stem-vowel -o-, gave -ôm, as in Gk. λοκός, but in Aryan was remodelled after the gen. pl. of -n-stems. Inst. pl. ending -ais (-a- indeterminate for a e o), contracting with stem-vowel -o-, gave -ôis, seen with shortening in Greek λοκός, and with retained length in Skt. and Av.; but the pronominal -ôbhîs (stem-vowel -o- + pronominal pl. -i + inst. pl. -bhîs), remodeling of masc. dat.-abl. -ôbhîos (Skt. têbhîyas, demonstrative pronoun) after fem. inst. pl. -ôbhîs (Skt. tâbhîs), is seen in OP. Loc. pl. ending -su, added to stem-vowel -o- + pron. pl. -i, is found in Aryan and in Slavic; but -ôisu was remodelled to -ôisi in Gk. (dat. pl. λôkos) after the loc. sg. ending -î.

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

§170. The Case-Endings of -o- Stems in Aryan. A comparative table of the endings in pIE, pAr., Skt., Av., OP is here given, including the cases represented in the extant OP words; except that dual forms are in §189.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>pIE</th>
<th>pAr.</th>
<th>Skt.</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>OP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. Nom.</td>
<td>-ôs</td>
<td>-ôh¹</td>
<td>-âh²</td>
<td>-ô</td>
<td>-ôb³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>-om</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-an⁵</td>
<td>-ám</td>
<td>-am⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst.</td>
<td>-ê, -ô</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>-ena³</td>
<td>-â -a³</td>
<td>-â</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>-êd, -ôd</td>
<td>-âd</td>
<td>-âl¹</td>
<td>-âl¹</td>
<td>-âl¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>-ôsjo</td>
<td>-asya</td>
<td>-asya</td>
<td>-ahyā-ahê³</td>
<td>-ahyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>-êi, -oi</td>
<td>-ai²</td>
<td>-e⁵</td>
<td>-ôr, e³</td>
<td>-âiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{¬ay- a³</td>
<td>-ay-ây</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voc.</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-a -a³</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Nom.</td>
<td>-ôs</td>
<td>{¬ah¹</td>
<td>-âh⁴</td>
<td>-ô</td>
<td>-ôb³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>-ons</td>
<td>-än⁵</td>
<td>-ôsah⁴</td>
<td>-ânám⁴</td>
<td>-ânám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst.</td>
<td>-ôis</td>
<td>-âiš</td>
<td>-ânám⁴</td>
<td>-ânám</td>
<td>-ânám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>-ôm</td>
<td>-ânâm⁴</td>
<td>-ânám⁴</td>
<td>-ânám</td>
<td>-ânám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>-ôisu</td>
<td>-âišu</td>
<td>-esu</td>
<td>-âišu</td>
<td>-âišu-âišu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Neuter

| Sg. Nom.-Acc. | -ô-m    | -am   | -am   | -âm   | -am⁰ |
| Pl. Nom.-Acc. | -á      | -á    | -á     | -á -a³ | -á   |

¹ And other sandhi-products. ² With different suffix.
³ Short-vowel final in LAv.; long vowels or diphthong in GA.v. ⁴ Double ending, with added -as from nom. pl. of consonantal stems. ⁵ With analogical length; and -s re-tained in some sandhi combinations. ⁶ From -ôbhîs, cf. dat.-abl. pl. Skt. -ôbhôs, Av. -ôbhîs from *ôbhîs².
⁷ By influence of -n- stems. ⁸ Ved. -â, but classical Skt. -âni after -n- stems.

§171. Case-Forms of -o- Stems in OP:

Nom. Sg. marsîya, zsâyaîyâ, kära, bhâga, drauqa, hamiçiyâ, anuśiyâ; man’s name, Kabujiya; place names and ethnicities Pârsa, Mâda, Sugdâ, Sâkâ, Sparda, Mudráya, Ùja Ùvija, Yauna, Pàrthava, Arâmia, Arminîya, Asagarta, Gadâra, Mârgava, Ùvijâya.

Acc. Sg. marsîyam, zsâyaîyam, käram, hamiçiyam; Kabujiyam; Pârsam, Mâdam, Sugdam, Mudráyam, Ùvijam, Arminam, Asagartam, ufrâstam.

Inst. Sg. kärâ, Pârsâ, Asura, probably karṣâ; nt. artâ, dâta, ariyâ; masc. or nt. vaśnâ, pisâ.

Abl. Sg. drauqâ; Kabujiyâ, Pârsâ, Sugdâ, Sparda, Mudráya, Kûsâ, Yauna, Gadarâ, Kar-mâna; nt. duśiyarâ, visâ, gasî.

Gen. Sg. marsîyaya, zsâyaîyaya, kärayâ, Pârsàyâ, visâyâ, probably mahâya; nt. uškâyâ, wairpaśiyaya, jîvâyâ, [ha]ârta:yâ.

Loc. Sg. Pârsayâ, Mâdai, Mudráyai, Ùvijai, parâvai, Arminiyai, Asagarai, Haymatânai; with added -â, dvarayâ, dastayâ, spâmînayâ, probably karṣayâ, [dai]tanayâ; nt. uzmayâ.

