LESSON 13

PHONOLOGY

Anaptyxis.

In addition to the cases described in Lesson 6, anaptyxis is also found:

1. occasionally between stops: *patarō* for **ptarō* "fathers";
2. between *z* and *r*: *zarazdāiti-* beside *zrazdāiti-* "faith," cf. Skt. *śraddhā-*(?);
3. between *s* and following consonant in word and sentence sandhi (cf. Lesson 4): *imᵊsᵊ tē* "these your," *yasᵊ θβm̥* "who you" < *yō* + *θβm̥*; *aŋhᵊsᵊ tanuuō* "of this body"; *usᵊ.hištᵊn* "they stood up" < *us* + *hištᵊn*, *vīsᵊ.baxtᵊm* "distributed by towns";
4. between two spirants followed by *r*: *vaxᵊδra-*, cf. *uxδa-*;
5. between *v* or *uu* and *ii*: *vaiiemi* "I pursue" < **vi̯āmi*; *gaēθāuuaiiō* = *gaēθābiiō*; *hāuuōiia* "left" (opposite of right), *hāuuaiiaca* (cf. fem. *haoiiā-*); *māuuōiia* (cf. OAv *maibiiā*); *xšmāuuōiia* < OAv. *xšmaibiiā*, *driuuaiiᵊsca* < *driuuī-*. More commonly *uuii* is simplified to *uii* (and *-auuii-* > *-aoii-*);
6. between *y* or *ii* and *uu*: *yauua* = *yuua* (< *yuuan-* "youth"), *mainiiauuasah-* = *maini(i)uuasah-* < *mainiiu-* + *asah-* "whose place is in the world of thought";
7. between consonant and *ii*: *apaiia* = *apiia* "in the water" (< *āp-/ap-* "water").

Consonants before *b*

The dative-ablative and instrumental plural, the dative-ablative-instrumental dual, and dative singular of several pronouns have endings beginning with *b*. In the consonant stems the resulting consonant groups are treated in various ways.

In consonant stems in *s*, *š*, and *h* (< **s*), according to the general rules of assimilation (Lesson 6), the final sibilant was voiced before the *b*. Due to various specific Avestan sound changes the rules are not so obvious, thus final *s* (< **ć*) and *š* (< **s*) before *b* become *ž*: *s-b*, *š-b* > *žb*, and in *h*-stems final *h* is lost with modification of the preceding vowel: *-ah-b-* > *-ōb-*, *-ᵊb-*, as if the ending were a separate word.

A tendency to write the ending as a separate word is seen in stems in dental stops, where **-atb-* and **-adb-* > *-at̥.b-*, e.g., *druuat̥.biiō* (*-aδbiiō*).

In *n̥t*-stems which retain the *n*, the group *-n̥tb-* is reduced to *-n̥b-* (*-mb-*).

In *p*-stems (*ap-*) the group *-pb-* is assimilated and simplified, and the intervocalic *-b-* regularly becomes *-β-*, e.g., *aiβiiō*.

In the velar stems we should expect some form from *-gb-* (*-γβ-* > *-uu-*?), but no such forms are attested; instead we find before endings beginning with *b* what look like nominative forms, e.g., *vāγžᵊbiiō*, *vāγžibiiō*.

Labialization of *ərə*

Before *u* or *uu*, *ərə* becomes *əru* or *uru*, e.g., **nərəuuiiō* (dat.-abl. plur. of *nar-*) > *nəruiiō*, *nuruiiō*.

NOUNS

Dative

The dative ending in the sing. was **-ai*, which combined with the stem vowel of *a-* and *ā-*stems to form the ending *-āi*, but otherwise became *-ⁱe*, *-iie*.

The original diphthong remained in sandhi as *-aē°*. In late manuscripts we sometimes find *-t̥-* ⟨ꝗ⟩ instead of *-ē-* ⟨ꝗ⟩, that is, *-aiiat̥ca* for *-aiiaēca*.

In the dative sing. of *ā-* stems an element *-aii-* is usually inserted before the ending, as in the genitive.

Only *gaēθā-* has the dative *gaēθiiāi* rather than **gaēθaiiāi*. This is no doubt due to the frequent expression *astuuaiθiiāi gaēθiiāi* < *astuuaitī- gaēθā-* "the world of living beings with bones." In metrical texts *gaēθiiāi* usually counts three syllables.

Young Avestan has no form comparable to the Skt. thematic *-āya.* [Old Avestan, however, has **-āiiā,* usually written *āi.ā.*]

The original ending *-iie* is only (apparently) preserved in the ending of the *ū*-stems: *-uiie,* but this is probably secondary from **-uu̯ie < *-uu̯ai.* It is more clearly seen in *h*-stems, which have the ending *-aṅhe < *-ahi̯e.*

Regular *u-* and *ao*-stems have dative in *-aoe* (< **-aoiie*), which in the mss. is often replaced by *-auue.*

In *u²*-stems in *-tu-,* the original ending (**-tu̯ai >*) **-θu̯ai* became *-θβe* prior to *-u̯ai* to **-uu̯ie > -uiie.* In stems in *-hu-* the ending *-u̯e* combined with the preceding *-ṅh-* to form *-ŋᵛhe* (e.g., *aŋᵛhe*).

The ending of the dat. plur. is *-biiō* (*-biias°*), before which the *a*-stems have the diphthong *aē.* After vowels this ending became *-βiiō* and *-uuiiō* (after *-a: -aoiiō*), but these forms are found only rarely, having been replaced by the postconsonantic form *-biiō.*

The forms of the dative dual are obtained by replacing the ending *-biiō* by *-biia,* for which we sometimes find *-βe* or *-uue,* with *-e < -iia* (Lesson 4).

