved. with the pl. endings -*bhis*, -*bhyas*, or -*su*.

¹¹⁴ Dissimilated from PII **ac-mn-ā*, **ac-mn-ás*, cf. n. 108, n. 117.

mō(n) (Grk. *ἄκ-μων*), acc. **h₂ék-mon-ṃ* (Grk. *ἄκ-μων-α*); instr. **h₂(e)k-mn-éh₁* (with preserved suffix configuration, then dissimilated to **h₂(e)k-n-éh₁*, or, only in PII, to **ač-n-aH*)¹¹⁵, or **h₂(e)k-mṃn-éh₁* (SIEVERS); loc. **h₂(e)k-mén ± *-i*, pl. nom. **h₂ék-mon-es*, acc. **h₂(e)k-mṃn-ṃs* (SIEVERS).

The stem *āt-mán-* m. ‘self’ is not attested in Iranian. It has only sg. forms in the RV: nom. *āt-má*, acc. *āt-mán-am*, abl. *āt-mán-as*, loc. *āt-mán-i* (*āt-mán* YS^m–Up.). Old oblique cases are preserved in instr. *t-mán-ā*, dat. *t-mán-e*, and loc. *t-mán-i*. It seems thus to go back to a **proterodynamic** inflexion **h₂ét-mō(n)*, **h₂ét-mon-ṃ*,¹¹⁶ instr. **h₂t-mén-eh₁*, loc. **h₂t-mén*; or perhaps to an amphidynamic: instr. **h₂t-mṃn-éh₁* > **tanā*¹¹⁷, in the place of which *tmánā* has come (after the loc. form).

There are many forms with *-van-* which are enlarged from root nouns (m. nomina agentis; adj. *-var-a-*, f. *-var-ī*-¹¹⁸), cf. 1.2.7.1.:p.33f.). Their inflexion follows, in principle, the **amphidynamic** type, but also with forms in *-van-* instead of *-vn-*¹¹⁹: sg. nom. *fk-vā* ‘praising’, *soma-pā-vā* ‘Soma-drinking’; acc. *pī-vān-am*, *dadhi-krā-vān-am* ‘sprinkling sour milk (name of a horse)’, *prātar-yā-vān-am* ‘visiting in the morning’; **dat.** *suta-pā-vn-e* ‘drinking the pressed-out (Soma)’, *soma-pā-vān-e*, *á-rā-vān-e* ‘not-bestowing’, *sva-dhā-vn-e* ‘deciding for oneself’, *sva-dhā-vān-e*, *su-dā-vn-e*, *yāj-vān-e* ‘worshipping’, *kṛ-t-vān-e* ‘active’, *drūh-vān-e* ‘deceitful’;¹²⁰ abl. *á-rā-vān-as*; gen. *á-rā-vān-as*, *dadhi-krā-vn-as*, *soma-pā-vān-as*, *suta-pā-vn-as*, *bhūri-dā-vn-as*, *prātar-yā-vn-as*; voc. *soma-pā-vān*, *prātar-it-vas* (after *-vant-* stem); du. *prātar-yā-vān-ā*; pl. nom. *fk-vān-as*, *prātar-yā-vān-as*; acc. *á-rā-vān-as*, *prātar-yā-vn-as*, instr. *fk-va-bhis*, *prātar-yā-va-bhis*, gen. *soma-pā-vān-ām*. — Similarly *grā-vā* ‘stone for Soma-pressing’, *-vān-am*, *-vn-ā*; du. *-vān-ā*, pl. *-vān-as*, *-vn-as*, *-va-bhis*, *-va-bhyas*, *-vn-ām*.

¹¹⁵ From the reinterpretation of gen. *aš-n-ō* ‘of heaven’ (= *ás-na-s*, cf. *ás-n-ā*; on Av. *šn* < **čn* cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 102:dc) as a form of the stem **asen-*, the acc. pl. OAv. *asēnō*, YAv. *asānō* could have been produced, and that in the (primary) meaning ‘stone’.

¹¹⁶ On preserved **é* in the position directly preceding or following *h₂*, cf. EICHNER MSS 31 (1973) 53 ff., MAYRHOFER Idg. Gramm. I-2 (1986) 132f.

¹¹⁷ This form could actually exist in *tanā*, and dat. *tané*, cf., however, MAYRHOFER EWAia s.v. *tán-*: ‘descendant’; moreover, *m* in the suffix is otherwise always preserved as a consonant, cf. n. 108, n. 114.

¹¹⁸ In the *devī-* inflexion, but there are also anomalies, e.g. *śák-var-ay-as* VS XVIII 22–VSK ~ *śák-var-ī-s* MS II 11,6–KS–KpS; *śák-var-ay-as* TS V 4,12,2^p (2×).

¹¹⁹ Cf. forms *maghón-* (: *maghá-vān-*), OAv. *ašāu°*, YAv. *ašau°* (: *ašā-uuan-*) in type [1].

¹²⁰ *śák-vān-e* VS V 5 is nothing but a variant to the *-man-* derivative *śák-man-e* in VSK–MS–KS–KpS. Cf. also inf. *dā-vān-e* (many times in the RV) beside *dā-man-e* (p. 136).

In other *-van-* stems, a weak form *-un-* or *-ūn-* seems not to be realised (cf. n. 119, on n. *snā-vn-* cf. below), but *-va-* < **-uṇ-* before consonants, and otherwise *-van-*. Forms from the proterodyn. type with **-uén-* (or rather SIEVERS' forms with fixed *u*?) could have been mixed in with these forms: *ádth-van-* m. 'way, going, process': sg. nom. *ádth-vā*, acc. *ádth-vān-am* (OAv. *ad-uūān-əm*, cf. YAv. *aδ-βan-əm*), dat. *ádth-van-e*, gen. *-van-as*, loc. *-van*, *-van-i*, pl. acc. *ádth-van-as*, instr. *ádth-va-bhis*, loc. *ádth-va-su*; an old instr. is perhaps preserved in the adv. *adh-un-ā* 'at the moment' (AVP ŚB), pointing to an amphidyn. pattern; — *áthar-van-* m. 'priest, sorcerer, or their title': sg. nom. *áthar-vā*, instr. *áthar-van-ā*, gen. *-van-as*, loc. *-van-i*, pl. nom. *áthar-vān-as*, instr. *áthar-va-bhis*, loc. *-va-su*; YAv *āθra-uuan-* with a strong stem-form changed after *āθr-* 'fire': sg. nom. *āθra-uua*, acc. *-uuan-əm*, voc. *āθraom* < **āθra-uṇ*, pl. nom. *āθra-uuan-ō*, and in the weak cases: sg. dat. *aθa'r-un-e*, gen. *-un-ō*, pl. acc. *-un-qṣ-ca*, thus amphidynamic.

The n. stem *nā-man-* 'name' preserves its **amphidynamic** character, esp. in the elements *nā-* and *-mn-/mṇ-*: (RV unmarked) sg. nom. acc. *nā-ma* (YAv. *nq-ma*, OPers. *nā-mā*), instr. *nā-mn-ā*, *nā-mān-ā*, voc. *nā-man* MS–KS–KpS^m; du. *nā-man-ī* MS^p, TS^p, ŚB, TĀ, (*nā-mān-ī* AV IV 9,10–AVP VIII 3,10); pl. *nā-ma* (many times), *nā-mā* (I 123,4) < **mṇ-h₁*, *nā-mān-i* (many times, < **mōn-h₁* preserving collective ablaut; OAv. *nā-mān-ī*, YAv. *nā-mān-i*: both possibly du.), *nā-ma-bhis*, *nā-mn-ām* ŚB, BĀU (OAv. *nā-mn-qm*): < **h₁neh₃-mṇ* (cf. Lat. *nōmen*), gen. **h₁ṇh₃-mn-és* (cf. OIr. nom.-acc. *ainm* < **an-men* < **ṇ-mṇ*, OChSlav. nom.-acc. *i-me* < **jōn-mēn* < **h₁ṇh₃-m*), or **h₁nə₃-mn-és* (cf. Grk. nom.-acc. *ὄνομα* < **éno-ma*). To this type belong, e.g., *dhā-ma*, *dhā-mn-ā* 'determination, territory', *sā-ma*, *sā-mn-ā*, *sā-mān-as* 'Sāman, melody', from roots ending in *-ā*.

Another type shows *-man-* in the weak cases before endings beginning with a vowel (**Cmna°* > **Cmāna°* instead of **Cṇna°*?), e.g., *kár-man-* n. 'making, deed': sg. *kár-ma*, *kár-man-ā*, *-man-e*, *-man-as*, *-man-i*; pl. *kár-ma*, *kár-mān-i*, *kár-ma-bhis*, *kár-ma-su*.

A similar situation is found also in the n. *-van-* stems, e.g., *dhánvan-* 'steppe, desert': sg. *dhán-va*, *dhán-va*, *dhán-van-ā*, *dhán-van*, pl. *dhán-va*, *dhán-vān-i*, *dhán-va-su*. In the case of *snā-van-* 'sinew' AV+ (from PIE **r-/n-* heteroclite, cf. YAv. *snāuuar* 'sinew'), forms with *-vn-* occur (cf. above, *-pā-vn-* etc.): *snā-va*, *-vn-ā*, *-vān-i*, *-va-bhyas*; as for *dhánvan-*, *dhānuṣ-* 'bow', and *pārvaṇ-*, *pāruṣ-* 'joint, joint-piece', cf. 1.2.7.1.: p.33.

The neuters have no formal difference between sg. and pl. in the nom.-acc., e.g., both *bhūma* and *bhūmā* for 'earth(s), world(s), being(s)'. This phenomenon can be interpreted from variants showing sg. **-ṇ* before consonants, or **H* followed by vowel (then: > *a*), or before **H* followed by consonant (then: > *ā*), and

in the pl. $*-n-h_2$ before a vowel with or without a preceding $*H$ (then: $>a$), or before a consonant ($>\bar{a}$); similarly in the case of $-ĩ$ (p.25) and $-ũ$ (p.27f.); cf. n.33.

A **proterodynamic** inflexion is postulated in Av. neuters: abl. sg. OAv. *hax-māng* (*hax-man-* ‘attendance’) $< *man-s$, YAv. *bar^{as}-mān* (*bar^{as}-man-* ‘ritual grass’) $< *man-t$ ($-s$ was replaced with $-t$, cf. n.26); gen. OAv. *caš-māng* (*caš-man-* ‘visual field’) $< *man-s$, YAv. *dā-mān* (*dā-man-* ‘place, territory, creature’), *bar^{as}-mān* $< *man-s$ (via $*-ā < *-əh < *-əng^h$); the forms in the pl. nom.-acc. are, e.g., OAv. *dā-mān*, *dā-mān*, *nā-mān* $< *mān$, OAv. *an-afš-mān*, *afš-mān-ī* ‘disadvantages’, YAv. *cin-mān-i* ‘desires’ $< *mān-i$, (on OAv. *nā-mān-ī*, YAv. *nā-mān-i*, see p.41 above). Also in the m. $-van-$ stem, there occurs gen. sg. YAv. *zrū* $< *zruuā < *zruuəh < *-uan-s$ from *zruuan-* ‘time’.