Voc. Sg. marsîya, marikâ.

Nom. Pl. martiya, zsâyaîyâ, hamiçiyâ, anuśiyâ, takabarâ, tûgazauda, hauvârayâ, parwâ, Mâdâ, Sâkâ, Mudráyâ, Yauna, Ùvijîyâ; with double ending, aniyyâ baγuha.
Acc. Pl. martiya, zśayāiyā, hamičiyā, Sakā, Ūvīyi, ufrašā.
Inst. Pl. asbārābīš, martiyaibīš, hamičiyabīš, bagaibīš, vīdabīš, kanaibīš; Mādaibīš, Sakai-bīš, Parbāwāibīš, Mārgaibīš, Ūvījiabīš; nt. uvarābīš.
Gen. Pl. martiyānām, zśayāiyānām, bagānām.
Nt. Nom. Sg. zśaçaṃ, duśiyāraṃ, ardatām, darāni-yaṃ, aruvasantām, dātām, kartām, visam, kānam; acc. zśaçaṃ, slānam, darāni-yaṃ, aruvasantām, kartām, visam, waipaśiyām, waspam, probably cašām.

\[\text{\S} 172.\] The Development of the \(-a\)-Declension in OP.

Nom. Sg.: OP -ā, regular from pAr. -āb, pIE -os; the failure to write the final vowel long shows a final minimal consonant: -ā².

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

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

Abl. Sg.: OP -ā for -ā², regular from pAr. -ā, pIE -ēd or -ōd (or -ēt).

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

Loc. Sg.: OP -aīy in place-names, regular from pAr. -ai, pIE -ei or -ot; OP -ayām in common nouns, being -ai + postposition -ā (similar forms are found in Avestan).¹

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

Nom. Pl.: OP -ā, regular from pAr. -āb, pIE -āb; also OP -āhā for -ahāb in asīyaḥ bahāha ‘other gods’, cf. §10 and the similar formations Av. ahūra-bha ‘Ahuras’, Skt. devasah ‘gods’.

Acc. Pl.: OP -ā for -ā², either regularly from pAr. -āns with reduced ūn, in some sandhi-positions; or the nom. pl. as acc., by analogy (§168).


Gen. Pl.: OP -ānām, regular for pAr. -ānām, with -nām from -n- stems (§187); for writing -ānām, see §52.III.

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

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


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

Artaśaça- has the regular gen. -çahyā,² but nom. -ā and acc. -çom have been assimilated to Xśayār-śa -šom (§187), and gen. Artarṣaciaçahyā (AVhc) may have been assimilated to the late gen. Xśayārśahyā (§187); unless there is mere addition of a character, §53.

\[\text{§173.}\] The Case-Endings of -ā-Stems in PIE: only those relevant to extant OP forms will be discussed.

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

¹ Unless this form also is a neologism (§57).

² Except in the singular in Ose.-Umb.: *en in is attached to the loc. ending as an integral part of the case-form, in Ose. kārτīn ‘in horto’ from *ei-en, and in Umb. arri ‘in arvo’ from *aį-en.
To the extracted stem -āyā- it is simple to form inst. -āyā, gen.-abl. -āyās.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>pIE</th>
<th>pĀr.</th>
<th>Skt.</th>
<th>Av.</th>
<th>OP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-āĀ</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>-ām</td>
<td>-ām</td>
<td>-ām</td>
<td>-ām</td>
<td>-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>-āyās</td>
<td>-āyās</td>
<td>-āyā</td>
<td>-āyā</td>
<td>-āyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>-āyās</td>
<td>-āyās</td>
<td>-āyā</td>
<td>-āyā</td>
<td>-āyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>-āi</td>
<td>-āyā</td>
<td>-āyām</td>
<td>-āya</td>
<td>-āyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>-ās</td>
<td>-ās</td>
<td>-ās</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Avestan forms with short final -ā belong to the LAv.; note that the indication of length in interior syllables of Avestan words is not reliable. 2 Cf. §173. 3 Remodeling of the gen. ending in Late Avestan after the abl. -at of -ā stems.

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

Nom. Sg. taumā ‘family’, hainā, framānā, yauviyā, didā, thikā; Aūrā; adjectives kartā, gasā, hamičiāyā.

Acc. Sg. taumām, yauviyām, didām, thikam; Paišiγwādām, Sākām; adjective abagainām.

Inst. Sg. framānāyā, arwāyā, perhaps haγnālāyāyā.

Abl. Sg. Paišiγwādāyā, haināyā, taumāyā, Yadiāyā.

Gen. Sg. taumāyā.

Loc. Sg. Arbaγrāyā, Aūrāyā, Čuγāyā; perhaps avastāyā, stānyāyā (see §176); adj. vazarāyā (unless gen. in some passages).

Nom. Pl. stānyā, hamičiāyā, kartā.

Acc Pl. [stānā] (restored only).

Gen. Pl. parvazanānām, vispazanānām.

Loc. Pl. maγkārā, anuyārā.

