

# Avestan *i*-stems: form, function, problems

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## 1 Introduction

- Due to the difficult philological situation, Avestan nominal morphology is less well understood than its Vedic counterpart (although detailed studies of some of its aspects exist, e.g., Kellens 1974)
- Despite their impressive age, AIW and Geldner 1886 remain standard points of reference
- However, recent efforts to rethink the methodology of text editions and digitize the manuscripts (see Cantera 2012 and the Avestan Digital Archive, <http://ada.usal.es/>) will likely have consequences for the linguistic (re-)evaluation of much of the material.
- The aim of this paper is to start with a survey of the Avestan *i*-stems from a linguistic (synchronic and comparative) perspective, based on AIW and Tremblay 1998

## 2 -*i*- in Vedic and Indo-European

### 2.1 Vedic *i*-stems

#### 2.1.1 Deverbal action nouns

Cp. AiG II,2: 297ff., Grestenberger 2014. Verbal & adjectival abstracts = f.

- (1) a. *dhr̥áji*- f. ‘gust of wind’ (*dhr̥aj* ‘glide’), *jálpi*- f. ‘whispering, muttering’ (*jalp* ‘mutter’), *rándhi*- f. ‘subjugation’ (*randh* ‘subdue’), *rábhi*- f. part of the wheel, ‘support’? (*rabh* ‘grasp, take’), etc.  
b. with R(ø): inf. in *-áye* (= dat.sg. of *i*-stems), e.g., *iśáye* (*iś* ‘send out, drive, expel’), *drśáye* (*drś* ‘see’); *kr̥ṣ̥í*- f. ‘ploughing’ (*kr̥ṣ̥* ‘plough’), *tují*- f. ‘propagation, progeny’ (RV 5.46.7 *tujáye* ‘for propagation’, *bhují*- f. ‘enjoyment’ (*bhuj*), etc.

#### 2.1.2 Deverbal agent nouns

... or masc./animate concrete nouns. Some could also be originally denominal. Mostly in compounds.

- (2) a. *svarí*- ‘resounding’ < (*svar* ‘resound’), *kr̥tí*- ‘knife’ (*kr̥t* ‘cut’), *khādí*- m. ‘bangle, ring’ (*khād* ‘bite’), *kr̥ḍí*- ‘playing’ (*kr̥ḍ* ‘play’)  
b. compounds: *tuvi-ṣvāni*- ‘sounding mightily’, *ā-tāni*- ‘stretching out’, *saho-bhāri*- ‘bringing victory’, *paśu-rákṣi*- ‘livestock-protector’, *vasu-vāni*- ‘winning goods’, etc.

#### 2.1.3 Adjectival abstracts

Associated with the “Caland system”, cp. Nussbaum 1976, Rau 2009; especially in first member of compound where they descriptively replace adjectives.

- (3) a. Compounds: *r̥jīśvan*- PN ‘who has swift dogs’ (*r̥jrá*- ‘swift’), *rudhi-kr̥ā*- PN ‘who scatters blood’ (*róhit(a)*-, *rudhírā*- ‘red’), *śiti-pád*- ‘having white feet’ (*śvitrā*- ‘white’), etc.  
b. Simplex nouns/adjectives: *śúci*- ‘bright’, *hári*- ‘yellow’

### 2.2 \*-*i*- in Indo-European

- While Vedic has both denominal and deverbal *i*-stems, its Proto-Indo-European predecessor seems to have been exclusively *denominal*.
- It formed masc. (animate?) substantivized adjectives and fem. verbal abstracts

- The derivational basis of both was an *\*o*-adjective (Nussbaum 2014); this original pattern is still attested in the various IE languages:

(4) Masc. substantivized adjectives

- Av. *tiγra-* ‘pointed, sharp’ → *tiγri-* m. ‘pointed thing; arrow’
- PIE *\*m̥ntó-* ‘protruding’ (Lat. *mentum* ‘chin’) → *\*monti-* ‘protruding (one)’ (Lat. *mōns* m. ‘mountain’)
- Ved. *jūrā-* ‘quick, lively’ → *jūrī-* ‘stream’ (< ‘quick, lively one’); *jñātá-* ‘known’ → *jñātī-* m. ‘relative’