[3] **yúvan-** ‘young’ is attested in a **hysterodynamic** pattern: sg. *yívā* (YAv. *yauua* Y 9,10, or $^+yuuā?$), *yívān-am* (YAv. *yuuānəm*), *yún-e*, *yún-as* (YAv. *yūn-ō*, cf. abl. *yūn-aŋ*), voc. *yuvan* (YAv. *yum* $< *iuuən$); du. nom. acc. *yívān-ā* (also nom. *yún-ā* IX 68,5); pl. nom. *yívān-as*, acc. *yún-as*, dat. *yíva-bhyas*, instr. *yíva-bhis*, (gen. YAv. *yūn-qm*). These forms are derived, however, from an PIE **amphidynamic** paradigm with $*-h_3én-$ ($-h_3ón-$)/ $-h_3n-$ suffix: sg. $*h_2jéu-h_3ō(n)$, $*h_2ju-h_3n-és$, pl. $*h_2jéu-h_3on-es$, $*h_2ju-h_3n-īs$, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 382.

kanyā- f. ‘girl’ belongs to the same group. The nom. sg. *kanyā* (i.e. *kaniyā*) = YAv. *ka’ne* $< \text{PII } *kanijā$ goes back to either an amphidyn. $*kani-h_3ō(n)$, or hysterodyn. $*kani-h_3ō/ē(n)$. The gen. pl. *kanīnām* comes from $*kanīn-ām$ ($< *kani-h_3n-(o)óm?$), YAv. gen. sg. *ka’nīn-ō* from $*kani-h_3n-és$. The nom. pl. YAv. *ka’nīn-ō* seem to be derived from $*kaniyān-as$ $< *kani-h_3én-es$, and acc. sg. *ka’nīn-əm* from $*kaniyān-am$ $< *kani-h_3én-ī$,¹²¹⁾ speaking for a hysterodyn. type;

¹²¹⁾ The short $\bar{a}$ in the acc. sg. $*kaniyānam$, nom. pl. $*kaniyānas$ (and that in succession of short syllables), and nom. pl. *maθranas-cā* presupposes that BRUGMANN’s law has not worked for the vowel $*o$ in $*h_3o < *h_3e$ (coloured, and not changed by ablaut): $*kaniyānam < *kani-h_3ón-ī < *kani-h_3én-ī$, $*kaniyānas < *kani-h_3ón-es < *kani-h_3én-os$, as opposed to BRUGMANN’s $\bar{a}$ in nom. pl. *yívānas* $< *Hjū-Hon-as < *h_2jéu-h_3on-es$. Cf., however, ZEHNDER op.cit. (n. 113) 180 (concerning the cases like *áp-as* = Lat. *op-us* $< *h_3óp-os$ $< **h_3ép-os$, *án-as* $< *h_3én-os$): “Da aber die Umfärbung von $**e$ durch $*h_3$ mit Sicherheit schon fürs Urindogermanische vorauszusetzen ist, scheint es mir schwer vorstellbar, dass dieses umgefärbte $*o$ noch zur Zeit des Wirkens von BG von ablautendem $*o$ phonetisch verschieden war, was ja die Voraussetzung für unterschiedlichen Output aus BG wäre”. There might have been other conditioning factors in PII, Av, and Ved., and that also in each case. The laryngeal h_3 in the suffix was identified by HAMP MSS 30 (1972) 35–37 on the ground of Celtic and Italic words for ‘river’ $< *abon-$ $< *h_2ep-h_3on-$ in nom. sg. $*abō$, gen. sg. $*abnos / abens$, nom. pl. $*abones$, etc. In Lat. the acc. sg. *iuuenem* shows $*-Hen-$, but probably only analogically.

Ved. acc. sg. *kanyánām* is, then, to be interpreted as reformed from **kaniyan-am* after the *-ā-* stem. The loc. pl. *kanīyāsu*, and nom. pl. *kanīyās* follow the *-ā-* stem inflexion (*kanīyā* instead of **kanīyā°* after the nom. sg. *kanīyā*).

In Av., there are some other forms, **hysterodynamic**: OAv. sg. nom. *maqθrāā* ‘specialist of formulas’ < **mantra-Hā*, dat. *maqθrān-ē* < **mantra-Hn-āi*, gen. *maqθrān-ō* < **mantra-Hn-ās*, nom. pl. *maqθran-as-cā* (**ān-as°* < **mantra-Hān-as* < **mentro-h₃én-es* (cf. n. 121); perhaps **amphidynamic**: YAv. sg. nom. *hāuuana* ‘Haoma-pressing priest’ < **saṇana-Hā(n)*, acc. *hāuuānān-am* < **saṇana-Hān-m* < **sāṇana-h₃on-m* (? , cf. n. 121), dat. *hāuuānān-e* < **h₃on-ēi*, gen. *hāuuānān-ō* < **h₃on-és*. Furthermore, YAv. dat. sg. *puθrān-ē* ‘having sons’ < **putra-Hn-āi*, YAv. gen. sg. *Gauuāiān-ō* (MAYRHOFER Zum Namengut des Avesta, 1977, 34).

In Ved., furthermore, m. acc. sg. *somāānam* RV I 18,1 belongs here (KUIPER IJ 15, 1973, 190ff.).

1.2.11. The suffix **-in-** has columnar accentuation without ablaut; the nom. sg. m. ends with *-ī*. This suffix is used for [1] primary formations, i.e. directly from a verbal root, and [2] secondary formations, i.e. from nouns (denominal), even if the two are not always to be distinguished clearly: [1] e.g., *arc-in-* ‘radiating’, *jav-in-* ‘speedy’, *tsār-in-* ‘sneaking, stealing’; these appear frequently as the latter member of a compound, e.g., *abhy-ā-vart-in-* ‘returning towards’, *uktha-śamis-in-* ‘saying official speeches’; [2] denominal formations are very productive, especially from *-a-* stems (more than 70 examples already in the RV): *keś-in-* ‘characterised by hair’ (: *kéśa-*), *parṇ-in-* ‘having wings’ (: *parṇá-*), *ūrm-in-* ‘(always) waving’ (: *ūrmí-*), *hiraṇ-in-* ‘decorated with gold’ (**hiraṇ-*), etc. etc. The stem *-in-* is used to indicate that the modificand has something or some quality as its essential, habitual, or characteristic item, whereas *-vant-* (and its variant *-mant-*) designates also an incidental possession. The formation is not common in OIran. and only isolated adj. forms are found there. The only equivalent is Ved. *parṇ-in-* = YAv. *par^on-in-* ‘winged’ from *parṇá-*, YAv. *par^ona-* ‘wing’: in the RV gen. *parṇ-in-as* (cf. YAv. dat. **par^on-in-e*), du. *parṇ-in-ā*, pl. *parṇ-in-as* (YAv. *par^on-in-ō*).

1.2.12. Three stem variations **pánthā-**, *path-*, and *pathi-* m. ‘path’ are due to the phonological development from hysterodyn. **pont-éh₂-s*, **pont-éh₂-m*, **pnt-h₂-és*, **pont-oh₂-és*, **pnt-h₂-íś*, **pnt-h₂-b^hís*.¹²²⁾ The aspirated *t^h* has been realised consistently throughout the whole paradigm in OIA, whereas it appears in Av. legitimately only in the cases in which *h₂* follows directly after *t*: sg. nom. *pánth-ā-s*

¹²²⁾ Or amphidyn. **pént-oh₂-s*, **pént-oh₂-m*, **pnt-h₂-és* etc. (from the root **pent*). On related words *πάτος* ‘path’, *πόντος* ‘sea’, Lat. *pons* ‘bridge’ etc., cf. MAYRHOFER EWAia s.v.

(YAv. *pañt-ā*), acc. *pánthām*, *pánthāām* (< **pánt-aH-am*, YAv. *pañtām*), beside it, from the *-an-* stem (cf. cases of *-i/-an-* in 1.2.8.: p. 34) *pánthānam* (YAv. *pañtān-əm*), instr. *path-ā* (YAv. *paθ-a*), abl. gen. *path-ás* (OAv. abl. YAv. gen. *paθ-ō*, cf. YAv. abl. *pañtaṭ* from *pañtā-*), loc. *path-i* (OAv. *paθ-i*); pl. nom. *pánthās*, *pánthāās* (< **pánt-aH-as*), *pánthās-as* (cf. n. 16), from the *-an-* stem *pánthān-as* (YAv. *pañtān-ō*), acc. *path-ás* (OAv. YAv. *paθ-ō*); instr. *path-i-bhis* (OAv. *pad³-bīš*), gen. *path-ām* (YAv. *paθ-aṃ*), *pathāām* (OAv. *paθaṃ*; also *pathī-nām* from *pathi-*), loc. *path-i-ṣu*. OPers. acc. sg. *paθi-m* seems to have been reproduced from the loc. **paθ-iy-ā* (< **paθ-i + ā*), just like the stem *āpi-* from *āp-* ‘water’ via loc. *āp-iy-ā*.

1.2.13. Adjective stems for direction, mainly derived from preverbs or prepositions, show a suppletive paradigm with strong **-āñc-** (its weak form *-āc-* in the nom.-acc. in the n.) and weak **-īc-**, fem. *-īc-ī-*, (**-āñk-* has been generalised in Av.): sg. nom. m. *praty-āñ* ‘turned toward’ < **-āñk-s* (cf. YAv. *pāti.yaš* < **-āñk-š*), acc. *praty-āñc-am*, *praty-āñc-am* (cf. YAv. *vīro.nii-āñc-im* ‘turned beneath towards the men’ < **-āñc-əm*), instr. *prāñc-ā*, abl. *prāñc-ás* (cf. YAv. gen. *huna’rii-āñc-ō* ‘skillful’ < **-āñc-ah*); pl. nom. *praty-āñc-as* (cf. YAv. *nii-āñc-ō* < **-āñc-ah*; *vižuu-āñc-a* instead of *-ō*), acc. *prāñc-ás*; — n. sg. nom. acc. *praty-āk*, du. *prāñc-ī*, — f. (devī- inflexion) sg. nom. *prāñc-ī*, acc. *prāñc-īm*, *prāñc-īm*, du. *prāñc-ī*, pl. nom. acc. *prāñc-īs*. Likewise *ny-āñc-* ‘down- or inward’, *úd-āñc-* ‘up- or outward’, *amv-āñc-* ‘following’, *višv-āñc-/višv-ac-/višūc-* ‘directed toward different directions’; with back formation with *-y-* from forms with *-īc-* or after *praty-āñc-*: *sam-y-āñc-/sam-īc-*, *sam-y-āk* ‘united’, and *tir-y-āñc-* ‘transverse’ with the weak stem *tiraś-c-*¹²³) (cf. adv./prep. *tiraś*, adv. *tiraś-cā* RV = YAv. *taras-ca*, cf. p. 148f.; sg. nom. m. *tir-y-āñ* AV YSP+, n. *tir-y-āk* TS^m, acc. m. *tir-y-āñc-am* YS^{m/p+}, loc. *tiraś-c-ī* ŠB, pl. nom. *tiry-āñc-as* AV, acc. *tiraś-c-as* KS^p; f. *tiraś-c-ī* AV+).