§176. The Development of the -ā- Declension in OP. Reference to the table of endings in §174 will show that OP faithfully represents the endings as they were in pĀr., with a few slight modifications. The failure to write the minimal final consonants brings to a uniform writing -āyā the inst., abl., gen., loc. cases of the singular. It is impossible to determine whether OP shared the LAv. split of the Aryan abl.-gen. -āyās into gen. -āyās, abl. -āyā in imitation of the -ā- stem abl. in -at; in the absence of evidence we assume that OP abl. and gen. were identical, with -āyā from older -āyās. The OP loc. shared the general Aryan addition of -ā, but not the further Skt. addition of -m. The plural forms of OP also are quite regular, the gen. showing the Aryan remodeling after -n-stems, and the loc. the addition of -ā which occurs also in a few Avestan forms. There is the same ambiguity as to the phonetic value of -āwā in this declension that there is in the -o- stems (§172).

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

The puzzling form stānyā occurs only in the phrase apadānām stānyāyā abagainām ‘palace stony . . . column’; as it occurs only in texts of Darius II and later, it may be a miswriting with omission of the final a, and stand for stānāyā, inst. or loc. of specification (cf. the use of inst. karšā and loc. karšāyā with a numeral, Lg. 19.227-9): ‘palace stony as to column(s)’, stānāyā being singular in form but generic in meaning, and therefore to be taken as a collective.

§177. The Case-Endings of -i- AND -ī- STEMs in pIE AND in Aryan: only those relevant to extant OP forms will be discussed.

I. The -i- stems had pIE nom. sg. -i-s, acc. -i-m, gen. -ei-s or -o-i-s (with strong grade of the stem-vowel); these are represented by Skt. agnis agrīṣ agrīṣ ‘fire’. The loc. had the long diphthong, without case-suffix, -ē; this became -ē in pIE, since long diphthongs in pIE regularly lost the semivowel when they were final: Skt. (Ved.) has agrā.

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

1 Hinz, ZDMG 95.250, takes as misswritten for stānāyam, adj. modifying apadānam: ‘Säulenhalle’.

§177.1 Skt. agnī in a new formation by influence of the -u- stem loc. kātrā kātrāu ‘enemy’, where both forms were still used.
abl.-gen. -⁽η)ʲēs or -⁽η)ʲās,² inst. -⁽η)ʲa,³ loc. -⁽η)ʲē or -⁽η)ʲā (from the final long diphthong, as in -ȅ-stems). The nom. pl. was pīE -ë-es, giving -iēs. These are represented by Skt. devi deviṃ devyās devyā devyā-m ‘goddes’ (with -m attached to the loc., as in -ā-stems), pl. devyās = devyāsas.

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

§178. CASE-FORMS OF -ā AND -ē STEMS IN OP:

I. Masc. -ā-stems:
Nom. Sg.: skawāti, paṇti, barmi, yātmāinīś ajāv- (ma)īniś; the personal names Frawartī, Dānderśī, Čiśpāi; the ethnic Pātiśwāriś; perhaps the place-names Arakudriś, Kāpiśakānīś, Viś- (pa)uṇaśaśīś.
Acc. Sg.: skawātim, uṣabātim, dwarātim, Frawartim, Dānderātim.
Gen. Sg.: skawātāś, Frawartāś, Čiśpāi, Θαιγαρκαί, Βαγγαυαδίς; also Čiśpāi, Cicekrīś.

II. Fem. -ē-stems (some possibly -ā-stems):
Nom. Sg.: arśī[ē], šītā, iśtiś, probably dipī[ē].
Acc. Sg.: šītātim, bājīm, dipīm; paṇtim (to a heteroclide stem).
Inst. Sg.: [n]i[ē]śī[ē].
Loc. Sg.: di[d]ī[ē].

III. Fem. -ē-stems:
Nom. Sg.: Uvāraṃīya Uvāraṃiś, Bāztriś; Harawatīś (Skt. sarasvati), Sikaliya[va]śī; āpīś (in āpīśim = āpīś-śim), BU ‘earth’ (ideogram only).
Acc. Sg.: Harawatiṃ, bāmim, probably yawdātim.

Abū Sg.: Harawatiyā, Bāztriya, Uvāraṃīya,
IV. Not included here:
Inst. Pl.: abīś, arāsāniś; see Lex. s.vv.

² Variation between -ē- and -ā- by Sievers¹Law (cf. Edgerton, Lg. 10.225-65); differentiation between pīE ē and pīE ā cannot be made because of lack of adequate non-Aryan cognates. ³ pAr. ā, cf. preceding note; probably pAr. ā extended from -ā- stem instrumentalas.

¹ Debrunner, IF 52.131-6; Kent, Lg. 19.221-4.
Cišpiš or gen. Cišpaiš; similarly -riš = -riš or -raš.

V. In forms ending in -iyā, the -i- is probably syllabic and not merely graphic; for *Harawašiyā would become *Harawašīyā and not Harawaštīyā, and *diṣṭyā would become *diṣṭīyā and not diṣṭīyā. In the others the long preceding syllable would cause Sievers’ Law to operate, changing -yā to -i[yā]?

