The form -šiš, upon which -diš was made by analogy, must be older than the coalescence of the two sets of forms, and have received its -š from pIE *ns of the acc. pl., reduced to -s in pIE after long vowels, as in Skt. acc. pl. sēnas 'armies', deviš 'goddesses', vaḍhūś 'women', cf. GAv. encl. acc. pl. masc. iš to stem i-. We cannot be certain therefore that -šiš and -diš had a short rather than a long vowel. The reason for the preservation of these distinctive forms is that these stems had no regular nominative forms which could be transformed by analogy to accusative function.

§196. The Third Personal Pronoun haw, functioning also as an adjective, is from pIE *so + particle *u; see also Lex. s.v. This *so is the nsm. of the pIE demonstrative *so *sā *tod, seen in Av. hō hā ta, Skt. sā-sā tād, Gk. ἡ ἡ τῶ. OP haw serves both as nsm. (from *so-u) and as nss. (from *sā-u) (§131); before an enclitic pronoun it is written either hau- or hawa- (§137). The form hau-vam (DB 1.29) is hau + -am from adam, team, etc., retaining the -v after the model of the separate hau.

The same pIE demonstrative appears probably in the enclitic apm. -tā in avadhāsa-tā (DB 4.72; see Lex. s.v. -ta-), and as the prior element in hya hyā tyā (§198).

§197. The pIE Relative Pronoun *i- survives in OP as the second element of hya hyā tyā (§198); in the nom.-acc. nt. yaciyi 'whatever' from *i-γid-qid; and in the subordinating conjunctions yātā, yāthā, yādā, yadī, yami, yāvā, the formation of which is given in the Lex. s.vv.

§198. The OP Relative and Article hya hyā tyā is for earlier *syas syā tyad, an amalgamation of the demonstrative *sa sā tad (pIE *so sā tod) with the relative *jaš ja jad (pIE *jós ja jad); its equivalent is not found in Avestan. The demonstrative syā-s syā tyād of Vedic Skt., though phonetically identical, differs in meaning and seems to be an -(i)i*ōs extension of the old demonstrative, which has assumed the paradigmatic endings of the demonstrative itself (Lg. 20.1–6).

The forms extant in OP are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Du. Nom.</td>
<td>tyá</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Nom.</td>
<td>tyaiy tyaiy</td>
<td>tyaiy</td>
<td>tyaiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>tyaiy</td>
<td>tyā</td>
<td>tyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>tyaišam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nom. sg. of the relative in pIE, as given above, is represented in the nom. sg. hya̯ hya̯ tyə. Other forms follow the usual -o-/-a- declension, except the following: inst. tyānā has the ending -na seen in Skt. yēna, Av. kana (to Av. ka-'who?'); nom. pl. tyaiy has pronom. pl. -i, like Skt. yē, from pIE *i, and this form, properly masc. nom., may function also as masc. acc. and as fem. nom. (alongside the regular fem. nom. tyā, Skt. yēs); gen. pl. tyaišam has plural -i + pronominal gen. pl. -sām, cf. Skt. yēsām, and is used for the fem. as well as for the masc. (no extant masc. example).

While the stem with original initial s was originally limited to the nom. sg. masc. and fem., there is an occasional extension of the s- to other forms. In OP we have the absn. hya, from pAr. *ṣiṣ, as adverb in hya dwaišam and in hya-pəram.

§199. The Demonstrative Pronoun "this" was in OP a combination of two stems, each in two forms: i- and ima-, a- and ahyā-: their developments are described below. The extant forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg. Nom.</td>
<td>iyam iyam</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>imam imām</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst.</td>
<td>anā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>ahyāyi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. Nom.</td>
<td>imaiy imā</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>imaiy imā</td>
<td>ima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst.</td>
<td>imaišim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stem *i- is that seen in Latin is, nt. id, pIE nsm. *is, nt. *id; the nss. was presumably *i, which, with the addition of (Ar.) -am from other pronouns, gives Skt. nss. iyām, OP nss. iyam, used also as masc. The asmn. was pIE *im, which, with the same affix, is Skt. imām, OP imam, Av. imām; from this a stem im- was extracted, declined according to the pronominal endings: nt. *imad, OP ima, Av. ima; nss. *imai, OP imaiy, Av. ime. Other forms from this stem are regular in case-formation, but in Skt. and Av. they are limited to
the nom. and acc. cases; in OP the plural -i is kept
before the case-ending in the inst. and gen.

From the gsm. *āhya (Skt. asāya, GA. ahyā,
LA. ahe), not found in extant OP, a stem ahyā-
was extracted in OP, to which a fem. stem ahyā-
was formed, with a lsf. ahyāyā, sometimes also
ahyāyā (§27). The stem a-, on which *āhya was
formed, is pIE *-e-, seen in Lt. nt. *ed in ce-ce 'lo';
on it also is formed the ism. OP anā, GA. anā,
with the inst. ending -na seen in tyānā.

§200. The Demonstrative Pronoun 'that' was in
OP ava-, found also in Av. (Skt. only gen.
du. avāś). The extant OP forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sg. Nom.</strong></td>
<td>ava</td>
<td>ava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acc.</strong></td>
<td>avam</td>
<td>avām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inst.</strong></td>
<td>avanā</td>
<td>avanā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Abl.</strong></td>
<td>avanā</td>
<td>avanā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gen.</strong></td>
<td>avahāyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pl. Nom.</strong></td>
<td>avaiy</td>
<td>a[ei]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acc.</strong></td>
<td>avaiy</td>
<td>avaiy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gen.</strong></td>
<td>avaiśim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nt. ava is for *awad, with pron. -d; avaś-ci(y)
is a sandhi-product (§105). Iasn. avanā has inst.
-na, like tyānā and anā. Abl. avanā is for *awasmād,
with the regular pronominal ending of the abl., as
in Av. abhā, Skt. asmāt, to stem a-; whence OP
*awasmād, remade to avanā after inst. avanā. The
remaining forms show no new peculiarities.