(5) Fem. abstracts

- Lat. *ravus* ‘hoarse’ → *ravis* f. ‘hoarseness’
- Gk. ἀφρός ‘bright, shining; fast’ → ἀφρ- ‘brightness’ (in compounds, cp. Ved. *ṛji-* in *ṛjī-śvan-* above)
- OIr. *glan* ‘clear’ → *glain* f. ‘glass; clearness’ (Weiss 2013)

- Semantics of (4): ‘masculine endocentric substantivizations’, comparable to definite adjectives in Germanic, Balto-Slavic, etc. (Nussbaum 2014)
- These tend to develop into adjectives → semantic difference between adjectival base and (substantival) derivative not always clear-cut in the individual branches
- In the daughter languages, a shift from denominal → deverbal derivation can often be observed (see 2.1.1 & 2.1.2 above)

### 3 Avestan

- almost no traces of open inflection (gen.sg. *\*-i-es*, dat.sg. *\*-i-ei*, etc., cp. Ved. *arī-*, gen. *aryáh* m. ‘stranger’; *ávi-*, gen. *ávyah* m. ‘sheep’; *páti*, dat. *pátye* m. ‘lord, master’)
  - Remnants of open inflection: *paithiiaē-ca* (Y.53.2) = Ved. *pátye*, YAv. dat.sg. *haše* (= Ved. *sákhye*), instr. *haśa* (= Ved. *sákhya*) from *haxāii-* ‘companion’ (< *\*sék<sup>u</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-ōi<sup>h</sup>/\*s(e)k<sup>u</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-i<sup>h</sup>*); OAv. *\*raji-/rāii-* ‘wealth’ (< *\*ró/éh<sub>1</sub>-i-/-i<sup>h</sup>*), gen. *rāiiō* (Ved. *rāyáh*) < *\*reh<sub>1</sub>-i<sup>h</sup>-és*, gen.pl. *rāiiam* (vs. Ved. *-vñám*; Yt.60.4; synchronically a “diphthong stem” in Vedic).
- Closed inflection everywhere else: gen.sg. OAv. *-ōiš* < *\*-ei-s*, dat.sg. OAv. *-ōiiōi*, YAv. *-əe* (*-aiiaē*) < *\*-ei-ei*, nom.pl. *-aiiō* < *\*-ei-es*

#### 3.1 Inherited and ablauting nouns

The following nouns have cognates outside of Indo-Iranian that point to a PIE etymology, or display archaisms in their ablaut/inflection that point to an inherited category.

(6) Acrostatic:

- aji-* m. ‘snake’ = Ved. *áhi-*, Gk. ὄφις, etc., < *\*h<sub>1</sub>óg<sup>uh</sup>-i-/\*h<sub>1</sub>ég<sup>uh</sup>-i-* (Arm. *ij* from *\*h<sub>1</sub>ég<sup>uh</sup>-i-*)
- paiti-* ‘master; husband’: (°)*paitiš*, °*patōiš*, YAv. abl. °*patōit*, dat. °*patəe* (YAv. *vīs-patəe* ‘for the lord of the settlement’), nom.pl. (°)*pataiiō* (closed infl.) ‘master’, vs. OAv. dat. *paithiiaē-ca* (Y.53.4), YAv. *paiθe* (open inflection) ‘husband’
  - same as in Vedic (gen. *pátipur* vs. *páteḥ*, etc.) → seems to be an Indo-Iranian innovation, productive open inflection takes on primary function; older closed inflection appears in secondary/derived function (Kuryłowicz’s 4<sup>th</sup> law of analogy), with gen.sg. *-ur* from kinship nouns
  - not necessary to posit an inherited derivational chain (*pace* Tremblay 1998)

(7) Proterokinetic (?)