§180. The Case-Endings of -ā-Stems in pIE and in Aryan: again, only those relevant to extant OP forms will be discussed.

The -ā- stems had pIE nom. sg. -u-s, acc. -u-m, gen. -eu-s or -ou-s (with strong grade of the stem-vowel), seen in Skt. śārtrā śārtrum śārtrō ‘enemy’, Av. vaśtuḥ vohām vaśtuḥ ‘good’. The inst. sg. was the stem in -ā- + pAr. ending -ā; the -ā- remained vocalic if after a single consonant preceded by two consonants or by a single consonant after a long vowel or a diphthong, but became consonantal after a single consonant preceded by a short vowel. The loc. sg. ended in the strong grade or the lengthened grade of the stem vowel, -eu or -ēu, to which the postposition -ā was often added in Iranian: Skt. śātrā, Av. vaśtu, also anāhā to anāhūs ‘existence’. The nom.-acc. sg. nt. was the bare stem, and ended in -u: Skt. mādhū ‘honey’, GĀv. vohā ‘good’ (all final vowels are long in GĀv.). The gen. pl. was pIE -(u)yom, but became -ā-nām in pAr. in imitation of the -n-stems; Av. has both endings in anāhām and vohām.

/ §181. Case-Forms of -ā-Stems in OP:

Nom. Sg. Masc.: maguš, pīruš, sīkbruš, adj. wīmārśiyuš; names of kings, Dārayavāruš, Kāruš; place-names, Abīrāduš, Kūdruš, Thalaguš, Bābīruš, Māruš, Marquš, Hīdruš.

Acc. Sg. Masc.: magum, xradum, gābum; Dārayavārum; Bābīrum, Mārum; visadahkum; perhaps [agurum].

Inst. Sg.: Ufrātuvā.

Gen. Sg. Masc.: Kāruš; Dārayavahauš, with neologisms Dārayavāsahyā Dārayavasahyā.

Abl. Sg. Masc.: Bābīruš Bābiruš, Hīdaw, gābavā.

Loc. Sg. Masc.: Bābiraw, Mārgaw, gābavā.


Nt. Nom. Sg.: parw, dārw.

Nt. Acc. Sg.: [dār]uνw.

For forms of tanūš, dahuνuš, uṣnuš, nāuš, see §183.

/ §182. The Development of the -ā- Declension in OP. The development of the endings from pIE and pAr. are quite perspicuous for the most part, and call for but few remarks.

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

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

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

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

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

/ §183. The -ā-Stems and -u-Diphthong Stems in OP.

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

II. OP fem. dahuνuš ‘land, province’ has in most case-forms the diphthong and not the zero-grade -u-, a peculiarity which in general it shares with the Avestan cognate. The diphthong is lengthened as a mark of the nom. sg.: OP dahuνuš (but Av. daīhūs). This length is extended to the acc. sg. OP dahuνuam and dahuνum (of which the prior is phonetically correct) and the second is an-

1 In pIE, diphthong before nasal in the same syllable automatically became vowel + consonantal semivowel, after which the nasal became vocalic: thus -śum > -śyām, whence OP -śam. But nom. -uš remained and induced
 Ago to the nom., *Av. daśaḥaṃ graphic for *daśa, but as second element of a compound we find -dahyum in visadahyum (or -dahyauṃ, as *yauṃ* is ambiguous), and in AIPA 26 we have DHYawr, which may be either DHyauṃ or DHyauṃ. (Av. daśyām is probably for -yāṃ.) OP loc. daśyāvā is dābhāru, with added -ā; but the diphthong is here kept before the added vowel (unlike gāhavā). Nom. pl. daśyāvā has the long diphthong extended from the nom. sg., and represents pār. -ākas (so also Av. daśhāvā); this form was extended to serve as acc. pl. in OP (so also in Av.). OP gen. pl. daśghāvām and dāhāvām is a regular gen. pl. of -u- stems in Aryan (Av. dāhāvāṃ). OP loc. pl. daśghāvā is the -u- stem loc. with ending -su, + the postposition -ā; whether phonetically -uśāvā or -uśā depends on whether the u of -su was consonantized before the added vowel, or retained by analogy.

III. Nom. sg. u[x]n[ḷ]uṣā ‘well satisfied’ is formed with the case-suffix s, but not lengthening.

IV. Nom. pl. [nāval] corresponds to Skt. nāv-as, Gk. ἅφ, the regular nom. pl. of the diphthongal stem *n̥au- (pIE *n̥au-).§184. The Case-Endings of Consonant-Stems

In PIE and in Aryan. Again only part of the cases have extant forms in OP.

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

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


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

ing ablaut variation; or the same + case-ending -i.

Inst. Sg.: formed by adding (Aryan) -ā, from pIE -ā or -ō.


It is to be noted that in Aryan, when a word ended in two or more consonants, the final consonant or consonants fell off until only one was left; thus pIE nom. *nepōṣ-s ‘grandson’, L.t. nepōs, became pār. *napāt, Skt. nāpāt.

