

LESSON 9

PHONOLOGY

Palatalization of *a*: synoptic table

Table of the palatalization rules for the 2nd and 3rd sing. primary verbal endings—both active and middle:

<i>-iiati</i>	>	<i>-iieiti</i>	<i>*jaiḍiiati</i>	>	<i>jaiḍiieiti</i> “he implores”.
<i>-aiiati</i>	>	<i>-aiieiti</i>	<i>*srāuuaiiati</i>	>	<i>srāuuaiieiti</i> “he recites”
<i>-iiate</i>	>	<i>-iiete (-iieite)</i>	<i>*maniiate</i>	>	<i>maniiete (maniiieite)</i> “he thinks”
<i>-aiiate</i>	>	<i>-aiiete (-aiieite)</i>	<i>*xšaiiate</i>	>	<i>xšaiiete (xšaiieite)</i> “he rules”
<i>-iiahi</i>	>	<i>-iiehi</i>	<i>*jaiḍiiahi</i>	>	<i>jaiḍiiehi</i> “you implore”
<i>-aiiahi</i>	>	<i>-aiiehi</i>	<i>*srāuuaiiahi</i>	>	<i>srāuuaiiehi</i> “you recite”
<i>-iiahe</i>	>	<i>-iiehe</i>	<i>*maniiiahe</i>	>	<i>maniiiehe</i> “you think”
<i>-aiiahe</i>	>	<i>-aiiehe</i>	<i>*xšaiiahe</i>	>	<i>xšaiiehe</i> “you rule”

Notes:

On the gen. sing. of nouns, see Lesson 11; on the feminine of adjectives in the comparative, see Lesson 14.

The development of *-aiium* and *-aoiām*

The sequence *-aiium*, whether original or secondary < **-aiiuam*, has the developments *-aēm*, *-ōiium*, or *-aēm*, e.g., *ōiium* < *aēuua-*, *vī.dōiium* < *vī.daēuua-*, but *Vaēm* < **Vaiium* and *raēm* < **raēm* < *raēuua-*. The form *ōiium* further shows up in the manuscripts as *ōim*, *aōim*, etc.

The sequence *-aoiām* shows the same developments: *haoiia-* “left”: acc. masc. *haoiium*, *hōiium*, *hōim*; **aoiia-* (or **aiia-*?) “egg”: acc. *aēm*; *Kqsaōiia-*, name of a sea: acc. *Kqsaēm* (Yt.19.66).

Palatalization of *ā*

Long *ā* becomes *e* when preceded by *i* and followed by a nasal and *i*, *ī*, or *e*. This change takes place in several 1st singular verbal forms, e.g., present indicative *-iāmi* > *-iēmi*, examples:

<i>*naiiāmi</i>	>	<i>naiiemi</i> “I lead”	<i>*srāuuaiiāmi</i>	>	<i>srāuuaiiemi</i> “I recite”
<i>*zbaiiāmi</i>	>	<i>zbaiiemi</i> “I invoke”	<i>*ā-vaēḍaiiāmi</i>	>	<i>ā.vaēḍaiiemi</i> “I make known to”
<i>*jaiḍiāmi</i>	>	<i>jaiḍiemi</i> “I implore”	<i>*haṅkārāiāmi</i>	>	<i>haṅkārāiemi</i> “I gather”

The original forms, e.g., *-iāmi*, are sometimes retained/restored by analogy, especially in the vicinity of forms with regular *-āmi*, not preceded by *ii*, e.g., *yāsāmi* ... *jaiḍiāmi* “I request ... I implore” (Y.65.11), *vanāmi* ... *vārāziāmi* “I overcome ... I produce” (Yt.15.44).

A few nominal forms satisfy the conditions, as well: *zīāni-* m. “harm” > nom. *zīeniš*, acc. *zīenim*, but gen. *zīānōiš* (see Lesson 11).

NOUNS

Consonant declensions: irregular *n*-stems

In many *n*-stems, consonant changes occur in the weak forms, when the *n* of the suffix comes in contact with the final consonant of the root.