The only—apparent—exception is *bruuat̰.biiąm* in *aṇtarāt̰ naēmāt̰ bruuat̰.biiąm* "from between the eyebrows" (V.8.41, etc.), of uncertain form and function, the expected word for "eyebrow" being simply **brū-.* Elsewhere *aṇtarāt̰ naēmāt̰* takes the genitive, and *-ąm* looks like gen. plural. [The similarity with OInd. *-bhyām* is therefore quite coincidental.]

The endings of the vocalic declensions are:

	a-stems	*ā*-stems m.	f.		*ī*-stems
Sing.	*-āi*	*-āi*	*-aiiāi*		*-iiāi*
Plur.	*-aēibiiō*	-	*-ābiiō, -āuiiō, -āuuaiiō*		*-ibiiō*
Dual	*-aēibiia, -aēβe*	-	*-ābiia*		-

	i-stems	*u*-stems	*u²*-stems	*ū*-stems	*ao*-stems
Sing.	*-ōe, -aiiaē°*	*-aoe, -auuaē°*	*-uue, -uuaē°*	*-uiie, -uuaē°*	*-aoe*
Plur.	*-ibiiō, -iβiiō*	*-ubiiō*	*-ubiiō*	*-ubiiō*	-
Dual	-	-	-	-	-

NOTE: As the dative plur. = ablative plur. (see Lesson 11), these paradigms include forms that are strictly speaking ablative.

Paradigms:

Vowel stems

	a-stems m., n.	*ā*-stems m.	f.	*ī*-stems f.
Sing.	*haomāi*	*mazdāi*	*daēnaiiāi*	*ašaoniiāi, vaŋhuiiāi, amauuaiθiiāi*
Plur.	*haomaēibiiō*		*daēnābiiō*	*ašaonibiiō, vaŋᵛhibiiō, amauuaitibiiō*
Dual	*zastaēibiia, gaošaēβe*		*vąθβābiia*	

Notes:

Forms with *-b- > -β- > -uu-* include: *gaēθāuuaiiō, vōiγnāuiiō.*

The form *maniiaoibiias°* must be a replacement for **mania(u̯)ōi̯ah* (or sim.) < **mani̯au̯ai̯u̯iah.*

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	i-stems m., f.	*u*-stems m., f.	*pasu*-	*ao*-stems f.	m., f.
Sing.	*frauuašše,* *frauuašaiiaē°*	*zaṇtaoe* *zaṇtauuaē°*	-	*daŋhaoe*	*gaoe*
Plur.	*frauuašibiiō*	*zaṇtubiiō*	-	*daŋhubiiō*	-
Dual	-	-	*pasubiia*	*bāzuβe*	-

	u²-stems m.	*ū*-stems f.
Sing.	*raθβe* *raθβaē°*	*tanuiie* *tanuuaē°*
Plur.	*ratubiiō*	*tanubiiō*
Dual	-	-

Note: The only form with *-b- > -β* is *hinuiβiiō* "from the fetters(?)."

Irregular *i-* and *u*-stems

	paiti- m.	*āiiu*- n.	*zānu-/žnu*- n.
Sing.	*paiθe, paiθiiaē°*	*yaoe (yauue), yauuaē°*	-
Plur.	-	-	*žnubiias°*

Note: The form *yauuaē°* is found in the common formula *yauuaēca yauuaētātaēca* "for ever and eternity."

aē-stems:

	haxaē-	*xštauuaē-*
Sing.	*hašĕ*	-
Plur.	-	*xštəuuiβiiō*

Notes:
hašĕ is from *hačiai, cf. OInd. *sakhye*.
No dative forms (sing. or plur.) are attested of *kauuaē-*.

Consonant-stems

	vak-/vac-	*druj-*	*ap-*	*xšap-*	*vis-*	*tāt*-stems
Sing.	-	*druje*	*ape, apaē°*	*xšape*	*vise*	*uštatāite*
Plur.	*vāγžibiiō*	-	*aiβiiō*		*vižibiiō*	-
Dual	-	-	-		-	*hauruuaṭbiia*

Notes:
The dative of *ap-* is usually written *ape*, not "*aipe*."
The dat. plur. *aiβiiō* has *β < b < bb < p-b*.
The form *vižibiiō* has the same kind of "combined" *i*-epenthesis and anaptyxis as *vāγžibiiō*.
The dual of *pǎd-* "foot" is *pāδauue* (thematic).

n-stems

	an-stems m.	*ān*-stems
Sing.	*urune, vərəθraγne*	*hāuuanāne*
Plur.	*uruuōibiiō* (Y.2.2)	-

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	man-stems			*uuan*-stems
	m.	n.		m.
Sing.	*Airiiamaine*	*haxmaine*		*ašaone*
Plur.	*rasmaoiiō*	*dāmaibiiō, draomǝbiiō*		*ašauuabiiō, ašǎuuaoiiō*

<u>*r*-stems</u>

Sing.	*naire*	-	*dāθre, zaoθre*	*fǝδrōi, piθre*	*brāθre*	*āθre*
Plur.	*nǝrǝbiiō, nǝruiiō,*	*stǝrǝbiiō*	-	*ptǝrǝbiiō*	-	-
	nuruiiō					

Note the thematic forms of *apāxtar-* "northern" (dat. *apāxǝδre*): *apāxtara, apāxtaraēibiiō, apāxǝδraēibiiō.*

<u>*h*-stems</u>

Sing.	*manaŋhe*
Plur.	*raocǝbiiō, ǫzaŋhibiiō*

Note: The form *ǫzaŋhibiiō* (*ǫzaŋhibiiō*?) < *ǫzah-* is formed like *vǎγžibiiō* (nom. **ǫzah + -ibiiō*).