The adverbs from this stem are avadhā, avadhā,
ava-parā, avahya-ri(d)iy, pasāva (from *pasā ava).

§201. The Interrogative-Indefinite pIE
	*qrove/-qrov- occurs only sparingly in OP. Nam. kaś-

ci(y 'anybody' is *qrove-s, Skt. kas, Av. kas-, + encl.
-ci(y; asmn. ciś-ci(y 'anything' is *qrov-d, Gk. τι, Lt.
qui(d), + encl. -ci(y: both with Median sandhi-de-
velopment (§105). Euclitic -ci(y is pIE *qro-d, Skt.
cid, Av. -ci, Lt. qui(d, etc. See also aciy, yaci(y, ka-
kaiy, ciś, ciśna, ciśkara-in the Lexicon.

§202. The Demonstrative aita- 'this' was per-
haps the demonstrative pIE *e- (§196) + deictic
-i + demonstrative *o- (§196). In OP we find
msn. aita (Av. aīta, Skt. etād), apf. aītā.

§203. Semi-Pronominal Adjectives are those
adjectives which to some extent are usable as pro-
nouns, and therefore have assumed some of the
special declensional forms of pronouns: such are,
for example, Lt. unus, alter, etc., with gen. in -fus,
dat. in -i, like is, qui, hic, etc.

I. OP anīya-, Av. ainyā-, Skt. anya- 'other (of
two)'; forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Neut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sg. Nom.</strong></td>
<td>anīya</td>
<td>anīyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acc.</strong></td>
<td>aniyām</td>
<td>aniyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Abl.</strong></td>
<td>aniyānā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pl. Nom.</strong></td>
<td>aniyai-ci(y)</td>
<td>aniyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acc.</strong></td>
<td>aniyāhā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Loc.</strong></td>
<td>aniyāwā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these forms, msn. anīya has -d, like Skt.
anya, Av. adv. ainyat 'except'; aniyai-ci(y) has the
same sandhi-development which has been seen in
avaś-ci(y, ciś-ci(y. Abl. aniyānā developed like abl.
avanā (§200); cf. Skt. abl. anyāmād. Npm.
anīyai- has the pronominal pl. -i; aniyāhā has the
double ending seen in bagāha, which it modifies
(§10). Loc. aniyāwā is equal to Skt. anāśu, with
added postposition -ā; cf. maškāwā (§17-5).

II. OP haruva- 'all' (Av. haruva-, Skt. sārva-)
has msn. haruva; asmn. haravam in adv. fraharavam
(with irregular writing of -rv, §26); lsf. haruva-
hyāyā, upon fem. stem haruva-hyā- formed to gsm.
haruva-hyā, Skt. sārvasya (haruva-hyāya is a defec-
tive writing not indicating the length of the vowel),
cf. lsf. ahya-hyā (§199).

III. OP hama- 'one and the same' (Av. hama-
Skt. sam-) has hama DB 4.92, either msn. hama
or asmn. as adv. *hama(d with pron. nt. -d (in DB
4.90, asmn. as adv., if correctly read); gsf. hama-
yāyā, formed on stem extracted from gsm.
hama-hyā, like lsf. ahya-hyā and haruva-hyāya.

§204. The Numerals are scantily represented in
OP, since they are commonly indicated by nu-
merical signs (§43). There are the following
written out in the cuneiform characters:

I. One: asmn. aiva(m, Av. a(i)va-, Gk. Cypr. α'(alone),
from pIE *ai(yos; probably demonstrative
*o- + deictic i + suffix -yo-, cf. with other suffixes
Skt. ēka- 'one' from pIE *ei(yo(-, and Lt. unus,
Gt. ãins, from pIE *aino(-, pIE *em 'one' (Gk.
nt. & 'one', Lt. sem-per 'always') is seen in zero
form *sm- as first part of OP ha-karam 'once', cf.
Skt. sa-kft 'once'; with this, the inseparable prefix
CHAPTER VI. STEMS AND FORMS OF VERBS

§205. The Verb in Old Persian shows the expected form-categories, though some of them are scantily represented:

Tense-Stems: present, aorist, perfect, with various formations.

Voices: active, middle, passive.

Moods: indicative, subjunctive, optative, injunctive, imperative.

Tenses: present, imperfect, aorist, perfect.

Persons: first, second, third.

Numbers: singular, dual, plural.

Infinitive: present.

Participles: present active, present middle, perfect passive, future passive.

§206. Verbal Prefixes.

(a) The following adverbs, occurring also in prepositional uses, are found as verbal prefixes in OP: ā-, a-dī, a-bī, a-pā, a-pari, ni-, pātī, para-

(b) The following, not found as prepositions in the extant remains of OP, are found as verbal prefixes: apa-, a-wā, ud-, ni-, fra-, vi-

(c) Double prefixes are perhaps found in two forms: pātī-ā- in pātī-ā-āram DB 1.68, a-wā-a- in a-wājaniyā DB 1.51, 52; but there are some dubious features even about these, cf. JAOS 62:274-5.

§207. The Present-Tense Formations which are found in OP include the following types, which are discussed in the following sections:

(a) Type of Skt. āsti.

(b) Type of Skt. dādhistī.

(c) Types of Skt. kṛnāti, kṛnāti, vēnāti.

(d) Type of Latin jungit.

(e) Type of Skt. prcchāti.

(f) Types of Skt. bhāvati, rudāti.

(g) Types of Skt. nāhyati, drūhyati.

(h) Types of Skt. pūryati, patāyati.

(i) Type with suffix -ye/-yo-

(j) Type of Skt. namasyati (denominative).

