

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

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

NR. 60

TOSHIFUMI GOTŌ

OLD INDO-ARYAN MORPHOLOGY
AND ITS INDO-IRANIAN BACKGROUND

in co-operation with

Jared S. Klein and Velizar Sadovski

Verlag der
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Wien 2013

OAW

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

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

This publication had been anonymously reviewed by international peers.

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ISBN 978-3-7001-6948-2

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Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Wien

Druck und Bindung:
Prime Rate kft., Budapest

Printed and bound in the EU

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

Old Indo-Aryan morphology and its Indo-Iranian background

Toshifumi Gotō

Dem Andenken

KARL HOFFMANN 26.2.1915 – 21.5.1996 und

MANFRED MAYRHOFER 26.9.1926 – 31.10.2011

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sendai, June 2010

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

Morioka/Vienna, December 2012

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

General references: MACDONELL Vedic Grammar (1910); WACKERNAGEL–DEBRUNER Altindische Grammatik [AiG] I–III (1896–1954); WHITNEY A Sanskrit Grammar (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); MAYRHOFFER 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_h, nom. pl. *-es), or zero-grade form (e.g., acc. pl. *-*ms*, *-*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-, -y_ā-/-*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. (: *ōṣadhi*- f.), and fruits n. (: *phála*- n.). Animals are represented either by a m. (*śván*- ‘dog’ < **k_uén*- :: *śunī́*- ‘she-dog’, *haṁsá*- ‘goose, gander’) or a f. (*gáv*- ‘cow’ and ‘cattle’ < **g^wóu*-, there are many terms for each kind of cattle according to gender, age, and use). OIA has three numbers: singular [sg.], dual [du.], and plural [pl.]. The du. is used to refer to two persons or objects in general, not restricted to forming a pair. Eight cases are used: nominative [nom.] for the subject, vocative [voc.] for addressing a person (or thing), accusative [acc.] for the direct object, dative [dat.] for the indirect object or aim, genitive [gen.] to indicate possession or part, instrumental [instr.] for means or association, ablative [abl.] to indicate separation, and locative [loc.] to indicate location.

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

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

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

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

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

In the **singular**,

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

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

acc. °*am* < **-am* < **-o-m*,

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

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

dat. °*āya* < **ā₁ia* (remodelled in PII after gen. **-as₁ia*, cf. WACKERNAGEL Kl. Schr. 274f.; OAv. *-āi.ā*, *-āiīā* beside OAv. YAv. °*āi* < PII **-āi* < PIE **-o-e₁*),

abl. °*āt*⁵⁾ < **-āt*, **-aat*⁶⁾ < **-o-at/d*⁷⁾, **-o-h₂et/d*, or **-o-et/d*(?),

gen. °*asya* < **-as₁ia* < **-o-s₁io* (beside **-o-so*, not continued in Indo-Iran.),

loc. °*e* < **-a₁i*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 *parākaāt* RV I 30,21, VIII 5,31, X 22,6, *antārikṣaāt* X 158,1, *sadāsthāāt* VIII 11,7; according to LANMAN 337f., however, “extremely doubtful”.

⁶⁾ Av. °*ā₁*, OPers. °*ā* (< **-ā₁*), unified with postposition *-ā* in YAv. *xšaθrāda* beside *xšaθ-rā₁* ‘from the dominion’; with *-cā*: *āat-cā* < **aāt-ca* in OAv. *ašāat-cā*, YAv. *yasnāat-cā* ‘from the worship’, furthermore, OAv. *ašāat-hacā* ‘on the basis of law’, and with shortening in the third-last syllable YAv. *nmāna₁t-hacā* ‘from house’, cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 119.

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

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

in the **dual**,

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

nom. acc. n. $^{\circ}e < *-\bar{a}_i^{10)} < *-\bar{o}-ih_1$,

instr. dat. abl. $^{\circ}\bar{a}bhy\bar{a}m$ instead of $^{\circ}ebhy^{\circ} < \text{PII } *-\bar{a}_i b^h i \bar{a}^{11)}$, + $*-m/-am$,¹²⁾

gen. loc. $^{\circ}ayos$: a blend of PII gen. $*-\bar{a}_{ii}\bar{a}s^{13)}$ < $*-\bar{o}_i-h_1\bar{o}s$ and loc. $*-\bar{a}_{ii}au^{14)}$ < $*-\bar{o}_i-h_1ou^{15)}$;

in the **plural**,

nom. voc. m. $^{\circ}\bar{a}s < *-\bar{o}-es^{16)}$,

acc. $^{\circ}\bar{a}n^{17)}$ (with long $\bar{a}$ introduced from the nom. $^{\circ}\bar{a}s$; PII $*-\bar{a}ns^{18)}$ < PIE $*-\bar{o}-ns < \text{Pre-PIE } **-\bar{o}-m-s$,

nom. acc. n. $^{\circ}\bar{a}$, $^{\circ}\bar{a}ni^{19)}$ < PIE $*-\bar{a} < *-\bar{e}-h_2$ (collective),

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

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

¹¹⁾ OAv. $^{\circ}\bar{o}ibii\bar{a}$, YAv. $^{\circ}a\bar{e}^h bii\bar{a}$, OPers. $^{\circ}aibiy\bar{a}$ preserve the old formation $*-\bar{o}_i-b^h i^{\circ}$. In OIA, $-\bar{a}$ in the nom. voc. acc. is assumed to be introduced in place of $-\bar{a}_i$, thus also YAv. forms in $^{\circ}\bar{a}biia$ (HOFFMANN Aufs. 55 n. 7).

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

¹³⁾ OAv. $^{\circ}asaii\bar{a}$ ‘of both parties’, YAv. $^{\circ}viraii\bar{a}$ ‘of both men’, and numeral $^{\circ}duaii\bar{a}$ ‘of two’, $^{\circ}uuii\bar{a}$ ‘of both’ (HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 120).

¹⁴⁾ OAv. $^{\circ}zastaii\bar{o}$ ‘in both hands’, $^{\circ}ub\bar{o}ii\bar{o}$, YAv. $^{\circ}uuii\bar{o}$ ‘in both’ (loc. cit.).

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

¹⁶⁾ Collective $^{\circ}\bar{a} < *-\bar{e}-h_2$ was generalised in the thematic inflexion in Iranian as in Pāli. Ved., OAv., YAv., and Pāli have also hyper-marked forms in $^{\circ}\bar{a}sas$ (< $*^{\circ}\bar{a}s-as$) beside $^{\circ}\bar{a}s$ or $^{\circ}\bar{a}$. Such forms occur also in the $-\bar{a}$ -stems (p. 21), and in $^{\circ}p\bar{a}n\bar{t}h\bar{a}sas$ ‘ways’ (p. 44)[; also $^{\circ}aniy\bar{a}ha bag\bar{a}ha$ ‘the other gods’ in OPers., cf. KENT §10, §172, SCHMITT Fs. Eilers 265ff.]

¹⁷⁾ And $*^{\circ}\bar{a}ns$ in the sandhi-form $^{\circ}\bar{a}ni\bar{s}$ ca. Cf. n. 31.

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

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

instr. $^{\circ}ais < *-\bar{a}i\check{s} < *-\bar{o}i\check{s}$ ²⁰,
dat. abl. $^{\circ}ebhyas < *-\bar{a}i-b^hi\bar{a}s$ ²¹,
gen. $^{\circ}\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$ (also $^{\circ}\bar{a}n_oam / ^{\circ}\bar{a}naam$) $< *-\bar{a}n\bar{a}m / -\bar{a}naam$ ²² $< *-\bar{o}-om$,
loc. $^{\circ}e\check{s}u < *-\bar{a}i\check{s}u$ ²³ $< *-\bar{o}i\check{s}u$.

Many nouns have this thematic inflexion, e.g., *devá-* ‘heavenly; god’: *devás*, *deva*, *devám*, *devéna* (also *devénā*, *devā́*), *devāt*, *devā́ya*, *devásya*, *devé*; *devā́* or *deváu*, *devā́bhyām*, *deváyos*; *devás* (also *devásas*), *devās* (also *devāsas*), *devā́n*, *deváís* (also *devébhis*), *devébhyas*, *devā́nām*, *devéṣu*.

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

In the **singular**,

nom., m. f. $-s < \text{PII, PIE } *-s, \text{ or } -\emptyset$ (in the case of long-grade stems),
voc. $-\emptyset$,
acc. m. f. $-m, -am < *-m, *-m$,
nom. acc. n. $-\emptyset$,
instr.²⁴ $-\bar{a}$, or lengthening of preceding vowel $< *-\bar{a}, *-H < *-eh_1, *-h_1$,

²⁰ In the RV and other mantra text portions also $^{\circ}ebhis$ (cf., e.g. $-\bar{a}-bhis$ in f. $-\bar{a}$ - stem) as in the pronom. inflexion, e.g. $^{\circ}tébhis$ (RV and other mantras) beside $^{\circ}táis$ (AV+, however, cf. OAv. $tāi\check{s}$, Grk. $toi\check{s} < *tōi\check{s}$). Cf. also Pāli $^{\circ}ehi$.

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

²² OPers. $^{\circ}\bar{a}n\bar{a}m$, but OAv. YAv. $^{\circ}anqm$ with short a before $^{\circ}n\bar{a}m$ (also in the $-\bar{a}$ - inflexion; for the explanation cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 60: §26bd. There are two exceptions YAv. $ma\check{s}ii\bar{a}nqm$ ‘of men, people’ and $^{\circ}n\bar{a}nqm$ ($^{\circ}n\bar{a}- / g^{\circ}n\bar{a}-$ ‘woman’); the former could be interpreted as avoiding three short syllables (SAUSSURE–WACKERNAGEL’s law, cf. AiG I, Nachtr. 177 on 313,42) from $*m\bar{a}rtiyana\check{a}m$ (the final $^{\circ}qm$ is scanned almost consistently disyllabically, thus $< *-\bar{a}na\check{a}m$), but there are also contra-examples. The termination in PIE is $*-\bar{o}m < *-\bar{o}-om$ (cf. n. 36). In Indo-Iranian, the formant $-\bar{n}\bar{a}m$ is introduced in the ‘vowel stems’ as $^{\circ}Vn\bar{a}m$: YAv. $ga'r\bar{i}n\bar{a}m$ = Ved. $gir\bar{i}n\bar{a}m$ ‘of mountains’, OAv. $vo\check{h}unqm$ = Ved. $v\bar{a}s\bar{u}n\bar{a}m$ ‘of good...’, YAv. $tanunqm$ = Ved. $tan\bar{u}n\bar{a}m$ ‘of bodies’, $-\bar{i}-n\bar{a}m$, $y\bar{a}tu-j\bar{u}n\bar{a}m$ ‘of the ones urged by sorcery’ beside $j\bar{o}guv-\bar{a}m$ ‘of the ones who are jubilating’, etc. The disyllabic $-naam$ is known a few times in $-\bar{a}$ - 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 $^{\circ}\bar{a}m$ (such as $dev\bar{a}m$; candidates in ib. 262) are all uncertain.

²³ OAv. $-a\check{e}\check{s}u$, YAv. $-a\check{e}\check{s}u$, and unified with postposition $-\bar{a}$: YAv. $rao\check{d}a\check{e}\check{s}uua$, OPers. $M\bar{a}dai\check{s}uv\bar{a}$.

²⁴ Indo-Iranian has generalised the ending $*-eh_1$ (originally in the amphi- or hysterodynamic type). The ending $*-h_1$, which must have been generated as an ablaut variant in the acro- and proterodynamic types, is preserved in Vedic $-i$ - stems ($\bar{u}t\bar{i}$, $c\bar{i}t\bar{i}$, $\acute{a}citt\bar{i}$, etc., and with $-i$, originally from a pre-vocalic position with loss of h_1 , e.g. $su\check{v}r\check{k}t\bar{i}$ ‘through good praising’, cf. LANMAN 380f., MACDONELL 281), and Avestan $-i$ - and $-u$ - stems (cf. n. 75, n. 79): OAv.

- dat.**²⁵⁾ $-e < *-ai < *-e_i$,
abl.²⁶⁾ **gen.** $-as, -s < *-as, *-s < *-és, *-os, *-s$,
loc. ($\rightarrow$ 1.1.3.) $-i, -\emptyset < *-i, *- \emptyset < *-i, *- \emptyset$;

in the **dual**,

nom. voc. acc. m. f.²⁷⁾ $-\bar{a}, -au$ ($-\bar{a} + u$), or lengthening of preceding vowel $< *-ā, *-H < (*-eh_1), *-h_1$,

nom. acc. n. $-\bar{i} < *-ī^{28)} < *-ih_1$,

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

gen. loc. $-os$: a blend of PII gen. $*-ās < *-h_1ōs$ and loc. $*-au < *-h_1ou^{29)}$;

aṣṭi, ‘by reward’, *cistī* ‘by consciousness’, *xratū* ‘by mental power’, *manīiū* ‘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 ^oai appears as gen. and abl. in the f. $-ī$ -stem ($-yai$), and influenced by it, in $-\bar{a}$ - ($-\bar{ā}yai$), $-i$ - ($-yai$), especially $-tyai$ from the $-ti$ -stem), $-u$ -stem ($-tvai$, *dhenvāi*), 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.cxlvi–cxlvii, only ^oyai forms in $-\bar{a}$ -, $-i$ - and $-ī$ -stems instead of ^yās or ^es (TS^p has only $-yai$ in the final dat. of the $-i$ -stem). MS^p has, on the contrary, no such forms according to WITZEL. CALAND–RAGHU 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–Mādhyaṇdina. Cf. AiG III 39–41, 135, 150, 505; for details and explanation, cf. WITZEL “Tracing the Vedic dialects” (1989) 132–139 with notes. Cf. n. 57, n. 67, n. 78, n. 84, n. 172.

²⁶⁾ In YAv. $-t$ of $-\bar{ai}$ in the thematic inflexion has spread over all stems: $-ai$ instead of OAv. $-\bar{o} < *-ah$, $-\bar{o}i$ instead of OAv. $-\bar{o}is^* < *-aiš$, $-aoi$ instead of OAv. $-aoš/-əuš < *-auš$, $-aiiāi$ instead of OAv. $-aiiā^* < *-āiāh$, $-\an < *-ant$ instead of OAv. $-\āng < *-aṅh < *-ans$ (HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 116). The same process is assumed for OPers. *Bābiraup* ($*-auu < *-au < *-au-t$) besides *Bābirauš*, and *Hiṇdaup* (SCHMITT Altpersisch 72). Unified with postposition $\bar{a}$ in YAv. *zraiaṇhaḍa* ($-ah$ -stem) ‘from a lake’, *āxštaēḍa* ($-i$ -stem) ‘because of peace’.

²⁷⁾ In the derivative $-\bar{a}$ -stem (f.), the nom.-acc.-voc. in the dual has been clarified to PII $*-ai$, with the neuter ending ($< \text{PIE } *-eh_2-ih_1$) or after the pronominal form $*t-ai$ ($< *tō-ih_1$ or $*teh_2-ih_1$?, cf. n. 170): OIA $-e$, OAv. $-\bar{e}$ as in *ubē* ‘both’, YAv. *uruuā’re*, *duiē* = Ved. *dvē* ‘two’. OIA “pragṛhya”-sandhi in the du. (cf. Pāṇini I 1,11), $-e$ in the $-\bar{a}$ -stem ($*-aiH$ or $*-aiH$), $-\bar{i}$ in the $-ī$ -stem ($*-īH < *-ih_2-h_1$), and $-\bar{u}$ in the $-ū$ -stem ($*-ūH < *-uh_2-h_1$) is explained by the effect of the laryngeal, cf. FORSSMAN MSS 25 (1969) 49 n.11; cf. above n.10.

²⁸⁾ YAv. *vaṇhi* $< *uasiū$ ‘good’, YAv. *aši* (possibly *aśi*) = Ved. *akṣī* ‘(both) eyes’, YAv. *uši* = OPers. *ušīy* ‘(both) ears’, YAv. *haxti* ‘(both) thighs’, OAv. *manahi-cā* ‘and both kinds of thinking’, *vacahi-cā* = Ved. *vācasi* ‘both kinds of speech’.

²⁹⁾ Gen. $-\bar{a} < *-ās$ in OAv. *ahuuā* ‘of both kinds of existence’, *manīiuuā*, *haxtiā* (~ Ved. *sakthyoś*) ‘of (both) thighs’, YAv. *pasuuā* ‘of cattle’, *bāzuuā* ‘of (both) arms’, *amərətātā* ‘of both kinds of immortality’, *ha^rruuātā* ‘of both kinds of completeness’, *cašmanā* ‘of both views’, *ašaonā* ‘of both righteous ones’; loc. $-\bar{o} < *-au$ 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, -Ø* (with or without lengthening of preceding vowel) < **-h₂* (collective),³³

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

dat. abl. *-bhyas* < **-b^{hi}ias*³⁵ < **-b^{hi}ios*/**-b^{hi}os*/**-mos* (see n. 21),

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

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

³⁰) > Av. *-ō*, OPers. *-a*.

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

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

³³) In Iranian: 1) with lengthening of the suffix-vowel: *-ū* (OAv. *po^urū, vohū* = Ved. *purū* 'many', *vásū* 'good' HO[FFMANN–]FO[RSSMAN] 131, Ved. knows also the type *mádhū* and secondary *mádhūni* 'honey, mead', later also 'sweet'), *-ī* (YAv. *zaraθuštri* 'Zoroastrian', cf. Ved. *śúcī*, HOFO 135, Ved. also type *bhūrī* and *bhūrīni* 'much'); — 2) with long suffix-syllable going back to the PIE long-grade in the collective formation: **-mān* (OAv. *an-ašmān* 'benefits', *dāmān, dāmān* 'territories, creatures', *nāmān* 'names', *var³dāmān* 'aids', *hax³mān* 'followers', YAv. *dumām* 'clouds', HOFO 144), **-uānt* (OAv. *mīždauuān* 'having reward', HOFO 150), *-ār* (OAv. *aiiār³* 'days', *sax³ār³* 'achievements', HOFO 153), **-ān* (YAv. *aiiān* 'days', *ruθβān, ruθβān-ca* 'entrails', HOFO 153), **-ās* (OAv. YAv. *manā* 'thinking, minds', YAv. *manās-ca*, OAv. YAv. *raocā, OAv. raocās-cā* 'lights', YAv. *vañhās-ca* 'better ones', HOFO 155); — 3) with no markers **-uant* (OAv. *rōiθβān?* 'joining in', HOFO 150), *-iš* (YAv. *x³ā.bar³ziš* 'being one's own cushion', *x³ā.sta³riš* 'being one's own lair, bed', HOFO 157), cf. Ved. *dirghaśrūt* '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. *ašmānī* 'shortcomings', YAv. *cinmāni* 'desires' (HOFO 144); OAv. *var³cā.hī-cā* 'abilities' (HOFO 155); added to forms with the full-grade suffix: YAv. *baēuani* 'tens of thousands', OAv. *sāx³ēnī* '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/mádhū/mádhūni* etc., *bhūrī/bhūrī/bhūrīni* etc., and *dirghaśrūt: sánti* (participle of *as* 'be'), *mahánti* 'great', *ghṛtāvānti* 'equipped with butter-oil', *paśu-mānti* 'having cattle'; *akṣāni* 'eyes', *áhāni* 'days', etc. beside *áhā, śīrṣā* 'heads', *kármāni/ kármā/kárma* 'deeds' etc., *dhánvāni/dhánva* 'steppes', *párvāni/párva* 'joints' (*párvā* AV), *bṛhánti* 'high' (AV), etc.; with a secondary nasal *arcīmṣi* 'flames', *āyūmṣi* 'lives', *vácāmṣi* 'words' etc., and *návyāmṣi* 'newer'. Cf. p. 41f. [Cf. KUIPER Shortening (1955).]

³⁴) Av. *-biš*, OPers. *-biš*.

³⁵) Av. *-biiō*. Cf. n. 21.

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

loc. $-su < *{-su}^{37}) < *{-su}$.

1.1.3. notes on the locative singular

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

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

(2) Long grade in the stem: the radical ^om - stem, OAv. *dqm*, <+ $-i$ > *dqmi* ‘in a house’; the radical $^oā$ - stem <+ $-i$ > OAv. *ā-dāi* (with disyllabic *āi*) ‘at the endowment(?)’ Y 33,11 < $*^oāH-i$ (also possible: < $*^oaH-ai$, or $*^oaH-i$ with analogic $\bar{a}$, so HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 124).

(3) Suffix in the full grade (mostly PIE $*-e$): the $-u$ - stem³⁸⁾, OAv. *pər^atō* ‘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. *Mar-gauv*, <with $-\bar{a}$ > YAv. *añhauua* (< $*añhaui-ā$), *dañhauua*, OPers. *dahayauvā*, <+ $-i$ > Ved. *dásyavi* ‘in the Dasyu, enemy’, *sānavi* ‘on a summit, back’; — the $-an$ -,

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

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

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

-man-, *-uan-* stem, $\langle \pm -i \rangle$ Ved. *rājan(i)*, (to the zero-grade stem: *rājñi* etc. ŚB+) ‘in, at a king’; OAv. *ānmānī* ‘on breath’, *cašmañi* ‘in sight’, Ved. *(ā)tmān(i)*, ‘in one’s self’, *ásman(i)* ‘on a rock’, (zero grade: *lómni* ‘in hair’ etc. AV+); *ádhan(i)* ‘in a way’, $\langle$ with *-ā* $\rangle$ YAv. ⁺*ašauuaniia* ‘righteous’ ($\sim$ Ved. *ṛtāvani*); the *-ant-*, *-uant-* stem, $\langle + -i \rangle$ YAv. *astuuañti* ‘having bone’, $\langle$ with *-ā* $\rangle$ YAv. *bər²zañtiia*, (in Ved., to the zero-grade stem *brhati* ‘high’, also in *-mant-* stems, e.g. *gó-mati* ‘having cattle’); — the *-ar-* stem $\langle + -i \rangle$ YAv. *na’ri* = Ved. *nári* ‘in a man’ (zero grade: f. *usrí*, also *usraám* ‘at dawn’; *nánānd^ari* ‘in a husband’s sister’); — the *-tar-* stem $\langle + -i \rangle$ Ved. *pitári* ‘at a father’, *netári* ‘in a leader’, *kartári* *sácā* ‘with a maker’, *hótari* ‘in a Hotar-priest’; — the *-r/-n-* stem, $\langle \pm -i \rangle$ Ved. *áhan(i)* ‘on a day’, *s_uvār* ‘in sun’s light’, (zero grade: YAv. *asni* ‘on a day’); — the *-yas-* (*-yāms-*) stem $\langle + -i \rangle$ Ved. *sáhīyasi* ‘stronger’; the *-aṇ-*, *-aṇ-* stem, $\langle + -i \rangle$ Ved. *gávi* ‘in a cow’, *dýávi* (zero grade: *diví*, very frequent) ‘in heaven’; — the “radical” *-p-* stem $\langle + -i \rangle$ OPers. *api*, $\langle$ with *-ā* $\rangle$ 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’, $\langle + -i \rangle$ YAv. *tanuui* = Ved. *tan_uvī*, *tan_uvī*, in Ved. secondarily with *-ām*: *ś_uvaś_uvām* ‘in a mother-in-law’, *tan_uvām* (AV); — Ved. $\langle + -i \rangle$, the *-añc-* stem, *práci* (m.) ‘eastward’; the *-ant-* stem, *á-sati* (*sati* AV+) ‘not being’; the *-vant-* stem, *ár_vati* ‘in a race-horse’; the *-ma(m)s-* stem, *punísi* ‘in a man’; — the *-ī-* stem, not attested in Iran., (*vṛkī-* type) Ved. *gaurí* ‘in a she-Gaura-buffalo’ RV IX 12,3, *sarasí* ‘in a pond, lake’, *nadí* ‘in a river’, (in the *deví-* type + *-ām*: *rātryām* ‘in the night’, *ásikn_uvām* ‘in the dark’, *araṇyānyām* ‘in, at Aranyāni, genius of the wilderness’, *dev_uvām* ‘in, at a goddess’); — zero-grade form $\langle + -i \rangle$ in the radical *-h-* stem *anaḍūhi* (AV) ‘in a draught-ox’.

(5) From the stem in various grades: full grade $\langle + -i \rangle$ YAv. *zəmi* $\sim$ Ved. *kṣámi* ‘on the earth’; zero grade + PIE **-aṭ* (cf. Grk. *χαμαι*) YAv. *zəmə*, $\langle$ unified with *-ā* $\rangle$ Ved. *jmay-ā*; probably + **-en* (cf. p. 34), to the **-o-* full-grade stem *kṣám-an*, *kṣám-an-i*, to the zero-grade *jm-án*; + *-er/-r* YAv. ⁺*zamarə*; cf. p. 18f.

1.2. stem formations³⁹⁾ and ablaut

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

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

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

1.2.1. The **root noun**⁴⁰⁾ *dīś-* 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. *vā́k*, 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. *vāxs̥*, 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. *vər̥θrəm.jā*, YAv. *vər̥θraja*), acc. *vṛtra-hānam* (YAv. *vər̥θrā-janəm*), instr. *vṛtra-ghn-ā* (YAv. *vər̥θrājana*), dat. *-ghn-é* (YAv. *vər̥θrayne*), gen. *-ghnás* (YAv. *vər̥θraynō*), pl. nom. *šatru-hānas* 'slaying enemies' (YAv. *vər̥θrā-janō*), instr. *vṛtra-há-bhis*: < **-g^{wh}én-s*, **-g^{wh}én-m̥*, **-g^{wh}n-éh₁*, **-g^{wh}n-éj̥*, **-g^{wh}n-és*, **-g^{wh}én-es*, **-g^{wh}n̥-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*, *-saām*, *-sáni-m*, gen. *-s-ás*, *-san-as*, dat. *-s-é*, pl. nom. *-sās*, *-sāsas*, instr. *-sáis*. The form *-sáni-* is introduced from acc. sg. *-sáni-m* < **-senh₂-m* (instead of **-m̥*); 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. **-sēnh₂-s* could have become *-sās* with the nasal's loss as SCARLATA proposes among other possibilities. This phenomenon is al-

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

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

The PIE **elemental vocabulary item** *pād-/pad-* m. ‘foot’ is particularly archaic: sg. nom. *pāt*, acc. *pād-am* (from this a new stem *pāda-*; YAv. *pāḍəm*), gen. *pad-ás*, loc. *pad-i*, du. nom. acc. *pād-ā* (YAv. *pāḍa*), pl. acc. *pad-ás* (YAv. *padō*): < **pōd-s*, **pód-m*, **ped-és* (< **peḍ-és*?; Lat. *pedis*). — *āp-/ap-* f. ‘water’, imagined as living being(s) and used mostly in the pl., shows ablaut between *āp* and *ap*, just like *pād-/pad-*, or Av. *vāc-/vac-*:⁴¹⁾ sg. instr. *ap-ā*, gen. abl. *ap-ás*, pl. nom. *āp-as*, acc. *ap-ás*, instr. *ad-bhīs*, dat. *ad-bhyás*, loc. *ap-sú*. The zero-grade form **h₂p-* is found in *anūp-á-* ‘river basin’, *dvīp-á-* ‘island’, etc. In Av.: sg. nom. YAv. *āḡš*, 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. *aḡṣiiō*, 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*, *dyáus*, acc. *dyām*, *dyām* (secondary *dív-am*), instr. *div-ā*, dat. *div-é*, abl. gen. *div-ás*, (secondary *dyó-s*), loc. *dyáv-i*, *dív-i*; du. nom. acc. *dyāv-ā*^{41a)}; pl. nom. *dyāv-as*, acc. *dyūn*, *dív-as*. In Iran., only YAv. gen. sg. *dīiaoš* is attested (Yt 3,13, according to HUMBACH KZ 81, 282f. ‘der [Brut der] Hölle’, cf. also KELLENS Noms-racines 402); the form is identical with Ved. *dyó-s* (6× in the RV :: *div-ás* more than 400×), but is to be judged as analogic after *gós* (PII **gau-š*), cf. AiG III 224. The PIE paradigm is: sg. nom. **dīēu-s* (Grk. *Ζεύς*), **dīēu-s*⁴²⁾, acc. **dīēm* (Grk. *Ζῆν*, *Ζῆν-α*) < **dīēu-m* (after STANG’s law), **dīēm*⁴²⁾, dat. **dīu-éi* (Grk. Corinthian *Δτεί*, Cyprian *Δτεί-φίλος*, Mycenaean *di-we /diwei/*), abl. gen. **dīu-és/ós* (Grk. *Διός*), loc. **dīēu + -i* (Lat. *Ioue*), **dīēu*⁴²⁾ (Lat. *diū*), (Grk. *Δί*, probably < **dīu-i*, i. e., secondary after the forms with **dīu-* just like Ved. *div-i*); pl. nom. **dīēu-es* (with *é* after sg.?), acc. **dīu-ns* or **dīu-m̥s*.

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

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

⁴²⁾ Disyllabic LINDEMAN variant.

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

náv- f. ‘ship, boat’⁴⁵⁾ goes back to **náh₂-u-* (and perhaps also **náh₂-u-*) which does not alter this shape: nom. *náu-s* (< **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. *νηῶ*, 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*, *d_invár-ā*, *dvār-au*; pl. nom. *dvār-as* (5×), acc. *dúras* I 193,7, *dúras* (many times, also in I 188,5), *dvār-as* I 130,3, voc. *dvār-as*. In YAv., acc. sg. *duuarəm* and perhaps loc. sg. *duuarə* (Vīd 3,29) are attested; OPers. has a thematised loc. sg. *duvarayā* < **d^(h)uvara-ī* + *ā*. They go back to PIE **d^huór*, **d^huér-m*, **d^hur-és*, **d^huér*, **d^huór-es*, **d^hur-nis*. 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. *kšá-s* (YAv. *zā*), acc. *kšá-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 *-*aī*, cf. Grk. *χαμοί*), *kšám-an*, *kšám-an-i*, *jm-án*; **du.** *kšām-ā*; **pl.** nom. *kšám-as* (YAv. voc. *zə-mō*), acc. *kšās*, *kšāās* IV 28,5 (YAv. *zəmas-ca*), (gen. YAv. *zəmaq-ca*), loc. *kšā-su*.⁴⁷⁾ — These start from a PIE *-*em-* stem: sg. nom. **d^hég^hōm* (Hitt. *tégan* < *te-e-kán*) → **ǵǵ^hōm*^{47a)} (*χθών*); acc. **d^hég^hōm* (from **d^hég^hōm-m* after STANG’s law; Hitt. just as in the nom.) → **ǵǵ^hōm* (*kšā-m*; and from *-*ni*: *kšāām*, *χθόνα*),

⁴³⁾ With YAv. / East-Iranian phonological change *-*āua-* > *-*aua-*, 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-ājá-* (cf. n. 43) < **náh₂-u-h₂ōgo-*, cf. Lat. *nāuigāre*.

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

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

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

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

and * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m$ ⁴⁸⁾ (*zqm*); abl. gen. * $d^h\acute{g}^hm\text{-}\acute{e}s/\acute{o}s$ (cf. Hitt. *tagnas* <*ták-na-(a)-aš*>) > * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m\text{-}\acute{e}s/\acute{o}s$ (*kšmās*, cf. *χθονός*), and * $\acute{g}^hm\text{-}\acute{e}s$ (*jmās*, *z²mō*); instr. * $d^h\acute{g}^hm\text{-}\acute{e}h_1$ > * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m\text{-}\acute{e}h_1$ (→ *kšamā*), and * $\acute{g}^hm\text{-}\acute{e}h_1$ (*jmā*, *z²mā*); — loc. * $d^h\acute{g}^hm\text{-}i$ (cf. Hitt. *dagān* from * $\acute{o}m$ ⁴⁹⁾) > * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m\text{-}i$ (*kšāmi*), and * $\acute{g}^hm\text{-}i$ (*zāmi*); PIE *-a- case (cf. p. 149: 4.3.) in: * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m\text{-}ai$ /* $\acute{g}^hm\text{-}ai$ > *χουαί* (from the LINDEMAN variant * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m\text{-}ai$), *z²mē*, with + *ā* > *kšmayā*, *jm-ay-ā*, * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m\text{-}ai$ (reformed after * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m$) > Lat. *humī*, *homī*; with *-en: * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m\text{-}en$ > *kšām-an*, *kšām-an-i*, * $\acute{g}^hm\text{-}en$ > *jm-án*; with *-(e)r: YAv. ⁺*zamar^o* ‘in the earth’ (Yt 1,29, after BARTHOLOMAE) < * $\acute{g}^hm\text{-}er$ or * $\acute{g}^hm\text{-}r$; — Indo-Iran. pl. forms come from * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m\text{-}\acute{e}s$, * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m\text{-}\acute{n}is$ ⁵⁰⁾. The nom. sg. Ved. *kšā-s*, YAv. *zā*, Ved. loc. pl. *kšā-su* have been formed analogically after the -ā- stems through the link of acc. sg. *kšā-m*, *zqm*, acc. pl. *kšās*. The frequently attested n. nom. sg. *kšāma* or *kšāmā* owes its -man- stem form to an imitation based on the loc. *kšāman*, *kšāmani*. This vocabulary item was, as is the case in many IE languages, no longer in use, and an epithet *pr̥thivī-* ‘(the) wide one’ was (euphemistically) used as a common word for ‘earth’ beside *bhūmi-* (OAv. *būmī-*, YAv. *būmī-*, OPers. *būmī-*) from *bhav*!/ *bhū* ‘come into being, become’, etc. The word *pr̥thivī-* is originally the f. of the adj. *pr̥thū-* ‘wide’ (cf. *kšām ... pr̥thvīm* RV X 31,9 ~ YAv. *zqm pər^oθβīm*, *pər^oθβe ... 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 *pr̥thvī-* without vocalization of * h_2 . The starting point was: * $p_l\acute{t}h_2\text{-}u\text{-}ih_2$ > *pr̥thvī* ‘wide’, gen. * $p_l\acute{t}h_2\text{-}u\text{-}i\acute{e}h_2\text{-}s$ > * $p_r\acute{t}^{(h)}i\acute{v}yās$ > *pr̥thivyās*/*pr̥thivīyās* (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 °ā- are inflected as follows: **sg.** nom. m. *sthā-s* ‘standing’ (used also as n.), *rathe-ṣṭhā-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 * $\acute{g}^h$ (* $\acute{g}^h$ would have become * $\acute{z}$ in Av.).

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

⁵⁰⁾ * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m\text{-}\acute{n}is$ has become * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m\text{-}\acute{n}is$ (YAv. *zamas-ca*) as a LINDEMAN variant, or simplified * $\acute{g}^h\acute{o}m\text{-}\acute{n}is$ (*kšās*, *kšāās*).

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

⁵²⁾ Forms without -s in the nom. sg. f. are to be identified as pertaining to the -ā- stem inflexion. A transition happens easily through the link of PII formations such as instr. sg. -ā beside -āyā 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,

sthā-m (YAv. *raθaē-štqm*), *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-dāā* ‘through endowment’, Y 33,12); dat. (1) m. *d-é* ‘for giving’ < **dh₃-éj*, *śuci-p-é* ‘for the drinker of the clear (Soma)’, (YAv. *raθaē-šte*⁵⁴), (2) as inf. *pra-khyái* ‘to see’, *upa-yái* ‘to travel near’, etc. < **-jeh₂-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-páu* ‘herdsmen’; **pl.** nom. m. *rathe-ṣṭhās*, (YAv. *armaē-štā* ‘standing still’), f. *gnās*, (YAv. *xā*); acc. m. (no certain examples in Ved.; YAv. *raθaē-štā*, *raθaē-štās-ca*), f. *gnās*, *jās* ‘children’, (YAv. *xā*); instr. m. *agre-p-ā-bhis* ‘drinking at first’, (YAv. *akō.dābiš* ‘producing bad things’), f. *gn-ā-bhis*, *ratna-dh-ā-bhis* ‘treasure-giving’; abl. m. *bhūri-d-ā-bhyas* ‘than many giving ones’; loc. f. *gn-ā-su*, *j-ā-su*, (OAv. *adāhū* ‘at the oblations’ < **ā-d^hā-*); and in YAv. gen. *xqm*, (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 **-jeh₂-*/*-ih₂-* stems or the like:

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

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

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

⁵⁴) Thus presumably Vīd 14,9 (2×) instead of *raθōišti* (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 °*iūā*: *xšaθrō.kāmiia* Y 9,24 (°*kāmaiia*?).

daēnā, YAv. *daēna*) < PII *-ā < *-ah₂-eh₁; — dat. -āy_{ai}:⁵⁷⁾ *manāy_{ai}* ‘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. *grīuuiāia* (cf. n. 58), OPers. *θurāyā*; — voc. (1) -e: *jāye* ‘wife’ etc. < PII *-ai of unknown origin, (OAv. *bər³xōē* ‘estimated’, YAv. *daēne*); (2) PII *-ā in OAv. *Pourucištā*, YAv. *sūra* ‘strong’; the co-existence of two voc. forms has produced the YAv. nom. sg. *pər³ne* ‘full’.

Other forms are regularly built: nom. -ā, -ā; acc. -ām, -ām; — **du.** nom. acc. voc. -e (cf. n. 27); abl. -ā-bhyām; gen. loc. -āyos, -āyos < PII loc. *-aH-Hay × 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. -ā-bhis, -ā-bhis; dat. abl. -ā-bhyas, -ā-bhyas; gen. -ānām, -ānām, also with **nām* (cf. n. 22); loc. -ā-su, -ā-su.⁶¹⁾

1.2.3. The **-ī- stem** inflexion has two main types. [1] The *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. *nadī* ‘river’, *yami* ‘Yamī’; — **du.** nom. acc. *abhi-śrīy-ā*, *au*

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

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

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

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

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

⁶²⁾ Cf. p. 51: [2]. Also, e.g. *naptī*- ‘granddaughter’ (beside AV+ *naptṛī*-, *naptī*-) to *nāpāt*- ‘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. *ər³ž³-jī-s* ‘living honestly’, YAv. *zar³naēnīs* ‘golden’, acc. OAv. *ra³θīm* ‘charioteer’ (with disyllabic -*īm*, i.e. a YAv. form < *-*raθijām*), YAv. *yauuaē-jim* ‘living eternally’ (< *-*jijām*), dat. OAv. *ər³ž³-jiiōi* (< *-*jiiāi*), gen. *Śrūtaṭ.f³driiō* (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*, °*aēnias-ca* ‘Sirius-stars’, dat. YAv. *yauuaē-jibiō*. The endings, e.g. in the gen. sg. -ās, may point to a hysterodyn. origin.

‘completing ones’ (AV), *rathīy-ā*; — **pl.** nom. acc. *dhīy-as*, *ahīy-ās*, instr. *dhī-bhis*, *nadī-bhis*, dat. *ṛta-nī-bhyas* ‘the ones who lead Ṛta’ (with short *-ī-*), *aparī-bhyas* ‘for the future’, gen. *dhī-nām*, *rathī-nām*, loc. *dhī-ṣu*, *nadī-ṣu*.

[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., *āruṣ-ī* :: *āruṣ-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’ < **dāiua-* < PIE vrddhi-formation **deiu-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’, *maghōnī* ‘woman having ability’, voc. *devi*, acc. *devīm*, *tāviṣīm* ‘strong’, instr. *devīy-ā*, *pātnīy-ā* ‘by a mistress’, *prthivy-ā* ‘earth’, *sāmī*/*sāmi*/*sāmiyā*⁶⁶ ‘work, exertion’, dat. *devyai* (< **deiu-īēh₂-ei*), *īyatyai* ‘so much’⁶⁷, abl. *Urvāsyās*, *mahyās* ‘from a great ...’, gen. *devīyās* (< **deiu-īēh₂-s*), *rātryās*/*rātrīyās* ‘of the night’, loc. *devīy-ām* (< **-īy-ā + am?*), *rātry-ām*, *āsīknīy-ām* ‘in a dark ...’; — **du.** nom. acc. *devī*, *ródasī* ‘heaven and earth’, dat. *ródasī-bhyām*, abl. *akṣī-bhyām* ‘from (the two) eyes’, gen. loc. *ródasyos*; — **pl.** nom. *devī-s* (instead of **dāiui-ī-as*), *pātnī-s*, acc. *devī-s* (instead of **dāiui-īāH-as*, or the like), *pātnī-s*, instr. *śācī-bhis* ‘with abilities’, *yahvī-bhis* ‘young, fresh’, dat. *ōṣadhī-bhyas*, *vṛṣanyāntī-bhyas* ‘for females desiring a bull’, (*nārī-bhyas* ‘women’), gen. *bahvī-nām* ‘of many’, *ōṣadhī-nām*, loc. *yahvī-ṣu*, *ōṣadhī-ṣu*, (*nārī-ṣu*).

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 **dēiuih₂/diuiēh₂-s* < **dīu-*, vgl. gr. *ḗōa* f. ‘Göttin’ (RV *devīm uṣāsam* u.a. = hom. *’Hōa ḗōav*, *’Hōς ... ḗōa*); die beiden voneinander unabhängigen Ableitungen von **dīu-*, **dēiuió-* m. (*devá-*) und **dēiuih₂* → **dēiuih₂* f. (*devī-*) ...”.

⁶⁵ In Av: e.g., sg. nom. OAv. *nā’rī*, YAv. *nā’ri* (Ved. *nārī*) ‘woman’, acc. OAv. YAv. *vaṇ’hīm* (Ved. *vāsvīm*) ‘good’, dat. OAv. *vaṇ’huiāi*, YAv. *ha’θiūāi* (Ved. *satyai* ‘for true, real ...’), gen. OAv. *aziā* ‘of a mother-cow’, YAv. *nā’riiā* (Ved. *nāryās*), abl. YAv. *druuō’θiūā* ‘from a deceitful ...’ (cf. n. 26); du. nom. acc. OAv. *azī*, YAv. *hamōistri* ‘oppressor’; pl. nom. OAv. YAv. *vaṇ’hīs* (Ved. *vāsvīs*), acc. OAv. *azīs-cā*, OAv. *vaṇ’hīs-cā*, YAv. *vaṇ’hīs* (Ved. *vāsvīs**), gen. OAv. *nā’rinqm-cā*, YAv. *nā’rinqm*.

⁶⁶ *sāmī-* has in the RV, furthermore, the sg. acc. *sāmīm*, gen. *samyās*, and pl. instr. *sāmī-bhis*. — The prevailing *-īyā* in the instr. suggests **d(e)īu-ih₂-ēh₁* (with preserved consonant *u*, and **ih₂ > ī*), thus an amphidynamic pattern, cf., however, n. 24.

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

dhiy-am, *dhiy-ā*, *dhiy-e/dhy-ai*, abl. gen. *dhiy-as/dhi-yā-s*, loc. *dhiy-ām/dhiy-i*; **du.** nom. acc. *dhiy-au*; **pl.** nom. acc. *dhiy-as*, gen. *dhi-nām/dhiy-ām*, loc. *dhi-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. *stri-yāi* (AV), gen. *stri-yās*, loc. *stri-yām* (AV), but **sg.** acc. *strīy-am* and **pl.** nom. acc. *strīy-as* analogically in the *vrkī-* inflexion already in the RV; also the accentuation in instr. *strī-bhis*, loc. *strī-ṣu* (AV+), gen. *strī-nām* (AV+) are the forms found in the *vrkī-* 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. *ayrū-*) :: m. *á-gru-* ‘unmarried’, *babhrū-* ‘brown’ :: *babhrú-*, which can be interpreted as derivations in PIE **-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. *hazānam* 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 **dṡǵ^huāh₂-/dṡǵ^huh₂-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. *fs²ratus* ‘invigoration of pleasure’, YAv. f. *tanuš* ‘body’, OPers. *tanūš* (Ved. *tanūš*), acc. YAv. m. *yauuaē-sum* (< **uəm*) ‘thriving forever’, OAv. *tanuuāem* (Ved. *tanūvām*), also OAv. YAv. OPers. *tanūm*, instr. YAv. *tanuuā* (Ved. *tanūvā*), dat. OAv. *tanuiīē*, YAv. *tanuiīe*, *tanuuāē-ca* (Ved. *tanūvā*), abl. YAv. *tanuuat* (cf. n. 26), gen. OAv. YAv. *tanuuō*, YAv. *tanuuas-cū* (Ved. *tanūvās*), loc. YAv. *tanuui* (Ved. *tanūvi*); pl. nom. OAv. YAv. *pəšō.tanuuō* ‘with lost body’ (Ved. *tanūvās*), YAv. *ayruuō* (Ved.

acc.⁷¹⁾ *mayo-bhúv-am* ‘refreshing’, *a-súv-ām* ‘barren’, *tanúv-ām*, instr. *bhuv-ā́*, *súv-ābhúv-ā*, *vi-bhúv-ā́*, *tanúv-ā́*, dat.⁷²⁾ *abhi-bhúv-e*, *vi-bhúv-ā́*, *tanúv-ā́*, abl. *bhuv-ás*, *a-sú-súvās* (AV X 10,23), *kadrúv-as*, *tanúv-ás*, gen.⁷³⁾ *śam-bhúv-as*, *bhuv-ás*, *tanúv-ás*, loc. *bhuv-i* (VS), *tanúv-i* (3× in the RV), *tanúv-ī* (4×), *camúv-ī* (1×), *tanú* (1×), *camú* (6×), *śúvāśrúv-ām*, *tanúv-ām* (AV), voc. *bábhru*, *vádhu*; **du.** nom. acc. *-bhúv-ā*, *srúv-ā* ‘?’, *tanúv-ā́*, instr. *bhrū-bhyām* (VS), loc. *bhrúv-ós*, *camúv-os*; **pl.** nom. *bhúv-as*, *juhúv-ás*, *tanúv-ás*, *agrúv-as*, acc. *bhúv-as*, *prasúv-ás*, *tanúv-ás*, *agrúv-as*, instr. *juhú-bhis*, *tanú-bhis*, dat. *tanú-bhyas*, gen. *jóguv-ām* ‘of the ones who are jubilating’, *yātu-jú-nām* ‘of the ones urged by sorcery’, *tanú-nām*, loc. *ā-bhú-śu* ‘appearing, existing’, *tanú-śu*.

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-í-s* ‘fire’, *yay-í-s* ‘traveling, speeding’, f. *ósadh-i-s* ‘plant’, *bhú-mi-s* ‘earth’, *yuva-tí-s* ‘young woman’, **n.** (cf. p.41f.) *máh-i* ‘great’, *bhúr-i* ‘many, rich (cf. p.50)’; **acc.**

agrúvas), acc. YAv. *tamuuō*, *tamuuas-ca* (Ved. *tanúvās*), instr. OAv. *hizubīš*, dat. YAv. *tanu-biiō* (Ved. *tanúbhyas*), gen. YAv. *tanunqm* (Ved. *tanúnām*), loc. YAv. *tanuśu* (Ved. *tanúśu*).

⁷¹⁾ AV+ also *kuhú-m* ‘new moon’ etc. like *deví-m*.

⁷²⁾ AV+ also *tanúv-ā́i*, *vadhv-ā́i*, *vadhúv-ā́i* ‘bride, young wife’ etc. like *devyái*.

⁷³⁾ AV+ also *punar-bhúv-ās*, *tamv-ās*, *śvāśrúv-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.** *-i-š*, acc. Av. **-i-m* in OAv. f. *ašīm*, YAv. *daršīm* ‘daring’, etc., OPers. *-i-m*, nom. acc. n. Av. *-i* in OAv. *bū’ri-cā*, YAv. *bū’ri* ‘many’, instr. Av. **-ī* (cf. n.24) in OAv. *ašī* ‘by reward’, YAv. *ārma’ti-ca* f. ‘ready-mindedness, devotedness’ etc., dat. Av. **-aī-aī* in OAv. *axtōiōi* m. ‘pain’, YAv. *anumatēe* 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. *gar²zdā* ‘step’, YAv. *gara* (cf. **1.1.3.**); — **du.** nom. acc. Av. **-ī* in OAv. *x’iti-cā* *ēnā’ti* f. ‘good-going and not-going’, YAv. *aēθra-pa’ti* m. ‘both chiefs of school’, n. **-ī* in YAv. *aši* ‘(both) eyes’, *uši* = OPers. *ušīy* ‘(both) ears’, instr. **-i-bīā*: OAv. *ašibiiā*, YAv. *ušibiia* (OPers. *ušībiyā* : *-ī-* stem), gen. OAv. *haxtiā* ~ Ved. *sakthyōs* n. ‘(both) thighs’; — **pl.** nom. Av. **-aī-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’ribiiō*, gen. **-ī-nām* in YAv. *ga’ri-nqm*, *ja’niqm* ‘wives’, **-ī-ām* in YAv. *kaouiqm* (< **kauīām*) m. ‘seers, sovereigns’, *hašqm* (< **sak^hiām*) m. ‘followers, attendants, colleagues’, loc. not attested.

m. *agn-i-m*, f. *ósadh-i-m*, *ma-tí-m* ‘mind, opinion’; **instr.** m. (1) with *-ā*: *pát-(ā)y-ā* ‘husband’ (cf. p. 29), *ūr-m-(ā)y-ā* ‘wave’, (2) with *-nā*: *áh-i-nā* ‘serpent’, *agn-i-nā*, *ūr-mi-nā*; f. (1) with *-ā*: *ma-ty-ā*, *ū-ty-ā* ‘help’, *asán-y-ā* ‘thunderbolt’, *bhú-my-ā* ‘earth’, (2) with *-ī* (cf. n. 24, n. 75), mostly from *-ti-* stems: *a-vyath-ī* ‘not-unsteady’, *ū-tí*, *cít-tī* ‘consciousness’, (3) with *-i* in compounds: *suv-ṛk-ti* ‘good praising’, *úpa-sru-ti* ‘hearing’, (4) with *-nā*: *nábh-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-és-s* ‘water receptacle’, *áh-e-s*, *gir-és-s* ‘mountain’, f. *dhūr-té-s* ‘injury’, *Á-di-te-s*; **gen.** m. *agn-és-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’, *saptā-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-tí*, *jām-ī* ‘blood-related’, n. (cf. p. 41f.) *súc-ī* ‘purely bright’, *máh-i*, (*áks-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. srón-i-bhyām* ‘(both) buttocks’; **gen. loc.** m. *hár-y-os*, f. *yuva-ty-ós*, f. *jā-m-y-ós*; — **pl. nom.** m. *ni-dh-áy-as* ‘receptacles, stocks’, *agn-áy-as*, *súc-ay-as*, f. *ósadh-ay-as*, *ū-táy-as*; **acc.**⁷⁶ m. *ni-dh-ín*, *agn-ín*, *áh-ín*, f. *bhū-mīs*, *kṛṣ-ṭīs* ‘furrows, boundaries, lands, tribes’; n. nom.-acc. (cf. p. 41f.) *súc-ī*, *jā-mī*, *bhūr-i*, secondary *bhūr-ī-ni*, *súc-ī-ni*; **instr.** m. *ni-dhi-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-i-ṣu*, *agn-i-ṣu*, *ṛṣ-i-ṣu*, f. *jām-i-ṣu*, *ū-ti-ṣu*, n. *bhū-ri-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. *tur-yái* X 106,4 ‘pressing forward’ (?), *puṣ-tyái* ‘thriving’ (beside gen. *puṣ-tés*), *śrútyai* ‘hearing’ etc.⁷⁸ (7 forms in the RV), abl. *nábhyās* ‘navel’ (loc. *nábhyau*), *bhúm-yās* ‘earth’, *het-yās* ‘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 *-ūmr* before vowels, *y*, *r*, *v*, and *h*, also *-īmḥ* before *p*); in the f. *-i-s*, just like *-ūs*, after *-ā-s* in the *-ā-* stems. Cf. also n. 91: *ṛm*, (*ṛs*).

⁷⁷ In the reverse direction *nāri-bhyas*, *nāri-ṣu* from *nārī-* in the *devī-* inflexion, cf. below, on *ósadhi-*. — 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.

bhúmyās (no **bhúmes*), *yuvatyās* ‘young woman’ (no **yuvatés*) etc. (6 forms in 17 occurrences), loc. *bhúmīyām* (no **bhúmā/au*), *yuvatyām* etc. (5 forms); pl. nom. acc. *bhúmīs* (beside nom. *bhúmayas*), *ūtīs* (beside nom. *ūtáyas*) etc. (about 10 forms). This phenomenon increases in the AV and the younger language.

óṣadhi- ‘plant, grass, herb’ forms partly a suppletive paradigm with *óṣadhī-*: in the sg. *óṣadhi-s*, *-m*, voc. *-dhe*, RV–Cl. Skt. (*óṣadhī-m* only in one phrase in the AV); in the pl. nom. *óṣadhayas* and *óṣadhīs*, in other cases only *-ī-* forms: acc. *-īs*, *-ībhis*, *-ībhī(y)as*, *-īn(a)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. *-dhyas*; cf. AiG III 186.

Some forms follow the *vr̥kī-* 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 YSP *śróṇyau* ‘(both) buttocks, both parts of the hip’, *pañktīyau* ‘two sets of five’.

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

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 < **-éṃ-ṃ*) in YAv. *daījhaom* f. ‘land’, **-āṃ-am* (probably < **-oṃ-ṃ*) in YAv. *nasāum* m./f. ‘corpse’, *ar²nāum* m. ‘battle’, OPers. *dahayāvam*, *dahayāum* f. ‘land’, **n.** Av. **-u* in OAv. *vohū*, YAv. *vohu* ‘good’, OPers. *paruv*, YAv. *po²ru* (= Ved. *purú*) ‘many’, **instr.** (cf. n. 24) (1) **-u-ā* in OAv. *xraθβā* = Ved. *krátvā*, YAv. *po²ruua*, (2) **-ū* in OAv. *xratū*, *vohū*, *maīiū* m. ‘mind, spirit’, **dat.** (1) **-aṃ-aṃ* in OAv. *vañhauuē*, *vañhaouuē* = Ved. *vásave*, YAv. *daījhaume* (= Ved. *dásyave*), (2) **-u-aṃ* in OAv. *añhuiiē*, YAv. *añ²he*, *xraθβε* = Ved. *krátve*; **abl.** Av. **-aṃ-š*, OPers. *-aṃš* in OAv. *xratāuš*, OPers. *Bābirauš*, YAv. *añhaot*, *xrataot*, OPers. *Bābiraun* (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. *pər²tō* m. ‘ford’, YAv. *añhuuō*, *daījhō*, *daījhuuō*, OPers. *Margauv*, with *-ā* in YAv. *añhuua*, *daījhaua*, OPers. *dahayauvā*; **voc.** YAv. *maīiō*, *ər²zuuō* ‘straight’; — **du. nom. acc.** m. f. (1) **-ū* in OAv. *maīiū*, YAv. *vohū* (= Ved. *vásū*), *daīiū*, *daījhu*, (2) **-aṃ-ā* in YAv. m. *bāzauua* ‘arms’ (= Ved. *bāhávā*), *²zanaua* f. ‘jaws’; **n.** **-u-ī* in YAv. *vañ²hi*; **instr.** **-u-bīā* in YAv. *bāzubiā*, *bāzuḃe*; **dat.** **-u-bīā* in OAv. *ahubiiā*, YAv. *pasubiā*, *bāzuḃe*; **gen.** **-uṃ-āh* in OAv. *ahuuā*, YAv. *pasuā*; **loc.** **-uṃ-aṃ* in OAv. *añhuuō*; — **pl. nom.** m. f. (1) **-aṃ-ah* in OAv. *xratauuō* (= Ved. *krátavas*), *vañhauuas-ca*, (2) **-āṃ-ah* in YAv. *daījhāuuō*, OPers. *dahayāva*, (3) **-u-ah* in YAv. *pasuuas-ca*; **acc.** m. f. (1) Av. **-u-Nš* in OAv. *xratūš*, YAv. *daījhuš*, OAv. *pər²tūš*, YAv. *bazūš*, (2) **-u-ah* in YAv. *pasuuō*, *pər²θβō*, (3) **-āṃ-ah* in YAv. *daījhāuuō*, OPers. *dahayāva*; **n.** Av. **-ū* in OAv. *²po²rū*, *vohū* (= Ved. *vásū*); **instr.** **-u-biš* in YAv. *yātuš* < **iātuḃiš* (= Ved. *yātubhiš**) 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×), *krát(u)v-ā* ‘mental power’ (59×), (2) with *-nā*: *aktú-nā* ‘colouring’, *ṛtú-nā* ‘fixed time, season’, *paśú-nā* (1×), *krátu-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. *jīv-áv-e* ‘life’, *dhe-náv-e*, n.⁸¹⁾ (1) *pás-v-e*, (2) *ur-áv-e*, *viśvāyav-e* ‘all life long’; **abl.** m. (1) only *pi-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 *mádh-v-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*, *mádh-v-as*, (2) prevailing form: *āy-ó-s*, *dás-yo-s* ‘of the Dasyu, enemy’, *vas-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’, *sū-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-ī*, (*jān-u-n-ī* ‘knees’ YS^m); **instr. dat. abl.** m. *bāh-ū-bhyām* ‘arms’, **gen.** m. *ūr-uv-ós*, *bāh-uv-ós*, n. *jānu-n-os* (AV); **loc.** m. *bāh-uv-ós*, f. *hán-uv-ós*; — **pl. nom.** m. (1) *mádh-v-as*, (2) usual form: *ak-táv-as*, *paś-áv-as*, *āy-áv-as*, *vás-av-as*, f. (1)

a-ṃayhuṣiṣ*, *bāzubiiō*; **dat. *-*u-bṛah* in YAv. *dañhubiiō* (= Ved. *dásyubhyas*), *vañhubiiō* (= Ved. *vásubhyas*); **gen.** (1) *-*ū-nām* in OAv. YAv. *daṣiiunqm*, OPers. *dahayū(v)nām* (= Ved. *dásyūnām*), *po^rrunqm*, OPers. *parū(v)nām* (= Ved. *purūnām*), OAv. *vohunqm* (= Ved. *vásūnām*), (2) *-*u-ām* in YAv. *pasuuqm*, *vañhuuqm*; **loc.** *-*u-šu* in OAv. *po^rru-šū*, YAv. *vañhu-šu*, with *-ā* YAv. *pasuṣ.huuā*, OPers. *dahayušuvā*; **voc.** *-*aṃ-ah* in YAv. *dañhauuō* (= Ved. *dasyavas**), YAv. *vañhauuō*.

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×, *sānav* 10×, *sānuni* 1× in the RV; furthermore, *sāno ávye/avyáye* in the same phrase in Book IX, probably from the constellation **sānav 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. *sân-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’ (: *ur-ú-*, cf. Grk. *εὐρεῖα* < **eμ-ih₂*), *pūr-v-ī-* (YAv. *pao’rī-*, **płh₁-μ-ih₂-* :: *pur-ú-* ‘many’, OAv. YAv. *po’ru-*, OPers. *paru-*, < **płh₁-ú-*), *vás-v-ī-* (OAv. YAv. *vaṣ’hī-* :: *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-i-s* < **rēh₁-i-s*, acc. *rayīm* (= YAv. *raēm*) < **rēh₁-i-m*, instr. *rā-y-ā* (= YAv. *raīia*, cf. n. 58) < **rēh₁-ī-éh₁*, dat. *rāy-é*, abl. gen. *rāy-ás* (= OAv. gen. *rāiīō*) < **rēh₁-ī-és*; pl. nom. *rā-y-as* < **rēh₁-ī-es*, acc. *rāy-ás* < **rēh₁-ī-ńis*, (YAv. *raēš-ca* < **raīas*, cf. n. 58), instr. *rayibhis*, gen. *rāy-ām* (= YAv. *raīqam*) < 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* [> **h₂áu-i-s* > Lat. *avis*], gen. **h₂u-éi-s* [> OIA *vés*]): sg. nom. *vī-s* (like a regular *-i-* stem, 6× in the RV), YAv. *vīš*, and *vé-s*⁸⁶⁾ (5×), acc. *vī-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 ~ *dhenái* 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-ī-ñā*, pl. gen. *ray-ī-ñām*; 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 *vái-*, which goes back to the reinterpretation of *v-ai-* as a strong form to *vī-* (*vái-*). [As to *vī-*, cf. also SCHINDLER Sprache 15, 144–167.]

⁸⁷⁾ Probably disyllabic *~*– (**vái-iṣ*) I 130,3, VI 48,17.

vaiiō (< **h₂u-éj-es*, with the ablaut after acc. pl.), acc. *váy-as* (< **h₂u-éj-ns*), instr. *ví-bhis*, dat. abl. *ví-bhyas*, gen. *vī-n_aām*, (YAv. *vaiiqm* < PIE **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. *óvis*, *ὄφις*, Lat. *ouis*, OIA *áv-i-s*], gen. **h₂ou-i-és* / *ós* or **h₂óu-i-os* [Grk. *oíos*, Lat. *ouis*, 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.) ‘¹lord; ²husband’ 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 **-tej-*/**-ti-* stems: (the RV forms unmarked) **sg.** nom. ^{1,2}*pát-i-s* = OAv. *pa¹tiš*, acc. ^{1,2}*pát-i-m*, dat. *pa¹t-ay-e* (AV), *b¹fhas-¹pát-ay-e* = YAv. *vīš-¹pat-ē-e*, abl. YAv. *patōit*, gen. *pa¹t-e-s* = OAv. *pa¹t-ōi-š*, loc. *gó-¹pat-au*, voc. *pa¹t-e* = YAv. *vīš-¹pa¹t-e*; **du.** nom. acc. voc. ^{1,2}*pát-ī* = YAv. *aēθra-¹pa¹ti*; **pl.** nom. *pa¹t-ay-as* = YAv. *pa¹t-aīi-ō*. In the meaning of ‘husband’, zero-grade suffixes appear, commonly in Indo-Iranian, in weak cases in the **sg.**: dat. ²*pát-y-e* = OAv. *pa²θ-ii-aē-cā*, YAv. *pa²θ-e*, gen. ²*pát-y-ur* (after the *-tar-* stem in the words for relatives), loc. ²*pát-y-au*. Other occurring forms are: **sg.** instr. ²*pát-y-ā*, *pa¹t-i-nā*, and YAv. *pa¹t-i*, **pl.** acc. ^{1,2}*pát-ī-n*, YAv. *pa¹t-i-š*, gen. YAv. *pa¹t-i-nqm*, dat. ²*pát-i-bhyas*.

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

A similar type is assumed in Av. *kauuāii-* m. ‘seer; non-Mazdayasnian sovereign’: sg. nom. OAv. *kauuā*, *kauua-cā*, YAv. *kauua*, acc. YAv. *kauuaēm* < **ka^wu-aj-am*, pl. nom. OAv. *kāuuaiiaš-cij* < **ka^wu-áj-as*, gen. *kauii¹qm* < **ka^wu-j-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-nas*, 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-bādih-*; — *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. **h₂ǵi-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 *-us-* stem *āy-us-* n. ‘vital power, life, life span’ (once *yūr* RV VIII 18,13) is much more common in OIA; the *-u-* stem adj. *āy-ú-* means ‘lively, agile’.

krātu- m. ‘mental power’ is based on the acrodynamic scheme: *krát-u-s* (OAv. *xratuš*), *-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. *vañh-u-/voh-u-* adj. ‘good’, n. ‘good’, and *pas-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-m*, with BRUGMANN’s law), dat. *hó-tr-e* (YAv. *zao-θr-e*; < **ǵ^héu-tr-eǵ*), gen. *hó-tur* (YAv. *zao-tar-š*, < **ǵ^héu-tr-s*); pl. nom. *hó-tār-as* (< **ǵ^héu-tor-es*, cf. YAv. *dā-tār-ō* ‘creators’), acc. *hó-tṛ-n* (< **ǵ^héu-tr-ns*, cf. n. 76), gen. *hó-tṛ-n_(a)ām*, loc. *hó-tr-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 *-túr*, and *-tṛ-*, *-tṛni* 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*, *stotré*, *stotúr*, *stotā́ras*, *stotín*, *stotíbhyas*, *stotín_(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-śástá* ‘instructor, director’ RV, *śástár-* TS^m+; cf. also YAv. *brāθrō*, *naṣ^odrō*, 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* < **r_s-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. *ptā*, *tā*, YAv. *ptā*, *pita*;⁹⁰) OPers. *pitā*; PIE **p-h₂tér-Ø*, *pitar*, *pitāram* (OAv. *p^atarēm*, YAv. *pitarēm*; PIE **p-h₂tér-ṇ*), *pitrá*, *pitré* (OAv. *f^odrōi*, *piθrē*, YAv. *piθre*), abl. gen. *pitúr*, *pitári*; du. *pitārā*, *-au*, *pitíbhyām*, gen. loc. *pitarós*; pl. *pitāras* (YAv. *p^atarō*), *pitaras* (cf. YAv. *mātarō*), *pitín* (cf. n. 91), *pitíbhis*, dat. abl. *pitíbhyas* (YAv. *ptār^obiiō*), *pití-ṇ_(a)ām*, *pitíṣu* (AV). In the case of *mātár-* f. ‘mother’, *mātíṣ* appears in the acc. pl. (4× in the RV, and later) beside *mātín* (RV X 35,2).⁹¹ The acrodyn. type *bhrátar-* ‘brother’ (gen. **b^hr^e-h₂tṛ-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-víṣu*. — *svá-sar-* f. ‘sister’ (PIE **sue₂-sor-*) and *nánāndar-* f. ‘husband’s sister’ are inflected according to the type of *hótar-* (acrodyn. *-tar-* stem) except pl. acc. *svásīṣ*: sg. *svá-sā*, *svá-sār-am*, *svá-sr-e*, *svá-sur*, *svá-sur*; du. nom. acc. *svá-sār-ā*, *-au*, gen. *svá-sar-os*; pl. *svá-sār-as*, *svá-sīṣ-s*, *svá-sr₂-bhis*, gen. *svá-sīṣ-ṇām* and *svá-sr-ām*; — sg. gen. *nánāndur* (AV), loc. *nánānd^ar-i*.

nāpāt- ‘grandson’ m. (*náp_(a)āt*, *nāpāt-am*, du. *nāpāt-ā*, pl. *nāpāt-as*, *nád-bhyas* < **nábd-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_s-ns* > Proto-Av. **-tṛ_s-Nš* > **-tār^oNš* > in OAv. *mātār-qš-cā*, just the same as in the *-ar-* stems: OAv. *nār-qš*, YAv. *nār-āš* ‘men’, YAv. *str-āš* ‘stars’ (on the phonological development cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 66: hd), — and in OIA > *-tī_s-n*, *-ī_s-n*, just as *-ī_s-n*, *-ū_s-n* in the *-i-* and *-u-* stem inflexions (cf. n. 76), and in the sandhi-form, e.g., in *nīṭīṇiḥ* before *p*. The secondary standard form *mātīṣ* (**īṣ*) is formed after f. *-ā_s-s*, *-ī_s-s*, *-ū_s-s*; in the same way *svásīṣ-s* RV+. A form with *-as* is attested in YAv. *fādr-ō* < **p-h₂tṛ_s-ns*.