<u>*nt*-stems</u>

	ant-stem adjectives	them. pres. parts.	*uuant*-stems	*mant*-stems
Sing.	*-aite*	*-ǝnte*	*-uuaite*	*-maite*
Plur.	-	**-ǝnbiiō*	*-uuaṭbiiō*	*-maṭbiiō*
Dual	*-ǝnbiia*		*-uuaṭbiia*	-

Paradigms:

	ant-stems	them. pres. parts.	*uuant*-stems	*mant*-stems
Sing.	*bǝrǝzaite*	*barǝnte*	*astuuaite*	*vohumaite*
Plur.	-	*ṭbišiianbiiō*	*druuaṭbiiō*	*yātumaṭbiš*
Dual	*bǝrǝzǝnbiia*	-	*cuuaṭbiia*	-

Note: The form *bǝrǝzǝnbiia* has an irregular full grade [mss.: *bǝrǝzaṇbiia* PPY (Mf1), PVS (K4), *bǝrǝzaṇnbiia* YS (H1, J6 °*zaṇnibiia*); *bǝrǝ.zanbiia* SY (J3); *bǝrǝzǝnbiia* PPY (Mf4, Pt4), IPY (J2); *bǝrǝzaṇtibiia* PVS (Mf2)].

PRONOUNS

Dative

Personal pronouns:

	1st	2nd	3rd pers. = "this"	
			masc., neut.	fem.
Sing.	*māuuōiia, māuuaiia°*		*ahmāi*	*aŋhāi*
encl.	*mē*	*tē*	*hē, šē*	
Plur.	-	*yušmaoiiō, xšmāuuōiia*		
encl.	*nō*	*vō*	*aēibiiō*	*ābiiō*

Note: *māuuōiia, māuuaiia°* are for **maβia* and *yušmaoiiō, xšmāuuōiia* for *(yu)šmaβia(h).* – Note also *huuāuuōiia < h(a)uua-* "own."

The demonstrative pronoun *ima-* "this" = 3rd pers.

The demonstrative pronoun *auua-* "that":   The relative pronoun *ya-* "who, which":

	masc., neut.	fem.	masc., neut.	fem.
Sing.	*auuahmāi*	*auuaŋhāi*	*yahmāi*	**yeŋhāi*
Plur.	*auuaēbiiō*	-	*yaēibiiō*	*yābiiō*

Notes:

Of the demonstrative pronoun *aēta-* only the fem. plur. is attested: *aētābiiō*.

For *auuaēibiiō* we sometimes find the erroneous form *auuaṭbiiō*.

The interrogative pronoun *ka-* "who, what?":

	masc., neut.	fem.
Sing.	*kahmāi*	-
Plur.	*kaēibiiō*	-

VERBS

Present stems. The thematic conjugations

In the thematic conjugations all the present stems end in the vowel *a*, before which the root is modified in various ways. This is an overview of the types of Avestan present stems.

A. Stems with only *a* added to the root.
1. Root with zero grade: *visa-* "be ready," *haraza-* "release," etc.
2. Root with full grade: *cara-* "walk," *bauua-* "become," *maēza-* "urinate," *saoca-* "burn," etc. This is the most common type. Some roots of this type may contain old formants, which have no discernible function: stems in **-sa-*: *baxša-* "distribute" < √bag; stems in *-uua-*: *juua-* "live," *fiiaŋhuua-* "hail," °*hauruua-* "guard"; expanded by *-aiia-*: *raēθβaiia-* ($\theta\beta$- < *-θuu-*) "blend," *tauruuaiia-* "overcome"; stem in *-da-*: only **xᵛabda-* "to sleep" in *ni.xᵛabdaiia-* and *auuaŋᵛhabda-*.
3. Root with long grade: *brāza-* "shine," *frāda-* "further," etc.

B. Stems with *iia* added to the root.
1. The root in principle has the zero grade, but roots of the type C_1aC_2 where the C_2 is not (usually) *r*, retain the *a* and roots in *ā* just add *iia*: *paiδiia-* "lie," *spasiia-* "look," *maniia-* "think," *uxšiia-* "grow," *buiδiia-* "notice," *miriia-* "die"; *θrāiia-* "protect," *daiia-* (< **dāiia-*) "to place, give."
   To this class belong the passive forms in *iia*, derived from transitive verbs: *janiia-*, *kiriia-* "be done," *bairiia-* "be carried."
2. Denominative verbs (i.e., verbs derived from a noun): *aēnaŋha-* "to make sinful(?)" < *aēnah-* "sin, transgression," *bišaziia-* and *baēšaziia-* "to heal" < *bišaz-* "doctor" *baēšaza-* "medicine," *namax̌iia-* "to do homage" < *namah-* "homage," etc.
3. Stems in *-aniia*: *zaraniia-* "to become angry," *parasaniia-* "to discuss," probably secondary after *viiāxmaniia-* "to discuss, debate," denominative of *viiāxman-* "*verbal contest."

C. Stems with *aiia* added to the root. All these stems are typically transitive.
1. A few stems in *-aiia-* are < *-āiia-* (which sometimes remains): *gauruuăiia-* "grasp" (cf. Skt. *g̥rbhāya-*), etc. Some of these verbs have alternate present stems in *nā* (*garaβnā-*, Skt. *g̥rbhnā-*).
2. Root with zero grade: *barajaiia-* "exalt(?)," *saδaiia-* "seem, appear" (< √*sand*), *zbaiia-* "invoke" (< *zbā*), etc.
3. Root with full grade: *daēsaiia-* "show," *baṇdaiia-* "bind," *darazaiia-* "chain," etc.
4. Root with lengthened grade: *kāraiia-* "sow, till," etc.
   Most verbs of this type are causatives and correspond to non-causative stems of other formations:

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jāmaiia- "make go" ← *jasa-*, *tācaiia-* "make flow" ← *taca-*, etc. A few are derived from roots with long *ā*: *rāzaiia-* "to straighten" and have no corresponding non-causative stem.

