

# The *ín*-group

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## 1. *introduction*

- (Old) Indic/Vedic *ín*-stems: non-ablauting, synchronically possessive adjectives, diachrony unclear
  - In terms of reconstruction: where did this class come from, how does it differ from other possessive suffixes?
  - ... in terms of development in Sanskrit and MIA: development into “verbal adjectives”/ “participles”
- Previous literature:
  - AiG II,2: 328ff.:
    - *-ín-* older than *-vant-* derivatives; “*-ín-* scheint leichter substantiviert zu werden als *-vant-*” (p. 333), and is preferred over *-vant-* for characterizing animate beings (p. 335)
  - Gotō 2013: 43 (also 2017: 351): “The stem *-ín-* is used to indicate that the modificand has something or some quality as its essential, habitual, or characteristic item, whereas *-vant-* (and its variant *-mant-*) designated also an incidental possession.”

Hypothesis: “*i*-substantivization”/“*i*-individualization” from thematic adjective with subsequent recharacterization by *\*-n-*. Problems:

- Why possessive? Is this the oldest function?
- Base is more often than not clearly substantival
- Why *-n-*? Semantics/functions of “individualizations”?

## 2. *indo-Iranian*

### 2.1. Vedic

RV: 164 stems, inflection inconspicuous.

	Sg.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	<i>-ī</i> m. ( <i>-ínī</i> f., <i>-í</i> n.); Av. <i>-i</i> , <i>-ī</i>	<i>-ínā</i>	<i>-inas</i> ; YAv. <i>-inō</i>
Acc.	<i>-ínam</i>	<i>-ínā</i>	<i>-inas</i> ; Pseudo-OAv. <i>-īnō</i>
Voc.	<i>-ín</i>	<i>-ínā</i>	<i>-inas</i>
Instr.	<i>-ínā</i>	<i>-íbhyām</i>	<i>-ibhis</i>
Dat.	<i>-íne</i> ; YAv. <i>-ine</i>	<i>-íbhyām</i>	<i>-ibhyas</i>
Abl.	<i>-inas</i>	<i>-íbhyām</i>	<i>-ibhyas</i>
Gen.	<i>-inas</i>	<i>-ínos</i>	<i>-inām</i> , YAv. <i>-inam</i>
Loc.	<i>-íni</i>	<i>-ínos</i>	<i>-īsu</i>

#### 2.1.1 Denominal stems

##### 2.1.1.1 Base = *a*-stem

- By far the largest subclass (ca. 70 in RV)
- Includes conspicuous cases like *aśvín-*, *vajrín-*, etc.

Representative examples:

<i>arkín-</i>	with beams of light; singer	<i>arká-</i> m.
<i>ásvín-</i>	having horses	<i>ásva-</i> m.
<i>ukthín-</i>	speaking praise-hymns; accompanied by praise-hymns	<i>ukthá-</i> n.
<i>udrín-</i>	rich in water	<i>-udrá-</i>
<i>kumārín-</i>	having children	<i>kumārá-</i> m.
<i>citrín-</i>	bright, shiny	<i>citrá-</i> a./n. ‘bright, shiny; shine’
<i>dasāgvín-</i> ,	having 10/100 cows; consisting	<i>dásāgva-</i> adj./m. *‘having 10 cows’ > ‘consisting of
<i>śatāgvín</i>	of 10/100	10, group of 10’, cp. <i>su-gú-</i> ‘having good cows’, etc.
<i>dhanín-</i>	possessing prizes, riches	<i>dhána-</i> n.
<i>dhūmín</i>	smoky, with smoke	<i>dhūmá-</i> m.
<i>parñín-</i>	having wings, feathers	<i>parñá-</i> n.
<i>prapathín-</i>	leading far away	<i>prá-patha-</i> m. distant travels, way that leads far away (* <i>-pñt-h<sub>2</sub>-o-</i> ?)
<i>phalín-</i>	with fruit, fruit-carrying	<i>phála-</i> n.
<i>rathín-</i>	charioteer	<i>rátha-</i> m.
<i>rukmin-</i>	adorned with gold	<i>rukma-</i> a./m. ‘shiny, golden; gold’
<i>vajrín-</i>	having a mace	<i>vájra-</i> m.
<i>vājín-</i>	‘strong’	<i>vāja-</i> m.
<i>śṛṅgín-</i>	with horns, horned	<i>śṛṅga-</i> n.
<i>śvaghñín-</i> m.	winner in a game	* <i>śva-ghn-á-</i> ‘dog-killer’, cp. <i>go-ghná-</i> , etc.
<i>somín-</i> a./m.	having/bringing Soma	<i>sóma-</i> m.
<i>(mahā)hastín-</i>	having (big) hands; at hand	<i>hásta-</i> m.