§208. The Present-Tense System of Type Skt. āsti: the stem is the bare root, non-thematic, suffixless, without reduplication; the root has the strong grade in the singular indicative active and in the singular imperative active (except when the personal ending is pIE *-dhī), and the zero grade in other forms unless paradigmatic leveling interferes:

pIE *ei-ti 'he goes', OP aitiy, Skt. ēti; *t-ti 'go ye', OP -i-tā in paraitā, Skt. itā; *i-dhī 'go thou', OP -idiy in pāridiy, Skt. ith; inf. *i-yi 'I went', OP -āyam (for -am, §67.II) in nī-jāyam [n-]āyam, Skt. āyam; inf. 3d sg. OP āiṣ (on -i, §228.III) and ēiṣ-āṣ; inf. 3d pl. with thematic vowel from 1st sg., OP -āya in apariyāya, *-iṣ-āṣ (on -āṣ, §232.III) in pariṣ-āṣ, mid. yāya from *tā-yāya-tā.

pIE *es-mi 'I am', OP āṃṣy, Skt. āṃṣi; *es-ti 'he is', OP āṣtyi, Skt. āṣtī; *es-eni 'they are', OP haṃṣti, Skt. ṣhasti; p Par. *-mas-i 'we are', Skt. smās-ī, OP āmahy (with full grade of root extended from the singular); inf. *es-m 'I was', in antevocalic development Skt. āsām, OP āhām, whence with thematic vowel 3d sg. OP āha,
STEMS AND FORMS OF VERBS

Av. avaḥaṭ, 3d pl. OP āhaṣ, Skt. āsan, mid. OP āhātā (and āhaṭa, §36.14c).

PIE *yʰen-ti 'he smites', OP jaṣṭiy, Skt. ḍhantī (PIE *yʰen-ti 'he smote'), OP ajaṣ, Skt. ḍhan; 2d sg. imp. *yʰən-ṛhi, OP jatiṣṭhy, Skt. jah; so also 2d pl. imp. *yʰṛhṛ-ṛ, OP jatā, and 3d sg. imp. mid. *yʰṛhṛ-to, OP pattiya-jatā (cf. *yʰen-ṛni, OP ajanam, Skt. ḍhanam (with antevocalic development of ṃ, §67.II), whence with thematic vowel 3d pl. OP ājana in awajana and perhaps the reduced subjunctive 3d pl. vi-janaṭiy.

PI Ar. *k(h)-an- 'dig', in 3d pl. imp. OP viy-akaṣa, 3d sg. imp. OP ni-karto.

PI Ar. *pā- 'protect', Skt. pāti 'he protects'; OP 2d sg. imp. pādiṣṭhi, 3d sg. and pl. imp. pātu pāṭuṣṭu; plr. *xṇau-ti, OP ā-xṇauti 'he satisfies'; impv. *xṇau-dhi, OP ā-xṇauti 'hear thou'.

PIE *yem- in opt. Skt. gam-yāt, OP ā-jamiyāt (cf. §101).

PIE *bhṛ-ṛjet to root *bheu-, in OP bhijati, cf. Av. bhujati from *bhuj-jeti; on loss of -y-, §114.

§209. The Present-Tense System of type Skt. tadāhāti: the stem is the root, non-thematic, suffixless, with reduplication; ablaut grades of the root the same as in the preceding class:

PI *dhe- 'put, make'; impf. OP adadā, Skt. ādadātā, Gk. ἐπιθύμησις.

PIE *dā- 'give'; impv. OP dadātuv, Skt. dadātuv, Gk. δοθήσεσθαι.

PIE *stā- 'put, (mid.) stand'; impf. mid. OP vṛśṭotā, Skt. dāṭhato, both probably shifted to thematic class (§213); Gk. ἐκκαθάσθαι.

PIE *ṛtih- 'think, see', in impv. Skt. didhiḥ didhiḥ, OP didīḍy (with hapticity, §129).

§210. The Present-Tense System of Types Skt. kṛṇoti, kṛṇati, venuṭi: the stem is the root in the zero-grade (usually), with a suffix beginning with a nasal.

I. The suffix is -nu-, varying with -nu:

PI Ar. *kṛ-nau- in OP kunauti, Skt. kṛṇoti; impv. OP kunautaṃ, Skt. kṛṇotā; impf. OP akunavam (§226.II), akunavā (§228.III), Skt. ākṛṇavām ākṛṇot; with thematic vowel, OP 3d pl. act. akunavaṇa, mid. akunavatā.


PI Ar. *tunau-/nu- in pres. *tunauti, OP ptc. nuna-ā, asm. -a/tam, gsm. -a/tahyā. On danu[taiy] as alternative to danu[ratyi], see §216; on ā-xṇauti and forms, see §208.

II. The suffix is -nā-, alternating with -na-:

PIE impf. adānā 'he took away', cf. Av. zināti 'he harms'; OP 1st sg. adinam with -nā- as though thematic.

PIE impf. adānāti, Skt. ajanatā 'he knew', from *gūnā-nā-; unless from *gūnā-nā- with full grade of the root and dissipitative loss of the prior n (§68).

III. The suffix is thematic -ne/-no-:

PIE *yeid-ne/-no- in OP rāṇāmyi 'I see', 3d sg. vainati, mid. vainaitai; Skt. vānāmi 'I desire', venaṭi, venaṭe.

§211. The Present-Tense System of Type Latin jungit: the stem is the root in zero grade, with an ablauting infix -ne/-n-: Skt. yu-nā-k-ti 'he joins', pl. yu-nā-j-dati, to root *yeug/-*yug-. In some languages the paradigm is leveled to the form of the plural, and the stem is made thematic; thus Latin jungit, jungunt. This is the situation in the Aryan root *mauth-, Skt. pres. munhāta 'he runs away', OP impf. amuṛṣṭa 'he fled', and probably in Ar. *pāiṣ-, Skt. pres. piṣṭati, OP 3d sg. impf. apiṣṭa (DSF 54).

The same formation is seen in Skt. vi-n-dāti 'finds'; the present participle OP viṛḍā- is seen as the prior element of Vīdharśa 'Intapathmes'.