⁹² PIE **népōt-s*, **népot₂-ṇ*, **n_ept-és* in Lat. *nepōs*, *nepōt-* ‘grandson, decendant’, 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-ṛ-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. *napā̃*, *napā̃s*⁹³ (. *tā̃*), OPers. *napā* (< **napās* < **napāt-s* < **népōt-s*), acc. YAv. *napāt-əm*, gen. YAv. *napt-ō*, loc. OAv. *naḥ-šu-cā*; and YAv. sg. acc. *napt-ār-əm*, gen. *naḥ⁹⁴δ-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. *na’r-e*), gen. *nár-as* (cf. OAv. *nar⁹⁵-š*, YAv. *nar-š*), loc. *nár-i* (YAv. *na’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. *nṛ̥-n* (OAv. *nar-qš*, YAv. *nar-ōš*), instr. *nṛ̥-bhis*, dat. abl. *nṛ̥-bh_(i)yas* (OAv. *nar⁹⁶-biias-cā*, YAv. *nar⁹⁷-biiō*, *nar-uiiō*, *nur-uiiō*), gen. *nár-(a)ām* (OAv. YAv. *nar-qm*), *nṛ̥-n_(a)ām*, loc. *nṛ̥-šu*.⁹³) The nom. sg. (OAv. YAv. *nā* = Grk. *άνήρ* < **h₂nér*) is not attested in the RV, and is supplied by *nára-s*, which, produced secondarily through reinterpretation of the acc. *nár-am* as a thematic *nára-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. *nar⁹⁸-t*; du. gen. *nar-ā̃*. The f. is *nár-ī-* in the *devī-* inflexion (cf. also n. 65), *ā̃* 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. 52f.).

stár- ‘star’ (probably f.) is attested only in *stṛ̥-bhis* (8×) and *tār-as* (VIII 55,2) in the RV. The nom. pl. *tār-as* = YAv. *stār-ō*, *star-as-ca* (< **stār⁹⁹*) seems to point to **-tor-es*, thus an acro- (or amphi-)dynamic inflexion, but Grk. *ἀστήρ* points rather to hysterodyn. **h₂stér*. In Av., further forms occur: sg. acc. YAv. *stār-əm*, gen. *stār-ō*, pl. acc. *str-ōš(-ca)*, dat. abl. *stār¹⁰⁰-biiō*, gen. OAv. *str-əm-cā* (with disyllabic *ō*), 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 heteroclititic paradigms.

in Lat. *neptis* ‘granddaughter’, later ‘niece’, OIr. *necht* ‘neptis’, OHG *nift(a)* ‘niece’, etc., cf. Grk. *ἀνεψιός* ‘cousin’, SerbChSlav. *netęji* ‘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 *nṛ̥n* VII 28,3, X 50,4, gen. **nṛ̥-nām* and **nṛ̥-n_aām* (many times, in all occurrences possibly to be read thus instead of *nṛ̥¹⁰¹*; *nṛ̥nām* is the regularly attested form in Vedic, and *nṛ̥nām* in Post-Vedic). On the problematic employment of *nṛ̥n* 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*, *údhaḥsu*, 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*²; 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 **iék^w-r*, **iok^w-n-és*(?), cf. Grk. ἥπαρ, ἥπατος, 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-áj*, thus from **suu-ár*, **suu-n-ás*.⁹⁶) Av. ‘sun’ preserves more relic forms of the PIE proterodyn. paradigm **séh₂u-l*, **sh₂(u)én-s*: sg. nom. OAv. *huu-ar*³, YAv. *huu-ar*², gen. OAv. *x^vəṅg* (disyllabic: < **huuəṅg^h* < **sh₂uu-én-s*), YAv. *hū* (< **huu* < **huuā* < **huuəṅg^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/uṇ-*; — 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. *ṭan-uuar*², abl. *ṭan-uuan-āt*.

⁹⁴) The Av. word for ‘day’ *aiiar-/aiian-* points to another, maybe an acro- or proterodynamic paradigm: sg. nom. YAv. *aiiar*², gen. YAv. *aiiqn* (< **aiəṅh* < **ai-an-s*), pl. nom. acc. OAv. *aiiār*² (< **ai-ār*), YAv. *aiiqn* (< **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^vəṅg*, 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’, *āti-it-var-ī-* VS–VSK–TB^m ‘going over’; *śák-van-*, *śák-var-ī-* ‘capable, skillful’; also *ádih-van-* ‘way’, *adh-var-á-* ‘(ritual) process’, *pī-van-*, *pī-var-ī-*, Ep. also *pī-var-a-* ‘swelling, fat’.

Beside *uśás-* f. ‘dawn, aurora’ (**1.2.9.**), the stem *uśár-* occurs: voc. *uś-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. *κῤῥᾱτος*), gen. **kṛh₂-s-n-és*, loc. **kṛh₂-s-én*, pl. (collective) **kṛh₂-s-n-h₂* (cf. Hom. *κάπηνα* < **kápahva* < **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.]

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

⁹⁷⁾ In Grk.: Att. *kápa* < **kápa* < **kṛh₂-s-n*, Hom. *κάπη* after pl. *κάπη-va* (?).

⁹⁸⁾ Du. nom. *śír-ṣ-é* RV IV 58,3 might be traced back to **kṛh₂-s-n-ih₁*, 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-āni* 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-ais* KS–KpS^p. Cf. S. KASAMATSU “On the inflection of OInd. *śíras-/śír-ṣan-*, 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.), TSP, gen. *yū-ṣ-ṇ-ás* RV, loc. *yū-ṣ-án* TSP (~ *yūṣé?* 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-ṇh-a*, abl. *ā-s-ás* = gen. OAv. *ā-ṇh-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-ṣ-* n. ‘forearm’ in the acc. sg. *dó-ṣ* RV+ (YAv. nom. *dāu-š*), du. *do-ṣ-ī* KauśSū XLV 3, GautDhSū XVIII 22, *do-r-bhyām* AVP, YS^m+, there appear also *do-ṣ-án-ī* AV, YS^p, Br+, *do-ṣ-ṇ-ás* MS^p, ŚB–ŚBK+, *do-ṣ-á-bhyām* KS–TS^m+, etc. In both cases, no certain support is found for *-n-* elements beyond OIA.

From *hárd-/hṛd-* n. ‘heart’ are attested in the RV: sg. nom. acc. *hárd-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^hṛd-és*, etc. The long-grade nom. acc. sg. (cf. also *su-hárd-* ‘well disposed’) lies also in **kérd*, another word for ‘heart’: Hom. *κηρ*, 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-ej-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-aṇh-ā*, YAv. *man-aṇh-a*, OPers. *man-ah-ā*), dat. *mán-as-e* (YAv. *man-aṇh-e*), abl. gen. *mán-as-as* (OAv. *man-aṇh-ō*, *man-aṇh-as-cā*, YAv. *man-aṇh-aṭ* or *man-aṇh-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-āms-i* and OAv. YAv. *man-ā*, YAv. *man-ā-ca* (cf. OAv. *var^oc-ā.h-ī-cā* ~ Ved. *vārc-āms-i* ‘abilities’) go back to PII **mán-ās(-i)* < PIE collective **mén-ōs-h₂*; the nasal in OIA *mán-ā-m-s-i* is due to the analogy after *náv-yas* :: *náv-yāms-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-ṇ*, **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. **áuh-ōs*, Lat. *aurōra*, and in Iran. **auš-ah-* (Waxi *yīšy*, Baluchi *pōšī* ‘the day after tomorrow’ < **upa-auš-ah-*, cf. MAYRHOFFER 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-ās-s*. The original amphidyn. form is living in the sg. gen. and pl. acc. *uṣ-ās* < **uṣ-s-ās* < **h₂us-s-és*/**h₂us-s-ṛis*.

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-āms-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-āms-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' :: *yaś-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-āms-i* 'thinking organ, thought'. Cf. YAv. sg. nom. *ndre.man-ā* 'manly thinking' (cf. Ved. *ṛṇ-mán-ās*), acc. *hu-man-aṇh-am* (*su-mán-as-am* AV), gen. *hu-man-aṇh-ō* (cf. *ṛṇ-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. *duś-man-aṇh-ō* (cf. *su-mán-as-as*). Cf. *-yāms-/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-ns-* with loc. **meh₁-nés-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 *púmāns-* 'man, male being': sg. nom. *púmān*, voc. *pumas*, acc. *púmāns-am*, abl. gen. *puṁs-ás*, 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-ṛi*, **pu-ms-és*, cf. Lat. *pūbēs*, *pūbēr-* 'having manhood' etc., cf. MAYRHOFFER EWAia s.v. with lit. The *m* of *púmāns-* might be analogic after *māms-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. *pur̐śas*, and the secondary *m̐* in the stems in *-vā̐ms-* (1.2.16.:p.47f.), *-yā̐ms-* (1.3.2.:p.49ff.), and in the inflexion of *-vant-*, *-mant-* stems (1.2.15.:p.46f.), and furthermore in *-as-* :: *-ā̐n̐ṣi*, *-iṣ-* :: *-īm̐ṣi*, *-uṣ-* :: *-ū̐n̐ṣi*.

1.2.9.1. An accent distribution such as *āp-as-* n. ‘work’ :: *ap-ās-* adj. ‘working (well)’ (preceding page) is observed elsewhere, e.g., *brāh-man-* n. ‘poet’s word with realising power’ :: *brah-mān-* m. ‘priest characterised with *brāh-man-*’, each in columnar accent: *brāh-ma*, *brāh-man-as*, *brāh-mān-i* :: *brah-mā*, *brah-mān-as*, pl. nom. *brah-mān-as*, acc. *brah-mān-as*; *dhār-man-* ‘support, basis, order’ :: *dhar-mān-* ‘bearer, supporter’. In the case of *kār̐ṇa-* m. ‘ear’ RV+ (YAv. *kar̐na-* ‘ear [of the Daēuua beings]’) :: *kar̐nā-* ‘having long ears, defective ears’ AV+ (YAv. *kar̐na-* ‘deaf’), a special suffix *-ā-* could be assumed: ‘equipped with an ear [in remarkable manner]’ (?; cf. *kar̐nā-*, *ākarnā-* ‘eared’ [unhusked] and ‘uneared’ [husked] of *tanḍulā-* ‘grain’ TS I 8,9,3^p). Cf. also, e.g., *bhāra-* ‘carriage’ :: *-bharā-* ‘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. *bar̐z-iṣ-*), instr. *arc-iṣ-ā* ‘with ray’ (YAv. *bar̐z-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-īm̐ṣ-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-īm̐ṣ-i*, *jyót-iṣ-ām*, likewise, loc. sg. *ām̐-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. *ar̐d-uṣ-a* ‘damage’), dat. *cákṣ-uṣ-e*, gen. *cákṣ-uṣ-as* (cf. YAv. abl. *ar̐d-uṣ-at*); pl. *cákṣ-ū̐m̐ṣ-i*, gen. *cákṣ-uṣ-ām* AV (YAv. *ar̐d-uṣ-qm*).

The m.¹⁰³ appears, e.g., in *mān-uṣ-*¹⁰⁴ ‘Manuṣ as the ancestor of the human race; human being’: sg. *mān-uṣ-ā*, *-e*, *-as*, pl. nom. acc. *mān-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. *mīdh-uṣ-ī-* ‘paying remuneration duly’ and the strong stem of the m. *mīdh-vā̐ms-*, 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 *ārur vai pūruṣaḥ* ‘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 *idām + 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-úms-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-ē(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:** *uks-ān-* m. ‘ox’: sg. *uks-ā* (OAv. *uxš-ā*), *uks-ān-* (4× in the RV), *uks-ān-am* (I 164,43 = YAv. *uxš-ān-am*, after type [2]), *uks-n-ás*, pl. nom. *uks-ān-as* (OAv. *uxš-ān-ō*, after [2]), acc. *uks-n-ás* X 28,11, X 86, 14, *uks-ān-as* (X 86,13, after [2]), instr. *uks-ā-bhis*; *vṛṣ-an-* m. ‘bull’: *vṛṣ-ā*, *vṛṣ-an-am* (53×), *vṛṣ-ān-am* (2×, after [2]), *vṛṣ-n-e*, *vṛṣ-n-as*; *vṛṣ-n-ā*, *vṛṣ-an-au*, *vṛṣ-a-bhyām*; *vṛṣ-an-as*, acc. *vṛṣ-n-as* (VIII 20,19), *vṛṣ-an-as* (IV 2,2, *vṛṣ-an-as* VIII 7,33, after [2]), *vṛṣ-a-bhis*, gen. *vṛṣ-n-(a)ām*; *úr-an-* m. ‘lamb’: *úr-ā*, *úr-an-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-mān-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-mān-as* (2×, after [2]); pl. nom. *mahi-mān-as* (after [2]); *Arya-mā*, deified tribal custom, an Indo-Iranian artificial formation from a noun, (OAv. *d’riiā-mā*), *Arya-mān-am* (YAv. *d’riia-man-am*), *Arya-mn-é* (also *Arya-m_an-é*, cf. OAv. instr. *d’riia-mn-ā*, abl. *d’riia-m^an-as-cā*), pl. nom. *Arya-mān-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-āām*; (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*, *ašaonaṭ*), 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 **tékʷ-ō(n)*, **tékʷ-n-és* < **tetk°*, with loc. sg. **-én* ± **i* (cf. *ás-man*, *ás-man-i*) in *tákʷ-an*- m. ‘carpenter’: sg. nom. *tákʷ-ā* RV+ (OAv. *taš-ā* or *taš-ā*), acc. *tákʷ-ān-am* YS^{m,p}+ (OAv. *taš-ān-əm*), dat. *tákʷ-n-e* (YAv. *taš-n-e*), gen. *tákʷ-n-as* YS^p+ (YAv. *taš-n-ō*), pl. nom. *tákʷ-ān-as* AVP III 13,7; — *śv-án-/śu-n*- m. ‘dog’: sg. *śv-ā* (YAv. *sp-ā*), *śv-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*), *śv-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-m*, **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-i*; 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-*uan-au-s* < *mag^hā-*uən-Hau-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-uuaouiō*, gen. OAv. *ašā-un-qm*, YAv. *ašaon-qm*, and possibly instr. YAv. *ašaon-iš*. The long *ā* before *-uan-* 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-ŋ* (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 **ác-n-aH*)¹¹⁵, or **h₂(e)k-mñn-éh₁* (SIEVERS); loc. **h₂(e)k-mén ± *-i*, pl. nom. **h₂ék-mon-es*, acc. **h₂(e)k-mñn-ŋís* (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-ŋ*,¹¹⁶ instr. **h₂t-mén-eh₁*, loc. **h₂t-mén*; or perhaps to an amphidynamic: instr. **h₂t-mñn-éh₁* > **taná*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. *ḥk-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*, *ā-rā-vān-e* ‘not-bestowing’, *sva-dhā-vn-e* ‘deciding for oneself’, *sva-dhā-vān-e*, *su-dā-vn-e*, *yāj-van-e* ‘worshipping’, *kī-t-van-e* ‘active’, *druh-van-e* ‘deceitful’;¹²⁰ abl. *ā-rā-van-as*; gen. *ā-rā-van-as*, *dadhi-krā-vn-as*, *soma-pā-van-as*, *suta-pā-vn-as*, *bhūri-dā-vn-as*, *prātar-yā-vn-as*; voc. *soma-pā-van*, *prātar-it-vas* (after *-vant-* stem); du. *prātar-yā-vān-ā*, pl. nom. *ḥk-vān-as*, *prātar-yā-vān-as*; acc. *ā-rā-van-as*, *prātar-yā-vn-as*, instr. *ḥk-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. *aś-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-* (: *maghā-van-*), OAv. *aṣāu*, YAv. *aṣau* (: *aṣā-uuan-*) in type [1].

¹²⁰ *śák-van-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-* < **-uŋ-* 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. *að-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 ŠB), 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-uən*, pl. nom. *āθra-uuan-ō*, and in the weak cases: sg. dat. *aθa^ur-un-e*, gen. *-un-ō*, pl. acc. *-un-q^s-ca*, thus amphidynamic.

The n. stem *nā-man-* 'name' preserves its **amphidynamic** character, esp. in the elements *nā-* and *-mn-/mŋ-*: (RV unmarked) sg. nom. acc. *nā-ma* (YAv. *nq-ma*, OPers. *nā-mā*), instr. *nā-mn-ā*, *nā-m_an-ā*, voc. *nā-man* MS–KS–KpS^m; du. *nā-man-ī* MS^p, TS^p, ŠB, TĀ, (*nā-m_an-ī* AV IV 9,10–AVP VIII 3,10); pl. *nā-ma* (many times), *nā-mā* (I 123,4) < **-mŋ-h₁*, *nā-mān-i* (many times, < **-mōn-h₁* preserving collective ablaut; OAv. *nā-mēn-ī*, YAv. *nā-mēn-i*: both possibly du.), *nā-ma-bhis*, *nā-mn-ām* ŠB, BĀU (OAv. *nā-mn-qm*): < **h₁néh₃-mŋ* (cf. Lat. *nōmen*), gen. **h₁nēh₃-mn-és* (cf. OIr. nom.-acc. *ainm* < **an-men* < **n-mŋ*, OChSlav. nom.-acc. *i-me* < **jbn-mēn* < **h₁nēh₃-m^o*), or **h₁nēh₃-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-m_an-as* 'Sāman, melody', from roots ending in *-ā*.

Another type shows *-man-* in the weak cases before endings beginning with a vowel (**Cmna^o* > *°Cm_ana^o* instead of **Cŋna^o?*), 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^u-ā*, *dhán-van-ā*, *dhán-van*, pl. *dhán-va^u-va*, *dhán-vān-i*, *dhán-va-su*. In the case of *snā-van-* 'sinew' AV+ (from PIE **r^h-n-* heteroclit, cf. YAv. *snāuuar^o* '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. **-ŋ* before consonants, or **H* followed by vowel (then: > *a*), or before **H* followed by consonant (then: > *ā*), and

in the pl. **-ŋ-h₂* before a vowel with or without a preceding **H* (then: > *a*), or before a consonant (> *ā*); 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-məŋg* (*hax-man-* ‘attendance’) < **-man-s*, YAv. *bar³s-mən* (*bar³s-man-* ‘ritual grass’) < **-man-t* (-*s* was replaced with -*t*, cf. n.26); gen. OAv. *caš-məŋg* (*caš-man-* ‘visual field’) < **-man-s*, YAv. *dā-mən* (*dā-man-* ‘place, territory, creature’), *bar³s-mən* < **-man-s* (via **-ā* < **-əŋh* < **-əŋg^h*); the forms in the pl. nom.-acc. are, e.g., OAv. *dā-mən*, *dā-məm*, *nā-mən* < **-mān*, OAv. *an-afš-mən*, *afš-mān-ī* ‘disadvantages’, YAv. *cin-mān-i* ‘desires’ < **-mān-i*, (on OAv. *nā-məŋ-ī*, YAv. *nā-məŋ-i*, see p.41 above). Also in the m. -*van-* stem, there occurs gen. sg. YAv. *zrū* < **zruuə* < **zruuəŋh* < **-uan-s* from *zruuan-* ‘time’.

[3] **yuvan-** ‘young’ is attested in a **hysterodynamic** pattern: sg. *yuvā* (YAv. *yauua* Y 9,10, or **yuuā*?), *yuvān-am* (YAv. *yuuānəm*), *yūn-e*, *yūn-as* (YAv. *yūn-ō*, cf. abl. *yūn-aŋ*), voc. *yuvan* (YAv. *yum* < **juuən*); du. nom. acc. *yuvān-ā* (also nom. *yūn-ā* IX 68,5); pl. nom. *yuvān-as*, acc. *yūn-as*, dat. *yūva-bhyas*, instr. *yūva-bhis*, (gen. YAv. *yūn-qm*). These forms are derived, however, from an PIE **amphidynamic** paradigm with **-h₃én-* (-*h₃ón-*)/-*h₃n-* suffix: sg. **h₂ǵéu-h₃ō(n)*, **h₂ǵu-h₃n-és*, pl. **h₂ǵéu-h₃on-es*, **h₂ǵu-h₃n-ṛis*, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 382.

kanyā- f. ‘girl’ belongs to the same group. The nom. sg. *kanyā* (i.e. *kaniyā*) = YAv. *ka’ne* < PII **kanijā* goes back to either an amphidyn. **kāni-h₃ō(n)*, or hysterodyn. **kani-h₃ō/é(n)*. The gen. pl. *kanīnām* comes from **kanīn-ām* (< **kani-h₃n-(o)óm(?)*), YAv. gen. sg. *ka’nīn-ō* from **kani-h₃n-és*. The nom. pl. YAv. *ka’nīn-ō* seem to be derived from **kaniyān-as* < **kani-h₃én-es*, and acc. sg. *ka’nīn-əm* from **kaniyān-am* < **kani-h₃én-ṛi*,¹²¹⁾ speaking for a hysterodyn. type;

¹²¹⁾ The short *ǣ* 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 **h₃o* < **h₃e* (coloured, and not changed by ablaut): **kaniyānam* < **kani-h₃ón-ṛi* < **kani-h₃én-ṛi*, **kaniyānas* < **kani-h₃ón-es* < **kani-h₃én-os*, as opposed to BRUGMANN’s *ā* in nom. pl. *yuvānas* < **Hǵu-Hon-as* < **h₂ǵéu-h₃on-es*. Cf., however, ZEHNDER op.cit. (n. 113) 180 (concerning the cases like *áp-as* = Lat. *op-us* < **h₃óp-os* < **h₃ép-os*, *án-as* < **h₃én-os*): “Da aber die Umfärbung von **e* durch **h₃* 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 *h₃* in the suffix was identified by HAMP MSS 30 (1972) 35–37 on the ground of Celtic and Italic words for ‘river’ < **abon-* < **h₂ep-h₃on-* 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. *kan_iyāsu*, and nom. pl. *kan_iyās* follow the *-ā-* stem inflexion (*kan_iyā°* instead of **kan_iyā°* after the nom. sg. *kan_iyā*).

In Av., there are some other forms, **hysterodynamic**: OAv. sg. nom. *mqθrāā* ‘specialist of formulas’ < **mantra-Hā*, dat. *mqθrān-ē* < **mantra-Hn-āi*, gen. *mqθrān-ō* < **mantra-Hn-ās*, nom. pl. *mqθran-as-cā* (**ān-as°* < **mantra-Hān-as* < **mentro-h₃én-es* (cf. n. 121); perhaps **amphidynamic**: YAv. sg. nom. *hāuuana* ‘Haoma-pressing priest’ < **saūana-Hā(n)*, acc. *hāuuanān-əm* < **saūana-Hān-ṃ* < **sāuana-h₃on-ṃ*(?, cf. n. 121), dat. *hāuuanān-e* < **-h₃on-ēi*, gen. *hāuuanān-ō* < **-h₃on-és*. Furthermore, YAv. dat. sg. *puθrān-ē* ‘having sons’ < **putra-Hn-āi*, YAv. gen. sg. *Gauuuiān-ō* (MAYRHOFFER Zum Namengut des Avesta, 1977, 34).

In Ved., furthermore, m. acc. sg. *somāñnam* 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-saṃs-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^ṇn-in-* ‘winged’ from *parṇá-*, YAv. *par^ṇna-* ‘wing’: in the RV gen. *parṇ-in-as* (cf. YAv. dat. **par^ṇn-in-e*), du. *parṇ-in-ā*, pl. *parṇ-in-as* (YAv. *par^ṇn-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-ṃ*, **pnt-h₂-és*, **pont-oh₂-és*, **pnt-h₂-ṃis*, **pnt-h₂-b^hts*.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-ṃ*, **pnt-h₂-és* etc. (from the root **pent*). On related words *πάτος* ‘path’, *πόντος* ‘sea’, Lat. *pons* ‘bridge’ etc., cf. MAYRHOFFER EWAia s.v.

(YAv. *paṇt-ā*), acc. *pánthām*, *pánthāām* (< **pánt-aH-am*, YAv. *paṇtām*), beside it, from the *-an-* stem (cf. cases of *-i/-an-* in 1.2.8.: p. 34) *pánthānam* (YAv. *paṇtān-əm*), instr. *path-ā* (YAv. *paθ-a*), abl. gen. *path-ás* (OAv. abl. YAv. gen. *paθ-ō*, cf. YAv. abl. *paṇtaṭ* from *paṇtā-*), loc. *path-i* (OAv. *paⁱθ-i*); pl. nom. *pánthās*, *pánthāās* (< **pánt-aH-as*), *pánthās-as* (cf. n. 16), from the *-an-* stem *pánthān-as* (YAv. *paṇtān-ō*), acc. *path-ás* (OAv. YAv. *paθ-ō*); instr. *path-i-bhis* (OAv. *pad^a-bīš*), gen. *path-ām* (YAv. *paθ-qm*), *pathāām* (OAv. *paθ_aqm*; also *pathī-nām* from *pathi-*), loc. *path-i-šu*. 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 *-ác-* 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. *paⁱti.yaš* < **-āñk-š*), acc. *praty-āñc-am*, *praty-āñc-am* (cf. YAv. *vīro.nii-āñc-im* ‘turned beneath towards the men’ < **-āñc-əm*), instr. *pratiñc-ā*, abl. *pratiñc-ás* (cf. YAv. gen. *hunaⁱrii-āñc-ō* ‘skillful’ < **-āñc-ah*); pl. nom. *praty-āñc-as* (cf. YAv. *nii-āñc-ō* < **-āñc-ah*; *vižuu-añc-a* instead of *-ō*), acc. *pratiñc-ás*; — n. sg. nom. acc. *praty-ák*, du. *pratiñc-ī*, — f. (*devī-* inflexion) sg. nom. *pratiñc-ī*, acc. *pratiñc-īm*, *pratiñc-īm*, du. *pratiñc-ī*, pl. nom. acc. *pratiñc-īs*. Likewise *ny-āñc-* ‘down- or inward’, *úd-āñc-* ‘up- or outward’, *anv-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-ák* ‘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 YS^{p+}, n. *tir-y-ák* TS^m, acc. m. *tir-y-āñc-am* YS^{m/p+}, loc. *tiraś-c-i* 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 *°ác-* (< **óh₃k^w*): *prāñc-/prác-* (f. *prác-ī-*) ‘turned forward’, *arvāñc-/arvác-* ‘hitherward’, *avāñc-/avác-* ‘downward’, *pārāñc-* ‘turned away’, *devāc-ī-* f. ‘turned towards the gods’: m. sg. nom. *prāñ*, acc. *prāñc-am*, instr. *prác-ā*, abl. *prác-as*, loc. *prác-i*, pl. nom. *prāñc-as*, acc. *prác-as*; n. sg. *prāk*; f. nom. sg. *prác-ī*, acc. *prác-ī-m*, du. *prác-ī*, pl. nom. acc. *prác-īs*. Cf. YAv. m. sg. nom. *paraqš* ‘turned away’, *fraqš* ‘turned forward’ (< **-āñk-š*), YAv. m. pl. acc. *haθrāñc-ō*

¹²³) Cf. DUNKEL Fs.Narten 11–29 “The common origin of conjunctive **k^ue* and adverbial **-s*”: 24f.: “Ved. *tiraścā*, YAv. *tarasca*, Lat. *trān-sque* ‘through’ < **t₁rh₂m-* sk^ue beside Goth. *þairh*, OHG *durh* < **t(e)rh₂-k^ue*”. [On Av. *-añc-* adj.s, cf. SCHMITT Fs.Kuiper 134–141.]

(< **ānc-ah*; cf. Ved. *satrāc-as* ‘working together’), and n. sg. *parag²t* ‘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-q_s*: < **s-ant-s* < **h₁s-ént-s*), acc. *s-ánt-am* (YAv. *h-ənt-əm*: < **s-ant-am* < **h₁s-ént-ṃ*), n. nom. acc. *s-át* (OAv. *h-a_t*: < **s-at* < **h₁s-nt*), gen. *s-at-ás* (YAv. *h-at-ō*, < **s-at-ás* < **h₁s-nt-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-nt-ṃs*), gen. *s-at-ām* (OAv. YAv. *h-āt-q_m*: < **h-at-q_m* < **s-at-ām* < **h₁s-nt-óm*), n. sg. *ā-sat* ‘non-being’ (< **ṇ-h₁s-nt*), pl. *s-ánt-i* (< **s-ánt-i* < **h₁s-ént-h₂*); f. *s-at-ī* (OAv. YAv. *h-ā¹t-ī*: < **s-at-ī* < **h₁s-nt-ih₂/jēh₂*).

[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. *bhávat-as*, pl. nom. *bhávant-as*, acc. *bhávat-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. *pər²sqs* (= *pr̥cchán* < **pr̥šca-nt-s* < **pr̥(k)sko-nt-s*) ‘asking’, acc. YAv. *jasəntəm* (Ved. *gácchantam* < **ga-šca-nt-am* < **g^wṃ-skó-nt-ṃ*) ‘going’, gen. OAv. *saošiantō* ‘of the saviour’, (< **cauš-ja-nt-ah* < **jó-nt-es*; Ved. *bhávatas* after *s-at-ás*), pl. nom. YAv. *jasəntō* (Ved. *gácchantas* < **ga-šca-nt-as* < **g^wṃ-skó-nt-es*), acc. YAv. *saošiantō* (< **ja-nt-ah* < **jó-nt-ṃs*; Ved. *bhávatas* after *s-at-ás*), gen. OAv. YAv. *saošiantqm* (< **ja-nt-ām* < **jó-nt-om*; Ved. *bhávātām* after *s-at-ām*)¹²⁴); n. sg. OAv. *yasō.xiiēn* ‘giving honour’ (< **jačah-iant* < **jó-nt-*; Ved. *-at* after *s-át* as in *cárat*), pl. OAv. *rōiθβan* ‘mixing oneself’ < **a-nt* Y 31,7(?); in the f., on the contrary, mostly from the secondary weak forms in *-āt-ī*: YAv. *vī-jasāt-ī* ‘spreading’, *duuara¹t-ī* ‘running’, *zizanā¹t-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: *śās-at* ‘instructing’: m. nom. sg. *śās-at*, nom. du. *śās-at-ā*, gen. sg. *śās-at-as*; *s-aor.* m. nom. sg. *prá-sakṣ-at* ‘winning’¹²⁵), and OAv. *stauu-as* ‘praising’ < **stéu-nt-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. *daθō*, *daθō* < **dé-dh₃-nt-s*, **d^hé-d^hh₁-nt-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.: *ibišiat-q_m* beside *ibišia-nt-q_m* ‘of the ones who are hating’, *zizanat-q_m* ‘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 *br̥hánt-* ‘tall, high, lofty’ (f. *br̥hat-ī-*), *mahánt-* ‘big, great’ (f. *mahat-ī-*), and the subst. *dánt-* ‘tooth’ (from an old part.) follow the hysterodynamic scheme, as in [1]:

br̥hánt-/br̥hat-: **m.** sg. nom. *br̥h-án* (YAv. *bər̥z-ō* < *-ant-s), acc. *br̥h-ánt-am* (*bər̥z-ant-əm*), instr. *br̥h-at-ā* (*bər̥z-at-a*), dat. *br̥h-at-é* (*bər̥z-a’t-e*), gen. *br̥h-at-ás* (*bər̥z-at-ō*), loc. *br̥h-at-i* YS^m (cf. YAv. *bər̥z-a’nt-ii-a* < *-anti + ā); du. nom. *br̥h-ánt-ā* (*bər̥z-ant-a*), (dat. YAv. *bər̥z-a’nt-biia* < *-and-b^hiā); pl. nom. *br̥h-ánt-as* (*bər̥z-ant-ō*), acc. *br̥h-at-ás*, instr. *br̥h-ád-bhis*, dat. *br̥h-ád-bhyas*, gen. *br̥h-át-ām* (*bər̥z-at-qm*); — **n.** *br̥h-át*, du. *br̥h-at-ī*, pl. *br̥h-ánt-i* (AV), — **f.** *br̥h-at-ī-*: *br̥h-at-ī* (*bər̥z-a’t-i*), *br̥h-at-ī-m* (*bər̥z-a’t-ī-m*), dat. *br̥h-at-y-ái* (gen. *bər̥z-a’t-ii-ā*), *br̥h-at-ī-s* (*bər̥z-a’t-ī-š*), *br̥h-at-ī-s*. These forms go back to PIE **b^hr̥g^h-ént-* (cf. Gaulish *Brigantes*), **b^hr̥g^h-nt-*, **b^hr̥g^h-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-án* (2×), acc. *mahánt-am* (*maz-ánt-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^h-éh₂-/*meg^h-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-ónt-/*h₁d-nt-* (cf. Grk. *ὀδ-ών*, *ὀδ-όντ-*, Aeolic *ἔδόντ-ε*), 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-m₂*, **gr̥h₂-nt-és*, cf. Grk. *ἔρ-ων*, *ἔρ-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/-vān̄*, *-mān/-mān̄*, 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-uuå*, YAv. *druuā̊* ‘deceitful’, YAv. *xratu-mā̊* ‘having mental power’ < **-uās*, **-mās*, on the one hand, and OAv. *θβā-uuq̄s* ‘similar to you’, YAv. *cuiuq̄s* ‘in which size’ < **-uānt-s*, on the other hand; in the n. pl. OAv. *mīžda-uuq̄n* ‘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 *bhāvant-* 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* (BṛhĀrUp.) 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-/uṣ-* in the hysterodyn. inflexion¹³²); the nasal (*m̄*) 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. *vid-uuå*, YAv. *vīd-uuå* < **uid-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. *aʳruuant-* ‘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. *eid-ός*, Goth. *weit-wop-s*, OIr. *fiad-u* would suggest an amphidynamic pattern in its origin: **uēid-uōs*, **uid-us-ēs*, and **uid-us-ihz-*.

¹³³) Three times trisyllabic: *vid_uvān* (GRASSMANN, OLDENBERG) or *vid_uvān̄*.

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

uuāñh-am), instr. *vid-ús-ā* (YAv. *vīd-uš-a*), dat. *cakr-ús-e*, *vid-ús-e* (YAv. *vīd-uš-ē*), (abl. YAv. *daθ-uš-at* ‘from the creator’, gen. OAv. *vīd-uš-ō*), voc., e.g. *cikit-vas* ‘conscious’; **du.** *vid-vāms-ā*, *-au* (YAv. *zaz-uuāñh-a* ‘having left’); **pl.** nom. *cakr-vāms-as*, *vid-vāms-as* (YAv. *vīd-uuāñh-ō* < **uid-ūāh-ah*), acc. *cakr-ús-as*, *vid-ús-as* (YAv. *dad-uš-ō*), instr. (see below), gen. *vid-ús-ām* (YAv. *vaon-uš-qm* ‘of the ones who have won’), (loc. YAv. *zaz-ušu*); — **f.** *vid-ús-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 **-tṃh-h₂-o-*¹³⁵) are added to a wide range of nominal formations, pronominal stems, and adverbial particles: *tavás-tara-* ‘stronger’, *tavás-tama-* ‘strongest’, *tuvis-tama-* ‘mightiest’ (cf. YAv. *aš.aojas-tara-* ‘much stronger’), *ámavat-tara-* ‘having more offensive power’ (YAv. *amavastara-*, *amavastama-*), *mṛdayát-tama-* ‘showing more mercy’, *vidús-tara-* ‘more-knowing’ (cf. YAv. *jāgər^obuštara-* ‘having grasped better’), *su-dārša-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. *añ-tara-*, Lat. *in-terior* from **in-teru-s*, Grk. pl. *ἐν-τερεα* ‘entrails’: < **h₁én-tero-*), *án-tama-* ‘intimate’ (YAv. *añ-tama-*, Lat. *in-timus*: < **h₁én-tṃh-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 *í-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-ús-am* X 137,1 similarly to the *-ús-* stem (p.37f.), or only an analogic formation after the acc. pl. *cakr-ús-as*.

¹³⁵ In Grk., replaced by *-tato-* < **-tṃto-*, *-ato-* < **-ṃto-* with *-to-* 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’, *kṣētra-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-a-ra-* ‘lower’ (YAv. *aḍ-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-ā-ma-*, OPers. *ap-a-ram*),¹³⁷ *úp-a-ra-* ‘lower, nearer, later’, *up-a-má-* ‘uppermost, nearest’ (YAv. *up-a-ra-*, *up-ə-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-/i-úṣ-* (1.2.16.: p.47), cf. also n.130.

The formation of the comparatives seems to go back to a PIE proterodyn. paradigm: **-ǵōs-* in the nom. sg. m., and **-ǵios-* in the other strong cases (with a variant **-iǵōs-*: SIEVERS, or < **-ih₂ōs-*?) to the accented full-grade root, and **(i)ǵés-* in the weak cases; the f. is formed with **(i)ǵés-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’?), *jyā-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. *vaṣ-iia*, YAv. *vaǵhā* < **-ǵās*), acc. *vás-yāms-am* (cf. YAv. *vaǵhanhəm* < **-ǵas-am*, OAv. *nā’d-iāṇh-əm* ‘more in distress’ < **-ǵās-am*), pl. nom. *sré-yāms-as* ‘more glorious’; n. pl. *náv-yāms-i* (cf. YAv. *vaǵhāś-ca* < **-ǵās*). 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., *ḥj-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-iš-ī-* ‘the first wife of a king’ (**‘the greater [wife]’*), *mah-iš-á-* ‘buffalo’ (**‘a bigger [bull]’*), *mah-iš-ī-* ‘she-buffalo’ (**‘a bigger [cow]’*); the stem *mahīyāms-*, *mahīyasī-* is attested KāthaUp, ŚvetāśvataraUp+. Cf. OChSlav. *bol’b-jb* ‘greater’ for **bolb* < **bol-iš*, f. *bol’bši* for **bol-iš-i* < **bol-is-ih₂*; Lat. *ploera*, ONord. *fleire* ‘more’ < **plohi-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. ἡδ-ύ-ς, ἡδ-ί-ων, ἡδ-ιστο-ς); *bhū-ri-* ‘many, abundant (of things); rich, mighty (of persons and gods)’, *bhū-yāms-*, *bhū-y-iṣṭha-* (for **bhuv-iṣṭha-* < **b’uh₂-iṣṭh₂o-*)¹⁴⁰⁾; *ās-ú-* ‘swift’, *ās-īyāms-* Br., *ās-iṣṭha-* (OAv. YAv. *āsu-*, YAv. *ās-iias-*, *ās-išta-*, Grk. ὠκ-ύ-ς, ὠκ-ιστο-ς, cf. ὠκ-ύ-τερο-ς, ὠκ-ύ-τατο-ς, Lat. *ōc-ior*: **h₂ek*); *vás-u-* ‘good’, *vás-yāms-* ‘better’, *vás-iṣṭha-* ‘best’ (OAv. YAv. *voh-u-*, *vañh-auu-*, OAv. *vaṣ-iiāh-*, *vah-iiāh-*, YAv. *vañhah-*, *vañhah-*, OAv. YAv. *vah-išta-*: **h₁ues*); *a-śrī-rá-*, *a-ślī-lá-* ‘not beautiful’, *śré-yāms-* ‘more beautiful, excellent’, *śré-ṣṭha-* ‘most beautiful, excellent’ (metrically also */śráy-iṣṭha-/-*: < **kréjH-iṣṭh₂o-*; OAv. YAv. *srī-ra-*, YAv. *sraiias-*,

¹³⁸⁾ Lat. *mulier* ‘woman, wife’ shows a zero grade in the root: < **m_l-jēs-ih₂-* (f. of *melior* ‘better’ < **méli-jos-*) or < **m_ld-jēs-ih₂-* ‘softer, weaker’ (cf. *mollis* < **moldu-i-s*). Thus, the f. stem might have been inflected, virtually **m_l-jēs-ih₂ :: *m_l-is-jéh₂-e₁* (mesodynamic) or **m_l-is-jh₂-é₁* (a kind of amphidynamic); cf. *náv-īyas-yā* or *náv-yas-iyā* VI 22,7 < **neū-jēs-jéh₂-h₁*, or rather **neū-jēs-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 *bháv-ī-yāms-* RV I 83,1, the full-grade root was secondarily introduced, just as in the case of YAv. adv. *baoiō* ‘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’, *préyāms-*, *préṣṭha-* (in most cases /*práy-iṣṭha-*/: < **préjH-isth₂o-*, OAv. *fraēšta-*); (OAv. *as-na-*, YAv. *as-na-*, *ās-na-* ‘near’ < **ṇsd-no-*), Ved. *néd-īyāms-*, *néd-iṣṭha-* (YAv. *nazdiiō*, OAv. YAv. *nazd-išta-*: **nesd*); *sthū-rá-* ‘rigid, strong, big’, *sthāvi-yāms-* YSP+, *sthāv-iṣṭha-* YSP+ (YAv. *stao-iiāh-*, *stāuu-išta-*); *rj-ú-* ‘straight’, *fj-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., *vṛkī-* ‘she-wolf’ :: *vṛka-*), 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-* :: *friiā-*), *áśvā-* ‘she-horse’ :: *áśva-* (OAv. YAv. *aspā-* :: *aspa-*, OPers. *asa-*), *kṛṇv-ānā-* ‘making for herself’ (cf. YAv. *gər²z-ānā-* ‘lamenting’). There are also forms without m. counterparts, e.g. *īṣ-ā-* ‘pole (of a chariot)’ (PIE **h₂iHs-éh₂-*), verbal abstracts, e.g. *kṛīḍ-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, YSP+; to this group belongs also *chā-yā-* ‘shadow’, cf. YAv. *a-sa-iiā-* ‘shadow-less’, Grk. *σκ-ιά-*: < proterodyn. **skéh₁-īh₂-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 *vṛkī-*, 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 *vṛkī-* 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 *áruṣ-ī-* (:: *aruṣ-á-* ‘ruddy’), *śyāv-ī-* (:: *śyāv-á-* ‘darkbrown’), etc., cf. YAv. *zar²naēn-ī-* (:: *zar²naēn-a-* ‘golden’), from vrddhi-formations, *śārad-ī-* ‘autumn’, *sthāvir-ī-* ‘solid, tough’, *mānuṣ-ī-* (also *mānuṣ-ā-* :: *mānuṣ-a-* ‘Manuṣ-descendant, human-being’), *áśvin-ī-* ‘acting as Áśvins’, etc.; as the f. of -ya-: *ár-ī-* (:: *ár-(o)ya-* ‘Aryan’), *dāiv-ī-* (:: *dāiv-(o)ya-* ‘belonging to the gods’), *dvay-ī-* (:: *dvay-á-* ‘twofold’), *hiraṇyá-yī-* (:: *hiraṇyá-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-ḥ*) :: *sūr-i-* ‘patron, chief’ RV+, *krīm-ī-ṇām* AV V 23,13–AVP ::

mostly in [2] *devī-* inflexion): *ur-v-ī-* :: *ur-ú-* ‘wide’ (cf. Grk. *εὐπεῖα* < **eu-ih₂*), *pūr-v-ī-* (YAv. *paoīrī-*: < **p̥l̥h₁-ū-ih₂-*) :: *pur-ú-* ‘many’ (OAv. YAv. *poʷr-u-*, OPers. *par-u-*: < **p̥l̥h₁-ú-*), *vás-v-ī-* (OAv. YAv. *vaṇʰh-ī-*) :: *vás-u-* ‘good’, *nār-ī-* ‘woman’ (OAv. YAv. *nāṛ-ī-*) :: *nár-* (OAv. YAv. *nar-*, cf. 1.2.6.: p.32), *bṛh-at-ī-* (YAv. *bər²z-dīt-ī-*: < **bʰrǵʰ-nt-ih₂-*) :: *bṛh-ánt-* ‘high’ (YAv. *bər²z-ant-*: < **bʰrǵʰ-ént-*, cf. 1.2.14.: p.45f.), *jár-at-ī-* :: *jár-ant-* ‘old’ (cf. 1.2.14.: p.46), *vidūšī-* *vidvāms-* ‘knowing’ (cf. 1.2.16.: p.47f.), *vás-yas-ī-* (OAv. YAv. *vaheh-ī-*): *vás-yāms-* ‘better’ (cf. 1.3.2.: p.49f.), *pratic-ī-* :: *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.: *śvasr-ū-* ‘mother-in-law’ :: *śvásur-a-* ‘father-in-law’ (assimilated from **syé-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 *-ī-* (< **-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: *-ī-* feminines (in the *devī-* inflexion) from the strong form of *-i-* stems, e.g. *Agn-āy-ī-* ‘wife of god *Agn-i-*’, *Vṛṣā-kap-āy-ī-* ‘wife of *Vṛṣā-kap-i-*’, of *-u-* stems: *Man-āy-ī-* ‘wife of *Mán-u-*’ (KSP, ŠB; analogic *Man-āy-ī-* MSP), *Jahn-āy-ī-* ‘stem of *Jahn-ú-*’ (Br+), *Vas-āy-ī-* (:: *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-* :: *Mán-u-*, OPers. *Mārg-av-a-* :: *Marg-u-*, *ād̥hvar-yav-a-* :: *adhvar-yú-* ‘Adhvaryu-priest’ (org. ‘following the ritual way, process’).¹⁴⁵⁾

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

krīm-i-/k̥m-i- ‘worm’ AV+ (*krīmīnām* AV), *sá-yon-ī-* 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-ī-* appears in AV IV 20,7–AVP (*śunyās*). In YAv., the f. form *sūn-ī-* 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. *sāngh-ūš* Y 34,7 (acc. pl. of *-uš-* stem?).

¹⁴⁵⁾ Cf. OAv. *ār²z-auu-a-* ‘righteousness’ (*ārj-av-a-* ChU+) :: OAv. *ər²z-u-*, Ved. *tj-ú-* ‘straight’. There are also vṛddhi-formations from weak *-u-* forms: *Yád-v-a-* :: *Yád-u-*, *Paid-v-á-* :: *Ped-ú-*, *pārs-uv-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^ti-i-*, Grk. *πότ-νια* :: *πόσ-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’, *šyé-tá-* :: *šyé-nī-* ‘bright, white’; an individualising suffix *-n-* is supposed (with a phononogical change *-knī-* for *-tnī-*) in: *ási-knī-* ‘dark night, darkness’ :: *ási-ta-* ‘black’, *páli-knī-* :: *páli-tá-* ‘grey’, and *hári-kñi-* 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’: *jig^t-ša^{te}* ‘be greedy’, *jig^t-š-ā-* ‘greed’, *jig^t-š-ú-* ‘greedy’ (cf. p. 125), of *bhaj* ‘share’: *bhik^t-ša^{te}* ‘desire to have (something as) a share for oneself, beg’, *bhik^t-š-ā-* ‘begging’ (in the RV only in compounds), *bhik^t-š-u-* ‘beggar’ (Cl. Pur.; f. *bhik^t-š-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}*, *-yā-*, *-yú-* ‘do reverence’; cf. also *mā-y-ā-* ‘wonderful faculty’, *dur-mā-y-ú-* ‘having malevolent tactics’ RV III 30,15; root-noun *anu-šthā-* ‘the following’, *anu-šth-ú-* ‘following’, cf. *su-šth-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)’, *dhēnu-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 *Śakinta-lā-* *‘little bird or partridge’ SB.

1.4.3. Old **vṛddhi-formations** are preserved e.g. in *dev-á-* ‘heavenly; god’ (OAv. YAv. *daēuu-a-* ‘non-god’, OLat. *deiu-o-s*, Lat. *dīuos*, *deus* ‘divine, god’: < PIE **deǵu-ó-* :: **dĕǵu-/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’ (:: *dīś-* ‘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. *naui-a-*, Hitt. *neu-a-*, Grk. *vé-o-ς*, Lat. *nou-u-s*, etc. :: *nú*, *nú*, PIE **nũ*

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

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

1.4.4. The **CALAND suffix-system**¹⁴⁸⁾ is preserved only in fossils, e.g. *śvit-rá-* ‘white’ (AV+) :: *śvit-y-āñc-/śvit-īc-*, *śvit-īc-i-* ‘whitish’, *śit-i-pád-* ‘white-footed’ (with loss of *v*), YAv. *spit-i-* in *spit-i-dōiθra-* ‘clear-eyed’ and in some proper names; *sac-i-vid-* ‘knowing together, having the same thought’, *sác-i* adv. ‘together’ :: cf. *ā-sk-ra-* ‘accompanying’; *rj-i-pyá-* epithet of an eagle (cf. YAv. *Ṛ²z-i-fñia-*, a mountain-name, OPers. [¹**ard-i-fiya-*] :: *rj-rá-* ‘swift, quick’ and ‘brightly red’ (cf. also *rj-ú-* ‘straight’ < **h₃rǵ-ú-*?), *Rj-i-śvan-* *‘with quick dogs’ beside *Rj²rásva-* *‘with quick horses’ = YAv. *Ṛ²zrāspa-*, Grk. *ἀργ-ο-ς* ‘white and bright’ and ‘swift’, *ἀργ-ι-όδων* ‘having bright theeth’, *ἀργ-ι-πους* ‘swift of foot’: < **h₂rǵ-ró-*, **h₂rǵ-i-*; *gab^h-i-śák* ‘deep inside’ :: *gab^h-rá-* ‘deep’. There are nominals released from the system: *śuk-rá-* ‘white and bright’ :: *śúc-i-* ‘pure and bright’; *śak-rá-* ‘strong, powerful’ :: *sác-ī-* ‘ability, power, energy’ (secondary from **sác-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.: *-kf-t-* (YAv. *-kər²-t-*) ‘making, producing’, *-prú-t-* (YAv. *-fru-t-*) ‘jumping’, *-bhṛ-t-* (OAv. YAv. *-bər²-t-*) ‘bearing’, *-i-t-* (YAv. *-i-t-*) ‘going’, *prātar-i-t-van-*

¹⁴⁷⁾ Cf. Georges DARMS Schwäher und Schwager, Hahn und Huhn. Die *Vrddhi*-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 *r* as opposed to OIran. *ər*. In a phase when the Indo-Iran. *vrddhi*-system came into being, the *r*-sonant was probably **ər* (cf. n. 41), and its *vrddhi*-form was *ār* (*a* + *ər*). This opposition was introduced into OIA as *ā-r* :: *r*, and after this, **ā-ǵ* (instead of **aǵ* > *e*) :: *i*, **āu* (instead of **au* > *o*) :: *u*; in OIran., they remained as *ār* :: *ər*, *aǵ* :: *i*, *au* :: *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. *mər²-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 Olran. has little or no corresponding formations: gerd. *aram-kf-t-yā* ‘having arranged’, *ā-bhṛ-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 extoled’; 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*): *dyāṁvā-prthivī* ‘heaven and earth’, *mitrā-várūṇayos*, *mitrā-várūṇabhyām* ‘of, by M.-and-V.’. They are composed from two elliptical duals (cf. *pitārā* ‘both fathers’, i.e. ‘parents’). Such members occur also separately: *náktā* ... *uṣāśā* ‘night and dawn’ (: *uṣāśā-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 -á-) and *ajāvāyas* ‘[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*, *ni-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-nt*, 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-śmaśrú* 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-cá-* 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 (*iṣṭā-*)' YS^m, cf. *samudrām ... mādhyam* 'the centre of the ocean'; *ákpo-πολις* 'the upper city' Od.+ (*πολις 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-tj-* '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-drúh-* 'deceiving in a false way', *satyám-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', *Svapnavāsavadattam* 'Story of Vāsavadattā, 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 *aśva-vṛṣā-* 'stallion', *puruṣa-vyāghrá-* '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', *dīg údīcī prācī* 'northeast direction', *ūdaṇ prān* '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-jā-* 'generated by power'; *viśvá-sambhū-* 'causing welfare for each person', *go-jā-* 'produced from cows', *kṛṣṇa-prūt-* 'jumping in the black (darkness)', *bandhu-kṣít-* 'dwelling among the relatives'; *viś-pāti-* '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: *purāṇ-dará-* 'breaking palisades', *girā-vṛdh-* 'growing by the songs of welcome', *divo-jā-* 'generated from heaven', *rathe-ṣṭhā-* 'standing on a chariot', *divi-kṣít-* 'dwelling in heaven', with genitive before *-pāti-* and double accentuation in the RV: *vānas-pāti-* 'lord of the woods', *vācás-pāti-* 'lord of the speech', etc., furthermore, in proper names *Śúnaḥ-śépa-* 'dog's tail', *Dívo-dāsa-* 'slave of heaven' (with accent unity); *apām nāpāt-* 'the water's grandson' can be treated as a compound, but also *nāpāt- apām* 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. *bāh_iṇ- ojas-* '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-*: *dása-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-kṛtyá-* ‘good deed, action’), *dúr-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 *-pāti-*: *grhá-pati-* ‘lord of the house’, but *viś-pāti-* ‘chief of a settlement, community’. Cf. **prathamá-vaiyākaraṇa-* only ‘novice grammarian’, but **prathama-vaiyākaraṇá-* ‘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 **āmreḍīta-s** ‘repeated’, when the whole form is repeated.^{154a} *āhar-āhar* ‘day after day’, *grhē-grhe* ‘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** or hypostatic **compounds**, one can cite *yāc-chreṣṭhá-* ‘the best possible’ (‘in-so-far-as-best’), *aham-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’ (: *aṅgūri-*), *tri-yu-*

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

^{154a} Cf. KLEIN “Āmreḍītas 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 *āmreḍīta* used by Pāṇini, cf. CARDONA StI 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. Bahuvrīhi 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-īug-* :: *sám*), *pr-ṣṭh-á-* ‘back’ (PIE **pr-sth₂-ó-* *‘fore-standing’ :: *prá*).^{155a} Cf. the denomin. type *urusyá-*^{ti} (p.132: 3.7.6.). On YAv. *aš-* ‘great’ < **mṛgs-* in the first member of some compounds, and OAv. adv. *māš* ‘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.

2.1. numerals

2.1.1. cardinals¹⁵⁶⁾

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

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

dvā- ‘2’ is inflected only in the dual: **m.** nom. *dūvā*, *dvā* (YAv. *duua*), *dūváu*, *dváu*, instr. *dūvābhyām* (cf. YAv. dat. abl. *duuaēbiia*, cf. n. 11), gen. *dūvāyos* (cf. YAv. *duuaitiā*, Goth. *twaddje*), loc. *dvāyos*; **n.** *dūvé* (YAv. *duiie*, *duuaē-ca*), loc. *dūvāyos*; **f.** *dūvé*, *dvé* (YAv. *duiie*), *dūvābhyām*. It follows the regular nominal inflexion, so that the same paradigm results with *ubhā-* ‘both’ (OAv. *uba-* YAv. *uua-*, OPers. *uba-*): in the RV m. *ubhā*, *ubhāu*, *ubhābhyām* (cf. OAv. *ubōbiū*, YAv. *uuaēbiia*, cf. n. 11), *ubhāyos*, n. *ubhé*, f. *ubhé*.

trāy-/tri- ‘3’ are inflected in the pl.: **m.** nom. *trāyas* (cf. YAv. *θrāiiō*, *θraiiasca*), acc. *trīn* (YAv. *θriṣ*; beside it, *θrāiiō*: borrowed from the nom., *tiśrō*: from the f.), instr. *tribhīs* (YAv. *θribiiō*: from the dat.-abl.), dat. *tribhyās*, gen. *trayāṇām* (see KÜMMEL Academia.edu, 5.12.2012) YSP+ (RV X 185,1 *trīṇām*; cf. YAv. *θraiiqm*, *θriiqm*), loc. *triśū*; **n.** *trī* (YAv. *θrī*, also *θrāiiō*, *tiśrō*) / *trīni*, *tribhīs*, *triśū*; **f.** has the stem *ti-sra-/ti-sr-*: nom. *tisrās* (YAv. *θrāiiō*: borrowed from the m.), acc. *tisrās* (YAv. *tiśrō*), instr. *tiśṛbhīs*, dat. *tiśṛbhyaḥ*, gen. *tiśṛṇām*, *tiśṛṇāām*¹⁵⁷⁾ (YAv. *tiśṛqm*), loc. *tiśṛṣu*. In addition, the multiplicative adv. *trīs* is applied sometimes as indeclinable in place of the cardinal.

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

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

catvár-/catru- ‘4’ shows a similar inflexion: **m.** nom. *catváras* (YAv. *caθβārō*, *caθβaras-ca*), acc. *catúras* (cf. YAv. *catūrē* < *-a-ns in the themat. inflexion), *catúrbhis*, *caturnāām* (cf. YAv. *caturqm*); **n.** nom.-acc. *catvári* (cf. YAv. *catura* with themat. inflex., beside *caθβārō* from the m.); **f.** from *cáta-sra-/cata-sr-*: nom. *cátasras*, acc. *cátasras* (YAv. *cataṣrō*), instr. *catasṛbhis*.

‘5’ to ‘7’ and ‘9’ to ‘19’ are pl. adj.s, but without gender, and without endings in the nom. and acc. This corresponds to Av., where the indeclinable expression is applied (in part, also gen. forms are used), which seems to represent an older situation: *pāñca-* (YAv. *pañca*, *pañcā-ca*, *pañcanqm*), *ṣaṣ-* (YAv. *xšuuasṣ*, cf. n. 161), *saptá-* (YAv. *hapta*), *náva-* (YAv. *nauua*, *nauuanqm*), *dása-* (in the RV: *dása*, *daśábhis*, *daśānām*, *daśásu*; OAv. *dasā*, YAv. *dasa*, *dasanqm*). The older indeclinable uses are found in the RV in, e.g., *saptá raśmibhis* ‘with seven sunrays’ beside *saptábhīḥ putráis* ‘with seven sons’, *dása kakṣyābhis* ‘with ten girdles’ beside *daśábhiḥ sahasraís* ‘with ten thousand(s) (cows)’.

aṣṭá- ‘8’ shows a dual ending¹⁵⁸) in the nom. and acc. without gender difference: nom. *aṣṭā*, *aṣṭáu*, acc. *aṣṭā*, *aṣṭáu* (after the RV only -áu; analogic *aṣṭá* in the AV and later), instr. *aṣṭābhis*. The Av. has also here an indeclinable: YAv. *aṣṭa*.

‘11’ to ‘19’ look like Bahuvrīhi compounds: *ékā-daśa-*, *dvā-daśa-* (YAv. *duua.dasa*), *trāyo-daśa-*, *cátur-daśa-*, *pāñca-daśa-* (YAv. *pañca.dasa*), *ṣoḍaśa-*, *saptá-daśa-*, *aṣṭá-daśa-*, *náva-daśa-*; attested in the RV are only nom. *ékādaśa*, nom. acc. *dvādaśa*, nom. *cáturdaśa*, acc. *pāñcadaśa*.

The cardinals ‘20’, ‘30’, ‘40’, ‘50’ are collective substantives in the f., originally derived from ‘ten’ (*^oV-*śat(i)*-/*^o*imśat(i)*- < *-*dkm-t*-): *vimśatī-* (cf. YAv. *vīśqs* < **ui-śant-s*: from an -*ant-* stem, du. *vīśatī*), *triśśat-* (cf. YAv. *θrisqs*, *θrisatəm*, gen. *θrisatanqm*), *catvārimśat-* (cf. YAv. *caθβar^osatəm*), *pañcāśat-* (cf. YAv. *pañcāśatəm*, instr. *pañcāśatbīs-ca*). They are used in principle in the sg., but also the acc. pl. appears: *tisrāḥ pañcāśatas* ‘150’.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.1.2. ordinals

The ordinals are derived with *-thá-* (*-th₂o-), *-má-* (*-mó-), and *-(t)īya-* (probably from *-ih₂o- added directly, or from a *-tó-* stem meaning perhaps *[group] with so-and-so number’), cf. also the superlative suffix (cf. 1.3.2.: p.50). They can be traced back in most cases at least to PII: *pra-tha-má-* ‘foremost’ (YAv. *fra-tāma*), *dvi-tīya-* ‘2nd’ (OAv. *d^{ui}bi-tiia-*, YAv. *bi-tiia-*, OPers. *duvi-tīya-*), *tr-īya-* ‘3rd’ (cf. YAv. *θri-tiia-*, OPers. adv. *çi-tīyam*, Lat. *ter-tius*, Goth. *þri-dja* < *tri-tī₂o-¹⁵⁹), *tur-īya-* RV+ (YAv. *tūr-īia-*, adv. *ā-xtūr-īm* < *ā-ktur-i₂am-, PIE *k^wtur-ih₂o-) or

¹⁵⁹ Probably < *tri-t-ih₂o-, derived from *tritó- (cf. Grk. *τρίτος*, Ved. *Tritá-*, YAv. *Θrita-*). The OIA form with *tr* is generally considered as original, while forms with *tri* as levelled after *tri-* ‘three’. However, a dissimilation from *ri* before *tī* on the side of OIA seems also possible. [*-ih₂o- > *-i₂o- > OIA *-ī₂o- as in the pass. stem from roots ending in *-i(?)*. OPers. adj. *çiīya-* probably in DB V 3, see R. SCHMITT *Orientalia* 32 (1963) 439.]

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

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

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

2.1.3. fractions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.1.4. other numeral adjectives and adverbs

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

¹⁶² The suffix **-ua-* is the same as the one found in Iran. **ai-ua-*, Grk. *αἰ-φο-ς* < PIE **oi-uo-* ‘one’, Iran. **par-ua-* (YAv. *pa^rr-uua-*, *pa^{au}r-uua-*, *po^rr-uua-*), Ved. *púr-va-*, OChSlav. *prb-vb* < PIE **prh₂-uo-* ‘the first’. **θriš-ua-* means thus originally ‘existing three times’. This argument is also available for *caθruš-uua-* which comes from *caθruš* ‘four times’ (Lat. *quater* < **k^wetru-s* < **k^wetūr-s*; cf. *catúr* AV+ < *catur̥s* with analogic *-ur-*) + **-ua-*. **trís-uo-* ‘consisting of three parts’ goes back even to PIE, cf. ONord. *þris-var* ‘three times’ (cf. *tvis-var* ‘two times’), and possibly *θpīo-v* ‘fig-leaf’ (< **trís-uo-*, according to SOMMER). The relation of **trís-uo-* to **trís-no-* (Lat. *ter-nī* ‘three to each, three at once’, ONord. *þren-nr* ‘threefold’) is just as **oi-uo-* to **oi-no-* (Lat. *ū-nu-s*, Goth. *ai-n-s*, ONord. *ei-nn*). See HOFFMANN op.cit. 187. HOFFMANN points out a further possibility that a reinterpretation of the loc. pl., e.g. *hapta-huua* ‘among seven’ (< **-su + ā*) as ‘the one among seven’ has played a role for the genesis of the fractional forms with **-sua-*, and that *pañta-huua-* could be interpreted as reformed from **pañtā* (the loc. of **pañti-* = *pañkti-* ‘fivefoldness’) with *-ahuua-*.

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

The multiplicative adverbs of time are: *sa-kṛt* ‘once’ (YAv. *ha-kər²t*, originally a compound of **sm* ‘one’ with a root-noun, perhaps ‘time’); with *-s* (PIE **-s*): *dvī-ṣ* (*dvī-s*), *duvī-ṣ* ‘twice’ (YAv. *bi-ṣ*, Grk. *di-ς*, Lat. *dui-s*, *bi-s*), *trī-ṣ* ‘three times’ (YAv. *θri-ṣ*, Grk. *tri-ς*, Lat. *ter*), *catūr* AV+ ‘four times’ (cf. YAv. *caθru-ṣ*, Lat. *quater* < **kʷetru-s* < **kʷetūr-s*, cf. n. 162). For other numbers, an indeclinable *kṛtvas* is used: in the RV only *bhūri kṛtvas* ‘many times’ and *śásvat kṛtvas* ‘many times one after another’, in the AV, e.g. *daśá kṛtvas* ‘10 times’, *aṣṭa-kṛtvas* ‘8 times’, etc.; the cardinal *śat* appears in the ŚB in the meaning of ‘6 times’ beside *cátuṣ* ‘4 times’.

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

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

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

¹⁶⁴ *-dhā* seems to go back to the old instr. of the root noun **d^héh₁-* ‘creation, appointment, decision’, cf. SCARLATA 265f. This formation is not assured as such in Iran, but is postulated in OAv. OPers. *azdā* = Ved. *addhā* ‘evidently, obviously’, cf. GOTÖ Fs. Klingenschmitt (2005) 204 with n. 44.

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

¹⁶⁶ Cf. TICHY MSS 42 (1983) 207ff.