The suffix *-āñc-/ac-* goes back to an old root-noun *(-)āñc-/(-)ac-* ‘bend’ (**h₂enk/*h₂ñk*), and *-īc-/°(ā)c-* to (**h₃ek^w-/*h₃k^w-* ‘look, glance’. The stems in which the suffix is preceded by a form ending in *a* have no forms with *-īc-*, but legitimately *°āc-* (< **°ó-h₃k^w-*): *prāñc-/prāc-* (f. *prāc-ī-*) ‘turned forward’, *arvāñc-/arvāc-* ‘hitherward’, *avāñc-/avāc-* ‘downward’, *pārāñc-* ‘turned away’, *devāc-c-ī-* f. ‘turned towards the gods’: m. sg. nom. *prāñ*, acc. *prāñc-am*, instr. *prāc-ā*, abl. *prāc-as*, loc. *prāc-i*, pl. nom. *prāñc-as*, acc. *prāc-as*; n. sg. *prāk*; f. nom. sg. *prāc-ī*, acc. *prāc-īm*, du. *prāc-ī*, pl. nom. acc. *prāc-īs*. Cf. YAv. m. sg. nom. *paraš* ‘turned away’, *fraš* ‘turned forward’ (< **-āñk-š*), YAv. m. pl. acc. *haθrañc-ō*

¹²³) Cf. DUNKEL Fs.Narten 11–29 “The common origin of conjunctive **-k^he* and adverbial **-s*”: 24f.: “Ved. *tiraścā*, YAv. *tarasca*, Lat. *trān-sque* ‘through’ < **tṛh₂ñ- sk^he* beside Goth. *pairh*, OHG *durh* < **t(e)ṛh₂-k^he*”. [On Av. *-āñc-* adj.s, cf. SCHMITT Fs.Kuiper 134–141.]

(< *-ānc-ah; cf. Ved. *satrāc-as* ‘working together’), and n. sg. *paragʷt* ‘turned away’ (with unexplained *-āk, cf. Ved. *pārāk*).

1.2.14. [1] The active participles of pres. and aor. are built with a hysterodyn. **-ánt-/nt-/at-** suffix: m. sg. nom. *s-án* ‘being’ (OAv. *h-qṣ*: < **s-ant-s* < **h₁s-ént-s*), acc. *s-ánt-am* (YAv. *h-ənt-əm*: < **s-ant-am* < **h₁s-ént-ŋ*), n. nom. acc. *s-át* (OAv. *h-qṭ*: < **s-at* < **h₁s-ŋt*), gen. *s-at-ás* (YAv. *h-at-ō*, < **s-at-ás* < **h₁s-ŋt-és*); pl. nom. *s-ánt-as* (YAv. *h-ənt-ō*: < **s-ánt-as* < **h₁s-ént-es*), acc. *s-at-ás* (YAv. *h-at-ō*, < **s-at-as* < **h₁s-ŋt-ŋis*), gen. *s-at-ám* (OAv. YAv. *h-āt-qm*: < **h-at-qm* < **s-at-ám* < **h₁s-ŋt-óm*), n. sg. *ā-sat* ‘non-being’ (< **ŋ-h₁s-ŋt*), pl. *s-ánt-i* (< **s-ánt-i* < **h₁s-ént-h₂*); f. *s-at-ī* (OAv. YAv. *h-āt-t-ī*: < **s-at-ī* < **h₁s-ŋt-ih₂/jéh₂*).

[2] This inflexional scheme in **-ant-/at-** has been introduced in OIA also in thematic verbal stems, where originally *-a-nt- < *-o-nt- had no ablaut, e.g., *bhávant-* ‘becoming’: m. sg. nom. *bhávan*, acc. *bhávant-am*, abl. gen. *bhávāt-as*, pl. nom. *bhávant-as*, acc. *bhávāt-as*; n. sg. *cárat* ‘wondering’, pl. not attested; in the f., however, *bháva-nt-ī* < **bhéyo-nt-ih₂*. In Av., there are forms having preserved the old inflexion: sg. nom. Av. *pərʷsqṣ* (= *pṛcchán* < **pṛśca-nt-s* < **pṛ(k)sko-nt-s*) ‘asking’, acc. YAv. *jasəntəm* (Ved. *gácchantam* < **ga-śca-nt-am* < **gʷŋ-skó-nt-ŋ*) ‘going’, gen. OAv. *saošiiaṇtō* ‘of the saviour’, (< **cauś-ja-nt-ah* < **jó-nt-es*; Ved. *bhávatas* after *s-at-ás*), pl. nom. YAv. *jasəntō* (Ved. *gácchantas* < **ga-śca-nt-as* < **gʷŋ-skó-nt-es*), acc. YAv. *saošiiaṇtō* (< **ja-nt-ah* < **jó-nt-ŋs*; Ved. *bhávatas* after *s-at-ás*), gen. OAv. YAv. *saošiiaṇtqm* (< **ja-nt-ām* < **jó-nt-om*; Ved. *bhávātām* after *s-at-ám*)¹²⁴); n. sg. OAv. *yasō.xiiēn* ‘giving honour’ (< **iacah-ja-nt* < **jó-nt*; Ved. *-at* after *s-át* as in *cárat*), pl. OAv. *rōiθβən* ‘mixing oneself’ < **a-nt* Y 31,7(?); in the f., on the contrary, mostly from the secondary weak forms in *-āt-t-ī*: YAv. *vī-jasāt-t-ī* ‘spreading’, *duardāt-t-ī* ‘running’, *zizānāt-t-ī* ‘causing to beget’.

[3] In the case of acrodynamic verbal stems (NARTEN-presents, cf. 3.4.2.3.: p. 102f., and sigm. aorists, but cf. p. 113), the suffix appears in weak form: *śás-at-* ‘instructing’: m. nom. sg. *śás-at*, nom. du. *śás-at-ā*, gen. sg. *śás-at-as*; s-aor. m. nom. sg. *prá-sakṣ-at* ‘winning’¹²⁵), and OAv. *stauu-as* ‘praising’ < **stéu-ŋt-s* (in Ved., secondary *stuvánt-/stuvat-*). — Such is also the case in the reduplicated athematic inflexions because of their consistent accentuation on the reduplicated syllable: m. sg. nom. *dád-at* ‘giving’ (YAv. *daδō*, *daθō* < **dé-dh₃-ŋt-s*, **dʰé-dʰh₁-ŋt-s*), acc. *dád-at-am*, sg. gen. and pl. nom. acc. *dád-at-as*, cf. 3.4.2.4.: p. 103f.

¹²⁴) In YAv., there are also secondary forms like in Ved.: *ṭhišiiat-qm* beside *ṭhišiiā-ŋt-qm* ‘of the ones who are hating’, *zizānat-qm* ‘of the ones giving birth’.

¹²⁵) IV 12,1. On the stem of the nom. pl. *sákṣant-as* RV I 131,3, see n. 279. Cf. p. 113.

One can well observe in the paradigm of the participles that the ablaut-scheme is a question of the word formation as a whole, and not only of a stem or suffix. It depends on the place where the accented strong syllable was left at the time when the PIE inflected language came into being from an earlier agglutinative phase.

Adj.s such as *brhánt-* ‘tall, high, lofty’ (f. *brhat-ī-*), *mahánt-* ‘big, great’ (f. *mahat-ī-*), and the subst. *dánt-* ‘tooth’ (from an old part.) follow the hysterodynamic scheme, as in [1]:

brhánt-/brhat-: **m.** sg. nom. *brh-án* (YAv. *bər²z-ō* < *-*ant-s*), acc. *brh-ánt-am* (*bər²z-ant-əm*), instr. *brh-at-ā* (*bər²z-at-a*), dat. *brh-at-é* (*bər²z-at-e*), gen. *brh-at-ás* (*bər²z-at-ō*), loc. *brh-at-i* YS^m (cf. YAv. *bər²z-añt-ii-a* < *-*anti* + *ā*); du. nom. *brh-ánt-ā* (*bər²z-ant-a*), (dat. YAv. *bər²z-ən-biia* < *-*and-bʰiā*); pl. nom. *brh-ánt-as* (*bər²z-ant-ō*), acc. *brh-at-ás*, instr. *brh-ád-bhis*, dat. *brh-ád-bhyas*, gen. *brh-át-ām* (*bər²z-at-qm*); — **n.** *brh-át*, du. *brh-at-ī*, pl. *brh-ánt-i* (AV), — **f.** *brh-at-ī-*: *brh-at-ī* (*bər²z-at-ī*), *brh-at-ī-m* (*bər²z-at-ī-m*), dat. *brh-at-y-ái* (gen. *bər²z-at-ii-ā*), *brh-at-ī-s* (*bər²z-at-ī-s*), *brh-at-ī-s*. These forms go back to PIE **bʰrǵh-ént-* (cf. Gaulish *Brigantes*), **bʰrǵh-nt-*, **bʰrǵh-nt-ih₂-* (Germ. *Burgund*, OIr. *Brigit*).

mah-ánt-/mah-at-: **m.** sg. nom. *mah-án* (cf. YAv. *maz-a* < PIran. **-ān-s* < PII **-ānt-s*¹²⁶), *mah-ān* (2×), acc. *mahánt-am* (*maz-ant-əm*), instr. *mah-at-ā*, dat. *mah-at-é*, abl. *mah-at-ás*, loc. *mah-at-i*; du. *mah-ánt-ā*, *mahánt-au*, *mah-ád-bhyām*; pl. nom. *mah-ánt-as*, acc. *mah-át-as*, instr. *mah-ád-bhis*, dat. *mah-ád-bhyas*, gen. *mah-at-ām*, loc. *mah-át-su*; — **n.** *mah-át* (cf. YAv. *maz-āt* < PII **maj-aH-nt*¹²⁷), *mah-ánt-i*; — **f.** *mah-at-ī-*: *mah-at-ī*, *mah-at-yās*, *mah-at-ī-s*: < PII **maj^(h)-aH-ánt-/maj^(h)-aH-nt-/maj^(h)-H-nt-* from PIE **meg-éh₂-/meg-h₂-* ‘great’.

d-ánt-/d-at-: **m.** sg. nom. *d-án*, acc. *d-ánt-am*, instr. *d-at-ā*, pl. acc. *d-at-ás*, instr. *d-ad-bhis*, OAv. nom. pl. *d-ant-ō*: < **h₁d-ont-/h₁d-nt-* (cf. Grk. *ὀδ-ών*, *ὀδ-όντ*, Aeolic *ἔδόντ-ες*), presumably from part. **h₁d-ént-/h₁d-nt-* of **h₁ed* ‘bite, chew’ (Ved. *ad* ‘eat’, *át-ti*, *ad-ánti*) in its origin. From the acc. sg. *d-ánt-am* a new stem *dánt-a-* RV (VI 75,11), AV+ has been produced.

An amphidynamic inflexion¹²⁸ is attested in *jár-ant-* ‘old, aged’: sg. acc. *jár-ant-am*, dat. *jur-at-é*, du. nom. *jár-ant-ā*, pl. gen. *jur-at-ām*, f. *jár-at-ī* (*jár-at-ī-bhis*); secondary with *jár-*: gen. sg. *jár-at-as*, du. *jár-at-os*: < **gérh₂-ont-nt-*, **gérh₂-nt-és*, cf. Grk. *γέρ-ων*, *γέρ-οντ*.

¹²⁶ Cf. SCHINDLER Gs. Kronasser (1982) 194.

¹²⁷ Cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 556 n.

¹²⁸ Cf. Grk. *ἐκ-ών* < **uék-ont-*, Cyrenaean *ἐκ-ασσα* < **uék-nt-ih₂* ‘willing’.