§212. The Present-Tense System of Type Skt. prṛchāti: the stem has the thematic suffix -ski-/ško-, the root being normally in a zero-grade; but some verbs have the full grade extended from other stems:

PIE *prek-, pres. *prek-ski-, OP parsāmiy 'I punish'; Skt. prṛchāmi 'I ask'; impf. OP aparṣam, Skt. ḍprṛchām; impv. OP parsā, Skt. prṛchā.

PIE *jem- 'reach out', pres. *jen-ski-, Skt. yodchati, impf. mid. OP ḍyaśatsa (to ḍya-).);

PIE *tres- in Skt. trāsati; pres. *trs-ski-, OP társatiy 'he fears', pl. tarsaṭiy, impf. atarsa, pl. atarsā, inj. 1st sg. tarsam.

PIE *ṃo-, pres. *ṃo-ski-, Lt. máṃṣṣes 'he learns'; subj. OP zōṇaṣṭhyya zōṇaṣṭhīti, Lt. (fut. ind.) gōṃsṛṣes gōṃsesel.


1 Middle, with cerebral -ṣṭh- of post-classical development.
§213. The Present-Tense System of Types
Skt. bhāvati, ruddāti: the stem consists of the root ending in a thematic -e/-o-; the root is regularly in the strong grade if accented, but in the zero-grade if the thematic vowel is accented:
pIE *bhore-, Skt. bhārati; OP baratīyī ‘they bear’,
Skt. bhāranti; imf. OP abaram, 3d sg. abara, 3d pl. abara* abaraha*, mid. abara’s; inv. 3d sg. baratuv; in cpds., 3d sg. pres. ā-baratīyī, 2d sg. inv. pari-barā.
pIE *bhege-, Skt. bhāvati, OP baratīy ‘he becomes’;
3d pl. bara’tiyī, imf. abavam abara’ abara’.*
pIE *pete-, Skt. pātati ‘he flies’; imf. mid. OP ud-
apata ‘he rose up, rebelled’.
pIE *rāge-, Skt. yājati ‘he worships’; mid. OP yadatai, imf. 1st sg. ayadai, Skt. ayāje.
pIE *reīhe- (or reδhe–, see Lex. s.v.), Skt. rahati
‘he leaves’; inj. 2d sg. OP aya-rada*.
pIE *qeye-, Skt. ṣekati ‘he moves’; imf. OP aṣiyawam ‘I set forth’, aṣiyava* aṣiyava*.
pIE *ke(n)ce-, Skt. ṣeṣati ‘he praises’, OP bātiy
(§131) ‘he says’; imf. OP athām, athāh*.
pIE *mrde-, Skt. mrdati ‘he crushes’, OP vi-
mar- datīyī, imf. viyamardā (cf. §44).
pIE *ṣṛge-, Skt. ṣṛjati ‘he looses’; imf. OP ava-
[da] (unaugmented).
pIE *ṣye-, Skt. sājati ‘he hangs’, or *ṣenge- (Skt.
accent is irregular for root in zero-grade); imp.
OP -ahajam (or -aha’jam?) in frāhajam.
Also, with strong-grade roots: OP kana-
imf. avokanam; gaubha- in mid. gaubhaiyi, imf. aga-
bati, pl. agabatā, taṣṣa- in mid. ha’taṣṣa, imf.
hamataxṣaiyi hamataxṣati hamataxṣa’s; yavda- (Av. yaozi, imf. aguva’ aguva*,
ptc. yau[tā*im]; apparently vajja- in avojam,
raṣṭa- in inv. raṣṭatuv; perhaps mava- in 3d pl.
imf. [am]avatā.
patiy-aksiyaiyi ‘I ruled over’, ptc. xṣayamna
‘ruling’; unless this is rather pIE *gha-xe- (§214)
to *ghxe- seen in Gk. xηθαι ‘I possess’.
pAr. *ğiya-, OP jiwa-, see §216.

§214. The Present-Tense System of Types
Skt. nākhyati, drūhyati: there is a suffix -e/-o-
added to the root either in a strong grade or in a
zero grade; this suffix may be identical with the
passive suffix (§220), which is accented, and there-
fore this class may be merely passives which have
assumed active (or middle) meanings, usually ac-
companied with a shift of the accent to the radical
syllable. Those with strong-grade roots seems to
be later formations, made from the roots by direct
addition of the unaccented suffix.
pIE *drheuk-: pAr. *drukja- in Skt. drūhyati ‘he
deceives’, OP imf. adurujjya, pl. adurujjyaiya*.
pIE *men-: pAr. *manja- in Skt. mānyate ‘he
thinks’, OP 1st sg. manjaiy, imf. amaniyaiy.
pIE *mer-: pAr. *mer- or *mrij- in Skt. mrijate
(with accent of passive) ‘he dies’, OP imf.
amriyaiy.
pIE *ghya- (vowel quality indeterminate) and
*ghya-: pAr. ḍhya-ya- ‘call’ in Skt. ḍhyati, OP
imf. patiy-avayam.
pAr. *pa- ‘protect’, and *pa-ya- (from pIE *pə-),
in OP 1st sg. imf. apayaiy, 2d sg. inv. mid.
pati-paya’wai.
pIE *gvedh- in pAr. *gvedh-, Av. Jāiyeiti, OP
jadiyami ‘I entreat’.
pAr. *as- ‘throw’ in *asja-, Skt. aṣyati, OP imf.
mid. [a]hāyatai.
pIE *stā- in pAr. *stā-ja-, OP imf. -astāyam in
niyastāyam ‘I enjoined’ (on §117) and avastā
yam ‘I restored’, 3d sg. niyastāya*.
pIE *mē- ‘measure’ in pAr. *mē-ja-, Skt. māyate;
OP imf. mid. -amāyata in frāmāyata ‘com-
manded’.
On OP zēya-, see §213.