2.2. pronouns

2.2.1. personal pronouns

There are personal pronouns for the 1st and 2nd person. They distinguish no gender. The paradigms consist of some different stems:

1st person: **sg. nom.** *ah-ám* (OAv. *az-əm*, OPers. *ad-am*: < **eğ-h*₂ + **-óm* (cf. n. 174), cf. OAv. *as-cī*, Goth. *ik* < **ég* or **ég-h*₂; Grk. *ἐγ-ώ* [Hom. Dor. *ἐγ-ώ-v*], Lat. *eg-ō* < **ég-oh*₂); **acc.** *mām*, *m_aām* (/mām/ or /mām/; YAv. *mam*, OPers. *mām*: < **mē*/**mē* + **-om*/**-óm*, cf. OLat. *mē-d*, *ἐ-μέ*), enclitic *mā* (OAv. YAv. *mā*, OPers. *-mā*: < **mē*, cf. *με*, Goth. *mi-k*); **instr.** *máy-ā* (< **moj_i-eh*₁); **dat.** *má-hya* (RV IV 42,2 < **me-gh_io/e*?, cf. OAv. *maⁱ-biiā* with **b^h* after *taⁱ-biiā*, *maⁱ-biiō* (< + **μ*), YAv. *mā-uuōiia*, *mā-uuaiia-ca*; cf. Lat. *mi-hi* < **me-gh_iei*), *má-hy-am* (< **me-gh_i* + **-om*), *me* (OAv. *mōi*, YAv. *mē*, OPrs. *-mai*y: < **moj_i*, Grk. *μοι*); **abl.** *m-át* (OAv. *ma^t* Y 44,15?, OPers. *-ma*); **gen.** *má-ma* (cf. OAv. *mā.nā* Y 50,1, YAv. *ma-na*, OPers. *ma-nā*, OChSlav. *mene*; PIE perhaps **mé-ne*, cf. Grk. *ἐ-μέ* < **e-mé*), *me* (OAv. *mōi*, YAv. *mē*, OPrs. *-mai*y); **loc.** *máy-i*;

du. nom. *vām* RV VI 55,1 (cf. OAv. *vā* Y 29,5, OChSlav. *vě*), *āvám* YSP⁺; **acc.**¹⁶⁷⁾ *āvām* KS–KpSP⁺ Br.+; *nau* (cf. Grk. *vó*, OChSlav. *na*); **instr.** *āvābhyām* JB I 109+, **dat.** *āvābhyām* ŠBK V 1,5,11, TĀ V 7,5P+, *nau*, **abl.** *āvābhyām* KS XII 7P:169,13, Br.+; *āvāt* KSP TSP⁺, **gen.** *āváyos* YSP⁺ +, *nau* (cf. OAv. *nā* Y 45,2);

pl. nom. *vay-ám* (OAv. YAv. *vaēm*, OPers. *vay-am*: < **uej* + **-óm*, cf. **μ_ej*-s in Goth. *wei-s*, Hitt. *wē-s*); **acc.** *as-mān* (clarified with the nominal ending **-ns*, just as Hom. *ἦ-μέ-ας* > Att. *ἦ-μᾶς*, from **ns-mé* in OAv. *ēh-mā*, YAv. *ah-ma*, Dor. *ā-μέ*, Lesb. *ā-με*), *nas* (YAv. *nō*: instead of **nās* in OAv. *nā*, Lat. *nōs*: < **nōs*); **instr.** *as-mā-bhis* (cf. OAv. *ēh-mā* Y 29,11, 34,1); **dat.** *as-má-bhya* RV IX 86,41, *as-má-bhyam* (cf. OAv. *ah-māⁱ-biiā*), *nas* (OAv. *nō*, YAv. *nō*: < **nos*); **abl.** *as-m-át* (OAv. *ah-m-āt*); **gen.** *as-mā-ka-m* (YAv. *ah-mā-kə-m*, OPers. *a-mā-xa-m*, cf. poss.-adj. *asmāka-* [2.2.5.: p. 75]; cf. Hom. *ἦ-μέ-ων*, Att. *ἦ-μῶν*, Lesb. *ā-με-ων* < **ns-mé-ōm*?), *nas* (OAv. *nō*, YAv. *nō*: < **nos*), **loc.** *asmā-su*. In addition, *asmé* (< loc. **ns-mé-i*, cf. Grk. **ns-mi*[-n] in Hom. Lesb. *ā-μ[ν]*, Dor. *ā-μίν*, Ion. Att. *ἦ-μίν*) is used for the dat., gen. and loc. in the mantra language; — PIE from **uej*/**ns*/**nōs*/**nos*.

2nd person: **sg. nom.** *tv-ám*, *t_vv-ám*, (OAv. *tuu-əm* disyllabic, YAv. *tūm*, OPers. *tuv-am*, Pāli *tuv-am*: < **tū*/*tū* + **ám*; cf. Hom. Dor. *tū-vn*, Goth. *þu*, Lith. *tù*, OChSlav. *ty*); **acc.** *tvām*, *tv_aām* (probably /tvām/; OAv. YAv. *θβqm*, OPers. *θuvām*, Pāli *taṃ* from *tvām*: < **tuē* + **óm*; cf. Ion. Att. *σέ*, Dor. *τέ* < **tuē*), enclitic *tvā* (OAv. YAv. *θβā*; cf. **te* in Dor. *τε*, OHG *di-h*, **tuē* in Cret. *τεε*, Att. *σε*); **instr.** *tvāā*

¹⁶⁷⁾ OAv. *āuūā* Y 29,7 is probably the adverb (preposition) *auua*.

or *t_{iv}vā* (only in the RV; OAv. YAv. *θbā*: monosyll.), *tváy-ā*, *t_{iv}váy-ā*; **dat.** *tú-bhya* (RV; OAv. *taⁱ-biiā*, *taⁱ-biiō* with **u*; cf. Lat. *ti-bī* < **te-b^hei*), *tú-bhyam* with *-*am*, *te* (OAv. *tōi*, YAv. *tē*, Hom. Dor. Lesb. *toi* < **toi*; Ion. Att. *soi* < **tuoi*, with **tu* after acc. *σέ*); **abl.** *tv-át*, *t_{iv}-át* (OAv. YAv. *θbat*: monosyllabic), **gen.** *táva* (OAv. *tauuā*, YAv. *tauua* < **téue*: perhaps a vrddhi-formation from **tū/tú*; cf. Att. *σοῦ*, Hom. *σεῦ*, Lesb. *σε-θέν*, Dor. *τέ-ος*), *te* (OAv. *tōi*, YAv. *tē*, OPers. -*taiy*: < **tei*; cf. OLat. *ti-s*, Goth. *þei-na*); **loc.** *tvé*, *t_{iv}vé* (RV and some mantras), *tváy-i* (AV+);

du. nom. *yuv-ám*; **acc.** *yuv-ám*, *vām*; **dat.** *yuv-á-bhyām* (mostly in the RV), *yuv-ābhyām* (RV+), *vām*; **abl.** *yuv-át*, (Cl.Skt. instr.-abl.-dat. *yuv-ābhyām*); **gen.** *yuv-ós* RV, *yuv-á-yos* YS^m, RVKh+, *yuv-ā-k-u* RV I 17,4, I 120,9 (cf. *yuv-ā-k-u-2.2.5.*: p.75, cf. YAv. *yauu-ā-kə-m* < **yuu-ā-kə-m*), *vām*;

pl. nom. *yū-y-ám* (-*y-ám* after *vay-ám*, cf. OAv. *yūž-əm*, YAv. *yūž-əm*, reformed from **jūs* + **óm*, PIE **jūs* in OAv. *yūš*, Goth. *jūs*, Lith. *jūs*); **acc.** *y-uš-mán* (*y-* from the nom., clarified with nominal **-ms*, just as Hom. *ῥ-μέ-ας* > Att. *ῥ-μῆς* from PIE **us-mé* in Dor. *ῥ-μέ*, Lesb. *ῥμ-με*), *vas* (YAv. *vō*: instead of **vās* in OAv. *vā*, Lat. *uōs*: < **uōs*); **instr.** *y-uš-mā-bhis* (cf. OAv. *xš-mā* < **š-mā*, cf. *y-uš-mā-datta*- ‘given by you’); **dat.** *y-uš-mā-bhyam*, *-bh_ṣyam* (OAv. *y-ūš-māⁱ-biiā*, YAv. *y-ūš-māⁱ-biiō* [+ **u*]: *y-* from the nom.; OAv. *xš-māⁱ-biiā*, YAv. *xš-mā-uuōiia* < **š-ma-b_ṣia* < **us-me-b^hio/e*?), *vas* (OAv. *vā*, YAv. *vō*: < **uas* < **uos*); **abl.** *y-uš-mát* (OAv. YAv. *y-ūš-mat*, OAv. *xš-mat*); **gen.** *y-uš-mā-ka-m* (YAv. *y-ūš-mā-kə-m*, OAv. *xš-mā-kə-m*, cf. poss.-adj. *y-uš-mā-ka-* [2.2.5.:p.75]; cf. Hom. *ῥ-μέ-ων*, Att. *ῥ-μῶν*, Lesb. *ῥμ-μέ-ων*: < **us-mé-ōm*?), *vas* (OAv. *vā*, YAv. *vō*: < **uas* < **uos*); **loc.** *y-uš-mé* RV and some other mantra texts (< **y-us-mé-ī*, cf. Grk. **us-mī*[-*n*] in Lesb. *ῥμ-μ*, Dor. *ῥμⁱ-v*, Ion. Att. *ῥ-μⁱ-v*), *y-uš-mā-su* YS^m+; — PIE from **jūs*/**us*/**uōs*/**uos*.

2.2.2. demonstrative pronouns¹⁶⁸⁾

[1] The most representative pronoun is *sá-/tá-* ‘that; he, she, it’, used deictically (‘*der* deixis’), anaphorically, and as a 3rd-person pronoun¹⁶⁹⁾; also appositionally,

¹⁶⁸⁾ Cf. Katharina KUPFER Die Demonstrativpronomina im Rigveda (2002).

¹⁶⁹⁾ In OIran., there are pronominal forms for the 3rd person sg./du./pl., according to HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 162: sg. nom. f. OAv. *hī*, du. nom. n. OAv. *hī*; — enclitic forms: sg. acc. m. f. OAv. YAv. *īm* (Ved. *īm*), OAv. YAv. *hīm*, OPers. -*šīm* (cf. Ved. *sīm*), YAv. *dim* (abstracted from *ād-im*), OPers. -*dīm*; acc. n. OAv. *ī*, YAv. *ī* (cf. Ved. *it* as a particle), YAv. *dī*; dat. gen. OAv. *hōi*, YAv. *hē*, *sē*, OPers. -*šaiy* (Grk. *oi* < **soi*); du. acc. m. f. OAv. *ī*, pl. acc. m. f. OAv. *īš*, OAv. YAv. *hiš*, OPers. -*šīš*, YAv. *dīš*, OPers. -*dīš*, acc. n. YAv. *ī*, YAv. *dī*; OPers. analogically gen. pl. -*šām* (instead of **aīšām*), abl. sg. (adv.) -*ša*. The MIA enclitic *se* for the gen. acc. sg. beside *me* for the 1st, and *te* for 2nd person is interpreted as being of secondary origin in MIA, cf. SCHELLER KZ 81 (1967) 1–54.

i.e. practically as an adjective. OIA preserves well, like OIran, the old pronominal inflexion in three genders, represented in particular in the formant *-sm-* in the sg. (presumably spread from the PIE loc. **tó-sm-i[-n]* ‘in the same’ to the dat., abl.; originally the zero-grade form of **sem* ‘the one and the same’) and the forms with *-e-* (i.e. **-aġ-* < **-oġ-*) in the pl. m./n.; also *-na* in the instr. (see p. 71) and *-sya* in the gen. sg. are supposed to have originated in the pron. inflexion:¹⁷⁰⁾

m.: **sg.** nom. *sá* (YAv. *hā*, OPers. in *ha-ya* rel. pron. ‘who’)¹⁷¹⁾, secondary *sá-s* before pausa and vowels, forming hiatus, or *só*, in a few cases also before consonants (YAv. *hō*, *has-ciŋ*, pseudo-OAv. *hē*, *has-ca*); acc. *tá-m* (OAv. *tā-m*, YAv. *tā-m*), instr. *ténā* (cf. p. 71; OAv. YAv. *tā*), dat. *tá-sm-ai*, abl. *tá-sm-āt*, gen. *tá-sya*, loc. *tá-sm-i-n*; — **du.** nom. acc. *tā*, *táu* (OAv. *tā*, YAv. *tā*, *tā-ca*), instr. dat. abl. *tā-bhyām*, gen. loc. *tá-yos*; — **pl.** nom. *té* (OAv. *tōi*, *taē-cā*, YAv. *tē*, *taē-ca*), acc. *tān* (OAv. *tōng*, *tq*, pseudo-OAv. *tq-s-cā*, YAv. *tē*, *tq*), instr. *táis* AV+ (OAv. *tāiš*), *té-bhis* RV and mantra texts (cf. n. 20), dat. abl. *té-bhyas*, gen. *té-ṣ-ām*, *té-ṣ-ām*, loc. *té-su*.

n.: nom. acc. **sg.** *tá-t* or *tá-d* (OAv. YAv. *ta-t*, OPers. in *ta-ya* ‘which’), **du.** *té* (YAv. *tē*), **pl.** *tā*, *tā-ni* (OAv. YAv. *tā*). The other forms are as in the m.

f.: **sg.** nom. *sā* (OAv. YAv. *hā*), acc. *tā-m* (OAv. YAv. *tqm*), instr. *táyā*, dat. *tá-syai*,¹⁷²⁾ abl. gen. *tá-syās*, loc. *tá-syām*; — **du.** *té*, instr. dat. abl. *tā-bhyām*; — **pl.** nom. *tās* (OAv. YAv. *tā*, YAv. *tās-ciŋ*), acc. *tās* (OAv. YAv. *tā*, pseudo-OAv. *tās-cā*), instr. *tā-bhis*, dat. abl. *tā-bhyas*, gen. *tā-s-ām*, loc. *tā-su*.

¹⁷⁰⁾ A PIE paradigm could be reconstructed like this: **m. sg.** nom. **só* (Grk. *ó*, Goth. *sa*), acc. **tó-m* (Grk. *τό-v*, Goth. *pa-n-a*), instr. **té-h₁* (Av. *tā*, Goth. adv. *þe* ‘then’), dat. **tó-sm-ō₁* (cf. *τῷ*, Goth. *pa-mm-a*), abl. **tó-at* or alike (cf. *οὐ-τω[ς]*; iptv. in Grk. *-τω*, OLat. *-tōd*, Ved. *-tār*; cf. n. 5ff.; on the Ved. adv. *tāt* ‘since then, thereafter’, cf. 4.3.: p. 148), gen. **tó-s(i)o* (Hom. *το-ῖο*, cf. Att. *τοῦ*) / **té-s(i)o* (Goth. *þi-s*, cf. palatalisation in the OAv. interrog. pron. *ca-hiiā*, OChSlav. *če-so*: n. 182), loc. **tó-sm-i(-n)*; — **du.** nom. acc. **tó-h₁* (*τό*, Lith. *tuō-du*, OChSlav. *ta*); — **pl.** nom. **tó-ī* (Goth. *þa-i*, cf. Grk. *ο-ί*), acc. **tó-ns* (*τούς*, *þa-ns*), instr. **tōīs* (*τοῖς*, cf. Goth. *þai-m*), dat. abl. **to-ī-b^hios/-mos* (?), cf. OChSlav. *tě-mb*, Goth. *þai-m*), gen. **to-ī-som* (*τῶν*, OChSlav. *tě-chb*, Goth. *þei-ra*, cf. *þi-ze*), loc. **to-ī-su* (cf. OAtt. *το-ῖ-σι*, OChSlav. *tě-chb*); — **n.** nom. acc. sg. **tó-d* (*τό*, Goth. *þa-t-a*), du. **tó-ih₁* (*τό*, OChSlav. *tě*), pl. **te-h₂* (Grk. *τά*, Goth. *þo*); — **f. sg.** nom. **sé-h₂* (*ῆ*, *so*), acc. **té-h₂-m* (*τή-v*, *þo*), instr. **té-ih₂-eh₁* (an early analogic form instead of **té-h₂-eh₁*?, cf. OChSlav. *to-jq* < **ta-īā-m*, cf. p. 20), dat. **té-s(i)-eh₂-e₁* (*τῇ*, Goth. *þi-z-ai*), abl. gen. **té-s(i)-eh₁-s* (*τῆς*, *þi-z-os*), loc. **té-s(i)-eh₁* + **om*(?); — **du.** nom. acc. **tó-ih₁* (*τό*, OChSlav. *tě*; **tó-ih₁* is perhaps analogically after n., in origin **teh₂-ih₁*?, cf. n. 27); — **pl.** nom. **té-h₂-es* (Goth. *þōs*, cf. Grk. *αἱ*), acc. **té-h₂-ms* (*τάς*, *þos*), instr. **té-h₂-b^his* (cf. *ταῖς*, Goth. *þaim*), dat. abl. **té-h₂-b^hios/-mos*, gen. **té-h₂-som* (*τῶν*, cf. Goth. *þi-zo*), loc. **té-h₂-su* (cf. OAtt. *τῇ-σι*). [On the origin of the formants **-sm-* and **-sġ-*, see GIPPERT Per Aspera (2004) 155–165.]

¹⁷¹⁾ OAv. *huuō* < **haŋ* (cf. Ved. *a-sáu*, n. 177) fulfils also the function of OIA *sá*, YAv. *hā*.

¹⁷²⁾ On *°ai* for the gen., abl. in the language form used by the theologists, cf. n. 25.

In the loc. sg. m. n., the form *sásmin* appears 9 times in the RV with following nouns: *úḍhan* ‘udder’, *áhan* ‘day’, *ājáu* ‘chariot-race’, and *yónau* ‘womb, home place’. AiG III 542 takes it for an individual form used by some poet and his imitators. It means certainly ‘on the same’, as Sāyaṇa and many scholars interpret it, and HOFFMANN Inj. 204 n.189 analyses it clearly as “gekürzt aus **samásmin* [‘on the same’]”. DUNKEL *Rekonstruktion und relative Chronologie* (1992) 170f., supposes, however, that it is the relic of an old formation.

There are also diminutives *ta-ká-m* and *ta-ká-d* in the acc. sg., each only once in the RV, Book I (Pāṇini teaches a series of diminutive *-ka-* formations for the pron., cf. AiG III 446).

The corresponding forms in the dat. abl. gen. and loc. in all three numbers and genders are absent in Av. The stem *aēta-* ‘this’ seems to supply these cases, all attested in YAv.: m. n. sg. dat. *aēta-hm-āi*, abl. *aēta-hm-āt*, gen. *aēta-he*, loc. *aēta-hm-i*, *aēta-hm-ii-a*, du. gen. *aēta-iiā*, pl. dat. *aētē-biiō*, gen. *aētaē-š-qm*, loc. *aētaē-šu*, *aētaē-šuu-a*; f. sg. gen. *aēta-ījhā*, *aēta-iiā*, *aēta-iiās-ciṭ*, pl. dat. *aētā-biiō*, gen. *aēta-īh-qm*. In OPers., only the nom. acc. n. *aita* < **aīta-d* and the acc. pl. f. *aitā* are attested in anaphoric usage from the stem **ha-/ta-* or **aiša-/aīta-*; the main demonstrative pron.s in OPers. are *hauv*, *hauvam*, *ava-* ‘that, he, she’ (cf. n. 177) and *i-/ima-/a-* ‘this’ (cf. [4]).

[2] The stem *ešá-/etá-* ‘this’ is very common in deictic and anaphoric functions, in the meaning of ‘this known’, and ‘he, she, it’ located in the common sphere for both speaker and listener. This pronoun has been built up in PII from **aī-/i-* for the proximal deixis (cf. [4]) combined with *sá-/tá-*. The inflexion follows the latter. The corresponding forms are in YAv. commonly in use (no OAv. form is known); in addition to those cited above, cf.: sg. m. nom. *aēša*, *aēšō*, acc. *aētəm*, instr. *aēta*; n. *aēta-t*; du. n. *aēte*; pl. m. nom. *aētae*, *aētaē-ca*, acc. *aētō*, *aētq*;; n. *aēta*, *aētā-ciṭ*; f. sg. nom. *aēša*, acc. *aētqm*, pl. nom. *aētās*¹⁷³. *tē* ‘these of yours’, acc. *aētā*. The analogic YAv. form in the f. gen. sg. *aēta-iiā*, *aēta-iiās-ciṭ* beside *aēta-ījhā* is remarkable.

[3] The Vedic pronominal stems *syá-* and *tyá-* seem to have been derived from *sá-/tá-* (or its ancestor), showing a similar distribution between *s°* and *t°*. This pron. appears predominantly in the RV meaning something like ‘that one in the concern, in the presence, that one which one knows’.¹⁷³⁾ No counterpart is met

¹⁷³⁾ GRASSMANN remarks on *syá-*: “... *jener, der*, stets adjektivisch, und nie an erster Stelle des Satzes stehend; ... häufig geht ihm ein anderes Demonstrativ (*etá-, idám*) voran, von dem es gewöhnlich durch *u* getrennt ist”; and similarly, but more in detail, on *tyá-*, cf. AiG III 545ff. Recently, KLEIN “Rigvedic *syá/tyá-*”, *Mír Curad. Fs. Watkins* (1998) 361–

in OIran.: **m.** sg. nom. *syá* (*s_iyá* VII 8,2), acc. *tyá-m*, *t_iyá-m*, gen. *t_iyá-sya*; du. nom. *tyá* (once *t_iyá*); pl. nom. *tyé*, *t_iyé*, acc. *t_iyám*, instr. *t_iyébhis*; **f.** sg. nom. *syá* (*s_iyá*, e.g. I 88,6, VI 65,1), acc. *tyá-m*, *t_iyá-m* (each 1×), instr. *tyá*, gen. *tyá-syās*, du. nom. *tyé*, pl. nom. *tyās*, acc. *tyās*; **n.** sg. *tyá-d*, *t_iyá-d*, pl. *tyá*, *t_iyá*, *tyáni*.

[4] The demonstrative pronoun for proximal deixis ‘this here’ has been made up in PII from **a-**, **aṯ-/i-**, and oxytone **imá-**. **a-** goes back to PIE (proximal) deictic (or simply demonstrative, cf. [7]) **e-* in OLat. *e-m* ‘him, she’ (if not from *im*), dat. *e-si-ai* ‘her’, Umbr. *e-sm-ei* ‘huic’, *e-sm-ik* ‘ei’; **aṯ-/i-** to proximal deictic **eṯ-/i-* in OLat. *i-m* ‘eum’, n. *i-d*, Goth. *i-s* ‘he’, *i-t-a* ‘this’; **imá-** has been abstracted from acc. sg. m. *imá-m* < *im-ám*, i.e. < **i-m* (OLat. *i-m*, Cyprian *ĩ-v* ‘him, she’ according to Hesychios) + *-óm, cf. AiG III 514f., MAYRHOFER EWAia I 103, 194:

m.: **sg.** nom. *ay-ám* (OAv. *aii-ām*, *aām*, YAv. *aām*; OPers. *iy-am*, borrowed from the f.)¹⁷⁴, acc. *imá-m* (YAv. *imə-m*, OPers. *ima-m*), instr. *e-nā* (see below), dat. *a-sm-ai* (OAv. YAv. *a-hm-āi*), abl. *a-sm-āt* (OAv. YAv. *a-hm-āt*, YAv. *a-hm-aṯ.haca*, *a-hm-aṯ.para*), gen. *a-syá* (OAv. *a-hiiā*, *a-šiiā-cā*, YAv. *a-he*, *a-ijhe*), loc. *a-sm-i-n* (OAv. *a-hm-ī*, YAv. *a-hm-i*, *a-hm-ii-a* with *-ā); — **du.** nom. acc. *imá*, *imáu* (YAv. *ima*), instr. dat. abl. *ā-bhyám* (cf. YAv. *ā-biia*), gen. loc. *ay-ós* (cf. gen. OAv. YAv. *aii-ā*; OAv. *ās-cā* Y 30,3: *ā* disyllabic); — **pl.** nom. *imé* (YAv. *ime*, OPers. *imaiy*), acc. *imán* (YAv. *imaṯ*), instr. *e-bhis* (YAv. *aēⁱ-biš*, cf. OAv. *āiš*), dat. abl. *e-bhyás* (OAv. YAv. *aēⁱ-biiō*), gen. *e-š-ám* (OAv. YAv. *aēš-qm*), loc. *e-šú* (YAv. *aē-šu*, *aē-šuu-a* with *-ā);

n.: **sg.** nom.-acc. *i-d-ám* (enclitic **id* + *ám*; cf. YAv. *ima-t*, OPers. *ima*); **du.** *imé*, gen. loc. *ay-ós*; **pl.** *imá*, *imá-ni* (OAv. *imā*, YAv. *ima*, *imā*, OPers. *imā*);

f.: **sg.** nom. *iy-ám* (YAv. *īm* < **ij-əm*, OPers. *iy-am*, presumably < **i-h₂* + *-óm), acc. *imá-m* (OAv. YAv. *imaṯ-m*, OPers. *imā-m*), instr. *ay-ā* (OAv. *ōii-ā*, YAv. *aii-a*, *āii-a* *z^omā* ‘on this earth’), dat. *a-syái* (OAv. *a-šiiāi*, YAv. *a-ijhāi*), abl. *a-syás* (YAv. *a-ijhā*, *a-ijhāt*), gen. *a-syás* (YAv. *a-ijhā*, *a-ijhās-ca*), loc. *a-syám* (YAv. *a-ijhe* < **a-hiā*); — **du.** nom. acc. *imé*, instr. dat. abl. *ā-bhyám* (cf. OAv. dat. *ā-biiā*); — **pl.** nom. *imás* (YAv. *imā*, *imās^o.tē* ‘these of yours’, OPers. *imā*), acc. *imás* (YAv. *imā*, *imās^o.tūmciṯ* ‘you here’, OPers. *imā*), instr. *ā-bhis* (OAv. *ā-biš*), dat. abl. *ā-bhyás* (dat. OAv. *a-biias-cā*, YAv. *ā-biiō*, *āⁱ-βiias-ca*, *āⁱ-biias-ciṯ*), gen. *ā-s-ám* (YAv. *āṇh-qm*), loc. *ā-sú* (OAv. *ā-hū*, YAv. *ā-huu-a* with *-ā).

Exceptional forms occur in the RV: sg. gen. n. *imásya* VIII 13,21, adv. *imáthā* V 44,1; also some isolated forms appear later.

372 (“a proximal deictic referring to things in the immediate environment of the speaker” 370), KUPFER Demonstrativpron. 354–361, DUNKEL Gs. Polomé (2000[2003]) 12–14.

¹⁷⁴ The pronouns have no endings in the nom. sg. in the m. and f., but are often followed by the particle PII *-ám < *-óm (or *-ém, cf. Lat. *i-d-em*).

The original instr. sg. m./n. of this pronoun seems to be preserved in the adv. *a-nā* ‘thereby, then’ (perhaps beside **a-nā?*), cf. OAv. instr. *a-nā*, YAv. *a-na*, OPers. *a-nā*, also adv. *ca-nā*, OAv. *-ci-nā*, YAv. *-ci-na* ‘(not) at all’ (: or **k^ve + *né* ‘nicht’; cf. 2.2.3.: p. 74; 4.4.: p. 151). The stem *aná-* ‘this here’ has been formed already in PII from *a-nā* through reanalysis as *ana-* + instr.-ending *-ā*: YAv. abl. sg. *ana-hm-āf*? Nīr 99 (cf. p. 60), gen. sg. *⁺ana-he* Y 8,4, OAv. instr. pl. *anāiš*; Ved. instr. sg. *anéna*. *aná* has been reformed, on the other hand, to *e-nā*, perhaps after *-ai-* forms as in *e-bhis* or *ay-ám*; *enā* was then introduced into *ténā*, and then into the nominal *-a-* stems (cf. p. 9). Cf. KUIPER AcOr 16 (1938) 213ff., HAURI Zur Vorgeschichte des Ausgangs *-Ena* (1963) 12f., 41f., KLINGENSCHMITT MSS 30 (1972) 94 = Aufs. 106, MAYRHOFFER EWAia I 69, 268, KUPFER 104, 330; all with bibliography.

[5] Enclitic forms of *ena-* are used for ‘he, she’, and (AV+) also for ‘it’, especially referring to someone/something discussed in the immediate context: **m.** sg. acc. *enam*, instr. *ena*, *enā*, du. gen. *enos*; **f.** sg. acc. *enām*, du. acc. *ene*; after the RV also: **m.** du. acc. *enau*, **n.** sg. acc. *enad* (only exceptionally also as the nom. in the Br.), pl. *enāni* (YSP+), **m./n.** sg. instr. *enena*, du. gen. loc. *enayos*. The stem *ena-* seems to be an inner-Indic innovation based on the enclitic use of *enā* as observed in the instr. *ena*, *enā* (cf. the lit. quoted in the preceding paragraph).

To these are added the unaccented forms of the stem *a-*, *ai-/i-*, so that a suppletive paradigm is formed; in the RV: **m.** sg. dat. *a-sm-ai*, abl. *a-sm-āt*, gen. *a-sya*, loc. *a-sm-i-n*; pl. instr. *e-bhis*, dat. *e-bhyas*, gen. *e-ṣ-ām*, loc. *e-ṣu*; **f.** dat. *a-syai*, abl. gen. *a-syās*, loc. *a-syām*; pl. instr. *ā-bhis*, dat. *ā-bhīyas*, gen. *ā-s-ām*, loc. *ā-su*; and also **n.** sg. gen. *a-sya*.

In the RV, initial-accented *á-sya*, *á-sm-ai*, and *ā-bhis* occur in the first position in a Pāda. In view of *énām* VIII 6,19, it may be safely supposed that we meet here marked uses of the enclitics in a strongly restrictive function.

[6] Other enclitics – *īm*, *ī*, *sīm* – are defective: *īm* is well attested in the RV and occurs also in some other mantra texts. *ī* is found 11× in the RV. These forms are used for the acc. m. f. in the sg., and also in other numbers, particularly in proleptic function. For the n., **id* is expected, but, instead, only *id* is attested (perhaps = Lat. *id*, cf. *id-ám* [3]), which is used always as an adv. in unambiguous context. *sīm* occurs only in the older parts of the RV, where it functions as an anaphoric acc. indifferent to gender or number. These enclitics are employed also as particles in emphasizing function, or for avoiding hiatus. Their original demonstrative character (probably from **eḷ-/i-*) is preserved much better in OIran., cf. n. 169.

[7] The demonstrative pronoun for the distal deixis ‘that there, that over there’ is *asáu*, *adás*, *amu-*; it means also ‘so-and-so’,^{174a)} and probably ‘that in ques-

tion': **m.** sg. nom. *asáu*, acc. *amú-m*, instr. *amú-nā* (YS^m+), dat. *amú-šm-ai*, abl. *amú-šm-āt*, gen. *amú-šya*, loc. *amú-šm-i-n* (AV+); pl. nom. *amī*¹⁷⁵, acc. *amū-n* (AV+), dat. abl. *amī-bhyas* (AV+), gen. *amī-š-ām*; — **n.** sg. nom. *adās*, pl. *amū*; — **f.** sg. nom. *asáu*, acc. *amū-m*, (instr.: cf. p. 148), dat. *amú-šyai* (YS^m+), abl. gen. *amú-šyās* (AV+), loc. *amú-šyām* (YS^m+); du. nom. *amū* (AV+); pl. nom. acc. *amūs* (*amūs*).

This Indo-Aryan pronoun is founded upon **u*. The stem *amú-* is generally explained as abstracted from the acc. sg. *amú-m* which consists of **a-m* (acc. of **a-*, cf. [4]) + *u* + hypercharacterising *-m*, cf. AiG III 530f., lit. in EWAia I 98. From the same **u*, OIran. has developed a full pronom. paradigm **au-a-*,¹⁷⁶ together with the nom. sg. in the m. and f. **hay*.¹⁷⁷ This **ha-u* goes back to **sa + u* (or **sa-s + u*) with preservation of hiatus, and f. **seh₂-u* (YAv. *hāu* is a secondary form of differentiation); in Ved., *a-* (of demonstrative function, cf. [4]) has been added to it (KLINGENSCHMITT MSS 30, 1972, 99 = Aufs. 109). The nom. sg. n. *adās* could be a reinterpretation from *adó* < **ada-u*,¹⁷⁸ which could have origi-

^{174a}) On voc. forms referring to the 2nd pers.: *ásau*, *asau*, du. *amū*, pl. *amī*, cf. AiG III 534.

¹⁷⁵) *amī* < **amu-iH*, perhaps via **amū-ī*. According to Pāṇini I 1,12, *amī* (and *amū*) are prapṛhya, and are treated as such in Cl. Skt., cf. AiG III 531, I 320.

¹⁷⁶) Presumably a vṛddhi-formation just like **néu-o-* :: **nu*, cf. OChSlav. *ov-ъ* 'this', *ov-ъ ... ov-ъ* 'the one... the other...' (KLINGENSCHMITT Lautgeschichte und Etymologie, 1980, 220 = Aufs. 213, n. 21). This **u* could be connected with the Indo-Iran. enclitic particle *u*, for the basic meaning of which one can suppose 'on the other hand', cf. *u... u* 'on the one hand... on the other'. DUNKEL IF 102 (1997) 156–178 "Conjunctive *u* and invariable *sá* in the *R̥gveda*..." (with lit.), especially 170f., however, distinguishes three different origins for *u*: "conjunctive **hzo* with its suppletive allomorph **hzu*, [f̥ar-]deictic **u*, **ou* (as in *oũtoš*, *asau* etc.), and a local adverb **au-o* 'downwards' (Vedic *áv-a*) with its suppletive allomorph **auu* > **au* (Latin *au-*, [Celt. *á*], Slavic *u-*, R̥gvedic *ó* – which is not always to be taken, with Padapāṭha, as *á + u*)". Cf. also KLEIN Towards a Discourse Grammar II (1985) 54ff. — The alleged gen. du. *avóš* (3× in the RV) is now explained through a phonological change from *avóš* belonging to [4]: assimilated to *v* in preceding *vām*, *yuv-ós* etc., cf. KLEIN JIES 5 (1977) 166ff., MAYRHOFER EWAia. I 135.

¹⁷⁷) **m.** sg. nom. OAv. *huuō* < **hay* (cf. n. 171), OPers. *hauv*, once *hauv-am* (YAv. *hāu* from the f.), acc. YAv. *aom* < **au-ə-m*, instr. OAv. *auu-ā*, YAv. *auu-a*, OPers. *av-a-nā*, gen. YAv. *auu-a-īhe*, *auu-a-īhe-ca*, *auu-a-he-ca*, OPers. *av-a-hayā*; pl. YAv. *auu-e*, OPers. *av-aīy*, acc. YAv. *auu-ū*, *āu* < **au-ō*, instr. OAv. YAv. *auu-āiš*, gen. OAv. YAv. *auu-aē-š-qm*, OPers. *av-ai-š-ām*; — **n.** OAv. YAv. *auu-a-ī*, OPers. *av-a*, pl. YAv. *auu-a*, *auu-ā*; — **f.** sg. nom. YAv. *hāu* (secondary for **hau* < **seh₂-u*), OPers. *hauv*, acc. YAv. *auu-qm*, dat. YAv. *auu-a-ījhāi* < **au-a-hīāi*, abl. *auu-a-ījhāt*, gen. YAv. *auu-a-ījhās* < **au-a-hīāh*; pl. acc. OAv. YAv. *auu-ā*.

¹⁷⁸) Cf. especially RV I 187,7 *adó pito*, cf. AiG III 529, EWAia. I 62 with lit.; *adāh* with Visarga is attested before *p*, *ś*, and *s* in the RV.

nated from **a-d* (cf. **ad* ‘this, thus’ in Ved. *addhā*, OAv. OPers. *azdā*, OAv. *at* ‘then, now’, *ad-āiš* ‘now by them’)¹⁷⁹ reformed to rhyme with *as-áū*. Thus **(a-)sā + u*, **a-m + u*, **a-d + u* are postulated. The reinterpretation as *ad-ás* is possibly due to its relatively frequent adverbial usage ‘there, at that opportunity’, to which, e.g., *par-ás* ‘in front’, *tir-ás* ‘crossway’, *sa-dīv-as* ‘on the same day’ (cf. p. 149) are compared.

An alleged *áma-* ‘this’ is supposed in AV XIV 2,71 and its parallels. But the form owes its existence to an artificial dividing of *sāman-* into *sā* and *áma-* imitating pron. *amú-*.

2.2.3. interrogative and indefinite pronouns¹⁸⁰

The interrogative stem *ká-/kí-* is used as both subst. and adj. The inflexion is just like that of *tá-* except m. nom. sg. *ká-s* with nominal *-s* (OAv. *kā*, *ka-s.tē* ‘who ... for you’, YAv. *kō*, *ka-s².θβqm* ‘who ... you’), as in the case of the relative pronoun. The original suppletion with **k^wi-/ *k^wéi-* and **k^wé-/ *k^wó-* (and **k^wú* in the adverb¹⁸¹) has retreated largely in favour of *ká-*, which seems to go back finally to the PIE adj. paradigm.¹⁸² OIran. has preserved a variety of forms (cf. n. 182), but probably without functional differentiation. In the n. sg., a new form *kí-m*, which resists palatalisation (cf. YAv. *cī-m*), is used more frequently than older *ká-d* (OAv. YAv. *ka-t*) already in the RV. The historical nom.-acc. sg. n. *ci-d*, which has become an enclitic presumably in PII, is used as an adverb ‘if any, even, at all’, whereas OIran. preserves it partially: YAv. *ci-t* beside OAv. YAv. *ka-t*, YAv. *cī-m*; cf. also m. OAv. YAv. *ci-s* beside *kā*, *kō*. Likewise, one supposes behind *ca-ná*,

¹⁷⁹ See GOTÖ Fs. Klingenschmitt (2005) 204, cf. also DUNKEL HS 101 (1988) 53–78.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. also ETTER Fragesätze (1985).

¹⁸¹ **k^wú* in *kuū* ‘where’ V 74,1, *kū cit* ‘somewhere’ IX 87,8; **k^wú-* in *kú-tas* ‘from what/whom’, *kú-tra* ‘where’ (OAv. *ku-θrā*, YAv. *ku-θra*), *kú-ha* ‘where’ (OAv. *ku-dā*, OChSlav. *kъ-de*, Osk. *pu-fi*); and **kū-* in *kuv-id* ‘whether; is it (not) so?’, *kaṽ-à* ‘where’ (YAv. *kuv-a*).

¹⁸² PIE interrogative paradigms would be: **sg.** animate (**α**) ‘who’ (i.e., m. + f.) nom. **k^wi-s* (OAv. YAv. *ci-s*, Grk. *τί-ς*, Lat. *qui-s*), acc. **k^wi-m* (YAv. *cī-m*, *τί-v-α*, Hitt. *kwi-n*), inanimate (**β**) ‘what’ (n.) nom.-acc. **k^wi-d* (YAv. *ci-t*, Grk. *τί*, Lat. *qui-d*, Hitt. *kwi-t*); dat. **k^wó-sm-ōi/ *k^wé-sm-ōi* (Ved. *ká-sm-ai*, OAv. YAv. *ka-hm-āi*, YAv. *ca-hm-āi*, Hom. *té-φ*, OChSlav. **α** *ko-mu*, **β** *če-so-mu*), gen. **k^wó-s(i)o/ *k^wé-s(i)o* (Ved. *ká-sya*, OAv. *ka-hiiā*, YAv. *ka-he*, *ka-yhe*, OAv. *ca-hiiā*, Hom. *té-o*, Att. *τοῦ*, OChSlav. **α** *ko-go*, **β** *če-so*); — **pl.** nom. **k^wó-ī/ *k^wé-ī* (m. Ved. *ké*, OAv. *kōi*, YAv. *caiiō*, cf. Grk. *τίves*), **β** **k^wi-h₂* (Megarian *σά*, Boeotian *τά* ‘why’, OLat. *quia*; in the indefinite pron. OAv. *cī-cā*, YAv. *ci-ca*, Ion. *ἄ-σσα*, Att. *ἄ-ττα*); — in addition, as the **adj.**: m. **k^wó-s* (Ved. *ká-s*, OAv. *kā*, YAv. *kō*), f. **k^wé-h₂* (Ved. *kā*, OAv. YAv. *kā*), n. **k^wó-d* (Ved. *ká-d*, OAv. *ka-t*, Lat. *quo-d*), n. pl. **k^wó-h₂* (Ved. *kā*, *kāni*, OAv. *kā*).

OAv. *-ci-nā*, YAv. *-ci-na* ‘at all’ (and ‘not at all’) an old instr. formation $*k^w\acute{e}-ne$ or $*k^w\acute{e}-né$ (cf. OE *hwer-ge-n*, OHG *wer-gi[-n]* ‘somewhere’ < $*-g^w\acute{i}-na$ < $*-k^w\acute{e}-né/ne$, cf. LÜHR MSS 34, 1976, 87f., KLINGENSCHMITT *Althochdeutsch*, 1987, 181 = Aufs. 257 n. 49; see, however, p. 71), perhaps PIE animate $*k^w\acute{o}-ne$ (cf. YAv. *ka-na*), inanimate $*k^w\acute{e}-ne$ (and indefinite $*k^w\acute{e}-ne$) beside $*k^w\acute{o}-h_1$ (OAv. YAv. *kā*, Lat. *quō*) and $*k^w\acute{i}-h_1$ (Lat. *quī* ‘by which(?)’, ONord. *hvī* ‘how?, why?’ ORuss. *či* ‘whether, if, or’), respectively. The historical nom. sg. m./f. $*k^w\acute{i}-s$ (OAv. YAv. *ci-š*) has been kept, though not palatalised (or levelled with *ká*-forms), in *ná-ki-s* ‘no one’ (cf. OAv. YAv. *naē-ci-š*, OLat. *nei-qui-s*), *mā-ki-s* ‘never’, and perhaps *kí-r u* RV X 52,3¹⁸³).

The accentless interrogative forms functioned as indefinite pronouns in PIE. In Indo-Iran., an enclitic particle is added to interrogative Ved. *ká-*, Av. *ka-*, *ci-*, *ca-*: (1) OIA *cid*, OAv. *-cī*, YAv. *-ciṭ*, OPers. *-ciy* (originally n. sg.), (2) OIA *ca*, OAv. *-cā*, YAv. *-ca*, OPers. *-cā* (PIE $*k^w\acute{e}$, cf. Grk. *-τε*, Lat. *-que*, Hitt. *-ku*, etc.), (3) OIA *ca-ná* (cf. above), and (4) Post-Vedic *api*. These particles appear otherwise as adv.s in corresponding meanings: (1) ‘if any, even, at all’, (2) ‘and; if’, (3) ‘at all; not at all’, and (4) ‘also’, respectively. When the combination *ká-cid* (very common RV–Cl.Skt.) or *ká-ca* (less common after Ved.) is used in a relative clause, a generalised or concessive meaning such as ‘whoever, whatever’ is expressed; the same is the case in OAv. YAv.; in Cl.Skt. *ya-* + *kaś cana* and *ka-* + *api* are applied in this function. In addition, the stem *káya-* occurs 3 times in the RV in such a meaning: *káyasya cid*.

sama-, ‘someone, everyone’ in the sg., ‘all’ in the pl., is attested only in the RV in the m.: *sama-m*, *sama-sm-ai*, *sama-sm-āt*, *sama-sya*, *sama-smi-n*, and *same*.

2.2.4. relative pronouns¹⁸⁴

The relative pronoun *yá-* (m. n. *yá-*, f. *yā-*) is inflected just like *ká-*, i.e., nom. sg. m. *yá-s*, otherwise, like *tá-*; cf. OAv. YAv. *ya-*, *yā-*, OPers. *ha-ya-*, *ta-ya-* (unified with $*sa-$, $*ta-$): < PIE $*H_1\acute{o}-$, $*H_1\acute{e}-h_2-$, cf. Grk. *ὅ-ς*, *ὅ*, *ἧ*, etc. OAv. shows a special form in the n. nom.-acc. sg. *h-iia-t* < $*s\acute{i}a-t$. *yá-* serves also as a basis for relative adverbs such as *yá-thā* ‘in which manner, as’, *yá-tra* ‘where’, etc. The relative pronoun *yá-* and its derivatives are used, with *ca*, *cid* added, in a concessive meaning, e.g., *yás cid* ‘whoever’, *yác cid* ‘even if’ (cf. YAv. *yat-ciṭ* ‘only if’, OPers. *ya-ciṭ* ‘whether’). On the combination *yá-ká-ca* ‘whosoever’ and the

¹⁸³ Cf. ETTER 23, 100, KLEIN *Kratylos* 33 (1988) 80f. — Forms from the stem $*k^w\acute{i}-$, furthermore: *kíy-ant-* ‘how much?’ < $*k^w\acute{i}-h_2ent-$ (cf. n.323), *kī-dṛš-* ‘of what appearance, type?’, *kīvant-* ‘how long?’ RV III 30,17 (YAv. *cuuant-*) < $*k^w\acute{i}h_2-uent-$, and the enclitic particle *kīm* after *ā*, *ná*, *mā* without clear meaning, cf. *īm*, *sīm* (2.2.2. [6]: p. 71).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. also HETTRICH *Hypotaxe* (1988).

like,¹⁸⁵) cf. the preceding paragraph, AiG III 572, OETTINGER MSS 42 (1983) 177–186, KLEIN MSS 44 (1985) 105–121.

Also a diminutive form *ya-ká-* is attested: *ya-ké* (pl. nom. m.) RV VIII 21,18, *ya-ká-s* VS^m, *ya-kā* AV RVKh YS^m, cf. *ta-ká-m*, *ta-kád*.

2.2.5. possessive pronouns or adjectives

The inherited possessive *svá-*, *suvá-* ‘his, her, its, their own’ originates in the 3rd person, as is obvious from Iran. **h₂ua-* (OAv. *x^va-*, YAv. *x^va-*, *huua-*, *hauua-*, OPers. *uva-* in comp.) beside **ma-* ‘my’ (OAv. *ma-*) and **t₂ua-* ‘your’ (OAv. *θ₂a-*).¹⁸⁶) However, it is used also for the 2nd and 1st person in OIA, where expressions with the gen. of personal and demonstrative pronouns were preferred. *tvá-* ‘your’ is found only in the instr. pl. f. *t₂vābhis* RV II 20,2, and according to some opinions in the n. loc. sg. *t₂vé céta₂i* ‘in your consciousness’ AV XI 10,2. The pronominal inflexion of *svá-*, *suvá-* is scarcely observed yet in the RV: loc. sg. n. *svásmin* only I 132,2b.c as against 32 times *své* or *suvé*; in the sole occurrence of the gen. sg. f., the form *svásyās* is owing to the neighbouring *anyásyās* (IX 79,3), the abl. is only once attested as *suvāyās*.

māma-ka- ‘my’, *asmā-ka-* ‘our’ (OAv. YAv. *ahmā-ka-*), *yušmā-ka-* ‘your’ (OAv. *yūšmā-ka-*, *xšmā-ka-* < **šmā-ka-*)¹⁸⁷) occur only in the RV in the nominal inflexion; in addition, with vṛddhi-formation *māma-ká-* and *tāva-ká-* RV+, *āsmā-ká-* and *yaušmā-ká-* YS^m+, in the RV also *mā-k-īna-* ‘my’ VIII 27,8 (cf. *mākī* ‘?’ VIII 2,42) and *yuvā-k-u-* ‘belonging to you both’ (°*us*, °*ós*, °*avas*, cf. gen. du. *yuvāku*, p.67).

2.2.6. reflexive expressions¹⁸⁸)

¹⁸⁵) Also *yadā kadā* *ca* ‘whensoever’, *yāvant- kīyant- ca* ‘however large it may be’ AV YS^p Br. (cf. YAv. *yauuat cuiuat ca*), *yādṛk kādṛk ca* ‘whichever appearance it may have’ Br., *yāthā káthā ca* ‘in whatever way’ (cf. YAv. *yaθa kaθa ca*), etc.

¹⁸⁶) PIE **suó-* (Cret. *ῥό-ς*, Ion. Att. *ὄ-ς*) beside **seu-ó-* (Dor. Thess. *έ-ό-ς*, OLat. *su-o-s*); **mó-* (Grk. *έ-μó-ς*); **t₂uó-* (Ion. Att. *σός*) beside **teu-ó-* (Hom. Dor. *τε-ό-ς*, OLat. *tu-o-s*); each with the f. **e-h₂-*. YAv. *hauu-a-* could have originated from **seu-ó-*, or it could stand for *huua-* on account of the YAv. fluctuation between *auua* and *uua* (cf. lit. in GOTÖ Akten Kraków, 2009, 162 n.7). OAv. nom. sg. f. shows a form ending with **-ai* [from du.?, GIPPERT]: *θ₂ōi* ‘your’ :: m. *θ₂ā* Y 31, 9 (cf. GOTÖ ib. 168), *x^vaē-cā* ‘his own’ :: m. *x^vā* Y 46,11.

¹⁸⁷) From PIE **ns-m-ó-* (Hom. Dor. *ᾠ-μ-ό-ς*) and **us-m-ó-* (Hom. Dor. *ὕ-μ-ό-ς*, Lesb. *ῡ-μ-ο-ς*), respectively. Forms extended with *-ka-* are met also in the gen. pl. *asmā-ka-m*, YAv. *ahmā-kə-m*, OPers. *amā-xa-m*, and *yušmā-ka-m*, YAv. *yūšmā-kə-m*, OAv. *xšmā-kə-m*. Ved. *māma-ka-* was formed analogically after them from the gen. sg. *māma*.

¹⁸⁸) Cf. VINE “On the expression of reflexive possession in the Rig-Veda: RV *svá-*”, *Syntaxe des langues indo-iraniennes* (1997) 203–214, PINAULT “Védique *tanū-* et la notion de personne en indo-iranien”, BSL 96 (2001) 181–206, KULIKOV “A note on the

The indeclinable *svay-ám* ‘self; for, by, in, of oneself, itself’ is built on PII **suaṁ-*, which goes back to the PIE reflexive pronoun **sueṛ-/suoṛ-* beside **sue-/ *suo-* ‘him-, her-, itself’ attested in YAv. dat. sg. *huuā-uuōiia* < **huua-bja*, *x’āi* < **hūāi*, gen. sg. *x’a-he* < **hūa-hja*.¹⁸⁹) The subst. *tanú-* ‘body’ is used for the reflexive expression as in the Avesta. The oblique cases *tmán-ā*, *tmán-e*, *tmán-i* of *ātmán-* are used in the RV for the same purpose, later new forms *ātmán-ā*, *-e*, *-as*, *-i*, etc. appear in this value. The pronoun *simá-* ‘he himself’ is attested only in the RV, and only in the m., showing thus a similar limitation to *sama-* ‘someone’ (cf. 2.2.3.: p. 74): nom. *simá-s*, voc. *sima*, dat. *simá-sm-ai*, abl. *simá-sm-āt*, pl. nom. *simé*.

2.2.7. adjectives with pronominal case forms

Some adjectives in the *-a-* stem show a pronominal inflexion or some forms of it. *tva-* ‘one, many’ is attested only in Vedic: nom. sg. *tva-s*, *tvā*, *tva-d*, acc. sg. m. *tva-m*, instr. *tvena*, dat. m. *tva-sm-ai*, dat. f. *tva-syai*, nom. pl. m. *tve*. An adverbial use is found in the RV and Br.: *tvaḍ ... tvaḍ* ‘some ..., some ...; sometimes ..., sometimes ...’ (OAv. *θbat ... θbat* ‘now ..., now ...’, cf. *θbāt ... θbāt* ‘either ... or’ YH 35,10); and in the AV *tva- ... tva-* ‘one ... the other’.

néma- ‘some, one, another’ occurs 10 times in the RV: m. *néma-s*, *néma-m*, *néma-sm-i-n*, pl. *néme*, n. *néma-m*, also an unaccented gen. pl. *nemānām*. In the MS^p and KS^p, *némas*, *némam*, and *néme* are used in the meaning of ‘the half (of ...)’; also in *nemena ... nemena* AVP XX 7,5–7, cf. YAv. *naēma-* ‘half, a half’.

anyá- ‘another, other’ (OAv. YAv. *añiia-*, OPers. *aniya-*) follows the pronominal type of inflexion, thus, nom. sg. n. *anyá-d* (OPers. *aniya*), dat. sg. m./n. *anyá-sm-ai* AV (YAv. *añiia-hm-āi*), loc. *anyá-sm-i-n*, nom. m. pl. *anyé* (YAv. *añiie*, OPers. *aniyai-ciy*, nominal Median-OPers. *aniyāha*), gen. *anyé-š-ām* (YAv. *añiiaē-š-qm*, *añiiqm*?), etc.

The comparat. and superlat. forms *katamá-d* ‘which one among ...?’ (cf. YAv. *katāma-*, probably after OAv. YAv. *katāra-*, cf. n. 136), and *yatará-d* ‘which between two’ (cf. YAv. *yatāra-*) are attested in the RV, in addition, *katará-d* (cf. OAv. YAv. acc. sg. n. as adv. *katārē-m*), *yatamá-d*, *katamá-syās*, *katamāsām*, *yatamā-syām*, *yatamé* AV, nom. pl. *katamé* and *katamá-sm-ai* YS^m, and *anyatará-d* Br.

visva- ‘each, all’ has no pronominal form *-d* in the nom.-acc. sg. n.: *visva-m* (YAv. *vīspə-m*, OPers. *visa-m*). However, the pronominal inflexion is inherited

Vedic reflexive”, 125 Jahre Indogermanistik in Graz (2000) 231–238, “The reflexive pronouns in Vedic: A diachronic and typological perspective” *Lingua* 117 (2007) 1412–1433, HETTRICH “*tanú-* als Reflexivpronomen im R̥gveda?”, Fs. Wilhelm (2010) 175–183.

¹⁸⁹) Reflexive pronoun **sue-/ *suo-* in Grk.: sg. acc. Pamphylian *ῥhe*, Lesb. *ῥε*, Hom. Att. *ῥ*, gen. Hom. *ῥο*, *ῥῶ*, Att. *οῦ*, dat. Lesb. *ῥοι*, Hom. Att. *οῖ*. On the forms with **sueṛ-/ *suoṛ-*, cf. MAYRHOFFER EWAia s.v. *svá-*.

from PII, e.g. in the RV: **m.** sg. dat. *viśva-sm-ai* (YAv. *vīspə-m-āi* instead of ⁺*vīspə-m-āi*), nominal *viśvāya* I 50,1 (OAv. *vīspāi.ā*, OAv. YAv. *vīspāi*), abl. *viśva-sm-āt* (*viśvāt* I 189,6), loc. *viśva-sm-i-n* (*viśve* 2×); pl. nom. *viśve* (YAv. *vīspe*; OAv. nominal *vīspāṇhō*), voc. *viśve* (nominal OAv. *vīspā*, YAv. *vīspāṇhō*), instr. *viśvais* (4×, OAv. YAv. *vīspāiš*), *viśvebhis* (many times), gen. *viśve-s-*_(a)*ām* (YAv. *vīspaē-š-ām*, OAv. YAv. nominal *vīspanqm*); **f.** sg. dat. *viśva-syai*, gen. *viśva-si-yās*, gen. *viśvā-s-*_(a)*ām*; — the instr. sg. is in the m./n. Ved. *viśvena*, OAv. *vīspā*, OPers. *višā*; in the f. *viśvayā*, OAv. *vīspā*.

Pronominal forms of *sārva-* ‘complete, whole, all’ have come into existence after *viśva-* in OIA. The Iran. forms (YAv. *ha⁴ruua-*, OPers. *haruva-*) follow a nominal *-a-* stem inflexion. The forms in the RV are: sg. m. nom. *sārva-s*, acc. *sārva-m*, n. *sārva-m*, abl. *sārva-sm-āt*, gen. *sārva-sya*; pl. m. nom. *sārve*, acc. *sārvān*, n. *sārvā*; f. nom. *sārvā*, instr. *sārvayā*, pl. nom. *sārvās*, acc. *sārvās*, abl. *sārvābhyas*, gen. *sārvā-s-*_a*ām*.

ēka- ‘one’ is inflected as given in 2.1.1.: p. 60, pronominal: m./n. loc. sg. *ēka-sm-i-n* (*ēke* in the AV), m. nom. pl. *ēke*, f. abl. gen. sg. *ēka-syās*. On *ubhāya-* ‘both’ cf. p. 65.

From *ī-tara-* ‘another’, m. sg. nom. *ītara-s*, acc. *ītara-m* and f. pl. acc. *ītarās* are attested in the RV; they form YSP⁺ a paradigm: *ītara-sm-ai*, *ītara-sm-i-n*, *ītare*, *ītare-š-ām*, etc. The nom. sg. n. *ītara-d* in the Br. is assumed to be secondary to *ītara-m* Br., cf. Lat. *iteru-m* ‘once more’.

The forms of *ūt-tara-* ‘upper, northern’ are inflected for the most part pronominally: in the RV n. sg. *úttara-m*, abl. m. *úttara-sm-āt*, loc. *úttara-sm-i-n* and *úttare*; nom. pl. m. *úttare*, etc.; in Vedic prose dat. *úttara-sm-ai*, abl. *úttara-sm-āt*, loc. *úttara-sm-i-n*, gen. pl. *úttare-š-ām*; f. dat. *úttara-syai*, gen. *úttara-syās*, loc. *úttara-syām* (in the ŚB *úttara-syām* and *úttarāyām*), gen. pl. *úttarā-s-ām*. In the case of *án-tara-* ‘inner’, no decisive form appears in Ved. besides pronominal nom. pl. m. *ántare* YSP Br.; AiG III 584f. writes “predominantly nominal”, citing *ántara-tas* YSP Br., and YAv. *āntarāṭ*.¹⁹⁰⁾

The forms with superlative suffix *út-tama-* show almost consistently, and *án-tama-* exclusively the nominal inflexion: m./n. sg. loc. *úttame* RV+ (YAv. *us-tāme*), m. pl. nom. *úttamās* AV+; pronominal *uttama-syām* AB (~ *uttamāyām* ŚāṅkhŚrSū in the Śunaḥṣepa legend), cf. also *uttamēbhis* RV+ (cf. n.20); — m. pl. nom. *ántamās*, etc. in the RV, cf. also instr. *antamēbhis* (thus accented I 165,5); in YAv. no conclusive form occurs for *āntāma-*.

The situation is similar for *pāra-* ‘further, yet another, highest’, *pūr-va-* ‘prior, eastern’, *āpa-ra-* ‘posterior, western’, *āva-ra-* ‘lower, nearer’, *ūpa-ra-* ‘placed

¹⁹⁰⁾ *ántarasmin* TB II 8,8,9^m (VISHVA BANDHU VWC s.v. *ántara-*) stands for *ántar* + *asmin*.

below, near, neighbouring', *apa-má-*, *ava-má-*, *upa-má-* 'uppermost, highest, nearest from below', *para-má-*, *madhya-má-*, e.g., in the RV: n. sg. loc. *pára-sm-i-n* (1×, beside m., n. *páre* 3×, n. *paré* 1×), m. pl. nom. *páre* (2×, beside *pārāsas* 2×), gen. *páre-ṣ-ām* (*pārāṇām* YSP+), f. sg. abl. gen. *pára-syās*; AV+, in addition: sg. *pára-sm-ai*, *pára-sm-āt*, pl. instr. *párebhis* seemingly only in the AV (:: *párais* RV+); — RV *púrva-sm-ai*, *púrva-sm-āt*, nom. pl. *púrve* (many times, beside *púrvāsas* 2×), *púrve-ṣ-ām*, f. *púrvā-s-ām*, in the instr. *púrvebhis* 2× beside *púrvaís* 1×; *púrva-sm-i-n* ŚB :: *púrve* ŚBK (*púrve* also in the RV). OIA seems to show a tendency to introduce pronominal forms with steadily increasing frequency in later texts.

Of *samāná-* 'common, the same', the only pronominal form is *samāná-sm-āt* RV, nominal forms are in the RV: *samānāt*, loc. *samāné*, m. pl. nom. *samānās*, gen. *samānānām*, in the instr. pl. *samānáis* beside *samānébhis*.

The repetition *anyá- anyá-* is used for iterative expressions since the AV, which is united into *anyo'nya-* Br.+ , or *anyānyā-* f. YSP; later also *itaretara-* Up.+ , *paras-para-* Ep. Cl. — On adverbs from case-forms of the pronouns, cf. 4.3.: p. 147f., 4.4.: p. 150f.

3. verbs

3.1. Differently from certain nominal forms such as infinitives and participles, every finite verb terminates with a personal ending, which designates a combination of person (1st, 2nd, or 3rd), number (sg., du., or pl.), and diathesis (active or middle). On the 3rd sg. verb with a subject in the n. pl. (collective in origin), cf. GOTÖ 14th Skt. Conf., § 1.6.

There is a set of primary endings and one of secondary endings, as well as special endings for perfect and imperative. The secondary endings are the fundamental ones, indicating only person, number, and diathesis, whereas the primary endings additionally designate ‘present’ time (“he is asking”). The perf. endings express, in combination with a specific stem type, a state which the subject (in each combination of number, person, and diathesis) has attained as a result of the verbal action (“he is gone”, i.e., he is not here, [or] he is now there); “he [has seen and now] knows”). The iptv. endings appear only in the 2nd and 3rd persons.

3.1.1. diathesis (active and middle)

Many verbal stems are inflected in the active diathesis (voice). When these same stems take middle endings, they may show a range of functions: [1] direct-reflexive (or simply reflexive: “he asks himself”), [2] indirect-reflexive (or affective: “he asks someone in his own interest”, “he gives something to himself”), [3] possessive-affective (“he washes his hands”, “he asks about his own obligation”), [4] reciprocal (“they ask each other”), or [5] patientive (“passive”: “he is asked”), e.g.: [1] *váha*-^{ti} ‘transport’ :: *váha*-^{te} ‘transport oneself, move, transfer’, [2] *bhára*-^{ti} ‘bring’ :: *bhára*-^{te} ‘bring something to/for/with oneself’, *yája*-^{ti} ‘worship (a god), make a ritual (for somebody)’ :: *yája*-^{te} ‘worship for oneself, perform one’s own ritual, let priests perform one’s own ritual’, [3] *váha*-^{ti} ‘transport’ :: *váha*-^{te} ‘drive one’s own [chariot], drive’, [4] *váda*-^{ti} ‘make a sound; discuss’ :: *ví-vada*-^{te} ‘dispute with each other’, [5] *sunó*-^{ti} ‘presses out’ :: *sunv*-^é ‘is pressed out’ (cf. p. 105), *stáuti* ‘praises’ :: *stáva*-^{te} ‘be praised’ (p. 103).¹⁹¹⁾

Some verbs are inflected only in the active (*active tantum*) or only in the middle (*media tantum*). The core of the latter express a (change in) state of the subject (fientive-intransitive, cf. p. 81) and are found in the thematic full-grade root presents (simple thematic pres.). There are also *media tantum* in which middle inflexion has become consistent, e.g. *sáca*-^{te} ‘consort with, be in the company of’ (a reciprocal middle), *háva*-^{te} ‘call’ (affective: ‘towards oneself’). The passive stem with the suffix -*yá*- is always inflected in the middle.

¹⁹¹⁾ Cf. GOTÖ I. Präs. 27ff., 49f. — Materials for the presentation in this paragraph are taken mainly from the thematic full-grade root presents, cf. op. cit. 52–56 and 57–62.

Active and middle forms stand in some cases in a functional opposition. Among simple thematic stems (cf. 3.1.4.: p. 83: Th. 1.1), there is a type in which the act. inflexion serves as the factitive to mid. forms, which exhibit a basic meaning, e.g. *práthⁱ-a^{-te}* ‘spread (intransitive)’ :: *práthⁱ-a^{-ti}* ‘spread something’, *várdha^{-te}* ‘grow’ :: *várdha^{-ti}* ‘make grow’; *náma^{-te}* ‘bend (intrans.)’ :: *náma^{-ti}* ‘bend something/someone’, *yáta^{-te}* ‘take one’s position’ :: *yáta^{-ti}* ‘set someone/something in his/its position’. The opposition *bhája^{-te}* ‘share in something, receive something as one’s share’ :: *bhája^{-ti}* ‘give something to someone as his share’ can be understood by the same principle. This type is alive in the RV, and partially also in the mantra texts. In most cases, causatives replace the act. forms already in the RV and totally thereafter, with the exception of *śráya^{-ti}* ‘lean’ and *bhája^{-ti}* ‘give as a share’; thus, e.g. *várdh-a^{-te}* ‘grow’ :: *várdh-a^{-ti}* = *vardh-áya^{-ti}* ‘make grow’ (with its reflexive mid. *vardh-áya^{-te}* ‘make oneself grow’, in reality ‘grow’). There are also verbs which show only this developed type of the opposition, e.g. *várta^{-te}* ‘turn (intrans.)’ :: *vart-áya^{-ti}* ‘turn something/someone’. The pair *sádha^{-te}* ‘succeed’ :: *sádha^{-ti}* ‘make someone succeed’ in the RV has been replaced by that of the fientive *-ya*- pres. act. *sídhya^{-ti}* :: caus. *sādháya^{-ti}*.

There are also not a few activa tantum with the fientive-intransitive meaning, e.g. *várṣa^{-ti}* ‘rain’, *bháva^{-ti}* ‘come into being, become’. The causative is then used for their oppositional factitive, e.g. *varṣáya^{-ti}* RV+, *bhāváya^{-ti}* AV+.

Another type of opposition [themat. root pres. mid. :: nasal pres. act. (and mid.)] occurs in similar value in several verbs, e.g. *páva^{-te}* ‘become pure’ :: *punáti* ‘makes pure’. The verb for ‘beget, generate’ *janⁱ*, PIE **ǵenh₁*, is illustrative of various pres.-stem formations combined with diathesis: *jánⁱ-a^{-ti}* ‘beget (of a father generating a child)’ (PIE **ǵenh₁-e-*, OLat. *genunt*, *genat* etc.) = caus. *janⁱ-áya^{-ti}* (meaning also ‘let a man beget a child’; regularly coupled with redupl. aor. *á-jī-jana-t*, PIE **ǵonh₁-éje^{-ti}*, OE *cennan*), *jáya^{-te}* ‘be begotten, born’ (PIE pass. **ǵnh₁-jé^{-toi}*, YAv. *zaiia^{-te}*, OIr. *·gainethar*); in PIE, in addition, **ǵí-ǵnh₁-e^{-ti}* (or **ǵí-ǵonh₁-ti*) in YAv. *zīzan(a)-ti* ‘let [a man] beget a child (said of a woman), bear’, Lat. *gignō* ‘I generate’.¹⁹²⁾

3.1.2. The basis of a verb is the verbal root which carries the lexical meaning of the verb. Some noematic categories¹⁹³⁾ of roots and verbal formations are rele-

¹⁹²⁾ Cf. KLINGENSCHMITT *Das altarmenische Verbum* (1982) 197f., STRUNK *Fs. Humbach* (1986) 441–445, GOTÖ *I. Präz.* (1987) 147, *Coloquio Delbrück* (1997[1998]) 167 n. 6, cf. also M. LEUMANN *Fs. Brown* (1962) 153 n. 6, 158.