§185. The -s- Stems in OP: of these there are several varieties.

I. The neuter formation with suffix -os in nom.-acc. sg. -es- in other forms: type L.t. gen-us generiś, Gk. γεω-ος γεω-ος, Skt. jān-as jān-as-os. OP has nom. rāvulā ‘river’, Skt. rāvulas; nom.-acc. raucaḥ ‘day’, Av. ravoči ‘light’, Skt. rōcās ‘light’; acc. dragaḥ ‘sea’ (and drajaḥ), §48, Av. cayā, Skt. jrayaḥ; acc. manah-еi (§105), Av. manī, Skt. mānas; acc. zūraḥ ‘evil’, Av. zūro; acc. mihtō ‘evil’. Inst. manahā, Skt. mānasā. Loc. drāyah-yā (with added -ā; also written dragaiyā, but whether the -i- is syllabic cannot be determined), Skt. jrayai, cf. Av. manahī-ā. Inst. pl. raucaḥi, probably for *raucaḥi, cf. Av. manahī, Skt. mānābhī: the -h from -s in certain sandhi positions here transferred to the medial position before the consonant of the case-suffix, and then voiced before the voiced consonant and lost with the same products as when final in the respective languages.

II. When a nt. -es-/-os- stem forms the second element of a compound, whether adjectival or a man’s name, the nom. sg. has -ēś, the other cases have -ēś: Gk. διαμερίσθ, Diōrēs to μενος, γένος. This -ēś became Ar. -ēs- -āh, OP -āh: Viṣāraṇaḥ, cf. Av. xzvrnḥ ‘royal splendor’, pIE *sveśnō; Aspacaṇaḥ, cf. Skt. cānas ‘delight’.

III. Apparently there was also a nt. suffix -os-, not varying within the paradigm nor in the corresponding masc. formation: type Skt. kraṇiś ‘raw flesh’, Gk. κρής. OP nom.-acc. haddiś from *sed-iś, cf. Gk. τός from *sed-os; acc. abicariś ‘pastureland’, see Lex. s.v. In names, Hazā-maniś, Ardumaniś, perhaps I-maniś; late gen. Hazāmanī-ahyā adds the gen. ending of -o- stems to the nom. as stem.

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1 If we could accept Hazāmanī-ahyā at face-value, we could be quite sure that these three names are -s- stems and not -i- stems with nom. -ś, as some have supposed;
IV. The remaining -s- stems of OP are nāḥ- 'nose', tawiyah- 'stronger', A'uramazdāh- 'Ahuramazda', and possibly māh- 'month'.

OP acc. nāh-ām, Skt. nāsām, has the ending -ṇ generalised in its antevocalic value, assisted by the -ām of -ō stems. OP nom. sg. masc. tawiyad has the comparative suffix in the long-vowel form, pIE *-ōs, pAr. *-ōs; Av. sparṇyā 'holier' has the same suffix and case-formation, while Skt. šadvā- yān 'stronger' stands for -yōna, with an intrusive -n- and loss of the final consonant of the cluster, but a stem-formation closer to that of OP tawiyad (on -au-, §48). OP māḥayā probably does not belong here as loc. *māhi- + -ā, cf. Skt. loc. māṣa, but is rather gen. sg. *mēhahyā to māha-, Skt. māṣa-, with reduction of -āh- (§131).

OP nom. A'uramazdāh ends in pIE *-dhēs, an -s- formation to a long-vowel root which in this formation shows no ablaut variation (cf. Lt. fōs fōrīs and other monosyllables); a nom. -s added to -dhēs-, pAr. -dhās-; produces no change, since the -s- is shortened automatically to -s. Acc. A'uramazdām instead of *-dāh微商 shows that the form was transferred to the -ā-stems. Gen. A'uramazdāh is regular for the stem in -dāh-, as is also the unique A'urahya Māzdhāh declined in both parts; gen. A'uramazdāh has -āh- by influence of gen. -āyāh of -ā-stems, since the nom. -dā, acc. -dām already agreed with the nom. -ā, acc. -ām of -ā-stems. Gen. A'uramazdāh is an error of writing which is to be classed with gen. pl. xāyāhīyānām 'of kings', for -ānām (§52.3).

but Hazāmanahāhyā stands in the much miswritten Ariarmannes inscription, and may replace a gen. in *-manah as Darāyavahāhyā (in inscriptions of Artaxeres I and II) replaces the old gen. Darāyavahau. However, the derivative Hazāmanīh- 'Ahaemenian' seems to justify us in regarding the -s- as belonging to the stem. This -n- may come from the perf. ptc. nom. Skt. vidētā, pIE *yōtā as in Gk. dā(e)kā 'knowing'; and in the perf. ptc. of Skt. it seems to have come from the -nt- of the pres. ptc. Cf. similar phenomena in the declension of Xurāyān-. §157. Pissani, Riv. Stud. Or. 19.81–2, argues that A'uramazdā is by origin a root-noun in -ā- with analogical gen. to avoid identity of nom. and gen., but this is very improbable. The divine name is always declined in both parts in the Avesta; in the Gāthās other words commonly intervene between its two parts, and in the Later Avesta mazdā aharō is more frequent than aharō mazdā. This rather indicates that -ō was lost in OP after ā, and remained only after ā; §40.