Examples (*asan-/ašn-* “stone, heaven,” *xšapan-/xšafn-* “night,” *karapan-/karafn-* “*mumbler,” *marātān-/marəθn-* “mortal”):

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Sing.				
nom.	*asa	xšapa	*karapa (OAv.)	marəta
acc.	asānəm	xšapanəm	*karapanəm	*marətānəm
Plur.				
nom.	asānō	xšapanō	karapanō	*marətānō (OAv.)
acc.	*ašnō	xšafnas ^o	*karafnō	*marəθnō

Consonant declensions: irregular *uuan*-stems

Following are some *uuan*-stems in which various phonetic changes have produced some irregular-looking forms:

Sing.			
nom.	spā	*adβa	θrizafā
voc.	-		θrizafəm
acc.	spānəm	aδβanəm	θrizafanəm
Plur.			
nom.	spānō	-	-
acc.	*sunō	-	-

The stem *span-/sun-* is an original *uuan*-stem, but with *su* > *sp*. The acc. plur. form *sunō* is frequently used as nom. plur. in the Videvdad, especially in the formula *sunō vā kərəfš.x^varō vaiiō vā kərəfš.x^varō* “either flesh-eating dogs or flesh-eating birds.”

The stem *aδβan-* “road” is an original *uuan*-stem, with *δu* > *δβ*.

The masc. adj. *θri.zafan-* has nom. sing. *θri.zafā*, and short *a* in the acc. like *vərəθrajā*, but the word is probably a *uuan*-stem **θri.zafuan-*, hence it has voc. sing. *θri.zafəm*, like *ašāum*.

The Dual

Few forms of the dual are found, but they suffice to show that this category was basically of the old Indo-Iranian type. In Old Avestan four cases are distinguished, as the gen. and loc. have not merged, as in Indic. In Young Avestan, however, no locative dual forms appear to be attested.

The endings of the nom.-voc.-acc. are *-a* in masc. *a*-stems, diphthong stems, and masc. and fem. consonant stems; *-e* in fem. *ā*-stems and neut. *a*-stems; and *-i* in neut. consonant stems. The *i-*, *ī-*, and *u-*stems have no endings (*gaoša-* “ear,” *uruuarā-* “plant,” *Saṅhauuāci-*, name of Yima’s sister, *baoiði-* “incense”):

Vowel stems

	<i>a</i> -stems		<i>ā</i> -stems	<i>ī</i> -stems	<i>i</i> -stems	<i>pasu-</i>
	m.	n.				
Dual						
nom.-acc.	<i>gaoša</i>	-	<i>uruuairē</i>	<i>Saṅhauuāci</i>	<i>baoiði</i>	<i>pasu</i>

Notes:

uua > *uuō* in *gauuō* < *gauua-* “hand”: *apəš gauuō darəzaiieiti* “he ties (their) two hands in the back” (Yt.10.48), but *ham gauua nidarəzaiiaδβəm* “you tie (their) two hands together” (Yt.1.27).

The nom.-acc. dual of nouns such as *mairiia-* should be **maire*, with *-iia* > *-e* (see Lesson 4), but no examples are found.

srū- “nails”

It is unclear whether the forms of *srū-* “nails” are neut. plur. or dual (the nails on the fingers/toes on both hands/feet). It is spelled *sruuī* and *sruiiē*, *sruuaē^o*.

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Diphthong stems

Dual nom.-acc.	<i>gao-</i> <i>gāuuu</i>	<i>bāzao-</i> “arm” <i>bāzauuu</i>
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Consonant stems in stops

Dual nom.-acc.	<i>ap-</i> <i>āpa</i>	<i>pad-</i> <i>pāḍa</i>	<i>ābərət-</i> <i>ābərəta</i>	<i>hauruuatāt-</i> , <i>amərətātāt-</i> <i>hauruuatāta</i> , <i>hauruuata</i> ; <i>amərətātāta</i> , <i>amərətāta</i>
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Note: *hauruuatāt-* and *amərətātāt-* have some contracted forms in the dual.