Several reasons to think that this was the oldest derivational pattern:

- \*-o- → \*-i- replacement ubiquitous in IE
- columnal accent and lack of suffix ablaut point to a “de-thematic” formation
- Easy path of development to the other attested derivational patterns (not necessarily vice versa)
- (scant) parallels in Avestan, cf. 2.2 below.

#### 2.1.1.2. Base = *i*-stem: 7

<i>atithín-</i>	Wandering	<i>átithi-</i> m. guest
<i>abhimātín-</i>	Pursuing	<i>abhimāti-</i> f.; a. pursuit, pursuing
<i>ūrmín-</i>	billowing, undulating	<i>ūrmí-</i> m. wave
<i>kīrín-</i>	singer, praiser; praising	<i>kīrī-</i> m. singer, praiser
<i>khādín-</i>	adorned with bangles; bangle	<i>khādī-</i> m.
<i>jūrñín-</i>	having blaze, blazing	<i>jūrñí-</i> f. blaze, flame
<i>tuvi-kūrmin-</i>	powerfully ranging <sup>1</sup>	<i>tuvi-kūrmí-</i>

- Attested examples do not seem particularly old

<sup>1</sup> From *car<sup>4</sup>*, Jamison & Brereton 2014 and RV commentary ad RV 3.30.3.

2.1.1.3. Base = other nominal stem: ca. 11

<i>rjīpīn-</i>	speeding, advancing? (of an eagle)	<i>rjīpyā-</i> , etym. unclear ( <i>rj-</i> ‘straight’? Cp. <i>rjīśin-</i> )
<i>paripanthīn-</i>	highwayman, opponent	<i>pāri + pānthā-</i> or <i>pāri pānthām?</i> (AiG II,2), cp. <i>pra-pathīn-</i>
<i>manīśin-</i>	wise, thoughtful	<i>manīśā-</i> , f. ‘wisdom, thoughtfulness’ (etym. unclear)
<i>māyīn-</i>	full of tricks	<i>māyā-</i> f.
<i>retīn-</i>	rich in seed	<i>rētas-</i> n. ‘seed, sperm’
<i>varmīn-</i>	armoured	<i>vārman-</i> n. ‘armour’
<i>śatīn-</i>	having 100 goods	<i>śatā</i> ‘100’
<i>śavasīn-</i>	having strength, strong	<i>śāvas-</i> n.
<i>śīprīn-</i>	with lips	<i>śīprā-</i> f. lips ( <i>-śīpra-</i> in SMC)
<i>sahasīn-</i>	with strength, victory; victorious	<i>sāhas-</i> n.
<i>hiraṇīn-</i>	adorned with gold, golden	<i>hiraṇya-</i> n.