1.2.15. The stems in **-vant-** and its variation **-mant-** with possessive meanings¹²⁹⁾ follow the same scheme with **-ánt-/nt-/at-** but with two exceptions: nom. sg. m. in **-vān/-vānī**, **-mān/-mānī**, and voc. **-vas**, **-mas** (in Cl.Skt. **-van**). This phenomenon goes back to a suppletive situation in PII with nom. sg. ***-uās**, ***-mās**, which are crossed into ***-uāms**, ***-māms** in OIA,¹³⁰⁾ e.g., **śás-vant-** ‘happening in continuous series’¹³¹⁾; m. sg. nom. **śás-vān**, acc. **śás-vant-am**, instr. **śás-vat-ā**, dat. **śás-vat-e**, gen. **śás-vat-as**, du. **śás-vant-ā**, pl. **śás-vant-as**, **śás-vat-as**, **śás-vad-bhis**, **śás-vat-ām**; n. **śás-vat**, pl. **ghṛtā-vānti** ‘having butter-oil’, **paśu-mānti** ‘having cattle’; f. **śás-vat-ī** in the *devī*- inflexion; — in Av.: m. sg. nom. OAv. *dræg-uuā*, YAv. *druuā* ‘deceitful’, YAv. *xratu-mā* ‘having mental power’ < ***-uās**, ***-mās**, on the one hand, and OAv. *θβā-uuqs* ‘similar to you’, YAv. *cuuqs* ‘in which size’ < ***-uānt-s**, on the other hand; in the n. pl. OAv. *mīžda-uuqn* ‘paying duly remuneration’ < ***-uānt**. The Ved. voc. sg. is **-vas**: *gnā-vas* ‘together with a god’s wife’, *vīra-vas* ‘having heros’, etc.; there are also younger levelled forms, in the RV only *ar-van* ‘running swift, race-horse’, *śatā-van* ‘having hundreds’, and isolated *śavasā-van* ‘having power’, the later the more; from **-mant-**: *tuviṣ-mas* ‘having strength’, *dyu-mas* ‘heavenly glorious’, etc.

The stem *bhāvānt-* used as a respectful expression for 2nd persons (Br.+) is an allegro-form of *bhāga-vant-* ‘fortunate one’, thus the nom. sg. is *bhāvān*, not *bhāvan* as in the pres. part. Its voc. sg. *bhāga-vas* has left variational developments: *bhagoḥ* (BrhĀrUp.) and commonly *bhoḥ* (possibly through **bhavas*).

1.2.16. The act. participle of the perf. stems is formed with **-vāms-/ús-** (**-ús-** with secondary accent throughout), originally **-vās-/us-** in the hysterodyn. inflexion¹³²⁾; the nasal (*m*) is introduced analogically from **-vant-** stems through the factor cited in 1.2.15., e.g., *cakṛ-vāms-/ús-* ‘having made’, *vid-vāms-/ús-* ‘knowing’: m. sg. nom. *cakṛ-vān*, *vid-vān*¹³³⁾ (OAv. *vīd-uuā*, YAv. *vīd-uuā* < ***uīd-uās**¹³⁴⁾), acc. *cakṛ-vāms-am* (cf. n. 134), *vid-vāms-am* (YAv. *vīspō.vīd-*

¹²⁹⁾ *ārvant-* ‘running swiftly’ (frequently in the RV in full paradigm with f. *ārvat-ī*, also in OAv. YAv. *ārvuānt-* ‘swift’) seems to be a primary derivation, but could have been developed from *ārvan-*, as **-vant-** forms in or beside a **-van-** stem, cf. n. 109, n. 112.

¹³⁰⁾ Cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 555f. SCHINDLER Gs. Kronasser (1982) 194 n.42 proposes, however, a PII development ***-ānt-s** > ***-āns**.

¹³¹⁾ Cf. KLINGENSCHMITT MSS 33 (1975) 67–78 = Aufs. 149–157, cf. below n. 165.

¹³²⁾ Grk. *εἰδ-ός*, Goth. *weit-wop-s*, OIr. *fiad-u* would suggest an amphidynamic pattern in its origin: ***uējīd-uōs**, ***uīd-us-ēs**, and ***uīd-us-ih₂-**.

¹³³⁾ Three times trisyllabic: *vidvān* (GRASSMANN, OLDENBERG) or *vidvaān*.

¹³⁴⁾ YAv. has also forms with **-ā** instead of **-ā̃**: *yōiθ-βā* ‘standing firm’, *zaz-uua* ‘having left’. The nom. sg. OAv. *vīd-uš* and Ved. *vid-ús* (2× in the RV) seem to have changed into

uuāṇh-am), instr. *vid-úš-ā* (YAv. *vīd-uš-a*), dat. *cakr-úš-e*, *vid-úš-e* (YAv. *vīd-uš-ē*), (abl. YAv. *daθ-uš-aṭ* ‘from the creator’, gen. OAv. *vīd-uš-ō*), voc., e.g. *cikit-vas* ‘conscious’; **du.** *vid-vāms-ā*, *-au* (YAv. *zaz-uuāṇh-a* ‘having left’); **pl.** nom. *cakr-vāms-as*, *vid-vāms-as* (YAv. *vīd-uuāṇh-ō* < **uīd-uāh-ah*), acc. *cakr-úš-as*, *vid-úš-as* (YAv. *daθ-uš-ō*), instr. (see below), gen. *vid-úš-ām* (YAv. *vaon-uš-qm* ‘of the ones who have won’), (loc. YAv. *zaz-ušu*); — **f.** *vid-úš-ī*, etc. Forms of the *-vant-* stem appear in the **n.** sg., *tatan-vát* ‘extending far’, *sam-vavrt-vát* ‘enveloping’, and m. instr. pl. *jāgr-vád-bhis* ‘by those awake’ (3 × in the RV in a paradigm with *jāgr-vāms-am*, *jāgr-vāms-ā*, *jāgr-vāms-as*) opposed to YAv. *dad-ūž-bīš* < **dad^h-uš-b^hiš* ‘by creators’. — The participles in the middle voice are made with *-āná/-āna-* (3.8.2.: p. 138).

1.3. Comparatives and superlatives are expressed in two ways.

1.3.1. The inherited secondary suffix of the comparative *-tara-* (PIE **-tero-*) and the superlative *-tama-* (probably a suffix conglomerate **-tṛṇ-h₂-o-*¹³⁵) are added to a wide range of nominal formations, pronominal stems, and adverbial particles: *tavás-tara-* ‘stronger’, *tavás-tama-* ‘strongest’, *tuvís-tama-* ‘mightiest’ (cf. YAv. *aš.aojas-tara-* ‘much stronger’), *ámavat-tara-* ‘having more offensive power’ (YAv. *amavastara-*, *amavastama-*), *mṛdayát-tama-* ‘showing more mercy’, *vidúš-tara-* ‘more-knowing’ (cf. YAv. *jāgər²buštara-* ‘having grasped better’), *su-dárša-tara-* ‘having a better look’ (cf. YAv. *hu-baoiði-tara-*, *-tama-* ‘having better, best fragrance’), *soma-pā-tama-* ‘Soma-drinker par excellence’ (cf. YAv. *zraz-dā-tama-* ‘most trustful’), *nēdiṣṭha-tama-* ‘the very next’ (‘nextest’).

Old formations are found, e.g., in *án-tara-* ‘inner’ (YAv. *aṇ-tara-*, Lat. *in-terior* from **in-teru-s*, Grk. pl. *ἐν-τέρα* ‘entrails’: < **h₁én-tero-*), *án-tama-* ‘intimate’ (YAv. *aṇ-tama-*, Lat. *in-timus*: < **h₁én-tṛṇ-h₂-o-*), *án-tara-* ‘different, other’ YSP+ (< **h₂én-tero-*; cf. Goth. *an-þar*, Lith. *añ-t(a)ras* ‘other, another’), *pra-tara-* in adv. *pra-tarám* ‘furthermore’ (YAv. *fra-tara-* ‘prior’, Grk. *πρό-τερο-ς* ‘former, in front’; YAv. *fra-tama-*, OPers. *fra-tama-* ‘primus’, cf. adv. *pra-tarám* ‘preferably’ Br.), *vi-tarám* ‘wider’ (: YAv. *vī-tara-* ‘more lateral’); from pronominal stem *i-tara-* ‘another’ (cf. Lat. *i-teru-m* ‘once again’); in the pronominal inflexion *út-tara-* ‘upper, further’, *ut-tamá-* ‘upmost’, *ka-tará-* ‘who/what between two’ (Grk. *πό-τερο-ς*, cf. OAv. YAv. *ka-tāra-*, Goth. *ha-þar*, OChSlav. *ko-terъ*, *ko-torъ*¹³⁶), *ka-tamá-*

the *-ú-* stem; perhaps acc. sg. *cakr-úš-am* X 137,1 similarly to the *-úš-* stem (p.37f.), or only an analogic formation after the acc. pl. *cakr-úš-as*.

¹³⁵ In Grk., replaced by *-τατο-* < **-tṛṇto-*, *-ατο-* < **-ṛto-* with *-το-* in **-is-to-*. Cf. also n.137.

¹³⁶ OAv. YAv. *ka-tāra-* (*kataras-ciṭ* < **ka-tāra-s-ciṭ*, cf. HOFFMANN-FORSSMAN 59, 113, 171) might go back to **-toro-* beside **-tero-*; perhaps also in Goth. *ha-þar*, OChSlav. *ko-torъ*.

‘who/what among many’. The suffix **-tero-* for the comparative is productive in Indo-Iranian and Grk.

aśva-tarā- ‘mule’, *aśva-tar-ī-* ‘she-mule’ (AV+) can be interpreted as ‘the one which resembles rather a horse (than a donkey)’, likewise *vatsa-tarā-* ‘a young bull or heifer which is rather a calf’. For the semantics in *pitṛ-tama-* ‘most fatherly’ (cf. Lat. *mater-tera* ‘aunt’ in another manner), *vīrā-tara-*, *vīrā-tama-* ‘more, most heroic’, *kṣétra-tara-* ‘better for settlement’ ŚB, cf. Grk. βασιλεύ-τερο-ς, βασιλεύ-τατο-ς ‘more, most kingly king’.

There are also forms formally with *-ra-* and *-má-* added to adverbial particles in *-a-*; the suffixes go back to PIE **-e-ro-* and **-m̥-h₂-ó-*: *ádha-ra-* ‘lower’ (YAv. *að-a-ra-*, Lat. *inf-e-ru-s*, < PIE **h₂ndʰ-e-ro-*), *adh-a-má-* ‘lowest’, *áp-a-ra-* ‘posterior, another’, *ap-a-má-* ‘remotest’ (OAv. YAv. *ap-a-ra-*, *ap-š-ma-*, OPers. *ap-a-ram*),¹³⁷ *úp-a-ra-* ‘lower, nearer, later’, *up-a-má-* ‘uppermost, nearest’ (YAv. *up-a-ra-*, *up-a-ma-*, cf. Grk. ὑπ-ε-ρος, ὑπ-α-τος, OE *uf-e-ra*, *uf-e-mest*), *para-má-* ‘farthest, extreme, highest’, in addition *madhya-má-* ‘central’.

1.3.2. The primary comparative suffix is *-(ī)yāms-/-(ī)yas-* and the superlative *-iṣṭha-*. The nasal element *m̥* in the comparatives in m. sg. nom. *°yān/°yām*, acc. *°yāms-am*, pl. nom. *°yāms-as*, n. pl. *°yāms-i* is introduced analogically from the *-vant-* stems via *-vāms-/-(ī)us-* (1.2.16.: p.47), cf. also n.130.