¹⁹³⁾ Cf. HOFFMANN “Das Kategoriensystem des indogermanischen Verbums”, *MSS* 28 (1970) 19–41 = *Aufs.* 523–540; GOTÖ *Coloquio Delbrück* (1997[1998]) 168f., *Funktionen des Akkusativs* (2002) 21–23.

vant for the morphology, i.e., the classes or dimensions of the components relating to the lexical contents of roots or to the meaning of particular formations:

[1] **Aktionsart** (the kind of action as it relates to time extension) is realised foremost in a coordinate axis *punctual* ↔ *durative*. The relevant items are as follows:

[1.1.1.] *punctual*, if the action signalled by a root (or a verbal form) is characterised by no time extension, or [1.1.2.] *momentary*, of short duration, or [1.1.3.] *durative*, of long duration;

[1.2.] *terminative*, if it signals [1.2.1.] the beginning or [1.2.2.] the end of an action; additional categories are:

[1.3.1.] *iterative* (repetitive), [1.3.2.] *inchoative* (the action is in its starting phase: relating to the present stem), and [1.3.3.] *ingressive* (the action has already begun: relating to the aorist and perfect).

[2] **Verhaltensart** (the kind of action the verb designates: doing something, entering some state or being in some state, etc.) plays a role in an axis *facientive* ↔ *fientive*. Relevant items are:

[2.1.1.] *facientive* (or *agentive*), if a verb's meaning is an action (doing something or affecting something/someone), [2.1.2.] *fientive*, if it designates a state or condition of the subject or its change, [2.1.3.] *statutive* (or *essive*), if it relates especially to a static condition;

[2.2.1.] *intentional*, in case that the action involves an actor's intention, or [2.2.2.] *non-intentional* (then, similarly to 2.1.2.);

additional categories are:

[2.3.1.] *factitive* ("causative") and [2.3.2.] *patientive* ("passive").

[3] **Rektionsart** (the kind of governance): *transitive* ↔ *intransitive*. This dimension of the lexical meaning of a verb is realised in the syntax and has little to do with verbal morphology.

3.1.3.¹⁹⁴⁾ The present stem is originally used for the imperfective **aspect**, i.e. the expression of a verbal action from the perspective of its ongoing/continuity. The aorist stem stands for the perfective aspect, i.e., the expression of a verbal action seen as a whole, i.e. to indicate whether the action happens or has happened at all. The perfect system has an exceptional position, designating a state of the subject which it has attained as the result of a prior verbal action (nactostative).

¹⁹⁴⁾ Cf. HOFFMANN "Das Kategoriensystem des indogermanischen Verbums", MSS 28 (1970) 19–41 = Aufs. 523–540.

If the Aktionsart of a root is punctual (“aorist-root”), the root can be used as an aor. stem without any marking (affixation or reduplication): we have an athematic root-aorist. Otherwise, the aor. stem is formed by means of either the suffix *-s-*, thematic vowel *-a-* (**-e/o-*), or reduplication (with *-a-*, *-i-*, and secondarily also *-u-* from **-a-*, with or without the thematic vowel). If the Aktionsart of a root is obviously durative (“present-root”), the root itself serves as a present stem: the result is an athematic root-present. Otherwise, a pres. stem is marked with suffixes, nasal infix, reduplication, or other methods (3.1.4.: p. 83ff.).

In extreme cases, refuge is sought in **suppletion** (a suppletive paradigm).¹⁹⁵ The root *han* ‘smite, beat, strike, slay, destroy’ can be used directly as a pres. stem: *hán-ti* ‘strikes’, *ghn-ánti* ‘they strike’. Even if a repeated action is meant, no special formation is required, because the lexical content of the root itself includes such a component (noem), which can emerge on the surface as relevant, according to the context. However, *han* cannot build an aor. stem at all, for, apparently, it is too strongly characterised by its durative Aktionsart. Another root *vadhī*, with a punctual Aktionsart, takes over the aoristic function: athem. root-aor. *á-vadhī-t*, inj. *vádhi-t* (secondary *-is-* aor., e.g. 2nd pl. *vádhi-s-ta*). Likewise, the root *ay/i* ‘go’ is inflected in the pres.: *é-ti*, *y-ánti*, *ái-t*, *áy-an* ‘goes, they go, he went, they went’, but has no aor. (nor inj. pres.). Instead, the root-aor. of *gā* is used: *á-gā-t*, inj. *gā-t*, *á-g-ur*, *g-úr*. This root means originally ‘stride’, i.e. ‘spread the legs’ and has its own pres. stem *jí-gā-ti* in the RV (cf. n. 197). *as/s* ‘exist, be’ (*ás-ti*, *s-ánti*) has only a pres. stem (but no inj. forms), and the root *bhavⁱ/bhū* (**b^huā*) ‘come into being, become’ functions as its aor.: *á-bhū-t* etc. (p. 108); the latter has its own pres. *bháv-a-^{ti}*, the opt. of which is supplied with *s-yā-t* from *as/s*.

These phenomena of suppletion are consequences of the logic that governs the principle of stem formation. There are also cases related to the extension of the semantic sphere of one verb into that of another: instead of *dā-dā-ti* ‘gives’, the pres. *prá-yacchati* ‘offers, presents’ from *yam* ‘stretch, hold out (the arms)’ is also or even preferably used; as the factitive expression of *é-ti* ‘goes’, *náyⁱ-a-ti* ‘leads’ or *é-tave kar/kr* ‘make (someone) to go’ can be used [cf. ZEHNDER Periphr. Kaus. (2011)]. Some cases of suppletion are due to phonological factors: the ipf. 2nd, 3rd sg. of the root *ad* ‘eat’, ind. pres. *át-ti* < **ád-ti*, is not **ás* or **át* as we could expect, but *ávaya-s*, *-t*, supposed to be of denom. origin. *ad* ‘eat’ itself, whose origi-

¹⁹⁵ Cf. AiG II-1 16, also Hermann OSTHOFF Vom Suppletivwesen (1899), Alfred BLOCH Zur Geschichte einiger suppletiver Verba im Griechischen, Diss. Basel 1940, Daniel KÖLLIGAN Suppletion und Defektivität im griechischen Verbum, Bremen 2007.

nal meaning might have been ‘bite, chew’ with iterative-durative Aktionsart (cf. *dánt-* ‘tooth’, p. 46), is supplanted in its aorist with *ghas* ‘eat, consume, devour’.¹⁹⁶

3.1.4. By means of suffixes, infixes, and reduplications, “tense stems” are formed, except in the case of pres.-roots or aor.-roots. These include aspect-stems of the pres. and aor., and the perfect stem. The future stem is merely another type of pres. stem.

For the **present stem**, there are many formations: both thematic [Th. 1–7] and athematic [Ath. 1–4]; for details cf. **3.4.**: p. 99ff. As seen above, if a root has a lexical meaning with definitely durative Aktionsart, an athematic root-present is used [Ath. 1], which corresponds roughly to the “2nd class” of traditional Pāṇini-an grammar. In other cases, the present stem must be marked in order to specify it as belonging to the progressive (“imperfective”) aspect. An extra stem-formation serves thus, so to speak, to extend the duration of the action which a root originally signals. The simplest such “extension” is the formation of the themat. full-grade root pres. [Th. 1.1]. In cases where some additional semantic change is intended, other formations are employed.¹⁹⁷

[Th. 1.1] with a thematic vowel *-a-* (**-e/o-*)^{197a} added to the root in the full grade, when no change of the Verhaltensart is involved (thematic full-grade root present, or simple thematic present; the main type in the “1st class”),

¹⁹⁶ Cf. HOFFMANN MSS 41 (1982) 63–67 = Aufs. 769–773, JAMISON *-áya-* (1983) 71f., BERGAIGNE JAS 1884, 469–475.

¹⁹⁷ In the case of *jīgā-ti* < **g^wi-g^woh₂-* (cf. Hom. *βίβας*, see n. 200) ‘go, stride’ [Ath. 3], the motivation for the stem-reduplication is to be sought in the iterative meaning ‘repeat striding action’. For the root *gā*, PIE **g^weh₂*, a punctual meaning is assumed: ‘spread the legs, stride’, cf. Grk. *βηλός*, *βᾶλός* ‘threshold’ (probably, one to step over), YAv. *gāman-* ‘stride’. — With *gā-ccha-* < **g^wṛ-m-ské-* ‘go’ [Th. 4], an inchoative(-fientive) meaning seems to be intended in its origin: ‘have entered a beginning phase of treading’. The root *gam*, PIE **g^wem*, had originally a punctual meaning ‘make a tread’, cf. Grk. *βάσις* ‘base, pedestal’ (however, also ‘step, going’ from the verb in the present), *βατήρ* ‘that on which one treads, threshold’. Cf. GOTÖ Kratylos 46 (2001) 68. — *pád-ya-*^{19e}, another verb for ‘go’, is interpreted as a fientive formation [Th. 2] designating the process during which the subject falls down on the earth “with his weight”. — A factitive meaning is assumed for most nasal-presents. Even the medium tantum *manu-té* ‘thinks, thinks out’ [Ath. 4.2] was probably an oppositional mid. to the act. of a factitive meaning, whose relic is OAv. f. *manao-θrī-* ‘reminding, warning’ (cf. n. 219), cf. GOTÖ Akk. 22f., with n. 1 (lit.). The motivation is unknown for *śr-ṇó-ti* ‘hear’, OAv. *s^hru-muu-ant-*, YAv. *s^hru-nao-iti* (for **s^hra-nau-*) < PIE *kṛ-né-u-ti* (cf. EWAia II 667).

^{197a} The reason for the distribution of PIE **-e-* and **-o-* is not clear. In the ind./inj./ipf., **-o-* occurs in the 1st persons, the 3rd pl. of the active, and probably in all middle forms. The opt. and part. have **-o-* in both diatheses. Otherwise, **-e-* appears. From the phonological point of view, **-o-* happens in most cases before nasals, **i̯* (also **i?*, cf. n. 218), and *u̯*.

[Th. 1.2] with a thematic vowel *-á-* added to the zero-grade or weak form of the root, predominantly for verbs signalling a short pushing or urging action, or for the factitive meaning (themat. zero-grade root pres.; ~ “6th class”),¹⁹⁸⁾

[Th. 1.3] with a thematic vowel *-a-* added to the long-grade root for the terminative or iterative-durative function (themat. long-grade root pres.; included in the “1st class”);

[Th. 2] with the suffix *-ya-* predominantly added to the zero-grade root [Th. 2.1], when a fientive meaning (a natural process, non-intentional action, etc.) is additionally expressed (*-ya-* pres.; ~ “4th class”), cf. passive 3.7.5.: p. 129f.; other types with *-ya-* in 3.4.1. [Th. 2.2–]: p. 99f., in part, perhaps, for an easier inflexion;

[Th. 3] with the suffix *-áya-*, and that:

[Th. 3.1] predominantly added to the zero-grade root, when the iterative Aktionsart is additionally marked (zero-grade *-aya-* pres. of the “10th class”),

[Th. 3.2] the same from roots ending in *-ā*,

[Th. 3.3] to the **-o-*grade root (> *-ā-* in open and *-a-* in closed syllables [including those closed by a consonant preceding a laryngeal]: BRUGMANN’s law) for expressing a derived factitive meaning (causative).

There are some other smaller groups of thematic formations:

[Th. 4] inchoative presents with *-cha-* < **-ské-*, almost all of PIE origin;

[Th. 5] thematic stems with reduplication;

[Th. 6] some stems with *-va-*;

[Th. 7] thematised nasal presents.

The athematic inflexion includes a variety of stems:

[Ath. 1] as seen above, if a root has a lexical meaning with definitely durative Aktionsart, the root itself serves as a present stem (athem. root-pres.; ~ “2nd class”). There is also a group with personal endings for the “stative”: 3.4.2.2. [Ath. 1.1]: p. 101f.;

[Ath. 2] a small group of acrodynamic athemat. root-pres., also called “NARTEN-presents”,¹⁹⁹⁾ which show a heightened grade in the root syllable, e.g. *stáu-ti* < **stāu-ti* ‘praises’, *vás-te* ‘has on, be dressed in’, *ās-te* ‘is sitting’. The formation is employed probably for marking the durative or iterative Aktionsart;

[Ath. 3] with reduplication in *-i-* or *-á-* (also assimilated into *-ú-*) for the iterative or factitive formation (~ “3rd class”),²⁰⁰⁾

¹⁹⁸⁾ Cf. RENOU Mél. Vendryes (1925) 309–316.

¹⁹⁹⁾ NARTEN Fs. Kuiper (1968) 9–19 = Kl. Schr. 97–107.

²⁰⁰⁾ The motive for the choice of an **-i-* or an **-é-* reduplication, or their difference, is not clear. The latter type is not retained in Grk., cf. *δίδω-σι* ‘gives’ :: *dá-dā-ti* < **dē-doh₃-ti*. THIEME

[Ath. 4] with the infix *-ná/-n-*, predominantly when the root's *Verhaltensart* is to be changed into a factitive one, cf. n. 197:

[Ath. 4.1] if the root ends in a consonant, e.g. *yu-ná-k-ti*, *yu-ñ-j-ánti* (~ “7th class”),

[Ath. 4.2.1] if the final radical is *u*, e.g. *śṛ-ná-u-ti*, *śṛ-n-v-ánti*, *śṛ-nu-té*; or

[Ath. 4.2.2] by adding the ready-made suffix *-nó/-nu-* as *kṛ-ṇó-ti*, *kṛ-nv-ánti*, *kṛ-nu-té*; *ta-nó-ti*, *ta-nv-ánti*, *ta-nu-té*, *ma-nu-té*; (~ “5th” and “8th class”)^{200a)}

[Ath. 4.3] if the root ends with a laryngeal, e.g. *gṛbh-ṇá-ti*, *gṛbh-ṇ-ánti*, *gṛbh-ṇī-té* < **gṛbh-ná-H-ti*, **gṛbh-n-H-ánti*, *gṛbh-n-H-tāḥ* (~ “9th class”).

3.2. endings

3.2.1. active endings (ath.: in athematic inflexions, th.: in themat. inflexions, stat.: stative)

	primary	secondary	imperative	perfect
sg.				
1 st	<i>-mī</i> ^{200b)}	<i>-m/-am</i>	—	<i>-a</i>
2 nd	<i>-si</i>	<i>-s</i>	ath. <i>-dhi/-hí</i> , th. <i>-Ø</i>	<i>-tha</i>
3 rd	<i>-ti</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-tu</i>	<i>-a</i>
du.				
1 st	<i>-vas</i>	<i>-va</i>	—	<i>-va</i> (post-Ved.)
2 nd	<i>-thas</i>	<i>-tam</i>	<i>-tam</i>	<i>-áthur</i>
3 rd	<i>-tas</i>	<i>-tām</i>	<i>-tām</i>	<i>-átur</i>
pl.				
1 st	<i>-masi/-mas</i>	<i>-ma</i>	—	<i>-má</i>
2 nd	<i>-tha/-thana</i>	<i>-ta/-tana</i>	<i>-ta/-tana</i>	<i>-á</i>
3 rd	<i>-anti/-nti/-ati</i>	<i>-an/-n/-ur</i>	<i>-antu/-ntu/-atu</i>	<i>-úr</i>

Plusquamperfektum 54 supposes **-í-* for the factitive, and **-é-* for the iterative function. On *ji-gā-ti* (cf. n.197) ‘go’ and *jág-at-* n. ‘moving, living world’ (originating in the participle of the old *-a-* reduplicated pres.) cf. NARTEN Fs.Gonda (1972) 161–166 = Kl.Schr 190–195.

^{200a)} According to Pāṇinian tradition, the verbs with the suffix *-nó/-nu-* belong to the “5th class”, e.g., *su-nó-ti*, *ci-nó-ti*, *kṛ-ṇó-ti*, *vṛ-ṇó-ti*, *dhū-ṇó-ti*, *hi-nó-ti*. The “8th class” includes roots ending in *n*, to which the “pres. suffix *-u-*” is added, e.g., *tan-ó-ti*, *san-ó-ti*, *kṣaṇ-ó-ti*, *ṛṇ-ó-ti*, *van-ó-ti*, *man-u-té*; at the end of the list, *ḍukṛñi* (Dhātupāṭha VIII 10) is added for *karóti*, *kurvánti*, *kuruté* (cf. p. 105). The root *śrav/śru* is incomprehensibly included in the 1st class (ibid. I 989), and Pāṇini III 1,74 deals specially with the formation of *śṛ-ṇó-ti*.

^{200b)} On the subj. terminations *°ā*, *°āni*, cf. p. 86f., 91.

3.2.2. middle endings

	primary	secondary	imperative	perfect
sg.				
1 st	-e	-i, opt. -(H)a	—	-é
2 nd	-se	-thās	-sya	-sé
3 rd	-te, stat. -e ²⁰¹⁾	-ta, (pass.-aor. -i, stat. -a ± t ²⁰²⁾)	-tām, (stat. -ām ²⁰³⁾)	-é
du.				
1 st	-vahe	-vahi	—	-vahe (post-Ved.)
2 nd	ath. -āthe, th. °ethe	ath. -āthām, th. °ethām	ath. -āthām, th. °ethām	-āthe
3 rd	ath. -āte, th. °ete	ath. -ātām, th. °etām	ath. -ātām, th. °etām	-āte
pl.				
1 st	-mahe	-mahi	—	-māhe
2 nd	-dhve	-dhvam	-dhvam	-dhvé
3 rd	-nte/-ate, stat. -(i)rē (cf. n.201)	-anta/-nta/-ata/ -ran/-ram	-atām/-ntām (stat. -rām, -ratām)	-ré

The endings of the “secondary” set indicate only person and number, and are to be regarded as fundamental. The endings of the “primary” set are used for the present indicative and some subjunctive forms. They have the additional function of designating that the action or state is ongoing in the “present”. The primary ending of the 1st sg. act. -mi is added to the thematic stems, too, where historical-

²⁰¹⁾ Cf. GOTÖ Coloquio Delbrück (1998) 165–192, especially 190. On the forms with “stative” endings, cf. KÜMMEL Stativ und Passivaorist im Indoiranischen (1996).

²⁰²⁾ In ipf. *á-duh-at* ‘she gave milk’ RV, ‘one milked for oneself’ AV–YS^m YS^p Br. +, *á-duh-a* ‘milked for oneself’ MS^p (beside *adugdha* Br.; 3rd pl. *áduhvan* AV Br., *áduhra* MS^p, *aduhata* ŠB; and ind. *duhé*, *duhré*, *duhrate* RV+), *á-say-at* ‘lay’ RV+; opt. *duhīyāt* RV beside *duhitā* RV+; root-aor. ind. *á-d-at* (*á-dā* ‘take off to oneself’; after this *ádam*, *ádas*, *ádamā*), etc. Cf. WACKERNAGEL KZ 41 (1907) 309–313 = Kl. Schr. 498–502, Fs. Jacobi (1926) 13–17 = Kl. Schr. 429–433; GOTÖ loc. cit., especially 188 on -t (: sign for the past introduced from act. ipf., cf. also p. 93) Cf. n. 271.

²⁰³⁾ e.g. *duhām* ‘let her give milk!’ RV+, *śayām* ‘let him/her/it lie’ AV, perf. *sám-/... vidām* ‘let him/her/it have the same concept!’ AV, MS^m, cf. p. 96, 102. The corresponding -qm in OAv. is used for the iptv. of the passive-aor.

ly $^{\circ}\tilde{a} < *o-h_2$ is expected, as is preserved in the Indo-Iran. subj. and in OAv. ind. $^{\circ}\tilde{a}$. Some basic elements can be identified, which are enlarged with additional components into the “primary” or pl./du. endings. However, all this had happened in or before PIE. OIA preserves well, in general, the historical formations in PIE via PII. On concrete formations in the perfect, imperative, and some moods and stems, cf. the respective sections below. As a special phenomenon, it is to be mentioned that the form in the 3rd pl. mid. $^{\circ}\text{anta}$ is used under some metrical and other conditions also for the corresponding act. form in $^{\circ}\text{an}$.²⁰⁴⁾

3.2.3. Proto-Indo-Iranian

For the PII, the following endings are assumed (Av: Avestan, P: Old-Persian, ath.: athematic, th.: thematic, stat.: stative):

act.	primary	secondary	imperative	perfect
sg.				
1 st	*-mī (Av -mī, P -mīy), th. also $^{\circ}\tilde{a}$ (OAv $^{\circ}\tilde{a}$, Av $^{\circ}\tilde{a}$ -mī, P $\tilde{a}$ -mīy)	*-m/-am (Av P -m, -am)	—	*-a (Av -ā)
2 nd	*-si (Av -hī, -sī, P -hīy)	*-s (Av *-h in -ō < *ah, -š, -s-cā, P -Ø)	th.*-Ø, ath.*-d ^{hi} (Av -Ø, -dī, -δi, P -Ø, -diy)	*-t ^{ha} (Av -θā)
3 rd	*-ti (Av -tī, P -tīy)	*-t (Av -t, -t, P -Ø)	*-tu (Av -tū, P -tuv)	*-a (Av -ā)
du.				
1 st	*-uas (OAv -uuah-ī)	*-va (OAv -uuā)	—	(*-va)
2 nd	*-t ^{ha} s (not att. in Iran.)	*-tam (not att. in Iran.)	*-tam (not att. in Iran.)	*-at ^h r
3 rd	*-tas (Av -tō, -θō)	*-tām? (Av -təm, P -tam)	*-tām (not att. in Iran.)	*-atr (Av -atar ^a)
pl.				
1 st	*-masi (Av -mahī, P -mahīy)	*-ma (Av -mā, P -mā)	—	*-ma (Av -mā)
2 nd	*-t ^{ha} (Av -θā)	*-ta (Av -tā)	*-ta (Av -tā, P -tā)	*-a (not att. in Iran.)
3 rd	*-anti/-nti/-ati (Av -a ⁱ nti, -ntī, -atī, P -ntīy)	*-an/-n/-at/-r (Av -ēn, -qn, -n, -at, -ār ^a , -ār ^a š, P -a)	*-antu/-ntu/-atu (Av -antū, -əntū, -ntū, P -ntuv)	*-r (Av -ar ^ā , -ər ^a š)

²⁰⁴⁾ Cf. JAMISON IIIJ 21 (1979) 149–169 with bibliography.

mid.	primary	secondary	imperative	perfect
sg.				
1 st	*-aṭṭi (Av -ē, -ōi, P -aiy)	*-i (cf. n. 206), opt. *(H)a (Av -ī, -ā, P -iy)	—	*-aṭṭi (Av -ē)
2 nd	*-saṭṭi (Av -hē, -ḡhē, -šē, P -haiy)	*-t ^h ās/*-sa (Av -ha, -ḡhā, -šā, P -šā)	*-sua (Av -huuā, -ḡhā, -šuuā, P -uvā, -šuvā)	not att. in Iran.
3 rd	*-taṭṭi (Av -tē, -taē-ca, P -taiy), stat. -aṭṭi (Av -ē)	*-ta (Av -tā, P -tā), stat. -a, pass. -aor. *-i (Av -ī)	*-tām (Av -tām, P -tām), stat. *-ām (Av -qm)	*-aṭṭi (Av -ē, -ōi)
du.				
1 st	*-mad ^h aṭṭi (not att. in Iran., cf. n. 206)	*-mad ^h i (Av -uuā ⁱ dī)	—	not att. in Iran.
2 nd	not att. in Iran.	not att. in Iran.	not att. in Iran.	not att. in Iran.
3 rd	ath. *-ātaṭṭi (Av -ā ⁱ tē), th. *°aṭṭaṭṭi (Av °aē ⁱ tē, °ōi ⁱ tē)	ath. *-ātām? (Av -ātām), th. *°aṭṭhām? (Av -aē ⁱ tām)	ath. *-ātām, th. *°etām	*-ātaṭṭi (Av -ā ⁱ tē)
pl.				
1 st	*-mad ^h aṭṭi (Av -ma ⁱ dē, -ma ⁱ de, cf. n. 206)	*-mad ^h i (Av -ma ⁱ dī)	—	not att. in Iran.
2 nd	*-d ^h uaṭṭi (Av -duuie, *-δβe, -θβe)	*-d ^h uam (Av -dūm, -δβəm)	*-d ^h uam (Av -dūm, -δβəm)	not att. in Iran.
3 rd	*-ntaṭṭi/-ataṭṭi (Av -ntē, *-a ⁱ tē)	*-nta/-ata/-anta/ -ran/-ram (Av -ntā, -atā, -ēntā, -rəm, P -ntā)	*-atām/-ntām (Av -ntqm, -ēntqm)	not att. in Iran.

3.2.4. Proto-Indo-European

The endings listed above go back to the PIE ending system which is assumed to be as follows:

active	primary	secondary	perfect
sg.			
1 st	ath. *-mi, th. -h ₂	*-m/-m̃	*-h ₂ e
2 nd	*-si	*-s	*-th ₂ e
3 rd	*-ti	*-t	*-e

du.			
1 st	*- <i>ues</i>	*- <i>ue</i>	?
2 nd	*- <i>tos</i>	*- <i>tom</i>	?
3 rd	*- <i>tos</i>	*- <i>teh₂m</i>	?
pl.			
1 st	*- <i>mes</i> / - <i>mos</i>	*- <i>me</i> (± <i>m</i>)	*- <i>me</i>
2 nd	*- <i>th₂e</i>	*- <i>te</i>	*- <i>e</i> , (*- <i>te</i>)
3 rd	*- <i>enti</i> / - <i>nti</i> / - <i>nti</i>	*- <i>ent</i> / - <i>nt</i> / - <i>nt</i>	*- <i>re</i> , (*- <i>r</i> , - <i>er</i>)
middle	primary	secondary	perfect
sg.			
1 st	*- <i>h₂eĭ</i>	*- <i>h₂e</i> (stative = perf. act.)	—
2 nd	*- <i>soĭ</i>	*- <i>so</i> / *- <i>th₂ēs</i> , stative *- <i>th₂es</i>	—
3 rd	*- <i>toĭ</i>	*- <i>to</i> , stative *- <i>o</i> ²⁰⁵⁾	—
du.			
1 st	*- <i>uesd^hh₂</i> (cf. n. 206)	*- <i>ued^hh₂</i>	—
2 nd	?	?	—
3 rd	?	?	—
pl.			
1 st	*- <i>mesd^hh₂</i> ²⁰⁶⁾	*- <i>med^hh₂</i>	—
2 nd	*- <i>(s)d^hue(ĭ)</i>	*- <i>(s)d^hue</i> (± <i>m</i>)	—
3 rd	*- <i>entoĭ</i> / - <i>ntoĭ</i>	*- <i>ento</i> / - <i>nto</i>	—

3.3. moods²⁰⁷⁾

3.3.1. With the help of the moods, a speaker adds his attitude to the content of what he utters: indicative, injunctive, subjunctive, optative, and imperative. The indicative is the mood employed for reporting in general. The **indicative present** with the “primary” endings designates a verbal action or condition as a process or state in which the subject is involved at the present moment.

²⁰⁵⁾ Cf. GORÖ Coloquio Delbrück (1998) 165–192, above all 190.

²⁰⁶⁾ For the reconstruction *-*mesd^hh₂* cf. Hom. -*μεσθα*, Hitt. -*wasta* (*w* instead of *m* after du. *-*uesd^hh₂*), and the proportion in the act. [prim. *-*mes* :: second. *-*me*]. — The PII primary mid. ending 1st pl. *-*mad^hHaĭ* (OIA -*mahe*, OAv. -*ma'dē*, YAv. -*ma'de*, -*ma'de*, -*madaē-ca*; and du. *-*mad^hHaĭ* in OIA -*vahe*) could have been built analogically on the basis of secondary *-*mad^hi* (OIA -*mahi*, OAv. -*ma'dī*, YAv. -*ma'di*) < PIE *-*med^hh₂* after the proportion [1st sg. *-*aĭ* :: *-*i*] = [1st Pl. *x* :: *-*mad^hi*], and imitating *-*aĭ*, *-*saĭ*, *-*taĭ*, *-*d^huaĭ*, *-*ntaĭ*, *-*ataĭ* as well, cf. COWGILL Fs. Kuiper (1968) 24–31.

²⁰⁷⁾ Cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 534ff.

The **indicative aorist** is used for expressing a concluded action, with the help of the augment (*á-*); the endings are “secondary” ones. It designates the immediate, actual past, or states facts belonging to the more remote past. The MIA preterite forms are based on this latter function, which occurs largely in conversation. There are some special usages in addition, such as ingressive (: focussing mainly on the start of an action/state in the past), or designation of antecedence in time.

The preterite of the pres. system is the **imperfect**. It designates with the help of the augment (*á-*) the non-actual or historical past, employing “secondary” endings.

The forms of the ipf. and ind. aor. are nothing but the inj. forms preceded by the augment, which is accented in subordinate sentences. An exception is the 3rd pl. mid. of the athemat. root-aor., where the inj. has the ending *-anta* as opposed to the ind. *-ata* or *-ran*, e.g. ind. *a-kr-ata* :: inj. *kr-anta* (*kar/kr̥* ‘make’), *a-juṣ-ran* ‘they enjoyed’ :: inj. *juṣ-anta*, and medio-pass. aor. ind. *á-yuj-ran* :: *yuj-anta*, cf. HOFFMANN MSS 2² (1957) 125 = Aufs. 362, Inj. 227 n.225, cf. 3.5.1.: p.109. The only certain example in Iran. for the 3rd pl. mid. of the athem. root-aor. is OAv. *vī-šiiātā* < **ui-čī-ata* ‘they distinguish’ with **-ata* in Y 30,3.6, where a general inj. is assumed; less convincing is an augmentless ind. aor. If one should trust this sole occurrence, the Ved. differentiation of inj. *-anta* against ind. *-ata* must be an OIA innovation; cf. below.

The augment *á-* is lengthened, if not always, before a root beginning with a laryngeal, e.g., *ānaṭ* < **é-h₂nek-s/t* ‘you have / ... he/she/it has attained’; thus a “vr̥ddhi” appears before verbs beginning with a vowel, e.g. *ās-an* < **é-h₁s-ent* ‘they were’, *ái-t* ‘he/she/it went’ < **é-h₁eṭ-t*, *āy-an* ‘they went’ < **é-h₁i-ent*.

The central function of the ind. perf. is to report an attained state of the subject.

The **injunctive**²⁰⁸⁾ is formed from the present or aorist stems, sometimes also from the perfect, with the series of “secondary” endings. Thus, it designates in itself only a person and a number. Its principal function is referring to something (*Erwähnung*, “memorative”). It is used to designate general circumstances or the truth without limitation to some period, to represent data or someone’s qualification, to refer to a myth or affairs which everybody knows, etc. The inj. used with *mā* ‘not, lest’ expresses a prohibitive sentence, that of the present in the inhibitive function (‘stop ...ing’), and that of the aorist in the preventive sense (‘don’t [even try to] ...’). Concerning different ablaut grades between the ind. and inj. endings in the 3rd pl. mid. of the athemat. root-aor. and medio-pass. aor., cf. above, the third last paragraph.

²⁰⁸⁾ Cf. Karl HOFFMANN *Der Injunktiv im Veda. Eine synchronische Funktionsuntersuchung*, Heidelberg 1967.

3.3.2. subjunctive²⁰⁹⁾

The modal stem of the subj. is formed from the full-grade stem (with PIE **e*) of the pres., aor. and perf. with a thematic vowel *-a-* (**-e/o-*) as the subj.-suffix. In the intensive and thematic zero-grade root pres. with *-á-* (“6th class”), however, the subj. is built from the zero-grade or weak stem. The *-iṣ-* aor. is often connected with a long grade in the root, almost always in the case of the roots ending with nasal or liquid as *sāv-iṣ-a-t* (: *a-sāv-i-t*, from *savⁱ/sū* ‘impel’), *tār-iṣ-a-s*, *tār-iṣ-a-t* (: *a-tār-i-t*, *tarⁱ/tṛ* ‘cross over, get through’); but this is a secondary development as shown, e.g., in *san-iṣ-a-t*, *san-iṣ-ā-mahe*, *san-iṣ-a-nta* (*sanⁱ/sā* ‘conquer’; the ind. only *a-sān-iṣ-am* beside the well-attested Indo-Iran. themat. aor. *sán-a-*), cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 64, and below p.116. Some subj. forms of the athemat. root- aor. (e.g. *gām-a-ti*) are identical in shape with the ind. of the themat. full-grade root pres. (type *bhāvⁱ-a- ti*). The subj. has two main functions: prospective (future, expectation) and voluntative (speaker’s will, intention).

Secondary and primary endings are used;²¹⁰⁾ in some cases, there are also elements which appear only in the subj. (marked in **bold**²¹¹⁾; ¹: primary, ²: secondary ending): **act.** sg. 1st ¹-*āni*/*-ā*²/*-a-m*, 2nd ¹-*a-si*²/*-a-s*, 3rd ¹-*a-ti*²/*-a-t*; du. 1st ²-*ā-va*, 2nd ¹-*a-thas*, 3rd ¹-*a-tas*; pl. 1st ²-*ā-ma*, 2nd ¹-*a-tha*/*-a-thana*, 3rd ¹-*a-nti*²/*-a-n*; — **mid.** sg. 1st ¹-*ai*,²¹²⁾ 2nd ¹-*a-se*/*-a-sai*, 3rd ¹-*a-te*/*-a-tai*; du. 1st ¹-*ā-vahai*, 2nd ¹-*aithe*, 3rd ¹-*aite*; pl. 1st ¹-*ā-mahe*/*-ā-mahai*, 2nd ¹-*a-dhve*/*-a-dhvai*, 3rd ²-*a-nta* (on themat. ^o*anta*, see below)/¹-*a-nte* (athemat. pres., aor.)/*-a-ntai*. Cf. MEIER-BRÜGGER 144ff., TICHY Konjunktiv 189–201.

²⁰⁹⁾ Inventory of the forms in the RV in Michael MEIER-BRÜGGER Konjunktiv und Optativ im Rigveda, Habilitationsschrift Zürich 1981. Cf. also TICHY Der Konjunktiv und seine Nachbarkategorien. Studien zum indogermanischen Verbum, ausgehend von der älteren vedischen Prosa (2006); DÖYAMA “A morphological study of the first person subjunctive in the Rigveda” Machikaneyama Ronsō 39 (Univ. Osaka 2005) 1–19; RENOU BSL 33 (1932) 5–30, La décadence et la disparition du subjunctif (Monographies sansk. I, 1937).

²¹⁰⁾ HOFFMANN Inj. 268 n.4 assumes on theoretical grounds a starting distribution of primary endings for the prospective function (: *fiktive Tatsächlichkeit*), and secondary endings for the voluntative function (: *Nicht-Tatsächlichkeit*), cf. also GARCÍA RAMÓN Pragmatische Kategorien (2009) 80 with n.3–5 (lit.).

²¹¹⁾ Cf. TICHY 191ff.; as for the 1st person, cf. DÖYAMA 8ff.

²¹²⁾ Av. builds an analogic form **-ānai* beside **-ai*: YAv. pres. *hacaiene* (*hac* ‘follow’), *haṇ-gər^əfšāne* (*grab* ‘grasp’, desid.), *kər^ənauiāne* (*kar* ‘make’), *mrauiāne* (**mraui* ‘speak’), *stauuāne* (**stau* ‘praise’), OAv. aor. *yaož-dānē* (*dā* ‘create’), *mēnāi-cā* (*man* ‘think’), pseudo-OAv. YAv. *fra-uuarānē* (*var* ‘choose’), *var^əšānē* (*varz* ‘work’, s-aor.).

The forms in *-anta* in the 3rd pl. mid. of the themat. pres. are originally inj. forms but are used also as subj. in the RV, e.g. *nayanta*, *bhájanta*, *bharanta*, *tir-ánta*, *citayanta*, *janáyanta*, *ukṣayanta*, etc., perhaps introduced from the subj. *-a-nta* in the athemat. inflexion on the grounds that the 1st pers. °*ai*, °*āvahai*, °*āmahe*/°*āmahai* are formally common to both themat. and athemat. stems. The Ved. new forms which have taken *-ai* from the 1st sg. are attested in the RV in °*ātai* (pres. themat. *yajātai* 1×), °*āvahai* (pres. athemat. 3×, themat. 4×, aor. athemat. 1×; no °*āvahe*), °*ādhvai* (pres. themat. *mādhayādhvai* 3×), °*āmahai* (pres. athemat. 8×, themat. 2×, aor. athemat. 5×), and after the RV: *nayāsai*, *paśyāsai* AV, *ā-*, *nī-padyāsai* ŚB, etc., °*āntai*/*-antai* YS^p Br.

Hyper-marked forms such as aor. *áva-pad-ā-ti*, *mar-ā-ti*, *var-ā-te* occur sporadically, and their number increases AV+, e.g., pres. *śáy-ā-sai* AVP ŚB, *bhunaj-ā-dhvai* TSP, *rod-ā-t* RVKh., aor. *reṣ-ā-t* AV. The “short-vowel subj.s” are attested above all in the redupl. and *-nā-* pres., and athemat. root-aor., e.g., pres. *dadh-a-*, *dad-a-* (cf. OAv. *dad-a-*, YAv. *daθ-a-*), **śiś-a-t* (*nī-śiśat* RV IV 2,7), *jah-a-t* (AB; Av. *zaz-ə-ñtī*); *min-a-t*, *-a-n*, *aśn-a-n*; aor. *dh-a-* (cf. OAv. *d-a-dī-ñtī*, *d-a-duiīē*), cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 29f. n. 5, 224 n. 6, 445 n. 14; below n. 236. The category subj. does not exist anymore in Post-Vedic. Only 1st persons survive integrated into the iptv.

There are clear cases of “media tantum” where only the subj. of the aor. is inflected in the act., e.g., *vár-a-s*, *-t* :: *a-vr-i*, opt. *vur-ī-ta*, pres. *vṛ-ñī-té* (*varⁱ/vṛ* ‘choose’), *pád-ā-ti* (hyper-marked) :: *a-pad-mahi*, prec. *pad-ī-ṣ-ía*, pres. *pád-ya-te* (*pad* ‘fall, tread’; also perf. *pa-pād-a*, fut. *pat-sya-ti* are act.), *mar-ā-ti*, *mar-ā-ma*, *mar-a-nti* (there occur mid. *mar-ai*, *már-a-te*, *mar-ā-mahe*, too) :: *a-mṛ-ta*, opt. *mur-ī-y-a*, pres. *mri-yá-te* (*mar/mṛ* ‘die’, also perf. *ma-mār-a*, fut. *mar-iṣya-ti* are act.).²¹³⁾

3.3.3. optative²¹⁴⁾

The modal stem for the opt. is formed in the athemat. inflexion with the suffix *-yá/-ī-* (< **-jéh₁-*/**-ih₁-*); the inflexional type is thus in principle hysterodynamic. The secondary endings are added to the strong stem in the act. in all persons in the sg. and du., and the 1st and 2nd pl.; otherwise to the weak stem: act. sg. *-yá-m*, *-yá-s*, *-yá-t*; du. *-yá-va*, *-yá-tam*, *-yá-tām*; pl. *-yá-ma*, *-yá-ta(na)*, *-y-úr*; mid. sg. *-ī-yá*, *-ī-thās* (in the RV only perf. *cakṣam-ī-thās*, *vāṛdh-ī-thās*), *-ī-tá*; du. (no form in the RV); pl. *-ī-máhi*, *-ī-dhvam* (no form in the RV), *-ī-ran/-ī-rata*. In the 3rd pl. act. *-y-úr*, the perf.-ending **-ṛ* seems to have been employed in place of *-án*:

²¹³⁾ Cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. (1964) 256, HOFFMANN MSS 20 (1967) 35 = Aufs. 472, Fs. Kuiper (1968) 7 n. 10 = Aufs. 249, INSLEY IF 73 (1968) 317 n. 7, HOLLIFIELD IF 86 (1981) 167 n. 9, KLINGENSCHMITT Altarm. (1982) 12 n. 13, GOTÖ I. Präz. 67 n. 40.

²¹⁴⁾ Inventory of forms in the RV in MEIER-BRÜGGER (→ n. 209).

perhaps < *^o*C-ih₁-f*, or < **ih₁-f* (via loss of the laryngeal?)²¹⁵). PII **iH-r* could have been extended with a secondary ending into 3rd pl. mid. *-īrata* or *-īran*. *-īran* (*dadīran* VII²) was probably formed with the PII secondary *-ran* beside *-ram* (: < **-ī-ran* or *-ī-ran*); it could have been subsequently clarified to *-īr-ata*: *cucyav-īrata* VIII¹, *manīsīrata* X¹, also themat. pres. *bharerata* X¹, aor. *juṣerata* X¹.²¹⁶ The 1st sg. mid. *-ī-yá* goes back likewise to a form with the perf. ending: **ih₁-h₂e*. The 3rd mid. of the opt. pres. of *dogh/doh/dugh/duh* ‘milk; give milk’ is in the sg. *duh-īy-át* beside *duh-ī-tá*, and in the pl. *duh-īy-án*. The 3rd sg. *-īy-át* could be explained from the stative ending **-o* (or perf. ending 3rd sg. **-e*) enlarged with elucidating *-t* (cf. n. 202: originally a sign for the past; here, however, for marking the 3rd sg.): **ih₁-ó/é + t*, with analogic *ī* instead of *i*²¹⁷). It seems to have been contaminated with *-ī-ran* into *-ī-yán* (hardly an archaism) in the pl.

In the themat. inflexion, the thematic vowel contracts with *-ī-* into *-e-* (**-ai-*)²¹⁸, in the RV: act., sg. *°ey-am*, *°e-s*, *°e-t*; du. *°e-va*, *°e-tam*, –; pl. *°e-ma*, *°e-ta*, *°ey-ur*; mid., sg. *°ey-a*, –, *°e-ta*; du. *°e-vahi*, –, –; pl. *°e-mahi*, –, *°e-rata* (later *°e-ran*). For the 3rd pl. act., Av. preserves historical forms: YAv. *pac-aīi-ən* (*pak/pac* ‘boil’), *bar-aīi-ən* (*bar* ‘bring’), *θβar²s-aīi-ən* (*θbars* ‘cut, fashion’), *hər²z-aīi-ən* (*harz* ‘let loose, send forth’) < **-ai-ant* < **-o-ih₁-ent* (cf. Grk. *-οιεν*, with full-grade ending) in contrast to Ved. *-ey-ur* < **-aij₁-r* < **-a-iH-r*.

The main functions of the opt. are potential (possibility that an action or condition occurs) and cupitive (speaker’s wish); it is also very commonly employed in prescriptive sentences (‘should do’, and with *ná* ‘should not, may not do’). On the problem of the preterite opt. (± augment) in Indo-Iran., cf. SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ Ét. Kellens (2009) 231–252.

The opt. of the aor. system has received an Indic renovation through 3rd sg. *-yās* instead of *-yāt* (Av. knows only forms in **-iāt*). Its background is given by the suppletive circumstance in PII that the opt. of the sigm. aor. is supplented in

²¹⁵ Cf. MAYRHOFFER Idg. Gramm. I-2 131: **ih₁#* realised as **ih₁#*. On **-f*, cf. p. 120.

²¹⁶ Cf. also COWGILL Fs. Kuiper (1968) 28f. n. 16.

²¹⁷ Cf. HARDARSON Studien zum urindogermanischen Wurzelaorist (1993) 142 n. 182.

²¹⁸ *i* in **-o-ih₁-* was syllabic in PIE before endings beginning with a consonant, e.g. **-o-ih₁-s* > Grk. *-οις*, PII **-aiš* (via **-o-īs* > **-oiš* with a circumflex intonation [HOFFMANN], or through a loss of the laryngeal because of the accent in the root syllable); but non-syllabic in **-o-ih₁-m* > **-oi₁m* in *bháreyam*, Arcadian *ἐξελάυνοια*. Cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. II (1976) 615 n. 12, KLINGENSCHMITT Flexion und Wortbildung (1975) 162 n. 22, MAYRHOFFER Idg. Gramm. I-2 131 with n. 140.

the act. from the root-aor.²¹⁹⁾ After the proportion, e.g., 2nd sg. *yauṣ* (< **yauṣ-s*) :: 3rd sg. **yauṣ* (< **yauṣ-ṭ*) = *yū-yās* :: *x* (*yav/yu* ‘keep [oneself] away’), the 3rd sg. *-yāt* has been replaced by *-yās* (*vī-yūyās*), which has incidentally the same formant as the sigmat. aor. The **precativ** forms with *-s*-element are built on this remodelled 3rd sg. *-yās*. Reinterpreting this form as **-yās-t*, one formed *-yās-am*, *-yās-ma*, and in the weak stem *-īṣ-ṭa*, etc. The RV has in the act.: 1st sg. *bhū-yās-am*, 3rd sg. *gam-yās* etc. (12 forms), 1st pl. *kri-yās-ma*; in the mid. of the *-s*-, *-iṣ*-, and *-siṣ*- aor.: 2nd sg. *maṇis-īṣ-ṭhās*, (*āva*-) *yāsis-īṣ-ṭhās* (*yā* ‘beg’), 3rd sg. *janiṣ-īṣ-ṭa*, *maṇis-īṣ-ṭa*, *yās-īṣ-ṭa* etc. (9 forms), and in the perf. 2nd sg. *sāsaḥ-īṣ-ṭhās*. The precativ has throughout cupitive function in the RV. Cf. HOFFMANN “Der vedische Prekativtyp *yeṣam, jeṣma*” MSS 20 (1967) 25–37 = Aufs. 465–474.

The 3rd sg. act. *-yās* is retransformed into *-yāt* in the YS^m; both forms occur in the AV side by side. The act. forms survive, presumably as a formation derived directly from the root (not bound to the aor.), in YS^p, Br., Ep. and Cl.Skt., sometimes also in the potential function; the occurrences are very limited, but nevertheless Pāṇini and his grammatical tradition teach a full paradigm in both diatheses.

Forms such as (*āti*-)*ye-ṣ-am* (*yā* ‘travel’) are analogic formations after the themat. aor. opt. of the type *khy-é-ṣ-am* (attested in YS^m), **khy-é-ṣ*, **khy-é-ṣ*, **khy-é-ṣ-ma*, **khy-é-ṣ-ṭa* (cf. *vid-e-ṣ-ṭa* AV, *śoc-e-ṣ-ṭa* GṛSū.^m, HOFFMANN Aufs. 472 n. 9), **khy-é-ṣ-ur* (*khyā* ‘behold, regard’), which for their part analogically came into being instead of **éy-am*, **é-ṣ*, **é-t*, **é-ma*, **é-ta*, **éy-ur* on the basis

²¹⁹⁾ Mid. forms of the sigmat. aor. opt. are attested, but the athemat. root-aor. opt. occurs in place of the act. forms, cf. WACKERNAGEL *Vermischte Beiträge* (1897) 44 = Kl. Schr. 805, NARTEN *Sigm. Aor.* (1964) 43, HOFFMANN MSS 20 (1967) 35 = Aufs. 472f. (examples are listed, e.g., *sahyās*, *sahyāma*, *sahyur* :: *sākṣ*- from *sah* ‘conquer’, *yūyās* :: *yauṣ*- from *yav/yu* ‘keep away’, etc.), Aufs. 607 (1976) n.1, MEIER-BRÜGGER *Konj. und Opt.* (1981) 162f. The existence of mid. forms might be explained by functional pressure. Sigmat. stems possess a special function in combination with mid. inflexion. The root *man* ‘think’, e.g., is used in the *-ya*-present *mān-ya^{te}* and *-s*-aor. *a-maṇ-s^{ta}* in the (fientive) meaning ‘take (something) for ...’ (OAv. e.g. *maṇiiaṇtā* beside *māṣtā*), but in the nasal pres. *ma-nu^{te}* (instead of **mannu*- < **mṇ-nu*?, cf. n. 238) and root aor. *a-ma^{ta}* in the meaning ‘think, think out’, with intention, i.e. facientive (thus also OAv. root-aor. *māṇghā-cā*, *maṇtā*, *ma’nima^{di}-cā*, etc.), both only in the middle; a relic of the active lies in OAv. f. *manaoθrī*- ‘reminding, warning’. In this case, the *-s*-aor. serves for marking the fientive meaning. Cf. also the opt. mid. of *bhaj* ‘share’, *moc/muc* ‘become free’, *vah/uh* ‘transfer’, etc. MEIER-BRÜGGER finds the reason in the acrodyn. scheme of the sigmat. aor., which ought to show consistent *-ī*- as the opt. suffix. This was abandoned in favour of “active *-yā-*”, because elsewhere the opposition *-yā-* :: *-ī-* signaled a polar diathetic opposition. HARÐARSON *Studien* 94–125 (conclusions: 124f.) wants to interpret this phenomenon as a secondary development which occurred separately in Iran. and Indian.

of 2nd sg. **khyé-š* after the root-aor. precative *-yās-am*, *-yās*, *-yās*, *-yās-ma*, *-yās-ta*, *-yās-ur*. The linking form is **khyéy-ur* beside **khye-š-ur*, after which forms such as *sthe-š-ur* AV (*sthā* ‘stand’) have arisen, and after this *ye-š-am* RV II 27,16, after the RV *sthe-š-am*, *ge-š-am* (*gā* ‘sing’), *se-š-am*, *se-t* (pseudo-root *sā* ‘conquer’), *jñe-š-ma* (*jñā* ‘understand’), *ge-š-ma*, *de-š-ma* (*dā* ‘give’). The form *jéšma* (*jay/ji* ‘win’) owes its existence to a form **jey-ur* which was remodelled to **ješ-ur*. Cf. HOFFMANN loc. cit.

This postulated **jey-ur* belongs to the relics of the “PIE acrodynamic root-aor.”, clearly attested in OAv. *var^oz-i-mā-cā* (*var^oz* ‘work’), *srəuu-i-mā* (**sraū* ‘hear’), *zāē-mā* (*zā* ‘abandon’), Grk. *θεῖ-μεν* ‘we want to lay, create’ (< **d^héh₁-ih₁-me + m*), *δοῖ-μεν* (**deh₃* ‘give’), *σταῖ-μεν* (**stéh₂* ‘stand’), OLat. *uel-i-mus*, Goth. *wil-ei-ma*, OChSlav. *vel-i-mъ* (**uelh₁* ‘choose’), as HOFFMANN “Zum Optativ des indogermanischen Wurzelaorists” Fs. Kuiper (1968) 3–8 = Aufs. 245–250²²⁰⁾ elucidates. To this type could also belong the forms *dhey-ur* ‘they may set, settle, determine’ (from **d^héh₁-ih₁-nt*, substituted with **-r*), *vi(-)dhé-ma* ‘we want to / can arrange’ < **d^héh₁-ih₁-me* (Grk. *θεῖμεν*, cf. HOFFMANN Sprache 15, 1969, 5 = Aufs. 242). However, the forms from roots ending in *-ā* have been remodelled with a hysterodyn. suffix: *jñe-yā-s* (*jñā* ‘understand’), *pe-yā-s* (*pā* ‘drink’), *dey_aām* (*dā* ‘give’), *dhey_aām* (*dhā* ‘set, settle’), *sthe-yā-ma* (*sthā* ‘stand’) RV.²²¹⁾

For the redupl. pres. one expects in the same way consistently a weak opt. suffix *-ī-*, but we have in reality *bibhīyāt*, *bibhryāt*, *mīmīyāt* as in the hysterodynamic paradigm. The forms in the mid. 3rd sg. *dād_hūta*, *dadhūta*, 1st pl. *dadīmahi*, *dadhīmahi*, 3rd pl. *dadīran* are in any case regular except for the accent.

The type *gam-ey-am*, *gam-é-ma*, *gam-e-mahi* from *gam* ‘go’, *van-é-ma* (OAv. *van-aē-mā* Y 31,4)²²²⁾ ‘we want to / could win’, *aś-e-ma* (*naś/aś* ‘attain’), *drś-éy-am* (*darś/drś* ‘watch, behold’), belongs to the athemat. root-aor., cf. WACKERNA-GEL Vermischte Beiträge (1897) 49 = Kl. Schr. 810, Fs. Jacobi (1926) 17 = Kl. Schr. 433, RENOU BSL 41 (1940) 5ff., HOFFMANN MSS 2 (1952/1957) 121 = Aufs. 358f., MSS 7 (1955) 91 = Aufs. 386, MAYRHOFER Idg. Gramm. I-2 131 n.140.

²²⁰⁾ Cf. also HARDARSON 126–145: Der Aoristoptativ vom Typ RV. *dheyām*.

²²¹⁾ On trisyllabic *dey_aām*, *dhey_aām*, and pres. opt. *yāy_aām*, cf. COWGILL Lg 39 (1963) 270, HOFFMANN apud SEEBOLD Halbvokale (1972) 289 n. 650, HARDARSON Studien 143 n. 185. This phenomenon is clearly explained from **-ṛṇ* on the basis of OAv. opt. pres. 1st sg. act. *xiīām* (*xiī_aām*) with disyllabic *ā*, and not with *q*: < **h₁s-iéh₁-ṛṇ* (*ah*, **h₁es* ‘exist, be’, on *ś* cf. HOFFM.–FORSSM. 107), cf. SCHINDLER Sprache 23 (1977) 59, HOFFM.–NARTEN Sasan. Arch. (1989) 53, MONNA Gathas (1978) 103, GOTÖ Mat. I 105 n.111a. Possibly exists also a LINDEMAN variant *syām* like *syāt* (and, on the other hand, analogic *sy_aāt*, *sy_aāma*, etc.).

²²²⁾ Cf. also the themat. opt. from the *-nā-* pres. *zaranaēmā* Y 28,9 (cf. p. 106).

The reason for this secondary formation is not yet known: perhaps analogically after [*vidhēma* (20×) :: *vidh*] = [*x* :: *gam*], *x* = *gamēma*. The root *vidh* had become independent from *vi-dhā* already in PII (cf. THIEME Wortkunde, 1949, 36f., HOFFMANN Sprache 15, 1969, 1–7 = Aufs. 238–244), and that presumably through the intermediary of this very *vi-dhēma* (PII would be **ui-d^há[H]-i-ma* or **-d^háH-i[H]-ma*, cf. n. 218): themat. aor. *vidhánt-* = OAv. *vīdant-*, subj. *vidhāti* = OAv. *vīdaā^{ti}*, *vīdaātⁱ*, ind. *ávidhat*, and also the pres. stem *vindhá-* (1st sg. *vindhē*, 3rd sg. *vindháte*) in Ved., probably after the proportion aor. *vidá-* :: pres. *vindá^{ti}* ‘find, gain’. *gamēma*, thus formed, has opened the way for the secondary themat. aor. *gama-* RV X+. Cf. also MEIER-BRÜGGER Konj. und Opt. 178f. with lit.

On *-ūta* for *-eta* (and *-īran* for *-erata*) in themat. stems, particularly in the *-aya-* pres., in Sū. and also AB, KB, Up., cf. RENOU BSL 41 (1940) 11–17, HOFFMANN MSS 2 (1952/1957) 136f. = Aufs. 371; comparable with this case is the part. with *-āna-* instead of *-amāna-* in the *-aya-* pres., cf. RENOU Gr. scr. 414f.; N. SEN Poona Orientalist 14 (1949) 94f., JOIB 1 (1951/1952) 127 from Rāmāyaṇa; AiG II-2 274. — On forms with *°yāt*, *°yur* from themat. stems, *bhrj(j)yéyur* MS^p: *bhrjja^{ti}* ‘roast’, *kṣipyet* ChU: *kṣipá^{ti}* ‘throw’, etc., cf. HOFFMANN MSS 27 (1970) 66f. n. 2 = Aufs. 517f., KULIKOV WZKS 50 (2006) 27–68, GOTÖ Fs. Kellens (2009) 107–113.

3.3.4. imperative²²³⁾

The iptv. has its own endings in the 2nd and 3rd persons: act. sg. 2nd *-dhi/-hí* in the athemat., -Ø in the themat. stem, 3rd *-tu* (to a strong stem); du. 2nd *-tam*, 3rd *-tām*; pl. 2nd *-ta/-tana* (sometimes to a strong stem), 3rd *-antu/-ntu/-atu*; mid. sg. 2nd *-sva*, 3rd *-tām*, du. 2nd *-āthām* (athem.), *°ethām* (themat.), 3rd *-ātām* (athem.), *°etām* (themat.); pl. 2nd *-dhvam*, 3rd *-atām/-ntām*. In the 3rd sg. mid., there are also forms with *-ām* without *t*: *duhām* ‘let her give milk’ RV+, *śayām* ‘let him/her/it lie’ AV, cf. p. 97, p. 102, perf. *sám-/... vidām* ‘let him/her have the same concept!’ AV MS^m, cf. p. 121. On *grhāná* ‘grasp!’, *aśāna* ‘eat!’ with *-ná* cf. p. 106.

The iptv. 2nd sg. act. in the themat. inflexion is nothing but the bare stem form. In the athemat. inflexion *-dhi* is added to the stem, which is developed into *-hí* under some phonological environments after vowels²²⁴⁾. The stem takes a weak grade, which is probably due to the formation combined with the accented particle **d^hi* ‘surely, even’ or alike in PIE²²⁵⁾, e.g.: pres. *i-hí* ‘go’ (OAv. *i-dī*, YAv. *para.āi-ōi* for **parā-i-ōi*, OPers. *para-i-diy*, Grk. *ĩ-θi*, Hitt. *i-t*) < **h₁i-d^hi*, *ja-hí* ‘slay’ (YAv. *ja-ⁱōi*, OPers. *ja-diy*; with analogic *j*) < **ǵ^{wh}ṇ-d^hi*; *de-hí* ‘give’, *dhe-hí*

²²³⁾ Cf. Daniel BAUM The Imperative in the Rigveda. Diss. Leiden 2006.

²²⁴⁾ Cf. AiG I 250ff., LUBOTSKY Zograf Commemorative Vol. (1995) 124–144.

²²⁵⁾ Cf. EICHNER MSS 31 (1973) 86 n. 15, RIX Hist. Gramm. (1976) 241, 263f.

‘set, settle, determine’ (the initial aspiration is restored against GRASSMANN’s law), YAv. *daz-di* < **dazd^{hi}*, **d^hazd^{hi}* < **dadzd^{hi}* and **d^hadzd^{hi}* resp.; *kṛṇu-hi* ‘make’ (YAv. *kəṛnū-ⁱδi*, cf. Grk. *ὄρνυ-θι* ‘start, hunt up’); aor. *pā-hi* ‘drink’ (Lesb. *πῶ-θι*; from full-grade stem), *ga-dhi/ga-hi* ‘go’ (OAv. *ga-ⁱdī*) < **g^wṛṇ-d^{hi}*; perf. *vid-dhi* ‘know’ (Grk. *ῑσ-θι*, *ῑσ-θι*). The iptv. pres. of *as/s* ‘exist, be’ *edhi* < **az-d^{hi}* is probably secondary in view of OAv. *z-dī*, Grk. *ῑσ-θι* < **h₁s-d^{hi}*, however, cf. *ad-dhi* ‘eat’ = Grk. **ῑσ-θι* in *ῑσθίω*. The root shape *weizd* in OLith. *weizdmi*, Lith. *veizdėti* ‘see’ may be presumed to have originated in a prehistoric **uejd-d^{hi}*.²²⁶⁾

The **3rd sg. act.** *-tu* and the **pl.** *-antu/-ntu/-atu* are to be analysed as the inj. forms + particle *u*,²²⁷⁾ thus in the case of themat. stems: *bhava-tu* ‘let ... become’ (cf. YAv. *bara-tu*, OPers. *bara-tuv* ‘let ... bring’), *cara-ntu* ‘let them wander, act’ (YAv. *carə-ntu*), *bhara-ntu* (YAv. *barə-ntu*). In athemat. inflexions, the stem is strong in the sg. corresponding to its inj. origin: *ās-tu* ‘let him/her/it be’ (OAv. *as-tū*, OPers. *as-tuv**, Hitt. *es-tu*), *hán-tu* ‘let ... slay’ (YAv. *jan-tu*), *dádā-tu* ‘let ... give’, *dádhā-tu* ‘let ... set’ (OAv. *dadā-tū*, OPers. *dadā-tuv*); aor. *gan-tu* ‘let ... go’ (OAv. *jan-tū*), *dhā-tu* ‘let ... set’ (OAv. *dā-tū*), *śró-tu* ‘let ... hear’ (OAv. *srao-tū*); — and weak in the pl.: *s-ántu* ‘let them be’ (OAv. *h-əntū*), *y-ántu* ‘let them go’ (YAv. *y-əntu*), *prīṇ-antu* ‘let them make someone satisfied’ (YAv. *frīn-əntu*); aor. *śruv-antu* (cf. OAv. *sc-əntū* from *hac* ‘follow, be in the company of’).

The **mid.** endings sg. *-tām* and pl. *-atām/-ntām* in the **3rd** are interpreted similarly as inj. *-ta*, *-atal-nta* + *am*: sg. themat. *gaccha-tām* ‘let him/her/it go’, *jāya-tām* ‘let ... be born’, athemat. *ās-tām* ‘let ... be sitting’, *jihī-tām*, *jih-atām* ‘let him/them move’, *indhām* AV, *indh-atām* ‘let it/them kindle’, *kṛṇu-tām* ‘let him/her/it make’, *strīṇī-tām* ‘let ... spread out’; aor. *rās-a-tām* ‘let ... give, donate’ (from subj.-stem); OIran.: themat. pres. OAv. YAv. *vəṛ²ziiā-tqm* ‘let him/her/it work’, OAv. *nī.diiā-tqm* < **-atām* (pass. of *dā* ‘bind’); *xraosə-ntqm* ‘let them cry’; themat. aor. OAv. *xš-ə-ntqm* ‘let them rule’; OPers. *varnav-a-tām* ‘let him convince’ (thematised). The iptv. *-ām* in *duh-ām*, *śay-ām*, *vid-ām* can be explained as “stative” *-a* (**-o*) + *-am*. The **2nd sg. mid.** *-sva* (PII **-sua*, cf. Av *-huuā*, *-ṇ^hhā*, *-šuuā*, P *-uvā*, *-šuvā*) occupies a special position: interpreted from the secondary ending **-sa* (< **-so*, as in Grk., Lat.) via analogy after **-d^huam* (RIX Hist. Gramm. 241), from iptv. act. + reflex. pron. **sua* (EICHNER Flexion und Wortbildung 78), or from contamination of **-sa* and **sua*.

²²⁶⁾ Cf. DUNKEL “IE hortatory **éy*, **eyte*” MSS 46 (1985) 47–79 (also about *hánta*, *éta*; see below).

²²⁷⁾ Cf. EICHNER MSS 31 55 (: Hitt. 2nd sg. iptv. *ehu* ‘come’ < **h₁éi-h₂ey* ‘go off [from there]’), 86 n. 15, Flex. und Wortb. (1975) 77f., RIX Hist. Gramm. 241, DUNKEL MSS 46 73 n. 69 (: **eu/u* as deictic element), KLEIN Towards a Discourse Grammar II (1985) 56.

The iptv. forms in the **du.** and the **2nd pl.** are in principle nothing but the inj.s in both diatheses, e.g., act. 2nd pl. *bhára-ta* ‘bring’ (= Grk. *φέρε-τε*, Goth. *baírīþ*); du. 2nd *s-tam*, 3rd *s-tām* AV+, pl. 2nd *s-ta* AV+ ‘be’; mid. du. *mím-āthām* (*mā* ‘measure’), *yūñj-āthām* (*voj/yuj* ‘yoke’), *jih-ātām* (*hā* ‘move’), pl. 2nd *kṛṇu-dhvám*, *yūñg-dhvám*, -s- aor. *trā-dhvam* (*trā* ‘protect, rescue’, OAv. *θrāz-dūm*). However, the iptv. 2nd du. and pl. have in athemat. inflexions sometimes a strong stem as opposed to the inj.: e.g., in the pres. *íyar-tā* (‘move’, *ar/r* ‘set oneself in motion’, no inj.), *juhó-ta(na)* (*hav/hu* ‘make offering, libation’, inj. *juhu-tā*), *dádā-ta*, *dadā-tana* (beside *dat-tá*, *dat-tana*; *dā* ‘give’, du. 2nd *dat-tám*, 3rd *dat-tām*, ipf. *adat-tam*, *ádadā-ta*, *ádat-tana*), *dádhā-ta* (beside *dhat-tá*; *dhā* ‘set, settle, determine’, du. 2nd *dhat-tám*, 3rd *dhat-tām*, ipf. *adhat-tam*, *ádadhā-ta*, *ádhat-ta*), 2nd du. *yuyo-tam* (beside *yuyu-tám*), *yuyó-tā*, *yuyó-tanā* (*vav/yu* ‘keep away’, no inj.), *pípar-tana* (*par* ‘bring across, promote’); *yunák-ta*, *unát-ta*, *anak-tana*, *pinas-tana* (*voj/yuj* ‘yoke’, *od/ud* ‘wet’, *añj/aj* ‘anoint’, *peš/piš* ‘grind, crush’; beside *pari-vṛñk-ta* from *varj/vrj* ‘twist, wrench off’, 2nd du. *añk-tam*, *pṛñk-tam*), *kṛṇó-ta(na)* (beside *kṛṇu-tá*, *kar/kr* ‘make’, 2nd du. *kṛṇu-tám*, ipf. *akṛṇu-ta*, *akṛṇota(nā)*, 2nd du. *akṛṇu-tam*), *śṛṇo-ta(na)* (beside *śṛṇu-tá*, *śrav/śru* ‘hear’), *sunó-tā*, *sunó-tana* ‘press out’ (beside *sunu-tá*), *hinó-ta*, *hino-tana* (*hay/hi* ‘urge on’), *punā-ta* (beside *punī-tá[na]*), *pavⁱ/pū* ‘make pure’). — On the differentiation in the accent place in the case of -iṣ- aor. iptv. 2nd du. *avi-ṣ-tám*, pl. *avi-ṣ-tána* :: 2nd pl. inj. *ávi-ṣ-ta* (which is used also as hortative), cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 68, cf. below n. 261.