- gairi-* m. ‘mountain’ = Ved. *girī-* < *\*g<sup>u</sup>ṛh<sub>2</sub>-i-/\*g<sup>u</sup>erh<sub>2</sub>* ‘heavy’, cp. Av. *gouru-* ‘heavy’, Ved. *gurú-*, etc.)
- zairi-* ‘yellow’, Yt.10.96 and as first member of compounds (= Ved. *hári-*) and *zāiri-* ‘golden’ in *zāiri-haoma-*, Y.9.17, 9.20, 10.13, 10.21, etc. < *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>elh<sub>3</sub>-i-* (with a *vrd̥dhi*-derivative *zāiri-* < *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>elh<sub>3</sub>-i-*)

(8) Amphikinetic

- haxāi-* ‘friend’, nom.sg. OAv. °*haxā*, acc. °*haxāim* (< *\*-āiəm*); Ved. *sakhā*, acc. *sákhāyam*, gen. *sákhayur* < *\*sék<sup>u</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-ōi<sup>h</sup>, \*s(e)k<sup>u</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-i<sup>h</sup>*
- karšāi-* ‘furrow(s)’: acc.sg. *karšāim* hapax in a problematic passage in Yt.4.4. could go back to *\*k<sup>u</sup>(e)ls-ōi<sup>h</sup>*, amphikinetic collective to Ved. *kr̥ṣí-* f. ‘field’ (< *\*‘furrows’?*) < *\*k<sup>u</sup>ls-ei<sup>h</sup>-/-i-* (protero- or hysterokinetic); Kuiper 1942: 65:
  - YAv., Yt.4.4.: ... *āat mraot Ahurō Mazdā: yezi.mē mθθrəm framrauua ... karšāim kāraiiēiti, haom tanūm guzaēta* “Ahura Mazda said: if someone, proclaiming the Mantra for me ... draws the furrows (and) hides himself...

(ii) RV 10.34.13a: *kṛśīm ít kṛśasva* ‘just plough your own ploughland’ (Jamison and Brereton 2014)

(9) Hysterokinetic

- a. *kauuāi-* ‘seer’, nom.sg. OAv. *kauuā*, acc. YAv. *kauuaēm* (< \**-aiəm*), gen. *kauuōiš*, OAv. nom.pl. *kāuuaiias-* Y.32.14, Y.46.11 (initial syllable lengthening, Hoffmann and Forssman 2004: 56, rather than quantity metathesis, Tremblay 1998: 38), gen.pl. *kaouiəm* < \**kauiām*, Yt.13.135 = Y.9.18.
- b. \**Sāuuarḥāi-*: acc.sg. *Sāuuarḥaēm* in Y.2.3 (only J2) = 6.2 (J2, K5, Mf1.3; Pt4 has *Sāuuarḥəm*), Y.2.18 (J2, K5) hystero derivative of *Sāuuarḥi* (YAv. dat.sg. *sāuuarḥē* in Y.1.3, 23 (AIW: 1572 lists both under *sāuarḥay-* m. ‘Name einer Gottheit, die die Großviehherden mehrt’) < \**sāuas-ai-ai*; \**sāuas-i-*, Vṛddhi-derivative of *sauuah-* n. ‘benefit, usefulness’ (Tremblay 1998: 40ff.).

### 3.2 Denominal *i*-stems

Denominal stems far exceed deverbal stems; most of the remaining deverbal ones are ambiguous.

- Most *i*-stems are derived from a thematic base
- *ni*-stems have the same root ablaut grade as the nominal base; Ved. *ni*-stems have R(∅)