§215. The Present-Tense System of Types
Skt. pādaiyati, patāyati: this is an original caus-
ative formation with the pIE suffix -e/-o- at-
tached to the root in the o-grade; in Aryan the
suffix is -aja- and the root has -ā- (also in the
diphthongs -ai- and -au- before consonants) or -ā-
(rarely, ā- or ā-).
dhārāyati; OP dārāyami, dārāyati, pl. dārāyas-
ti, imf. 3d sg. adāraya, mid. 1st sg. ham-
adāraya, 3d sg. adāraya’.
pIE *klei- ‘lean’: pAr. *rāja- in Skt. rājayati;
OP 1st sg. imf. niy-acarāyay, with -r- after
dārayati.
pIE *noč- ‘perish’: pAr. *nāsajja- in Skt. nāsajati,
OP vi-nāsahati, imf. 3d sg. viy-anāsaya, opt.
3d sg. viy-nāsaiya.
pIE *sed- ‘sit’: pAr. *sūdajja- ‘seat’ in Skt. sādajati;
STEMS AND FORMS OF VERBS

OP inf. nıyasyādayam ‘I set down’ (on -ā, §117).


plE *vpott-ēje- ‘cause to turn’, Skt. vṛttayati; perhaps in OP [va]ḷraiyaiy ‘I appeal to’ (for -ḷayaiy, §48).

pỌP *ṭas-āja- derivative to plR. *ṭasā- (with plE -ṣke-, OP inf. ṛṣayata ‘took as his own’), nīyasyayā ‘set down’ (for *nīyayasyayā, §23.1).

§216. The Present-Tense System with suffix -ye/-yo-: this is found with certainty in OP only in inj. stasya-haḥ ‘revolt!’; cf. NPers. stāmb. There are two other less certain examples: OP danyalaiyati, Skt. dhānāvati, stem pār. dhanāva; unless we should restore OP danulaiyati, like Skt. dhānāvati, stem plE *dḥya-nu- (varying with -nuv-, §210.1).1


§217. The Present-Tense System of Determinative Verbs (type, Skt. namas-yati ‘reverses’, to nāmas ‘reverence’) has the plE suffix *-ye/-yo- attached to the nominal stem; the suffix originally bore the accent: OP avah-yā in infm. patiyya-avahaiy ‘I appealed for help’, to stem in Av. avah- ‘help’.

OP garbāya-yā in infm. agarbāyam agarbāyā in agarbāya *agarbāyāya; to pār. *gṛḥhyā, cf. Skt. gṛhhyāyati; 1But pār. *dhanā- may be merely *dha-nu- made thematic, and therefore properly analyzable as *dha-nu- + -e-; cf. similar shifts from non-thematic to thematic in Greek verbs, such as ἐσκ-ιο-τε ‘you show’ replacing ἐσκ-ιο-τε.

OP ptc. ā-garbiṭa has the final stem-vowel of the noun changed to ī, as in the next example.

OP draujiya- ‘regard as a lie’ in 2d sg. subj. draujiyasyaḥ, to draujiya- ‘the Lie’, with change of the final stem vowel to ī before the suffix; cf. Whitney, Skt. Gram. §1059d.

§218. The Aorist-Tense Formations found in OP are few and scattering.

I. The Sigmatic Aorist is seen in nīy-apaiṣam ‘I inscribed’ (or -apiṣam?); to root paś-, plE *peki-; in mid. adārṣi- ‘I held’, to root dar-, plE *dher-; perhaps in pass. -asahya in frāṣahya. The aorist endings 3d sg. -a, pl. -a-t, may also be responsible for the endings of aīś-āśa* to root ay- (#208); akunauḥ akunavaśa to kar-; aduryaśa to duruṣya-; abaraḥ to bar-.

II. The Strong or Suffixless Aorist, with strong grade of the root in the singular indicative active and zero grade in most other forms, is seen in OP aṭā ‘he created’, Skt. ādātā, plE *ēdhēt; OP akutā ‘he made’, akunā ‘we made’, kubhē ‘make thou’ = Skt. āktā, *aḍhyma, *khyā. Possibly also there belong here the inv. dvidy, if it is to be explained without haplography (#209), and the opt. a-jāmyā (#208), which have been taken as presents; perhaps also the opt. 2d sg. biyā, 3d sg. biyā* (#223.1).

On amṛtmane a if to be taken as (k)am-azmatā, see Lex. s.v. amazmata.

§219. The Perfect Tense is attested with certainty in OP only by a single form, the opt. caṛrīya2, from *ṛṛ-ṛ-yēt, with regular reduplication and with zero grade of the root in the optative. There is a dubious restoration of a 3d sg. perf. indic. pass. [c]āṛriyata or caṛrīyata, DB 4.90, for KT’s .āṛṛ...-

§220. The Passive-Voice Present Stem of plE was formed by the addition of the suffix plE -ye/-yo-, which is accented in Sanskrit; in OP the root regularly has the normal grade, with -a-: infm. 3d sg. and pl. abariya abariya*, to root bar-; aṣadiya aṣadiya*, to yad-; aṅkariya, to root kan- ‘dig’; aṣadiya and aṣadiya, to thāh-, awaṇiyā, to van-; ajanīya, to jan-; aṅkariya akariya-tā, to kar-, pres. 1st pl. bāḥyāmehi, to thāh--; opt. 3d sg. karirāśi to kar-, frāyaiyāśi to fraṭh, 3d pl. yadiyaiśa* to yad-. 1Though OP ṯi ḍi permits either normalization, an s-aorist with strong ablaut-grade is to be expected rather than one with zero-grade.
With the vocalism of the present-tense stem: adārīya, to dar-, pres. dāraya- (§215); and the uncertain [ap]ī[ði]ya (see Lex. s.v. paibä). Formed on the present-tense stem: 3d pl. akunavāyatā, to kar-, pres. kunav- (§210.1); and the uncertain [āti]ya[ñi]ya, for *ātiyayasiya (§215), to yam-, pres. yasa- (§212). Dubious forms on the sigmatic aorist stem, frāshya[na] to root sā- (§218.1), and on the perfect stem, czir[iyata] or [e]czir[iyata], to kar-.