Consonant stems: n-stems

Dual nom.-acc.	<i>rasman-</i> <i>rasmana</i>	<i>span-</i> “dog” <i>spāna</i>	<i>aṣṣauuan-</i> <i>aṣṣauuana</i>
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Consonant stems: r- and h-stems

Dual nom.-acc.	<i>nar-</i> <i>nara</i>	<i>nāh-</i> “nose” <i>nāḥha</i>
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Consonant stems: nt-stems

Dual nom.-acc.	m. <i>bərəzaṅta</i>	n. <i>x^vairiiṅti</i>
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PRONOUNS

The dual

Dual nom.-acc.	m. <i>tā</i> <i>ima</i> <i>yā</i>	f. - - <i>yōi</i>	n. <i>tē</i> - -
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VERBS

The dual

For now note the following 3rd pers. dual forms (*āi-* < *ā* + *i-* “come,” *yuiḍiia-* “fight,” *°zaiia-* “be born,” *tauruuāiia-* “overcome”):

	Athematic:		Thematic:
Present indicative			
Active:	<i>-tō</i>	<i>stō</i> “they are”	<i>-atō</i> , <i>-aθō</i>
Middle:			<i>baratō</i> , <i>srāuuaiiatō</i> ; <i>yuiḍiiaθō</i> <i>carōiθe</i> , <i>°zaiiōiθe</i>
Imperfect-injunctive			
Active:	<i>-təm</i>	<i>°āitəm</i> “they came”	<i>-atəm</i>
			<i>jasatəm</i> , <i>tauruuāiiatəm</i>

Present indicative. Palatalized forms

The (*a*)*iia*-stems undergo modifications of the thematic vowel as described above.

Note also that the long *-ā-* of the 1st plur. *-āmahi*—which tends to be shortened in *a*-stems—is preserved in the *iia*-stems *fraēšiiāmahi* “we send,” *nəmaxiiāmahi* “we pay homage,” but shortened in the *aiia*-stem *zbaīiamahi*.

Paradigm of (*a*)*iia*-stems (*fraēšiiā-* “to send,” *jaiḍiia-* “to implore,” *maniia-* “think,” *srāuuaiia-* “to make heard, recite,” *vəraziia-* “to produce,” *xšaiia-* “to command, rule,” *zbaīia-* “to invoke”):

Active:

Sing.

1	<i>-iiemi</i>	<i>jaiḍiiemi</i>	<i>-aiiemi</i>	<i>srāuuaiiemi</i>
2	<i>-iiehi</i>	<i>jaiḍiiehi</i>	<i>-aiiehi</i>	<i>srāuuaiiehi</i>
3	<i>-iieiti</i>	<i>jaiḍiieiti</i>	<i>-aiieiti</i>	<i>srāuuaiieiti</i>

Plur

1	<i>-iiāmahi</i>	<i>fraēšiiāmahi</i>	<i>-aiiamahi</i>	<i>zbaīiamahi</i>
3	<i>-iiein̄ti</i> <i>-in̄ti</i>	<i>jaiḍiiein̄ti</i> <i>vəraziin̄ti</i>	<i>-aiiein̄ti</i>	<i>srāuuaiiein̄ti</i>

Middle:

Sing.

1	<i>-iie</i>	<i>maniie</i>	-	
2	-		<i>-aiiehe</i>	<i>xšaiiehe</i>
3	<i>-iiete</i>	<i>maniiete</i>	<i>-aiiete</i>	<i>xšaiiete</i>

Plur

1	<i>-iiāmaide</i>	<i>maniiāmaide</i>	-	
3	<i>-iiein̄te,</i>	<i>maniiēn̄te</i>	<i>-aiiein̄te</i>	<i>xšaiiein̄te</i>

Note:

Note the 1st sing. pres. ind. *āzbaīia* “I invoke” for **āzbaīiemi*.

The manuscripts appear to favor(?) the spellings *-eiti*, *-ein̄ti* versus *-ete*, *-en̄te*.

Note 3rd sing. *aēnaḡhəiti* < *aēnaḡha-* “to make sinful” < *aēnah-ia-*.

