

The Accusative of the *i*- and *u*-Stems with Presuffixal Full or Large Grade in Avestan

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The *i*-/*u*-stems with presuffixal full or lengthened grade in strong cases are quite scarce in Old Indian. Actually, there is only one such stem: OI *sákihi-* (n.sg. *sákihā*, ac.sg. *sákihāyam*, g.sg. *sákihyur*). In Avestan, however, there are more: we find three stems in *-i-* (*haxi-*, *kauii-* and *rayi-*) and the following in *-u-*: *°bāzu-*, *nasu-*, *hiθu-*, *daǰhu-*, *pərəsu-* and the hapax legomena *zaēnu-*¹, *garəmu-*, *frazdānu-* and *frādaṭ.fšu-*.

In order to establish the Indo-European presuffixal vowel grade of such forms, the most relevant information is provided by the n.pl. and ac.sg.; the latter is by far the most frequent, and hence the ac.sg. is the main key when attempting to reconstruct the original apophony of such stems. It is generally assumed that an Indo-Iranian long presuffixal vowel goes back to an *o*-grade, and a short one to an *e*-grade.

An initial analysis of the ac.sg. forms of such stems reveals quite a complex situation. Despite the scarce number of words attested, we find three different parallel endings in both the *i*- and *u*-stems. Beginning with the latter, besides the endings *-āum* and *-aom* noted by HOFFMANN/FÖRSSMAN (1996, p. 130) an *-qm* ending is also attested (see below). This is paralleled by the *i*-stems: the endings are *-āim*, *-aēm* and *-qm*. Let us analyse all these endings separately and try to determine their Avestan distribution and their possible origins.

1. The accusatives in *-qm*

According to STANG's Law (1965)² the expected form of the ac.sg. for the *u*-stems with full presuffixal grade should evolve into *-ēm* < *-eum* or *-ōm* < *-oym*. Examples of this evolution are the ac.sg. of two root stems: OI *dyām* (< *d̥iēym*, cf. Lat. *diem*, Gr. Ζῆν) and OI *gām*, Av. *gqm* (< *g^uoym*, Gr. βῶν). According to

1 This case is doubtful. The n.sg. *zaēnāuš* is a hapax legomenon (V 14.9), which according to DE VAAN (2000) is probably a mistake for **zaēnuš*.

2 There is an abundant bibliography on STANG's law: see SZEMERÉNYI 1956; SCHINDLER 1973; MAYRHOFER 1986, p. 163f.; VAUX 2002.

STANG this evolution should also apply to the groups with other sonants and with h_2 (STANG 1965, p. 295), viz. in the formula $-VRm\# \rightarrow -\tilde{V}m\#$ $R = \dot{\imath}, \mu, \gamma, \dot{\imath}, \dot{\imath}, \dot{\imath}, \dot{\imath}, \dot{\imath}, \dot{\imath}, \dot{\imath}$.³ SCHINDLER (1973) suggests a phonetic explanation, but in principle his hypothesis would only explain the evolution of the group $-V\mu m$. According to him the μ becomes assimilated to the m and thereafter the homorganic sonants become simplified, with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. There are further examples of such a process. SCHINDLER's suggestion is quite attractive, but it fails to provide any explanation for the similar evolution undergone by the group $-Vh_2m$, e.g. in the ac.sg. of the feminines in $-eh_2$: $-eh_2m > -ah_2m > -\tilde{a}m$ (EICHNER 1980, p. 129, n. 41; MAYRHOFER 1986, p. 163f.). According to VAUX (2002), for STANG's law to apply R could only be represented by μ and $\dot{\imath}$. The only reason for including $-m$ is OI $ks\tilde{a}m$, Av. $z\dot{a}m < d^b\dot{g}^bomm$ (VAUX 2002, p. 320). This form, however, admits a much simpler explanation through the law proposed by SCHINDLER, i.e., simplification of groups of homorganic sonants in final position with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

STANG's law also applies, however, to the ac. of the i -stems, as is witnessed by Latin. In this language there are some remains of hysterokinetic inflection of the $-i$ -stems, as in *vates*. The ac.sg. $*-e\dot{\imath}m$ shows the following evolution: $-e\dot{\imath}m > -\tilde{e}m > -em$ (with the usual shortening in final position with $-m$). However, the form with $*-\tilde{e}m$ has analogically given rise to the n.sg. $ei -\tilde{e}s^4$ (MEISER 1998, pp. 139, 141f.), e.g. *uolpēs* (~ $*\mu\dot{\imath}p\tilde{e}\dot{\imath}$, cf. Av. *urupa* [HOFFMANN 1967, p. 32]), *uolpem* (< $\mu\dot{\imath}p\tilde{e}m < \mu\dot{\imath}p\tilde{e}\dot{\imath}m$).