(10) Denominal *i*-stems

	<i>i</i> -stem	<i>a</i> -stem	
a.	<i>tauruuī</i> (a <i>Daēuuā</i> , V.19.43, V.10.10)	<i>taoruua-ēti-</i> (PN)	< * <i>tṛh₂u-o/i-</i> , Ved. <i>tūrvi-</i> ‘superior’
b.	<i>tiyri-</i> m. ‘arrow’, Yt.8.6	<i>tiyra-</i> ‘sharp’	< * <i>tig-ro/i-</i> , besides * <i>tig-i-</i> in <i>tiži°</i>
c.	<i>tūiri-</i> n. ‘whey’, N.66, N.67	(* <i>tūra-</i> )	< * <i>tuH-ro/i-</i> , Gk. τῦρός ‘cheese’
d.	<i>tušni</i> (°) ‘quiet’, F.18, Yt.13.29	* <i>tušna-</i> , <i>tušnā°</i>	< * <i>tuh₂s-no/i-</i> , Ved. <i>tušṇīm</i> ‘silently’
e.	<i>paršti-</i> f. ‘back’ (Du. in V.8.51,52, V.9.18,19)	<i>paršta-</i> m. ‘back’	< * <i>pṛ-sth₂-o/i-</i> , Ved. <i>pṛsthā</i> <sup>-1</sup>
f.	(°) <i>baoidi-</i> f. ‘fragrance’	<i>baoda-</i> m. ‘smell’	< * <i>baud<sup>h</sup>-a/i-</i>
g.	<i>maēmi-</i> f. ‘punishment’, Y.31.15, Y.44.19	(* <i>maēna-</i> )	< * <i>moi-no/i-</i> , Ved. <i>menī-</i> f. ‘exchange’; ? <i>ménā-</i> ‘female (animal)’; OIr. <i>moín</i> f. ‘gift’
h.	° <i>maini-</i> ‘necklace’, Yt.14.33	(* <i>mana-</i> )	* <i>mon(h₂)-i-</i> , Ved. <i>mañi-</i> , Lat. <i>monile</i>
i.	<i>miiazdi-</i> N.83 =	<i>miiazda-</i> m. ‘ritual meal, sacrifice’	< * <i>miias-d<sup>h</sup>(h₁)o-</i> , <sup>2</sup> Ved. <i>miiyédha-</i> m.
j.	<i>vaēdi-</i> f. ‘shape, form’, Yt.10.142	OAv. <i>vaēda-</i> m. ‘finding’	< * <i>ueḡd-o/i-</i> , Ved. <i>véda-</i> m.
k.	<i>varšni-</i> m. ‘male’	<i>varšna-</i> ‘male’	Ved. <i>vṛṣan-</i> ‘male’, <i>vṛṣni-</i> ‘strong’ (< * <i>h₂uṛs-n-o/i-</i> )
l.	<i>uruuāiti-</i> f. ‘contract, agreement’, Y.46.5, Yt.10.33, Yt.11.14	OAv. <i>uruuāta-</i> n. ‘rule, decision’	< * <i>urh₁(e)to/i-</i> <sup>3</sup> ? Ved. <i>vratá-</i> n. ‘rule’, Gk. ῥητόν ‘stated’, specified’, ῥῆσις ‘speech’
m.	<i>zaēni</i> (°) ‘eager, fast’, V.13.40	(adj. * <i>zaēna-</i> , cp. <i>zaēna-</i> m. ‘weapon’)	< * <i>g<sup>h</sup>e/oḡ-no/i-</i>
n.	<i>ziiani-</i> f. ‘damage’, Y.12.2,3	<i>ziāna-</i> n. ‘damage’	Ved. <i>jyāna-</i> , <i>jyāni-</i> (< * <i>ḡieH-no/i-</i> )

Most likely (diachronically) denominal:

- (11) a. *aršti-* m. ‘lance’ = Ved. *ṛṣṭi-* f. (!) ‘lance’: m. gender in Avestan suggests that this was an animate substantivization (Tremblay 1998: 93; cp. *tiyra-* → *tiyri-*) of PIIr. \**ṛšta-*, \**ṛš* ‘stab, sting’.
- b. (i) *karəti-* ‘knife’: V.17.9 : *imāsə.tē sruuā mərəya aṣō.zušta hiiarə arštaiiasca karətaiiasca* ‘for you, Aṣō.zušta-bird, these nails shall be spears and knives...’ ← *karəta-* m. ‘knife’ < \**kartā-* ‘cutting’ (substantivization of τῦρός-type *o*-stem?)<sup>4</sup>
- (ii) *karəti-* or *kərəti-* some item of clothing (shirt?) in N.91 (acc.pl. *kərətīšca*) ← acc.pl. *a*-stem N.87 *karetāšca*?