The formation of the comparatives seems to go back to a PIE proterodyn. paradigm: **-iōs-* in the nom. sg. m., and **-īos-* in the other strong cases (with a variant **-iīōs-*: SIEVERS, or < **-ih₂-ōs-*?) to the accented full-grade root, and **-(i)iés-* in the weak cases; the f. is formed with **-(i)iés-ih₂-* (> Ved. *-yas-ī-* in the *devī-* inflexion). In Ved., the root syllable is always accented (also in the zero grade, e.g., *ṛj-īyāms-* :: *ṛj-ú-* ‘straight’, *rāj-iṣṭha-*, and *bhū-yāms-*, *bhū-y-iṣṭha-*, cf. below), and the form *-yas-* has been carried through, e.g., in the gen. sg. *náv-yas-as* ‘of newer’, *kán-īyas-as* ‘smaller, younger, fewer’ (: *kanīna-* ‘young’?), *jyá-yas-as* ‘having more priority’. The inflexion is thus like the *-as-* stem in the m. (1.2.9.: p.36), except the forms with the secondary nasal: m. sg. nom. *vás-yān* ‘better’ with sandhi-form *vás-yām* (cf. OAv. *vaś-iiā*, YAv. *vañhā* < **-iās*), acc. *vás-yāms-am* (cf. YAv. *vañhañhəm* < **-ias-am*, OAv. *nā’d-iiāñh-əm* ‘more in distress’ < **-iās-am*), pl. nom. *śré-yāms-as* ‘more glorious’; n. pl. *náv-yāms-i* (cf. YAv. *vañhāś-ca* < **-iās*). No forms occur in the du.; in the pl., only the nom., acc., and gen. forms

Iranian **katāma-* in YAv. *katāma-*, Manich.Sogd. */kadām/*, NPers. *kudām* is assumed to be an analogic form after *katāra-*.

¹³⁷ Cf. *áp-a* ‘away, off’, Grk. ἀπ-ό, ἄπ-ο, Lat. *ab* < **ap-o* (or **h₂ep-o*); Goth. *af-tuma** ‘last’ < **ap-tm̥h₂o-*, *af-taro* adv. ‘from behind’ < **ap-torō*(?).

are attested; the n. nom.-acc. sg. is *-yas*, e.g., *ṛj-yas*, *kán-īyas*, *jyā-yas*, *bhū-yas*, *vás-yas*; f.: e.g. *vás-yas-ī-* (OAv. YAv. *vah-eh-ī-*), *náv-yas-ī-*, *bhū-yas-ī-*.

The zero-grade suffix **-is-* is found in some relics, e.g. *máh-iṣ-ī-* ‘the first wife of a king’ (**‘the greater [wife]’*), *mah-iṣ-á-* ‘buffalo’ (**‘a bigger [bull]’*), *mah-iṣ-ī-* ‘she-buffalo’ (**‘a bigger [cow]’*); the stem *mahīyāms-*, *mahīyasī-* is attested KathaUp, ŚvetāśvataraUp+. Cf. OChSlav. *bol’b-jb* ‘greater’ for **bolb* < **bol-iṣ-*, f. *bol’bši* for **bol-iṣ-i* < **bol-is-ih₂*; Lat. *ploera*, ONord. *fleire* ‘more’ < **ploh₁-is-*.¹³⁸) The superlative suffix is derived from this by adding **-th₂o-* (**-to-* in Grk., and presumably in Iran.) which occurs also in some ordinal numbers.

Forms without *-ī-* before *-yas-* are preserved in *jyā-yāms-* ‘having priority’¹³⁹), *bhū-yāms-* ‘more’ (: *bhūri-*), and in forms attested almost only in the RV such as *vás-yāms-* ‘better’, *náv-yāms-* ‘newer’ (: *náv-a-*), *táv-yāms-* ‘stronger’ (: *tav-ás-*), *pán-yāms-* ‘very wonderful’ (: *pán-ya-*), *sáh-yāms-* ‘mightier’ (: *sah-á-*), in addition, in forms with **e-yāms-* like *śréyāms-* ‘more glorious’, *préyāms-* ‘dearer’; but the majority occurs already in the RV with *-ī-*, and beside the above mentioned also *bháv-ī-yāms-*, *vás-ī-yāms-*, *náv-ī-yāms-*, *táv-ī-yāms-*, *pán-ī-yāms-*, *sáh-ī-yāms-*.

These comparative and superlative suffixes are, as already seen, added directly to a root, thus *svād-ú-* ‘sweet’, *svād-īyāms-*, *svād-iṣṭha-* (cf. Gr. *ῥῑδ-ύ-ς*, *ῥῑδ-ῖ-ων*, *ῥῑδ-ιστο-ς*); *bhū-ri-* ‘many, abundant (of things); rich, mighty (of persons and gods)’, *bhū-yāms-*, *bhū-y-iṣṭha-* (for **bhuvīṣṭha-* < **bʰuh₂-isth₂o-*)¹⁴⁰); *ās-ú-* ‘swift’, *ās-īyāms-* Br., *ās-iṣṭha-* (OAv. YAv. *āsu-*, YAv. *ās-īias-*, *ās-iṣṭa-*, Grk. *ὤκ-ύ-ς*, *ὤκ-ιστο-ς*, cf. *ὤκ-ύ-τερο-ς*, *ὤκ-ύ-τατο-ς*, Lat. *ōc-ior*: **h₂ek*); *vás-u-* ‘good’, *vás-yāms-* ‘better’, *vás-iṣṭha-* ‘best’ (OAv. YAv. *voh-u-*, *vañh-auu-*, OAv. *vaś-īiah-*, *vah-īiah-*, YAv. *vañhah-*, *vañhah-*, OAv. YAv. *vah-iṣṭa-*: **h₁ues*); *a-śrī-rá-*, *a-ślī-lá-* ‘not beautiful’, *śré-yāms-* ‘more beautiful, excellent’, *śré-iṣṭha-* ‘most beautiful, excellent’ (metrically also */śráy-iṣṭha-/*: < **kréjH-isth₂o-*; OAv. YAv. *srī-ra-*, YAv. *sraīias-*,

¹³⁸) Lat. *mulier* ‘woman, wife’ shows a zero grade in the root: < **m̥l̥-jés-ih₂-* (f. of *melior* ‘better’ < **méli-īos-*) or < **m̥ld-jés-ih₂-* ‘softer, weaker’ (cf. *mollis* < **moldu-i-s*). Thus, the f. stem might have been inflected, virtually **m̥l̥-jés-ih₂* :: **ml-is-jéh₂-ej* (mesodynamic) or **ml-is-ih₂-éj* (a kind of amphidynamic); cf. *náv-īyas-yā* or *náv-yas-īyā* VI 22,7 < **neuj-es-jéh₂-h₁*, or rather **neuj-es-ih₂-éh₁*.

¹³⁹) There is no primitive; according to Pāṇini V 3,61f., it serves as the comparative and superlative of *praśasya-* ‘to be admired, excellent’ and *vṛddha-* ‘old, senior’.

¹⁴⁰) Indian tradition construes *bahú-* ‘thick, many’ as the primitive of *bhū-yāms-*, *bhū-y-iṣṭha-* (Pāṇini VI 4,158f.), which corresponds to the real usage of the words in Skt. Into *bhávī-yāms-* RV I 83,1, the full-grade root was secondarily introduced, just as in the case of YAv. adv. *baōiō* ‘longer, more’. On the ablaut of this root, cf. 3.5.1.: p. 108, n. 242, n. 274.

OAv. YAv. *sraēšta-*; *priy-á-* ‘dear, one’s own’, *prévāms-*, *préṣṭha-* (in most cases */práy-iṣṭha-/*: < **préiH-isth₂o-*, OAv. *fraēšta-*); (OAv. *as-na-*, YAv. *as-na-*, *ās-na-* ‘near’ < **ṛsd-no-*), Ved. *néd-īyāms-*, *néd-iṣṭha-* (YAv. *nazdiiō*, OAv. YAv. *nazd-išta-*: **nesd*); *sthū-rá-* ‘rigid, strong, big’, *sthāvī-yāms-* YS^p+, *sthāv-iṣṭha-* YS^p+ (YAv. *stao-iiāh-*, *stāuu-išta-*); *tj-ú-* ‘straight’, *tj-īyāms-*, *rāj-iṣṭha-*.

1.4.1. In order to mark derived feminines, [1] -ā-, and [2] -ī- are used (**motion suffixes**). They are descendants of PIE *-éh₂-/*-h₂- and *-jéh₂-/*-ih₂-.

[1] -ā- is usually used for building f. forms from the -a- stem, especially when *k*, *t*, *y*, *r*, *l*, or *v* precedes -a- (but e.g., *vr̥kī-* ‘she-wolf’ :: *vr̥ka-*), and in the mid. participles -āná-/ -āna-, -māna-. In these cases the suffix -ā- (< *-eh₂-) replaces the thematic vowel -a- (< *-o-), thus, *priyā-* :: *priyá-* ‘dear, one’s own’ (OAv. YAv. *friiā-* :: *friia-*), *ásvā-* ‘she-horse’ :: *ásva-* (OAv. YAv. *aspā-* :: *aspa-*, OPers. *asa-*), *kṛṇv-ānā-* ‘making for herself’ (cf. YAv. *gər̥z-ānā-* ‘lamenting’). There are also forms without m. counterparts, e.g. *īṣ-ā-* ‘pole (of a chariot)’ (PIE **h₂iHs-éh₂-*), verbal abstracts, e.g. *krīd-ā-* ‘play, frisk’, *jar-ā-* ‘song of welcome’, *jar-ā-* ‘aging’; also in -yā-, e.g. *mā-yā-* ‘miraculous faculty (of calculation)’ (OAv. YAv. *mā-iiā-*), *kṛ-t-yā-* ‘making, i.e. sorcery’, *i-t-yā-* ‘going’ (cf. 1.4.5.: p.54f.), *vid-yā-* ‘knowledge’ AV, YS^m+, to this group belongs also *chā-yā-* ‘shadow’, cf. YAv. *a-sa-iiā-* ‘shadow-less’, Grk. *σκ-ιά-*: < proterodyn. **skéh₁-ih₂-Ø*, **skh₁-jéh₂-s*/**skh₁-ijéh₂-s* (cf. MAYRHOFFER EWAia s.v.).

[2] -ī- is also used for the f. of many -a- stems (predominantly subst.s in the *vr̥kī-*, and adj.s in the *devī-* inflexion, cf. 1.2.3.[1], [2]: p.21ff.)¹⁴¹⁾, and always from the -u- stems (from weak forms)¹⁴²⁾ as well as consonant stems (: 1.2.3.,

¹⁴¹⁾ In the *vr̥kī-* inflexion, e.g. *apar-ī-* pl. ‘future days’ (: *ápar-a-*), *arun-ī-* ‘dawn’ (: *arun-á-*, *arun-ā-* ‘ruddy’), *kṛṣṇ-ī-* ‘night’ (: *kṛṣṇ-á-*, *kṛṣṇ-ā-* ‘black’), *kalyāṇ-ī-* ‘beautiful woman’ (*kalyāṇ-a-*), *Gandharv-ī-* (: *Gandharv-á-*), *gaur-ī-* (: *gaur-á-* ‘Gaura-buffalo or a kind of wild donkey?; whitish’), *tapan-ī-* ‘heat’ (: *tápan-a-* ‘tormenting’), *puruṣ-ī-* ‘woman’ (: *púruṣ-a-* ‘man’), *mayūr-ī-* ‘peahen’ (: *mayūr-a-* ‘peacock’), *śakaṭ-ī-* ‘cart’ (: *śakaṭ-a-*), etc.