It is to be noted that with two exceptions active endings are used, the -ya- suffix being adequate to indicate the passive value. The exceptions are akunavāyatā and czir[iyata] or [e]czir[iyata].

§221. THE FINITE MOODS OF THE VERB IN OP: The indicative is formed directly upon the tense stem by the addition of the personal endings, as is also the imperative. The subjunctive and the optative have special mood-formations, and the injunctive differs from the indicative in lacking the augment; these three moods will therefore be considered separately. The indicative and the imperative will be considered only under the personal endings (§225–§237).

§222. THE SUBJUNCTIVE FORMATIONS: all subjunctives so far found in OP have primary personal endings (§225).

I. Non-thematic stems have subjunctives with the thematic vowel, long in the first person and short in the second and third persons: to as- ‘be’, Skt. daśāṃ daśasi dasati, OP ahanīyā ahū ahati. In ahati the a, if not an error in writing, is an extension from the other forms; ahy is for *ahati (§131).

II. Thematic stems have subjunctives with the long thematic vowel throughout, 1st sg. and 1st and 3d pl. ē, other forms ē; 2d and 3d sg. and mid. as in Skt. bhadrāsi āti āsē ātē: OP xṃāsāh, ṭhāh (for *ṭaḥāḥ), apa-gaudāh, [drau]jīyāḥ, pati-parsāḥ, pari-barāḥ (and āśi-dī), vaiṇāh; ni-rasāti, xṃāsāti, pati-parsāti, bādāti, vaiṇāti; mani+yāh (for variant spellings, see Lex. s.v. ‘man’-); mani+yāh, gau+bāh, thadāyālai, yadāyālai, vaiṇālai. 3d pl. act. as in Skt. āndi: OP vi-nādayātyāti (restored form).

III. Certain non-thematic stems which in the indicative have in part been shifted to thematic stems, have subjunctives of the second type:

kar-, pres. kunav(a)-: kunāvaḥ, mid. 1st sg. ku-

navānai, 3d sg. kunavātaiy.

var-, pres. varnav(a)-: varnavānai.

xīn-, pres. xīnav(a)-: xīnāvaḥ.

tan-, pres. tan(a)-: vi-kanāh (and āśi-dī).

jan-, pres. jan(a)-: perhaps (restored) 3d pl. vi-

janātyi, cf. Av. 3d sg. janāti.

§223. THE OPTATIVE FORMATIONS: all optatives have in OP, as in other languages, secondary endings.

I. Non-thematic stems have optatives with pIE -ēi- in the sg. act., -ī- in other forms. The -ēi- suffix, which alone appears in extant OP, became -iēi- after two consonants even in pIE; and in OP even -iē- was of necessity written -iēa- after any consonant except h (§225). Examples: 2d sg. b-iyāb; 3d sg. b-iyā, ā-jam-iyā, awā-jam-iyā, perf. czir-

iyāv.

II. Thematic stems have optatives with -i- (as zero-grade of -iē-, cf. I) added to the thematic vowel pIE -ei-, making pIE -ei-: cf. 2d and 3d sg. Gk. φορέiν, φέρεiν, Skt. bhārē bhāret. Examples: 3d sg. vi-nādayāiś, pass. kariyāiś frai+yāiś, pass. pl. yadi+yāś (for ending, §232.111); 2d sg. mid. with ending -so, yada+śi, cf. Gk. φύςοιοι.

§224. THE INJUNCTIVE FORMATIONS are merely secondary indicative forms lacking the augment; the following forms have been found in OP: 1st sg. tarsam; 2d sg. stabave apa-gaudaye av-amade; 3d sg. tukadā. See also §237.

§225. THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE VERB, so far as they appear in extant OP forms, are listed in the table; they are given in the pAr. values, since the pIE values cannot in all instances be determined.

### TABLE OF PERSONAL ENDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prim.</td>
<td>Sec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nē</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -si</td>
<td>-s nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -ti</td>
<td>-t dub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du. 3</td>
<td>-tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>-masi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 -la</td>
<td>-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 -nli</td>
<td>-nl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The same variation between active and middle endings in forms with the specifically passive stem-suffix is found in the Avesta (Reichelt, Aw. Elmb. §615) and in Sanskrit (Whitney, Skt. Gram. §771); but in both these languages the middle endings are more frequent than the active endings in the 3rd persons.

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The original quality of the pAr. a in some of these stems is seen in certain other languages, especially Greek: 2d pl. -*a is pIE *ae-; -*aai -*tai are pIE -*ai -*ta; -*a, 3d sg. -*tai, -*tam, -*anta are pIE -*to -*tamo -*ta; *maei and -*ma varied between -*e- (as in Gk. Dor. -*eus) and -*a- (as in Lt. -*amus); for the -*a- of -*nai, -*sya, -*tam there is no evidence.

A number of variations from the pIE formations will be discussed in the following sections. The imperative endings are taken up collectively in §237.

It is to be noted that certain of these endings cannot be distinguished in the OP syllabary. The endings -ti -tai -nti are all written -*tip, though normalized -*tis -*tay -*tii on the evidence of the context or of other forms of the same verb; -ta and -*nta are both written -*ta, and normalized -*ta and -*tii; -*a -*nti are all unrepresented in the writing if preceded by -*a-, though, like the n in -nti and -*nta, they may optionally be represented by raised letters in the normalization. The subjunctive endings -ni and -*nai also are both written -*nip, though normalized -*nii and -*nayi. Further, the Aryan change of both pIE e and pIE o to a makes it impossible to distinguish the quality of the thematic vowel by citation of Aryan forms merely; for this purpose, Greek cognates have been cited.

§236. The Personal Endings of the First Singular Active.