§156. The -r- Stems in OP: these fall into two groups.

I. Agency nouns with suffixes pIE -tor- and -ter-, showing ablaut variation in the declension; the nom. sg. has the long vowel, which is commonly extended to some or all of the other case-forms: Lt. dator, gen. datōr-is (ō throughout); Gk. δοτηρ δοτηρος (ō only in nom. sg.), δοτηρος δοτηρος (ē throughout except in voc. sg. δοτηρος); Skt. dātā, acc. dātāram, dat. dātē, loc. dātāri, etc. OP has nom. sg. ja'ātā 'slayer', Av. janta, Skt. janta; dāstā 'friend'. OP acc. frāmātāram 'lord', with extension of the long vowel of the nom., and the antevocalic value of the acc. ending (§67.11).

II. Words of relationship had suffix -ter-, nom. -tē or restored -tēr, other cases -ter- or -tr-. OP has nom. pītā 'father', Skt. pītā, Gk. πατήρ, Lt. pater; also in cpd. hama-pītā 'having the same father'. OP nom. mātā 'mother' in hamātā 'having the same mother', Skt. mātā, Gk. (Dor.) ματήρ, Lt. māter. OP nom. brātā 'brother', Skt. brātā, Gk. φίληρ 'clan-brother', Lt. frater. OP gen. pītās, Gk. πατρίς, Lt. patris, from *pitr- or *es, unlike Skt. pītus from *pitr-.

§157. The -n- Stems in OP: these also fall into several groups.

Those with suffixes (Aryan) -man- -van- -an-(pIE vowel -e- or -a-) had nom. in -mā, -vā, -ā; OP tānu- 'power', stem tawan-. artūnā 'blessed', GAev. aśāvā, LAEv. aśvā, Skt. rāvā, cf. GAev. acc. aśāvanam; aśā 'stone', cf. LAEv. asōṇa in cpds. OP aśā'yā- 'stone'; zāšapāvā 'kingdom-protecting, satrap', with stem -pāvan- as in Skt. (Ved.) tānu-pāvan- 'person-protecting'. Acc. with extension of the long vowel, in OP asmānān 'sky', cf. acc. Lith. akmeiš 'stone' and Gk. ἀκμα 'antil' with -mēn- and -mōn- respectively. It is uncertain whether acc. hūznān (for ḫūznām) is an -n- stem with the long vowel, or an -āna-stem; at any rate it is extension of the stem seen in Av. hāwā- (see Lex. s.v. hāzāna-). Neuters with suffix -men- have nom.-acc. in the zero-grade -mn, acc. OP nāmā, Skt. nāma, Lt. nāmen, from *nōmya.
The stem *Xaŋyāršān* has the regular nom. *Xaŋyāršān*, but the other cases are remodeled to the type of *Auramazā, acc. -dām, gen. -dāha* (§185.IV): acc. *Xaŋyāršām*, gen. *Xaŋyāršās*, with late genitives *Xaŋyāršāh* (§57) and *Xaŋyāršāh* (A²He), with the medial *-a* of the other cases. On forms of *Artašaŋa*, see §172.

Of the other forms, OP *baršān* is a sg. to stem *barš-, cf. Av. inst. *barša* to *barzan-, Skt. *rājna to rājan-* ‘king’. OP *nāma* is probably a suffixless loc. *nāmā*. Inst. pl. *taumaniš* and *arašaniš* are analogical for *abiš*, since the paradigm would have been nom. *anaš, gen. -anam, inst. -abiš* (from *-bhish*).²

OP nom. *manauviš* is probably for *manau-viš, nom. to *vin-* (cf. Skt. nom. *bali* to stem *balin*- ‘strong’), with added nom. -s.¹

§188. The Stems in Stops, in OP: these include stems ending in *t* (‘tawant- ‘strong’), *d* (‘tard- ‘year’, *pad- ‘foot’, *rad- ‘cause’), *p* (‘xap- ‘night’, *ap- ‘water’ cf. *āpi-*) *k* (*višt- ‘house’, *nas- ‘will’).

I. Nom. *napa* = *Skt. napā, from pIE *nap-s* with Aryan loss of last consonant of the final cluster; or = *napā* from a remade Iranian *napās* seen in Av. *napā*.


III. Acc. *bardam, gen. *barda, gen. *zāpā, loc. *rādīj, *padij in *ni-padij, vasāy (but cf. Lex. s.v.) have the regular pIE endings of their cases: acc. *-m; gen. -es or -os; loc. -i, without added *-a* because the forms function as preposition, phrasal adverb, adverb respectively.

stem, because of the final short vowel (§36.III), but is *cāsam, acc. nt. of an *-a* stem.² By Gr. §290 takes as stem *Xaŋyāršah* because of the gen. *-a*, the second element being *arija- ‘just’ made into an (Ar.) *-a* stem; the objection to this is that *-a* stems are hardly made upon *-a* stems. Cf. also §162 note.¹ Lg. 15.175-6; for other interpretations of these two forms, see Lex. s.v.v.¹ Lg. 15.170.