In the *devī-* inflexion, e.g. colour-designations such as *arus-ī-* (: *arus-á-* ‘ruddy’), *śyāv-ī-* (: *śyāv-á-* ‘darkbrown’), etc., cf. YAv. *zar̥naēn-ī-* (: *zar̥naēn-a-* ‘golden’); from vr̥ddhi-formations, *śārad-ī-* ‘autumn’, *sthāvīr-ī-* ‘solid, tough’, *mānuṣ-ī-* (also *mānuṣ-ā-* :: *mānuṣ-a-* ‘Manuṣ-descendant, human-being’), *ásvin-ī-* ‘acting as Áśvins’, etc.; as the f. of -ya-: *ār-ī-* (: *ār-(i)ya-* ‘Aryan’), *dāiv-ī-* (: *dāiv-(i)ya-* ‘belonging to the gods’), *dvay-ī-* (: *dvay-á-* ‘twofold’), *hiranyá-yī-* (: *hiranyá-ya-* ‘golden’); furthermore, *dās-ī-* (: *dās-a-* ‘hostile, demoniacal’, YAv. *dāh-ī-* :: *dāṇh-a-*), *dās-ī-* ‘slave, maid’ AV (: *dās-á-* ‘enemy, servant’), *pāp-ī-* (: *pāp-á-* ‘bad’), *vāmī-* (: *vāmá-* ‘agreeable’). Cf. AiG II-2 387ff.

¹⁴²⁾ Not from the -i- stems; however, secondary forms naturally occur, e.g. *sūr-ī-* TS IV 2,5,4^m (~KS *sūr-i-l̥*) :: *sūr-í-* ‘patron, chief’ RV+, *krīm-ī-ñām* AV V 23,13–AVP ::

mostly in [2] *devī́*- inflexion): *ur-v-ī́* :: *ur-ú-* ‘wide’ (cf. Grk. *εὐρεῖα* < **eu-ih₂*), *pūr-v-ī́* (YAv. *paōrī́* < **pḷh₁-ū-ih₂*) :: *pur-ú-* ‘many’ (OAv. YAv. *poʷr-u-*, OPers. *par-u-* < **pḷh₁-ú-*), *vás-v-ī́* (OAv. YAv. *vaṣv-ī́*) :: *vás-u-* ‘good’, *nár-ī́* ‘woman’ (OAv. YAv. *nār-ī́*) :: *nár-* (OAv. YAv. *nar-*, cf. 1.2.6.: p.32), *bṛh-at-ī́* (YAv. *bərʰz-aít-ī́* < **bṛh₁gʰ-nt-ih₂*) :: *bṛh-ánt-* ‘high’ (YAv. *bərʰz-ant-* < **bṛh₁gʰ-ént-*, cf. 1.2.14.: p.45f.), *jár-at-ī́* :: *jár-ant-* ‘old’ (cf. 1.2.14.: p.46), *vidúṣtī*: *vidvāms-* ‘knowing’ (cf. 1.2.16.: p.47f.), *vás-yas-ī́* (OAv. YAv. *vaheh-ī́*): *vás-yāms-* ‘better’ (cf. 1.3.2.: p.49f.), *pratīc-ī́* :: *praty-āñc-/pratīc-* ‘turned toward’ (cf. 1.2.13.: p.44).¹⁴³⁾

The long *-ū-* designates the f. gender in some formations cf. AiG II-2 492ff.: *śvaśr-ū-* ‘mother-in-law’ :: *śvās-sur-a-* ‘father-in-law’ (assimilated from **sué-kur-o-*, YAv. *xʷa-sur-a-*), *vadh-ū-* ‘young wife’ < *(H)*uadʰ-u-H*(?) (YAv. *vaδ-u* ‘young wife’ Farhang-i oīm 78); *cam-ū-* ‘(a sort of) vessel for Soma’. They go back probably, in part, to the original *-uh₂-* formation just as *tan-ū-* ‘body’ (OAv. YAv. OPers. *tan-ū-*), in part, to analogic forms after *-ā-* (< **-eh₂-*) :: *-a-* (< **-o-*), maybe also under influence of *-ī́* (< **-ih₂-*), as it is evidently the case in *a-gr-ū-* ‘maid’ (YAv. *ayrū-*) :: m. *á-gr-u-* ‘unmarried’, *babhr-ū-* ‘brown’ :: *babhr-ú-*, *nabhan-ū-* beside m. *nabhan-ú-* ‘spring (of water)’.¹⁴⁴⁾ Cf. 1.2.4.: p.23f.

Special formations are attested for f. proper names: *-ī́*-feminines (in the *devī́*- inflexion) from the strong form of *-i-* stems, e.g. *Agn-āy-ī́* ‘wife of god *Agn-i-*’, *Vṛṣā-kap-āy-ī́* ‘wife of *Vṛṣā-kap-i-*’; of *-u-* stems: *Mān-āv-ī́* ‘wife of *Mān-u-*’ (KS^p, ŠB; analogic *Mān-āy-ī́* MS^p), *Jahn-āv-ī́* ‘stem of *Jahn-ú-*’ (Br.+), *Vas-āv-ī́* (:: *vás-u-*), cf. m. *vṛddhi*-formation *Ān-ava-* ‘chief of the *Ān-u-* tribe’, *Trāsa-das-yav-a-* ‘descendant of *Trasá-das-yu-*’, *mān-av-á-* :: *Mān-u-*, OPers. *Mārg-av-a-* :: *Mārg-u-*, *ādhvar-yav-a-* :: *adhvar-yú-* ‘Adhvaryu-priest’ (org. ‘following the ritual way, process’).¹⁴⁵⁾

An old formation is reflected in *pát-nī́* ‘mistress, wife’ :: *pát-i-* ‘lord, husband’ (cf. p.29), cf. YAv. *dəmənō.paθ-nī́*, *nmānō.paθ-nī́* ‘mistress of the house’,

krīm-i-/kṛīm-i- ‘worm’ AV+ (*krīmīṇām* AV), *sá-yon-ī́* f. (du. *sáyonī*, pl. *sáyonīs*) RV :: *sá-yon-i-s* m. ‘born from the same womb’ RV, cf. AiG II-2 412f.

¹⁴³⁾ *śván-/śun-* ‘dog’ functions as m. as well as f.; the marked f. *śun-ī́* appears in AV IV 20,7–AVP (*śunyās*). In YAv., the f. form *sūn-ī́* is used also as the m. beside *span-/sūn-* m.

¹⁴⁴⁾ Cf. YAv. gen. sg. *saṇuh-as-ca* Yt 13,133: *saṇh-ū-* ‘instruction’(?), cf. OAv. *səṇgh-ūš* Y 34,7 (acc. pl. of *-uš-* stem?).

¹⁴⁵⁾ Cf. OAv. *āṛʰz-auu-a-* ‘righteousness’ (*ārj-av-a-* ChU+) :: OAv. *ərʰz-u-*, Ved. *ṛj-ú-* ‘straight’. There are also *vṛddhi*-formations from weak *-u-* forms: *Yád-v-a-* :: *Yád-u-*, *Paid-v-á-* :: *Ped-ú-*, *pārs-v-á-* ‘flank’ (OPers. *Pārs-a-* ‘Persian, *born from rib’) :: *pārs-u-* m. f. ‘rib, costa’. Cf. E. LEUMANN KZ 32 (1893) 295ff., DUNKEL Sprache 34 (1988–1990) 13f.

ha-paθ-nī- (OIA *sá-pat-nī-*) ‘fellow-wife’ :: OAv. *pa’t-i-*, Grk. *πότη-νία* :: *πόσι-ι-ς*; < **pót-nih₂-* :: **pót-i-*. This formation is used for the (first) wife of a god or person: *Indrāñtī-*, *Varuṇāñtī-*, *Aranyāñtī-* (:: *aranya-* ‘wilderness’), *Mudgalāñtī-*.¹⁴⁶

The same suffix is used for the colour adjectives in *-ta-*, e.g.: f. *é-nī-* :: *é-ta-* (YAv. *aē-ta-*) ‘varicoloured’, *hári-nī-* :: *hári-ta-* (YAv. *zā’r-ita-*) ‘yellowish’, *róhi-ta-* :: *róhi-nī-* ‘red, reddish’, *śye-tá-* :: *śyé-nī-* ‘bright, white’; an individualising suffix *-n-* is supposed (with a phonological change *-knī-* for *-tnī-*) in: *ási-knī-* ‘dark night, darkness’ :: *ási-ta-* ‘black’, *páli-knī-* :: *pali-tá-* ‘grey’, and *hári-kñī-* in *hári-kñi-kā-* AV XX 129,3.4 (~ *hári-kli-kā-* RVKh) :: *hári-ta-* ‘yellowish’.

1.4.2. Some formations build a system with *-ā-* for the abstract, and *-ú-* for the agent noun: e.g., *-s-ā-*, *-s-ú-* from the desid. of *jay/ji* ‘win’: *jigī-ša-te* ‘be greedy’, *jigī-ṣ-ā-* ‘greed’, *jigī-ṣ-ú-* ‘greedy’ (cf. p. 125), of *bhaj* ‘share’: *bhik-ša-te* ‘desire to have (something as) a share for oneself, beg’, *bhik-ṣ-ā-* ‘begging’ (in the RV only in compounds), *bhik-ṣ-u-* ‘beggar’ (Cl. Pur.; f. *bhik-ṣ-u-nī-* Buddh.Skt.); from denomin. verbs with *-yá-^{ti/te}*: *-y-ā-* for abstract noun, *-y-ú-* for agent noun, e.g. *namas-yá-^{ti}*, *-y-ā-*, *-y-ú-* ‘do reverence’; cf. also *mā-y-ā-* ‘wonderful faculty’, *dur-mā-y-ú-* ‘having malevolent tactics’ RV III 30,15; root-noun *anu-ṣṭh-ā-* ‘the following’, *anu-ṣṭh-ú-* ‘following’, cf. *su-ṣṭh-ú-* ‘being in good condition’ (later *ú* as adv. ‘well’); from the root *gā* ‘stride, go’: *vanar-g-ú-* ‘wandering in the forest’, naturally also *agre-g-á-* ‘going in front’ with *-a-*, etc.

As diminutive suffixes *-ká-*, *-(i)kā-* are productive: *kumāra-ká-* ‘little boy’, f. *kumār-ikā-* (AV+), *śiśu-ká-* ‘little baby’, *śakunta-ká-* (YS^m), *śakunt-ikā-* ‘little bird’, *muṣ-ká-* ‘testicle’ (*‘little mouse’), *dhénu-kā-* ‘milch cow’ AV, cf. OAv. YAv. *pasuka-* ‘cattle’ :: OAv. *pasu-* (= Ved. *paśú-*, *páśu-*) m. (n.). The *-ka-* suffix is used also for clarifying Bahuvrīhi comp.s (1.5. [3]: p. 57). The diminutive *-la-* is found in *vṛṣa-lá-* ‘little bull’ (a bull [*vṛṣan-*] which does not lead a cattle herd, but belongs to it; said of a man), and in the proper name *Śakunta-lā-* *‘little bird or partridge’ ŚB.