I. The primary ending -mi is attached directly to non-thematic stems, as in pIE *es-mi, Skt. āsma, Av. āhini, OP amiya. The ending of thematic stems was the lengthening of the thematic vowel ə, as in Lat. ferō, Gk. φέρω; but to this ə there was added in Aryan the ending -mi, as in Skt. bhārma, Av. barami, OP pari-barami. Other OP examples: parsāmi, Skt. pṛchāmi; dārayāmi, Skt. dāhṛyāmi; vaināmi, jādyāmi.

The ending -mi, of unexplained origin, was similarly added to the 1st sg. subj. in -*: pIE *es-ə to es- ‘be’; Gk. ἔω, Lat. (fut. ind.) erō; but Skt. ās-ə, OP abaniya (with ə perhaps after the ə of other forms, as in 3d sg. abhati).

II. The secondary ending -m was attached directly to the thematic verb -o-: pIE ebho-erm ‘I bore’, Skt. abharam, Gk. ἐφορεῖ, OP ābaram; Skt. pṛcham, OP aparasm. Other OP examples: niyādāyam, frāṇayam, arasem, etc. When attached to non-thematic stems, the -m became vocalic, and developed in pAr. to -am, a generalization of the antevocalic value, furthered by the identity with -am from thematic -o-m: pIE *es-ə ‘I was’, Skt. āsma, OP āhām; Skt. dāryaṃ, OP akunam; OP frājanam avājanam, viyakṣam, avākanam, niyāyam [viṃpāyam upariy-[ā]yaṃ, avā niyapaisaṃ. The suffix -nā has become -na- in ādinaṃ, in imitation of other first persons.

§227. The Personal Endings of the Second Singular Active.

I. The primary ending -si was attached directly to the present stem, whether thematic or non-thematic, but happens to occur in OP only in subjunctive forms: pati-parsaḥ (on -hā, §37), Skt. prṛchāsi; pari-bārāḥ and -bārāḥ-dī (§136), vi-kānaḥ and -kānāḥ-di, kunavāḥ, zāśāsyaḥ, ā-zāśāvāḥ, vāniḥ, apa-guṇadāyaḥ, [drawu]jīyāḥ; tāḥ for *tabāḥ (§131); āhīy for short-vowel subjunctive (§222.1) *abhāḥ = Skt. āsasi.

II. The secondary ending -s is seen in Skt. abhāras, Gk. ἔομε; in OP it happens to occur only in injunctive ava-rada, apa-guṇada, staba, and in opt. [biyā, in which it is not written because it is final after a (§36).

§228. The Personal Endings of the Third Singular Active.

I. The primary ending is -ti, before which the thematic vowel is -e-: pIE *behṛeti, Skt. bhṛavi, OP bavati; pIE *hereti, Skt. bhṛati, OP ā-bavati; OP tarsati, ḍaryati, etc.; tāḥy for *tabāḥy after *tāhīy for *tabāhīy (§131). Non-thematic: pIE *esti, Skt. āsti; OP āsti; pIE *eti, Skt. ātī; OP ātī; Skt. ḍati, OP āvati; Skt. ḍpāṭi, OP kuvāti; OP ā-vātāvāti. Subjunctives: Skt. bhṛavati, OP bavati; Skt. āsati, OP abhati; etc. (§222).

II. The secondary ending is -t, which is not written in OP final after a (§40); before -t the thematic vowel is -e-: pIE *ebhejet, Skt. abhavat, OP abava; pIE *ebheret, Gk. ἔκπη, Skt. abhara, OP abara; Skt. ḍhṛyayat, OP abhrayījaḥ; Skt. ḍhārayat, OP ādārayaḥ; vyamardena; unassembled ava-har[da]; etc. Injunctive ṭadāya. Remodeled non-thematic, abha ‘was’. Passive, abavirya, abārīya, etc. (§220). Non-thematic: abānā to xāna-, adaddā to dā-, adānā to dī-, niy-aka* to kan-, awīya* to ava-jana-; in the last two, radical n as well as ending t is not represented in the OP orthography. Strong aorist: pIE *edhēt, Skt. ādhāt, OP adā. Optatives: Skt. gampūḥ, OP ā-janīyaḥ; OP avājanīyaḥ, biyā, perf. cārvryā.

III. When i or u stands before the ending t, the OP form has a final ə. Probably this is a trans-
fer from the sinitic aorist, where the terminations would be pIE *-iš- *-is- -is-t, pAr. *išam *iš-
-ī, the identity of second and third personal forms
gives an analogy to the 2d sg. imperfect in -iš (no
examples extant in OP), whence impf. 3d sg. in
-iš.1 After u the phenomena are the same.2 The OP
examples are aisi 'went', atiyy-āisi 'went past', aki
naus 'made' (Skt. dhr̥yati, adārisāus 'dared' (Skt.
dhṛṣṇa); and the thematic optatives active vi
nābhyās, passive kariyās frayāyās (cf. for ending
Gk. ρήμα, Skt. bhāre).

§229. The Personal Endings of the Third
Dual Active. This occurs in OP only in aṣvataṃ
'(the two) were living', with ending agreeing with
the Greek primary ending in present ψέπερον '(the
two) are bearing', pIE -tom. In the corresponding
imperfect, Gk. Dor. ψέπερισ and Skt. dharatāṃ
both have analogically lengthened vowels.

§230. The Personal Endings of the First
Plural Active.
I. The primary ending was pIE -mes, as in Gk.
Dor. φροῦσ, or -mos, as in Latin ferimus; pAr. has
-mos or, with added deictic -i, -masi. Both -mas
and -masi occur in Skt., but only -masi in Iranian.
Thus Skt. smās and smāsī 'we are', Av. māhī, OP
avāhā (a- after sg. avāy, astiy, as also in Gk.
εξέρχομαι). The same ending stands in OP bāhyāmāhy
'we are called'.
II. The secondary ending was pIE -me or -mo,
as in Gk. ἤορομεν, Skt. dharāmāma; OP examples,
inf. viy-alaryayāmā, aor. akumā.