D. Stems with *sa* added to the root in the zero (or full) grade. This is a common type in Avestan (= OInd. verbs in *-ccha-*).

1. Root with zero grade: *jasa-* "go, come" (< √*gam*), *pərəsa-* "ask," etc.
   Several of these stems have inchoative meaning, that is, "to start becoming something, to become something": *tafsa-* "to become hot," *tərəsa-* "to become afraid," etc. In later Iranian, this type became a common passive formation.
2. Roots in long *ā*: *yāsa-* "request."

E. Stems with *hiia/šiia* added to the root in the full grade. This is the future tense (see Lesson 14): *naēšiia-* < √*nae/ni* "lead," *vaxšiia-* < √*vak/vac* "speak," etc. The form *bušiia-* < √*bao/bu* "become" is irregular.

F. Stem with *n* infix and *a* added to the root.
   Some of these are old thematic formations: *kərənta-* "to cut" (< √*kart*), *hinca-* "to pour" (< √*haēc/hic*), etc.
   Others are secondary formations of athematic verbs with *n* infix (see Lesson 16): *mərənca-* "to destroy" (< √*mark*), *vinda-* "to find" (< √*vaēd/vid*), etc.

G. Stems with reduplication and *a* added to the root:

1. With simple reduplication: *hišta-* "stand" (< √*stā*), °*hiδa-* "sit" (< √*had*), *hišmara-* "remember" (< √*hmar*), etc. Some of these may have "conative" function: *titara-* "try to cross(?)."
2. With strong reduplication: *γžarə.γžara-* "rush (of waters)," *jaγna-* "smash to smithereens." Verbs of this type express repeated or forceful action ("intensives").

H. Stems with reduplication and *ha/ša* added to the root. These verbs are the so-called desideratives, that is, verbs with the meaning "to wish to do" the action expressed by the simple verb: *zixšnåŋha-* "to wish to know" < √*xšnā*, *mimaraxša-* "to wish to destroy" (< √*mark*), *susruša-* "to wish to hear" (< √*srao/sru*), *sixša-* "to learn" (< **si(š)xša-* < √*sak*; cf. *sācaiia-* "to teach"), *diβža-* "seek to deceive" (< **di(d)βža-* < √*dab*).

Verbal adjectives in *-θa-*, *-θβa-*, and *-iia-*

Avestan has some adjectives derived from verbs which express "that which should/can/is to be done," similar in function to the Latin gerundive.

One group of adjectives have suffixes *-θa-* (frequently *-δa-* by internal sandhi) or *-θβa-* (*-tuua-* by internal sandhi), the others have the suffix *-iia-*.

The adjectives in *-θa-* are similar to the past participles and are formed from the same stems: *uxδa-* "to be spoken" < √*vak/vac*, *θrafδa-* "to be satisfied" < √*tarp/θrap*, *friθa-* "to be invited, pleased" < √*fraē/fri*, *yuxθa-* "to be harnessed" < √*yaog/yug*. – The form from *drug-* "deceive" varies in the mss. between *draoxδa-* and *druxδa-* "to be deceived, deceivable."

The adjectives in *-θβa-* are made from roots in the full grade: *jąθβa-* "to be smashed, smashable," *mąθβa-* "(thought) to be thought," *staoθβa-* "to be praised," *vaxδβa-* "(word) to be spoken," *varštuua-*, *xšnaoθβa-* "to be made favorable," *yašəθβa-* "to be sacrificed to, worthy of sac

The adjectives in *-iia-* are made from roots in the zero or full grade (like the present stems in *-iia-*). Some, presumably by analogy, are made from nouns: *bərəjiia-* "*praiseworthy," *išiia-* "speedy," *karšiia-* "that ought to be tilled, plowed," *vairiia-* "well-deserved, worthy," *zaoiia-*; *yesniia-* "worthy of sacrifice" (< *yasna-*), *vahmiia-* "worthy of hymns" (< *vahma-*).

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From these adjectives an extended adjective in -ɥant- could be made (e.g. stərəθβaṇt- "paralyzing"), as well as an abstract noun in -ta- (yesniiata- "worthiness of receiving sacrifices," xšnaoθβata- "worthiness of being made favorable").

Infinitives

Young Avestan has two infinitives, one active, one middle.

The active infinitive is identical with the dative of an action noun in -ti, with the ending -tōe, -taiiaē°, e.g., matōe, uxtōe, varštōe "(in order) to think, speak, act," paitištātaiiaēca "and in order to withstand." It is sometimes not clear whether we have an infinitive or an action noun.

The only exceptions are the verbs ah- "be," aē- "go," and mrao- "speak," which have the infinitives stē, ite, and mruite.

The middle infinitive ends in -δiiāi, which also has the look of a dative. This infinitive is formed from the present stem, vazaiδiiāi "(in order) to be conveyed."

SYNTAX

Uses of the dative

The dative of animate nouns usually denotes the indirect object, that of inanimate nouns usually expresses purpose (final dative).