1.4.3. Old **vṛddhi-formations** are preserved e.g. in *dev-á-* ‘heavenly; god’ (OAv. YAv. *daēui-a-* ‘non-god’, OLat. *deiu-o-s*, Lat. *dēuos*, *deus* ‘divine, god’: < PIE **deǵu-ó-* :: **diēu-/diu-* ‘heaven’), *pad-á-* ‘footprint, footstep’ (OAv. *pad-a-*, Arm. *het*, ONord. *fet*: < **ped-ó-* from ***pd-* of **ped-*, *pōd* ‘foot’), *bheṣaj-á-* ‘medicament’ (YAv. *baēšaz-a-* ‘healing, medicinal’ :: *bhišáj-* ‘medical doctor’), *deś-á-* ‘region’ (:: *dís-* ‘direction’; cf. YAv. *daēs-a-* ‘sign, omen’, which is derived directly from the verb *daṣ* = OIA *deś/diś* ‘point out, indicate’), *náv-a-* ‘new’ (YAv. *nauu-a-*, Hitt. *neṽ-a-*, Grk. *vέ-o-ς*, Lat. *nou-u-s*, etc. :: *nú*, *nū*, PIE **nũ*

¹⁴⁶ Cf. E. LEUMANN loc. cit., DUNKEL loc. cit., cf. also p. 32 on *nár-*.

‘now’), etc. The Indic *vr̥ddhi*-forms show, as is well-known,¹⁴⁷⁾ the lengthened grade: *dāiv-a-* ‘belonging to, or coming from heaven’ (AV+, cf. *dāiv-ya-* ‘godly’), *bhāiṣaj-ya-* n. ‘healing power’ (YS^m +), *sārath-i-* ‘charioteer, fellow-driver’ (: *sa-rātha-* ‘driving the same chariot’), also in patronymics as *Plāyog-i-*, *Vāidadaśv-i-*, *Mārtāṇḍ-ā-* ‘descendant of a dead egg’, cf. forms cited with n. 145.

1.4.4. The CALAND suffix-system¹⁴⁸⁾ is preserved only in fossils, e.g. *śvit-rá-* ‘white’ (AV+) :: *śvit-y-āñc-/śvit-īc-*, *śvit-īc-ī-* ‘whitish’, *śit-i-pád-* ‘white-footed’ (with loss of *v*), YAv. *spīt-i-* in *spīt-i-dōiθra-* ‘clear-eyed’ and in some proper names; *sac-i-víd-* ‘knowing together, having the same thought’, *sac-i* adv. ‘together’ :: cf. *ā-sk-ra-* ‘accompanying’; *rj-i-pyá-* epithet of an eagle (cf. YAv. *Ṛz-i-fiia-*, a mountain-name, OPers. *[*]ard-i-fiya-*) :: *rj-rá-* ‘swift, quick’ and ‘brightly red’ (cf. also *rj-ú-* ‘straight’ < **h₃rǵ-ú-*?), *Rj-i-śvan-* *‘with quick dogs’ beside *Rjráśva-* *‘with quick horses’ = YAv. *Ṛzrāspa-*, Grk. *ἀργ-ο-ς* ‘white and bright’ and ‘swift’, *ἀργ-ι-όδων* ‘having bright teeth’, *ἀργ-ι-πους* ‘swift of foot’: < **h₂rǵ-ró-*, **h₂rǵ-i-*; *gabh-i-sák* ‘deep inside’ :: *gabhī-rá-* ‘deep’. There are nominals released from the system: *śuk-rá-* ‘white and bright’ :: *śúc-i-* ‘pure and bright’; *śak-rá-* ‘strong, powerful’ :: *śac-ī-* ‘ability, power, energy’ (secondary from **śac-i-*?); *Túg-ra-* and *Túj-i-* (probably abridged from some compound) as proper names.

1.4.5. An Indic innovation is the systematic employment of a **formant -t-** after a root-form ending with a short vowel when it is used as a root noun (also before the extensions *-van-*, *-var-a-*, *-var-ī-*, cf. 1.2.7.1.: p. 33f.),¹⁴⁹⁾ in absolutives (gerunds) and gerundives in *-ya-*, and abstracts in n. *-ya-* and f. *-yā-*. This process has something to do with the OIA tendency to prefer the weak form of a root as the standard form. In the case of root nouns, the *-t-* elements are common in Indo-Iran.: *-kṛ-t-* (YAv. *-kər^o-t-*) ‘making, producing’, *-prú-t-* (YAv. *-fru-t-*) ‘jumping’, *-bhṛ-t-* (OAv. YAv. *-bər^o-t-*) ‘bearing’, *-i-t-* (YAv. *-i-t-*) ‘going’, *prātar-i-t-van-*

¹⁴⁷⁾ Cf. Georges DARMS Schwäher und Schwager, Hahn und Huhn. Die *Vr̥ddhi*-Ableitung im Germanischen (1978) 368–375 with bibliography (KURYLOWICZ BSL 44, 1948, 46, etc.). The starting point for the OIA development is to be sought, in short, in the fact that OIA had *r̥* as opposed to OIran. *ər*. In a phase when the Indo-Iran. *vr̥ddhi*-system came into being, the *r*-sonant was probably **ər* (cf. n. 41), and its *vr̥ddhi*-form was *ār* (*a* + *ər*). This opposition was introduced into OIA as *ā-r* :: *r̥*, and after this, **ā-ṛ* (instead of **aṛ* > *e*) :: *i*, **āṛ* (instead of **aṛ* > *o*) :: *u*; in OIran., they remained as *ār* :: *ər*, *aṛ* :: *i*, *aṛ* :: *u*.

¹⁴⁸⁾ Cf. CALAND KZ 31 (1892) 267, 32 (1893) 592, WACKERNAGEL Kl.Schr. 769ff., SCHULZE Kl.Schr. 79, 124; AiG II-1 59.

¹⁴⁹⁾ Cf. also *mṛ-t-yú-*, OAv. YAv. *mər^o-θ-iiu-* ‘death’ (originally ‘going to death, i.e. dying’?).

‘going early in the morning’, *i-t-vará-* ‘going’. Beside the well-known PII root noun *-hán-/ghn-/(-ha-)* ‘slaying’ (< **g^{wh}en-/g^{wh}ñ-*) ending in °*an-* (cf. 1.2.1.: p. 16),¹⁵⁰⁾ there appear also *ha-t-nú-* ‘deadly’, *jigha-t-nú-* ‘seeking to injure’, in addition, *pūrva-gá-t-van-* VII 67,7 (< **g^wñ-t-*),¹⁵¹⁾ *jiga-t-nú-* ‘going on, speeding’, etc. Examples in the gerd. and gerdv., to which OIran. has little or no corresponding formations: gerd. *aram-kf-t-yā* ‘having arranged’, *ā-bhḥ-t-yā* ‘having fetched’, *-i-t-(i)yā* ‘having gone’, *ā-gá-t-yā* ‘having come’, *vi-há-t-yā* ‘having smitten off’; gerdv. *cí-t-ya-* ‘to be piled up’ AV+, *śrú-t-ya-* ‘to be heard’, *stú-t-ya-* ‘to be praised’, *carkf-t-ya-* ‘to be extolled’; and in nominal derivatives *pratī-t-ya-n.* ‘what is to be recognized’, *i-t-yā-* f. ‘procession’, *vṛtra-há-t-ya-* n. ‘slaying of V’, f. *muṣṭi-ha-t-yā-* ‘fist fight’. Cf. also *yák-r-t* (p.33).

1.5. nominal composition¹⁵²⁾

Nominal compounds can be divided into [1] copulative, [2] endocentric, [3] exocentric, and [4] others.

[1] Copulative compounds are traditionally called *dvandvā-* ‘pair’; they are used by nature in the du., pl., and also in the n. sg. (collectives). Most compounds in the du. consist in the RV of accented dual forms in both members (so-called *devatādvandva*): *dyāvā-pṛthivī* ‘heaven and earth’, *mitrā-várūṇayos*, *mitrā-várūṇābhyām* ‘of, by M.-and-V.’. They are composed from two elliptical duals (cf. *pítárā* ‘both fathers’, i.e. ‘parents’). Such members occur also separately: *náktā* ... *uṣāsā* ‘night and dawn’ (: *uṣāsā-náktā*), *mitráyor várūṇayos* ‘of [both] M.-and-V.’. There appears also the type *sūryā-candramás-ā* with an accent-unity and then *indra-vāyú* in total unity, as is the norm in the later language. Plural Dvandvas are attested in the RV only in *aho-rātrāṇi* ‘days and nights’ (n., with the suffix -ā-) and *ajāváyas* ‘[the animals’ class of] goats and sheep’, both in Book X. Later on, they are common; the gender follows that of the last member. Collective

¹⁵⁰⁾ For the full grade, cf. inf. *ā-námam*, *nī-náme*, *ati-kráme* (see SCARLATA 84f., 280f.).

¹⁵¹⁾ Adv. *dyu-g-át* ‘going through heaven’ VIII 97,4 belongs to the group *drav-át* etc., and is from an aor.-stem **g^wh₂-ñt*, cf. p. 147.

¹⁵²⁾ Cf. AiG II-1 (²1957); SADOVSKI TPhS 100 (2002) 351–402, Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik (2000) 455–473, Indo-European Word Formation (2004) 259–334, and other articles. On the privative compounds cf. KNAUER KZ 27 (1885) 1–68, RENOU BSOAS 10 (1939) 1–18; FORSSMAN Coloquio Delbrück (1997[1998]) 85–111. Cf. also RENOU BSL 52 (1956) 96–116; DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN Les composés de l’Avesta (1936); DUNKEL Gs. Schindler (1999) 47–68.

Dvandvas are rare in Ved.: *iṣṭā-pūrtā-* n. '[effect of] sacrificed-and-offered'¹⁵³ in the sg. RV X 14,8 (°*ena*), AV YS^m YS^p Br., and du. YS^m; *keśa-śmaśrū* n. sg. 'hair and beard' (AV), etc. Dvandvas consisting of adj.s are rare: *padbhyām dakṣiṇa-savyābhyām* 'with [two feet], the right and the left' AV. *ā-ca-parā-cā-* YS^p is rather a syntactic compound, cf. *ā ca pārā ca* RV, YAv. *ā-ca para-ca* Yt 8,54.

[2] Endocentric compositions are divided into two categories, [2a] appositional, and [2b] determinative:

[2a] Appositional compounds are called *karmadhāraya-* (the naming motive is not clear, perhaps 'work as an obligation'), also known as "descriptive compounds" or "appositional determinative compounds":

(i) The combination adj. + subst. is rather rare in the older language: *nava-jvārā-* 'new pains' (RV I), *mahā-grāmā-* 'big troop' (RV X). There is a type in which the local adj. specifies a part of the latter member: *pūrvāhṇ-ā-* 'forenoon', *madhyān-din-a-* 'noon', *madhyameṣā-* 'the centre of the chariot's pole (*iṣā-*)' YS^m, cf. *samudrām ... mādhyam* 'the centre of the ocean'; *ἀκρό-πολις* 'the upper city' Od.+ (*πόλις ἄκρη* II.), Celtic *Medio-lānum* 'the middle part of the plane, Milan', *Allo-broges*, *Nitio-broges* 'people on the other/own side of the border' (Caesar etc.).