- Two ways of treating *s*-stems: 1) by adding *-īn-* to the suffix (*śavasīn-*, *sahasīn-*), 2) by replacing the suffix (*retīn-*), cf. AiG II,2: 330. First strategy is more common.
- *-ā* (including athematic *-ā*) is treated like *-a* and replaced (*paripanthīn-*, *manīśin-*, *śīprīn-*, etc.); cp. the restriction against (verbal abstract) stems in *\*-ā* as SMs of possessive or determinative compounds with a nominal first member (AiG II,2: 249, Debrunner 1917: §139, §145; Leumann 1977: 281, Fellner & Grestenberger 2017). In these cases, *\*-ā-* is replaced with *\*-o-* or *\*-i-*:
  - Gk. τιμή ‘honor’ → ἄ-τιμος ‘without honor’, ζώνη ‘belt’ → ἐὺζώνος ‘well-girded’, etc., Ved. *jihvā-* ‘tongue’ → *mādhu-jihva-* ‘having a sweet tongue’, *jyā-* ‘bowstring’ → *rtā-jya-* ‘having a good bowstring’, *śīprā-* ‘lips’ → *vṛṣa-śīprā-* ‘with lips like a bull’
  - Gk. ἀλκή ‘strength’ → ἄν-αλκίς, -ιδος ‘defenseless, weak’, Lat. *barba* ‘beard’ → *imberbis* ‘beardless’, *lingua* ‘tongue’ → *trilinguis* ‘having three tongues’ (i.e., speaking three languages), *arma* ‘weaponry’ → *inermis* ‘unarmed’, etc.
  - The latter strategy presumably started out as substantivization of *\*o*-adjectives that were themselves the replacement of *\*eh<sub>2</sub>*-stems (Fellner & Grestenberger 2017, fn. 16)
- *-ya-* is apparently also replaced (*rjīpīn-*, *hiraṇīn-*, AiG II,2: 328f. points out that *-y-īn-* is otherwise preserved in *māyīn-*, etc.<sup>2</sup>)

2.1.2. Deverbal: (at least) 18

Criteria

- No potential nominal basis
- Preverb selection, verbal morphology matches finite verb/verb stem
- Case assignment matches verb stem (acc., loc., ...)
- Root-final velar = palatalized
- Root has *vṛddhi* (but see below)

Examples:

<i>arcīn-</i>	radiating, shining	<i>arc</i>
<i>kāmīn-</i> + acc	desiring + acc	<i>kāmāya-</i> ‘to desire sth.’
<i>kevalādīn-</i>	eating alone	<i>kēvala-</i> + <i>ad-</i> ( <i>ādīn-</i> ?)
<i>pra-gardhīn-</i>	striving, pushing towards	<i>pra + grdh</i>

<sup>2</sup> Only after vowels, so a sound change *\*Cīn* (or *\*Rīn*) > *Cin* is also possible.

<i>(brahma-, vi-, vrata-)</i>	walking (like a brahmin; separately; in	<i>(vi +) car</i>
<i>cārín-</i>	obedience with the religious ceremonies	
<i>tsārín-</i>	sneaking	<i>tsar</i>
<i>ā-dārín- + acc.</i>	making accessible	<i>ā + dar</i>
<i>(á-)nāmin-</i>	(un)bending, (not) bowing	<i>nam</i>
<i>upa-mantrín-</i>	encouraging with words	<i>upa + mantraya-</i> ‘say mantras’
<i>ni-yayín-</i>	driving/going downwards	<i>ni + yā</i>
<i>ni-rāmín-</i>	staying at	<i>ni + ram + loc.</i>
<i>abhy-ā-vartín-</i>	returning	<i>abhi + ā + vrt</i>
<i>á-vitārín-</i>	not going past, constant	<i>vi + tar</i> cross, go by/past
<i>pra-sakṣín-</i>	vanquishing, conquering	<i>pra + sakṣ</i> (s-aor. of <i>sah</i> ?)

Few examples with verbal case assignment in pre-classical Sanskrit (cp. AiG II,2: 346f., Delbrück 1871: 182), 2 in the RV (Lowe 2017: 94):

RV 2.14.1c *kāmī hí vīrāḥ sádám asya pītīm* “because the hero is ever desirous of his drink”<sup>3</sup>

RV 8.45.13 *vidmā hí tvā dhanamjayám* “For we know you as winner of spoils, Indra,  
*índra dṛḥhā cid ārujám* bursting even into the fastnesses, like one breaking  
*ādārīṇam yáthā gáyam* into a household.”

- Note *kāma-* ‘desire’, *kāmá-* ‘desiring (one)’ (nominal basis of *kāmáya-*) and *ā-dārā-* m. ‘who opens up, makes accessible’ (+ gen.)