The athemat. root-aor. has a different distribution of the strong/weak stems from that of the root-pres. The ind./inj. in the act. shows there a strong stem in all persons in the du., and in 1st and 2nd pl., too. Thus, the zero-grade forms are rather remarkable: 2nd du. *kṛ-tám* beside *kar-tam* (AV), *ga-tám* beside *gan-tám* (inj. *ga-tám* I 119,4), *ji-tam* (*jay/ji* ‘win’), *rik-tam* (*rec/ric* ‘leave’), *śru-tám*, *si-tam* (*sā/si* ‘bind’), *su-tám* (*sav/su* ‘press out’), *spr-tam* (*spar/spr* ‘win, gain, carry off’); 2nd pl. *śru-tā* beside *śró-tā* (OAv. *srao-tā*), *kṛ-ta* beside *kár-ta*, *ga-ta* beside *gán-ta(na)*/*gan-tá* (inj. *gan-tana*), etc. (*śas-ta* is the iptv. 2nd pl. of the ablautless athemat. root-pres. *śas* ‘cut’). These phenomena could be interpreted either by analogy after the 3rd sg. forms with a full-grade stem (+ *-tu*), from mutual influences between pres. and aor., or from a tendency to differentiate the iptv.s from the inj.s. An aspect opposition between the pres. and aor. is not confirmed in the subj., opt., and iptv.

Interjections such as *hán-ta* ‘now then!’, *é-ta* ‘go!’ would provide clues to the older formations of the iptv. 2nd pl.; the forms in the paradigm are *ha-tá* and *han-tana* ‘(ye) slay!’, *i-tá*, *i-tana*, and *é-tana* ‘go!’.²²⁸⁾

²²⁸⁾ Cf. DUNKEL MSS 46 (1985) 56.

There are also imperativa posterior with **-tūt (iptv. II)**, which are used for all persons and numbers in both diatheses for instances where the time of the action taking place at a later time is designated (or undesignated). This inherited formation is built theoretically from each stem. Cf. FORSSMAN Gramm. Kateg. (1982) 181ff. The so-called *-si* iptv.s have their origins in the subj. of the *-s*-aor., cf. p. 114f.

3.4. present system

The present stems are inflected in the ind., ipf., inj., subj., opt., and iptv., and have the part., theoretically in both act. and mid. of all categories. Cf. p. 83ff.

3.4.1. thematic present stems: To a full-grade [Th. 1.1],²²⁹ zero-grade [Th. 1.2], or long-grade [Th. 1.3] root is added the themat. vowel *-a-* alone, or a suffix ending in *-a-*: *-ya-* [Th. 2], *-áya-* [Th. 3], *-(c)cha-* [Th. 4]; there are also reduplicated themat. stems [Th. 5], some forms with *-va-* [Th. 6], and other thematic and thematised stems [Th. 7]. The themat. vowel *-a-* is lengthened before endings beginning with *m* or *v*, which is probably to be traced to PIE **-o-* (BRUGMANN's law). Examples:

[Th. 1.1] *bhávⁱ-a^{-ti}* 'come into being, become' with accented root (Av. *bauu-**a-*, OPers. *bav-a-*).

[Th. 1.2] *tud-á^{-ti}* 'push', *sṛj-á⁻* 'let loose, send forth' (Av. *hər²z-a-*, OPers. *hṛd-a-*?), factitive *tir-á⁻* 'make traverse' with accented themat. vowel; *kríḍ-a-* 'play, frisk', *dás-a^{-ti}* 'bite' (*damš*) with secondary accent.

[Th. 1.3] iterative-durative *cāy-a-* 'perceive' (OChSlav. *čaj-ŏ* 'I expect'), *dhāvⁱ-a^{-ti}* 'rub, wash'; terminat. *krāmⁱ-a^{-ti}* 'stride', *dhāv-a^{-ti}* 'run' (: durat. *krāmⁱ-a^{-te}*, *dhav-a^{-te}*).

[Th. 2.1]²³⁰ *dāvⁱ-ya^{-ti}* 'gamble' (OAv. *ā-dīuuⁱ-iieⁱnti* Y 44,13), *rišⁱ-ya^{-ti}* 'be hurt' (YAv. *rišⁱ-iia-*), *mánⁱ-ya^{-te}* 'think, take for' (OAv. YAv. *mañⁱ-iia-*, OPers. *manⁱ-iya-*: < **mñⁱ-iē-*) with zero-grade accented root (the main type); *jāⁱ-ya^{-te}* 'be born' (YAv. *zaⁱ-iia^{-te}*, OIr. *·gainethar*: presumably < PIE pass. **ǵnh₁-iē^{-toi}* 'be generated') is marked as the fient. pres. through its accent, cf. p. 80. [Th. 2.2] *pásⁱ-ya-* 'see' (OAv. YAv. *spasⁱ-iia-*), *tráⁱ-ya-* 'protect' (OAv. YAv. *θrāⁱ-iia-*, cf. Hitt. *tāⁱ-iēⁱ-zzi* 'steals') with full-grade root. [Th. 2.3] *vacⁱ-yá^{-te}* 'totter', *mriⁱ-yá^{-te}* 'die' (YAv. *miriia-*, OPers. *maṛiya-*), *dhriⁱ-yá^{-te}* 'get ready (to do something)', *ā-driⁱ-yá^{-te}* 'heed' Br. + with passive accent (p. 129f.), which seems to be the result of phonological development **f₂je/o* > PII **rijāⁱ*.²³¹ [Th. 2.4] (*ava*)-*dⁱ-yá^{-ti}* (*dā* 'divide, separate'), *-d_(i)-yá^{-ti}* (*dā*

²²⁹ Cf. Toshifumi GOTŌ Die "I. Präsensklasse" im Vedischen. Untersuchung der vollstufigen thematischen Wurzelpäsentia, Wien 1987.

²³⁰ Cf. Leonid KULIKOV The Vedic *-ya-* presents. Passives and intransitivity in Old Indo-Aryan, Amsterdam - New York 2012.

²³¹ Cf. KULIKOV Fs. Shevoroshkin (1997) 198–205. Cf. n. 286.

‘bind, tie’, e.g. *ā-*; OAv. iptv. mid. 3. sg. *nī-d-iiātqm* Y 48,7: patientive?), *-ch-*_(i)*yá-^{ti}* AV+ (*chā* ‘cut off [the skin]’, e.g. *ánu-*, *ā-*; OAv. iptv. mid. 2. pl. *pa’tī-s-iiōdūm* ‘restrain’? Y 48,7). [Th. 2.5] *gr̥bh-ā-yá-* ‘grasp’ < **gr̥bh-ṇH-je-* (YAv. *gər²uu-a-iiā-*, OPers. *garb-ā-ya-*), extended from the *-n*-infix stem *gr̥bh-nā/n(ī)-*, cf. p. 107.

[Th. 3.1] *chad-áya-* ‘appear, appear pleasant’ (*chand-*; YAv. *saδ-aiia-*, OPers. *θad-aya-*) from zero-grade root, and [Th.3.2] *hv-áya-* ‘call’ (*hvā*, OAv. YAv. *zb-aiia-*, OPers. *zb-aya-*), *kš-áya-^{ti}* ‘rule’ < **tkh₂-éje-* (*kšā* < **tkeh₂*; OAv. YAv. *xš-aiia-*, OPers. *patiy-a-xš-ayaīy*, Grk. *κτ-áo-μαι*) from roots in *-ā-*; [Th. 3.3] *dhār-áya-* ‘hold’ (OAv. YAv. *dār-aiia-*, OPers. *dār-aya-*) from **-o*-grade root, the formation being predominant in the causative.

[Th. 4] *pr̥-cchá-* ‘ask, search’ (OAv. YAv. *pər²-sa-*, OPers. *pār-sa-*, Lat. *po-scō*: < PIE **pr̥k-ské-*), *gá-ccha-* ‘go’ (*gam*, with secondary accent; OAv. YAv. *jasa-* with secondary *j* after aor.: < **gʷṇ-ské-*), *vr̥-ścá-^{ti}* ‘cut down’ (< **ur̥k-ské-*). On the phonological development cf. GOTÖ Fs. Klingenschmitt 210.

[Th. 5.1] *tí-šth-a-* ‘stand, stay’ (YAv. *hi-šta-*; < **stí-sth₂-e-*, cf. Grk. *ἵ-σθη-μι*), *sīd-a-* ‘sit down’ (YAv. *-hiδ-a-*, < **sīde-* < **sí-zd-e-*, cf. Lat. *sīd-ō*, Grk. *ἵζ-ω*, Arm. *nst-i-* < **ni-si-zd-e-*)²³² with *-i-* reduplication; [Th. 5.2] *-úh-a-* ‘slide’ (*vah* ‘transport’: < **uú-ugʰ-e-*, assimilated < **ué-ugʰ-e-*) from *-á-* (**-é-*) reduplication.

[Th. 6] *jī-va-* ‘live’ (whence the root *jīv-*; Av. *juua-*, OPers. *jī-va-*), *tūr-va-^{ti}* ‘overpower’ (cf. Hitt. *ta-ru-uh-zi*); from full-grade root *dhán(u)-va-* ‘run, flow’ < **dʰenh₂-ue-*²³³

[Th. 7] *śú-n-dh-a-* ‘clean’ (*śodh/śudh*), *pí-n-v-a-* ‘make full of’ (: athematic *pí-n-v-āná-*, YAv. *fra-pi-nao-^{ti}* ‘makes prosper’; thematic *-pinuu-a-ta* ‘swelled’).

The inflexion proceeds with the addition of the personal endings (3.2.: p. 85f.). On the 3rd pl. mid. *-anta* in the inj. and subj. in the RV, cf. p. 91f. On the 3rd pl. act. in the opt. Ved. *-ey-ur* < **aij̥-r̥* :: YAv. *-aii-ən* < **ai-ant*, cf. p. 93.

3.4.2. athematic present stems: Personal endings are added without thematic vowel to: [Ath. 1] a root stem; [Ath. 3] reduplicated stem; [Ath. 4.1] stem containing infixed *-ná-/-n-*, [Ath.4.2] stem ending with *-nó-/-nu-*, [Ath. 4.3] stem ending in *-nā-/-nī-/-n-*. Cf. also above 3.1.4.: p. 83ff. These stems are affected by ablaut: They have a full grade in the root, infix or suffix in the act. sg. in the ind., inj., and partially iptv., as well as in all persons and numbers in the subj. in both diatheses. In the remaining forms, the stem is set in zero grade as far as phonologically allowed, and the ending has the accent that shows a full grade when available.

²³² Cf. KLINGENSCHMITT *Altarm. Verbum* 129–131: KLINGENSCHMITT’s law **sV/z* > **sV̄Ø*, which is certainly assumed in Indo-Iran. and Balto-Slav., and possibly in PIE.

²³³ On the PIE **-ue-* pres. cf. KLINGENSCHMITT *Altarmenisches Verbum* 231ff.

3.4.2.1. [Ath. 1] athematic root-present:

Act., e.g. *ás-/s-* ‘be’ (**h₁és-/h₁s-*):

ind. sg. 1st *ás-mi*, 2nd *ási* (< **ás* + *si*), 3rd *ás-ti*, du. **s-vás* (*s-vas* TSP+), *s-thás*, **s-tás* (*s-tas* Br.+), pl. *s-mási/-más*, *s-thána/-thá/-thā*, *s-ánti*;

ipf. 1st *āsam*, 2nd **ās*, attested only in a new formation *ās-īs* (after, e.g. *á-bravī-s* ‘you said’), 3rd **ās*, attested *ās* and *ās-īt*; du. —, *ās-tam*, *ās-tām*; pl. —, (*a-bravī-ta*, *á-bravī-tana*), *ās-an*;

inj. sg. *vé-s*, *ve-t* (*vayⁱ/vī* ‘pursue, chase, track’), *rāt* ‘radiates’, *han* ‘slays’;

subj. *ás-ā-ni*, *ás-a-m* (VS, AVP), *ás-a-si/-s*, *ás-a-ti/-t*; *as-ā-va* (YSP+), *ás-a-thas*, *ás-a-tas* (Br.+); *ás-ā-ma*, *ás-a-n*, (hyper-marked *ás-ā-s*, *ás-ā-ti*, *ás-ā-t*, *as-ā-tha* in some mantra texts);

opt. (cf. n.221) sg. *s-yā-m* (also *s-yāām* /*s-yā-am*/ < **Hs-īāH-ām* < **h₁s-īēh₁-m*), *s-yā-s* (also *s-īyā-s*), *s-yā-t* (also *s-īyā-t*); *s-yā-va* (Br.+), *s-yā-tam* (also *s-īyā-tam*); *s-yā-ma* (also *s-īyā-ma*), *s-yā-ta*, *s-yā-tana* (*s-īyā-tana*), *s-y-ur* (also *s-īy-ur*);

iptv. *e-dhi* (< **az-d^hi*), *ás-tu*, *s-ta* (AV+), *s-ántu*;

part. *s-ánt-* (m. nom. sg. *s-án*, n. *s-át*), f. *s-at-ī-*.

Mid., e.g. *bravⁱ-/brū-* ‘speak’ (**mléuH-/mluH-*):

ind. sg. 1st *bruv-é*, 2nd *brū-še*, 3rd *brū-té*; du. —, —, *bruv-áte*; pl. *brū-máhe* YSP+, —, *bruv-áte*;

ipf. sg. 3rd *a-brū-ta* AB III 21,2, pl. 3rd *a-bruv-ata*;

inj. sg. *sū-ta* ‘she brings birth’;

subj. sg. 1st *ānu-brav-ai* ŠB, 3rd *brav-ā-tai* (hyper-marked) MSP; du. 1st *brav-ā-vahai*, 3rd *brāv-aite*; pl. 1st *brāv-ā-mahai*, 3rd *ām-a-nta* (*amⁱ* ‘attack, swear’), *áy-a-nta* (with *sám*, *ay/i* ‘go’), *han-a-nta* (*han* ‘slay’);

opt. sg. 3rd *bruv-ī-ta*, pl. 1st *bruv-ī-mahi*;

iptv. sg. 2nd *brū-šva* Br.+; pl. 1st *brū-dhvam* YSP+; — **part.** *bruv-āná-*.

The original stem forms of PIE and PII are largely preserved, cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMANN 200–205: Av. *ah-mī*, OPers. *a(h)-mīy*, etc., Av. *mruii-ē*, etc.

The stems without ablaut are, e.g.: *vā-ti*, *vā-nti* ‘wind(s) blow(s)’ (YAv. *vānti*), *pā-ti*, *pānti* (*paH-ánti*), subj. *pāāt* (*pāH-a-t*) ‘guard’ (YAv. *pāti*, OAv. opt. *pāiīāt*), *sās-ti*, iptv. *sās-tu*, *sas-ántu* ‘sleep’ (OAv. *hahmī*).

3.4.2.2. [Ath. 1.1] Some presents show “stative” forms:²³⁴⁾

[1] With a full-grade root (cf. [Ath. 2]): **ind.** *sáy-e* ‘is lying’ RV–Br. (*śe-te* Br.+; cf. YAv. *saē-te*), 3rd pl. *śé-re* AV–Br., Sū. (YAv. *sōi-re*, *saē-re*), *śé-rate* AV+;

²³⁴⁾ Cf. OETTINGER “Der indogermanische Stativ” MSS 34 (1976) 109–149, GOTÖ “Überlegungen zum urindogermanischen «Stativ»” Coloquio Delbrück (1997[1998]) 165–192, KÜMMEL Stativ und Passivaorist im Indoiranischen (1996).

ipf. 3rd sg. *á-sáy-at* RV–Br. (*a-sé-ta* ŠB, Ep., cf. YAv. *saē-ta*), pl. *a-sé-ran* RV, *a-sé-rata* KS^p +; **iptv.** 3rd sg. *śáy-ām* AV (*śétām* AV ŠB); **part.** *śáy-āna-* RV+ (YAv. *saiiāna-*). YAv. *āṇh-ā're* ‘they are sitting’ is an archaic formation of this sort as opposed to Ved. *ās-ate* (< **h₁éh₁s-ṛtoḡ*), which belongs rather to the type [Ath. 2], cf. Hitt. *eša /ēša/* ‘is sitting, sits down’.²³⁵ Furthermore: *mah-e* ‘is ready, able’ RV VII 97,2 (cf. GOTÖ I. Präs. 242ff.), and patientive *stáv-e* ‘is [being] praised’.

[2] With a zero-grade root in patientive value *bruv-e* ‘is called (as)’ RV V 61,8. The root *dogh/doh/dugh/duh* ‘milk (a cow); give milk’ offers more forms (unmarked: RV+). (1) stative series: **ind.** 3rd sg. *duh-é*, pl. *duh-ré*, *duh-rate*; **ipf.** *á-duh-at*, *á-duh-a* MS^p (cf. n. 202); *á-duh-ran* AV+, *á-duh-ra* MS^p; **opt.** *duh-īy-át* RV, *duh-īy-án* RV; **iptv.** 3rd sg. *duh-ām* (cf. n. 203); pl. *duh-rām* AV, *duh-ratām* AV. — (2) normal type [Ath. 1]: ind. sg. 1st *duh-e* KS^m, 2nd *dhuk-še* AV, 3rd *dugdhe* Br. +; ipf. *a-dugdha*, *a-duh-ata* Br., opt. *duh-ī-tá*, subj. *dóh-a-te*; iptv. *dhuk-ṣva*, etc. Both series are used in the meaning ‘give milk’ as well as ‘milk (a cow) for oneself’. The stative series (1) *duh-é* etc. seems to have been properly the formation for the former meaning and the regular series (2) for the latter. The archaic forms of (1) were obviously preferred in Ved. and used in both meanings. The iptv. ending *-ām* corresponds to *-qm* in the iptv. of the passive aor. in OAv.

3.4.2.3. [Ath. 2] “NARTEN-presents” (NARTEN, Fs. Kuiper, 1968, 9–19 = Kl. Schr. 97–107) have an **acrodynamic** inflexion-scheme, differing from [Ath. 1], which is hysterodynamic:

Act. sg. ind. *stau-ṣi* < **stāu-si* ‘you praise’ (OAv. *stāu-mī*), *śās-si* ‘you order, instruct’ (with secondary *ss*); ipf. *a-śās-am*, *a-stau-t*; inj. *stau-t* (YAv. *stao-t*, cf. OAv. YAv. *tāš-t* ‘hews, fashions’); subj. *śās-a-s*, *śās-a-ti*, *śās-a-n*; iptv. *tādhi* (*takṣ* ‘hew, fashion’), *śā-dhi* (*śās*); **pl.** *tákṣ-ati*; ipf. *a-takṣ-ma*, *a-takṣ-tā*; **part.** *śās-at*, *tákṣ-at-ī*;

Mid. sg. ind. *ās-te* ‘is sitting’ (YAv. *ās-te*, cf. **3.4.2.2.**[1]), *cāṣ-te* ‘looks at, beholds’ (YAv. *caš-te*), *vás-te* ‘has on, is dressed in’ (YAv. *vas-te*), *śās-te*; inj. *vas-ta*; **pl.** ind. *śās-mahe*, *ās-ate*, *óh-ate* ‘regard’ (YAv. *aoj-d'te*), *vás-ate* (secondary *vas-até* AV, *vas-áte* AVP–Kashm. I 108,2), *śās-ate*; ipf. *a-śās-ata*; inj. *vas-ata*; subj. *ā-śās-ā-ntai* (hyper-marked) ŠB; **part.** *stáv-āna-*, *stav-āná-*, *ās-āná-* (YAv. *āṇh-āna-*), *óh-āna-* (YAv. *aoj-āna-*), *cákṣ-āṇa-* (YAv. ⁺*caš-āna-*), *vás-āna-* (YAv. *vaṇh-āna-*).

From Av. can be added: **act.** sg. opt. OAv. *sāh-ī-t* (< **kéHs-ih₁-t*), iptv. *sās-tū*, **part.** *stauu-at-*; **mid.** sg. ind. *aoj-ōi*, YAv. *aox-te*, *stao-tē*, inj./ipf. OAv. *aoj-ī*, *pa'rri-*

²³⁵ GOTÖ op. cit. 182 with bibliography.

aoy-žā, *aog²-dā*, YAv. *aox-ta*, *stao-ta*, subj. OAv. *aoj-āi*, YAv. *stauu-āne*, OAv. *šauu-āi* (**šiauy* ‘be in motion’, cf. *cyáv-āna-*). Levelling processes have occurred, e.g., 3rd pl. ind. *stuv-anti* AV, part. *stuv-ánt-*, opt. mid. *stuv-ī-tá*, *stuv-ī-mahi* following the normal type [Ath. 1], cf. YAv. ind. act. *stao-mi*, *stao-ⁱti*, mid. 1st sg. *stuii-e*; the mid. forms (used also in patient. meaning) have been shifted from the original full-grade stem into the thematic one [Th. 1.1]: *stáv-a-te*, *stáv-a-nte*, subj. *stáv-ai*.

3.4.2.4. [Ath. 3] **reduplicated stems** are inflected in the ind. and inj. amphidynamically, in the opt. hysterodynamically (cf. p. 95). The subj. has always the stem in the strong form. The iptv. shows a strong stem in the act. 3rd sg., sometimes also in other numbers and persons in the act., cf. p. 96 ff. The strong stem forms have the accent on the redupl. syllable, but it shifts sometimes to the root syllable analogically after the perfect. In the weak forms, the endings are accented.

Examples from the RV (*bí-bhar-/bi-bhṛ-/bi-bhr-* ‘bear’, *jí-gā-/jī-g(ī)-* ‘go’, *dā-dā-/da-d-* ‘give’, *dā-dhā-/da-dh-* ‘set, settle’, *yu-yó-/yu-yu-* ‘keep away’):

Act.: ind. *bíbhar-mi*, *bíbhar-ṣi*, *bíbhar-ti* (also *bibhár-ti*), *bibhṛ-thás*, *bibhṛ-tás*, *bibhṛ-mási*, *bibhṛ-thá*, *bibhr-ati*;

ipf. sg. *a-dadā-m*, *á-dadā-s*, *á-dadā-t*, *a-bibhar*, du. *a-dat-tam*, pl. 2nd *á-dat-tana*, *á-dadā-ta*, 3rd *á-dad-ur*, *a-bibhr-an* (X 28,8), *á-bibhar-ur*, *á-juhav-ur* ‘they made libation’;

inj. *dádā-s*, *jígā-t*, *yuyo-ma*;

subj. *dadhāni*, *yuyáv-at*, *yuyav-an*, secondary, “short-vowel subj.”²³⁶ *dád-a-s*, *dád-a-t*, *dád-h-a-n*;

opt. sg. *bibhṛ-yā-t*, du. 3rd *yuyu-yā-tām*;

iptv. sg. 2nd *de-hí*, *dad-dhí*, *dhe-hí*, *yuyo-dhí*, 3rd *dádā-tu*, *dád-hā-tu*, *yuyo-tu*; du. 2nd *yuyu-tám*, *yuyo-tam*, *dat-tam*, *dhat-tám*, 3rd *dat-tām*, *dhat-tām*; pl. 2nd *yuyó-tā/-tanā*, *dat-tá*, *dadā-tana*, *dhat-tá*, *dhat-tana*, *dád-hā-ta/-tana*, *-dhe-tana*, 3rd *dadh-atu*;

part. *bíbhr-at-*, f. *bíbhr-at-ī-*, *dád-at-*, f. *dád-at-ī-* ŚB.

Mid.: ind. *ā-dad-e*, *-dadh-é*, *...dhát-se*, *dhat-té*, *jihī-te* ‘moves, stirs (intrans.)’, du. *ā ...dád-vahe*, *dadh-āte*, *jih-āte*, pl. *ā ...dad-mahe*, *dád-h-ate*, *jih-ate*;

ipf. sg. *á-dat-thās* (*dhā*), *á-dhat-ta*, *ā-a-dat-ta*, *á-jihī-ta*, pl. *a-jih-ata*;

inj. *śíśī-ta* ‘sharpens’ (poss.-affect.), *jihī-ta*;

subj. *dád-h-a-se*, *dád-h-a-te*;

opt. *dád-h-ī-ta*, *dadh-ī-mahi*, *ā-dad-ī-mahi*, *dad-ī-ran* (with *prá*, *sám*);

²³⁶ In YAv.: *yaoz-daθ-ō*, OAv. *dad-a-t*, YAv. *daθ-a-t*, OAv. *dad-ə-n*, YAv. *daθ-ə-n*. The short-vowel subj. was produced after the proportion: [PII **Has-ā-ni*, **Has-ā-ma* :: **Has-a-t*] (Ved. *ás-ā-ni*, *ás-ā-ma* :: *ás-a-t*) = [**dadhāni* (*dadhāni*, YAv. *daθāni*), **dadhā-ma* :: *x* = **dadhā-t*]. Cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 29f. n. 5, 224 n. 6, 445 n. 14.

iptv. sg. *jihī-šva, jihī-tām*, du. 3rd *bibhṛ-tām, jihā-tām*, pl. *jih-atām*;
part. *dādḥ-āna-, dād-āna-* (simplex and *ā-*), *jih-āna-*.

This paradigm goes back largely to PII, but Av. preserves more authentic forms: 3rd pl. inj./ipf. act. OAv. *jīgər²z-at* ‘they complained’, *dad-at*, *da’dii-at* ‘they saw, regarded’ (: *dīdh-y-ur*), *zaz-at* ‘they left behind’ (: *jah-ur*) < **-nt*; opt. sg. act. YAv. *da’δ-ī-š*, OAv. *da’d-ī-t*, YAv. *da’δ-ī-t* < **dʰá-dʰh₁-ih₁-t* beside levelled YAv. *da’θ-iiā*, *da’δ-iiā-t*, *da’θ-iiā-t* like Ved. *bibhṛ-yā-t*, *dad-yā-t* AV. Cf. also n. 197, n. 200.

3.4.2.5. The **nasal presents** are inflected hysterodynamically. The PII paradigm is well preserved. On Av. counterparts cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 211–219.

[Ath. 4.1] The stems containing the **infix -na-/-n-**:

Act. ind. sg. *yu-ná-j-mi* ‘I yoke’, *yu-ná-k-ši*, *bhi-ná-t-ti* ‘splits’; pl. *a-ñ-j-mas* ‘we anoint’, *yu-ñ-j-ánti*;

ipf. 3rd sg. *á-bhi-na-t*, *ā-yu-na-k*; pl. *á-bhi-n-d-an*;

inj. sg. 2nd *pi-ná-k* (*peṣ/piṣ* ‘grind, crush’), 3rd *pi-ná-k*;

subj. *bhi-ná-d-a-s*, *yu-ná-j-a-t*, du. *ri-ná-c-āva* ‘we both will leave’, *a-ñ-j-a-tas* (for **a-na-j-a-tas*), pl. *yu-ná-j-a-n*;

opt. *bhi-n-d-yāt* AV (*bhed/bhid* ‘split’);

iptv. *chi-n-d-dhi*, *a-ñ-g-dhí*, *a-ná-k-tu*; *chi-n-_i-tam* AV, *sám... a-ñ-k-tām* VS TS^m; *yu-ná-k-ta*, *a-ná-k-tana*; *a-ñ-j-antu*;

part. *a-ñ-j-ánt-*, *yu-ñ-j-at-í-*.

Mid. ind. sg. *yu-ñ-j-é*, *yu-ñ-k-té*, du. 2nd *yu-ñ-j-āthe*, 3rd *tu-ñ-j-āte* ‘they press out each other’, pl. *a-ñ-g-dhvé*, *a-ñ-j-até/a-ñ-j-áte*, *yu-ñ-j-áte*;

ipf. pl. 3rd *a-yu-ñ-j-ata*;

inj. pl. 1st *yujmahe* < **yu-ñ-j-mahe* (HOFFMANN Aufs. 388), 3rd *vṛy-āñ-j-ata*, *yu-ñ-j-ata*;

subj. *yu-ná-j-a-te*, *bhu-ná-j-ā-mahai* ‘we will enjoy’;

opt. *pr-ñ-c-ī-tá* ‘he may make [his dominion] full’;

iptv. sg. *yu-ñ-k-šva*, *ā-a-ñ-k-šva* AV, du. 2nd *yu-ñ-j-āthām*, pl. 2nd *yu-ñ-g-dhvám*,

part. *a-ñ-j-āná-*.

[Ath. 4.2.1] Stems ending in **-nó-/-nu-** with the nasal infix:

Act. ind. *śṛ-ñó-ti* (**śṛ-ná-ū-ti*) ‘hears’, *śṛ-ñ-v-ánti*, **ipf.** *á-śṛ-ños*, **subj.** *śṛ-ñ-a- v-á-t*, *śṛ-ñ-a-v-ā-mā*; **opt.** *śṛ-ñ-u-yā-ma*; **iptv.** *śṛ-ñ-u*, *śṛ-ñ-u-dhi/-hí*, *śṛ-ñó-tu*, du. *śṛ-ñ-u-tám*, pl. 2nd *śṛ-ñó-ta*, *śṛ-ñ-u-tá*, *śṛ-ño-tana*, 3rd *śṛ-ñv-ántu*; **part.** *śṛ-ñ-v-ánt-*, *śṛ-ñ-v-añ-*.

Mid. ind. *śṛ-ñ-v-é*, *śṛ-ñ-u-te*, 3rd pl. with *r*-ending *śṛ-ñ-v-iré*; **iptv.** *śṛ-ñ-u-švá*.

[Ath. 4.2.2] With the suffix **-nó-/ -nu-**:

Act.: ind. sg. *kṛ-ṇó-ti* ‘makes’, pl. 1st: see below, 3rd *kṛ-ṇv-ánti*, *aś-nuv-ánti* ‘they obtain’;

ipf. sg. *á-kṛ-ṇo-t*, pl. 2nd *a-kṛ-ṇu-ta*, *a-kṛ-ṇo-ta*, *a-kṛ-ṇo-tana*, 3rd *á-kṛ-ṇv-an*;

inj. *ṛ-ṇo-s* ‘you move, push’, *ūr-ṇo-t* ‘encloses’, *ṛ-ṇv-an*;

subj. *kṛ-ṇav-ā*, *kṛ-ṇáv-a-t*, *kṛ-ṇáv-a-n*;

opt. *sa-nu-yām* ‘I want to win’, *sa-nu-yāma*;

iptv. sg. 2nd *kṛ-ṇu*, *kṛ-ṇu-hi*, 3rd *kṛ-ṇo-tu*, du. *kṛ-ṇu-tám*, pl. 2nd *kṛ-ṇó-ta*, *kṛ-ṇu-tá*, *kṛ-ṇó-tana*, 3rd *kṛ-ṇv-ántu*;

part. *kṛ-ṇv-ánt-*, *kṛ-ṇv-at-ī-*.

Mid.: ind. sg. *kṛ-ṇu-té*, pl. 1st: see below, 3rd *kṛ-ṇv-áte*, *ma-nv-até* (~ TB *ma-nv-áte*: *man* ‘think’, cf. n.219), *ma-nv-ire* AVP IV 39,1;

ipf. *á-kṛ-ṇu-ta*, *á-kṛ-ṇu-dhvam*, *á-kṛ-ṇv-ata*;

inj. *ta-nu-thās* ‘you spread yourself’, *ṛ-ṇu-tá*, *kṛ-ṇv-ata*, *ma-nv-ata*;

subj. *kṛ-ṇav-ai*, *kṛ-ṇáv-a-te*; *kṛ-ṇáv-ā-vahai*; *kṛ-ṇáv-ā-mahai*, *kṛ-ṇav-ante*, *kṛ-ṇáv-anta*;

opt. *kṛ-ṇv-ī-ta*;

iptv. *kṛ-ṇu-ṣvā*, *kṛ-ṇu-tām*, *kṛ-ṇu-dhvám*; — **part.** *kṛ-ṇv-āná-*.

Allegro-forms of the pres. of *kar/kṛ* have created a new set of stems *karó-/kuru-*: *karó-ti*, *kurv-ánti*, *kuru-té*, etc., attested from RV X on. Cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 575–588.

Some forms regularly show no *u*: 1st pl. act. *kṛṇmási* AV, *kṛṇmās* AV RVKh AVP (e.g. AVP-Or. VI 23,1) KS-variation^m, *hinmási*, *hinmas* ‘we impel’ AV, mid. *kṛṇmahe* RV AV AVP (*kṛṇumáhe* KS XXXV 12^m–KpS), *manmahe* RV+. This phenomenon goes back to the *-nuv-* forms instead of *-nv-* after a heavy syllable (SIEVERS), viz. after the proportion [*śaknu|vánti* ‘they can’ (attested in AV) :: *śak-nu|vas* (TS^p), *śaknu|mas* (ŚB)] = [*kṛṇ|vánti* :: *x* = *kṛṇvas**, *kṛṇmas(i)*], [*aśnu|vate* ‘they attain’ :: *kṛṇ|váte*, *man|vaté* ‘they think out’] = [*aśnu|mahe** :: *x* = *kṛṇmahe*, *manmahe*], see SEEBOLD Halbvokale 45, HOFFMANN Aufs. 585f. n. 21, cf. also Pāṇini VI 4,87.

Forms with “stative” endings are met remarkably often in this group, which does not to be the case in OIran.²³⁷⁾ in the patientive meaning: 3rd sg. *śṛ-ṇv-é* ‘is heard’, *hi-nv-é* ‘is impelled’, *su-nv-é* ‘is (being) pressed out’, *ā ... ṛ-nv-e* ‘is moved, pushed towards(?)’ V 74,5, 3rd pl. *i-nv-iré* ‘are urged on’ and *hi-nv-iré* side by side V 6,6, *vṛ-ṛ-ṇv-ire* X 25,5, *śṛ-ṇv-iré*, *su-nv-iré*; perhaps fientive: 3rd pl. *prá ... pi-nv-iré* ‘swell’ VIII 49 (Vāḷakh. 1),2; in AVP IV 39,1 *ma-nv-e* and *ma-nv-ire* ‘I

²³⁷⁾ On YAv. *ar²-nāuu-i* Y 9,3–13, cf. GOTÖ Akten Kraków (2009) 161f.: transferred (presumably from the OAv. pass.-aor. *-i*, cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 228) into the pres. in YAv.

am thinking of ...', 'they are thinking of' (?) as a parallel to AV IV 24,1 *manmahe* 'we are thinking' (2×).

[Ath. 4.3] Stems ending **-nā/-nī/-n-** originate from nasal-infix presents from roots ending in a laryngeal:

Act. ind. *gr̥bh-nā-ti* (*g^hr̥b^h-ná-H-ti) 'he grasps', *gr̥-nī-mási* 'we welcome (by singing)';

ipf. *a-gr̥bh-nā-t*, *á-ri-nī-ta* 'ye made drip asunder', *a-gr̥bh-n-an*;

inj. *kṣi-nā-m* (kṣayⁱ/kṣī 'destroy');

subj. *gr̥bh-nā-s*, *jā-nā-t*, *jā-nā-t*, *jā-n-án* (stem *jā-nā/-nī-* from the root *jñā* 'understand, recognise')²³⁸, *mi-n-an* (mayⁱ/mī 'damage, belittle');

opt. *pr̥-nī-yā-t* (parⁱ/pṛ 'give'), *gr̥bh-nī-yā-t* AV;

iptv. *jā-nī-hi*, *gr̥h-ā-ná* (from **gr̥bh-nā* + *-ná* with the loss of the first *-n-*; *-h-* is a younger form of *-bh-*), *ás-ā-na* 'eat' (*ás-nā-*), *gr̥h-nā-tu*, *jā-nī-ta*;

part. *jā-n-ánt-*, *jā-n-at-ī-*.

Mid. ind. *gr̥bh-n-e*, *gr̥-nī-sé*, *pu-nī-té* 'it becomes pure', with stative *-é*: *gr̥-né* 'he is welcome', *vṛ-nī-máhe* 'we choose', *gr̥bh-n-ate*, *pu-n-até*, *pu-n-áte* (AV), *ri-n-até*, *vṛ-nv-áte*, *badh-n-áte* 'bind for themselves';

ipf. *á-vṛ-n-i*, *á-vṛ-nī-ta*, *a-vṛ-nī-mahi*, *a-gr̥bh-n-ata*;

inj. sg. *hṛ-nī-thās* 'you are angry', *gr̥bh-nī-ta*, pl. *gr̥bh-n-ata*;

subj. *vī-krī-nā-vahai* 'let us both sell' YS^m, *jā-nā-mahai* 'let us understand' AV;

opt. *jā-nī-thās* RVKh, *vī ... str̥-nī-máhi* 'we want to spread out';

iptv. *vṛ-nī-ṣvá*, *hṛ-nī-tām*, *str̥-nī-tam*, *vṛ-nī-dhvám*, *jā-n-atām*;

part. *jā-n-áná-*, *gr̥bh-n-áná-* AV⁺, *sam-gr̥bhāná-* (with loss of *-n-*) MS^p.

In Av., no forms appear with *-nī-* < **-n-H-*, so that the stem alters in principle only between *-nā-* and *-n-*, e.g. YAv. *frī-nā-ti* 'pleases', OAv. *friiṇ-mahi* < **frī-n-mahi*, YAv. *frī-n-ənti*. Only thematic forms are attested in the Av. opt., e.g. OAv. *zara-naē-mā* 'we may not irritate, anger (you)' Y 28,9 (< **zər²-naē-mā*), YAv. *fra-or²-naē-ta* (*fra-var* 'choose'), cf. NARTEN MSS 41 (1982) 145 = Kl. Schr. 268.²³⁹

²³⁸ Instead of **ja(n)nā-* < **jñ-nā-*; cf. YAv. subj. *paⁱti.za-nā-t*, *auua.za-nq-n* with *ā*, and OAv. iptv, 2nd pl. *paⁱtī.zā-nā-tā*, OPers. ipf. 3rd sg. *a-dā-nā* with *ā*. The long *ā* may be due to the compensaion of the one dissimilated *n* (cf., however, n. 219 on *manu-té*) or have been introduced after a form such as **jā-tā-* (attested, however, Ved. *jñā-tā-*) < **ǵñhi-tó-* (Grk. γνω-τό-ς), like *krī-nā-ti* and *prī-nā-ti** (see below). Cf. MAYRHOFER EWAia I 601.

²³⁹ On the opt. *vidh-é-ma*, *van-é-ma*, OAv. *van-aē-mā* of the athemat. root-aor., cf. p. 95f.

The weak root-forms *krī* ‘buy, purchase’ and *prī* ‘please’ are restored in the case of *krī-ṇā-ti* and *prī-ṇā-ti** instead of **krī-ṇā-ti* < **k^wri-neh₂-*, **prī-ṇā-ti* < **pri-neH-*, probably by virtue of the verbal adj. *krī-tá-*, *prī-tá-*, or similar.²⁴⁰ The existence of historically correct forms is confirmed metrically, e.g. *prī-ṇ-anti* IX 74,4, part. *prī-ṇ-ānó* I 73,1, II 11,17, IV 3,14, VII 13,1, and also through Pāli *ki-ṇā-ti*. Cf. OLDENBERG Proleg. 477f., STRUNK Nasalprä. 123; cf. also above n. 238.

The verbs in this class have often a -yá- stem [Th. 2.5] beside them: *gr̥bh-ā-yá-ⁱⁱ* :: *gr̥bh-nā-*, *skabh-ā-yá-* :: *skabh-nā-*, *priy-ā-yá-* :: *prī-ṇā-*, *math-ā-yá-* :: *math-nā-*, etc., sometimes without counterpart in -nā-, e.g. *damā-yá-* ‘restrain’, *panā-yá-* ‘admire’. There are corresponding forms in OAv., YAv., and OPers. The formation is interpreted as an Indo-Iranian development extended with -yá-, as shown in the YAv. coexistence of *mitaiiatu* and *miθnatu* ‘let him/her rest’ (Y 10,1, SCHINDLER, orally): *mit-a-īia-tu* < **mit-ṇh₂-īé-tu* (with YAv./East-Iran. *-aiā-* < **-āīā-*), *miθ-na-tu* < **mit-né-h₂-tu* (with *θ* before a consonant, *ṇā-tu* after *īia-tu*).²⁴¹

3.5. aorist system

Aorist stems are inflected in the ind., inj., subj., opt., and iptv., and form part.s, theoretically in both act. and mid. of all categories. The ind. is restricted to the past. The sigmatic aorists have no act. forms in the opt., which is supplented from the athemat. root-aor.; also their mid. forms seem to be used only for their special meanings. On the opt. and the precativ, cf. above 3.3.3.: p. 93ff.

3.5.1. Athematic root-aorists have the full grade in the root in the act. inj., except in the 3rd pl.; the ind.s are made from the inj.s by adding the augment (*á-*). The modal stem for the subj. has a full-grade root and a thematic vowel. The opt. is formed from the zero-grade root with suffix -yá- (in the act. except in the 3rd pl.) or -ī- (in the 3rd pl. act. and all mid. forms; the endings are accented in subordinate sentences). On the “acrodynamic root-aor.” and the type *gaméma*, *vanéma* (OAv. *vanaēmā*), cf. p. 95f. The iptv.-stems are strong in the 3rd sg. act., pre-

²⁴⁰ However, *kṣi-ṇā-ti* (: *kṣī-nā-*), *jī-ṇā-ti* (: *jī-tá-*), *mī-ṇā-ti* (: *pra-mī-ta-*), *ri-ṇā-ti*, *ju-nā-ti* ‘hastens’ (: *jūt-á-*), *pu-nā-ti* (: *pū-tá-*), cf. also *si-nā-ti* (: *si-tá-*).

²⁴¹ Old titles on the -āya-formation are cited in GOTÖ III 31 (1988) 321 n. 5 (in addition: NARTEN III 4, 1960, 121). — *iraj-yá-ⁱⁱ* ‘conduct straight, lead’ might be interpreted in a similar way as a form extended with -īé- from a nasal-infix pres. [Ath. 4.1] **h₃r-n-ḡ-* (cf. themat. *r-ñ-j-á-* ‘stretch oneself out, move in a straight way’): **h₃r-n-ḡ-īé-* (with restored *r*) or **h₃r-n-ḡ-īé-*, cf. PETERS Sprache 32 (1986[1988]) 372; cf. denominative (p. 132 with n. 292).

dominantly also in the dual and plural in the act., cf. 3.3.4.: p.96ff. These schemes are of PII origin.

An old exception in ablaut is *á-bhū-t*, *bhū-t* from *bhavⁱ/bhū/*b^huā* ‘come into being, become’, cf. Grk. *ἐφύ*; and analogically after this *a-sū-t* ‘she has just given birth’ (MS^m).²⁴² — From the RV (*kar-*, *gam-* with analogic *k* and *g* resp.):

Act. ind. sg. *á-sthā-m* ‘I have just settled myself, stood’, *á-gam-am* ‘I have gone’, *á-kar-am* ‘I have made’, 2nd *á-sthā-s*, *á-gan*, *a-kar*, *á-bhū-s*, 3rd *á-dhā-t* (OPers. *adā*), *á-gan*, *á-kar*, *á-bhū-t*; **du.** *á-bhū-tam*, *á-bhū-tām*; **pl.** *á-gan-ma*, *á-kar-ma* (cf. OPers. *a-ku-mā*), *á-bhū-ma*, *á-kar-ta*, *á-gā-ta* ‘ye have just stridden, gone’, *á-bhū-ta*, *á-gm-an*, *á-kr-an*, *á-bhūv-an* (with secondary *ū*), with the **r-end-ing** in the case of the roots in *-ā*: *á-sth-ur*, *á-gur*, and in the ablautless *a-kram-ur*;

inj. sg. *sthā-m*, *gam-am*, *ar-am* ‘I move, push myself’ (cf. OAv. ind. *āar-əm*), *kar-am*, *darś-am* ‘I see’ (OAv. *darś-s-əm*), 2nd *dā-s* ‘you give’, *dhā-s* ‘you set, settle’ (OAv. *dā*, *dā-s-cā*), *kar*, 3rd *dā-t*, *dhā-t* (OAv. *dāt*), *gan* (OAv. *jān*), *kar* (OAv. *cōr-āt*); **du.** *dā-tam*, *dhā-tam*, with primary ending (HOFFMANN Inj. 111): *bhū-thās*, *bhū-tas*; **pl.** *gam-ma*, *kar-ma*, *gan-tana*, *sthā-ta* (cf. OAv. *dā-tā*), *gm-an* (OAv. *g^mmān*), *kr-an*, *drś-an*, with the **r-ending**: *kram-ur*, *d-ūr*, *dh-ūr* (cf. OAv. *dān*), *sth-ur*;

subj. sg. *gam-ā-ni* (cf. OAv. *jim-ā*), *yój-ā* ‘I will yoke’ (OAv. *yaoj-ā*), *gam-a-s*, *dā-s* (cf. OAv. *dā-hī*), *gām-a-t* (OAv. *jim-a-t*), *dā-ti*, *dā-t*, *dhā-ti*, *dhā-t* (OAv. *dā-ā-ti*, *dā-ā-t*), *bhūv-a-t* (OAv. *buu-a-t*); **du.** 2nd *gam-a-thas*, *sthātas*; **pl.** *gam-ā-ma* (OAv. *jim-ā-ma*), *dhā-ā-ma* (OAv. *dā-ā-mā*), *gām-a-nti*, *gām-a-n* (OAv. *jim-ān*), *bhūv-an* (YAv. *bun* < **būu-ən*);

opt. sg. 1st (remodelled from the acrodyn. opt., e.g. **d^hajjam/*d^hajjam* < **d^héh₁-ih₁-m*) *deyām* (*dey_aām*: /*dajja-am*/ or /*dajji-am*/, from *dā* ‘give’), *dheyām* (*dhey_aām*: *dhā* ‘set, settle’), see p. 95; cf. OAv. hystero-dyn. (regular) *dū_aqm* < **d^hH-jaH-am*; (precative [cf. p. 94]) *bhū-yās-am*; 2nd *gam-yā-s* (OAv. YAv. *jam-iiā*), *bhū-yās* (YAv. *bu-iiā*); 3rd (prec. [cf. p. 95]) *jñe-yās* (*jñā* ‘understand’), *pe-yās* (*pā* ‘drink’), *gam-yās*, *bhū-yās* (cf. OAv. *jam-iiā-t*, OPers. *ā-jam-iyā*, OAv. *d-iiā-t*/ *dā-iiā-t*, YAv. *bu-iiā-t*); **du.** *yuj-yā-va*, *yuj-yā-tām*; **pl.** *kri-yā-ma*, *bhū-yā-ma* (OAv. *bu-iiā-mā*, YAv. *bu-iiā-ma*), *sthe-yā-ma*, (prec.) *kri-yās-ma*; *aś-y-ur* (*naś/aś* ‘attain’), *dhey-ur*, cf. YAv. *jam-iiān*, *jam-iiā²ś*, *bu-iiān*, *bu-iiā²ś*; on the “autonomous” them. forms *gamey-am*, *gamé-ma*, and acrodyn. *vi-dhé-ma*, cf. p. 95f;

iptv.²⁴³ **sg.** *kr_i-dhī*, *ga-dhi/ga-hi* (OAv. *ga-ⁱdī*), *yan-dhī*, *pā-hī*, *gan-tu* (OAv. *jan-tū*) *dhā-tu* (OAv. *dā-tū*), *śró-tu* (OAv. *srao-tū*); **pl.** *dhā-ta* (OAv. *dā-tā*), *dhā-*

²⁴² Cf. n. 274, n. 140, in addition, McCONE The Indo-European Origins (1991) 115ff. [On OLat. subj. *fuat*, Lat. ipf. *-bā-*, cf. GIPPERT Fs. Meid (1999) 125–137.]

²⁴³ Cf. Inj. forms in the hortative function, e.g., 2nd sg. *dhā-s* (often), *dā-s* (often), *gā-s* (e.g. VII 62,2), *sthā-s* (VI 24,9); 3rd sg. *dhā-t* (often), *dā-t* (VII 97,4), *kar* (I 186,5, IV

tana, *kár-ta/kár-tana/kṛ-ta*, *gán-ta/gán-tana/ga-ta*, *śrótā/śrutā* (OAv. *srao-tā*), *dhā-ntu*, *śruv-antu* (cf. OAv. *sc-aṇtū* from *hac* ‘follow, be in company of’), *gam-a-ntu* (from the subj.-stem);

part. *kr-ánt-*, *gm-ánt-*, *sthánt-*, *pánt-/paánt-* (cf. OAv. *d-aṇt-*).

Mid. ind. sg. 1st *a-kr-i*, *a-jan-i*, 2nd *á-kr-thās*, *á-sthi-thās*, 3rd *a-kr-ta* (OPers. *aku-tā*), *á-ma-ta* (*man* ‘think’, cf. OAv. *a-cis-tā* ‘has taught’), with ending *-at*: *á-d-at* (cf. n. 202), therefrom *á-d-am*, *á-d-as*; **du.** *abhy-àdhūtām*(?) X 4,6 (instead of **a-dh-ātām*), cf. OAv. *a-sruu-ātām*; **pl.** *á-gan-mahi*, *á-dhī-mahi*, *á-ci-dhvam* (*cay/ci* ‘note’), cf. OAv. *a-srū-dūm*, 3rd (with *-ata* :: inj. *-anta*, cf. p. 90) *á-kr-ata*, *á-gm-ata*, *a-juṣ-ran* I 71,1, *á-yuj-ran*, *á-viś-ran* VIII 27,12, *á-sthi-ran* (6×), *a-sprdh-ran*, (on *-ran*, *-ram*, cf. p. 119; NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 24f.; for *a-yuk-ṣ-ata* cf. p. 114);

inj. sg. 2nd *mṛ-thās* (*mar/mṛ* ‘die’), *mṛṣ-ṭhās* (*marsṣ/mṛṣ* ‘forget’), with the primary ending *dhiṣe* I 56,6; 70,9, X 21,3, cf. OAv. with full-grade root *dā-ñhā* < **d^hā-sa*, *māñghā* < **man-sa*; 3rd *abhi-vik-ta* (*vej/vij* ‘dart up’), *prá ... vṛ-ta* (*varⁱ/vṛ* ‘choose’, OAv. with the full-grade root *var^a-tā*, *fra-uuar^a-tā*), *ar-ta* (*ar/r* ‘set oneself in motion’, with the full-grade root), cf. OAv. *gūṣ-tā* ‘heard’, *cis-tā* ‘taught’, YAv. *srī-ta* (**sraṇ/sri* ‘lean’), with the full-grade root OAv. *mañ-tā* ‘thought’, *dā-tā*, *apa-īan-tā* (*yam* ‘hold’); **du.** 1st *gan-vahi*, cf. OAv. *d-uuaⁱdī* < **d^hH-ṷad^hi*; **pl.** 1st cf. OAv. *var^a-maⁱdī*, 3rd (with *-anta* :: ind. *-ata*, cf. OAv. *vī-śīi-ātā* < **ui-čī-ata* ‘distinguish’ probably as a general inj., cf. p. 90) *kr-anta*, *juṣ-anta*, *budh-ānta*, *mṛṣ-anta*, *yuj-anta*²⁴⁴);

subj. sg. *mán-ai* (OAv. *mān-āi-cā*), *mar-ai*, cf. OAv. *yaož-d-ānē*, YAv. *fra-uuar-āne*; *kár-a-se*, cf. OAv. *dāñ-hē*; *kár-a-te*, *yam-a-te* (OAv. *ā ... [a]yam-a-ītē* Y 31,13), cf. OAv. *cōiθ-a-ītē*, *dā-ī-ītē*, YAv. *yaož-dā-īte*; **du.** 2nd *dhēthe*, *dhaithē*, 3rd cf. OAv. *jamaētē*; **pl.** 1st *dhā-mahe*, *kár-ā-mahe*, *gám-ā-mahai*; 2nd cf. OAv. *d-a-duuiē* (short-vocalic **d^hH-a-d^huaj* or **dā-duuiē* < **d^haH-a-d^huaj* Y 46,15); 3rd *vár-a-nte*, *vár-a-nta* (*var/vṛ* ‘cover, enclose’), cf. OAv. *frārēntē* < **pra-ar-a-ntaj*, *dā-ā-ntē*, *yaoj-a-ntē*, *vaxš-ə-ntē* (*vaxš/uxš* ‘make grow’);

opt. sg. 1st *aś-ī-ya* (< **Hṇk-ih₁-h₂e*, *naś* ‘attain’), *mur-ī-ya* (instead of **mrīya*: < **mrīya* or **mār-īya* preserving vocalic **r?*, *mar/mṛ* ‘die’), cf. OAv. *d-ii-ā* < **d-ij-a* < **d^hh₁-ih₁-h₂e*; 2nd cf. OAv. *d-ī-šā* < **d^hh₁-ih₁-so*; 3rd *ar-ī-ta* (with the full-grade root), *uh-ī-ta* (*vah* ‘transport’), *vur-ī-ta* (*varⁱ/vṛ* ‘choose’), cf. OAv. *dr-ī-tā* < **d^hr-ih₁-to*; **pl.** *dhīmahi* (*dhā*)²⁴⁵ *aś/naś-ī-māhi*, *yam-ī-mahi*, cf. OAv. *maⁱn-i-maⁱdī*, *vaⁱr-i-maⁱdī*,

21,10), *gā-t* (II 33,14; 38,11), pl. *dh-ur* (several times), *d-ur* (X 161,4), *g-ur* (IV 37,2), see HOFFMANN Inj. 261 ff., 264. Cf. p. 98, 118, n. 246, n. 248 f., n. 253, n. 259 ff.

²⁴⁴ The only exception *yujata* V 52,8 seems to be a metrically conditioned nonce form, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 362 n. 11. Cf. p. 90.

²⁴⁵ Cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 254 n. 286, MSS 22 (1967) 25 = Aufs. 483 f.

iptv.²⁴⁶ **sg.** *kṛ-ṣvā* (OAv. *kər²-šuuā*, OPers. *ku-šuvā*), *dhi-ṣvā* (cf. OAv. *dā-huuā*), *yuk-ṣvā*; **pl.** *kṛ-dhvam*;

part. *kr-ānā-*, *idh-ānā-*, *dṛś-ānā-*, *dṛś-āna-*, *yuj-ānā-*, *ar-ānā-* (with the full-grade root); cf. YAv. *yazāna-*, *starāna-* ‘scattering, spreading out’, *sraiiāna-*.

3.5.2. Thematic root-aorists²⁴⁷ have a zero-grade root (predominantly in the shape of *CiC*, *CuC*, *CṛC*, *CaC*, and *CR* from *CRā*) and the accented suffix *-á-* in the unaugmented forms, just as in the present [Th. 1.2]. The stem *vid-á-* ‘find, gain’ is one of the rare formations which go back to PIE, and is attested in Ved. in many and various forms, cf. OAv. *vīd-a-t*, Grk. *εἶδ-ε* ‘saw’, Arm. *eg-i-t* ‘found’: < **uid-é-*; furthermore, Ved. *á-ruh-a-t* ‘has (just) ascended’, Hom. *ἦ-λνθ-ε*, OIr. *lui-d* ‘went’ < **h₁lud^h-e-*. Many stems have their origin presumably in thematisation from the athemat. root-aor. at some stage of the language:

Act. ind. sg. *á-vid-a-m*, *-a-s*, *-a-t*, **pl.** *á-vid-ā-ma*, *á-vid-a-ta*, *-a-n*;

inj. sg. *vid-a-m*, *khy-a-m* (*khyā* ‘behold, regard’); *vid-a-s*, *khy-a-s* (cf. OAv. *ā-xs-ō*); *vid-á-t* (OAv. *vīd-a-t*), *tákṣ-a-t* (*takṣ* ‘hew, fashion’, OAv. *taš-a-t* [or *taš-a-t*]), *ruh-á-t/ruh-a-t* (*roh/ruh* ‘grow’), *śís-a-t* (*śās/śis* ‘order, instruct’); **pl.** *khy-á-ta*; *vid-a-n*, *khy-á-n*;

subj. sg. *ruh-á-m* VIII 1,31 (*roh/ruh* ‘ascend, mount’, cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 247f.), cf. OAv. *han_aānt* (*han-a-* = Ved. *san-á/sán-a-* ‘conquer’); *vid-á-si*, *vid-á-s*, cf. OAv. *frā* (**pr-a-*, *par* ‘pass over’); *muc-ā-ti* (*moc/muc* ‘release’), *vidh-ā-ti* (OAv. *vīd-ā-ti*, *vidh* ‘arrange, serve, worship’), cf. YAv. *sriš-ā-ti* (*sriš-a-* = Ved. *śriṣ-a-* ‘cling’), *vid-á-t* (OAv. *vīd-ā-t*); **pl.** *ruh-á-va*, *vid-á-thas*, *tákṣ-ā-ma*, *vid-ā-tha*;

opt. sg. *san-éy-am* (*sanⁱ* ‘conquer’), *san-e-t*, cf. OAv. *sīš-ōi-t* (Ved. *śiṣ-a-* ‘order, instruct’); **pl.** *sán-e-ma/san-é-ma* (OAv. *han-aē-mā*), *ruh-e-mā* (‘ascend’), cf. OAv. *ap-aē-mā* (cf. Ved. *āp-a-* ‘attain, reach’), on *vi-dhéma*, cf. p. 95f.;

iptv.²⁴⁸ **sg.** *muc-a*, *sád-a* (cf. OAv. *vīdā*, *sīšā*), *sád-a-tu*; **pl.** *sád-a-ta*, *sad-a-tana*, *sád-a-ntu*;

part. *vid-á-nt-*, *vidh-á-nt-* (OAv. *vīd-a-nt-*), *sán-a-nt-* (OAv. *han-a-nt-*); *vid-a-nt-ē*.

Mid. ind. sg. *á-hv-e* (*hvā* ‘call’), *a-khy-a-ta*; **pl.** *a-hv-a-nta*;

inj. pl. *śiṣ-ā-mahi*, *vid-á-nta*, perhaps *ar-a-nta* with the full-grade root (: pres. *r-cchā-ti* ‘come upon, get in, meet’), cf. OAv. *xš-ē-ntā* (Ved. *kṣā* ‘rule’);

²⁴⁶ Hortative Inj. *aṣ-ta* (*naś/aś* ‘attain’) VII 84,5 = 85,5 (HOFFMANN Inj. 264). Cf. n. 243.

²⁴⁷ Cf. G. CARDONA The Ino-European Thematic Aorists, 1960.

²⁴⁸ The inj.s are applied partly in the hortative function: sg. 2nd *sad-a-s* (several times), *khy-a-s* (VIII 65,9), 3rd *ruh-a-t* (V 36,2, IX 40,2), *sad-a-t* (III 13,1), cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 263f. Cf. n. 243.

subj. sg. 1st cf. OAv. *xs-a-āi* (*xsā* ‘behold’, OIA *khyā*); 3rd *juṣ-ā-te* (*joṣ/juṣ* ‘be fond of, enjoy’), *muc-ā-te*; pl. *sic-ā-mahe* (*sec/sic* ‘pour out’);

opt. sg. 2nd cf. YAv. *xš-aē-ša*, *han-aē-ša*; 3rd *juṣ-é-ta*, cf. OAv. *xš-aē-tā*; pl. *vidh-e-mahi* (cf. act. *vi-dhéma*), *juṣ-e-rata*;

iptv. 249) sg. 2nd *juṣ-á-sva*, 3rd *juṣ-á-tām*; pl. 2nd *juṣ-á-dhvam*, *muc-a-dhvam*, 3rd *juṣ-á-ntām*, *sad-a-ntām* AV (cf. OAv. *xš-ē-ntqm*);

part. *guh-á-māna-* (*goh/guh* ‘hide’), *jás-a-māna-* ‘languishing, hungry’, *dás-a-māna-* ‘id.’.

Forms secondarily thematised in Ved. are, e.g. *mā kar-a-t* in the RV and *kar-a-* (*á-kar-a-m*, *-a-s*, *-a-t*) AV+, *gam-a-* RV X+ (cf. p. 96).

3.5.3. The main body of **reduplicated aorists**²⁵⁰⁾ consists of forms with zero-grade root and long reduplicated syllable with *i/ī* or *u/ū*, inflected thematically and functioning as the aor. of the caus. (**3.7.4.**: p. 127ff.) or other factitive pres.; this type is productive also in the later language: inj. in the RV, e.g., 3rd sg. act. *jī-jan-a-t*, 3rd pl. mid. *jī-jan-a-nta* (: *jan-áya*-^{ti/te} ‘beget’); 1st sg. act. *cu-krudh-a-m*, pl. *cu-krudh-ā-ma* (: *krodh-áya*-^{ti} ‘make angry’); 2nd sg. *rī-radh-a-s*, 3rd sg. *-t*, 2nd du. *-tam*, 2nd pl. *-ta* (: *randh-áya*-^{ti} ‘subdue’); 2nd sg. mid. *mā vi-bī-bhiṣ-a-thās* (: *bhīṣ-áya-māna-* ŚB, etc. ‘frighten’). No part. forms seem to be attested. There are also forms with *p* of the caus.-suffix *-p-áya-*: *mā ci-kṣi-p-a-s* (: *kṣā-p-áya*-^{ti} ‘make burn’ AV), *á-ti-ṣṭhi-p-a-t*, *mā sám-ti-ṣṭhi-p-a-s*, *mā á-ti-ṣṭhi-p-a-t* (: *sthā-p-aya-* ‘make stay’), *mā áva-jī-hi-p-a-s* ‘lest you make [us] go astray’ (: *hā-p-aya*-^{ti}, caus. of *jī-hī-te* ‘moves, stirs’ AV).

Athematic stems are attested under similar circumstances, too, often with a full grade of the root: **act. ind.** 2nd 3rd sg. *a-jī-gar* (*jār-áya*-^{ti} ‘wake’), 3rd sg. *á-śi-śre-t* (: *śráy-a*-^{ti} ‘make lean’ :: *śráy-a*-^{te} ‘lean’; cf. also **3.6.3.**: p. 122; also an athemat. root-aor. *á-śre-t* appears in the meaning of ‘has made lean’), *á-pu-po-t* (: *pu-nā*-^{ti} ‘purify’, with a short redupl. syllable), 3rd pl. *á-śi-śray-ur*; — **inj.** 2nd 3rd sg. *dī-dhar*, **subj.** *dī-dhar-a-s*, *dī-dhar-a-t* (: *dhār-áya*-^{ti} ‘hold, support’) beside **ind.** *a-dī-dhar-a-t*, **inj.** *dī-dhar-a-t*; — **subj.** *jū-juv-a-t* (: *ju-nā*-^{ti} ‘impel’), *pī-par-a-t* (: *pār-áya*-^{ti} ‘carry over’); — **opt. mid.** 1st pl. *cu-cyuv-ī-mahi*, 3rd pl. *cu-cyav-ī-rata* (only VIII 9,8,9 with *ā*: *cyāv-áya*-^{te} ‘agitate [something towards oneself]’); — **ind.** *a-śi-śnat*, **subj.** *śi-śnath-a-s*, *-t* beside **themat. inj.** *śi-śnath-a-t* (: *śnath-áya*-^{ti} ‘pierce’); — **subj.** *śi-śrath-a-t* beside **themat. inj.** *śi-śrath-a-s* (: *śrath-áya*-^{ti}

249) Inj. 3rd sg. *juṣ-a-ta* and pl. *juṣ-a-nta* are attested well in the hortative function, as opposed to the rare iptv. forms: *juṣ-á-tām* (only X 165,2) and *juṣ-a-ntām* (3×), cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 264. Cf. n. 243.

250) Cf. J. BENDAHMAN Der reduplizierte Aorist, 1993.

‘loosen’); — from the root *vart/vrt* ‘turn’ (: *vart-áya* ‘make someone/something turn, turn [trans.]’).²⁵¹⁾ **act. opt.** (*á-/...*) *va-vrt-yā-m*, *-yā-s*, *-yā-t*, *-yā-ma*, *-y-ur*, **subj.** (*á-/...*) *va-várt-a-ti*, *-t*, **iptv.** (*á-/...*) *va-vrt-tana*, **mid. ind.** (*á*, *ví...*, *sám...*) *a-va-vrt-ran*, *a-va-vrt-ranta*, after them 3rd sg. *a-va-vart-i* (in the RV *sam-á*), **opt.** (*á-/...*) *va-vrt-ī-ya*, *-ī-ta*, *-ī-mahi*, **act. themat. inj.** *va-vrt-a-t*; cf. *a-vī-vrt-a-t* X 174,3.

The stem *va-vrt-* in this type reminds us of Hom. *πε-πιθ-εῖν* ‘persuade’ (:: *πειθω*). Some factor for producing the factitive redupl. aor., therefore, could have existed in PIE. However, a system such as [aor. with long syllable reduplication with *-i/ī-* or *-u/ū-* :: caus. *-áya-*] is built only in OIA, where the themat. redupl. aor. in factitive meaning is very productive. In Iran., only two stems are known, both in intrans. meaning: OAv. YAv. *vaoc-a-* ‘speak’ (PIE formation), OAv. *nqs-a-* ‘perish, disappear’. KÜMMEL Perf. interprets the modal forms of *va-vrt-* as perf. (88, 466ff.), and supposes perf. origins for some verbs in this group.

The inherited *vóc-/vóc-a-* (< **ue-uk^w-[e]-*,²⁵²⁾ cf. Gr. *εἰπ-[ε]-* < **ue-ik^w-[e]-*, dissimilated < **ue-uk^w-[e]-*) from the root *vac/uc* ‘speak’ is well attested in many forms, also in the later language and MIA; in the RV:

Act. ind. *a-voc-a-m*, *á-voc-a-t*, *-ā-ma*, *-a-n*;

inj. *voc-a-m* (YAv. *fra-uuaoc-ə-m*), *vóc-a-s* (OAv. *vaoc-a-s-cā*, YAv. *vaoc-ō*), *vóc-a-t* (OAv. YAv. *vaoc-a-t*); *voc-ā-ma* (OAv. *ā-uuaoc-ā-mā*), *voc-a-ta*, *voc-a-n*;

subj. *voc-ā* (OAv. **vaoc-ā* in *vaoca-cā*), *voc-ā-ti* (1×; OAv. *vaoc-ā-t*, YAv. *vaoc-ā-t*), *voc-ā-ma* (OAv. *fra-uuaoc-ā-mā*, YAv. *vaoc-ā-ma*), **athemat.** *vóc-a-ti* (5×);

opt. *voc-éy-am*, *voc-é-s*, *voc-e-tam*, *voc-é-ma* (OAv. *vaoc-ōi-mā-cā*), *voc-éy-ur*;

iptv.²⁵³⁾ *voc-ā* (OAv. *vaoc-ā*); *voc-a-tu*, *voc-a-tam*, *voc-at-ā* (YAv. *vaoc-a-ta*).