(ii) The combination noun (functioning as adj. or adv.) + verbal agent is well attested in the RV: *satya-yāj-* 'really-sacrificing' (i.e. sacrificer, or priest, i.e. Agni, whose sacrifice bears fruit), *ṛtv-ij-* 'sacrificing at the right time, order', *āśu-pátvan-* 'swiftly flying'; (*śyenā-patvan-* 'flying like a hawk' is possibly a possessive compound 'having the flight of a hawk' like *āśu-héman-* 'having a swift impulse, urging on [a race-horse] into swift running').

(iii) Adv. + deverbal noun or adj.: *akṣṇayā-drūh-* 'deceiving in a false way', *satyām-ugra-* 'really-mighty', *puró-hita-* 'placed in front'.

(iv) With a qualifying word in the first member *sú-saṁskṛta-* 'perfectly made up', *á-deva-* 'non-god (a god who is not worthy of the title)'. Some titles of Skt. drama may be understood as special instances of this type, e.g., *Vikramorvaśīyam* 'Story of Urvaśī characterised by heroism', i.e. 'Story of U., Scene of Heroism', *Abhijñānaśakuntalam* '(Story of) Ś., Scene of Recognition', *Svapnavāśavadattam* 'Story of Vāśavadattā, Scene of a Dream'.

(v) A type subst. + subst. is assumed in the RV in *Vṛṣā-kapi-* 'bull-ape (an ape which is a bull, i.e. a strong male)', after the RV *āśva-vṛṣā-* 'stallion', *puruṣa-vyāghrā-* 'man-tiger (a demonic mixture)', etc. In Cl.Skt., this type is common, where *puruṣa-vyāghra-*, *nara-simha-* etc. are interpreted as 'a [brave and strong]

¹⁵³ The first member *iṣṭā* presupposes a compound in the n. pl. **iṣṭā-pūrtā(ni)*. On this word, cf. J. SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik (2000) 475ff.

man like a tiger/lion', in its origin, however, probably 'a tiger/lion among men'.

(vi) Adj. + adj. *nīla-lohitā-* 'darkblue-and-red, i.e., dark red' (RV X), Cl. Skt. *uttara-pūrva-* 'north-east' (cf. ŚB *údīcaḥ prācaḥ paśūn* 'the cattles in the north-east', *dig údīcī prācī* 'northeast direction', *údaṇ prāñ* 'facing towards northeast').

[2b] Determinative compounds functioning as subst. and adj., also known as dependent compounds, are traditionally called *tatpuruṣa*-s 'his personnel'. The members in composition stand in some case-relation: *haviṛ-ád-* 'eating the oblation', *vṛtra-hán-* 'slaying V' *gáv-iṣṭi-* 'seeking for cows, raid'; *devá-tta-* 'given by the gods', *saho-já-* 'generated by power'; *viśvá-sambhū-* 'causing welfare for each person', *go-já-* 'produced from cows', *kṛṣṇa-prút-* 'jumping in the black (darkness)', *bandhu-kṣít-* 'dwelling among the relatives'; *viś-páti-* 'chief of a settlement/community', *deva-kilbiṣá-* 'sin against the gods'. There are also compounds in which the former member takes an elucidating case-form, particularly numerous in the older language: *puram-dará-* 'breaking palisades', *girā-vṛdh-* 'growing by the songs of welcome', *divo-já-* 'generated from heaven', *rathe-ṣṭhá-* 'standing on a chariot', *divi-kṣít-* 'dwelling in heaven', with genitive before *-páti-* and double accentuation in the RV: *vānas-páti-* 'lord of the woods', *vācás-páti-* 'lord of the speech', etc., furthermore, in proper names *Śúnaḥ-śépa-* 'dog's tail', *Dívo-dāsa-* 'slave of heaven' (with accent unity); *ápām nápāt-* 'the water's grandson' can be treated as a compound, but also *nápāt-ápām* occurs, the voc. is *ápām napāt*, functioning as one word.

[3] Exocentric possessive compounds are known as *bahuvrīhi*-s 'having much rice', a Bahuvrīhi *A-B* can be interpreted also as 'having *B* characterised by *A*' or 'whose *B* is characterised by *A*'. They are very common already in the RV, e.g. *bāhuv-ōjas-* 'having strength in the arms', *ugrá-bāhu-* 'having strong arms', *aṣṭá-pad-* 'eight-footed', *vīrá-peśas-* 'having men, heroes as one's decoration'; with a case-form in the first member *divi-yoni-* 'having one's [birth-]place in heaven'. There are also derivative formations from Bahuvrīhis with *-a-*, which partly go back to PIE: *an-udr-á-* 'waterless' (Gr. *ἄν-υδρ-ο-ς*), *kavā-sakh-á-* 'bringing humiliation to one's comrades', also with *-ka-* (mostly post-RVic): *a-karṇá-ka-* 'earless' YSP, with *-i-*: *dhūmá-gandh-i-* 'smoke-smelling' (: *gandhá-*), with *-ya-*: *dāśa-mās-ya-* 'ten months old', etc., etc.

Compounds of the form *A-B* are differentiated by accentuation between [2] endocentric and [3] exocentric ones, viz. in principle: the accent is placed on *B* in endocentric, and on *A* in exocentric compounds; the original accent-position of a simplex is preserved, when it causes no difficulty for understanding: [2] *rāja-putrá-* 'son of a king' :: [3] *rāja-putra-* 'having a king as one's son' (from *rājan-* and *putrá-*). However, the *B* member of the [3] Bahuvrīhi has an accent when the

A member is a disyllabic adj. ending in *i* or *u*, *dvi-* ‘two’, *tri-* ‘three’, *duṣ-* ‘ill, bad, less’, *su-* ‘well, much’, or negative prefix *a(n)-*: *puru-putrá-* ‘having many sons’, *dvi-pád-* ‘two-footed’, *su-parṇá-* ‘well-winged’, *a-pád-* ‘footless’; furthermore, in the case of *-as-* stems after *nṛ-*, *sa-*, etc. The *A* member of the [2] endocentrics is accented, if the *B* member is a verbal adj. in *-ta-*, *-na-* or a verbal noun in *-ti-*, (Karmadhāraya:) *sú-kṛta-* ‘well done’ (but *su-kṛtá-* ‘good work, deed’, *su-kṛt-* ‘well-doing’, *su-kṛtyā-* ‘good deed, action’), *dūr-hita-* ‘badly set’, *sadhá-stuti-* ‘united praise’; (Tatpuruṣa:) *devá-hita-* ‘ordained by the gods’, *dhána-sāti-* ‘conquest of booty’; or in the case of *a(n)-*: *á-kṛta-* ‘not done’, *á-deva-* ‘non-god, unworthy god’; furthermore, e.g. with *-páti-*: *gṛhá-pati-* ‘lord of the house’, but *viś-páti-* ‘chief of a settlement, community’. Cf. **prathamá-vaivākaraṇa-* only ‘novice grammarian’, but **prathama-vaivākaraṇá-* ‘novice grammarian’ or ‘excellent grammarian’ according to Pāṇ VI 2,56.

[4] Other groups consist of governing, iterative, syntactic, and other compounds. There are **prepositional governing compounds** such as *ati-rātr-á-* ‘lasting overnight’, *ā-path-í-* ‘being on the road’. The verbal governing compounds are represented by some types as *dhārayát-kavi-* ‘supporting the seers’, *Jamád-agni-* *‘going to Agni’ or *‘Agni shall go’, *Bharád-vāja-* *‘carrying off the prize’, *Trasá-dasyu-* *‘Tremble-oh-enemy!’, *dāti-vāra-* ‘giving goods’, and *śikṣā-nar-á-* ‘being of service to men’(?).¹⁵⁴ **Iterative compounds** (and similar formations) are traditionally called *āmreḍita*-s ‘repeated’, when the whole form is repeated:^{154a} *āhar-āhar* ‘day after day’, *gṛhé-gṛhe* ‘in each house’, *upāry-upari* ‘exactly above, right overhead’ YSP Br.; also with verb forms: iptv. *pibā-piba* ‘drink, drink!’ (with *id*), differently from *stuhí stuhí* ‘praise! praise!’. As **syntactic compounds**, one can cite *yāc-chreṣṭhá-* ‘the best possible’ (“in-so-far-as-best”), *aḥam-pūrvá-* ‘eager to be the first’ (“I [should be the] first”). There are formations used more or less ad hoc, also for avoiding a misunderstanding, e.g., *vācā-stena-* ‘stealing by means of speech’. There are also **complexive compounds** (*Komplexivkomposita*), which are thematic. The typical ones are numeral complexive compounds (*Zahlwortkomplexivkomposita*), styled after the name of the elucidator “SOMMER-compounds”¹⁵⁵: *daśāṅgul-á-* ‘length of ten fingers’ (: *aṅgúri-*), *tri-yu-*

¹⁵⁴ Cf. DUNKEL Glotta 70 (1992) 197–225 “Two old problems in Greek: *πτόλεμος* and *τερψίμβροτος*”.

^{154a} Cf. KLEIN “*Āmreḍitas* and Related Constellations in the *Rigveda*” JAOS 123 (2003) 773–802; on their various functions, cf. also SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ Fs. Narten 232ff. [On the precise meaning of the term *āmreḍita* used by Pāṇini, cf. CARDONA StII 20 (1996) 67–72.]

¹⁵⁵ SOMMER Zur Geschichte d. griech. Nominalkompos. (1948), esp. 39ff., 45ff., 55, 99.

g-á- ‘period of three ages’, *sam-udr-á-* ‘ocean’ (m.; the n. is perhaps preserved in the pl.), *ardha-mās-á-* ‘a half month’, *pāpa-vas(ī)yas-á-* ‘confusion of illness and wellness’ YS^p, normally they are n. substantives; they are also adj. complexives which are Bahuvrīhi compounds: *sahasrākṣ-á-* ‘comprising/having a thousand / thousands of eyes’, *sāhn-á-* ‘comprising/lasting one day’ AV, *tri-vats-á-* ‘three years old’ YS^{m+}, *bahv-ṛc-á-* ‘comprising/having many ṛc-s’ Br.+, cf. Bahuvrīhis accented as such: *dāśa-gv-a-* ‘consisting of ten cows’, *śatā-dur-a-* ‘having a hundred / hundreds of doors’, cf. *sahāsra-dvār-am* acc. ‘having a thousand / thousands of doors’.

In negative compounds, *a-/an-* < **n-* preserves its zero grade. Also some nominal compounds show zero grade in both their members. They seem to have preserved historical forms which were not treated as compounds any more, e.g. *sa-yūj-* ‘united together, companion’ (PIE **sm-īúg-* :: *sám*), *pr-ṣṭh-á-* ‘back’ (PIE **pr-sth₂-ó-* *‘fore-standing’ :: *prá*).^{155a} Cf. the denomin. type *uruṣyá-ti* (p.132: 3.7.6.). On YAv. *aš-* ‘great’ < **mḡs-* in the first member of some compounds, and OAv. adv. *maš* ‘greatly, very much’ < **meḡ-s*, cf. SCHINDLER Fs.Hoeningswald, 1987, 337–348.

^{155a} Cf. Grk. *παρθένος* ‘maiden, girl’ < **pr-sten-ó-* ‘having breasts which have just come out’ (Bahuvrīhi), cf. KLINGENSCHMITT Gs.Güntert (1974) 273–278 = Aufs.117–123.