1. Indirect object.

The main function of the dative is to express the "indirect object." Indirect objects are found with transitive verbs, most often accompanying a direct object:

maṣ̌iiaēibiiō xᵛarənō baxšaṇti

"They distribute Fortune to men." (after Yt.6.1)

haomō aēibiiō zāuuarə *aojasca baxšaiti

"Haoma gives to these endurance and strength." (Y.9.22)

ahmāi daēnąm daēsaiiaṯ ahurō

"Ahura showed him (his) *daēnā*." (Yt.11.14)

A specialized use of this dative is the "dative of the standpoint":

aēša kaine ptərəbiiō irišiieiti

"This young woman is harmed in the eyes of (her) fathers." (after V.15.12)

Note the use of the dative in the commentaries on the holy prayers with the verbs *cinasti* and *para.cinasti* "he assigns/refers" (one word to another):

para.cinasti vispəm mąθrəm *vispahmāi (mss. *vispəm*) *mąθrāi*

"He refers every "poetic thought" to "every poetic thought." = "When he says "poetic thought" he means all poetic thoughts(?)." (Y.20.3)

2. Dative as "agent"

The dative is found with verbal adjectives with passive meaning or meaning "which should be done (by sb.)", this is an extension of the indirect object with passive verbs:

*Arəduuī Sura Anāhita yesniia **aŋᵛhe astuuaite** vahmiia **aŋᵛhe astuuaite***

"Arəduuī Surā Anāhitā worthy to be sacrificed to by the bony existence, worthy to be made into hymns by the bony existence." (after Yt.5.1) — cf. *Arəduuīm Surąm Anāhitąm yazamaide* "we sacrifice to Arəduuī Surā Anāhitā."

*Miθrō yō nōiṯ **kahmāi** aiβi.draoxδō* [ms. F1]

"Miθra, who is not to be deceived by anybody." (Yt.10.17)

*tāca vohū yazamaide yā aṇtarəstā yesniiāca vahmiiāca frāiiašəθβa **naire ašaone***

"and we sacrifice to all good things that are in between, (which are) worthy of sacrifice, hymns, and should be sacrificed to by the Orderly man." (Yt.13.153)

3. Final dative

The dative is also used to indicate purpose (final dative), often in connection with a verb of movement and often together with a dative of the person for whose benefit it happens.
Examples:

*jasa **mē auuaŋhe** "Come to me for (my) assistance!"*

*amāica θβā vərəθraɣnāica māuuōiia upa.mruiiē **tanuiiē θrimāica***

"(Haoma,) I invoke you for both strength and victory for me, for (my) body, and for prosperity." (Y.9.27)

xšnumaine Ahurahe Mazdå Aməšanąm Spəṇtanąm

"to win the favor of Ahura Mazdā (and) the life-giving Immortals." (Y.22.23)

4. Dative of time

The dative is found in some time expressions:

yauuaēca yauuaētātaēca "For ever and eternity, for ever and ever."

θβarštāi zrune "Until (?) the set date." (Yt.5.129)

5. The use of thematic dative endings for thematic genitive endings

Occasionally the thematic dative ending *-āi* is used instead of the genitive ending:

*Θraētaonō jaṇta ažōiš **dahākāi***

"Θraētaona, smasher of the giant dragon." (V.1.17)

*zaota **Ahurāi Mazdāi** zaota aməšanąm spəṇtanąm*

"the priest of Ahura Mazdā, the priest of the life-giving Immortals." (Yt.10.89)

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·⧸ℸℸ\∾ⓞℰ₍₍₍₎₍₎ · ⧸ℸ⧸ℸ\∾ℽℽ₍⧸ℸ∾ · ∾∾₎₎⧸∾₍ · ∾∾)ↄ⧸∾ · ↳∾ↄↄ₍∾) · ∾ℸ↳ℬℽ∾₍₍₎

staoma daθušō **Ahurāi Mazdāi** *aməšanąmca spəṇtanąm*

  "The praises of the creator, Ahura Mazdā, and the life-giving Immortals." (Yt.13 157; cf. Yt.15.44; V.19.4)

· ∾Ⓠ∾∾ℰ · ₍∾)∾₍⟅ · ⧸₍₍₍⟅)₍∾ℽ⅁ · ∾∾∾∾∾∾⅁∾₍∾ℰ · ∾₎∾∾∾₍₎

· ∾Ⓠ∾∾ℰ · ₍∾)∾₍⟅ · ⧸₍₍₍⟅)₍∾ℽ⅁ · ∾∾↳∾₍₎∾ℰ · ∾₎∾∾∾₍₎

paiti **jahikaiiāi** *kəhrpəm vadarə jaiδi* vs. *paiti ažōis kəhrpəm vadarə jaiδi*

  "Strike (your) weapon against the body of the whore ~ the dragon!" (Y.9.32, 30)

Although it is possible that the ending *-ahe* developed into *-āi* in the dialect of some transmitter, I think it is more probable that these are merely wrongly written-out abbreviations, e.g., *až. dah.*, *Ah. Ma.*, *jahik.* Such abbreviations are occasionally found in the manuscripts, but no study has yet been made of them.[1]

Other mistaken uses of dative forms include the following example, where the dative is used for the locative (Lesson 17):

· ₍₍₎ↄↄ∾⧸∾₍∾₍⧸₍ · ∾₎∾∾∾₍₎ · ∾₍⧸↳)₍₍∾₍⧸ · ↳⅁∾∾⧸∾₍∾⧸) · ₍∾⟅∾S∾⟅⟅ · ∾₍∾₍₎⧸∾∾ · ∾∾₎∾S∾⧸₍₎ · ⧸ℸ∾₎

· ⧸ℸ∾₍₍∾∾∾ℰℷ₍∾ · ₍∾∾ↄↄↄↄↄↄↄℽ⅁ · ⧸ℸ∾ↄↄ∾₍₎ · ⧸₍⟅ℷ∾S∾ℰ⅁⧸ · ⧸ℸ∾₍∾ℽ)∾∾ · ⧸ℸ∾₍∾ⓞↄↄↄℰℷ∾ · ⧸ℸℽ∾∾₍₎∾

tąm yazata ažiš θrizafå dahākō Baβrōiš paiti **daṅhauue** (for **daṅhauua**)
satəm aspanąm aršnąm hazaŋrəm gauuąm baēuuarə anumaiianąm

  "The giant three-mouthed dragon sacrificed to her in the land of Baβri,
  (with) a hundred stallions, a thousand bulls, ten thousand rams." (Yt.5.29)

6. The use of genitive for dative

Not infrequently we find genitive forms where we would expect the dative. The reason for this vacillation is possibly that the texts were collected from oral performers in the Achaemenid period, at a time when the Young Avestan language was still mostly understood but the Old Persian language had lost the distinction between genitive and dative and the dative forms had mostly been lost.