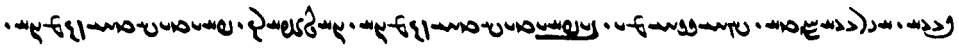
SYNTAX**Uses of the dual**

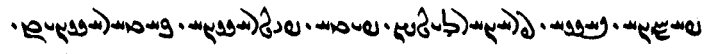
The dual is used to indicate two items joined in a special relationship. It is used with the numeral *duua-* “two,” and the pronoun *uua-* “both.”

Occasionally a word has only dual forms, e.g., *uš-* n. “hearing, consciousness.”

Of special importance are the so-called *open dvandvas*. These denote a pair consisting of two different objects, which may be singular, e.g., “firewood and incense,” “Frašaoštra and Jāmāspa,” or plural, e.g., “cattle and men.” In these expressions both nouns are in the dual, so that the expression looks like “2 firewoods, 2 incenses,” “2 Frašaoštras, 2 Jāmāspas,” “2 cattle, 2 men.”

1. Two items

duua auruuanta yāsāmi bipaitištānəmca caθbarə.paitištānəmca

 “I ask for two coursers, one that has two legs and one that has four.” (after Yt.5.131)

pañca.dasa fracarōiθe pita puθrasca katarasciḡ

 “Fifteen (years of age) the father and the son went forth, each (of them).” (after Y.9.5)

To express “both X and Y” Avestan uses the construction “both: (namely) X and Y,” where X and Y are in the singular or plural:

·*uiie* īštišca saokāca *uiie* fšaonišca vqθbāca *uiie* θrafsca frasastišca

“Both wish and *desire, both *sheep herds and (cattle?) herds, both satisfaction and fame.” (Yt.5.26, Yima)

·*uua* šudəmca taršnəmca *uua* zauruuqmca mərəθiumca *uua* garaməmca aotəmca

“... both hunger and thirst, both old age and death, both heat and cold.” (Yt.9.10, Yima)

Uses of the accusative

9. Accusative of respect (with respect to, as far as ... is concerned)

·*yā* asti auuauuaiti *masō* yaθa vispā imā āpō
“(She) who is as much in size as all these waters (together).” (after Yt.5.3)

·*yaθ* as ašəm ašauuastəməm *xšaθrəm* huxšaθrō.təməm
“As he was in Order the most Orderly, in command the one having the best command.” (Yt.19.79)

·*mošu* pascaēta Huuōuuō *ištim* baon səuiišta mošu pascaēta Naotaire
“Soon thereafter the Huuōuuas became the ones most rich in life-giving strength with respect to (their) wish, soon thereafter (also) the Naotairiias.” (Yt.5.98)

10. Use of the nominative for the accusative

A typical feature of Young Avestan literary composition or—more probably—of the late oral transmission, is that whole phrases in the nominative, especially plural, e.g., noun + adjective, occupy a position in the sentence which would require them to be in the accusative.

·*azəm* ahmi aiβi.vaniiā *vispe* daēuua mašiiāca *vispe* yātauuō pairikāšca
“I overcome all demons and men, all sorcerers and witches.” (after Yt.15.12)

cf.

·*azəm* ahmi aiβi.vaniiā *ažim* dahākəm
“I overcome the giant dragon.” (after Yt.5.34)

·*ašāunqm* varj^hiš surā spəntā frauuašaiiō
staomi zbaiiemi ufiemi yazamaide
nmāniiā visiīā zaṇtumā daxiiumā zaraθuštrō.təmā
“I praise, I invoke, I weave (into my hymn)—we sacrifice to the good, life-giving fravashis of the sustainers of Order, rich in life-giving strength,

• 1955... (V.4.45)

• ... (Yt.19.79)

• ... (Y.19.7)

• ... (after Yt.5.3)

• ... (after Yt.5.109)

• ... (V.18.31-32)

• ... (V.18.40-41)

• ...