<sup>1</sup>Should be kept separate from Ved. *pṛṣṭi-* f. ‘rib’, EWA II: 165f.

<sup>2</sup>EWA II: 356.

<sup>3</sup>Analyzed as a *vṛddhi*-derivative of \**urh₁-to-* by Tremblay (1998: 91).

<sup>4</sup>An instr.sg. *kərəti* may need to be restored in V.7.38 *māca pascaēta mazdaiiasna vīmādashciṭ vīmādaiiaṇta māca kərəntu mazdaiiasna māca* \**kərəti irišiiāt*, cp. Kellens 1984: 17 (who follows Geldner 1886 in reading *kərətu* (e.g., K1)) translates: “qu’après cela, ils ne pratiquent plus la médecine en médecins pour les mazdéens, qu’ils n’opèrent plus les mazdéens, que nul ne subisse plus de dommage du fait de (leur) couteau...”. Given that there is no \**kṛtu-* ‘knife’ in Vedic, we may instead be dealing with an instr.sg. \**kṛti* from the same stem as Ved. *kṛti-* ‘knife’ in RV 1.168.3. In that case, Av. *karəti-* and *kərəti-* may have been derived at different stages, cp. Tremblay 1998: 90’s discussion.

- c. *saēni*(°)- m. ‘point(ed)’ Yt.14.21 < \**koh<sub>3</sub>i-no/i-*  
d. *maoiri*- m. ‘ant’, V.16.12, V.14.5, V.18.73 < \**mar<sub>1</sub>i-*, cp. Ved. *vamrá-* m. ‘ant’ < \**uamra-*, metathesis \**uor-mo-* > \**mor-uo-* or *vice versa*?  
e. *sraoni*(°)- f. ‘hip, butt’ < \**kloy-no/i-*, Ved. *śroni-*/adj. *śroná-* ‘lame’, Lat. *clūnis*, etc.  
f. *varəmi-* f. ‘wave’, Yt.19.67 ≈ Ved. *ūrmí-* m. ‘wave’ < \**u<sub>2</sub>H-mi-*

Athematic base:

- (12) a. *vairi-* m. ‘sea’, Y.42.2, Yt.10.14, Yt.19.51, V.19.42, etc. from the base of Ved. *vār-* n. ‘sea’? < \*(H)*ueh<sub>1</sub>-r/* (H)*uh<sub>1</sub>-r* → \**h<sub>1</sub>ur-*? Tremblay 1998: 97  
b. *dqmi-* m. ‘creator’ ← *dqman-* n. ‘creation’  
c. *uruθmi-* f. ‘sprout’, Y.71.9, Yt.13.55 ← *uruθman-* n. ‘growth’  
d. *hu-zāmi-* ‘good, easy birth’, Yt.5.87 (*hu-zāmit-* ‘having an easy birth’) = Ved. (°)*jāmí-* ‘related (as siblings)’ < \**gh<sub>1</sub>h<sub>1</sub>-m(n)-i-*? Cp. Ved. *ján(i)man-* .  
e. *jāni-* f. ‘woman’, nom.pl. *jānaiiō* in V.7.59 = Ved. °*jāni-*, a *vṛddhi*-derivative of *jaini-*, Ved. *jāni-* (< \**g<sup>h</sup>éh<sub>2</sub>-(i)-*)? Tremblay 1998: 107, Nussbaum 2009.