### 2.1.3 Ambiguous (ca. 45)

Selection:

<i>kārín-</i>	praising, singing	<i>kārā-</i> n. or <i>kir/kar</i> ‘praise’
<i>gāthín-</i>	singer	<i>gāthā-</i> f. or <i>gāthá-</i> m.
<i>javín-</i>	speedy	<i>jū</i> or <i>javá-</i> m. ‘speed’
<i>tveṣín-</i>	impetuous	<i>tveṣá-</i> adj. or <i>tviṣ</i> ‘(be) impetuous’
<i>(pajra-, pra-) hoṣín-</i>	having (strong, steadfast) sacrifices	<i>(pra)hoṣá-</i> m. ‘sacrifice’ or <i>pra + hu</i> ‘sacrifice, pour out (to)’
<i>(bhūri-, sahasra-)</i>	(many, a thousand)	<i>póṣa-</i> m. ‘bloom, nourishment’ or <i>puṣ</i> ‘thrive’
<i>poṣín-</i>	nourishing	
<i>prakrīḍín-</i>	jumping around	<i>krīḍá-, krīḍí-</i> ‘jumping’ or <i>pra + krīḍ</i>
<i>(abhi-)pra-bhaṅgín-</i>	breaking apart	<i>(abhi +) prá + bhañj</i> or <i>(pra)bhaṅgá-</i> ‘who breaks (sth) apart’
<i>bhadra-vādín-</i>	speaking blessings	<i>vad</i> or <i>(sam)vādá-</i> ‘conversation, speech’
<i>mandín-</i>	exhilarating, intoxicating	<i>mand</i> ‘be exhilarated, delight in’ or <i>mandí-, manda-</i>
<i>manyu-ṣāvín-</i>	preparing soma with bad thought	<i>su/sāv</i> ‘press’ or <i>sāvá-</i> m. (soma-)pressing
<i>mahín-</i>	great	<i>mah</i> ‘be great’ or <i>mahá-, mahá-</i>
<i>vaśín-</i> a. (m.)	having power, ruler	<i>váśa-</i> m. ‘wish, power’ or <i>vaś</i> ‘want, desire’
<i>uktha-śamsín-</i>	saying speeches	<i>śams</i> ‘speak, proclaim’ or <i>śámśa-,</i> m.
<i>sárín-</i>	running, rushing	<i>-sará-</i> or <i>sr</i> ‘rush, run’
<i>svānín-</i>	rushing, resounding	<i>svāná-</i> m. or <i>svan</i> ‘rush, resound’

<sup>3</sup> Translations from Jamison & Brereton 2014.

#### 2.1.4. –v(-)ín-: 11

- Contamination with/resegmentation of (semantically similar) –van- or –vat-stems (usually not attested or attested very late). Examples:

<i>aṣṭrāvín-</i>	obeying the goad	<i>áṣṭrā-</i> f. ‘goad’
<i>ubhayāvín-</i>	turned towards both sides	<i>ubháya-</i> ‘both’
<i>tarasvín-</i>	determined, fast	<i>táras-</i> n.
<i>dhṛṣadvín-</i>	brave, daring	<i>dhṛṣat-</i> ( <i>dhṛṣ-</i> )
<i>namasvín-</i>	in awe, respectful	<i>námas-</i> n.
<i>māyāvín</i>	having wisdom/magic	<i>māyāvāt-</i> ; <i>māyā-</i> f. (cp. <i>māyín-</i> )
<i>á-yudhvín</i>	not fighting	<i>yúdhvan-</i>
<i>raḁṣasvín-</i>	harmful	<i>ráḁṣas-</i> n.
<i>śatasvín</i>	having hundreds of good/things	<i>śatá, śatávāt-</i> ‘hundredfold, with 100 (things)’
<i>stukāvín-</i>	with locks of hair	<i>stúkā-</i> f.

#### 2.2. Avestan

Few instances; see AiG II,2, Hoffmann & Forssman 2004: 146f.