• ... (Yt.8.22-23, 28)

• ... (Yt.1.25)

LESSON 9

- frašuta- < fra √śao/śu: moved forth
 fraθah- n.: width
 frauuāxš- m., frauuaxša-: twig, branch(?)
 fšaoni- m.: *sheep herd
 garəma- n.: heat
 gərəza- < √garz/jarz mid.: to complain, lament
 gufra-: deep, profound
 haēnā-: (enemy) army
 haṅbāraii- < √bar: to carry together, accumulate
 haṅkāraii- < √kar?: to gather (for the sacrifice to: +
 gen. or dat.)
 hāθra- n.: a length measure, "league"
 hāθrō.masah- adj.: the length of a "league"
 hāuuana-, dual: (pestle) and mortar
 haṃ.bara-: to carry together, store up
 haṃ.nidarəzaia-: to tie together
 hiku-: dry
 hikuuāh- < hiku- + āh-: with dry mouth
 hubaoiði-: fragrant
 huxšaθrō.təma-, superl. of huxšaθra-: having/with
 good command
 jarəziia- < √garz/jarz: plaintive
 katarasciṭ nom. sing.: each (of the two)
 kauuaēm < kauuaē-, kauuaiia-
 kauuaiia- (= kāuuaiia-): belonging to the kauuis
 Kāsaouiia-: name of a mythical lake from which the
 three saōšiiants will emerge
 kərəfš.xʷar-: flesh-eating
 kirii- , pass. of √kar: to be done
 maēya-: cloud
 mana gen. < azəm: my
 masah- n.: size, length
 masita-: long
 nāirikā-: woman, wife
 nipāraii- < √par: to *transfer
 nmāniia-: related to the house/home
 pairi.vərənao-/vərənu- < √var: to cover (up)
 paiti + acc.: in(to), on(to), upon
 paθana-: broad
 pašnu- m.: dust
 pašnuuāh- < pašnu- + āh-: with dust-filled mouth
 pərətu-, f. pərəθβī-: wide
 Pəšana-: name of a villain; Battle-maker
 pouru.xʷāθra-: having/with much good breathing
 space
 raē-/rāii m.: wealth (see Lesson 12)
 raēuu-: *brilliant
 raēuuastəma-, superlative of raēuu- (?) and
 raēuuant-: most *brilliant; most wealthy
 raoda- < √raod/rud mid.: to grow
 rāšta-, past participle of √rāz: arranged, straight
 Saṅhauuācī-: Yima's sister captured by Aži Dahāka
 saokā-: glow, burning; *longing, *desire
 skənda-, in skəndəm √kar-: to *cripple, debilitate (+
 acc.)
 spāda-: army
 stao-/stu-: to praise
 šud- m.: hunger
 taršna-: thirst
 Taθriiauuant-: name of a villain; Man-of-Darkness
 θraii- < √θrā mid.: to guard, protect, save
 θraṅhaiia- < √tarš/θrah: to frighten
 θraṭ- (θrafs-?) f.(?): satisfaction
 uš- n., only nom.-acc. dual uši: mind, consciousness
 uštāna-: life breath
 uta-: and
 varəšaji- m.: branch
 vaxšaiia- < √vaxš: to make grow
 vāra-: rain
 vaθβa- n.: herd
 vərəziianʷha- < vərəzuuant- + anʷhā-: having/with
 invigorating life thread(?)
 vərəzuuant-: invigorating
 viia-, vaiia- < √vaē/vi: to pursue (?)
 vira-: man
 visiia-: related to the house
 vī.daēuu- (acc. vī.dōiium): discarding (and
 rejecting) the daēuuas
 vī.rāzaia- < √rāz: to arrange
 xšaiia- < √xšā mid.: to rule, be in command (of +
 gen.)
 xīiaona-: Xīiaonas, enemies of the Aryans
 xʷāpara-: munificent
 yauuant-, f. yauuaitī-, see auuauuant- ... yauuant-
 (Lesson 8)
 zaṅtuma-: related to the tribe
 zaraθuštrō.təma-: the most like that of Zarathustra
 zauruuā-: old age
 ziiāni- f.(?): harm, damage