### 3.3 Deverbal

Tremblay 1998 is sceptical concerning deverbal *i*-stems in Avestan, but there are a few likely candidates:

- (13) a. *jarəzi-* ‘lamenting’ (*gəvəz*) < \**jar<sub>1</sub>-i-*  
b. *darši-* ‘brave’ (*darš* ‘be brave, eager’) in Yt.8.33,34, Yt.18.5,7, Y.42.3, Vr.7.4. Tremblay 1998: 99 follows Bartholomae, AIW in suggesting an emendation to *daršiiu-* in all passages and align it with the paradigm of gen.sg. *daršiiāoš* in Yt.14.2. The latter, however, looks like it was built on \**darši-* itself, which must also be the basis of *daršit(a)-* in Y.57.11 (and cp. Ved. *dādhṛṣi-* ‘brave’). *darši*° is also attested as first compound member (but more likely an abstract noun).  
c. *frauu-* ‘prosperity’ (Yt.10.103 = Y.57.15) < \**fra-uu-i-* (Ved. *pra av<sup>i</sup>-* ‘encourage, incite’)  
d. °*vairi-* in compounds/PN, ‘protection, armor’ (*var* ‘protect’), e.g., *Zairi-vairi-* ‘who has a yellow armor’

Diachronically deverbal:

- (14) a. *āzi-* m. ‘envy, greed’ = Ved. *āji-* m. ‘race’ < \**h<sub>2</sub>oĝ-i-* or \**h<sub>1</sub>eĝ-i-* (first one more likely, cp. the Greek type τρῶχλις ‘messenger’), \**aj-* ‘drive’  
b. *ərəši-* in Y.31.5 = Ved. *ṛṣi-* ‘poet’ (Humbach 1991), from PIIr. \**arš* ‘flow’ (\**h<sub>1</sub>ers*)? EWA I: 261.

#### 3.3.1 Reduplicated *i*-stems

Synchronically deverbal (formally built on the weak stem of the perfect), but possibly originally denominal (see Grestenberger 2013).

- OAv. hapax *caaxri-* (cp. YAv. 3.pl.pf. *cāxrarə*) = Ved. *cákri-* ‘making, doing’
- *vījajmišta-* ‘going in all directions the most’ ← \**ja<sub>1</sub>mi-*, Ved. *jágmi-* (for the stem cp. 1.sg.perf.opt. *ja<sub>1</sub>miig<sub>m</sub>*, perf.ptcp.f. *ja<sub>1</sub>mūšī-*).
- YAv. *ja<sub>1</sub>ništa-* ‘who slays most’ (Yt.11.3, Yt.12.7,8, Y.71.7) ← \**ja<sub>1</sub>ni-*, Ved. *jághni-*.
- YAv. °*ja<sub>1</sub>ri-* in the hapax *Spən.ja<sub>1</sub>rīm* (name of a demon) in V.19.40 = a verbal governing compound *spən-* (cp. *spənta-* ‘life-giving, prosperous’) + *ja<sub>1</sub>ri-*, Ved. *jághri-* ‘sprinkling’ (Humbach 1959: II,64, Kellens 1974: 154, Humbach 1991: II,172: ‘spattering prosperity’)
- *azrō.daīdi-* (V.18.65), the second compound member could be cognate with Ved. *dādhi-* (or belong to \**dā* ‘trace, track down’, Narten 1963).
- YAv. N.pl. *dādaraiiō* < \**dā-d(h)r-i/e<sub>2</sub>-* (\**dar* ‘hold, sustain’) ≈ Ved. *dādh<sub>1</sub>vi-* ‘strong’.
- OAv. *mānarōiš*, gen.sg. of a stem *mānari-* < \**mānri-*, from *mar-* ‘remember’ (Humbach 1991: II,203), ‘the one who constantly remembers, memorizes’ or from *mar-* ‘die’ (Narten 1986: 277), cp. AV 8,2,26 *á-mamri-* ‘immortal’.
- YAv. °*vaoiri-* ‘skin, covering (?)’ (gen.pl. *ham.vaoiring<sub>m</sub>* ‘with skin/cream’ and *us.vaoiring<sub>m</sub>* ‘without skin/cream’ (said of milk) in V.5.52) = Ved. *vauri-* ‘covering, cover’ (*var* ‘cover’).
- *afrauuaočīš* ‘not proclaiming’ (P.45) < \**a-fra-ua-uč-i-*, where °*uuaoči-* = a reduplicated *i*-stem to the root *vac-* ‘speak’, cp. OAv. 1pl.perf. *vaoxəmə*, YAv. 3.sg. *vauuaca*, mid. *vaoce*, and cp. *fra* + *vac* ‘speak forth; proclaim’, e.g. Y.65.9 *frāuuauaca* ‘has proclaimed’, Y.19.11 *frāuuaoce* ‘has been proclaimed’, etc.
- °*irīrici-* in YAv. gen.pl. *a-irīricing<sub>m</sub>* ‘not leaving behind’ (2x in Y.65.7), reduplicated *i*-stem of *iric-* (*raēk*) ‘leave behind, abandon’ (← Pre-PIIr. \**li-lik<sup>w</sup>-i-*), possibly from the perfect stem corresponding to Ved. 3.sg.perf. *rirece* ‘has left’, 3.sg.opt. *rirecyāt*, etc. (unattested in Avestan).