Mid. ind. *ávoc-a-ta*, **inj.** *voc-e*, **subj.** *voc-ā-vahai*, *vóc-a-nta*, **opt.** *voc-e-ya*, *-e-mahi*.

There are formations which pair with an intransitive or iterative pres., predominantly with the zero-grade root syllable: *neś-a-t* (: *nás-ya^{ti}* ‘perish, disappear’ :: *nāś-áya^{ti}* with the factitive redupl.-aor. *a-nī-nas-á-t*); *a-pa-pt-a-t*, *-a-n*, *pa-pt-a-s*, *pa-pt-a-tā*, *pá-pt-a-n* (: iterative *pat-áya^{ti}* ‘fly’); athematic *á-du-dro-t*, **subj.** *du-dráv-a-t* (: *dráv-^{a^{ti}}*, *drav-aya-nta* ‘run, rush’); themat. and athemat. side by side: **inj.** *ta-tán-a-t*, **subj.** *ta-tan-a-s* (< **te-tṇh₂-e-t*. *stan-áya^{ti}* < **stṇh₂-éje-* or **stonh₂-éje-* ‘thunder’).

²⁵¹⁾ Cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 589–592.

²⁵²⁾ On the basis of Ved. **subj.** *vóc-a-ti* and the Grk. *α*-thematic inflexion, e.g., Ion. *εἰπ-α*, one supposes the athemat. stem as original, cf. SCHWYZER 745, RIX 216, BENDAHMAN 40f.

²⁵³⁾ *voc-ā* is attested only in I 132,1, whereas OAv. *vaoc-ā* 7×; *voc-a-tu* only III 54,19. The **Inj.** *voc-a-s* is used many times in hortative function, thus also 3rd sg. *voc-a-t* (3×). Cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 263f. Cf. n. 243.

The vocalism of *neś-a-* is that of the analogic weak stem in the perf. of roots in *CaC* (*vi... neś-ur* BĀU, 3rd sg. *na-nā-śa* RV, cf. 3.6.1.: p. 119f.); the counterpart in Iran., where no such analogic development in the perf. is known, shows naturally an original stem form **na-né-a-*: OAv. *nq-sa-t*, *a-nq-sa-t* Y 53,6,7. The stem form *neś-a-* points, in any case, to an affinity with the perf., cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 64f.

3.5.4. Sigmatic aorists²⁵⁴) consist of the [1] *-s-* and [2] *-iṣ-* aor., and only secondarily [3] *-siṣ-* and [4] *-sa-* aorists. Their inflexional pattern is acrodynamic, with the long-grade root in the act., and full-grade root in the mid. in the ind./inj.; the rest moods (subj., opt., iptv.) are built from the full-grade roots. The *-iṣ-* aor. is only a variation of the *-s-* aor. in the case of *seṭ* roots, i.e. roots ending in a laryngeal, which appears as *-i-*. If a root ends with *-ā* or *-ī* (*-ayⁱ*), however, its sigmat. aor. appears on phonological grounds as a simple *-s-* aor.: *-ā-s-* or *-ai-ṣ-/e-ṣ-* respectively. Iran. has no *-iṣ-* aor., because the laryngeal has been lost in this environment. The stems are marked as aorists by the *-s-* and, accordingly, expected to be built to “present roots”. Nevertheless, we find among the older formations only a few stems built to roots having strictly durative *Aktionsart*, i.e., roots showing athemat. root-presents. Further investigations are needed on the mechanism of aspect stem formation and its relationship to suppletion. On the frequently observed coexistence of sigmat. aor.s with full-grade themat. root pres., cf. GOTÖ I. Präs. 63.

PIE formations are found, e.g. in **dēḱ-s-/deḱ-s-* (**deḱ* ‘point out’) in Grk. *ἔ-δειξ-α*, Lat. *dēx-ī*, Av. *dāiš-* (e.g., OAv. 2nd sg. inj. *dāiš* < **dāḱ-ṣ-s-*), **ueḡ^h-s-/ueḡ^h-s-* (*ueḡ^h* ‘carry, transport’) in Cyprian *ἔ-φεῖ-ε*, Lat. *uēx-ī*, Ved. *vāḱs-*.

The **part.** is extremely rare; the most certain forms we know of being: *dhákṣat-/dákṣat-* (*dagh/dah* ‘burn’, 4×) and *prá-sakṣat-* (*sah* ‘overpower’, n. 125) – cf. also n. 279 –, and in YAv., *maṇ-h-āna-* and *mar^x-ṣ-āna-* (n. 258).

The homonymous 2nd and 3rd sg. **a-yā-s* (attested *a-yā-s-am*, *a-yā-s-ur*) from the pres. root *yā*, *yā-ti* was differentiated into **a-yās-īs* and *a-yās-īt* (RV). This change also served to distinguish them from the ipf. *a-yā-s*. From **a-yās-īs*, *a-yās-īt*, then, *a-yās-iṣ-am*, *a-yās-iṣ-ur*, etc. are formed in the RV (*-ī-* as in the *-iṣ-* aor.). Thus, the way has been opened for the ***-siṣ-* aor.** The *-siṣ-* aor. is attested in the RV only from *yā* (both ‘travel’ and ‘beg’) and *gā* ‘sing’, and later from 8 more roots ending in *-ā*; secondarily, according to Pāṇ VII 2,73, also from *yam*, *ram*, *nam*; attested *upānaṁsīt* VādhAnvākh II 2. Cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 73, 159.

The extension of **a-yā-s* to 2nd **a-yā-s-īs* and 3rd *a-yā-s-īt* is owing to the proportion [athemat. root-aor. *a-kramⁱ-am*, *a-kramⁱ-ur* :: *a-kramⁱ-s*, *-t*] = [*a-yās-am*,

²⁵⁴) Cf. Johanna NARTEN Die sigmatischen Aoriste im Veda, Wiesbaden 1967.

a-yās-ur :: *x*]. This formation has become standard after the RV, where the endings of the 2nd and 3rd sg. act. are in the *-s-* aor. *-sīs*, *-sīt*, and in the *-iṣ-* aor. *-īs*, *-īt*.

Forms of the athemat. root-aor. such as *a-kramⁱ-am*, *°mī-s*, *°mī-t*, *°mⁱ-ur* (*kramⁱ* ‘stride, step’) have been reshaped into *-iṣ-* forms: *a-kram-iṣ-am/a-kram-ī-m*, *a-kram-ī-s*, *°m-ī-t*, *°m-iṣ-ṭam*. The ablaut-grade of the root reveals their origin. This is also the case with *-s-* aor. forms such as 1st sg. mid. *ā-vṛk-ṣ-i* (*varj/vṛj* ‘twist, wrench off’), which is due to the reinterpretation of athemat. *a-vṛk-ta* (beside *vark*, *a-vṛj-an* etc.) as **a-vṛk-ṣ-ṭa* > *a-vṛk-ta*. Athemat. root-aor.s from *aniṭ* roots, e.g. *ā-tan*, *ā-tn-ata* (*tan* ‘stretch’) have been reformed into more explicit *a-tān* in the RV, and further *-s-* aor. forms are created later.

The correctly formed *-s-* aor. 3rd pl. mid. *a-dhuk-ṣ-ata* ‘they have milked out’ (*nīr-adhukṣata* RV IX 110,8, *ādhuḥṣata* MS^p) reminds us of *a-yuk-ṣ-ata*, which was remodelled with *-ṣ-ata* from the athemat. root-aor. **a-yuj-ata* (NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 25: “sehr früh aus rhythmischen Gründen umgebaut”), cf. inj. *yuj-anta*, ind. *ā-yuj-ran* (p. 109); cf. the case of *ā-vṛk-ṣ-i* (above) and 3rd sg. *a-vṛk-ta*, *yuk-ta*. The act. *ā-dhuk-ṣ-an* (instead of *-ṣ-ur*) could have been modelled upon *a-dhuk-ṣ-ata* after [*-an* :: *-ata*] which is found, e.g., in the athemat. root-aor. ind.; the segmentation of the form as *°k-ṣa-n* would have opened the way for the **-sa-** aor. formation, which spread in stems with the constellation *°kṣa-* after *i*, *u*, *ṛ* (7 roots in the RV, later on 10 more, almost only in the ind./inj. act.). NARTEN 76ff. assumes the following process: *a-dhuk-ṣ-ata* was produced through a purely phonological analogy on the basis of ipf. *ā-duh-ran* (AV+) after the pair [*a-vik-ṣ-ata*, *a-sṛk-ṣ-ata* :: root-aor. *a-viṣ-ran*, *a-sṛg-ran*]; *a-dhuk-ṣ-ata* stood in connection with stative-ipf. 3rd pl. *ā-duh-ran* as well as standard ipf. form *a-duh-ata* (ŚB); the proportion [*a-d^huk-ṣ-ata* :: *a-d^huh-ata*] produced the act. *a-dhuk-ṣ-an* on the basis of the ipf. *a-duh-an* (TS^p) by inserting *-s-*. From this *a-dhuk-ṣa-n*, other forms of *d^huk-ṣa-* have been built, and the formation has spread to *marj/mṛj* ‘wipe’ and other stems in *°i/u/ṛ-kṣa-*; pres. *vṛh-ā^{ti}*, *mṛś-ā^{ti}* played a linking role for *vṛk-ṣa-* (*varh* ‘tear’), *mṛk-ṣa-* (*marś* ‘touch’), and themat. aor. *guh-ā-* (*goh* ‘hide’), *ruh-ā-* (*roh* ‘ascend, mount’) were the basis for *ā-ghuk-ṣa-t*, *ā-ruk-ṣa-t*.

The phenomenon that the opt. of the sigmat. aor. is supplented by the root-aor. is of PII origin; some mid. forms are nevertheless in use, cf. p. 93 with n. 219.

The so-called **-si imperatives** such as *yā-si*, *jé-si*, *yam-si*, *bhak-si*, *yák-si*, *sak-si* originated from the subj. of the *-s-* aor. through haplology²⁵⁵) This must have hap-

²⁵⁵) CARDONA Lg 41 (1965) 1–18, SZEMERÉNYI Lg 42 (1966) 1–6 = Scripta Minora IV 1719–1724.

pened in PII, cf. OAv. *dōišī* < **daić-ši* < **daić-ša-si*²⁵⁶) (the only example in Iran.), but has gained productivity only in Vedic. Such forms still serve as subj. in relative clauses in the RV, e.g., *pár-si* RV I 174,9, *yám-si* I 63,8, and from the analogic -s-aor. *dár-si* VI 26,5 (*dar/darⁱ/dṛ^ṣ* ‘pierce’), *ā-sát-si* III 30,18 (*sad* ‘sit down’).²⁵⁷

[1] **-s- aor.**, e.g.:²⁵⁸ **act.** (*bhar/bhṛ* ‘bring’): **ind.** sg. 1st *a-bhār-ṣ-am*, 3rd *a-bhār* (*a-bhār-ṣīt* ŚB), **inj.** sg. 3rd *bhār*; **subj.** *bhar-ṣ-a-t*; — (*yam* ‘hold’): **ind.** sg. 1st *á-yām-s-am*, 3rd *a-yān*; **subj.** *yañ-s-a-t*, *yañ-s-a-tas*, *yañ-s-a-n* (cf. athemat. root-aor. *yam-am*, subj. *yam-a-t*, iptv. *yan-dhī*, etc.); — (*yā* ‘travel’): **ind.** *a-yā-s-am*, pl. 3rd *a-yā-s-ur*; subj. *yā-s-a-t*; prec. *yā-siṣ-ta*; — (*krand* ‘cry’): **ind.** 2nd 3rd *á-krān* (cf.

²⁵⁶ Cf. SZEMERÉNYI Lg 42 (1966) 4 = Scripta Minora IV 1722. JASANOFF Gs. Cowgill (1987) 92–105 supposes a PIE origin on the ground of Toch. B *pāklyauṣ*, *pāklyauṣso*, A *pāklyoṣ*, *pāklyoṣās* (B *klyaus-*, A *klyos-* ‘hear’) < **kléusi*, and some iptv.s in OIr. and Hitt.; cf., however, HACKSTEIN Untersuchungen (1995) 323. DUNKEL Glotta 70 (1992) 216ff., Incontri Linguistici 20 (1997) 40–42, and GARCÍA RAMÓN Pragmatische Kategorien (2009) 88ff. seek a PIE origin of the *-si iptv.s from *-se-si.

²⁵⁷ Cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 205 n. 609, also GELDNER ad I 174,9. As a form not affected by the haploglossy, only *dar-ṣ-a-si* VIII 32,5 is known, cf. NARTEN 145, GARCÍA RAMÓN ib. 83. There are forms with a secondary ending attested: *vák-ṣ-a-s*, *je-ṣ-a-s*, *avi-ṣ-a-s* (*avⁱ* ‘help’).

²⁵⁸ Cf. OIran. (HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 230–233): **act. ind./inj.** sg. 2nd OAv. *dāiš* < **dāiē-š-š* (**daiš/dis* ‘point out’), 3rd OAv. *xšnāu-š* < **kšnāu-š-t* (*xšnau/xšnu* ‘sharpen’), YAv. *nāist* < **nāid-s-t* (*naēd/nid* ‘blame’?), OAv. *sqs* < **scānd-s-t* (*sand* ‘appear’, cf. Ved. *a-cchān*); pl. 3rd OAv. **ruuāx-ṣ-at* Y 34,13 < **urāg-ṣ-at* < **-ṛt* (**ruuaj* ‘wander’, cf. Ved. *vraj*); — **subj.** sg. 1st OAv. *dōiš-ā* < **daiē-š-ā* Y 51,2, 3rd OAv. *jēñgh-a-ti-cā* (*gam/jam*), *bax-ṣ-a-ti* (cf. Ved. *bhak-ṣ-a-t*), *var^o-ṣ-a-ti* (*var^o-z* ‘work’), YAv. *stā-ñh-a-ti* (*stā* ‘stand, settle oneself’), *spāñha’ti* (*spā* ‘throw’); OAv. **ruuāxṣat* Y 44,8, *naēṣat* (Ved. *néṣat*, *naṣ/nī* ‘lead’), *stā-ñh-a-t*, YAv. *uz-uuaž-a-t* (*vaz* ‘carry’); pl. 1st OAv. *nāš-ā-mā* < **nać-š-ā-ma* (?), *nas* ‘bring’), 3rd OAv. *var^o-ṣ-a-ñtī*, *xšnao-ṣ-a-n*, *vñgh-a-n* (*van* ‘win, obtain’, Ved. *vañ-s-*); — **opt.** 3rd sg. YAv. *fra-za-h-ti* (**-zā-h-ti*, *zā* ‘abandon’?), pl. YAv. *nāš-ti-ma* < **nać-š-ti-ma* (?); — **iptv.** 2nd sg. OAv. *dōišī* (of subj.-origin, see text, above), pl. OAv. *sqs-tā* < **scānd-s-ta*;

mid. ind./inj. sg. 1st OAv. *fraš-ī* < **frac-š-i* (*fras* ‘ask’), *mñgh-ī*, OPers. *a-dar-ṣ-iy* (*dar* ‘hold’), pseudo-OAv. *rā-h-ī* (*rā* ‘give, donate’), 3rd OAv. *raos-tā* (**raud*/**rud* ‘weep, cry’), *θrao-š-tā* (**θrau/θru* ‘feed’), *fra-š-tā*, *bax-š-tā*, *sār-š-tā* (*sar* ‘unite’), YAv. *xšnao-š-ta*, OAv. *mṣ-ṣ-tā*, YAv. *mṣ-ṣ-ta* (Ved. *mañ-s-a*); pl. 1st OAv. *a-mā-h-mādī*, *mā-h-mādī* < **man-s-mad^hi* with dissimilated **n* (cf. Ved. *agasmahi*, cf. HOFFM. Aufs. 366), 2nd OAv. *θbar^o-ž-dūm* < **θbarž-š-dyom* (*θbars* ‘cut, fashion’); — **subj.** sg. 1st OAv. *xšnao-š-āi*, *mñgh-āi*, *var^o-ṣ-ānē*, *hax-š-āi*, 2nd OAv. *rā-ñh-a-ñhōi*, 3rd OAv. *mar^o-x-ṣ-a-tē*, *var^o-ṣ-a-tē*, YAv. *vaš-a-ta* (*vaz* ‘transport’?); pl. 2nd OAv. *maz-dā-ñh-ō-dūm*, 3rd YAv. *vašānte*; — **opt.** sg. 2nd YAv. *raēx-š-ti-ša* (**raṣk/ric* ‘leave’); — **iptv.** sg. 2nd OAv. *f^orašuuā* < **frac-š-š-ua*, pl. OAv. *θrā-z-dūm* (Ved. *trā-dhvam*), *fra-uuōiz-dūm* < **uajd-s-d^huam* (**vajd/vid* ‘know’), *sā-z-dūm* < **scā-s-d^huam* (*sā* ‘cut off’, Ved. *chā*); — **part.** YAv. *mañ-h-āna-*, *mar^o-x-ṣ-āna-* (*mar^o-k* ‘destroy’, Ved. *marc/mṛc*).

athemat. root-aor. *akran, kran*); — (*yaj* ‘worship’:) **ind.** 2nd sg. *ayās*; **inj.** 2nd sg. *yāt*; **subj.** *yak-ṣ-a-t*, **iptv.** on the subj. stem 3rd du. *yak-ṣ-a-tām*; — (*vah* ‘transport’:) **ind.** 3rd sg. *á-vāt*; **subj.** *vák-ṣ-a-s*, *vak-ṣ-a-ti/vak-ṣ-a-t*, *vak-ṣ-a-tas*, *vak-ṣ-a-n*; (*jay/ji* ‘win, obtain’:) **ind.** *a-jai-ṣ-am*, 2nd 3rd *á-jai-ṣ*, *a-jai-ṣ-ma*, (3rd sg. *ajait*, *ajaiṣīt* AV); **subj.** *jé-ṣ-a-s*, *je-ṣ-a-t*, *jé-ṣ-ā-ma*; — (other forms:) ²⁵⁹⁾ “**si iptv.**” *yā-si*, *jé-ṣi*, *yaṁ-si*, *yák-ṣi*, *bhak-ṣi*, *vak-ṣi*, *sak-ṣi*; — **subj.** 1st sg. *sto-ṣ-āṇi* (*stav/stu* ‘praise’); (on the opt.-prec. cf. p. 93f. with n. 219);

mid. (*yam*:) **inj.** sg. 1st *yaṁ-s-i*; **ind.** sg. 3rd *á-yaṁ-s-ta*, pl. 3rd *a-yaṁ-s-ata*; **subj.** *yaṁ-s-a-te*; — (*yaj*:) **ind.** *a-yaṣ-ṭa*; **opt.** *yak-ṣ-īya*; **iptv.** *yak-ṣ-va*; — (*man*, *mān-ya*²⁶⁰⁾) **inj.** sg. 1st *maṁ-s-i* (OAv. *māṅghī*, ind. *a-maṁ-s-i* SB), sg. 3rd *maṁ-s-ta* AV (OAv. *mā-ṣ-tā*, ind. *a-maṁ-s-ta* AB); **ind.** pl. 3rd *a-maṁ-s-ata*, (cf. OAv. pl. 1st [*a-*] *mā-h-mā-dī* < **man-s-mad*^{hi}, cf. n. 258); **subj.** sg. 1st *mām-sai* (OAv. *māṅghāi*), 2nd *maṁ-s-a-se*, 3rd *mām-s-a-te*, pl. 3rd *mām-s-a-nte*; **opt.-prec.** *maṁ-s-īya*, *maṁ-s-īṣ-ṭhās*, *maṁ-s-īṣ-ṭa*, *maṁ-s-īmāhi*, *maṁ-s-ī-rata*; — (*vah*:) **iptv.** *vak-ṣ-va* VS; — (other examples:) **ind.** pl. 1st *agasmahi* < **a-gam-s-mad*^{hi} (cf. above, on [*a*] *māh-mā-dī*), **iptv.** ²⁶⁰⁾ 2nd sg. *sák-ṣvā* I 42,1, *sák-ṣva* III 37,7 (*sah* ‘overpower’ [cf. word index s.v.]), *trā-ṣva* (2×), 2nd pl. *trā-dhvaṁ* (*trā* ‘protect, rescue’, OAv. *θrā-z-dūm*), on the subj.-stem 3rd sg. *rā-s-a-tām*, pl. *rā-s-a-ntām* (*rā* ‘give, donate’). On the opt. *vaṁ-ṣiṣīya* ‘I want to win’ (*van*) AV, etc., cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 44, 73f., 236.

[2] **-iṣ-** aor., e.g.: **act. ind.** sg. 1st *a-kāni-ṣ-am* (*kan*ⁱ/*kā* ‘have pleasure, wish’), *a-kāri-ṣ-am* (*kar*ⁱ/*kṛ* ‘scatter’), *a-krami-ṣ-am*, and analogically after *-iṣ*, *-īt*: *a-kramī-m* (from the athem. root-aor. *a-krami-am*, *a-krami-s*, *a-krami-t*, etc., *krami* ‘stride’), *a-vadhi-ṣ-am* AV (: athemat. root-aor. *vádhi-t*), 2nd *a-krami-s*, *á-vadhī-s*, 3rd *á-kārī-t* (*kar*ⁱ/*kṛ* ‘commemorate’), *a-rāvī-t* (*rav*ⁱ/*rū* ‘roar’), *á-vadhī-t*, du. 3rd *a-manthi-ṣ-tām*; pl. 1st *a-tāri-ṣ-ma* (*tar*ⁱ/*tṛ* ‘cross over, get through’), *a-vadhi-ṣ-ma* YS^m TB^p, 3rd *a-tāri-ṣ-ur*, *a-rāvi-ṣ-ur*, *a-dhamv-i-ṣ-ur* (secondary root from the pres.-stem); — **inj.** sg. *vádhi-m*, *tāri-s*, *vádhi-s*, *tāri-t*, *vádhi-t*, du. *tāri-ṣ-tam*, *vádhi-ṣ-tam*, pl. *vádhi-ṣ-ta*, *vádhi-ṣ-tana*, *jāri-ṣ-ur* (*jar*ⁱ/*jṛ* ‘waste away’); — (on the opt.-prec. cf. p. 93f. with n. 219); — **subj.** (cf. p. 91f.) sg. *davi-ṣ-āṇi* X 34,5 (*dīv/dyū* ‘gamble’), *sani-ṣ-a-t* (*san*ⁱ/*sā* ‘conquer’); *vádhi-ṣ-a-s*; with levelled vocalism after the ind.: *tāri-ṣ-a-s*, *tāri-ṣ-a-t*, *sāvi-ṣ-a-t* (*sav*ⁱ/*sū* ‘impel’); *sani-ṣ-a-n* AV; — **iptv.** ²⁶¹⁾ sg.

²⁵⁹⁾ Inj. forms are employed partly for the iptv., thus clearly hortative 3rd sg. *yāt* (*yaj* ‘worship’) X 61,21, cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 45, 200. Cf. n. 243.

²⁶⁰⁾ *trā-dhvaṁ* (2×) could be a hortative inj., thus also 2nd du. *rā-s-āthām* I 46,6, cf. NARTEN ib. 45, 200. Cf. n. 243. [*mát-svā/mát-sva* (*mad* ‘rejoice’) belongs here, cf. ib. 46f.]

²⁶¹⁾ Hortative inj.s according to HOFFMANN Inj. 264: *avī-s* VI 25,1, *tāri-s* VI 8,7, *abhi-yodh-ī-s* (*yodh/yudh* ‘battle’) X 120,3, *sāvi-s* (3×); *ávī-t* VII 34,14, with *prā-* VII 20,2; according to NARTEN 68 “besonders häufig erscheint im RV als Iptv. die 2. Du. Inj.

2nd *avi-d-dhī* 7× (*avⁱ/ū* ‘help, aid’, secondary from the athemat. root-aor.), 3rd *avi-ṣ-tu* X 26,1.9;

mid. ind. sg. 3rd *á-jani-ṣ-ta*,²⁶² *a-prathi-ṣ-ta* (*prathⁱ/prthⁱ* ‘become wide’), du. 3rd *a-mand-iṣ-ātām* (*mand*, a secondary root ‘intoxicate’), pl. 1st *a-vadhi-ṣ-mahi* JB I 358:4, 3rd *a-vadh-iṣ-ata* JUB; — **inj.** sg. 2nd *jáni-ṣ-ṭhās*, 3rd *jáni-ṣ-ta*, *pavi-ṣ-ta* (: *páva^{te}* ‘become pure’ :: *a-pāvi-ṣ-ur*, *pu-nā-ti* ‘makes pure’), *práthi-ṣ-ta*; — **subj.** pl. 1st *sani-ṣ-ā-mahe*, *yāci-ṣ-ā-mahe* (*yāc* ‘beg’), 3rd *sáni-ṣ-a-nta*; — **opt.-prec.** sg. 3rd *jani-ṣ-iṣ-ta*, *vani-ṣ-iṣ-ta* (*vanⁱ* ‘covet’), pl. 1st *vandi-ṣ-i-mahi* (*vandⁱ* ‘praise, honor’), *tāri-ṣ-i-mahi* (on the long-grade, cf. subj. act. *tāri-ṣ-a-t*, above), *sāhi-ṣ-i-mahi*; — **iptv.** *jáni-ṣ-va*, *vási-ṣ-vā* (*vas* ‘be clothed in’).

[3] **-siṣ- aor.** in Ved. (NARTEN 70): **act. ind.** sg. 1st *a-yā-siṣ-am* RV (1st *yā* ‘travel’ and 2nd *yā* ‘beg’), *a-gā-siṣ-am* (*gā* ‘sing’) ŚB, *a-dhyā-siṣ-am* (*dhyā* ‘consider’) ŚB, *a-jñā-siṣ-am* (*jñā* ‘understand’) ŚāṅkhĀr, 2nd *a-gā-sīs* ŚB; 3rd *a-yā-sūt* (1st *yā* RV, 2nd *yā* ŚB), *a-drā-sūt* (*drā* ‘run’)? KS^m, *a-gā-sūt* AB, *a-vā-sūt* (*vā* ‘blow’) ŚB JUB, *a-hā-sūt* (*hā* ‘abandon, leave’)²⁶³ PB, *a-hvā-sūt* (*hvā/hū* ‘call’) GB; du. 1st *a-jñā-siṣ-va* ŚāṅkhĀr, 3rd *a-yā-siṣ-tām* RVKh–VS–KS–TB^m (*prā-*; ~ *-ayā-siṣ-tām* MS–TB^m), *a-gā-siṣ-tām* JB, *a-jyā-siṣ-tām* JB (~ *a-jyā-siṣ-tām* PB; *jyā* ‘deprive of’); pl. 1st *a-jñā-siṣ-ma* ŚB, *a-gā-siṣ-ma* JB, 2nd *a-yā-siṣ-ta* RV, *a-jñā-siṣ-ta* ŚB, 3rd *a-gā-siṣ-ur* RV, *ayāsiṣur* RV (1st *yā*), *a-hā-siṣ-ur* JB; — **inj.** sg. 1st

und auch die 2. Pl. Inj. Akt.”. Some inj. forms are marked as iptv. with accent on the ending: 2nd du. *avi-ṣ-tām*, pl. *avi-ṣ-tāna* as opposed to the inj. 2nd pl. *avi-ṣ-ta* which is likewise employed in hortative function, cf. NARTEN loc. cit. Cf. n. 243.

²⁶² The *-iṣ-* aor. of *janⁱ* ‘beget’ belongs to the pres. *jāya^{te}* ‘be born’. The formation could be interpreted either as a marked aor. just as *a-maṇ-s-ta* paired with *mān-ya-te* ‘takes for’ (fient.) as opposed to the athemat. root-aor. *a-ma-ta* with *ma-nu-té* ‘thinks (out)’ (facient.), or as a secondary form germinated in the athemat. root-aor. attested as such in the 1st sg. *a-jan-i* (NARTEN 117). In the first alternative, the 1st sg. *a-jan-i* should be interpreted as an analogic form: in *ahám sūrya ivājani* ‘I have just been born like/as the sun’ VIII 6,10, it could have been formed after the 3rd sg. medio-pass. aor. *ajani* attested in *abhrād vṛṣṭir ivājani* ‘like rain from the rain cloud [this thought] has just been born’ VII 94,1, imitating homonymous *ja-jñ-é* *1st = 3rd in the perf. Cf. NARTEN ib. n.316. The medio-pass. aor. *á-jan-i* is employed also for the affect. mid. ‘he begot for himself’ II 34,2. The 3rd du. act. *jāni-ṣ-tām* ‘they both have begotten’ X 46,2 is a back-formation from the mid. *-iṣ-* aor., cf. NARTEN ib.

²⁶³ The *-siṣ-* aor. is secondary compared to the *-s-* aor. (3rd sg. *a-hā-s*, *hā-s*, pl. *hā-s-ur* RV; sg. 2nd *a-hā-s* AV, 3rd *a-hā-s/-t* TB^m), and is commoner since the AV; cf. p. 113. The mid. forms *hā-s-mahi* RV, *a-hā-s-thās* TS^p, *a-hā-s-ta* MS^p, etc. pair with the pass. *hī-ya^{te}* ‘be abandoned; be lost’. A new root *hās* ‘run a race’ (*hās-a-te*, *hās-a-māna-*, *hās-aya-nti* RV, etc.) has been created from the subj., originally ‘will leave, run ahead of [the competitors]’. Cf. NARTEN 285f.

hā-siṣ-am MS–TS^m, 2nd *hā-sīs* TS^m, 3rd *hā-sīt* AV MS–KS–TS^m, du. 2nd *yā-siṣ-tām* RV (1st *yā*), *hā-siṣ-ṭam* AV–TS^m, 3rd *hā-siṣ-tām* AV; pl. 2nd *hā-siṣ-ta* AV MS–KS–KpS–TS^m, 3rd *hā-siṣ-ur* AV, *jñā-siṣ-ur* AB; — **subj.** *gā-siṣ-a-t* RV, *yā-siṣ-a-t* RV (1st *yā*); — **iptv.** not attested;

mid. ind. *a-jyā-śiṣ-i* BaudhŚrSū; **opt.-prec.** *āva-yā-siṣ-iṣ-ṭhās* RV (2nd *yā* ‘beg’), *pyā-siṣ-i-mahi* VS (*pyāśiṣimahi* AV; *pyāyīṣimahi* MS^m: var. to VS; *pyā* ‘swell’).

[4] **-sa- aor.** in the RV (NARTEN 75): **act. ind.** sg. 1st *a-vṛk-ṣa-m* (*varh/vṛh* ‘tear’), 3rd *a-dhuk-ṣa-t* (*dogh/duh* ‘milk’), *ā-kruk-ṣa-t* (*kroś/kruś* ‘cry’), *ā-ghuk-ṣa-t* (*goh/guh* ‘hide’), *ā-ruk-ṣa-t* (*roh/ruh* ‘ascend, mount’); pl. 1st *a-mṛk-ṣā-ma* (*marj/mṛj* ‘wipe’), 3rd *ā-dhuk-ṣa-n*; — **inj.** sg. 2nd *duk-ṣa-s* (*dogh*), *mṛk-ṣa-s* (*marś/mṛś* ‘touch’); du. 2nd *mṛk-ṣa-tam* (*marj*, hortative); pl. 2nd *mṛk-ṣa-ta* (*marś*), 3rd *dhuk-ṣā-n*; — **subj.** sg. 1st *mṛk-ṣā* (*marj*); — **iptv.** *-dhuk-ṣa-ta* VI 48, 13;

mid. ind. sg. 3rd *ā-dhuk-ṣa-ta* (on the pl. *adhukṣata*, cf. p. 114), **inj.** sg. 3rd *duk-ṣa-ta* I 160, 3, *dhuk-ṣa-ta* VI 48, 12 (possibly a subj.), pl. *dhuk-ṣā-nta*, *a-mṛk-ṣa-nta* (*marj*), **iptv.** *dhuk-ṣā-sva*.

3.5.5. The **medio-passive aor.** exists only in the 3rd persons in the sg. and pl. It is used in the patientive or fientive meaning. The sg. forms consist of the full-grade root with *a* or *ā*, i.e. < PIE **o* through BRUGMANN’s law, and the ending *-i*, and the pl. of the zero-grade root and ending *-ran* or *-ram*: e.g., *ā-kār-i* ‘has been just made’, *ā-grbh-ran* ‘has been grasped’, *ā-darś-i* ‘has become visible’, **inj.** *dārś-i*, pl. *ā-dṛś-ran*, *ā-dṛś-ram*; *pād-i* ‘has fallen, falls’, *a-pad-ran*; *ā-bodh-i* ‘has been awakened’, *a-budh-ran*, *ā-budh-ram*; *a-moc-i* ‘has become free’, *a-yoj-i* ‘has been yoked’, *ā-yuj-ran*; *ā-sarj-i* ‘has been released’, *sarj-i*, *a-sṛg-ran*, °*-ram*.

The formation in the sg. goes back to PII, cf. OAv. *cəuuišī* < **cōišī* < **čaišī* (**kaiš/ciś* ‘assign’), *a-vācī* (*vac* ‘speak’, Ved. *a-vācī*), *vācī* (Ved. *vācī*), *srāuui* (**srau/sru* ‘hear’, Ved. *śrāvi*), *mraoī* < **mraH-i* (**mrau/mrū* ‘ill-treat’?) Y 32, 14, cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 228.²⁶⁴) But its origin is still open to discussion.²⁶⁵) A possibility might be: e.g., *pād-i* has been produced from the 1st sg. mid. of the a-themat. root-aor. *ā-pad-i*, **pād-i* after the proportion in the perf. [1st sg. act. *ca-kār-a* :: 3rd sg. *ca-kār-a* = *ā-pad-i*, **pād-i* :: *x*]. The co-existence of *jāni* (I 141, 1; ind. 3rd sg. *ājani*, *ajani* 6×) and *jāni* (VIII 7, 36) ‘is born’ could be explained

²⁶⁴) This ending *-i* was transferred into the pres. in YAv.: *əṛnāuu-i* (cf. n. 237), *ja’n-i* ‘was slain’, and into the perf. *āīṣ-i* ‘was said’. [On OAv. *mraoī*, cf. GIPPERT Fs. Watkins 165–181.]

²⁶⁵) Cf. INSLEER “the origin of the Sanskrit Passive Aorist” IF 73 (1968) 312–346, MIGRON “The Rgvedic passive aorist in *-i*: A functional study” Folia Linguistica VIII-1-4 (1975) 271–310, KÜMMEL Stativ und Passivaorist im Indoiranischen (1996).

from the pair in the perf.: 3rd sg. **ja-jan-a* and analogic *ja-jān-a* (only this form is attested) from the *seṭ*-root *jan*ⁱ. Cf. also 1st sg. *ajani* VIII 6,10, cited in n. 262.

The pl. forms in *-ran*, *-ram* appear in the athemat. root-aor. 3rd pl. (*a-juṣ-ran*, *á-viṣ-ran*, *á-sṭhi-ran*, *a-sṣṛdh-ran*, cf. p. 109), athemat. “stative” root-pres. (*a-śe-ran* RV, *a-śe-rata* YSP+, *á-duh-ran* AV+, cf. *duh-rate* RV+, cf. p. 102), redupl. aor. (*a-va-vṛt-ran*, *a-va-vṛt-ranta*, cf. p. 111f.), preterite of the perf. (*á-jagm-i-ran*, *á-cakr-i-ran*, cf. p. 122), and in the opt. 3rd pl. *-ī-ran/-ī-rata* (p. 93). The pl. forms in *-ran*, *-ram* have been coupled with the sg. in *-i* probably only in OIA.²⁶⁶

3.5.6. Some periphrastic aor. forms are attested in Sāṃhitā-prose, especially in the Maitrāyaṇī Sāṃhitā: *vidām akar*, *akran* (from perf.-forms of *ved*ⁱ/*vid*ⁱ, *veda* ‘knows’), and with the 3rd sg. *akar* after caus. stems in *-āya-*: *abhyutsādayām*, *prajanayām*, *ramayām*, *pratiṣṭhāpayām*, and *svadayām*; in addition, one finds an opt.-prec. *pāvayāṃ kriyāt* ‘would make pure’ Cf. HOFFMANN MSS 20 (1967) 35f. = Aufs. 469f. n. 6, cf. also Pāṇini III 1,42.

3.6. perfect system²⁶⁷

3.6.1. The perfect is marked with reduplication, ablaut, and perf.-endings in the indicative. The reduplication occurs originally with *a* (PIE **e*), but it has been assimilated with *ī* or *ū* in the root syllable into *i* or *u*: *ca-kar-/kṛ-/kr-*, *bi-bhay-/bhī-*, *śu-śrav-/śru-*. The only perfect stem lacking reduplication is the well-known *ved-/vid-* ‘know’ (dealt as *seṭ*-root in OIA against *ved/vid* ‘find out, gain’). The ablaut in the ind. goes back to the hysterodyn. pattern with the *-*o*- grade (in the act. sg. and du.) and zero-grade root (otherwise): act. sg. 1st *ca-kār-a* (< **k^we-k^wór-h₂e*), 3rd *ca-kār-a* (< **k^we-k^wór-e*, *-ā-* after BRUGMANN’s law), pl. 3rd *ca-kr-úr*, mid. sg. 1st/3rd *ca-kr-é*. *ba-bhūv-a* ‘has come into being, become’ has preserved its *-a*-reduplication and the unique ablaut which goes back to PIE; *sa-sūv-a* ‘she has given birth’ analogically after *babhūva*, cf. aor. *á-bhū-t*, *bhū-t*, and *a-sū-t* (MS^m), cf. YAv. *buuānuia*, *bābuuar*²; cf. also n. 242, n. 274.

Roots with the constellation *CaC* can build special forms in the weak stems, in the RV: *tep-*, *debh-*, *nem-*, *pec-*, *ped-*, *bhej-*, *śek-*, *śep-*, *sep-*, and *pet-* beside *pa-pt-*, *yej-* beside *īj-*, *rebh-/lebh-* beside *rārabh-*; more forms appear later. These analogic

²⁶⁶ Cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. (1964) 24f., 248, Sprache 14 (1968) 117f., INSLEER IF 73 (1968) 313 n. 3, HOFFMANN Aufs. (1976) 590, KÜMMEL Stativ (1996) 5–8. — The intrans. root *vart/vṛt* ‘turn’ (pres. *várta*^{16c}) shows aor.-forms: athemat. root-aor. 3rd sg. act. *abhi* ... *ā-avart* VII 59,4, pass.-aor. 3rd sg. *varti* RV VIII 6,38, pl. *āvṛtran* VIII 92,14 (replaced by *-s-* aor. mid. *ā* ... *āvṛtsata* VIII 1,29), cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 589–592, KÜMMEL 107.

²⁶⁷ Cf. Martin Joachim KÜMMEL Das Perfekt im Indoiranischen, Wiesbaden 2000.

formations have expanded from, e.g., *yet-* (3rd pl. mid. *yetire*) from the root *yat* ‘take one’s position’, properly from **ia-īt-* (**ie-īt-*), which is attested also in OAv. 1st pl. *yōiθ²mā*, YAv. *yaēθma*, 3rd du. YAv. *yaētatar²* < **ia-īt-at_ṛ*; cf. furthermore KÜMMEL 19: **ia-īm-* > *yem-*, **sazd-* > *sed-*. The analogic vocalism appears again in the redupl. aor. *neś-a-* ‘perish, disappear’ as opposed to the original **na-nć-a-* in OAv. *nqsaṭ*, *a-nqsaṭ*, cf. p. 113; in the perf., 3rd sg. *nanāśa* RV, 3rd pl. *neśur* ŚB.

The endings are
in the **act.**:

sg. *-a*, *-tha*, *-a*; **du.** (*-va*, not attested in Ved.), *-áthur*, *-átur*; **pl.** *-má*, *-á*, *-úr*;

in the **mid.**:

sg. *-é*, *-sé*, *-é*; **du.** (*-vahe*, not att. in Ved.), *-átthe*, *-átte*; **pl.** *-máhe*, *-dhvé*, *-ré*.

The **act.** endings sg. *-a*, *-tha*, *-a*, pl. 1st *-má*, 3rd *-úr* go back to PIE perf. endings **-h₂e*, **-th₂e*, **-e*; **-mé*, **-f*. The 1st pl. **-mé* is the same as the secondary ending in other paradigms. For the 2nd pl. also PIE **-té* is reconstructed beside **-é*, cf. Grk. *ἴσ-τε* ‘ye know’ < **uid-te* (cf. Goth. *witub*); no form is attested in OIran. for the 2nd pl. perf. The 3rd pl. **-f* is possibly a back-formation, dating from some early period, after the proportion [**-to* :: **-t* = **-re* :: *x*] from PIE **-ré*, which we find in PII **-ráj* < **-re-j* (enlarged with **-j*), integrated into the middle.²⁶⁸

Among the **mid.** endings, sg. 1st *-é*, 2nd *-sé*, du. 2nd *-átthe*, 3rd *-átte*, pl. 1st *-máhe*, and 2nd *-dhvé* are identical with the primary mid. endings used in the pres. ind. The 1st sg. *-é*, 3rd sg. *-é*, and 3rd pl. *-ré* seem to go back to PIE **-h₂e-j*, **-e-j*, **-re-j*.

²⁶⁸ Some Av. **ind.** forms relevant to Ved. are to be cited: **sg.** 1st YAv. *jaya^uruu-a* (cf. Ved. *jagrābh-a*), *dādar²s-a* (**dars/dār²s* ‘see’, cf. Ved. *dadarś-a*), OAv. *vaēd-ā* (Ved. *véd-a*), OAv. *ād-ā* (*ad* ‘say’); **2nd** OAv. *dadā-θā*, YAv. *dadā-θa* (Ved. *dadhā-tha*), YAv. *vauuax-ða* (*vac/uc* ‘speak’, cf. Ved. *uvāk-tha*), OAv. *vōis-tā* (Ved. *vét-tha*); **3rd** YAv. *ād-a* (Ved. *āh-a*), *āp-a* (Ved. *āp-a*), *āṇh-a* (Ved. *ās-a*), *upa-iiēš-a* (**aiš/iš* ‘seek, desire’, Ved. *iyeš-a*), *huš.x^uaf-a* (Ved. *susvāp-a* ‘has fallen asleep, is sleeping’), *jayar-a* (*gar* ‘wake up’, cf. Ved. *jāgār-a*), OAv. *tataš-ā*, YAv. *tataš-a* (*taš* ‘hew, fashion’, Ved. *tatāks-a*), YAv. *tūtauu-a* (**tau/tū* ‘be strong’, Ved. *tūtāu-a*), *dadār-a* (*dar* ‘hold’, cf. Ved. *dādhār-a*), *daḍa* (*dā* ‘give’, ‘set, settle’, cf. Ved. *dadāu*, *dadhāu*), OAv. *nānās-ā* (*nas* ‘perish, disappear’, Ved. *na-nās-a*), YAv. *vauuac-a* (Ved. *vavāc-a* beside *uvāc-a*), OAv. *vaēd-ā*, YAv. *vaēd-a*, *vaēθ-a* (Ved. *véd-a*), YAv. *vūuuaēθ-a* (**uajd/uid* ‘find out’, Ved. *vivéd-a*), *hañhān-a* (*han/hā* ‘conquer’, Ved. *sasān-a*), OAv. *hišāii-ā* (*hā/hi* ‘bind’, Ved. *ā-siṣāy-a*); — **du.** **3rd** YAv. *yaēt-atar²* (< **ia-īt-at_ṛ*, *yat* ‘take one’s position’, cf. Ved. *yem-at_{ur}* from *yam* ‘hold fast’); — **pl.** 1st OAv. *yōiθ²mā*, YAv. *yaēθ-ma*, *vaox²-ma* (< **ya-uk-ma*, cf. Ved. *ūc-i-ma*), *sūsru-ma* (Ved. *sūsru-ma*); **3rd** OAv. *ād-ar²*, YAv. *ād-ar²* (Ved. *āh-ur*), OAv. *āṇh-ar²*, YAv. *āṇh-ar²* (Ved. *ās-úr*), OAv. *cikōit-ər²š* (**kaīt/cit* ‘understand’, cf. Ved. *cikit-ur*), YAv. *dād-ar²* (Ved. *dad-úr*, *dadh-úr*), *baḥr-ar²* (cf. Ved. *jabh_r-ur*), *bābuu-ar²* (Ved. *babhūv-úr*), *vīd-ar²* (Ved. *vid-úr*), *vi-šast-ar²* (*stā*, cf. Ved. *vī-tasth-ur*).

If one assumes that some primary mid. endings have been brought into the perf. system when the mid. perf. was built up, the common form 1st sg. *-é* < **-ai* < **-h₂e_i* could have mediated the process, which originated from **-h₂e* (perf. ending, used also as the second. ending in the 1st sg. mid.) + *i*. There are only a few mid. forms in OIran., e.g., 1st sg. YAv. *susruie* < **śu-śru-ua_i* (**srau/sru* ‘hear’), 3rd sg. OAv. *ār-ōi* (*ar* ‘grant’), *dādr-ē* (cf. Ved. *dadhr-ē*), YAv. *daⁱδ-e*, *daⁱθ-e* (Ved. *dad-é*, *dadh-é*), etc., 3rd du. pseudo-OAv. *mam^an-āⁱtē* (Ved. *mamn-āte*) ‘they both have thought’.

There are forms with connecting *-i-*: e.g. *āv-i-tha* ‘you have helped’, *uvoc-i-tha* ‘you have spoken’, *ūd-i-ma* ‘we have uttered’, *papt-i-ma* ‘we have fallen’, *sed-i-ma* ‘we have sat down’. Roots ending in *-ā* have in the 1st and 3rd sg. act. forms with *-au-*: *da-dāu* ‘he has given’, *da-dhāu* ‘he has settled’, however, YAv. *daδ-a*. The only exception is *paprā* ‘he has filled’ RV I 69,1.

3.6.2. The perf. system possesses also a set of moods.²⁶⁹⁾ The **subj.** is built from the strong stem (probably with **-é-* full grade of the root): **act.**, e.g. *ciket-a-si*, *cī-ke^t-a-s*, *cākán-a-s*, *dadhárš-a-ti*, *cākan-a-t*, *vivyác-a-t* (*vyac* ‘embrace, contain’); pl. 2nd *jújoš-a-tha*, 3rd *tatán-a-n*, *jújoš-a-n* (act. subj. to the mid. verb), cf. OAv. 2nd pl. *vaorāz-a-θā* (*ruuvāz* ‘be pleased’), 3rd pl. YAv. *†iiei-ə-n* (**ai/i* ‘go’ Y 42,6?); — **mid.** *śasvac-ái* (: *śvañc* ‘bend down’), *tatáp-a-te*, *cākán-a-nta*, *cákram-a-nta*, cf. YAv. *†pāfrāⁱte* Vīd 4,48 (*frā/par* ‘fill’, Ved. *prā/pṛ*).

The **opt.** is formed from the weak stem with the suffix *-yāⁱ-/-ī-*, e.g.: **act.** sg. *ja-gam-yā-m* (cf. YAv. *jaym-iq-m*), *anaj-yā-t*, *vid-yā-t* (OAv. *vīd-iiā-t*), cf. YAv. *āⁱjhā-t* (*ah* ‘be’), OPers. *caxr-iyā* (*kar* ‘make’, a single perf. form in OPers.); du. *śušrū-yā-tām*, cf. YAv. *āⁱjhā-t.tam* < **āh-īā-tam*; pl. *jagm-y-ur*, cf. YAv. *†daⁱδ-īn* Yt 13,12 < **daⁱδ-ii-ən* < **d^he-d^hH-iH-ent*; — **mid.** *vāvrⁱdh-ī-thās*, cf. YAv. *jīyāē-*

²⁶⁹⁾ As for the functions of the moods of the perf. stems, cf. KÜMMEL Perf. 88–90. There seems to be no special function proper to the perf. as a grammatical category, but the modal formations of each perf. stem possess their own individual values. *tatāna*, the perf. of *tan* ‘stretch’ (intrans., esp. of the warp), e.g., is used in the durative meaning ‘stretch wide, be now stretched out’ and ‘continue’; its subj. *tatán-a-n* means simply ‘they will stretch’ IV 5,13, and ‘they will continue’ VII 88,4 (in the past environment “as long as the days would continue”, OIA and OIran have no means for expressing moods in the preterite). Many modal forms are built from perf. stems with present or resultative meaning. The often-assumed “emphasised” wish or “irreality” in the case of the opt. perf. (HOFFMANN Inj. 47 n. 8, Aufs. 75, 606 n. 1, FORSSMAN MSS 41, 1982, 35ff., HETTRICH Hypothaxe, 1988, 366 n. 167, HINZE Zamyād-Yašt, 1994, 218 n. 136, n. 317) is probably an outcome of such individual cases, cf. KÜMMEL loc. cit. On the colloquial use of the perf. opt. for the presumption about past affair (*mamⁱqⁱ-y-ur* in IV 18,8, *jaks-ī-yā-t*, *papī-yā-t*, and *jagā-yā-t* in X 28,1) cf. KÜMMEL 90, J. SAKAMOTO-GOTO “Zum präteritalen Optativ im Alt- und Mittelindoarischen” (Fs. Kellens, 2009, 255–273) 273.

ša < **ji-gaṭ-i-ša* (**gaṭ* ‘live’); *jagras-i-ta*, *vavṛt-i-mahi*, cf. YAv. *vaoz-i-rəm* ‘they would have driven’ (*vaz*) Yt 19,69.

The **iptv.**, too, is attested, e.g.: from weak stems **act.** sg. 2nd *jāgr-hi*, *mumug-dhi*, pl. 3rd *jāgr-atu*, *bibhy-atu*; from strong stems, e.g.: 3rd sg. *cike-tu*, *mumok-tu*, and 2nd pl. *jāgr-tá*, *vit-ta* beside *mamat-tána*. **Mid.** forms are found only in Ved., in the RV: *dadhi-ṣvá*, *dadhi-dhvam*, *mimik-ṣvā* (*myakṣ* ‘fit close together’), *ā-vavṛt-sva*, *-vavṛt-dh_uvam*, thematised *māmah-a-sva*, *°a-ntām* (*manh* ‘grant’), *vāvṛdh-ā-sva*, *ud-vāvṛṣ-a-sva* (: *-vṛṣāyá^{le}* ‘summon, show courage’); some new forms occur from the AV on, among others, *vit-ṣvá* MS^m (*sám-/... AV, MS^p*), with “stative” ending 3rd sg. *sám-vid-ām* AV, *sám... vidām* MS^m (~ KS *vidas*, KpS *vidam*; VS-ŠB with a pl. subj.), cf. p. 102 on *duh-ām*, *śay-ām*. No **iptv.** form is attested in the OIran. perf.

3.6.3. The proper function of the perf. is to designate a state of the subject which it has attained as the result of the action expressed by the root. The perf. is therefore actually a kind of present. The preterite to the perf. is expressed by means of the augment and secondary endings, forming thus the ipf. from the perf. stem, formally known as “**pluperfect**”,²⁷⁰⁾ e.g., **act.** sg. 1st *a-cacaṣ-am* (*cakṣ* ‘look at’), 2nd *á-jagan* (*gam* ‘go’), *a-bubhoj-i-s* (*bhoj/bhuj* ‘bend’), 3rd *á-jagan*, *a-ciket* (*cet/cit* ‘notice’), *a-vivyak*, *a-bibhe-t* (*bhayⁱ/bhī* ‘fear’; developed a new pres. *bibhé^{ti}* from this, or a redupl. pres. already in PIE, cf. GOTÖ I. Präs. n. 476), *á-jagrabhī-t* (*grabhⁱ/gr̥bhⁱ* ‘grasp’); *a-mumuk-tam* (*moc/muc* ‘release’), *a-vivik-tām*; *a-jagan-ta*, *a-jābhar-tana*, *a-cikay-ur*, *á-vid-ur* (YSP), (on *á-śiṣre-t*, *á-śiṣray-ur*, cf. p. 111: redupl. aor.); — **mid.** du. 2nd *á-pasprdh-ethām*, pl. 3rd *á-jagm-i-ran*, *á-cakr-i-ran* (*kar/kr* ‘make’)²⁷¹⁾, *á-titviṣ-a-nta*. There occur forms from the root *vedⁱ/vidⁱ* ‘know’ in the RV: *a-ved-am* (with *ánu*), *á-vet* (*sám... V 34,8*). A new pres. stem is produced from this: *védmi*, *vetti*, *vidmasi*, *avidan*, etc. AVP RVKh Br.+. The forms without augment are used as the **inj.**: **act.** *ā-ciket-am*, *cākán* (2nd, 3rd sg., *kanⁱ* ‘have pleasure, wish’), *niḥ-śasās* (*śās/śiṣ* ‘order, instruct’), *ā-dadharṣ-i-t* (*dharṣ/dhṛṣ* ‘take courage, dare’), *dīde-t* (*dayⁱ/dī* ‘shine’), *siṣe-t* (*sā/say/sī* ‘bind’), *vivyak*; **mid.** *ā-dīdhī-thās* AV (*dhyā/dhī* ‘reflect, meditate’), *ruruc-anta*, *vāvṛdh-anta*.

3.6.4. The participles are made with *-vāms-/iṣ-*, f. *-iṣ-* in the act. (1.2.16.: p. 47f.), and *-āná-*, f. *-āná-* in the middle. They are used also as predicates in

²⁷⁰⁾ Cf. THIEME Das Plusquamperfektum im Veda, Göttingen 1929.

²⁷¹⁾ KÜMMEL 137 makes 3rd sg. *a-cakr-a-t* IV 18,12 belong together with *á-cakr-i-ran*, assuming a mid. ending *-at* (→ n. 202); thus also ipf. *á-didyut-at* and inj. *vi-didyut-at*, and analogic *vi-didyut-as* (ib. 48, 251); in addition, *cikit-as*, *śūṣuv-at*, *cākṣp-at*, *dadhvas-at*, and *jujuṣ-an* (ib. 87). For some of these, an act. subj. (with analogical zero-grade root) to mid. verbs (cf. above, p. 92) would come into consideration.

place of finite forms. This occurs already often in the RV and is registered by Pāṇ III 2,105–109, cf. HOFFMANN KZ 78 (1963) 94 = Aufs. 158, THIEME KZ ib. 95.

3.6.5. Periphrastic formations (cf. **3.5.6.**: p. 119) occur from the AV onwards:²⁷²⁾ *gamayām cakār-a* AV as the perf. of **caus.** *gam-āya-ti* ‘lets go’, likewise in the Br. *sam-pādayām cakr-atur*, *upa-sthāpayām cakār-a*, *dhārayām cakār-a* (: *dhār-āya-* ‘hold’, used beside aor. *a-dīdhar-a-t*); — as the perf. of **veda**, which is of present value ‘he knows’: *vidām cakār-a* ‘he knew’, *cakṛ-ma* YSP, *vidām cakār-tha*, *cakr-ur* Br.; — from the **denom.** in *-ya-*: *mantrayām cakr-atur*, *cak-āte* (: *mantrā-ya-* ‘address’), *āmantrayām cakr-e*, *gopāyām cakr-ur* (: *gopāyā-* ‘protect’) Br. BĀU; **desid.** *dudhūrśām cakr-ur* ŚB I 4,1,40–ŚBK (beside *dūdihūrś-a-nt-* ‘wanting to hurt’, *dhvar/dhvr*), *sam-ā-ruruksām cakr-ur* ŚB II 1,2,13 (*roh/ruh* ‘ascend’), *mīmāṃsām ... cakr-e* ŚB IV 2,1,7–ŚBK TĀ, *-cakr-ur* JB III 350 ChUp (*mīmāṃsa-^{te}* ‘examine’), **intens.** *marīmṣām cakr-i-re* ŚBK V 5,4,4 (: *a-marīmṣ-ya-nta* ŚB IV 5,1,10, *marś/mṛś* ‘touch’); sometimes paralleling normal perf. forms; — furthermore from “stative” **pres.** *āsām cakr-e* BĀU, *cakr-i-re* AB GopBr., *upāsām cakr-e* ŚB I 8,1,5, *cakr-i-re* AitĀr (: *ās-te* ‘is sitting’, cf. p. 102), *īśām cakr-ur* AV (: *īś-e* ‘rules’, of perf. origin); *edhām cakr-i-re* ŚB (: *édh-a-^{te}* ‘prosper’), *avekṣām cakr-e* ŚB JB, *abhyavekṣām cakr-e* ŚB (: *áveks-a-^{te}* ‘observe’); *nilayām cakr-e* ŚB–ŚBK (: *ní-lay-a-te* ‘hides’, intrans.), *ā-vyayām cakār-a* ŚB XI 5,1,10 (: *vy-āya-^{ti}*, *vyā* ‘wrap’), *bibhayām cakār-a*, *cakr-ur* ŚB–ŚBK JB (: *bibhé-^{ti}* ‘fear, be fearing’), *juhavām cakār-a*, *cakr-ur* (: *juhó-^{ti}* ‘libate’) Br. Ār.

The construction with *as* ‘be’ is younger and rare, in the Śunahśepa legend: *āmantrayām ās-a* AB (2×) ~ *cakr-e* ŚāṅkhŚrSū (2×), *īkṣām ās-a* ŚāṅkhŚrSū ~ *cakr-e* AB, *upasthāpayām ās-a* ŚāṅkhŚrSū ~ *cakār-a* AB. The combination with *bhavⁱ/bhū* ‘become’ is far more exceptional, and attested only in Ep. and Cl. Pāṇini III 1,40 teaches only the formation with *kar/kr*, Kātyāyana and Patañjali acknowledge also that with *as* and *bhavⁱ/bhū*, cf. AiG II-2 256.

3.7. secondary present systems

3.7.1. future

The future (**fut. I**) is a special type of themat. pres. with the suffix *-syá-* (PII **-sja-*²⁷³⁾); the root syllable has an **-e-* full-grade, e.g., *vak-syá-* (*vac* ‘speak’,

²⁷²⁾ Because no example is found in a dependent sentence (clause), the question is open as to whether *gamayām cakāra* represents a single word (as in the case of preverb + finite form), or two independent words.

²⁷³⁾ On the possibility of the PIE origin of the **-sje-* formation, cf. STANG Vergl. Gramm. 397f. (: Baltic future in the semi-thematic *-si-* stem with the part. in **-siant-*), MCCONE

YAv. *vax-šiie-te*), *dhā-syá-* YSP+ (simplex, *ā-*, *vi-*; AV *pari-*; YAv. *uz-dā-hiia-mna-*), *ava-srak-ṣya-ti* MSP (*sarj/srj* ‘send forth’, with metathesis; YAv. *har²šiie-nte*, *har²šiia-mna-*). Another formant *-iṣyá-*, which has no correspondent in OIran., would be a variant in the case of the *seṭ*-roots, which served also for making the root form clearer, e.g. *bhavi-ṣyá-ti* (cf. YAv. *bū-šiia-nt-²⁷⁴*), *jani-ṣya-te* (cf. YAv. *zq-hiia-mna-*). A question is whether a variant PIE **-h₁siē-* after the resonants (sonorants) existed, just as **-h₁se/o-* in the desid. (p. 125f.), cf., e.g., *man-iṣyá-*, *kar-iṣyá-*. Examples speaking against the latter possibility appear after the AV, e.g. *naś-i-ṣya-* (*naś* ‘perish, disappear’), *svap-i-ṣyā-masi* AV XIX 47,9 (*svap* ‘fall into sleep’). The older forms of the root *sav/su* ‘press out’ are *sav-i-ṣyā-mi* MSP, *abhi-ṣav-i-ṣyā-nt-* ŚB, and younger *so-ṣya-ti* ChUp, *so-ṣya-nt-* ŚRSū., which might speak somewhat for the latter alternative, cf. YAv. *hao-šiia-nt-*.

There are many occurrences of the act. part. in the RV, often in the meaning ‘going to do, intending to do’. The ipf. is known in the RV only in *ā-bhar-i-ṣya-t* ‘he was going to bear off’ II 30,2. The same formation serves as “conditional” for an irreal assumption, beginning with Ved. prose; cf. DELBRÜCK AiSynt. 365ff., HOLLIFIELD KZ 92 (1978) 226f. The subj. is known in *kar-i-ṣyā-s* RV IV 30,23, [†]I 165,9, and *ā-tap-syāni* “I will be going to heat” JB III 368:13. The stem *v-ay-i-ṣyá-* is built on the pres. stem *v-āya-*ⁱⁱ ‘weave’ (root *av/u*), in the same way, *dhār-ay-i-ṣyá-* from *dhār-āya-*; from the caus. stem *vās-ay-i-ṣyá-* ‘will clothe’, after the AV *vār-ay-i-ṣya-* ‘shield’, *dūṣ-ay-i-ṣya-* ‘will spoil’.

3.7.1.1. The **future II** is not a pres.-stem but a periphrastic expression originating in a special use of the nomen agentis in *-tār-* in OIA. This is employed in cases at which the time when the verbal action takes place at a later time is designated (or undisgnated: meant pregnantly). The forms are attested from Vedic prose onwards: 3rd sg. *śvó vraṣ-tā* ‘it will rain tomorrow’ (: *varṣ/vṛṣ*) MS II 1,8^p:9,13, *bhavi-tā* ‘it will happen’ ŚB IV 3,1,11, *ā-gan-tā* ‘it will come’ ŚB I 8,1,4–ŚBK, 3rd pl. *ā-dā-tār-as* ‘they will take’ AB II 16,4, 1st sg. *ā-gan-tāsmi* (< *-tā + asmi* ‘I am’) ‘I will come’ AB I 27,1.

Middle forms are also attested: *pra-yok-tāse* ‘I will apply’ TS II 6,2,3^p (analogically after the forms act. °*s-mi* :: mid. °*s-e*); *śayi-tāse* ‘you will lie’ ŚB XI 5,1,11

The Indo-European Origins of the Old Irish Nasal Presents, Subjunctives and Futures (1991) 145ff.; and furthermore OChSlav. part. *byšęšt-/byšqšt-* ‘the one who is about to be’.

²⁷⁴ Cf. the peculiar ablaut in *sū-ṣya-nt-ī-* ‘giving birth’ RV BhāgPur (*so-ṣyā-nt-ī-* BĀU+, *so-ṣya-te* Cl. *pra-savi-ṣya-ti* Rām Pur.), and aor. *a-sū-t* MS^m, *bhū-/bhuv-* = Av. *bū-/buu-* = Grk. *φῦ*, perf. *sasūv-a* RV AV (*suṣuv-e* Ep. Cl. Pur., *suṣāv-a*, *suṣuv-ur* Ep. Pur.), *babhūv-a*, inf. *sū-tave*. Cf. n. 242.

(after °*si* :: °*se*); *yaṣ-tāśmahe* ‘we will sacrifice’ TB III 9,22,1^p; 1st sg. *yaṣtā-hé* TĀ I 11,4^p (-*he* through reanalysis, e.g., *yoddhāham* ‘I shall fight’ Rāmāyaṇa < *yoddhā* + *aham* reanalysed as *yoddhā-ha-m*); 3rd sg. *jani-tā* ŚB XI 5,1,16 pairs with *jā-ya-te*, *ja-jñ-e* 17. The use of act. forms increases in the later language; their traces are found also in Pāli (GEIGER §172). Traditional grammar teaches a paradigm: *dātāsmi*, *dātāsi*, *dātā*; *dātāśvas*, *dātāsthas*, *dātārau*; *dātāsmas*, *dātāstha*, *dātāras*; they cite later also the mid. paradigm, which is, however, scarcely attested: *dātāhe*, *dātāse*, *dātā*; *dātāśvahe*, *dātāśathe*, *dātārau*; *dātāśmahe*; *dātādhe*, *dātāras*.

3.7.2. desiderative²⁷⁵⁾

The desiderative stem designating a wish of the subject is built with reduplication in *-i-*, zero-grade root, and desid.-suffix *-sa-* (**-se/o-*): *ri-rik-ša-* (*rec/ric* ‘leave’), *dī-dṛk-ša-* (*darś/dṛś* ‘watch, behold’), *dī-p-sa-* < **d^{hi}i-bz^ha-* < **d^{hi}i-dbz^ha-* < **d^{hi}i-d^hb^h-sa-* (*dabh* ‘deceive’, OAv. inf. *di-β-ža-i^hdiūi* Y 45,4),²⁷⁶⁾ *ī-p-sa-* < **h₁i-h₁p-se-* AV+ (*ap/āp* ‘attain’), *ī-yak-ša-* RV YS^m < **H₁-H₁k-ša-* (*naś*, younger *ī-nak-ša-* RV), *śi-k-ša-* ‘want to be able, learn’ < **śi-k-ša-* < **ći-ćk-ša-* < **k_i-kk-se-* (*śak* < **kek^(w)*), YAv. *si-x-ša-*), *bhī-k-ša-*^{te} < **b^{hi}i-bg^zh-a-* < **b^{hi}i-b^hk-se-* ‘beg’ (< ‘seek a share for oneself’, *bhaj/bhag* ‘share’); with lengthened reduplication: *bī^h-bhat-sa-*^{te} ‘get disgust (from: abl.)’ (< ‘push oneself away from’, *bādh* ‘push away’); with full-grade root: *dī-dā-sa-* (*dā* ‘give’), *ūt-ti-ṣṭhā-sa-ti* ŚB < **stī-steh₂-se-* (*sthā* ‘settle oneself, stand’, cf. OAv. *hī-š^a-sa^t* Y 32,13 < **hi-š-sa-* < **si-št-sa-* < **stī-sth₂-se-*); with assimilated *u*: *dū-duk-ša-* (*dogh/duh* ‘milk’). The PIE suffix **-h₁se/o-* employed in the case of roots ending in a resonant (sonorant)²⁷⁷⁾ is well reflected in OIA: *jī-gī-ša-*^{te} ‘be greedy’ (OAv. *jī-gī-š^a-ntī*, YAv. *jī-jī-ša-ṇha*, *jī-jī-š^a-ti*: *jay/ji* ‘win, gain’)²⁷⁸⁾; *vī-vā-sa-* < **ui-uṇ-h₁se-* (*van* ‘win, acquire’, OAv. iptv. 3rd sg. ⁺*vī-uuaṇ-ha-tū* for **vī-uuaṇ-ha-tū* Y 53,5), *jī-ghām-sa-* < **g^{wh}i-g^{wh}ṇ-h₁se-* (*han* ‘slay’) [cf. p. 172.]; *śu-srū-ša-* < **ku-klu-h₁se-* (*śrav/śru* ‘hear’, YAv. *su-srū-š^a-mna-*), with long reduplication *mī^h-mām-sa-* (*man* ‘think’).