- (?) YAv. *aojin-* ‘strong’: Yt. 15.46 *aoji nāma ahmi, aojiš nāma ahmi* ‘Strong I am by name, strongest I am by name’ (*aojiš* for *aojištō*, cf. Panaino 2002: 79, De Vaan 2005) maybe from *aojah-* n. ‘strength’ (*\*aojahin-*, cp. *saocahin-*); or primary stem from *aog-/aoj-*? Variation in replacement vs. retention of suffix *-as-* also attested in Vedic, so this is possible (first word must be adj., and adj. *i-* stem *\*aoji-* wouldn’t make much sense (backformed from *aojišta-*?). Vowels of endings generally problematic in Yt. 15, but *aoji* for *\*aojə* (De Vaan 2003, 2005) not much help, either.
- YAv. *parənin-* (Ved. *parṇin-*) ‘feathered, with wings, feathers’ from *parəna-* ‘feather, wing’, nom.pl. *parəninō* (Yt. 10.119), dat.sg. *parənine* 167 (Yt 14.38) for *\*parənine?* (Hoffmann & Forssman) Mss. rather point to *\*parənīne* (De Vaan 2003: 209, who suggests corruption of *\*-i-* to *-ī-*).
- (?) YAv. *bucahin-* ‘hissing, snarling’, from *\*bucah-* n. ‘hissing, snarling’? Attested in Yt. 15.47 *bucahai nāma ahmi, buxtiš nāma ahmi*. Usually compared to Skt. (Dhātup.) *búkkati* ‘barks’, maybe Gk. βύκρης ‘swelling, howling’ (winds), onomatopoeic (KEWA II: 435, Panaino 2002: 82)? Significant manuscript variation also not confidence inspiring.
- YAv. *mīezdīn-* ‘having/with ritual meals, offerings’ (*mīiazda-*), V. 18.12, Yt. 13.64. (Gen.Pl.)
- Pseudo-OAv, *yəuuīn-* ‘cornfield’ from *yauua-* ‘corn’, acc.pl. *yəuuīnō* in Y. 42.2, S 2.7.
- OAv., YAv. *fra(x)šnin-* ‘careful; knowing beforehand’, nom.sg. *fraxšnī, fraxšni-*, from *\*fra-xšnā-* f. ‘foreboding, knowledge’ (Skt. *prajñā-* f., ŚB, cp. *frā-xšnəna-* ‘foresight’), or deverbal? (cp. YAv. *frā + zāna-*).
  - Y. 44.7 *azəm tāiš θβā fraxšnī auuāmī mazdā* ‘With these (questions) I in foresight assist Thee, Oh Wise One’ (Humbach 1991:158) (also Yt. 10.9, Yt. 10.24, Yt. 19.48)
- (?) YAv. *saocahin-* ‘having/with shine, glow, flames’ (*\*saocah-*, cp. RV 10.96.4 *sahásra-śokas-* ‘with/having a thousand flames’; *śociš-* n. ‘flame’, etc.). Once again, Yt. 15: *saocahi nāma ahmi* (Yt. 15.47, Panaino 2002: 82).
- (?) YAv. *səuuīn-* ‘useful, helpful’ from *\*sauua-* or *sauuah-* ‘strength, superiority’ (Ved. *śavas-*, cp. *śavasīn-*), or deverbal to *sū* ‘help, sustain, strengthen’ (cp. Ved. *sū* ‘become strong, thrive’), cp. Av. *sūra-* ‘strong’ (Ved. *śūra-*), superlative *səuuīšta-* (Ved. *śaviṣṭha-*). Occurs in a list of names, Yt. 1: Ahura Mazdā (cp. Yt 15: Vayu):
  - Yt. 1.15 *səuuī nāma ahmi, sūrā nāma ahmi, səuuīšta nāma ahmi*

- *Figura etymologica* with backformed *i-* or *in-*stem? (Mss. have consistent  $\bar{i}$ , which is a problem, cf. De Vaan 2003: 262; *i*-stem nom. usually spelled  $\bar{a}$  in the mss.). Voc./nom. contamination has been suggested (cf. Panaino 2002; no *in*-stem vocatives attested in Avestan);
- YAv. *sraošin-* ‘obedient’ from *sraoša-* m. ‘obedience’, N. 7 (nom.sg. *sraoši*)