### 3.4 Unclear

- (15) a. *ārōiṣ*, *ārēm* Y.51.4, Y.51.14 = Ved. *arí-*, *aryáh?*  
 b. YAv. *urupi-* ‘weasel’ (derivative *Urupāi-*?) (p. 31), gen. should be *\*urupōiṣ* in V.13.16 vs. YAv. *raopi-* ‘fox’, gen. apparently *raopiṣ* in V.13.16. Tremblay takes this at face value and posits an acrostic gen.sg. *\*réupiṣ*, with a paradigm split *\*róupi-*/*\*réupi-* ‘fox’ → protero *\*réupi-*, *\*rupéi-* ‘weasel’?!  
 c. *Taxmō Urupa* (Yt.15.11) < *\*Urupāi*, from *urupi-*? Acc.sg. in Yt.19.28 *taxmēm urupi* (for *urupim?*) is not confidence-inspiring.

(... to be continued)

## 4 Compounds

“Bahuvrīhi-*i*” is completely missing, all forms are endocentric substantivizations of compounds in *-a* (Tremblay 1998: 98ff.).

- (16) a. (*\*auui-*)*mīθra* → *auui-mīθr-i* ‘against Mitra, enemy of Mitra’ (Yt.10.20)  
 b. *maēša-* m. ‘sheep’ → *daβra-maēši-* (personal name) ‘having fat sheep’ (Yt.13.122), explained as a backformation from f. *maēšī-* by Tremblay (to avoid analyzing this as Bahuvrīhi-*i*?)  
 c. *hazaṅrō.vāraiiō* ‘a thousand raindrops’ (V.21.2) ← (*hazaṅrō.*)*vāra-* ?  
 d. *gaoiḍi-* ‘milk pot’, m. du. in V.14.8, < *gau-d<sup>h</sup>H-i-*, cp. Ved. *uda-dhí-* ‘cloud’ (“water container”), *iṣu-dhí-* ‘quiver’ (“arrow container”), etc.  
 e. *duž-aini-* ‘one who has bad breath’: *frēna-* ‘breath’ = Ved. *prāṇá-* < PIIr. *\*pra-ana-*, *\*an* ‘breathe’ (Thieme 1960: 270f.)  
 f. *parəṇdi-* ‘abundance’ = Ved. *púramdhi-* < *\*pl<sub>h1</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>end<sup>h</sup>-i-* (Ved. *ándhas-* ‘plant’) or *\*p<sub>r</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>end<sup>h</sup>-i-* (Pinault 2016).

V.15 contains several other examples (cited after Geldner 1886):

- (17) a. V.15.27 *yō aētəm aspōstānəm uzdašta, yeṅhā vō aēšō aspōstāniṣ aṅhaṭ* “he who built this horse-stable or to whom belongs this (particular?) horse-stable...” (V.15.24: *uṣtrō-stānəm ... uṣtrō-stāniṣ*, V.15.30: *gauuō.stānəm ... gauuō.stāniṣ*)  
 b. V.15.33 *yō aētəm pasuṣ.hastəm uzdašta, yeṅhā vō aēšō pasuṣ.hastiṣ aṅhaṭ*  
 c. V.15.36 *yō aētəm uzdaēzəm uzdašta yeṅhā vō aēšō uzdaēziṣ aṅhaṭ*  
 d. V.15.39: *yō aētəm auuakanəm auuakanta, yeṅhā vō aēšō auuakaniṣ aṅhaṭ* (cp. AV *khaní-* ‘burrowing’)  
 e. V.15.42: *yō aētaṭ vāstrəm uzdašta, yeṅhā vō aēšō vāstriṣ aṅhaṭ*

Tremblay 1998: 102 interprets the *i*-stems in V.15 as “concretizations” (*substance concrète*), i.e., endocentric substantivizations, of the corresponding compounds in *-a*.