²⁷⁵⁾ Cf. GÜNTERT “Zur Bildung der altindischen Desiderativa.”, IF 30 (1912) 80–137, François HEENEN Le desideratif en védique, Amsterdam 2006.

²⁷⁶⁾ On the PII development **C₁i-C₁C₂-sa-* > *C₁i-C₂-sa-*, cf. GOTÖ Fs. Klingenschmitt (2005) 209f.

²⁷⁷⁾ The corresponding distribution is postulated in the “Attic future” with **-se/-so-* and **-ese/-eso-* < **-h₁se/o-* after liquids and nasals, cf. RIX Hist. Gramm. 223ff., McCONE Indo-European Origins (1991) 151ff. On the equivalent formations in OIr. such as *ninus* ‘I shall wash’ < **ni-nig^w-so-*, *génaid* ‘he will kill’ < **g^{wh}i-g^{wh}ṇ-h₁se-ti* = *jī-ghām-sa-ti*, cf. EMENEAU Lg 34 (1958) 408ff. = Sel. Stud. (1988) 189ff., McCONE ib. 137–182 with lit.

²⁷⁸⁾ *jī-gī-ša-*^{ti} in the meaning of ‘desire to win’ AV+. Cf. GOTÖ Akkusativ (2002) 30 n. 16.

śa-^{te/ti} ‘step aside, glide, hurry’ has become independent from the desid. of *ay/i* ‘go’ (OAv. *i-śa*-) < **h₁i-h₁i-h₁se-*, cf. GOTÖ Materialien 3 120–122.

The **ind.**, **opt.**, and **part.** are attested in both diatheses, the **ipf.**, **subj.**, and **iptv.** only in the **act.** The *-iṣ-* **aor.** occurs after the RV, e.g., *a-ci-kit-s-iṣ* (*cet/cit* ‘perceive’) and (*vi-*)*īrt-s-iṣ* (*ardh* ‘succeed’) AV, *aip-s-īt* (*āp*) TB^p, (*upa-*)*āip-sī-t* ŠB XI 1,4,4, *aip-s-iṣ-ma* JUB, cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 292. An abstract noun is expressed with *-s-ā-*, an agent noun with *-s-ú-*: *ji-gī-śā-*, *ji-gī-śú-*.²⁷⁹⁾

3.7.3. intensive²⁸⁰⁾

The intensive, which expresses primarily repetition, has an athemat. stem formed with a full or strong reduplication^{280a)} (**intens. I**): *nā-nad-* (*nad* ‘sound, roar’), *śā-śvas-* (*śvas* ‘breathe, snort’), *cā-kaś-* ‘behold, observe’ (*kāś*), *dē-diś-* (*deś/diś* ‘point out’, OAv. inj. *daē-dōiś-t*), *yó-yavī/yuv-* (*yav/yu* ‘keep away’), *yó-yuv-* (*yav/yu* ‘hold fast’), *do-dhavī-/dó-dhuv-/dāvi-dhuv-* (*dhavī/dhū* ‘shake’), *nó-navī-/no-nav-/no-nuv-/no-nu-/nāvī-no-* (*navī/nū* ‘bellow’), *jó-havi-/jó-huv-* (*jó-havī-mi, á-jo-hav-ur* etc.: *hvā/havī/hū* ‘call’, OAv. *zao-zao-mī*), *kari-kr-* (*kar/kr*), *bhāri-bhr-* (*bhar/bhr*), *car-kar-/car-kir-/cār-kṛ-* (*karī/kṛ* ‘commemorate’, YAv. pseudo-OAv.? *car²-kər²-mahī* Y 58,4), *dār-dar-/dar-dṛ-/dar-dir-* (*darī/dṛ* ‘pierce’, YAv. opt. *d²r-da²r-iiā-t*), *nán-nam-/nán-nm-* (*nam* ‘bend’), *ján-ghan-/ján-ghn-/gháni-ghn-* (*han* ‘slay’, cf. YAv. pres. *ni-ja-yn-ə-nte, auua-ja-yn-a-t*, subj. *-ja-yn-ā-t*), *cār-kṛṣ-* (*karṣ/kṛṣ* ‘drag’), *vār-vart-/vār-vṛt-/vārī-vart-* (*vart/vṛt* ‘turn’), *tar-tarī-/tāri-tr-/tār-tur-* (*tarī/tṛ* ‘cross over, get through’), *ganī-gan-/gāni-gm-* (*gam*), *nē-nij-* (*ne-nik-té: nej/nij* ‘wash’, YAv. themat. 3rd sg. *naē-niž-a-ti*), *vē-vid-* (subj. *prā-ve-vid-āma*, part. *-vé-vid-at-*, *-vé-vid-āna-*: *vedī/vidī* ‘know’, OAv. mid. 1st sg. *fra-uuōi-uuīd-ē*), *rē-rih-* (part. *rē-rih-at-*, *rē-rih-āna-*: *reh/rih* ‘lick’, YAv. mid. 3rd pl. *+raē-riz-a-tē*), *kāni-kran-/kāni-krad-* (*krand*), *kāni-ṣkan-/cani-ṣkad-* (*skand*

²⁷⁹⁾ Isolated *-s-* forms are attested in RV I 130–132 supposedly with intentional meaning: *dāk-śa(n)t-* ‘seeking to burn’ 130,8; *sāk-śa-nt-* ‘seeking to overpower’ 131,3; *taru-śa-nta* ‘they seek to surpass each other’ 132,5, *prā-yak-śa-nta* ‘they present themselves’ 132,5; in the neighbourhood: denom. *vanuṣ-yā-nt-* ‘seeking to win’ 132,1, *sanīṣ-yú-* ‘seeking to con, in addition quer’ 131,2, desid. *śīk-śa-nt-* ‘willing to help’ 132,4. Cf. GOTÖ Rig Veda (WITZEL–GOTÖ 2007) 693. They have obviously no relationship to the Av. desid. without reduplication (cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 189): YAv. 1st sg. mid. subj. *han-gər²f-šāne*, part. *haṇ-gər²f-šā-mna-* (*grab* ‘seize’), OAv. part. mid. *vī-dī-šā-mna-* (*dā* ‘settle’), which TICHY Konjunktiv, esp. 311ff., interprets from “Voluntativ auf *-sa-* (PIE **-se-*)”. Cf. also p. 113.

²⁸⁰⁾ Cf. Christiane SCHAEFER Das Intensivum im Vedischen, Göttingen 1994 (PIE situation 48–50, Indo-Iran. 50–52: 8 among the Av. 9 stems have equivalents in Ved.; only in Av.: YAv. *γžar²,γžar-ənt-* ‘flowing’).

[^{280a)} Perhaps through dissimilation: *nā-nad-* < **nād-nad-*, *cā-kaś-* < **cās-kaś-* < *(H)*k^wék-* (H)*k^wok-*, *vē-vid-* < **uāid-uid-*, etc.]

‘leap’), *dávi-dyot-/dávi-dyut-* (*dyot/dyut* ‘flash, shine forth’). The ablaut in the inflexion follows, in principle, that of the athemat. pres. stems (3.4.2.: p. 100).

The intens. shows **ind.**, **ipf.**, **inj.**, and **subj.** in both diatheses, and **iptv.** only in the **act.** No **opt.** form is known in the RV, only *pári-ve-viṣ-yā-t* AV (*veṣ/viṣ* ‘be active’), *ā-ve-vī-ran* TS^p (*vayⁱ/vī* ‘pursue, chase, track’), and *jojayur* TB^m (*jo-jū-y-ur, javⁱ/jū* ‘speed’) are known at all in Ved. The **part.** is very productive in both diatheses. The **perf.**^{280b)} is attested in *davi-dhāv-a*, *no-nāv-a*, *mar-mṛj-mā* (*marj/mṛj* ‘wipe’), *-no-nuv-ur*, *bad-bhad-é* (*bādh* ‘push away’), *-sar-sr-é* (*sar/sṛ* ‘spread’) in the RV, and there occur some other forms in the YS^p and Br.; on the periphr. perf. cf. 3.6.5.: p. 123. The **caus.** is attested in *varī-varj-āya-nt-ī-* (*varj/vrj* ‘twist, wrench off’) AV; *dā-dhār-aya-ti* JB is only an artificial form made on the basis of the perf. *dā-dhār-a* which suppletes the 3rd sg. act. of the pres. *dhār-āya-^{ti}* ‘hold, support’. Three **gerdv.** forms are found in the RV: *car-kṛ-t-ya-*, *vi-tan-tas-āyⁱya-* (*taṁs/tas* ‘draw to and fro’), *mar-mṛj-én_(i)ya-*, and a **v.adj.** *le-lih-i-ta-* in the JB.

The second intens. formation is built with *-yā-*, which follows weak root syllable (**intens. II**), inflected only in the mid., but has the same function as the intens. I; all finite forms are used transitively. In the RV, there occur: *co-ṣkū-yā-se, -te, -māna-* (*skavⁱ/skū* ‘poke’); *mar-mṛj-yā-te, -nte, -māna-*; *ānu-car-cūr-yā-māṇa-* (*car⁽ⁱ⁾* ‘wander, conduct oneself’), *vi-tar-tūr-ya-nte* (*tarⁱ/tṛ* ‘cross over, get through’), *re-rih-yā-te*, *ve-vij-yā-te* (*vej/vij* ‘jerk’), *ve-vī-ya-te* (*vayⁱ/vī* ‘pursue’), *ne-nī-yā-māna-* (*nayⁱ/nī* ‘lead, conduct’), 2nd du. *ūh-yāthe* (for **yethe*, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 775f.), and subj. 3rd sg. *ūh-yā-te* (*vah* ‘transport’). After the RV, there are more forms and occurrences, if not very many. *vanī-vāh-yéta* ŚB (with **v.adj.** *vanī-vāh-y-i-tā-*) belongs to the caus., marked as such with the long *ā* in the root²⁸¹⁾. An **inf.** is attested: *dé-dī-y-i-tavái* ŚB V 3,2,6 (~ *de-dī-ya-dhvam* ‘ye splash out repeatedly!’) ŚBK VII 2,1,7: *dayⁱ/dī*). Pāṇ III 1,22 teaches the intens. II as the standard intensive. The Av. *-īa-* pres. with reduplication could be related to this formation: OAv. *raā-rāš-iiḏ-īntī*, *raā-rāš-iiqn* < **h₂re-h₂rs-īe-* (*rah* ‘become disloyal’), YAv. *yaēš-īia-nt-* ‘boiling (intrans.)’ < **īa-īs-īa-* (*yah*, cf. Ved. *yēs-a-* < **īā-īs-a-* beside *yās-ya-^{ti}* < **īas-īa-*), cf. KELLENS Verbe 193f., HOFFMANN-FORSSMAN 186, SCHAEFER 51.

For the PIE origin of both formations, one can cite Goth. *reiran* ‘tremble’ < **reī-rojH-* (cf. perf. *le-lāy-a* ‘trembles’ YS^p Br.) on the one hand, and Hitt. *lellipāi* ‘licks’ < **lei-lip-īe-* on the other hand; some might be hidden in other formations, esp. in Balto-Slav. verbs with **-o-* grade root, cf. SCHAEFER 48–50.^{281a)}

^{280b)} Cf. SCHAEFER 45, NARTEN Sprache 27 (1981) 3 ff. = Kl. Schr. 235 ff.

²⁸¹⁾ Cf. GOTÖ Gs. Elizarenkova (2008) 116 n. 4.

^{281a)} SCHAEFER 161 accepts the derivation of Grk. *πορφύρε-* ‘wave’ from PIE **b^her-b^hr_hz-īe-*, comparing with *jār-bhur-ī-ti* ‘quivers’ etc. RV (against HOFFMANN and TICHY).

3.7.4. causative

The causative²⁸²⁾ is a well-developed category. The stem is built with the suffix *-áya-*. The formation goes back to the PIE pres. stem formed with suffix *-éje-* added to the root in the **-o-* grade, which is realised regularly as *-ā-* in open, and *-a-* in closed syllables, including those closed by a consonant preceding a laryngeal (BRUGMANN's law): *cāt-áya-* 'scare away', *vāt-áya-* (*vat* with *ápi* 'grasp spiritually', OAv. *vāt-aiia-* with *fra*), *bhāj-áya-* 'make share', *tāp-áya-* AV 'make hot' (YAv. *tāp-aiia-*, Russ. *topljú*, *topít'* 'heat, melt'), *gām-áya-*, 'make go', *yāv-áya-* 'let keep off', against *janⁱ-áya-* (OE *cennan* < **ǵonh₁-éje-* 'beget'), *jarⁱ-áya-* 'make old, wasted', *damⁱ-áya-* (probably a substitute for the nasal-pres. **dṃ-né-h₂-* 'tame' in Ved. *dam-ā-yá-*, cf. p. 107, Hom. *δᾶμ-νῆ-μι* and OIr. *damnaim* 'I subdue, fasten, bind'), *prathⁱ-áya-* 'spread, widen', *srathⁱ-áya-* 'loosen' (possibly = OE *āhreddan*, OHG *retten*); furthermore, *cet-áya-* 'make notice', *kop-áya-* 'make quake, (later:) make angry', *roc-áya-* 'let shine' (YAv. *raoc-aiia-*, Hitt. *lukk-i-zzi*, OLat. *lūc-e-ō*), *darś-áya-* 'make see, show', *kalp-áya-* 'arrange', *randh-áya-* 'oppress', *vakš-áya-* 'make large' (YAv. *vaxš-aiia-*, cf. Goth. *wahs-jan*); — *dhār-áya-* 'hold' (OAv. YAv. *dār-aiia-*, OPers. *dār-aya-*) is at least formally a causative. However, some levelling pressure existed always in this living category, thus *gam-áya-* (2× in Book X), *yav-áya-*, *śrav-áya-* 'make hear' (RV 3×, beside *śrāv-áya-* RV 6×, AV 3×; OAv. YAv. *srāui-aiia-*), *nam-áya-* 'bend' (YAv. *nām-aiie-ñti*, substitute for *nāma-^{ti}*), *ram-áya-* 'rest' (RV 4×, beside *rām-áya-* RV 4×; YAv. *rām-aiia-*), *kṣay-áyā* 'let settle, colonise' (iptv. 2nd sg.), *har-aya-nta* 'rejoice', on the one hand, and *tārⁱ-áya-* AV, *āmⁱ-áya-* 'make (sickness) attack', *bhāvⁱ-áya-* AV, *pātⁱ-áya-* 'make fly, fall' (: iterative *patⁱ-áya-* 'fly, fall', cf. Gk. *ποτ-έο-μαι*, *πωτ-άο-μαι* 'fly, flutter'; or an *aniṭ* root existed beside the *seṭ* one), on the other hand.

The ind., ipf., inj., subj., and iptv. pres. are well attested in the act. and mid.;²⁸³⁾ the opt. is rare and attested only in the act. (*mān-aye-t* AV, *jan-aye-s* Kh., *vād-aye-t* AitĀr); the part.s are common in the act., rare in the mid. Some fut. forms occur: *dhār-ay-i-syá-ti* and *vās-ay-i-syá-se* in the RV; on the perf. cf. p. 123. The redupl. aor. functions as the aor. of the caus. (3.5.3.: p. 111ff.); also *-s-* aor. forms are attested: *má dhvan-ay-ūt* 'lest it make smoke' RV, *má vyath-ay-īs* 'lest you make it totter' AV, and some other forms in the Br., cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 292; *ail-ay-ūt* 'has become still' AV VI 16,3 belongs to the "iterative" pres. *il-áya-^{ti}*

²⁸²⁾ Cf. Stephanie W. JAMISON Function and Form in the *-áya*-Formations of the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda, Göttingen 1983.

²⁸³⁾ On the direct-reflexive mid. of the caus. (also in the RV and Ved. in general), cf. Junko SAKAMOTO-GOTO "Zu mittelindischen Verben aus medialen Kausativa", Jain Studies in Honour of Jozef Deleu (1993) 261–314.

‘become still’. The pass. appears in the mantra literature only in *vi-bhāj-ya-māna-* ‘(if they are being) shared out, distributed’ AV XII 5,28 (cf. *vi-bhāj-yá-nte* MSP; KULIKOV Vedic *-ya-* presents (2012) 162, however, does not see a pass. of the caus. in this stem, but a secondary origin), *sād-yá-^{le}* ‘be settled, put’ YS^m(+), and *ā-pyāy-ya-māna-* ‘being made to swell’ VS(+), but is later productive; the forms are listed in KULIKOV ib. 694 and treated in the corresponding parts. Nominal derivatives of the caus. are considerably common.

Roots ending in *-ā* form their caus. stem by adding *-p-áya-*:²⁸⁴⁾ *glā-p-áya-* ‘make dull’, *dhā-p-áya-* ‘let suck’, *dhā-p-aya* ‘let [us] put [faith *śrād*]!’ X 151,5 (cf. OAv. *dāiie-tē* Y 31,11), *vā-p-áya-* ‘extinguish’, *sthā-p-aya-* ‘make stand’, *snā-p-áya-* ‘make bathe’; forms with short *a* in the root appear after the RV: *jñā-p-áya-* ‘make understand’, *śra-p-áya-* ‘cook, boil’, *sna-p-áya-* ‘make bathe’. Also some forms occur from roots in other structures: in the RV, e.g. *kṣe-p-aya-* beside *kṣay-áya-* ‘make dwell’, *ar-p-aya-* ‘fix’ (as the caus. of *r-cchā-ti* ‘comes upon, hits’ < **h₁er*, and also *pra+arpáya-^u* YS^p in the place of *pra+iyārti* ‘send forward’ from **h₃er*; cf. also p. 139). Some redupl. aor. are formed from *-p-áya-* stems, in the RV: *ci-kṣi-p-a-s*, *jī-hi-p-a-s*, *á-ti-ṣṭhi-p-a-t* (cf. p. 111).

The formation consisting of the root in **-o-* grade and the suffix **-éje-* is well represented in many IE languages. Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben [LIV] 22 registers “237 certain cases” for PIE.

3.7.5. passive

The stem for the passive²⁸⁵⁾ is formed with the suffix *-yá-* from the weak root-form (as far as possible). It is thus a *-ya-* present (cf. 3.4.1. [Th. 2]: p. 99f.), but its accentuation differs in principle from that of other *-ya-* presents, and it is inflected throughout in the mid.: *uc-yá-* (*vac* ‘speak’), *kri-yá-* (*kar/kr* ‘make’, YAv. *kir-iie-ⁱti*, *kir-iie-ⁱnti*, OPers. ipf. *a-kar-īya-tā*, *a-kar-īya-_ntā*)²⁸⁶⁾ *bhri-yá-* (*bhar/bhr* ‘bring, convey’, OAv. subj. *baⁱr-iiā-^{ntē}*, YAv. *baⁱr-iiā-^{le}*, cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 186), *śrū-yá-* (*śrav/śru* ‘hear’, OAv. *sru-iiē*, YAv. *-sru-īia-ta*), *dī-yá-* (*dā*

²⁸⁴⁾ The origin of the formation is not clear. Cf. Batakrishna GHOSH Les formations nominales et verbales en *p*, Paris 1933.

²⁸⁵⁾ Cf. Leonid KULIKOV The Vedic *-ya-* presents, Amsterdam - New York 2012.

²⁸⁶⁾ **r₁ia* > PII **ər₁ia* > OPers. *ariya*, and (> **ə₁r₁ia* >) Av. *irīia*, Ved. *riṣa* (in the case of **ə₁r₁ia*, presumably > *riṣa*, cf. n. 231). However, **t₁r₁ia* > PII **tər₁ia* > Av. *trīia* (like **ər₁ia* > Ved. *riṣa*) before the onset of *i*-epenthesis: YAv. *auuā-striie-te*, *auuā-striia-ta*, *ustriia-mna-* < **-st₁r₁ia-* ‘be struck down’ (Ved. *star/str*); the loss of **ə* after *t* has happened after the onset of *u*-epenthesis, cf. YAv. *tūⁱriia-* ‘father’s brother’ < **tur₁ia-* (YAv. *uri* < **ur₁ui*) < **t^uru₁ia-* < **tə^uru₁ia-* < **tr₁uijo-* (cf. GOTÖ Fs. Klingenschmitt, 2005, 212) < **ph₂tr₁uijo-*. Cf. HOFFMANN–NARTEN Sasan. Archetypus (1989) 73 n. 126.

‘give’; *u* and *i* are always long before *-ya-*), *tā-yá-* (as a *seṭ* root, caused by reinterpretation of the subst. *-tāná-*, also in OAv. *us-tāna-*, as a *v.adj.*), *han-yá-* (*han/ghan* ‘slay’, YAv. subj. *jan-iiānti*, < **g^{wh}h-jé-*), *pac-yá-* (*pac* ‘cook’, cf. Grk. *πέσσω*, Att. *πέττω* ‘make ripe, digest, cook’, presumably a back-formation from the postulated **-jé-* pres. mid.), *dabh-ya-* (*dabh* ‘cheat’, YAv. *a-ḍao-iiā-mna-*), *ij-yá-* YSP+ (*yaj/ij* ‘worship’, cf. YAv. *yaz-i-nti*, subj. *-yez-iiā-t*, *yez-i-mna-*), etc. etc.; an inventory in KULIKOV Vedic *-ya-* presents 691–695. The ind. and part. are relatively common; the iptv. is attested in a fair number of instances. The ipf. appears in the RV only in some forms in the 3rd person, e.g. *a-nī-ya-ta* ‘was led’, *ā-muc-ya-ta* ‘was released’ (cf. Grk. *ἀπο-μύσσομαι* ‘blow one’s nose’), *a-pac-ya-nta*; the inj. only in *ac-ya-nta* (*añc/ac* ‘bend’); the subj. only in *bhri-yā-te*, *bhri-ya-nta*. LIV 19 registers “96 certain cases” of passives for PIE.

3.7.6. denominative

Denominative²⁸⁷⁾ (or rather: denominal) stems are formed from a noun by means of the accented *-yá-* suffix and have various functions. Some verbs of denom. origin passed over to normal *-áya-* pres. receiving their accentuation: *mantráya-te* ‘think out, speak’, *kāmáya-te* ‘desire, love’ (to *kāma-* ‘desire’ from the root *kā* ‘have pleasure, wish’; a new root *kamⁱ* was abstracted from *kām-áya-te*), *artháya-te* ‘aim, seek as goal’, *ūrjáya-* ‘be equipped with nourishment, power’ (*ūrjáya-nti*, *ūrjáya-nt-*, *ūrjáya-māna-*; cf. OAv. YAv. *var²z-aiia-nt-*), etc. The denom. is regularly inflected throughout as a themat. pres.; the commonest form is the 3rd sg. both in the act. and mid.; also the part. is very common in both diatheses.

From *-a-* stem nouns, e.g.: *deva-yá-nt-* ‘seeking the gods’; with *-ā-* (< **-o-*?): *aghā-yá-^{ti}* ‘cause mischief’, *ajirā-yá-te* ‘is swift’, *aśvā-yá-nt-* ‘desiring horses’ (action noun *aśva-yā-*, agent noun *aśva-yú-*); — with *-ī-*: *adhvarī-yá-^{ti}* ‘perform the sacrificial process’ (also dropping *a*: *adhvar-yá-^{ti}*), *putrī-yá-nt-* ‘desiring sons’.

From *-ā-* stems, e.g.: *gopā-yá-^{ti}* (: *gopā-* ‘herdsman’; whence a new root *gop/gup* ‘protect, guard’), *ducchunā-yá-^{ti/te}* ‘try to bring mischief’.

From *-i-* stems, e.g.: *kavī-yá-nt-*, *kavī-yá-māna-* ‘being a seer’.²⁸⁸⁾

From *-u-* stems, e.g.: *rjū-yá-nt-*, *-yá-māna-* ‘being honest’ (: *rjū-* ‘straight’; *rjū-yā-*, *rjū-yú-*), *asū-yá-nt-* ‘feeling pain, being unwilling’ (cf. *asrá-* ‘painful’ Br.); from *gáv-/gó-* ‘cow’: *gav-yá-nt-* ‘desiring cows’, action noun *gav-yā-*, agent noun *gav-yú-*, beside it *gav-yá-*, *gav-yá-ya-*²⁸⁹⁾, *gav-ya-yú-*.

²⁸⁷⁾ Cf. SÜTTERLIN “Die Denominativa im Altindischen.” IF 19 (1906) 480–577.

²⁸⁸⁾ Cf. *páty-a-te* ‘be ruler’, YAv. *pa’θii-e-te*, *pa’θi-mna-* etc. ‘dispose of’, Lat. *poti-ō* ‘put under the power of’: < **poti-é-* :: **póti-* ‘lord’ (Ved. *pāti-*).

²⁸⁹⁾ Through the interpretation of *gav-yā-* as ‘seeking, begging (*yā*) cattle’.

From other stems, e.g.: *bhiṣaj-yá-ti* ‘act as a doctor, heal’ (YAv. *bišaz-ia-ti*, cf. *baēšaz-ia-ti*, cf. also 3rd sg. *bhiṣák-ti* VIII 79,2), *iṣudh-yá-ti* ‘transfer the refreshing power’? (OAv. *išūd-iiā-mahī*; action noun *iṣudh-yá-*, agent noun *iṣudh-yú-*), *vadhar-yá-nt-* ‘serving as a weapon’, *sapar-yá-ti* ‘tend, adore’ (many forms in the ind., also ipf., part., and gerdv. *sapar-énya-*, agent noun *sapar-yú-*), — *duvas-yá-ti* ‘pay homage’ (many ind. forms, also part.; *duvas-yú-*, *duvo-yú-*, *duvo-yá-*), *namas-yá-ti* ‘do reverence’ (many ind.s; ipf. *a-namas-ya-n* and *á-namas-y-ur*; part. 6×; OAv. *namaṣ-iiā-mahī*, YAv. *namañhā-nti*; *namas-yá-*, *namas-yú-*), *śravas-yá-ti* ‘seek fame’ (3× subj., many part.s; OAv. *srāuuah-iiē-tī*; *śravas-yá-*, *śravas-yú-*), *su-manas-yá-māna-* ‘having good will’, cf. YAv. *haomanañhi-mna-*), — *aviṣ-yánt-* ‘desiring provisions’ (: *avasá-* n. ‘provisions’, nouns *aviṣ-yá-*, *aviṣ-yú-*); *taviṣ-yá-te* beside *taviṣ-ti-yá-te* ‘be mighty’ (: *tavás-*, *taviṣá-*).

Relating to *rátha-* ‘chariot’, several formations appear: *rathī-yá-ti* ‘act as a charioteer’ (: *rathī-* m. ‘charioteer’), *rathar-yá-ti* ‘drive in a chariot’, *rathirā-yá-ti* ‘is loaded in a chariot’ (: *rathirā-* ‘belonging to a chariot’), *ratha-yá-* ‘desire for having a chariot’, *ratha-yú-* ‘seeking a chariot’.

vṛṣā-ya-ti/te ‘make rain; (*ā-*) pour into’ is supposed to be a *-yá-* formation beside an (unattested) *-nā-* stem (p. 107), because of its factitive meaning (also *-iṣ-* aor. 3rd pl. inj. mid. *ā-vṛṣā-y-iṣ-ata* occurs together with iptv. *āya-dhvam* VS II 31). *vṛṣāya-te* ‘summon, show courage’ (± *út-*) is interpreted similarly or as denom. of *vṛṣan-* ‘bull’.

There is a group showing the form **anyá-*:²⁹⁰ [1] from the *-n-* stem, *ukṣaṇ-yá-nt-* ‘acting as an ox’, *vṛṣaṇ-yá-ti* ‘acts as a bull’, *vṛṣaṇ-yá-nt-ti-* ‘desiring a bull’, *udan-yá-nt-* ‘irrigating’, [2] from the *-ana-* stem: *kṛpaṇ-yá-ti* ‘desire to get, long’ (: *kṛp-āna-* n. ‘misery’), *turaṇ-yá-ti* ‘rush, press, urge’ (: *tur-āna-*), *bhuraṇ-yá-ti* ‘be busy’ (: *bhur-āna-* ‘busy’, only voc.), [3] more or less autonomous, e.g. *iṣ-anyá-ti* ‘urge’, *huv-anyá-ti* ‘call’, *vip-anyá-mahe* ‘we are spiritually excited’, with nomina actionis (abstract nouns) and agentis (adj.) *tur-anyá-*, *tur-anyú-*, *bhur-anyú-*, *iṣ-anyá-*, *vip-anyá-*, *vip-anyú-*. Cf. YAv. mid. part. *zar-ani-mna-* ‘being irritated’ Yt 10,47 and perhaps Yt 11,5 < **f^hṛH-anja-* (Ved. *harⁱ/hṛⁱ, hṛⁱ-ñī-té*), cf. NARTEN MSS 41 (1982) 142 = Kl. Schr. 266, KELLENS Verbe av. 163. The stem *iṣ-anyá-ti* ‘urge’ could go back to PIE **(h₁)is(h₂)-ṇ-ǵé-* together with Grk. *iaíno* ‘heat, cheer’, beside *iṣ-nā-ti* < **(h₁)is-né-h₂-*, thematised in Grk. *í-vá-ō* ‘clear out’.²⁹¹

The denom. formation with **-ǵé-* goes back to PIE, e.g. *sapar-yá-ti* ‘attend to, venerate’ (with *saparyánt-*, *saparyú-*, *saparyénya-*), Lat. *sepel-iō* ‘bury, entomb’ < **sepel-ǵé-*. It is supposed that the denom. tended to be formed originally from

²⁹⁰ Cf. RENOU BSL 37 (1936) 17–39; OETTINGER MSS 53 (1992) 133–154.

²⁹¹ Or *ṛváō*? Cf. GOTÖ Materialien III 132f., with lit.

weak forms of the noun, see KLINGENSCHMITT *Altarm. Verb.* 149 n. 9. The well attested denom. *uruš-yá-ti* ‘search for wideness; bring someone in wideness, into security’ (36× in the RV; *°yá-* and *°yú* each 1×; rare after the RV) is derived from the weakest form of the noun *várivas-* ‘wideness, width’ (< **uérH-uos-*): **urH-us-je-*. *varivas-yá-ti* (9× in the RV, in addition *°yá-* 1×) is a younger and levelled formation. *īrṣ-ya-* ‘be jealous’ in *īrṣ-ya-nt-ī-* TSP (with *īrṣ-yá-*, *īrṣ-yú-* AV+) and YAv. *ar²š-īia-nt-* ‘jealous’ < **(H)rHs-je-* are the older forms as opposed to *iras-yá-ti* in the RV (VII¹ X², *iras-yá-* V¹); the accent place reveals that it was already an independent verbal stem.²⁹²) KLINGENSCHMITT cites, furthermore, OAv. *ṣṣu-iiō*, *ṣṣu-īia-nt-* ‘raise livestock’ < **pku-je-* (: **péku-*), Grk. *βλίττε-* ‘take the honey’ < **mlit-je-* (: *μέλι* < **mélit* ‘honey’), YAv. *xruuiš-īia-nt-* ‘thirsting after blood’ < **kruīš-je-* instead of **kruHs-je-* (: **kréyh₂s-* in Ved. *kravis-* ‘raw flesh’).

This phenomenon may have related to alternations such as **mén-es-/os-* (> *mán-as-*) ~ **mṇs + d^heh₁* (*me-dhā-*, Av. *Maz-dā-*; *mé-dhi-ra-*, OAv. *maz-dāñhō.dūm*) ~ **méns + d^heh₁* (OAv. *hu-maz-d-ra-*, YAv. *maz-d-ra-*, OAv. *māñ-cā ... dā*); **méj(H)-es-* (> *máyas-*, YAv. *maīia-* ‘refreshment, pleasure’) ~ **mi(H)s-d^heh₁-* (> *mīdhā-*, NHG *Miete*) ~ **mj(H)és-d^heh₁-* (> *miyédha-*, Av. *miiazda-* ‘feast’). Cf. also p. 59.

There are *-iṣ-* aor. forms built directly from the denom. stem: *ūnāy-iṣ* RV I 53,3 (: *ūná-* ‘lacking’, no denom. pres.), *pāpay-iṣ-ta* TSP^m (: *pāpá-* ‘bad’, no denom. pres.), *á-saparyait* AV (: *sapar-yá-ti*; cf. NARTEN Sigm. Aor. 258, 292). The nominal forms in *-y-ā-* and *-y-ú-* are very common, as noted above (p. 53).

3.8. nominal and other formations of the verb

3.8.1. infinitives²⁹³⁾

There are many infinitive formations in the RV. The formal varieties are reduced later radically, and only *-tum*²⁹⁴⁾ remains in Ep., Cl. The forms in Vedic

²⁹²⁾ The unknown nominal base of this formation, **irás-* ‘jealousy, envy’ < **(H)rH-és-*, is possibly to be sought in YAv. *aras-ka-* ‘jealousy, envy’. Cf. Old-Hitt. *arš-an-je-mi* ‘be jealous’ < **(H)rHs-je-*. Cf. PETERS *Sprache* 32 (1986[1988]) 371ff. and n. 241 above.

²⁹³⁾ Cf. Petr SGALL *Die Infinitive im R̥gveda*, Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica II, Praha 1958, 135–268. See also Fritz WOLFF “Die infinitive des Indischen und Iranischen. Erster teil” KZ 40 (1907) 1–111: 1. Die ablativisch-genetivischen infinitive (5–57); 2. Die altindische infinitive auf *-tum* (57–71); 3. Die indo-iranischen infinitive auf *-(a)m* (71–96); 4. Die indo-iranischen infinitive auf *-ām* (97–104); 5. Die iranischen infinitive auf *-tim* (104–111); DELBRÜCK *AiSynt.* 409–431.

²⁹⁴⁾ Cf. also GIPPERT *Gs. Kuryłowicz* (1995[1996]) 255–277: among others, on the construction with *śak*, *śakya-*.

prose (YSP, Br.), beside productive *-tum*, are: *sādhvai* ‘in order to win’ MSP; *dr̥ś-é*, *ārabh-é* and several forms in *-é*; *āvi-tave*, *sār-tave* ŠB; a fair number of *-tavái* < **-tave* + *vái*, e.g., *yā-tavái* ‘in order to travel’, *kār-tavái* ‘to make’, *mān̥thi-tavái* ‘to stir, whirl, churn’, *pāri-starī-tavái* ‘to spread and cover’ [cf. GIPPERT MSS 44 (1985) 49f. n. 3, 5, 7]; several forms in *-am* in the construction with *ná śak* ‘be not able to’ (cf. Pāṇ III 4,12: Vedic); a good number of *-tos* (*-toṣ*) and some forms in *-as* with *īśvará-* (cf. Pāṇ III 4,13: Vedic),²⁹⁵ a good number of *-tos* with *ā* ‘till’ and *purā* ‘before’²⁹⁶.

The infinitives go back to case forms of nouns, predominantly of root nouns and *-tu-* stems. They are also formed from marked verbal stems. It is not always easy to distinguish infinitives from case forms of a noun. Criteria for the inf. could be: the verbal governance in the syntax (in the case of dat.-inf.s, however, governed nouns are very often attracted into the dat.; this is also the case with the final dative); furthermore, whether or not other case forms are attested from the nominal stem in question, and in which manner. The forms and the cases to which they go back are: dative: [1] *-dhvai*, [2] *-e*, *-ai*, [3] *-tave*, *-tavái*, [4] *-táye*, [4.1] *-tyái*, [5] *-aye*, [6] *-ase*, *-se*, [7] *-mane*, [8] *-vane*; ablative-genitive: [9] *-as*, [10] *-tos*; accusative: [11] *-am*, [12] *-tum*; locative [13] *-sáni*.

[1] For *-dhvai*, 35 forms are confirmed, almost all in the RV. The endings are added to the verbal stem or basis with *-á-*: e.g., *yāja-dhvai* (once *yajád̥dhvai*) ‘to worship’, *pība-dhvai* ‘to drink’, *pr̥ṇá-dhvai* ‘to fill’, from the caus. *syandayá-dhvai* ‘to let flow’, *mādayá-dhvai* ‘to intoxicate’, from the acrodynamic mid. pres. *stavá-dhvai* ‘to be praised’, *śayá-dhvai* ‘to lie’; — possibly based on the *-a-* aor. stem: *huv-á-dhvai* ‘to call’ (many times), *śuc-á-dhvai* ‘to shine’ IV 2,1 (together with *īrayá-dhvai*); — *duh-á-dhvai* ‘to milk (a cow)’ X 61,17, *vr̥j-á-dhvai* ‘to wrench off to oneself’ III 31,17, *iyá-dhvai* VI 20,8 (probably from *ay/i* ‘go’; or *yā* ‘travel’ as **iH-a-d^hiāi*?)); — *gamá-dhye* TS I 3,6,2^m with *-e* is only a variant of *gam-á-dhvai* RV I 154,6–MS–KS–KpS.

There are a good number of forms in OAv. (*-diiāi*) and some in YAv. (*-δiiāi*);²⁹⁷ they are added, just as in Ved., to a variety of stem formations. One

²⁹⁵ Cf. OERTEL “Die Konstruktion von *īśvara-* in der vedischen Prosa” KZ 65 (1938) 55–77 = Kleine Schriften 464–486.

²⁹⁶ Cf. OERTEL SBayAW 1941 II-9, 62–71 = Kl. Schr. 1431–1440.

²⁹⁷ Cf. beside SGALL (n.293), also BENVENISTE Les infinitifs avestiques (1935), KELLENS Verbe av. (1984) 349f., HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN (1996) 243, and RIX Fs. Palmer (1976) 319–331 = Kl. Schr. 123–135, GIPPERT MSS 43 (1984) 25–44, GARCÍA-RAMÓN “Zur Morphosyntax der passivischen Infinitive im Oskisch-Umbrischen: u. *-f(e)i*, o. *-fir* und ursabell. **-fiē* (**-d^hiehi*)” Oskisch-Umbrisch (ed. RIX 1993) 106–124, LÜHR “Zur In-

finds also the type OAv. *srū-diiāi* (**srauy/sru* ‘hear’: possibly based on the athemat. root-aor. stem), *ja-diiāi* (*jan* ‘slay’: athemat. root-pres. *jan-/ja-/yn-*), *āž-diiāi* (*nas/qš/as* ‘attain’, cf. athemat. root-aor. *frqš-tā* for **fra-aš-ta*, cf. GOTÖ I. Präz. 91 n. 7), *vōiz-diiāi* (: perf. *vāēd-ā* ‘knows’), etc. RIX Fs. Palmer (1976) 328 = Kl. Schr. 132 points out that PII *-*d^hiāi* goes back together with the Umbr. inf. -*fi* to PIE *-*d^hiōi*.²⁹⁸)

[2] The inf. in -*e* from the weak root-form has the largest number of occurrences among the inf.s in the RV, more than 130; it takes the form °*ai* in the case of roots ending in *ā*: e.g., *drś-é* ‘to see’, *ā-tūj-e* ‘to strike out’, *bhuv-é*, *-bhv-é* ‘to become’ (YAv. *buii-e*), *vṛdh-é* ‘to thrive’, *ā-yái* ‘to travel hither’ (*ā-yā*). Corresponding OAv. formations are: *p-ōi* < **ph₃-éi* ‘to guard’, *suii-ē* < **suu₁-ai* < **kuh₁-éi* ‘to make strong’, and from the sigmatic aor. *ā...* [*a*] *nāš-ē* < **-nāc-š-ai* ‘to bring’ Y 44,14.

[3] -*tav-e* from the dat. sg. of the -*tu-* stem occurs in about 36 forms in the RV, e.g., *āt-tave* (*ad* ‘eat’), *hán-tave* ‘to slay’, *dā-tave* ‘to give’, *āvi-tave* ‘to help’, *cāri-tave* ‘to go on, to act’, *stārī-tave* ‘to spread’ AV, *sū-tave* ‘to give birth’ (cf. n. 274). -*tavái*²⁹⁹) is attested in 16 forms in the RV, e.g. *gán-tavái* ‘in order to go’, *hán-tavái*. On the situation in Ved. prose, cf. above. These formations are not known in OIran.

[4] Forms in -*táy-e* (from the dat. of -*ti-* stems) are difficult to distinguish from nominal case forms. The inf. is confirmed in occurrences of *iṣ-táy-e* ‘to

terdependenz der Methoden ‘Funktionsbestimmung’ und ‘Rekonstruktion’ – das Infinitivmorphem indoiran. *-*d^hiāi*” MSS 55 (1994[1995]) 69–97.

²⁹⁸) Cf. also Hom. *ἐλάσσαι*, Att. *ἐλάσαι* ‘to drive’ < **ela-t^hai* < loc. **h₁el_h2-d^hi_heh₂-i*, and inf. in -(*σ*)*ai* and -*σθαι* (RIX Hist. Gramm. 238f.). Umbr. -*fi* (**-fiē*) might have come into being in some way from *-*d^hiāi* < PIE *-*d^hiāh₂-ai* < dat. *-*d^hi_heh₂-ei*. GARCÍA-RAMÓN loc. cit. 106–124 derives the Sabellic forms from *-*d^hi_he-h₁* (instr. of an abstr. noun *-*d^hiō-*), and the Indo-Iran. forms from its dat. *-*d^hiō-ei*. UNTERMANN Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen (2000) 381 decides in favour of the possibility that it stands for the pass. inf. *-*fir* < *-*d^hiāi-r* (cf. Osk. *sakrafir* ‘to be sacrificed’). LÜHR loc.cit. supposes an inner-Indo-Iran. new formation *-*d^hiāi* which has come into existence through a secondary segmentation from the voluntative subj. 1st sg. mid. in such form as OAv. *uzar^{ai}diiāi azōm* ‘ich werde erlangen’ (87ff.) Y 43,14 (BARTHOLOMAE and HUMBACH conjecture an inf. of the redupl. pres. of *ar*, cf. YAv. *uz-iiōr-^{ai}ti*, Ved. *úd-iyar-ti*, *īr-te*: *uzir^{ai}diiāi azō+* ‘Aufstellen will ich, fortreiben will ich’). LÜHR ascribes -*ar^{ai}diiāi* to *ard/ər^{ai}d* (cf. *sám-r^{ai}dyatām* ‘let him be endowed completely [by offspring]’ RV X 85,27), which should have been, however, reinterpreted as -*ar-diiāi* (PII *-*r-d^hiāi*), as a form belonging to PII **ar/r₁*, **r₁-šca-* ‘come into’ (Ved. *ṛcchāti*, cf. OPers. *rasa-iti*).

²⁹⁹) Through haplology from -*tave vāi*, cf. THURNEISEN Mél. Saussure (1908) 225–227, cf. also KLEIN The particle *u* in the Rigveda (1978) 164–167.

search', *vī-táye* 'to pursue, chase, track', *pī-táye* 'to drink', etc. These correspond to YAv. *para-kaṇ-taiiaē-ca* (*kan* 'dig'), *kər²-tēe* (*kar* 'make'), *karš-taiiaē-ca* (*karš* 'plough'), *apa-ṇharš²-tēe* (*harz* 'loose'), *hix-taiiaē-ca* (**həjk/hic* 'pour', formally = Ved. dat. *sik-táy-e*), cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 242. — [4.1] *-ty-ái* with the younger dat.-form (< **-tjāi*, after the *-ī-* inflexion: < **-tjéh₂-e_i*) is attested only in *i-tyái* 'to go', cf. OAv. *uz-ūⁱθiiōi* 'to help someone out of' < **HuH-tjāi*.

[5] An undoubted occurrence of the inf. in *-áy-e* is, according to SGALL (see n. 293) 178f., only *san-áye* I 116,21 (*sanⁱ/sā* 'conquer'); probably also *drš-áye* 'to see' IX 91,6 (among 8 occurrences of the form *dršáye*), *yudh-áye* 'to fight' V 30,4.9, X 38,3 (among 7 occurrences of *yudháye*), and perhaps *iš-áye* VI 52,15 ('to send forth' or 'to become invigorated'?, sole occurrence of the word); in addition, *mah-áye* 'to make great, glorify' (?) X 65,3 and *tuj-áye* 'to procreate' (?) V 46,7 could belong here.

[6] Forms with *-ás-e*, *-as-e* are attested in *ṛc-áse* 'to extol' (pres. *árc-a-*), *jīv-áse* 'to live' (pres. *jīv-a-*), *śrīy-áse* 'to be resplendent' (factitive pres. *śrī-ñā-ti*), *tuj-áse* 'to hurl' (pres. *tuj-á-*); from full-grade roots *arh-áse* 'to be worthy of' (pres. *árh-a-*), *car-áse* 'to go on' (pres. *cár-a-*), *śobh-áse* 'to be beautiful' (pres. *śóbh-a-*), *doh-áse* 'to milk' (pres. *dogdhi*, subj. *doh-a-ti*); from marked stems *rñj-áse* 'to speed straightward' (pres. *ṛ-ñ-j-á-*), *pušy-áse* 'to thrive' (pres. *puš-ya-*), *vrñj-áse* 'to wrench' (pres. *vṛ-ñá-k-ti*, *vṛ-ñ-j-ánti*); probably, furthermore, *áy-ase* 'to go' (pres. *éti*, *yánti*, subj. *áy-a-ti*), *bhój-ase* 'to enjoy' (pres. *bhu-ñ-j-até*, subj. aor. *bhój-a-te*), *sādh-ase* 'to accomplish' (pres. *sādh-a-*), *spār-ase* 'to carry off, acquire' (pres. *spṛ-ñáv-/spṛ-ñu-*, subj. aor. *spār-a-t*), *kṣád-ase* 'to serve up' (pres. *kṣád-a-*). Some OAv. forms correspond to these: *frād-añhē* (*frād*, pres. *frād-a-* 'promote'), *vaēn-añhē* (**vajñ*, pres. *vaēn-a-* 'see'), *rāšaii-eñhē* (caus. *rāš-aiia-* 'destroy'), *srāuuaii-eñhē* (caus. *srāuu-aiia-* 'let hear; recite'), and *vaoc-añhē* (*vac*, redupl. aor. *vaoc-a-* 'speak'), cf. HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 242f.

An inf. in *-s-é* occurs in *stu-sé* (*stav/stu* 'praise', *stáu-ti*, *stuv-ánti*, *stava^{te}*), *ji-sé* (*jay/ji* 'win, gain', *jáya^{ti/te}*). From the predicative use such as *stu-sé* 'he is to be praised' X 93,9, *cár-kṛ-se* 'is to be glorified' X 22,1; 105,4 (: intens. of *karⁱ/kṛ*, *cárkṛse* X 74,1 is the 1st sg. mid. 'I remember'), a new employment as 1st sg. has come into being, e.g., *stu-sé* 'I (will) praise' (many occurrences, e.g., I 46,1, VI 62,1; GELDNER takes it as the 3rd pl. in VIII 5,4), *gr-ñi-sé* 'I (will) sing, welcome' (more than 10×, cf. *grñi-šáni*, [13] with n. 305). These received a new interpretation as finite verbs and lost their accent in the main clause: *gāy-i-še* 'I sing' (pres. *gā-ya^{ti}*), *hi-se* 'I impel' (*hi-nó-ti*, *hi-nv-é*; aor. *a-he-ma*, *a-hy-an*). That is also the case with forms in *-ase* such as *yaj-a-se* 'I worship' (*yáj-a^{te}*), *arc-a-se* 'I extol'

(*árc-a^{ti}*), which could have been formed on account of the interpretation as verbal stem + autonomous *-se*.³⁰⁰⁾

[7] The certain inf. forms in *-man-e* are *dhár-maṇe* (*dhar/dhr* ‘support’), *bhár-maṇe* (*bhar/bhr* ‘bear’), *dā-maṇe* (*dā* ‘give’), and possibly *vid-máne* (*ved/vid⁽ⁱ⁾* ‘know’). OAv. has a corresponding formation in *xšqñ-məṇē* < **xšqm-maṇai*³⁰¹⁾ Y 29,9 (*xšam* ‘endure’). Cf. Lesb. Hom. *δό-μεναι* ‘to give’, *ἔμ-μεναι* ‘to be’.³⁰²⁾

[8] For *-van-e*, one can cite *dā-vāne* (many times), *tur-vāne* (*tarⁱ/tř* ‘cross over, get through’), and possibly *dhūr-vane* (*dhvar/dhūr* ‘injure’). The corresponding OAv. formations are **r-uuānē* < **ər-ṽanaṇi* Y 31,2 (*ar* ‘set in motion’) and *vīd-uuanōi* ‘to know’ Y 31,3.

OAv. has, in addition, the inf. in **-uaj* in *dā-uuōi* Y 28,2, Y 44,14 (*dā* ‘give’ and ‘set, settle’), *vīd-uuīē* Y 29,3, Y 31,5, Y 44,3, *vī-uuīd-uuīē* Y 53,9 (< **ṽid-uaj* ‘to know’)³⁰³⁾.

[9] The following forms in the RV are confirmed as inf.s in *-as*, — in the abl. construction (e.g., with *rté* ‘without’, *purá* ‘before’, *ā* ‘till’): *ā-třd-as* ‘being pierced’, *ava-pád-as* ‘falling down’, *sam-přc-as* ‘coming in contact’, *abhi-śnáth-as* ‘being shut upon’, *abhi-śrīś-as* ‘binding’, *abhi-śvās-as* ‘blowing upon’, *ava-srás-as*, *vi-srás-as* (*sraṇs/sras* ‘come off’); — and in the gen. construction only *ni-mīś-as*: II 28,6 *nahi ... nimīśaś canéśe* ‘I am never able even to close my eyes’. On some forms in Ved. prose, cf. above.

HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 242 register the following forms as counterparts in Av. (however, with “?”): OAv. *auu-ō* (**au*/u ‘help’), *az-ē* (*az* ‘urge’); *dār-aīi-ō* (: pres. *dār-aīia-* ‘support’), *vər²z-ii-ō* (*vər²z-īia-* ‘work’), *sauu-aīi-ō* (caus. *sauu-aīia-* ‘make strong’); YAv. *fra-γrār-aīi-ō* (caus. *γrār-aīia-* beside *gār-aīia-* ‘awake’), *ta²ruu-aīi-ō* (caus. *ta²ruu-aīia-* ‘let get through’).

[10] For *-to-s* (*-to-š*), 9 forms are confirmed as inf.s in the RV, mostly in the abl. construction like *-as*, e.g., *é-tos* ‘(from) going’, *gán-tos* ‘(from) going into’, *jáni-tos* ‘(from) producing’, *śārī-tos* ‘(from) breaking’, *purá hán-tos* ‘before slay-

³⁰⁰⁾ Cf. SGALL 182 (bibliography ib. n. 139), 243, furthermore, KÜMMEL Stativ 9 n.40, SCHAEFER Intensivum 108f.

³⁰¹⁾ Dissimilated from *-mm-* to *-nm-*; OIran. has no gemination at all.

³⁰²⁾ RIX Hist. Gramm. 238 supposes that Proto-Aeolic loc.-inf. **-men* (cf. Hom. *δόμεν*, *ἔμμεν*, etc.) has been reformed after Ion. **-enaṇi* (< loc. **-eneh₂-i*, or rather dat. **-enh₂-eṇi*; Ion.-Att. *δοῦναι*, *εἶναι*), cf. the sole inf.-formation in OPers. *-tanaīy* < **-t-ṇh₂-eṇi* (interpretable also as *-tanaīy* < **-t-ṇh₂-i*, cf. n. 304) in *car-tanaīy* (*kar* ‘make’), *ka_n-tanaīy* (*kan* ‘dig’), *bar-tanaīy* (*bar* ‘bear’), *ni-paiš-tanaīy* (*ni-paiθ* ‘engrave’), *θa_ns-tanaīy* (*θa_nh* ‘declare’).

³⁰³⁾ According to WERBA Sprache 32 (1986[1988]) 349, *vīduīē* in Y 29,3 and Y 31,5 belongs to **vajd/vid* ‘find out’.

ing', *ā ní-dhā-tos* 'until laying down (his play, hand in gambling)'; with *madhyā* probably in the gen. function *gán-tos* 'in the midst of going' and *kár-tos* '... of making'; in the gen. construction with *īśe* 'masters': *yó-tos* 'keeping away' VI 18,11 and *dā-tos* 'giving' VII 4,6. On the situation in Ved. prose, cf. p. 133.

[11] Inf.s in acc. *-am* are reported for 12 or 13 forms in 31 or 32 occurrences in the RV, e.g., *sam-ídḥ-am* 'making flame up', *yám-am* 'holding'.

[12] Inf.s in *-tu-m* are rare in the RV; undoubted examples are: *dā-tum* 'to give' V 79,10, *prāṣ-tum* 'to ask' I 164,4, and *ānu prā-voḍhum* X 2,3 (*vah* 'transport'). They are very common later, especially beginning with the period of Vedic prose; the shape before *-tum* is similar to [3]: in the case of *seṭ* roots, e.g., *grahī-tum*, *bhāvi-tum*, but *ún-ne-tum* MS^p 'to lead upwards' (*sām-nayi-tum* TB^m, *vy-apa-nayi-tum* AB); with *-i-* for maintaining clarity of the root form *yāc-i-tum* 'to beg', *hims-i-tum* 'to injure'; from pres. stem *hv-āyi-tum* 'to call' (*hv-āya-ti*), *kālp-āyi-tum* 'to arrange' (caus. *kālp-āya-ti*), *vart-āyi-tum* 'to let turn' (caus. *vart-āya-ti*; Ep. also *vart-i-tum*). — No inf. of acc. origin is known in OIranian.

[13] As locative inf.s,³⁰⁴ only forms in *-śāni* are confirmed, always in the shape *-śāni*: *tariśāni* '(in order) to get through' (2×), *ne-śāni* 'in leading', *par-śāni* 'in bringing across' X 126,3, *śū-śāni* '(in order) to swell' X 93,1, *prā ... sak-śāni* 'shall conquer forwards' (with a subject in the nom.) X 32, 1; from pres. stem *gr-ñī-śāni* 'I/one shall welcome' (object in the acc.)³⁰⁵, *upa-str-ñī-śāni* in *tād va ukthāsya barhānēndrāyopastīśāni* 'then your praising word (:gen.) is to be spread out steadily for Indra' VI 44,6 (GELDNER "ich will unterlegen").

Cf. the Grk. inf. in *-en* < loc. **-sen*, e.g. Ion. Att. *ἐχεν*, Dor. Lesb. *ἐχην*, Mycenaean *e-ke-e* < **seghesen* 'on holding' (RIX Hist. Gramm. 237).³⁰⁶

In Av., there are inf. forms in **-taī*, according to HOFFMANN–FORSSMAN 242: OAv. *s-tōi*, YAv. *s-tē* (*ah* 'be'), OAv. *i-tē*, *ā-i-tē* (**aī/i* 'go'), OAv. *ga-t.tōi*, *ga-t.tē*

³⁰⁴ On other candidates, e.g. *-ani*, *-tari*, cf. SGALL (as in n.293) 157f. He regards *pupū-tāni* X 132,6 'shall purify' (with subject in the nom.) as an inf. (158, 227) and compares it with OPers. *-tanaīy* (cf. n. 302).

³⁰⁵ VIII 12,19 *devām-devam vó 'avasa | indram-indram grñīśāni* "Immer nur den Gott, immer nur Indra soll man loben, euch zum Beistand" (GELDNER); VI 15,6 *agnīm-agnīm vah samidhā duvasyata | priyām-priyam vo ātithīm grñīśāni* "Immer huldigt eurem Agni mit Brennholz, immer feiert euren lieben Gast" (GELDNER); word-for-word perhaps: '[Him,] the very friendly guest, it is to be welcomed by you'. Cf. *gr-ñī-śé* 'I (will) sing, welcome', above [6].

³⁰⁶ RIX derives this from the loc. of the *-s-* abstractum (cf. **segh-es-* in Ved. *sáh-as-* 'power', Goth. *sig-is* 'victory') extended by *-en*, and again, enlarged by *-i*, yielding Ved. *-ś-ān-i*.

(*gam/jam* ‘go’), OAv. *mrū-ⁱtē*, YAv. *mrū-ⁱte* (**mrau/mrū* ‘speak’), OAv. *sas-tē* (*saṇh* ‘proclaim, declare’), YAv. *das-te* < **d^had^hH-taj* (*dā* ‘set, settle’, from its pres. stem). KELLENS Verbe av. devotes a long note (347f. n. 5) to this formation. The loc. sg. **-tēi-Ø* of the *-ti-* stem is preferable to the dat. sg. **-t-ēi* as a source for this formation, since the loc. sometimes shows an independent ablaut, cf. 1.1.3.: p. 14f.

3.8.2. participles

Participles are formed from every verbal stem. In the act. of the pres. (incl. the fut., desid., intens., caus., and denom.) and of the aor.³⁰⁷⁾, the suffix *-ánt-/-nt-/-at-* (p. 45f.) is employed; the f. is formed by adding *-ī-* or *-ĩ-* to the weak form of this suffix, and is inflected in the *devī-* type. In the mid., *-māna-* is added to the thematic, *-āná-/-āna-* to the athematic stem; the f. is *-mānā-* or *-ānā-/-ānā-*. They go back to PIE **-m^h₁nó-* (KLINGENSCHMITT Flex. und Wortbildung, 1975, 161–163 = Aufsätze 145ff.), from which *-āná-* is derived directly. In the case of thematic stems, an expected **-a-m(ī)na-* < **-o-m^h₁no-* (cf. Av. *-a-mna-/-ə-mna-*) is remodelled into *-a-māna-*, levelled with *-āná-/-āna-*; **-a-m(ī)na-* may have been preserved in MIA *-a-mīna-*, *-a-mīṇa-* (MAYRHOFFER and PETERS in MAYRHOFFER ZPhonSK 34, 1981, 435, MAYRHOFFER Idg. Gramm. I-2 130 with n. 136). The suffix for the perf. part. is *-vāns-/-ús-* (p. 47f.) in the act., and *-āná-* in the mid.

3.8.3. verbal adjectives

The v.adj.s, commonly but imprecisely known as “past pass. part.s (p.p.p.)”, are formed with *-tá-*, or in fewer cases with *-ná-*. The root appears in the zero grade as far as it is phonologically allowed. They have predominantly patientive (“passive”) meaning, e.g., *kṛ-tá-* ‘made’ (*kar/kṛ*; YAv. *kəṛ²-ta-*, OPers. *kar-ta-*), *vit-tá-* ‘found’ (*ved/vid*; OAv. YAv. *vista-*: < **uid-tó-*), *ha-tá-* ‘slain’ (*han*; YAv. *ja-ta-*, OPers. *-ja-ta-* with secondary *j*: < **g^{wh}h-tó-*), but fient.-intrans. verbs lack such a value (like Engl. past participles), e.g., *bhū-tá-* ‘having come into being, having become’ (*bhavⁱ/bhū*; YAv. *bū-ta-*), *ga-tá-* ‘gone’ (*gam*; YAv. *ga-ta-*, cf. YAv. *-gm-ata-*, OAv. *āg²m-aṭ-tā* n. pl. < **ā-gm-ata-*, OPers. *-gm-ata-*). When the root ends in a laryngeal, it develops to *ī* after a consonant, e.g., *pati-tá-* (*patⁱ* ‘fall, fly’), *udi-tá-* (*vadⁱ/udⁱ* ‘make sound, argue’), *gr̥bhī-tá-* (*grabhⁱ/gr̥bhⁱ* ‘grasp’), *skabhi-tá-* (*skambhⁱ/skabhⁱ* ‘prop’), *śnathi-tá-* (*śnathⁱ* ‘thrust, pierce’), *iṣi-tá-* (*eṣⁱ/iṣⁱ* ‘send’); in other instances a variety of phonological developments come into play: *hi-tá-* and *-dhi-tá-* (< **d^hh₁-tó-*: *dhā* ‘set, settle’), *gī-tá-* (< **gh₂-tó-*: *gā/gī*, *gā-ya-^{ti}* ‘sing’), *gūr-tá-* (< **g^wh-tó-*, Lat. *grā-tu-s* ‘welcome, desirable’: *garⁱ/gī* ‘welcome’); *-t-ta-* < **-dh₃-tó-*: (e.g., *devá-tta-* RV, *-pratī-tta-* AV, *prá-tta-* YSP+,

³⁰⁷⁾ Cf. DÖYAMA “On the Function of the Root-Aor. Part.” JIBS 56 (2008) 1043–1048.

ā-tta- TS^p+), with the restored root-form (*tvā-*)*dā-ta-*, and remodelled after the pres. stem *dat-tā-* (*dā-dā-ti*, *dā-d-ati*; *da-t-té*: *dā* ‘give’); *jā-tā-* ‘born’ (< **ǵn*_{h1}-*tó-*, OAv. YAv. *zā-ta-*: *jan*ⁱ; on *krāntā-* AV+: *kram*ⁱ, *śāntā-* AV+: *śam*ⁱ, cf. p. 172. BARTHOLOMAE’s law plays a role in some cases: *buddhá-* < **b^hudzd^há-* < **b^hud^h-tó-* (*bodh/budh* ‘wake up’), *baddhá-* < **b^hadzd^há-* < **b^hṇd^h-tó-* (*bandh/badh* ‘bind’; YAv. OPers. *basta-*), *dugdhá-* < **d^hugd^há-* < **d^hug^h-tó-* (*dogh/duh* ‘milk’), *ūd^há-* < **užd^há-* < **užd^há-* < **ujd^há-* < **uj^htá-* < **ug^h-tó-* (*vah/uh* ‘transport’).

There are forms with full-grade or long-grade root: *svāt-tā-* ‘sweetened’ (YAv. *x^vāsta-*; also *svad-i-tā-* belonging to caus. *svad-āya-*), *taṣ-tā-* (*takṣ* ‘hew, fashion’; YAv. *taš-ta-*), *bhak-tā-* ‘shared’ (YAv. *bax-ta-*), *naṣ-tā-* ‘lost’ (YAv. *naš-ta-*, OPers. *-nas-ta-*), *rā-tā-* ‘bestowed’ (YAv. *rā-ta-*). Av. *aṣa-* < **ārta-* ‘truth’ seems to be a vr̥ddhi-formation from the v.adj. *ṛ-tā-* ‘fit; something fit, cosmic law, truth’ in Ved.

-i-ta- has been introduced in some cases for clarifying the root form or for other, less clear reasons: *nādh-itā-* (*nādh* ‘be in distress’), *dhṛṣ-itā-* ‘bold’ beside *-dhṛṣ-tā-* ‘ventured out’ (*dharṣ/dhṛṣ* ‘take courage’, also *dhṛṣtam* ‘boldly’ ŚB), *gras-itā-* (*gras* ‘devour’). In the caus., *-i-ta-* is regularly the case, e.g., *ar-p-i-tā-* / *ār-p-i-ta-* (*ar-p-aya*^{ti} ‘make fit, meet’, cf. p. 129), *cod-i-tā-* (*cod-āya*^{ti} ‘set in motion’), *-svan-i-ta-* (*svan-āya*^{ti} ‘resound’); to *-āya-* pres. *īṅkh-i-tā-* (*īṅkh-āya*^{ti} ‘swing in a swing’), *vīḍ-i-tā-* (*vīḍ-āya*^{ti} ‘make fast’); to an unattested denom. (or with suff. *-itā-* meaning ‘equipped with’): *bhām-i-tā-* ‘enraged’ (: *bhāma-* ‘wrath’).

Forms with *-ná-* occur particularly with roots in final *d* or *ṛ* (**rH*), occasionally with roots in final palatals or *ā* (**aH*), e.g.: *chin-ná-* (*ched/chid* ‘cut off’), *tun-ná-* (*tod/tud* ‘push’), *skan-ná-* (*skand/skad* ‘leap’), *svin-ná-* (*sved/svid* ‘sweat’); *vṛk-ná-* (*vraś/vṛś* ‘chop, cut up’), *rug-ná-* (*roj/ruj* ‘break’); *di-ná-* (*dā* ‘divide’), *hī-ná-* (*hā* ‘leave, abandon’); *gīr-ná-* (*gar*ⁱ/*gṛ* ‘swallow’), *stūr-ná-* (*star*ⁱ/*stṛ* ‘spread out’, but YAv. *star-³ta-* < **stṛh₃-tó-*). — The same after roots in *-ī* and *-ū*, beginning with the AV: *lī-ná-* (*lay*ⁱ/*lī* ‘lean on’), *pī-ná-* (*pay*ⁱ/*pī* ‘swell’), *dū-ná-* (*dav*ⁱ/*dū* ‘burn’), etc. Furthermore: *pan-ná-* (*pad* ‘fall, step on’) AV, *vin-ná-* AV beside *vit-tā-* RV+ (*ved/vid* ‘find out’), *san-ná-* AV YS^m beside *sat-tā-* RV+ (*sad* ‘sit’).

The agent of the “past pass. part.” is expressed predominantly with the instr., but the nominal construction with the gen. is often preserved as in Pāli, cf. Pāli *evaṃ me sutam* ‘thus have I heard’ :: Buddh.Skt. *evaṃ mayā śrutam*.

Some v.adj.s have become independent, e.g., *pūr-ná-* ‘full’, *ū-ná-* ‘lacking’ (YAv. *ū-na-*), *ṛṣ-tā-* ‘harsh, hoarse’, and new forms replaced them: *prā-tā-* ‘filled’, *-vā-tā-* ‘extinguished’, *ṛṣ-i-tā-* ‘thirsty’. *ánna-* ‘food’ has probably been altered to a subst., through accent shift from the v.adj. **an-ná-* (*ad* ‘eat’), cf. also *ástam* (p. 147).