### 2.3 Interim summary

- Av. *parənin-*, Ved. *parṇin-* remains the only good/exact equation
- No clear primary/deverbal examples, no acc. objects in Avestan
- Core of the type seems to be denominal to *a*-stems

## 3. *in* Indo-European?

### 3.1. What $\bar{i}n$ is not

- $*-H(-)n-$  (in whatever version)
- Complex, originally ablauting  $*-i(-)on-/-i(-)en-/-i(-)n$ . Older lit. lists e.g. *kanṛyā-/kanṛín-* ‘girl’, but this is the possessive “Hoffmann-suffix”  $*-h_3on-$ , which has a very different distribution (athematic bases).<sup>4</sup> Likewise for formations like Lat. *nātiō* with a very different structural analysis.

### 3.2. What $\bar{i}n$ is

- Inherited derivational pattern  $*-o-$  →  $*-i-$  with conspicuous “replacement” of theme vowel by  $*-i-$  (Nussbaum 1976, 1999, 2014, 2017b, Schindler 1980, Weiss 1996, 2006, 2013, Pinault 1987, 1988, 2017, Balles 2006, 2009, Rau 2009, Grestenberger 2014, 2017ab, etc.)

1) Ex.:  $*(C)o$ -adjective →  $*(C)i$ -abstract (f.), Nussbaum 2017b: 588

- Lat. *ravus* ‘hoarse’ → *ravis* f. ‘hoarseness’
- PIE  $*h_2ek-ró-$  ‘high, sharp’ (Gk. ἄκρος) →  $*h_2ó/ék-ri-$  f. ‘hight’ (Gk. ἄκρως ‘hilltop’)
- PIE  $*d^h ub-ro-$  ‘deep’ (Toch. <sup>A</sup>tpär, <sup>B</sup>tapre) →  $*d^h ub-ri-$  ‘depth’ (OCS *dǔbrī* f. ‘abyss’)

2) Ex.  $*(C)o$ -adjective →  $*(C)i$ -“individualization” (m./animate)

- Av. *tiyra-* ‘sharp’ → *tigri-* m. ‘arrow’ (<  $*\text{‘sharp one/thing’}$ )
- Ved. *jírā-* ‘swift’ → *jírī-* m./f. ‘running water, rapids’
- PIE  $*h_2ek-ró-$  ‘high, sharp’ →  $*h_2ó/ék-ri-$  m. ‘high one/thing’ (Lat. *ocris* m. ‘peak’)

- PIE  $*(o)n-$ : ‘individualizing’ suffix, makes m./animate substantives from thematic adjectives; tend to be reanalyzed as adjectives (cf. Nussbaum 2014).

3)  $*(o)n$ -individualizations<sup>5</sup>

- $*h_1rud^h ró-$  ‘red’ →  $*h_1rud^h rōn-$  ‘red one’ (Lat. *Rūfō(n-)* ‘red one’, PGmc. *\*raudan-* ‘red’)
- Lat. *catus* ‘sly, sharp’ → *Catō(n-)* ‘sly one’
- Gk. μακρός ‘long, large’ → Μάκρων ‘long(-headed) one’

Derivational chain: 1)  $*-o-$  →  $*-i-$  “substantivization” with subsequent semantic bleaching/reanalysis as adjectival, 2) re-substantivization by (zero grade variant of)  $*(o)n-$ .

<sup>4</sup> Though Nussbaum (2004) has proposed that possessive  $*-Hon-$  (“Hoffmann-suffix”) and “individualizing”  $*-on-/-n-$  could ultimately go back to the same suffix.

<sup>5</sup> On  $*(o)n-$  in Tocharian agent nouns and verbal governing compounds, cf. Pinault 2012 and Fellner 2014, 2017.