§231. The Personal Endings of the Second
Plural Active. The only OP forms are two
injunctives as imperative: paraiti 'go ye forth' from
parā + itā, cf. inv. Skt. itā, Gk. τε, Lat. ete (with
strong grade of root from singular); jatā 'smite ye',
Skt. kādā. The ending is pIE secondary -te.

§232. The Personal Endings of the Third
Plural Active.
I. The primary ending was pIE -nti, which was
attached to the thematic vowel -o-: pIE *bheronti,
Gk. Dor. φροὺρι, Skt. bhāranti, OP barati; Skt.

bhāvantī, OP bava-tiy; Skt. dhārāyanti, OP ḍāraya-
tiy; OP tara-tiy; (restored) subjunctives with -ā,
OP vinādayati, vijana-tiy (cf. §222.III). When
attached to an unaccented non-thematic stem, the
-nā was of necessity accented, and took the form
pIE -nti: pIE *-en-ti 'they are', Ose. sent, Gk.
Dor. (enclitic) tiri, Skt. santi, OP ha-tiṭi. It is to
be noted that the OP script does not permit the
writing of the nasal in the ending (§111).
II. The secondary ending was pIE -nt, which
lost the final t in pAr. unless sentence phonetics
permitted its retention; for in pAr. only a single
consonant could stand at the end of a word. In
OP, also, the final n was not written (§112). Be-
fore this ending the thematic vowel was -o-: pIE
*eheront, Gk. ψέρομαι, Skt. dharan, OP abara; OP
abana, anaṇa, ayuṇa, aśekṣa, ajarāya; passive abariya, ayadiya. Non-thematic
stem would normally have pIE -nt after cons-
nants, becoming pAr. -at; but this was commonly
replaced by -an(t) after the -am of the 1st sg.: pIE
*ēṇ-t, but Skt. āsan, OP āha; OP aparīya-
āya, awijana.

III. The sinitic aorist similarly remodeled its
3d pl. from -sas ( < -s-n) to -san(t); thus in Gk.,
s-aorist ἰδω-av 'they loosed', whence strong aorist
ἰδῶ-σαυ 'they gave', and (late Greek) thematic
ἰδῶ-σαω 'they took'. So also in OP, the -san
spread to some verbs,1 being regularly -ha after a
and -sa after i: abaraha* alongside abara*, pati-
ayāša*, opt. pass. yadiyāša*, and with extension of
-sa to the position after a, aduruṣiyāśa*, akunav-
asa* alongside akunavā.

§233. The Personal Endings of the First
Singular Middle.
I. The perfect tense seems to have had an end-
ing -ai, as in Skt. tutudé, Latin tutuñ, with vowel
quality determined by Faliscan peparai 'peperi';
this looks like the perfect first active -a, seen in
Gk. oīna, Skt. veda, + middle ending -i (see V,
below).
II. Whatever the original ending in primary
tenses, this was in Aryan replaced by -ai, identical
with the ending in the perfect; probably this was
facilitated by the change of the thematic vowel
-e/-o to Aryan -a, and the -ai of the 2d sg. -sai,
3d sg. -tai, as in Gk. (non-thematic) ἀδω-σαυ ἀδω-

1 A detailed discussion of this analogical process is
given by Pissi, Riv. Stud. Or. 19.89-92. While nothing
stands in the way of assuming phonetic development of
final t after u to i in OP, it is unlikely that this change
occurred after i; for OP -ciy is from pIE *ṣidan, which
is Skt. cīd, Av. cīt, Lat. quid. One must assume that the
3d sg. -i after u is of the same origin as the same ending after i.

1 This analogical extension is treated in detail by
The present subjunctive middle kunaśvāṇa has the active -nī remodelled to -nai after the 2d sg. -sai, 3d sg. -lai; in this form -nai is not found in Skt., which has only -āi, but in Av. both -āi and -āne (from -ānai) occur.

V. The ending -i seems to be original in non-thematic imperatives and aorists in Aryan; cf. Skt. āṇeṣi ‘I led’ to root -ā. There is one example in OP, the sgnomic aorist adarśīy ‘I held’ to root dar-(normalization adarśaīy, with -ay like all other OP 1st sg. middles, is also possible).

§234. The Personal Endings of the Second Singular Middle.

I. The primary ending was pIE -sai, seen in Gk. (non-thematic) ὑσσο-σα, Skt. (thematic) bhārase. The only OP example is subj. manyaḥaṣa (with varying orthographies, see Lex. s.v. ‘man-’).

II. The secondary ending was pIE -so, seen in Gk. (non-thematic) ὑσσο-σα, with which Avestan agrees (Skt. has a different ending, -sthā). There is one OP example, opt. yaddaśā; for formation and ending, cf. Gk. ἢσσο ‘thou wouldst follow’, Av. ḍarṣaśka (written ḍir-).

§235. The Personal Endings of the Third Singular Middle.

I. The primary ending was pIE -lai, as in Gk. φεσταν, Skt. bhāraṇe; this is seen in OP yaddaṭaī (= Skt. yājate), gubāṭaī, ha-ṭaṭaṭaī, vairataī, varnaṇaṭaī, and in the subjunctives yadāṭaī, gubāṭaī, etc. (§222).

II. The secondary ending was pIE -lo, as in Gk. ἢἐστε, Skt. dharāta; this is seen in OP ud-apakāṭaī (Gk. ἐστΈτα, Skt. āpalaṭa), anayataī (Skt. ānayaṭa), amaryataī, frāmīyataī, agarbīyataī, agabataī, ham-alaxaṭaī, ayasaṭaī, [a]ṛjīyataī, adṛjīyataī, [am]āvataī, passive akunavataī, perhaps aor. (k)amamvataī and perf. pass. caṛṛiṣiṭaī or [ca]ṛṛiṣiṭaī; non-thematic remade to thematic, varnavaṇtaī and aśśitaī; non-thematic aor. akunātaī (Skt. ākṛta) and inl. patiy-ajataī (Skt. ḍhata).