· ∾)ↄↄↄ · ∾⧸∾⧸ℸ · ⧸ℸ∾∾ↄↄ∾∾⧸₍₎ · ∾∾∾⟅ℷ · ₍₍⟅⟅∾⧸₍₎ · ⧸ℸ₍₍₎∾₍₎∾∾∾∾∾∾ · ₍∾∾∾₎ · ⧸ℷ⅁∾∾⧸ℷ∾∾ · ∾⧸S∾∾₍)

dazdi **ahmākəm** *taṭ āiiaptəm yasə θβā yāsāmahi sura*

  "Give us that boon which we ask from you, O you rich in life-giving strength!" (Yt.10.33)

In the litanies the dative and genitive alternate without obvious difference in meaning, but the genitive is probably elliptic ("sacrifice of") and the dative a *dativus commodi* "for (the sake of)":

· ₍₍₎∾⟅ℷ∾) · ₍₍∾∾⧸∾∾ℽ⅁∾ · ₍₍∾\↳∾ℽ⅁∾ · ₍₍⟅\∾∾ↄↄ∾∾∾⧸

· ∾ℽ₍₍⧸∾∾∾∾₎ↄↄ∾ↄↄ∾∾))⟅ · ∾ℽ∾∾∾∾)ℷ↳∾\∾∾₎ↄ · ∾ℽ∾∾∾∾∾ℰℷ∾∾⟅ℽ · ∾ℽ∾∾∾∾₍⟅ↄↄ∾∾₍₎

· ∾∾ℽ∾⧸ℸ₍∾Ⓠℽ∾ↄↄↄ · ∾∾ℽ∾⧸ℸ₍∾∾∾∾)∾∾∾∾₍₎ · ∾∾ℽ∾⧸ℸ₍∾∾∾∾∾₍∾∾∾ℸ · ∾∾ℽ∾⧸ℸ₍∾∾∾∾∾∾₍₍ↄↄ∾∾ · ∾∾ℽ∾⧸ℸ₍∾₎∾∾∾∾∾ · ⧸ℸ∾⟅ℷ∾)

· ∾ℽ₍₍⧸∾∾∾∾₎ↄↄ∾ↄↄ∾∾))⟅ · ∾ℽ∾∾∾∾)ℷ↳∾\∾∾₎ↄ · ∾ℽ∾∾∾∾∾ℰℷ∾∾⟅ℽ · ∾ℽ∾∾∾∾∾∾₍∾∾∾ℸ₍₎

Hāuuanϑe *ašaone ašahe* **raθβe** *yasnāica vahmāica xšnaoθrāica frasastaiiaēca*
raθβąm *aiiaranąmca asniianąmca māhiianąmca yāiriianąmca sarəδanąmca*
yasnāica vahmāica xšnaoθrāica frasastaiiaēca

  "For the Orderly Hāuuani, Model of Order, for (its) sacrifice, hymn, satisfaction, and glorification.

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[1] See Hoffmann, *Aufsätze* I, p. 600 n. 15; Tremblay, 1997, p. 159 on V.15.45.

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For the sacrifice, hymn, satisfaction, and glorification of the Models of the days, days, months, seasons, and years." (Y.1.23)

Uses of the infinitive

The inifinitive is usually dependent upon other verbs and often expresses purpose. Sometimes the direct object of an infinitive is in the dative (cf. OInd. *vr̥trāya hantave* "in order to smash Vr̥tra/the obstruction"):

hāu hācaiiaṱ ašauuanəm Zaraθuštrəm
anumatōe *daēnaiiāi* **anūxtōe** *daēnaiiāi* **anu.varštōe** *daēnaiiāi*
"He (A.M.) induced Orderly Zarathustrato *help the *daēnā* along with his thought, words, and actions."
(after Yt.5.18)

*xšaiiete hē pascaēta *aēšō yō ratuš θrišum aētahe ciθaiiå* (mss. *ciθå*) **apaṇharštōe**
"Afterward, this one who (is) the *ratu* has the authority to remit one-third of this one's punishment."
(V.5.26)

yōništaiieiti **karətōe** *sraošiiąm išarə hā ništāta kiriiete*
"He who (when he) orders punishment to be inflicted, (then) it is done (as) soon (as it is) ordered."
(Yt.10.109)

yasca aētaēšąm mazdaiiasnanąm imą vacō nōiṱ visaite **fra.mruite**
"And he among these Mazdaiiasnians who is not prepared to say forth these words" (from Y.8.4)

nōiṱ mašiiō gaēθiiō **stē** *aojō maniiete dušmatəm*
"No man in the existence of living beings considers bad thought to be a strength." (Yt.10.106)

ašauuanəm tē **āfiieiδiiāi** *mraomi*
"I tell you a sustainer of Order is to be obtained (from a sustainer of Order)." (Y.71.13)

frā gauue vərəṇdiiāi *mazdaiiasna zaraθuštraiiō ā hīm vaēδaiiamahī raθβaēca miiazdaēca*
"In order for the cow to be chosen, O Mazdaiiasnians, Zarathustrians, we make her known to the model and the solid offering." (Vr.4.2)