The *-ta-* formation is also very productive in OIran., which shows many equivalents to Ved. forms; however, secondary forms also occur, e.g., YAv. *mā-ta-*, OPers. *-mā-ta-* ‘measured’ :: Ved. *mit-á-*; OAv. YAv. OPers. *dā-ta-* :: Ved. *hī-tā-*,

-dhi-tá- (*dhā* ‘set, settle’); YAv. *yaš-ta-* ‘revered’ :: Ved. *iṣ-tá-*; YAv. *star²-ta-* :: Ved. *stūr-ṇá-*. A formation with *-na-* is attested in OAv. YAv. *pər²-na-* ‘full’ (< **pṛ-na-*, after the pres. stem *pər²-nā-* or by loss of laryngeal :: Ved. *pūrná-* < **pṛh₁-nó-*).

The formation in *-tá-vant-*, which is known in some forms in the RV itself (*matá-vant-* ‘having thought, intention’, *sutá-vant-* ‘having pressed-out [Soma]’, etc., cf. YAv. *xšuuīpta-uua^t-t-* ‘having milk’, cf. AiG II-2 610), is used later as a “past active participle” in Cl. Skt.; an old example is KaṭhUp (post-Vedic) I 2,10 *prāp-ta-vān asmi* ‘I have attained’. In Ved., however, only *asi-tá-vant-* AV IX 6,38 (prose portion) is known to be used as a participle, attested in a phrase in the absolute loc.: *asitāvaty ātithau* ‘when the guest has eaten’.³⁰⁸⁾

3.8.4. gerundives

The gerdv. (fut. necessitative part. or fut. v.adj.; predominantly “fut. pass. part.” from trans. verbs) has 6 formations, of which 3 occur almost exclusively in the RV.

[1] *-ya-* is the most common formation throughout OIA. This suffix is added to various ablaut grades of the root, and is metrically very often to be read as *-iya-* (*-ija-* < **-ih₂o-*?) which represents its original form, as shown in *déya-* ‘to be given’ (< **daH-ija-*: *dā*, IV 20,11 *ānu-déyam*): *dābh-iya-* ‘to be deceived’ (YAv. *a-ḍao-ia-*); *śrú-t-ya-* ‘to be heard’; *bhāv-ya-/bhāv-ya-/bhāv-ya-* ‘to occur in future’; *a-lāy-ya-* ‘not to be leaned on’ (*layⁱ/lī*); *vār-ya-/vār-ya-* ‘to be chosen’ (*varⁱ/vṛ*, cf. OAv. YAv. *va^r-ia-*); *an-ānu-kṛ-t-yá*^{308a)} ‘not to be made again’ RV, *kār-ya-* ‘to be made’ AV+ (cf. YAv. *ka^r-ia-*); *īd-ya-* ‘to be begged’; *śāms-ya-* ‘to be proclaimed’, *vāc-ya-* ‘to be spoken’, *dṛś-ya-/dārś-ya-* ‘worth seeing’ (cf. YAv. *huuar².dar²-sia-* ‘to be seen by the sun’), *prati-cākṣ-ya-* ‘visible’, etc.

[2] *-āy-ya-* is restricted to 10 forms almost only in the RV, e.g., *dakṣ-āy-ya-* ‘obligated to demonstrate one’s ability’, *pan-āy-ya-* ‘to be admired’, *vid-āy-ya-* ‘to be found’, *śrav-āy-ya-* ‘glorious’, *spṛh-ay-āy-ya-* (: *spṛh-aya^{-ti}* ‘be eager’), *tray-ay-āy-ya-* IV 2,7 (: *trā-ya^{-le}* ‘guard’), *tan-tas-āy-ya-* (: intens. *tan-tas-* from *tanis* ‘draw to and fro’); *di-dhi-ṣ-āy-ya-* ‘to be desired to be set’ (: desid. *dī-dhi-ṣa-* from *dhā*); and further in the Br. *pan-āy-ya-* ‘to be admired’, *paṇ-āy-ya-* (expressive variant with *ṇ*), cf. AiG II-2 285f. An isolated *stuṣéy-ya-* ‘to be praised’ RV X 120,6 seems to have been formed in direct imitation of *stuṣé* (p. 135: [6]).

[3] *-enya-* (often *-en_i-ya-*) is attested in more than 20 forms, mostly in the RV and other mantra texts, e.g. *īkṣ-en_i-yā-* ‘to be observed’, *dṛś-en_i-ya-* ‘to be seen’, *vār-en_i-ya-* ‘to be desired’ (*varⁱ/vṛ* ‘choose’), *abhy-ā-yam-s-ēnya-* (: *-s-* aor., *yam*

³⁰⁸⁾ Cf. RENOU BSL (1940) 214–217.

^{308a)} RV X 68,10; 112,5. *ānu* instead of *anu* supposedly according to SAUSSURE–WACKERNAGEL’s law, cf. AiG I, Nachträge 177.

‘hold in stretched arms’), *di-drk-ṣ-énya-* ‘to be desired to be seen’ (: desid.), *mar-mṛj-én(i)ya-* ‘to be wiped up’ (: intens.); after the RV, from the desid. and others: *śu-śrū-ṣ-énya-* ‘to be obeyed’ TS^m Br., *īd-énya-* ‘to be begged’, *sapar-y-énya-* ‘to be adored’ YSP; *di-drk-ṣ-énya-*, *pra-ni-nī-ṣ-énya-* ‘to be desired to be employed’ Br. Cf. AiG II-2 503ff.

[4] *-tva-* is limited to the simplex, and mostly to the RV; a meaning of possibility, e.g. in *snā-tva-* ‘suitable for bathing’ RV X 71,7 ŚB, is somewhat remarkable: *jān-tva-*, *jāni-tva-* ‘to be born’, *sāni-tva-* ‘to be conquered’, *bhāvī-tva-* ‘future’, *jé-tva-* ‘to be won’, *hé-tva-* ‘to be driven on’, *só-tva-* ‘to be pressed out’, *hán-tva-* ‘to be slain’ (YAv. *ja-θβa-*), *nán-tva-* ‘to be bent’, *kár-tva-/kár-tva-* ‘to be made’, *vák-tva-* ‘to be spoken’ (YAv. *vax²-θβa-*). After the RV, there are only sporadic occurrences: *á-han-tva-* MS–KS–KpS^m, *hó-tva-* ‘to be poured as a libation’ MS I 9,3^p:132,19, and some others. After a short syllable, the suffix (< *-tu- + -a-) appears as *-tva-*, and after a long one, as *-tva-*, however, with some deviations. YAv. correspondents (also from verbal compounds) show almost always *-θβa-* < *-tva-, but cf. also *varṣ-tuua-* ‘to be done’ < **uarṣ-tuua-*. Cf. AiG II-2 711ff.

[5] *-tavyà-/tavjyà-* (< the full-grade form of *-tu-* + [1] *-ya-*) and [6] *-anīya-* (< *-ana- + *-īya-*) are both common gerdv. formations in the later language. They appear only from the AV onward. In the AV itself, the following forms are attested: *jani-tavjyà-* ‘to be begotten’, *hims-i-tavyà-* ‘to be injured’, *upa-jīv-anīya-* ‘on which one has to live’, *ā-mantr-anīya-* ‘to be addressed’, and *ā-hav-anīya-* ‘in which one should offer a libation’ (both forms in *-anīya-* appear only in the prose-portions). Cf. AiG II-2 208–210, 612–615.

In Av., *-ata-* serves as the gerdv. suffix: OAv. *dar²s-ata-* ‘to be seen’ (Ved. *darś-atá-*), OAv. YAv. *yaz-ata-* ‘worth worshipping’ (Ved. *yaj-atá-*), YAv. *s^uru-muu-ata-* ‘to be heard’ (from the pres. stem). Corresponding formations in Ved. are not many and are regarded rather as independent adj.s, cf. AiG II-2 168f.

[On adj.s in *-uka-* (AV+, common in YSP) which show frequently a participial character (not patientive), cf. AiG II-2 480ff., J.-S. KIM StII 26 (2009) 71–82.]

3.8.5. gerunds (absolutives)³⁰⁹⁾

For the gerund (absolutive, “conjunctive participle”), there are 5 formations: [1] *-tvā́*, [2] *-tvā́ya*, [3] *-tvī́*, [4] *-yā́*, and [5] *-am*. The first four suffixes, which seem to be of instr. origin,³¹⁰⁾ are, in most cases, added to a weak root form. *-am*

³⁰⁹⁾ Cf. Bertil TIKKANEN The Sanskrit Gerund: A synchronic, diachronic and typological analysis, Helsinki 1987.

³¹⁰⁾ DEBRUNNER AiG II-2 654 supposes for the origin of *-tvī́* a contamination of *-tvā́* (instr. of the *-tu-* stem) with an old instr. (*-tī of the “Infinitivstamm” in *-tī-*.

apparently originates in the acc. and is suffixed to the *-o-grade root. Both forms [1] *-tvā* and [4] *-ya* (not *-yā*) survive also later, and are standard forms from Vedic prose through Ep. and Cl.Skt., for simplicia and for compound verbs, respectively. [5] *-am* first appears (depending on the interpretation) in the AV or Vedic prose. The use of gerunds in general is not so common in Ved. as in later “Sanskrit”, where they are very productive.³¹¹ **-tvīnam* (cf. Pāṇ VII 1,48 *iṣ-tvīnam* instead of *iṣ-tvā* in Ved. “*chandasī*”) and **-tvānam* are not attested in OIA, but their existence could be assumed from MIA developments, cf. AiG II-2 655, J. SAKAMOTO-GOTO Panels VIIth World Skt. Conf. VI (1991), 16–19.

[1] *-tvā* is attested from 9 verbs (in 20 occurrences) in the RV: *bhit-tvā* ‘having shattered’, *bhū-tvā* ‘having become’, *yuk-tvā* ‘having yoked’, *vṛ-tvā* ‘having covered’, *śru-tvā* ‘having heard’, *ha-tvā* ‘having slain’ (*han*), *pī-tvā* ‘having drunk’ (*pā*), *mi-tvā* ‘having formed’ (*mā* ‘measure’), *hi-tvā* ‘having abandoned’ (*hā*). The AV has about thirty more forms, e.g., *ga-tvā* ‘having gone’ (*gam*), *bhak-tvā* ‘having attained as a share’ V 17,11 (~ *bhak-tvāya* RV X 109,7), *kṛ-tvā* ‘having made’ ib. (~ *kṛ-tvī* RV ib.), *dṛṣ-tvā* ‘having seen’, *gr̥hī-tvā* (*grabhī*/*gr̥bhī*/*grahī*/*gr̥hī*), *hims-i-tvā* ‘having injured’, and remarkable forms such as *ja-gdhvā* ‘having eaten’ (*ghas*, cf. HOFFMANN KZ 83, 1969, 212ff. = Aufs. 307ff.), *da-tvā* (: *da-dā-ti* ‘gives’), *cā-y-i-tvā* ‘noting’ (: *cā-ya-*⁴), from the caus. *kalp-ay-i-tvā* ‘having arranged’ (also YS^m +), *śramś-ay-i-tvā* ‘letting loose’ (~ *sramś* KS^m), *praty-ar-p-ay-i-tvā* ‘having sent against’. The formation in *-tvā* is in itself the exclusive gerund formation for the simplex verbs; some exceptions are found, in addition to *praty-arpayitvā*, in the YS^p and Br., often from the caus., e.g., *sam-ir-ay-i-tvā* ‘having assembled’, *pra-jan-ay-i-tvā* ‘having progenerated’; some forms also in the Sūtras, many forms in *-ay-i-tvā* in Ep. (cf. OBERLIES Gramm. of Ep. Skt. 282).

[2] *-tvā-ya*, an extended formation from [1], is formed from 7 roots in the supposedly younger layer of the RV: *ga-tvāya* (*gam*) VIII 100,8, and in Book X: *dṛṣ-tvāya*, *bhak-tvāya* ‘having attained’, *ha-tvāya*, *hi-tvāya*; *ja-gdhvāya* (: *ja-gdhvā* AV +), and *da-tvāya* (: *da-t-tvā* AV +); in the YS^m, in addition, *kṛ-tvāya*,

³¹¹ TIKKANEN p.88 on Black Yajurveda (prose): “the gerund is extremely rare, and the number of roots forming the gerund is smaller than in the R̥g- and Atharvaveda. E.g. in the Kāthakasaṁhitā the past gerund (i.e. [1]–[4]) occurs on an average only once in about 26 pages (the non-past gerund [i.e. *-am*] occurring only some 15 times in the whole text; RENOU [BSL 23] 1935, p.371), being formed from almost a 100 different roots or secondary stems at least 30 of which are not represented in the gerund form in the R̥g- and Atharvaveda”; and p.79: “In the Brāhmaṇas [not including YS^p (annot. by T.G.)] its frequency as a verb-form is already about three times greater than in the R̥gveda, while in the Epic and Classical literature it is, relatively speaking, about ten times as common as in the R̥gveda”.

ta-tvāya ‘having stretched’ (*tan*), *vr̥-tvāya* ‘having covered’ (: *vr̥-tvā́*, *vr̥-tvī́* RV), and ŚB XIII 5,4,12 = AB VIII 23,6 (verse) *baddhvāya* ‘having bound’.³¹²⁾

[3] *-tvī́* is the most common gerund suffix in the RV, with 16 forms in 36 occurrences, their majority occurring in Book X, e.g.: *kṛ-tvī́*, *vr̥-tvī́*, *ga-tvī́*, *ha-tvī́*, *pī-tvī́*, *bhū-tvī́*, *gūḍhvī́* ‘having concealed’ (*goh/guh*), *vr̥k-tvī́* ‘having wrenched’ (*varj/vr̥j*), *viṣ-tvī́* ‘working’ (*veṣ/viṣ*), *hi-tvī́*, *a-yuadhvī́* ‘without fighting’ (*yodh/yudh*); in X 65,7, *skabhi-tvī́* (*skambhī/skabhi* ‘prop’) and *jani-tvī́* (*janī/jñī/jā* ‘beget’) appear side by side. There are no independent forms in the AV; in the YS^m, however, *snā-tvī́* ‘having purified oneself in water’ and *khā-tvī́* ‘having digged’.

[4] *-yā* is used only with compound verbs. The root shows, in principle, the same form as in *-tvā́*; however, the root-syllable is always accented. The root-final *ā* remains unchanged, as does *am* in *-krām-ya* (*kramī*); on the forms in *-a-t-ya-*, see below. *-yā* is dominant in the RV, later only *-yā*, e.g. *āc-yā* ‘having bent’ (*ā-āñc*), *abhy-ūp-ya* ‘having strewn on...’ (*vap/up*), *saṃ-gṛbh-ya* ‘gathering’, *pāda-gṛh-ya* ‘grasping by the foot’, *abhi-gūr-yā* ‘in singing to [somebody] welcome’ (*garī/jarī/gṛ/jṛ*), *abhi-krām-ya* ‘having approached to...’, *ā-dā-ya* ‘having taken’, *ni-cāy-yā* ‘having recognized’; in the AV, e.g. *saṃ-bhū-ya* ‘having come together’, *ut-thā-ya* ‘having arisen’ (*sthā*), *upa-dā-d-ya* ‘having put onto’ from the pres. stem (: *dā-dā-ti*, *dā-d-ati*), and *vi-bhāḥ-ya* ‘having apportioned’ from the caus. stem. When the suffix is added to a root ending in a short vowel, the form *-t-yā* is employed (as in the case of root nouns), e.g. *é-t-yā* ‘having come’ (*ā-ay/i*), *ā-dṛ-t-yā* ‘regarding’, *aram-kṛ-t-yā* ‘having made ready’, *akḥkhalī-kṛ-t-yā* VII 103,3 ‘shouting *akḥkhal(a)*’ (or: ‘making syllables’, THIEME KZ 71, 1954, 109 = Kl. Schr. 138: < **akṣartī*), *ā-gā-t-yā* ‘having come’ (*gam*), *vi-hā-t-yā* ‘having struck away’ (*han*).

[5] The forms in *-am*³¹³⁾ all appear in compound verbs and denote an action accompanying that of the finite verb. The expressed action is thus simultaneous

³¹²⁾ An alleged gerund in prose, *attvāya* MS I 8,5^p: 121,20 is to be read with AMANO MS I–II, 298f. n. 934 ⁺*adattvāya* ‘for the sake of non-contact with incisors’ (⁺*prāśnāty*. *adat-tvāya*⁺ instead of *prāśnāti*. *yād attvāya* in the ed.).

³¹³⁾ Cf. RENOU “L’absolutif Sanskrit en *-am*” MSL 23 (1935) 359–438, OERTEL SBayAW 1941, II-9 (1941) 109–118 = Kl. Schr. 1478–1487. — The examples presented by REICHELT 335f. for the YAv. absolutive in *-am* seem rather to be interpreted in another way: adv., acc. of content, the same as in the type *sūvṛṣṭam varṣati* (HOFFMANN Fs. Risch, 1986, 201 n. 12 = Aufs. 834, with rich bibliographical notes; in addition, DELBRÜCK Vergl. Synt. I, 1893, 366 n. 1, BODEWITZ JB I 1-65, 1973, 191 n. 4, FORSSMAN Fs. Risch 337 n. 26, GOTŌ Akk., 2002, 33 with n. 21), or in the construction *idāṃ bhū* (cf. GOTŌ Gs. Elizarenkova, 2008, 115–125), etc. The YAv. forms in *-tīm* which REICHELT 336f. takes for a gerd., remain unsolved.

or collateral to the main action and is often characterised by repetition. Thus, the function stands in contrast to *gerd.* [1]–[4], by which, in principle, a preceding action is expressed. This category agrees to some extent with Pāṇinian “*ṇamul*”. The roots show the vocalism *-ā/a-*, thus the PIE **-o-* grade. It is difficult to draw a clear outline of this type against the adverbial uses of the acc. sg. n. (cf. p. 147). From Ved. prose (YS^p Br.), one can cite, e.g., *pari-krām-am* ‘treading around’, *vi-grāh-am* ‘separating successively’, *nāma-grāh-am* ‘while calling (one’s) name’, *ān-apekṣ-am* ‘without looking aside’. Some forms in the AV can be interpreted as the *gerd.*: *abhy-ā-krām-am* ‘treading toward’, *pra-tānk-am* ‘going forward while repeating contraction’, *ni-lāy-am* ‘nestling’, *abhi-skānd-am* ‘mounting on’, etc. A form supposed for the RV, *pra-ṇódam* X 165,5, seems rather to be taken as an acc. of content (Inhaltsakkusativ) of the verb *nudata*. The occasional palatalisation, e.g., *ut-sárj-am* MS^p :: *-sarg-ám* TS^p Br., is explained by analogy after some inf. in *-am* (no comparable form is found, however) or a pres.-stem (in this case *-sṛj-á-*).

3.9. preverbs

The so-called preverbs or adverbial prepositions are used to modify the lexical content of verbs or to add some meaning to them: *ácchā* ‘toward, in the direction of’, *āti* ‘beyond, over’, *ádhi* ‘on, over’, *ānu* ‘after, along’, *antár* ‘between, in the midst’, *āpi* ‘close to, into’, *abhi* ‘toward’, *áva* ‘down’, *ā* ‘hither’, *úd* ‘above, out’ (PII **udz/*uts* < **ud-s*), *úpa* ‘thereto, unto, to (in a friendly sense or for asking something)’, *ní* ‘beneath, in, at home’, *nís* ‘out of, away from’, *pārā* ‘away’, *prá* ‘forward, forth, away’, *pári* ‘around’, *práti* ‘against’, *ví* ‘asunder, apart’, *sám* ‘together, complete, in the right order’. They are used also as prepositions or simply as adverbs. *āpi* means as prepos. with a (mostly following) loc. ‘close to, into’, *ā*³¹⁴ with a preceding acc. ‘toward, to’, with a following abl. ‘up to’, with a preceding abl. ‘from ... hither’, with a preceding loc. ‘in’. *pári*³¹⁵ means with acc. ‘around’, with abl. ‘from ... (via a curved path)’; *ádhi*³¹⁶ with acc. ‘beyond’, with instr. ‘through’, with abl. ‘from’ etc., with loc. ‘onto’; *antár*³¹⁷ with acc. ‘between’, with abl. ‘from the inside of’, with loc. ‘in; into the inside of, between’.^{317a)}

³¹⁴⁾ Cf. DUNKEL “Autour de *ā* Ṛg-védique (*A Lexical Study*)” IJ 24 (1982) 89–102, cf. also “Mono- and disyllabic *ā* in the Ṛgveda” Synt. des lang. Indo-Iran. anc. (1993) 9–27.

³¹⁵⁾ Cf. HETTRICH “Syntax und Wortarten der Lokalpartikeln des Ṛgveda. III: *pári*” Fs. Neumann (2002) 215–242.

³¹⁶⁾ Cf. HETTRICH “Syntax und Wortarten ... I: *ádhi*” MSS 52 (1991) 27–76.

³¹⁷⁾ Cf. HETTRICH “Syntax und Wortarten ... II: *antár*” MSS 54 (1993) 147–176.

^{317a)} [The series “Syntax und Wortarten der Lokalpartikeln des/im Ṛgveda” (cf. n. 315–317) is continued by Heinrich HETTRICH (H. H.), Antje CASARETTO (A. C.), and

Preverbs are independent to some extent in their use with verbs, and the level of independence differs depending on the preverb and the context. They are set directly before the verb or in some other preceding (or following) position (so-called *tmesis*)³¹⁸, esp. at the beginning of the sentence, while the verb, if unmarked, is located in sentence-final position. The finite verb loses its accent in the main clause or sentence, and the preverb (or one in a chain of prev.s) is normally accented. In the subordinate clause/sentence, the finite verb is accented, and the prev. (or chain of prev.s), if it directly precedes, loses its accent and forms a compound with the verb.

On Av. “prepositions”, which accord to a large extent with those of Ved. (however, Iran. **pati*, Av. *pa-tī*, OPers. *pati-*, *patiy* :: OIA *prāti*), cf. REICHELT 266–279.

4. adverbs and indeclinables

4.1. Adnominal prepositions govern certain cases or are used alone as adv.s; in the RV, e.g., *adhás* ‘below, under’ with acc., gen. (OAv. *adē*, cf. YAv. *aḍa’ri*), *parás* ‘beyond, outside, apart from’ with acc., instr., abl. (OAv. *parē*, YAv. *parō*), *tirás* ‘through, across’ with mostly following acc., and ‘laterally’ (YAv. *tarō*); *avár* ‘down from’ with instr., abl., *upári* ‘above, over’ with preceding acc., gen. (YAv. *upa’ri*, OPers. *upariy*); *antarā* ‘between’ and *abhi-tas* ‘around’ with acc.; *sahá*, *sākám*, and *sumád/smád* (cf. OAv. YAv. *maṭ*) ‘with’ with instr.; *ārē* ‘far from’ with abl., gen.; *ṛté* ‘without’, *purá* ‘before’ (OAv. *parā*, YAv. *para*), *bahir-dhā* ‘from out’, and *sanutár* ‘apart’ (cf. OAv. *hanar*³¹⁹ ‘without’, cf. OETTINGER Fs. Koch, 2007, 231–234) with abl.; *purás-tāt* ‘in front of’ with gen.; *sácā* ‘in association with, beside, at, in’ (cf. OAv. *hacā*, YAv. *haca* with abl. ‘from’) and *ápi* ‘close to, in’ with loc. Cf. p. 144f., 147ff.

4.2. Adverbial suffixes are used in various meanings; their origin seems for the most part to have been case forms of root nouns or pronouns:

[1] *-thā* (also *-tha*) for adverbs of manner, especially from pronom. stems, e.g., *á-tha*, *á-thā* ‘then’ (Av. *a-θā*)³¹⁹, *tá-thā* ‘thus’, *yá-thā* ‘in which manner’ (Av.

Carolyn SCHNEIDER (C. S.): IV: I. Allgemeines (H. H.), II. *úpa* (A. C.), III. *áva* (C. S.), MSS 64 (2004[2010]) 17–130; VI: *prāti* (A. C.), IJDL 7 (2010) 1–53; VIII: *abhi* (A. C.), HS 123 (2010[2011]) 97–156; IX: *ánu* (A. C.), MSS 65 (2011) 7–64; X: *úd* (C. S.), MSS 65 (2011) 185–241; XII: *ví* (A. C.), HS 124 (2011) 108–151; XIV: *ácchā* (A. C.), StII 28 (2011) 1–27; XVI: *āti* und *tirás* (A. C.), IJDL 8 2011[2012] 173–216; XIX: *prá* (A. C.; in Vorbereitung); XXI: *purás*, *purástāt* und *purá* (A. C.), MSS 66/1 (2012) 11–53.]

³¹⁸ Cf. RENOY “La séparation du préverbe et du verbe en védique” BSL 34 (1933) 49–96; BOLEY *Tmesis and Proto-Indo-European Syntax* (2004).

³¹⁹ Cf. KLEIN IJ 22 (1980) 195ff., *Discourse Grammar II* (1985) 63–91, 126ff. (also on *átho*), StII 20 (1996) 205–223 “Rigvedic *áthā*: Metrics, Phonology, and Etymology”,

ya-θā, OPers. *ya-θā*), *ka-thā* ‘how?’ (Av. *ka-θā*), *anyā-thā* ‘otherwise’, *ṛtu-thā* ‘regularly’; *it-thā* ‘here, to be sure’ (supposedly from the pron. n. sg. **id* ‘this, it’ which is postulated as the basis of the emphasising particle *id*, cf. p. 151; *it-thām* ‘thus, in this manner’ has been probably produced from *it-thā*, cf. *evā* :: *evā-m*, p. 148).

[2] *-dhā* chiefly from numerals: *eka-dhā* ‘singly’, *dvi-dhā* ‘in two ways’, *tri-dhā*, *tre-dhā* (mostly trisyllabic, cf. p. 65); *kati-dhā* ‘in how many parts?’, *śaśva-dhā* ‘continuously, happening again and again’; *ad-dhā* ‘really’ (OAv. OPers. *az-dā*)³²⁰.

[3] *-dha*: *á-dha*, *á-dhā* ‘then, just, now’ (OAv. *a-dā*, YAv. *a-ḍa*, OPers. *a-da-*)³²¹; *i-hā* ‘here’ (< **i-dha*, OAv. *i-dā*, YAv. *i-ḍa*, OPers. *i-dā*, Pāli MIA *i-dha*), *i-hā* RV IV 5,14; 31,11, X 178,1; *sa-hā* ‘together’ (< **sa-dhā* in *sadhā-stuti-* ‘united praise’, OAv. *ha-dā*, YAv. *ha-ḍa*); possibly < PIE **-dʰé*.

[4] *-vat* for ‘like’: *manuṣ-vāt* ‘like Manuṣ’, *pratna-vāt* ‘as of old’.

[5] *-śás* for distributive adv.s: *śata-śás* ‘by hundreds’, *ṛtu-śás* ‘season by season’; this goes back to PIE **-kás* together with Grk. *-káς*, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT MSS 33 (1975) 70, 72 = Aufs. 152, 154, cf. above n. 131.

[6] *-s* for some multiplicative adv.s: *dvi-s* (*dviṣ*) ‘twice’ (YAv. *bi-š*, Grk. *di-ς*, Lat. *dui-s*, *bi-s*, PIE **d̥ui-s*), *tri-ṣ* ‘thrice’ (YAv. *θri-š*).

[7] *-tas* for the place ‘from where’, sometimes also ‘at, toward’: *á-tas*, *i-tás* ‘(from) here’, *amú-tas* ‘(from) there’, *dakṣiṇa-tás* ‘from/at the right/south’, *pari-tas* ‘round about’, *abhi-tás* ‘around, from all sides’ (also with acc.; YAv. *aʹβi-tō*).

[8] *-tāt*, like *-tas*: *adhás-tāt* ‘(from) below’, *purás-tāt* ‘from/in front/east’, *upári-ṣ-tāt* ‘(from) above’ with *-stāt* abstracted from the preceding ones.

[9] *-trā* for the place ‘where’: *á-tra*, *á-trā* ‘here’ (Av. *a-θrā*, cf. YAv. *i-θra*), *tá-tra* ‘there’, *yá-tra* ‘at which place’ (Av. *ya-θrā*), *kú-tra* ‘where?’ (Av. *ku-θrā*), *sa-trā* ‘in one place, together’ (also with instr.; OAv. *ha-θrā*, YAv. *ha-θra*), *deva-trā* ‘among the gods’.

[10] *-dā* for the time: *i-dā* ‘now’ (YAv. *i-ḍa*), *ka-dā* ‘when?’ (OAv. *ka-dā*, YAv. *ka-ḍa*, cf. Lith. *ka-dà*), *yá-dā* ‘when’ (OAv. *ya-dā*).

[11] *yádi* ‘if, in the case that’ (YAv. *yeʹḍi*, OPers. *yadiy*): from relat. pron. acc. sg. n. *yád* ‘when, if’ (cf. 4.3.: p. 147) + loc.-particle **-i* (?).

[12] *tá-r-hi* ‘at that time’, *ká-r-hi* ‘when?’: these inherit an old suffix PIE **-ǵʰi* (cf. Grk. *ἧ-χῖ* ‘where’ < **Hǵeh₂-ǵʰi*), which recurs also in OAv. *ye-zī* ‘if’; cf. also *hí* ‘for (the reason that), even’ (Av. *zī*, Grk. *-χῖ* < **ǵʰi*: p. 150).

Fs. Hamp (1997) II 1–25 “Early Vedic *áthā* and *átho*”; DUNKEL HS 101 (1988) 53–78 “Indogermanisch **át*, Vedisch *átha*”.

³²⁰ Cf. GOTÖFs. Klingenschmitt (2005) 193–212.

³²¹ Cf. KLEIN Discourse Grammar II (1985) 63ff., 91–130.

4.3. adverbial case forms and adverbs from case forms

Some case forms of nominal and pronominal stems are often used also, or exclusively, as adv.s. The acc. sg. n. can serve theoretically always as an adv.; more or less independently used as adv.s are: *bahú* ‘largely’, *náma* ‘by name’ (YAv. *naqma*, OPers. *nāma*, Grk. *ὄνομα*, PIE **h₃néh₃-m_i* or **h₁n^o*), *rūpá-m* ‘in form’, *satyá-m* ‘truly’, *agrá-m* ‘in front’, *ásta-m* ‘(to, at) home’ (through accent-shift from v.adj. **as-tá-* ‘come home safely’ of *nás-a^{te}*); from the acc. of time: *nákt-am* ‘at night’, *sāyá-m* ‘in the evening’, *púrva-m* ‘formerly’, etc. The adv. *áram* ‘sufficiently, suitably’ (OAv. *arēm*, YAv. *arəm*) no longer has a nominal base. Extended formations are found in *nū-ná-m* ‘now, still now’ (: *nú*, *nū*; cf. MPers. *nūn*, OAv. *ā nū-rē-m-clī* ‘still now’, YAv. *nū-rə-m*, *nū-rq-m*, OPers. *nū-ra-m*) and *idā-nī-m* ‘this time’ (: *idā*).

There is a group of adv.s produced from the pres. part. n. through accent-shift: *īš-át* ‘approximately, a little’, *drav-át* ‘swiftly’, *tṛp-át* ‘satisfyingly’, *drahy-át* ‘firmly’, *dhṛṣ-át* ‘boldly’, *patay-át* ‘through flight’, and from an aor. stem *dyu-g-át* < **-g^wh₂-nt* ‘going through heaven’ VIII 97,4.³²²⁾

The acc. sg. n. of pronom. stems can be used as an adv.: *adás* ‘there, over there, on that occasion’, *idám* ‘here, now’, *tád* ‘then, by that’ (YAv. *taṭ*), *távāt* ‘so far, so long’ (cf. Grk. *τέως*, cf. under *yávāt*); as conjunction or relative adv. introducing a clause: *yád* ‘if, when’ (cf. YAv. *yaṭ*, OAv. *hiiaṭ*), *kím* ‘why?’ (cf. p. 73); *yávāt* ‘as far as, so long as’, OAv. YAv. *yauuaṭ* < **(H)īéh₂unt*; cf. also Grk. *ἕως*; *yāt* ‘in as much as’ and *tāt* ‘then, so long’ go back to fossilised acc. sg. n. < **(H)īéh₂nt*, **téh₂nt*,³²³⁾ on the homonyms *yāt* ‘since’, *tāt* ‘since then, thereafter’, cf. below.

ká-ti ‘how many?’, *yá-ti* ‘as many’, and *tá-ti* ‘so many’ seem to go back to n. pl. nom.-acc. (without an ending) of the numeral *-ti-* stem, which occurs in the f. cardinals of ‘60’ to ‘90’ (p. 61), cf. YAv. *ca-ⁱti* ‘how many?’, Breton *pet* ‘id.’ < **k^wé-ti*, Lat. *quot* < **k^wó-ti*; YAv. *ye-ⁱti* ‘as many’ < **Hīé/ó-ti*; Lat. *tot* ‘so many’ < **tó-ti*; also derivative **tótī-o-* is found in Grk. *τόσο-ς*, *τόσσο-ς* ‘so great; pl. also: so many’, *ὅσο-ς*, *ὅσσο-ς* ‘as great; pl.: as many’. Derivations *kati-thá-* ‘the so-and-so manyeth’ and *kati-dhā-* ‘in how many places or parts?, how often?’ are attested since the RV; *kati-bhyas* KSP *kāti-bhis* BÄU, etc. are secondary forms. Cf. AiG III 334, II-1 640, MAYRHOFFER EWAia s.vv.

³²²⁾ Cf. WACKERNAGEL KI. Schr. 313f., NISHIMURA MSS 63 (2003 [2009]) 118.

³²³⁾ Cf. KLINGENSCHMITT MSS 30 (1972) 101 = Aufs. 110: *kíyant-* ‘how large?, how much?’ < **k^wi-h₂ent-*, *íyant-* ‘so large, so much’ < **i-h₂ent-*, OPers. *yātā* ‘in as much as’ < instr. **īé-h₂nt-eh₁*, Lat. *quant-u-s* ‘how large’, *tant-u-s* ‘so large’ < **k^we-h₂nt-o-*, **te-h₂nt-o-*, derived from **k^wé-h₂nt-*, **té-h₂nt-* (ib. n. 6).

Some instr. forms are used as adv.s of manner or accompanying circumstances: *sáhas-ā* ‘forcibly’, *rābhas-ā* ‘violently’,³²⁴ *nāvyaś-ā* ‘anew’, *dīv-ā* ‘by day’ (: instr. *div-ā* ‘by, through heaven’, cf. OAv. *fra-ⁱdiuu-ā* ‘again and again’), *doś-ā* ‘in the evening’ (instr. of time) etc. The instr. of f. nouns is used for denoting manner: e.g., *sumn-ayā* ‘piously’, *devātā* ‘among the gods’; many forms in *-ā*, *-ais*, and *-yā* occur, often with accent-shift: *dakṣiṇā* ‘to the right’ (: *dākṣiṇa-*), *śánais* ‘slowly’, *samanā* ‘in the same way’ (: *sámana-*), *gúh-ā* ‘in secret’ (: instr. *guh-ā*), *anu-ṣṭhu-yā* ‘following’ (: *anu-ṣṭhú-*), *dhr̥ṣṇu-yā* ‘boldly’ (: *dhr̥ṣṇú-*), *urvīy-ā* ‘far’ (*urv-ī-*, f. of *urū-* ‘wide’), *amu-yā* ‘in a bad manner, in that way’ (: instr. **amú-yā* of the pronom. stem *amu-*), *ubhayā* ‘in both ways’ (: *ubháya-*).

There are forms with *-cā*, which might have been an old instr. **k^wéh₁* (or **h₃k^w-éh₁*, with loss of **h₃*): *uc-cā* ‘upward, above’ with *uccáis* ‘on high’; *pas-cā* ‘behind, afterward’ (YAv. *pas-ca*, OPers. *pasā*), beside it also *pas-cāt* ‘from behind’ (cf. YAv. *pas-kāt*), *pas-cāt-āt*, *tiraś-cā* ‘transversely’ (YAv. *taras-ca*, used also as prepos. with an acc.; cf. *tir-y-āñc-*, p. 44; also *tiraścātā*).³²⁵

evā ‘in this way’ (YAv. *aēuuā* ‘so, thus’, OAv. *nōiṭ aēuuā* Y 29,6) could have originated in the instr. of **aiuā-* ‘one’ (cf. n. 162), cf. MAYRHOFER EWAia I 270, but is attested predominantly in the form *evā*. Another form, *evā-m*, is introduced as early as in the RV, cf. *it-thā* :: *it-thā-m*. As a particle, *evā* is very common in the meaning of ‘even, exactly, the very, solely’ in the RV and later.³²⁶

Adv.s from the abl. are, e.g.: *ārāt* ‘from a distance’ (also *ārāt-t_(a)āt*, cf. *ārē*), *dūrāt* ‘from afar’ (: *dūrā-* adj., OAv. YAv. *dūrāt*, cf. *dūrē*), *amāt* ‘from near’ (: *āmā* ‘at home’, cf. OPers. *ama-ta* ‘thence’ < **-tas*), *āt* ‘then’ (fossilised from pron. *a-*, also disyllabic; OAv. YAv. *āat* ‘then’, OAv. *āat* ‘now’, cf. OChSlav. [depronominal] conjunction *i* ‘and’)³²⁷, *yāt* ‘since’ AV+ (OAv. *yāt*, cf. NARTEN YH 166, cf. homonymous *yāt* ‘in as much as’, cited above), *tāt* ‘since then, thereafter’ (NARTEN ib. n. 120, cf. homonym *tāt* ‘so long’), *sanāt* ‘from of old’ (: *sána-* ‘old’); on *paścāt*, *paścātāt*, cf. above.

³²⁴ From *sáhasā*, *rābhasā* etc., new adj.s are formed such as *sahas-ā-nā-*, *rabhas-ā-nā-*, *ṛñjas-ā-nā-* ‘speeding straight’, *mandas-ā-nā-* ‘having intoxication’, *bhyás-ā-na-* ‘fearing’ etc., cf. FAY AJPh 38 (1917) 82ff., M. LEUMANN Neuerung 35 n. 3, INSLEER KZ 82 (1968) 1–23.

³²⁵ DUNKEL, “The common origin of conjunctive **-k^ee* and adverbial **-s*”, Fs. Narten (2000) 11–29, finds old formations in these words.

³²⁶ In the theological argumentation in Vedic prose, *evā* is used as a sign that the sentence, in which *evā* stands in second position emphasising a preceding word, is the concluding sentence maintaining the result of the discussion. Cf. DELBRÜCK AiSynt. 486.

³²⁷ Cf. also KLEIN Discourse Grammar II 63ff., 130–138, NARTEN YH (1986) 257–259.

The gen.s of time, *vástos* ‘while becoming bright’ (*vás-tu-* f.) and *aktós* ‘while colouring’, i.e. ‘in dawning or twilight’ (*ak-tú-* m.), could be cited as adv.s on account of their common use.

Examples of the loc. are: *ágre* ‘in the beginning, in front, on top’ (*ágra-* n.), *āré* ‘in the distance’ (cf. *ārāt*), *āké* ‘close by’ RV II 1,19 (also in *āke-nipá-* IV 45,6), *rté* ‘without’ (cf. p. 145), *dūré* ‘in the distance’ (OAv. *dū’re*, YAv. *dū’re*, cf. *dūrāt*).³²⁸⁾

Old abl. forms of root nouns seem to underlie *tir-ás* ‘crosswise’ (also as prepos. with an acc.; YAv. *tar-ō*, OIr. *tar* < **trh₂-és*, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT *Altarm. Verb.* 98) and *pur-ás* ‘in front’ (also with gen., abl., acc.; YAv. *par-ō*) beside instr. *pur-ā* ‘formerly’ (OAv. *par-ā*, YAv. *par-a*, OPers. *par-a-na-m*): < **prh₂-és*, **prh₂-éh₁*, cf. KLINGENSCHMITT *ib.*; cf. Lat. *prae* < loc. **přh₂-i*(?). Of abl. or gen. origin could be *sa-dy-ás* ‘in one day, immediately’, *sa-dīv-as* ‘on the same day’ RV II 19,6, *hy-ás* ‘yesterday’ (< **ǵh₁dī-és*, cf. NPers. *dī*, *dīg*, Grk. *χθές*, Lat. *heri*), *śv-ás* lit. ‘(on the) morrow (morn)’ (Chotan. *svī*), *mith-ás* ‘differently, mutual’ (YAv. *miθ-ō* ‘falsely’, OAv. *miθ-ah-*, OPers. *miθ-a kar*). — *par-ás* ‘after, furthermore’ (OAv. *par-ē*, YAv. *par-ō*, OPers. *par-a*, cf. p. 145) and *par-ā* ‘away, far away’ (OAv. *par-a-cā*, YAv. *par-ā-ca*), perhaps also *pār-i* ‘around’, are to be traced back to the same noun; cf. also *par-é* ‘moreover, in the future’ (cf. below) and adj. *pār-a-* ‘further, another more, highest’.

áp-i ‘also, furthermore, even’³²⁹⁾ could go back to some loc. form, cf. OAv. *a’p-ī* ‘also, afterwards’, ‘after’ (with instr.), YAv. *a’p-i* ‘also, especially’, ‘over’ (with acc.), ‘after’ (with instr.), ‘upon’ (with acc., loc.), OPers. *ap-iy* ‘thereto, also, still’, PIE *(*h*₁)*ép-i* in Grk. *ἐπ-ί*, *ἐπ-ι* ‘upon, after, in addition to’ (with gen., dat., acc., or as adv.), Arm. *ew* ‘and’; cf. also *ápi* as a preverb ‘close to, into’ (p.144), and prepos. with loc. ‘close to, in’ (p.145). — An old case in *-*a* (cf. p. 19 on *kšám-/kšā-/kšm-/jm-*) or some other formation might be assumed in the background of *a-dy-á* (also *adyā*) ‘in this day, now’, *sm-a* (also *smā*) ‘all the time’ (**sm-a* beside **sñm-a* in Grk. *ᾄμ-α*; cf. p. 149), and *par-é* ‘moreover, in the future’ (cf. above).

4.4. Particles serve to convey the speaker’s attitude to the content of a sentence or a word, in some logical, interrogative, negative, emphatic, or restrictive manner. Some particles which have originated in case forms are cited among adv.s (4.3.: p. 147ff.). There are also enclitic forms, which occupy the second position in a sentence (“WACKERNAGEL’s position”: Kl. Schr. 1ff.), or in a word group.

³²⁸⁾ Dat. forms such as *aparāya* ‘for the future’ (cf. acc. Ved. *aparā-m*, OAv. YAv. *aparə-m*, OPers. *apara-m* ‘later, in the future’), *vārāya* ‘according to wish, choice’ (MACDONELL 429) could be classified as adv.s.

³²⁹⁾ Cf. KLEIN *Discourse Grammar* II 210–213.

These may serve also for marking or colouring of the whole sentence, cf., e.g., n. 326. More than one particle may be used in a certain order. The particles which take WACKERNAGEL's position in a sentence are not only unaccented ones (enclitics and postclitics) — such as *ca* 'and' (also 'if'; for indefin. pron., cf. p. 74)³³⁰, *vā* 'or'³³¹, *u* 'on the other hand, also'³³², *ghā*, *ha* 'namely' (PIE **g^ho*/**g^he*, resp., cf. DUNKEL KZ 96 189f., HALE Gs. Schindler 143–151), *iva* 'just like' (in the RV, *ná* is used in the same meaning and position; in Ved. prose predominantly 'just'³³³, *sma*^{333a}, *kam* (cf. *nú kam*, Grk. *vó kev*, Hitt. *nu kan*) beside *kám* (after final dat. and inf.),³³⁴ *svid* 'surely, after all', — but also accented particles,³³⁵ i.e., *vái* 'assuredly, to be sure, indeed, well' (OAv. *vōi* YH 36,3), *nú* 'now', *ná* 'just like', *evá* 'the very, solely, only', *khálu* 'as is well known' in Ved., later also 'surely, likely'³³⁶, *kíla* 'obviously' in Ved., later 'from what they say'³³⁷, *hí* 'for (the reason that), even' (the finite verb is accented in the sentence with *hí*; OAv. YAv. *zī*, Grk. *-χί*, PIE **ǵ^hi*, cf. DUNKEL KZ 96 190 n. 69, cf. p. 146: [12]), *tú* 'however'³³⁸, *sú* 'surely, well', *áha* 'on one hand, to be sure'. The enclitic pronoun of the n. sg.

³³⁰ Cf. KLEIN Discourse Gramm. I (1985) 46–292; on the prehistory of *ca*, cf. also DUNKEL Sprache 28 (1982) 129–143, KZ 96 (1982/1983) 178–199, Fs. Narten (2000) 11–29.

³³¹ Cf. KLEIN Discourse Grammar II 139–209.

³³² Cf. KLEIN Discourse Grammar II (1985) 6–62, The Particle *u* in the Rigveda (1978), JAOS 98 (1978) 266–276, Delbrück y la sint. indoeur. hoy (1997) 253–281; DUNKEL Laryngaltheorie 107–121, IF 102 (1997) 156–178, cf. above n. 176.

³³³ Cf. PINAULT “Négation et comparaison en védique” BSL 80 (1985) 103–144. On the meaning ‘as’ in the RV, cf. GOTŌ on RV I 131,2 in WITZEL–GOTŌ Rig-Veda (2007). Cf. also SCHRAPEL Untersuchung der Partikel *iva* (1970).

^{333a} *sma* ‘all the time’ (cf. p. 149). *ha sma* in Vedic prose, and *sma* alone in post-Vedic are used with the ind. pres. for expressing a repeated act in the past, cf. DELBRÜCK AiSynt. 502ff., HOFFMANN Aufs. 528, MUMM “Altindisch *sma*. Teil 1: Rig- und Atharvaveda” IJDL 1 (2004) 19–68. Its precursors are observed, e.g. in RV X 95,5 (with inj. and ind. pres., cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 201) and 8 (with ipf., differently HOFFMANN 203).

³³⁴ Cf. ETTER Fs. Risch (1986) 220–228, DUNKEL Gs. Cowgill (1987) 14, Sprachwiss. und Philologie (1990) 115ff., KZ 96 (1982/1983) 178.

³³⁵ “quasi-enclitics” KUPFER Demonstrativpronomina (2002) 41 n. 62, GIPPERT Fs. Panagl (2004) 56ff. Cf. DELBRÜCK AiSynt. 22.

³³⁶ Cf. ICKLER “Die vedische Partikel *kíla*” KZ 90 (1976) 50–86, EMENEAU “Sanskrit syntactic particles – *kíla*, *khalu*, *nūnam*” IJ 11 (1968/1969) 241–268 = Skt. Stud. 129–147.

³³⁷ Cf. ICKLER loc. cit., EMENEAU loc. cit., VAN DAALEN “The particle *kíla/kíra* in Sanskrit, Prākṛit and the Pāli Jātakas” IJ 31 (1988) 111–137.

³³⁸ Cf. KLEIN “Rigvedic *tú* and *sú*” Sprache 28 (1982) 1–26.

nom.-acc. **i-d* has become an accented particle *íd*, and is used, occupying the position of an enclitic, for emphasising a preceding word. It is found also in *kuv-íd* ‘whether really ...?’ (almost always with an accented finite verb) < *kú*, *kú* ‘where?’ + *íd*, *sv-íd* ‘surely, after all’ < **su* + **id*, *céd* ‘if’ < *ca* + *íd*, *néd* (= OAv. YAv. *nōiṭ*) ‘by no means, that not’ < *ná* + *íd*. — *cid* ‘if any, even, at all’ was originally the n. sg. (nom.-)acc. of the interrog. pron. **ci-d*. On *ca-ná* (= OAv. *-ci-nā*, YAv. *-ci-na*) ‘(not) at all’ (perhaps partly crossed with *ná* ‘not’)³³⁹, cf. p. 70f.: [4]; p. 73f.

The adv. *nú*, *nú* ‘now’ is employed as a particle in various nuances, *nú* being placed in the position for enclitics, but *nú* (RV) predominantly at the beginning of a sentence, often in the combination *nú cid* or with other enclitics.

utá ‘and, also’³⁴⁰, *ápi* ‘also, furthermore, even’, and both inherited negatives *ná* ‘not’³⁴¹ and *má* ‘lest, that not’ (cf. p. 90; also *má-kis*, ‘no one, by no means’, *má-kīm* ‘not at all’) occupy the first position in a sentence or precede the word which they govern. At a later period *ápi* is treated as a second-position enclitic, like *ca. iti* is employed for quoting a direct speech or a thought, which it follows. In sentence-initial position it means ‘thus, as follows’.

4.5. In OIA, the use of adverbs is not so developed as in other, e.g., modern languages. The type *ápāñ prāñ eti* ‘backward, forward he goes’ RV I 164,38 is rather the standard, where the moving direction is designated by an adj. qualifying the subject. The type with an adverb, e.g., *pratyág enaṃ śapáthā yantu tṛṣṭāḥ* ‘let the harsh curses go backward to him’ X 87,1, occurs more and more later on. In addition, the acc. of content (inner acc., *Inhaltsakkusativ*), which qualifies the content of the verbal action, functions in the role of adverb.³⁴²

There is no word for ‘well’ in general. *sú-* (PIE **h₁sú-*) is used only in compounds to denote a superior quality, which may even be negative (e.g. *su-duḥ-kha-* ‘a heavy pain’ Ep.). Thus, one finds such circumlocutions as *sú-bhṛtaṃ bi-bhárti* ‘one supports a good-supported one, i.e. supports well’, *su-śamídhā sám-īdhire* ‘they have kindled with good kindling’.³⁴³ *sú* or *sú* used often with the iptv. might go back to an adverbial usage of the acc. sg. n. of this word. The comparative *su-tarām* ‘better, more’ is attested in Cl.Skt. Comparative adv.s in *-tarām* are

³³⁹ Cf. KLEIN Discourse Grammar I 285–292.

³⁴⁰ Cf. KLEIN Discourse Grammar I 293–460 (cf. HETTRICH Kratylos 33, 1988, 72–79).

³⁴¹ Cf. PINAULT “Négation et comparaison en védique” BSL 80 (1985) 103–144, “Distribution de la particule négative *ná* dans la R̥k-Saṃhitā” BEI 15 (1997) 213–246.

³⁴² Cf. GOTÖ Akk. (2002) 33f.

³⁴³ On *sú*, cf. HOFFMANN “Zu den arischen Komposita mit Vorderglied *su-*” Fs.Risch (1986) 196–203 = Aufs. 829–836. Cf. also n. 313.

built from prepositions, in the RV, e.g., *pra-tarám* ‘further’ (also in constructions like *prá táṇ naya pratarám* ‘lead him further forward!’ X 45,9), *vi-tarám* ‘wider, broader’ with verbs with *ví*, e.g., *vi-tarám ví-kramasva* ‘stride out broader!’. Feminine forms in *-tarām* are common after the RV; in the RV one finds only *saṇ-tarām* ‘closer together’.³⁴⁴⁾

4.6. Some interjections may be cited in conclusion: *baṭ* ‘truly’^{344a)}; *bata* ‘alas!’; *híruk*, *hurúk* ‘away’ (placed before a voc.); *hayé* ‘woe!’, later also *he* for grief or pain^{344b)}; *ahahā* ChUp, *hā* Cl. for scorn (cf. *áhallikā* ‘what a laugh!’ BĀU, Pāli *ahahā*), *dhik* ‘fie’ with an acc. in the Br.³⁴⁵⁾ — *aṇgá* ‘just, only’ is used in the RV after the word beginning a sentence, emphasising it, e.g. *kím aṇgá* ‘what at all?’, later also for urging. — *are* ‘you!’ YS^m+ seems to have come from the voc. of *arí*-³⁴⁶⁾, originally ‘member of a tribe; enemy; chief of one’s tribe’³⁴⁷⁾, cf. Engl. *O man!*, NHG *Mensch!* On *hánta* ‘now then!’ and *éta* ‘go!’, cf. p. 98. [On onomatopoeic expressions with retroflexion like *phaṭ kar/ḱṛ* ‘crush’ AV, *phaṭ* with *han* ‘crash’ VS+; *bhāṇ kar/ḱṛ* ‘sizzle’ ŚB, etc., and post-Vedic *kaṭ*, *khaṭ* TĀ etc., cf. HOFFMANN ZDMG 110 (1960) 176 = Aufs. 131, also GIPPERT WZKS 48 (2004) 95 with n. 23.]

³⁴⁴⁾ Cf. RENOU “Adverbs in *-tarám*, *-tarām*” IHQ 14 (1938) 121–136.

^{344a)} On *baṭā* with *kar/ḱṛ* ‘make clear, ascertain’, cf. HOFFMANN Aufs. 355, cf. also *bát kurvīta* ‘should make sure’ TB I 5,2,1^p.

^{344b)} Cf. HOFFMANN Inj. 199 n. 177, GOTÖ I.Präs. 252 n. 570.

³⁴⁵⁾ *éd* with an acc. (YS^p+) has been interpreted as an interjection (GAEDICKE Acc. 210–213) or particle (DELBRÜCK AiSynt. 184, 404, 407, “siehe da”), or with ellipsis of the verb *vid* ‘find’ or *paś/dṛś* ‘see’ after *ā + id* (TICHY Fs. Strunk, 1995, 319–343). It results, however, from a real ellipsis of the verb of motion *ay/i* or *gam* after *ā + id*, as is shown in VādhAnv I 2 (*ā-jagāma*, *ā-gamam*), in a parallel version to the corresponding legends in YS^p Br., cf. GOTÖ Fs. Narten (2000) 91. GAEDICKE (with reference to *éd thi* RV VIII 53,5 ‘come upon!’) seems to have started from a correct observation.

³⁴⁶⁾ Cf. THIEME Der Fremdling im Rgveda (1938) 4ff. — *are* is used also for addressing a woman, BĀU II, IV (Maitreyī), JB II 442:2 (Saramā).

³⁴⁷⁾ Cf. GOTÖ in WITZEL–GOTÖ Rig-Veda (2007) 828 Glossar s.v.

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Abbreviations of the journals: AcOr: Acta orientalia, ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica Norvegica, 1922–; — AJPh: American Journal of Philology. John Hopkins University, Baltimore 1880–; — BEI: Bulletin d'études indiennes. Paris, Association française pour les études sanskrites, 1983–; — BNME: Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka 1976–; — BSL: Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris, 1869–; — BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London 1917–; — HS: Historische Sprachforschung = Historical Linguistics. Göttingen, Bd. 101, 1988– (continuation of “Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung” [KZ]); — IF: Indogermanische Forschungen. Zeitschrift für Indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde. Strassburg/Berlin 1892–; — IHQ: The Indian Historical Quarterly. Calcutta 1925–1963 (Vol. 39); — IJ: Indo-Iranian Journal, The Hague/Dordrecht 1957–; — IJDL: International Journal of Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction. München, 2004–; — JAs: Journal asiatique. 8e serie, ou recueil de mémoires d'extraits et de notices relatifs à l'histoire, à la philosophie, aux langues et à la littérature des peuples orientaux. Paris, Société asiatique, 1883–; — JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society, New York 1843–; — JIES: The Journal of Indo-European Studies. Washington, D.C. 1973–; — JOIB: Journal of the Oriental Institute. Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Barodea 1951–; — KZ: Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen (“Kuhns Zeitschrift”). Berlin/Gütersloh/Göttingen 1852–, neue Folgen 1873–, 1877–; — Lg: Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America. Baltimore 1925–; — Lingua: Lingua. International review of general linguistics. Amsterdam 1947–; — MSS: Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft. München 1952–; — Sprache: Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft. Wiener Sprachgesellschaft 1949–; — StII: Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik. Reinbek 1 (1975)–27 (2010). After 28 (2011): Zeitschrift für Indologie und Südasiastudien [ZIS]. Bremen; — TPhS: Transactions of the Philological Society. London 1854/1855–; — WZKS: Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Kommission für Sprachen und Kulturen Südasiens. Leiden 1957–; — ZIS: see under StII; — ZPhonSK: Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung. Berlin 1947–.

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Abbreviations:

[AB] Aitareya-Br.; [abl.] ablative; [acc.] accusative; [act.] active; [adj.] adjective; [AiG] → WACKERNAGEL; [aor.] aorist; [Ār.] Āraṇyaka; [Arm.] Armenian; [athemat.] athematic; [Att.] Attic; [AV] Atharvaveda; [AVP] Atharvaveda, Paippalāda-recension; [Av.] Avestan (i.e. OAv. + YAv.); [Br.] Brāhmaṇa; [C] consonant; [caus.] causative; [Celt.] Celtic; [Chotan.] Chotanese (Khotansakisch); [Cl.] Classic Sanskrit; [comp.] compound, composition; [Cret.] Cretan; [dat.] dative; [desid.] desiderative; [du.] dual; [Engl.] English; [Ep.] Epic Sanskrit; [f.] feminine; [fut.] future; [gen.] genitive; [gerd.] gerund (absolutive); [gerdv.] gerundive; [Germ.] Germanic; [Goth.] Gothic; [Grk.] Greek; [H] laryngeal, cf. below; [Hitt.] Hittite; [Hom.] Homeric; [ind.] indicative; [inf.] infinitive; [inj.] injunctive; [instr.] instrumental; [intens.] intensive; [Ion.] Ionian; [ipf.] imperfect; [iptv.] imperative; [Iran.] Iranian; [JB] Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa; [JUB] Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa; [KB] Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa; [KS] Kāṭha-Saṁhitā; [KpS] Kapiṣṭhala-kāṭha-Saṁhitā; [Lat.] Latin; [Lesb.] Lesbian; [lit.] (citation of) literature, bibliographical notes; literally; [Lith.] Lithuanian; [loc.] locative; [m] mantra; [m.] masculine; [MBhār] Mahābhārata

(Ep.); [MIA] Middle Indo-Aryan; [mid.] middle, medium; [MS] Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā; [n.] neuter; [NHG] New High German; [Nīr] Nīrangistān; [nom.] nominative; [OAv.] Old Avestan (in word-index: “O”); [OChSlav.] Old Church Slavic (Old Bulgarian); [OE] Old English; [OHG] Old High German; [OIA] Old Indo-Aryan; [OIr.] Old Irish; [ONord.] Old Nordic; [OPers.] Old Persian; [opt.] optative; [Osc.] Oscan; [P] prose (“brāhmaṇa”); [Pāṇ] Pāṇini; [part.] participle; [pass.] passive; [perf.] perfect; [PIE] Proto-Indo-European; [PII] Proto-Indo-Iranian; [pl.] plural; [pres.] present; [Pur.] Purāṇa (in later Skt.); [Rām] Rāmāyaṇa Epic; [Russ.] Russian; [RV] Ṛgveda; [RVKh.] Ṛgveda-Khila (“Apokryphen des RV”); [ŚāṅkhŚrSū] Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra; [ŚB] Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (Mādhyandina-recension); [ŚBK] Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Kāṇva-recension; [sg.] singular; [Slav.] Slavic; [subj.] subjunctive; [TĀ] Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka, [TB] Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa; [themat.] thematic; [Toch.] Tocharian; [TS] Taittirīya-Saṁhitā; [Umbr.] Umbrian; [Up.] Upaniṣad; [VādhAnv] Vādhūla-Anvākhyāna; [v.adj.] verbal adjective; [voc.] vocative; [V] vowel; [Vīd] Vīdēvdād; [VWC] → VISHVA BANDHU; [Y] Yasna; [YAv.] Young-Avestan (in word-index: “Y”); [YH] Yasna Haptaṇhāiti; [YS] Yajurveda-Saṁhitā; [Yt] Yašt.

Symbols:

°	“omitted before or after”.
<	“coming from, derived from”.
>	“develops, changes into”.
-a-	a sound which is not “written” (not found in the tradition) but is to be pronounced.
-a-	a letter which is “written” but is not to be pronounced.
□-	indicates stem form (a verbal root has no “-”).
□×	“□ times”.
→	“remodelled”, “see”.
*□	a reconstructed or postulated form.
□*	an incidentally not attested form in the paradigm.

On sandhi and ruki A word is given often in a theoretical form. The instr. pl. termination of the thematic inflexion is cited as *-ais* < **-ōis* instead of its instantiation in a “*ruki*” form, i.e. *-aiṣ* (Iranian **-āiṣ*). It appears as *-aiḥ* in pausa and before some voiceless sounds, as *-air* before voiced sounds, and as *-ais* before *t*, *th* and also before *s* in some texts. “*ruki*” is a phonological law in Indo-Iranian (and Slavic, also partly in Baltic) according to which **s* and **z* are changed to post-alveolar **ṣ* [ʃ], **ž* [ʒ] when they follow **r* (and **r̥*), **u* (and *ū*, **u̯*), **k* (and its group: **k*, **g*, **gʰ*, **kʷ*, **gʷ*, **gʷʰ*, **ḱ*, **ǵ*, **ǵʰ*), and **i* (and *ī*, also from laryngeals, and **i̯*). Forms such as *devāis*, *agnī-s*, *devī-s*, *a-kramī-s*, *ā-vadhī-s*, gen. loc. du. *-os*, inf. *-tos*, adv. *dvi-s* ‘twice’ should properly be cited as *devāiṣ*, *agnīṣ*, *devīṣ*, *akramīṣ*, *āvadhīṣ*, *-oṣ*, *-toṣ*, and *dviṣ*. The *ruki*-forms are used for the designation of the stems, e.g. nominal *-iṣ-*, *-uṣ-* etc., sigmatic aorists *-iṣ-*, *-siṣ-*, and in some other cases.

On laryngeals The historical explanation presented above presupposes three PIE laryngeals, h_1 , h_2 , and h_3 , which, as a class, are represented by the cover symbol H . Their essential effect in PIE is to colour an adjacent vowel e : $*eh_1 > *eh_1$, $*eh_2 > *ah_2$, and $*eh_3 > *oh_3$; $*h_1e > *h_1e$, $*h_2e > *h_2a$, and $*h_3e > *h_3o$. (In the present description, word forms are cited in the basic $*e$ vocalism.) o -vocalism and long-grade $\bar{e}$ are not affected: $*\check{o}h_{1-3} > *\check{o}h_{1-3}$, $*h_{1-3}\check{o} > *h_{1-3}\check{o}$; $*\bar{e}h_{1-3} > *\bar{e}h_{1-3}$, $*h_{1-3}\bar{e} > *h_{1-3}\bar{e}$, cf. above n. 116. They are realised in Greek very often as the vowel e , a , or o , respectively. $*h_2$ has been preserved in Hittite h . For details, cf. MAYRHOFER Idg. Gramm. I-2 121–150.

These three PIE laryngeals seem to have remained as consonants (or a consonant) in PII; cf. also Index, p. 170, s.v. BRUGMANN's law. In Indo-Aryan, they appear usually as $\check{i}$ between consonants, or disappear without trace. The latter is predominantly the case with Iranian. $*h_2$ causes the aspiration of a preceding consonant in PIE; in OIA, it appears usually both as the aspiration of a consonant + as vocalised i .

The laryngeals have been lost between a vowel and a consonant (i.e., in the context VHC) with compensatory lengthening of preceding short vowels: (1) PIE $*eh_1C$, $*ah_2C$, $*oh_{1-3}C$, $*\bar{e}HC$, $*\bar{o}HC > \text{Pre-PII } *\bar{e}C$, $*\bar{a}C$, $*\bar{o}C$, $*\bar{e}C$, $*\bar{o}C$, respectively $>$ together PII $\bar{a}C > \text{OIA OIran. } \bar{a}C$; (2) $*iHC$, $*uHC > \text{PII } \bar{i}C$, $\bar{u}C > \text{OIA OIran. } \bar{i}C$, $\bar{u}C$; (3) PIE $*\eta HC$, $*\mu HC > \text{PII } \bar{a}C > \text{OIA OIran. } \bar{a}C$; $*\eta H$ appears in OIA often before t as $\bar{a}n$ with analogic n , e.g., $kr\bar{a}nt\bar{a}$ -, $\check{s}ant\bar{a}$ - $< \eta H\text{-}t\bar{o}$ - (see p. 139; on $dhm\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ - RV Br.+ and related problems, cf. SAKAMOTO-GOTO MSS 44, 171ff.); $*\eta H$ and $*\mu H$ appear similarly before s as $\bar{a}m$, e.g., $m\bar{i}m\bar{a}msa$ -, $j\bar{i}gh\bar{a}msa$ - $< \eta\text{-}h_1se$ -, $j\bar{i}g\bar{a}msa$ - $< \mu\text{-}h_1se$ - (AV YSP+; secondarily, $j\bar{i}g\bar{a}m\bar{i}ṣati$ TS^{p+}), but with the expected $\bar{a}$ in $v\bar{i}v\bar{a}sa$ - $< \mu\text{-}h_1se$ - etc., cf. p. 125. — The combination between syllabic liquid and laryngeal ($\text{\textcircled{L}}H$) is realised as $\bar{i}r$ or $\bar{u}r$ before a consonant ($\text{\textcircled{L}}HC$), and as $\bar{i}r$ or $\bar{u}r$ before a vowel ($\text{\textcircled{L}}HV$); in both cases, it becomes ar in Iranian; cf. n. 41. — In word-initial position, H disappears, but cf. n. 241 on $irajy\bar{a}ti$. — Laryngeals are lost between vowels, which then contract, remain in hiatus, or undergo some change preserving the syllable structure. There are some possible examples for the development of PIE $*\eta HV$, $*\mu HV > \text{OIA } anV$, amV (cf. MAYRHOFER Die Fortsetzung der indogermanischen Laryngale im Indo-Iranischen, 2005, 96). Between i , u and vowels, H disappears leaving a glide: $iHV > \bar{i}V$, $uHV > \bar{u}V$.

The terms “*seṭ*” and “*aniṭ*” are applied here in a somewhat different meaning from the original Pāṇinian one, viz. ‘a verbal root ending with a laryngeal’ and ‘one ending without a laryngeal’, respectively.

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Iranian

Avestan

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