IV. Acc. *vištam, inst. *vištā, loc. *vištā, to stem *vēt- from pIE *gik-, also have the regular endings: acc. *-m, inst. *-e or *-o, loc. *-i, here with added *-a* because *vištā* is a true locative in use.

V. Inst. pl. *vištās* and *abiš* show the regular *bhish* seen in Skt. *bhish, Av. *bīś; *bīh as a cluster remains by the influence of the separate stem and ending (we expect *-dbh* from *-k-bh*), and the *-b* of *abiš* is for *bhish* from *-p-bh*.

§189. The Dual Case-Forms of OP: nom. *ubā* ‘both’, *ušīy ‘two ears, understanding’; acc. *gaušā* ‘two ears’, *uši-cā; inst. *dastaibiyā ‘with two hands’, *pādaibiyā ‘with two feet’, *ušibiyā, uši, gauši*.[¹] These are masculine, except *ušīy, which is neutral.²

The nom.-acc. of *-a* stems ended in pIE *-o* or *-u, seen in Skt. *ubhā ubhāu, Lt. am-bō, OP *ubā, gaušā*. That of neutral *-i* stems ended in *-i, seen in Skt. Ved. dual *tri- ‘three’, Lt. *trī-gaušt- ‘three tens’, and this *-i* was transferred in Aryan to consonant stems, as in Skt. *mānas-i, dual to *mānas- ‘mind’; thus *uši* is the proper form whether the stem is *uš- or uš-, a point which cannot be determined.

The inst. *dastaibiyā* and *pādaibiyā* have the stems *dasta- and *pāda-, with the pronominal plural element *-i, plus the inst. ending *-bhī + *-ā, as in Av. dat. *du. aspēibiyā ‘two horses’ = *aspēibiyā: the dat., inst., loc. are identical in the dual, in Aryan languages. Skt. has in this form *āsūbhāyām, with *bhāyā (as in Iranian) added to the dual in *-ā as a stem, and a final *-m attached; OP *ušibiyā* is the same formation to *ušīy, cf. Skt. *aṅkūḥiṁ, al in *al* ‘two eyes’. OP *ušīyā* seems to be an inst. dual (it has the same use and meaning as *uši*?) formed on the dual stem with the inst. sg. ending *-ā; *gauši* is a like formation to *gaušā*. The i before the *-i in uši* is responsible for the glide *-y*, which has spread to *gaušā* as a vowel-separator; the prior *ā in gauši* indicates that the *-ā in uši* also is long.²

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

¹ Nom. *hamicityi DB 2.93 is predicate to two singular masculine nouns, but is more probably plural than dual; cf. §230. ² The form *karā* does not belong here, nor probably *arti-āt brazmaniyyi* (if so normalized) nor *tau-mani- Saiy; on these words see the Lexicon s.v.v. ³ On these forms, cf. Kent. Lg. 19.225.
pronominial *aniya-, harwa-, hama-, §203; for the demonstrative and determinative adjectives, which function also as pronouns, §§199, 200, 202; for the relative, §198; for those which are participles, §§239–244.


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

Comp. nsm. *tauviyā with */-os/ (§48 for */aw/-), to a positive */tau-ma/ ‘strong’; cf. Skt. nsm. *sthāviyān to positive sthā-rā-.

Comp. stem *dah-yas- in Vahyaz-dāta- (for z, see §120), to positive */aw/- ‘good’, Skt. *vāsau-, cf. Lex. s.v. *vāsu-.


III. Secondary comparison, that is, comparison by suffixes attached to the stem of the adjective as seen in the positive degree, was made in Aryan by the use of */tara/ and */tama/-, cf. Gk. */tetros/ */tetros/, Lt. ex-terus and ex-timus. The comparative is seen in OP fratar- and adv. apatarasam, the superlative in fratarama-. Nt. comp. fratarasam has an alternative suffix with aspirated stop, seen in the Skt. superlative prathamā-. A simpler form of the comparative suffix is that in Aryan /-ra/ (pIE /-ra/), seen in apa/

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

§§191. The Adverbs of OP will be listed here, except the conjunctions (coordinating, §§291; subordinating, §§293–9) and the prepositions and verbal prefixes, with the inseparable prefixes (§§268–§271), which are elsewhere adequately discussed; further information may be sought in the Lexicon.

These adverbs are by meaning local, temporal, modal, and serial, as in other languages; we group them here according to their formation:

I. Old Adverbs:
Negative: naiy, mā (§292).
Ending in */-i/ apiy (also enclitic), upariy, */diy/, patiy (also enclitic).

II. Adverbs having special adverbial endings:
In modal (pAr.) */-bhā: avabā (cf. conj. yabā), [paru]iyabā, an[iy]ābā.
In abl. (pIE) */-los: amata, paruwijata, favata.
In loc. (pIE) */-a: cā (cf. conj. yātā).
In loc. (pIE) */-dhe: ada-, avadā, ida-, harwadā, dūrāda.
In abl. (OP) */-sā: avadāsa, dūradaśa, perhaps avabōsā.