Occasionally the function of the infinitive is unclear:

yō janaṱ Hitāspəm ... **vazaiδiiāi**
"Who slew Hitāspa while(?) driving (in a chariot)." (after Yt.15.28)

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EXERCISES 13

1. Write in transcription and Avestan script the nom. voc., acc., gen., and dat. sing. and plur. (where appropriate) forms of the following nouns and adjectives:

    aēta- haoma- duraoša-, Rāman- x^{v}āstra-, vaŋ^{v}hī- Dāitiiā-, astuuaitī- gaēθā-, auua- yazata- bərəzaṇt-, im zaoθrā- gaomauuaitī-, kauuaē(ca)- karapan-(ca).

2. Write in transcription and Avestan script the present indicative forms of *juua-, jaγna-, hišta-, kiriia-, pərəsaniia-, darəzaiia-.*

3. Transcribe and translate into English:

(Y.8.4)

(Y.9.2)

(after Y.10.8)

(Y.16.7)

(Y.16.8)

(Y.35.1)

(Y.68.12-13)

(Vr.3.5)

(Vr.12.3)

(Vr.15.1)

(Yt.5.42)

(Yt.10.106)

(Yt.17.5)

(V.3.2)

4. Identify the dative forms in the litany and explain how they are formed:

(Y.1.2)

(Y.1.3)

(Y.1.4)

(Y.1.5)

(Y.1.6)

(Y.1.7)

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(Y.1.8)

[Avestan script text]

(Y.1.9)

[Avestan script text]

(Y.1.10)

[Avestan script text]

(Y.1.11)

[Avestan script text]

(Y.1.12)

[Avestan script text]

(Y.1.19)

5. Translate into Avestan and write in Avestan script:

1. He assigns power to Order.
2. He assigns Order to the sustainer of Order.
3. He assigns Order to us, the Revitalizers.

4. I call upon the life-giving Orderly Gāθās, whose power is from the Models; I call (upon them) for me for my own soul, for protection, for watching, for guard, for overseeing.

5. I established O Zarathustra Spitamid, yonder star Tištriia for yonder witch, the one of bad seasons, for (her) resistance, for (her) obstruction, for (her) overcoming, for responding to her animosities.

6. To whom among us does he give that gift for ever and ever?

7. Zarathustra, do not show this poem other than to a father or a son or a brother german.

8. Whom did you consult with, you, O Ahura Mazdā? Whom did you show the *daēnā* belonging to Ahura Mazdā and Zarathustra?

9. Then Ahura Mazdā said: (With) beautiful Yima with good herds, O Orderly Zarathustra, him I consulted with, I, Ahura Mazdā, him I showed the *daēnā* belonging to Ahura Mazdā and Zarathustra.

10. Then for Yima, for (his) rule, three hundred winters passed (= came together); then this earth became full for him of small and large animals and men.

VOCABULARY 13

aδāitiia-: not according to the law

aēθriia-: student

aiβi, auui, aoi: to (+ acc.)

aiβiiāmatəma-, superl. of aiβiiāma- < aiβi-ama-: most forceful, most overpowering

aiβiiāxštra-: overseeing

aiβi.stao-/stu-: to praise

aiβi.zuzao-/zuzu-: to call upon(?)

aniiaṯ: other than

anumatōe inf. of anu.maniia-

anu.maniia- < √man: to *help along with one's thought

anu.mrao- < √vak: to *help along with one's speech

anuuarštōe inf. of anuuərəziia-

anuuərəziia- < √varz: to *help along with one's actions

anuxtōe inf. of anu.mrao-

aṇtarəstā-: standing/located in between (e.g., heaven and earth)

apaiia- < √āp: to reach, obtain

apaŋharštōe, inf. of apaŋhərəza- < √harz: to remit, forgive

araθβiia-: not according to the ritual models

aršuuacastəma- < vacah-: speaking the straightest speech

aršuxδa-: straight-spoken

aš.xrāxᵛanutəma-: ?

ašəmaoγa-: obscurantist, heretic (lit. someone who obscures Order)

aṯciṯ: and then

auua.dāraiia-: keep, apply (one's ear [etc.] to)

auuaŋᵛhabda- < *xᵛabda-: to sleep

azāta-: unborn (= not yet born)

āfiia-, pass. of āp-: to be reached

āfrasåŋha-, āfrasåŋᵛhaṇt- < *a-fra-: uninterrupted

ā.pərəsa-, apərəsa- < √pars/fras mid.: to consult with (+ dat.)

āsitō.gātu-: who has not lain on a bed

āθrauuaṇt-: containing a fire

ā...yāsa- < √yā mid.: to invite

āzi-: *competition (daēuuic)

āzuiti- f.: libation of fat

Baβri-: name of a mythical land

baēšaziia- < baēšaza-: to heal

bišaziia- < bišaz-: to be a doctor, practice medicine

brāza-: to shine, glow

bušiia-, fut. of bauua-

cinah-/cinas-/ciš- (< *ciš-) < √caēš: to assign, refer (sth. to sth.)

darəzaiia- < √darz: to chain

daiia- < *dāiia- < √dā: to place, give

Dāitiiā, vaŋᵛhī- D°: the good Dāitiiā "the lawful one," name of the river flowing through Airiiana-Vaējah-

dāθra- n.: gift

draoman- n.: *deception

fiiaŋᵛha-: to hail (snow)

fra.daēsaiia- < √daēs: to show

fra.maniia-: to *stay settled *or* to hope (?)