### 4.1 Caland *i*-stems in compounds

*i*-stems replace primary adjectives as first members of compounds (Caland 1892, Nussbaum 1976, Rau 2009).

	compositional <i>i</i> -stem	adjective
a.	<i>xšuuīβi°</i> , e.g., <i>xšuuīβi.iṣu-</i> ‘having swift arrows’	<i>xšuuīβra-</i> ‘swift’ < <i>*ksuīb<sup>h</sup>-i/-ro-</i> , Ved. <i>ksiprá-</i> (?)
b.	<i>jaiβi.vafra-</i> ‘having deep snow’	<i>jafra-</i> ‘deep’ < <i>*g<sup>(u)</sup>mb<sup>h</sup>-i/-ro-</i> , Ved. <i>gabhīrá-</i> , <i>gambīrá-</i>
c.	<i>dərəzi°</i> , e.g., <i>dərəzi.raθa-</i> ‘having a firm chariot’	<i>dərəzra-</i> ‘solid, firm’ < <i>*dlǵ<sup>h</sup>-i/-ro-</i> , Ved. <i>dṛdhrá-</i>
d.	<i>bərəzi-</i> , e.g., <i>bərəzi.caṅra-</i> ‘with high wheels’	<i>bərəzant-</i> ‘high’ < <i>*b<sup>h</sup>rǵ<sup>h</sup>-i/-nt-</i> , Ved. <i>bṛhát-</i>
e.	<i>tiži°</i> , e.g., <i>tižii.aršti-</i> ‘having pointed arrows’	<i>tiyra-</i> ‘sharp, pointed’ < <i>*tig-i/-ro-</i> ; cp. Ved. <i>tigmá-</i>
f.	<i>xruuṣ̄-</i> , <i>xruuṣ̄.dru-</i> ‘having a gory cudgel’	<i>xrūra-</i> , <i>xrūma-</i> ‘bloody, gory’ < <i>*kruh<sub>2</sub>-i/-ro-</i> , Ved. <i>krūrā-</i> , <i>kravi°</i>
g.	<i>taci.āp-</i> ‘(having) running water’	— < <i>*tek<sup>u</sup>-i-</i>
h.	<i>uṣi°</i> , e.g., <i>uṣi.dam-</i> ‘having a dawn-home’ (?)	— < <i>*h<sub>2</sub>us-i/-ra-</i> , Ved. <i>usrá-</i> ‘red, light of dawn’
i.	<i>zaini.paršta-</i> ‘asked by one who has knowledge’	< <i>*ǵṇh<sub>3</sub>-i/-ro-</i> , Lat. <i>gnārus</i> ‘knowledgeable’, Ved. <i>jārā-</i> ‘lover’ (?)

## 5 Conclusion

Avestan *i*-stems display several archaisms compared to Vedic:

- No influence of f.  $\bar{i}$ -stem inflection, as opposed to Vedic (gen.sg.  $-(i)y\bar{a}h$  besides  $-eh$ , dat.sg.  $-iyai$  for  $-aye$ , etc.). Probably because
- Avestan has practically no f. verbal abstracts in  $-i-$  (see Ved. above)
- Avestan has more denominal masc. *i*-stems than Vedic (especially ones that are synchronically derived by replacing the theme vowel  $-a-$  of the base).
- Avestan generally preserves the denominal/“individualizing” function of  $*-i-$  better than Vedic, both in simplex nouns and in compounds
- “Caland-*i*” in compounds seems to have been extended to originally non-Caland roots (like in other IE languages)

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