- Problem: derivational chain proposed so far does not account for possessive semantics of conspicuous cases like:
- 4) a) PIIr. \**ác̥u-a-* ‘horse’ → \**ác̥u-i-* ‘?’ → \**ác̥u-i-n-* ‘having/with horses’  
 b) PIIr. \**par-ná-* ‘wing, feather’ → \**par-ní-* ‘?’ → \**par-ní-n-* ‘having/with wings, feathers’
- In fact, “-i-” and other “substantivizations” take precisely *adjectives* (many of the best examples, = primary, Caland-associated/COS adjectives) as derivational basis. An intermediate derivational step with a possessive \**ó*-adjective is unproblematic and independently attested, cf. the equally ubiquitous “τομός-type” (Nussbaum 2017a), e.g.:
- 5) \*R(*ó*)-*o*-abstract → \*R(*o*)-*ó*-possessive/agentive/patientive adjective  
 a) PIE \**uóǵʰ-o-* ‘conveyance, conveying’ (Gk. ὄχος, OCS *vozъ* ‘wagon’) → \**uóǵʰ-ó-* ‘conveyor, conveying’ (Ved. *vāhá-*, Av. *vāza-* ‘conveying; draft animal’)  
 b) Gk. τῶμος ‘slice’ (\*‘(result of) cutting’) → τῶμός ‘cutting, sharp’  
 c) Ved. *śāka-* m. ‘strength’ → *śāká-* ‘strong (one)’

So a better derivational chain would be:

- 6) 1. PIIr. \**ác̥u-a-* ‘horse’ → 2. \*(-)*ác̥u-á-* ‘with/having horses’ → 3. \**ác̥u-i-* ‘one with/who has horses’ → 4. \**ác̥u-i-n-* ‘one who has horses (m.); with/having horses (adj.)’

This is idealized, but all the intermediate steps are independently attested.

- a) 1. → 2.: Cf. τῶμος → τῶμός ‘cutting, sharp’. Admittedly easier with verbal abstracts, but possessive \**ó*-abundant in SMC of Bahuvrīhi-compounds, and *in*-stem SMC are quite productive already in the RV. Moreover,
- b) 2. → 3. is actually synchronically attested (cf. Grestenberger 2017ab).
- i) *árdha-* m. ‘half’ → *práty-ardhi-* ‘possessing half of sth.; possessing equal parts’  
 ii) *jírā-* ‘swift’ → *jīri-* m./f. ‘running water, rapids’  
 iii) (*puram-*)*dará-* ‘(fortress-)splitter’ → (*go-*)*dari-* ‘(cow[-out-of-the-rock]-)splitter’
- c) ... as is 2. → 4:
- i) *citrá-* a. ‘bright, shiny’ → *citrín-*  
 ii) *-udr-á-* ‘having/with water’ → *udrín-*  
 iii) \**śva-ghn-á-* → *śvahnín-*  
 iv) *dásagva-* \*‘having 10 cows’ > *daságvín-*
- d) 3. → 4. is also synchronically attested, but sparsely, and no “old” examples.
- This *might* also explain why we don’t find a lot of *in*-stems in Avestan: Avestan has (relatively) many instances of denominal *-a* → *-i* substantivization (cp. Grestenberger 2017b) of the type *tíyra-* ‘sharp’ → *tigrī-* m. ‘arrow’<sup>6</sup> so maybe they didn’t need synchronic “strengthening” with \**-n-*.
  - ... and it may be a diachronic explanation for the vřddhi of deverbal *in*-stems, which would then originally be due to the \**o*-grade of the derivational base (i.e., a \*R(*ó*)-*o*- verbal abstract/\*R(*o*)-*ó*-verbal adjective)

#### 4. *in*-Conclusion

- *-in-* may be restricted to IIr., but its derivational behavior and component parts are nicely Indo-European—they reflect formal and functional properties independently attested elsewhere and in IIr. itself

<sup>6</sup> Admittedly, the semantic relationship isn’t always as clear as in this example.

- More work on how these “component parts” developed in the individual branches is needed, especially the different types of “individualizers” or “substantivizers” (but pretty much the same holds for adjectival derivational suffixes, verbal abstract forming suffixes, etc.)

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