frāda- (frāδa-): to further

frā...hunao- (hunuua-) < √hao: to press forth

frāiiašəθβa- < yaz: which should be sacrificed (to)

gaomauuaṇt-: containing milk

gərəβnā-, grəβnā- = gəuruuaiia-

γžarə.γžara-: to gurgle, rush (water)

haδō.zāta-: german (about siblings)

harəθra-: watch, guard

°hauruua-: guardian

haxman- n. < √hak: following, company

hācaiia- < √hak: to induce (to: + infinitive)

hāuuišta-: student

hāuuōiia-, hāuuaiia-°, haoiia-: left (opposite of right)

harəza- < √harz: to let loose, leave, let (through the

haoma filter) > to filter (the haoma)

hiṇca- < √haēc/hic: to pour

hišmara- < √hmar act.: to list, report

Hitāspa-: name of a legendary figure

huta-, past participle of hunao-

huuą̄θβauuaṇt-: containing good herds

irista- < √raēθ/iriθ: to "depart," die

irišiia- < √raēš/riš: to be harmed

išarə: instantly

jaγna- < √jan/γn: to smash to pieces

jahikā-: bad woman

jāmaiia- < √gam/jam: to make go, chase

ją̄θβa- < √gan/jan: which should be smashed

kainikā-: young woman

karša- < √kar: to till, plow

karšiia- < karša-: that ought to be tilled, plowed

kərəṇta- < √kart: to cut

maiδim < maiδiia-: in the middle (of + gen.)

mainiuuasah- > maniiuuasah-

maniiuuasah-, maniiauuasah-, mainiuuasah-: whose place is in the world of thought

mą̄θβa- < √man: which should be thought

mimarəxša- < √mark mid.: to wish to destroy

muš f.: *mouse

naēšiia-, fut. of naiia-: to lead

naiia- < √naē/nī: to lead

nāiriuuaṇt-: containing a wife

nəmō < nəmah- n.: homage to! (+ dat. [gen.])

nipātōe, inf. of nipā- < √pā: to protect

nišaṇharətōe, inf. of ni...har- < √har: to watch, guard

ništaiia- < √stā: to order

ništāta-, past part. of ništaiia-

pairi.dāraiia- < √dar: to keep away from

paitiiaogəṭ.ṭbaēšahiia-: responding to the animosities (of sb.)

paitiscaptōe, inf. of *paitiščaṇb- < √skaṇb/scaṇb: to obstruct

paitištātōe, inf. of paitištā- < √stā: to withstand

paititarətōe, inf. < √tar: to overcome

para.cinah-/cinas- < √caēš: to assign, refer (sth. to sth.)

pərənāiiu-: adult

pərəsaniia-: to discuss

puθrauuaṇt-: containg a son, sons

raēθβaiia- < √raēθβ: to mingle

ratumaṇt-: containing (the word) ratu

ratu.xšaθra-: whose command is according to/hails from(?) the models

raθβiia-: according to the ritual models

rāzaiia- < √rǎz mid.: to straighten, arrange

sācaiia- < √sak: to teach

sixša- < √sak: to learn

sraošiiā-: punishment

staoma-: praise

staoman- n.: strength

Staota Yesniia: name of an Avestan text, which probably comprises much of the Yasna

staoθβa- < √stao: which should be praised

stərəθβaṇt-: paralyzing, stunning

susruša- < √sru: to wish to hear

šāiia- mid.: to be in peace

tacaṭ.āp(a)-: making the water flow

tašan-: fashioner

tərəsa-, pp. taršta- < √tars/θrah: to become afraid

θβərəsa-, pp. θβaršta- < √θβars: to cut, set (date)

θrą̄fδa- < √θrap-: who should be satisfied

θrima-: prosperity

θrisatō.zəma- n.(?): 300 years

upa.mrao-/mru- < √mrao/mru mid.: to invoke

uxšiiaṭ.uruuara-: making the plants grow

uz.daδā- < √dā: to set upvaṇhaθra-: dwelling place

varəz- f.: invigorant

varəza-: performance, cultivation

varštuua- < √varz: which should be performed

vaxəδβa- (vaxδβa-) < √vak: which should be spoken

vaxəθra- n.: speech organ

vaxšiia-, fut. of vac-

vāstriia- fšuiiaṇt-: cattle grazer (as well as) cattle tender, herdsman

vāstriiāuuərəz-: cattle grazer

vərəθraγna- n.: victory

viiāuuaṇt-, f. viiāuuaitī-: shining

viiāxman- n.: debate, verbal contest(?)

viiāxmaniia- < viiāxman-: to *debate

viṇda- < √vaēd: to find

visa- < √vaēs mid.: to declare oneself ready (for: + dat.; to do: + inf.)

visə.baxta-: distributed by towns

viθuš- < √vaēd: knowing

vohumaṇt-: containing (the word) vohu

xšnaoθβa- < √xšnao: who should be satisfied

xšnaoθra- n.: winning the favor/satisfaction (of)

xšnāsa- < √xšnā/zān: to know

xšnuman- n.: winning the favor (of), satisfaction (of)

xšuuiδ- m.: milk

xᵛanuuaṇt-: sunny, full of sun

yaētuštəma- √yat: who the most often has taken up his assigned position

yāhu loc. plur. fem: in which

yātu.manah-: a sorcerer's mind

yātumaṇt-: possessed by sorcerers

yuxθa- < √yaog: which should be yoked, harnessed

zaoiia- < √zbā or √zao: that ought to be invoked or libated to

zaraniia- < √zar: to be(come) angry

zāta-: born

zrazdāiti- f.: faith