III. Case-forms as adverbs:

Inst.: *aṣṭā, kā, cī[na]; dubious awā (see Lex. s.v.); cf. *dūriā- above.

Abl.: probably hyā (cf. *hyāparaṇa, above).
Loc.: aṇnaiy, dūraiy, vasiy, /-kaiy; cf. conj. yaniy.

IV. Phrasal Adverbs, of prep. + acc. or loc., and of acc. or gen. + postpos.:
*apiy-aparam (written abhīypaṇa), pati-padem, para-draya (also as two words), pasāva (from *pasā ava), ni-padiy.

ava-para, awahya-rādiy: cf. conj. yad-ā.
THE PRONOUNS OF OP are the following, which will be discussed in the order in which they are here listed:

(a) Personal pronouns: adam ‘I’, twam ‘thou’.
(b) Enclitic pronouns of the third person: šī-, dī-.
(c) Nom. pronoun of the third person: hawv.
(d) Survivals of the pIE relative *yo-.
(e) The OP relative and article haŋa haŋa tyā.
(f) The demonstrative iyam ima and its suppletions.
(g) The demonstrative aya- ‘that’.
(h) The interrogative-indefinite pIE *qyo- *qvi-.
(i) Demonstrative aita- ‘this’.
(j) Demonstrative ama- ‘that’, only in adv. amata ‘from there’; see Lex. s.v.
(k) Reflexive wan-, pronoun and possessive adjective of the third person, only in compounds; see Lex. s.v. wa-.

THE FIRST PERSONAL PRONOUN.

I. Nom. sg. adam, Av. aṣm, is pIE *e̞hom or e̞jom; it cannot be determined whether the Iranian forms agree with Skt. adām in having ̣gh by influence of the dat. *me̞ghi (Skt. maḥy-am, Lī. miḥ), or this extension of the aspirate was limited to Indic, and the Iranian preserved the unaspirated pIE ̣g and thus agreed with Lī. ego, Gk. ἐγώ.

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

III. Gen. sg. mana, before enclitics sometimes mane-, is for pAr. *mana, Av. mana, cf. Skt. maṇa with consonantal assimilation: the case-suffix -na, which appears in a number of non-Indo-Iranian languages, is of uncertain origin, but possibly was transferred from the instrumental (OP tyana; Skt. kāmena, instr. to kāma- ‘desire’). Enclitic gen. -mai (written ma in ASa, §52.I) is for pIE *mioi, encl. gen.-dat. in GAv. moī, Skt. ma, Gk. dat. μοι.

IV. Encl. abl. -ma is for pIE *med, Av. ma, Skt. mat, cf. accented pIE *mēd in old. mēd, el. mē.

V. Nom. pl. wayam is pIE *yei- -om from other pronouns such as adam, twam; Skt. waym, Av. vaem, cf. Gothic we-n with pluralizing -s.

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

THE SECOND PERSONAL PRONOUN.

I. Nom. sg. twam is the same as Skt. twām, from pIE *tā + -om (spreading from 1st person adam, etc.): twa without -m, §52.V.

II. Acc. sg. thwām is the same as Skt. tvām, from pIE *tvē + acc. -m of nouns (cf. mām ‘me’).

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

THE ENCLITIC PRONOUNS OF THE THIRD PERSON.

I. Acc. -ṣim is the acc. of pIE *sī, in the pAr. sandhi-form with s after final -i and -u (§117); Skt. sim has the long vowel; Av. ḥim has pAr. h which is regular initial antevocalic, but the long vowel is not significant because i is in Av. often written long before final -m.1 To -ṣim, the gen.-dat. -ṣaiy was formed by analogy to 1st person -mati, 2d person -taiy. The abl. -ṣā was used only as a suffix to ablative adverbs; in form it is analogical to 1st person -ma, Av. ma, Skt. mā, and to 2d person Av. ḥat, Skt. tvā; but in DB 1.50 -ṣim functions as ablative. Pl. acc. -ṣiṣ (Av. hiṣ) and gen. -ṣam were formed by analogy, though -ṣim was used also to refer to a plural antecedent.

II. Acc. -dim (Av. dim), not differentiated in function from -ṣim, seems to have originated by wrong division in such combinations as pasvād-im (cf. DNA 33, where we divide it pasvā-dim), in which -im was acc. to *is, Lī. is ‘this, he’. Acc. pl. -diṣ (Av. diṣ) is formed by analogy to -ṣiṣ, and is sometimes written as a separate word (DB 4.34, 35, 36); for a misread acc. pl. dāy (DB 5.11), see Lex. s.v. dāy.

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

1 The source of pIE *sī- is not clear. Perhaps it is a conflux of pIE nsm. *sō, nst. *sā (Skt. śā-s śā, Gk. ἱ) and pIE nsm. *i-s, nst. *i (Lī. nsm. is; Skt. śām from *i- -om), asm. *i-m, nst. *i-m. In this way even the variation in vowel length is accounted for.