In Avestan we find traces of STANG's law in the derivative u -stems as well as in the i -stems. Recently TREMBLAY (1998, p. 202)⁵ has provided an explanation for the as yet unexplained ac.sg. OAv. *hiṭqam* (Y 31.8, 34.10)⁶ of a stem *hiṭu-*, whose n.sg. is *hiṭāuš* (Y 48.7). According to him the case is parallel to the two above-mentioned radical stems, i.e., it is also a case of STANG's law applying outside the paradigm of those two root stems. Since in this case the stem *hiṭu-* is not an inherited form comparable to *gao-*, we may assume that, at least in the Indo-Iranian period, STANG's law applied regularly to the ac.sg. of the u -stems with presuffixal full grade. And although *hiṭqam* is the only example of this treatment, and the remaining ac.sg. seem to maintain the element μ , I shall try to make plausible the possibility of this being a secondary and analogical reconstruction.

3 Although STANG only mentions explicitly $\dot{\imath}, \mu$.

4 The expected form would have been $-\tilde{i}s$.

5 TREMBLAY (1998, p. 202) postulates a presuffixal e -grade, but it could also be an holo-dynamic with presuffixal o -grade.

6 That *hiṭqam* belongs to the stem *hiṭu-* had already been noticed by BARTHOLOMAE (1895–1901, p. 228), but later on he rejected his own analysis and proposed a stem *hiṭa-* (adj.) “verbündet; Genosse”, of which *hiṭqam* would be the ac.sg.f. This interpretation is syntactically impossible, as *hiṭqam* is an appellative of Ahura Mazda, at least in Y 31.8.

Among the *i*-stems there is in Avestan one ac.sg. that is perfectly comparable to *hiṭqam*: *rayam* (V 1.15), ac.sg. of the place name *Ragi*-. In Avestan only the ab.sg. *rajōiṭ* (Y 19.18) and the ac.sg. *rayam* are attested. We find the n.sg. *ragā* in DB 2.13. The abl.sg. *ragāyā* (BARTHOLOMAE 1904, p. 1497) shows that *Ragi*- has passed into the *-ā* declension in OP on the basis of the n.sg. *ragā*, ac.sg. **ragām* (Av. *rayam*)⁷. However, if we accept that *rayam* was formerly the kind of *i*-stem suggested by *rajōiṭ*, as is probably the case (see n. 7), *rayam* could only be explained like *hiṭqam*: as an evolution out of an ac.sg. in *-eṭm/-oṭm*⁸. In the case of *rayam*, the final *-qm* would be preserved owing to the well-known conservative character of place names. As, however, this noun is not as ancient as Indo-European, it seems again that at least in the Indo-Iranian period STANG'S law applied to the ac.sg. of the *i*-stems with presuffixal full or lengthened vowel grade.

Although this form is thus the original one for the ac.sg. of the *i*- and *u*-stems with presuffixal full or lengthened vowel grade, it is only found in the examples just mentioned. Usually, *-i-* as well as *-u-* are analogically restored out of the other forms of the paradigm, as in YAv. *gaom*. This restoration affords two different results: *-āum/-āim* and *-aom/-aēm*. Both forms could readily be explained by deriving *-āum/-āim* from the presuffixal *o*-grade with BRUGMANN'S law, and *-aom/-aēm* from the corresponding *e*-grade. Unfortunately this distribution is not constant, as we shall see below.

2. The accusatives in *-āum*

In Avestan, we find four ac.sg. in *-āum* corresponding to stems in *-u*: *nasāum*, *pərəsāum*, *garəmāum*⁹ and *frādat.fšāum*. Recently DE VAAN (2000; 2003, p. 376f.) has discussed the true value of the spelling *-āum* in order to reconstruct

7 Conversely one could state that in OP there is only one stem *ragā*- with attested n.sg. *ragā* and abl.sg. *ragāyā*, and that it is a different place name from Av. *ragi*- (GERSHEVITCH 1964, p. 36f.). However the explanation resorting to one single place name is much more economical, and it explains the abl. sg. *ragāyā* as secondary, without implying that both names actually designate the same geographical place. Further more, Gr. *Ragai* confirms the analysis of the OP form as an *I*-stem with full presuffixal grade. Anyway it seems hardly likely that each Avestan attestation of this place name belongs to a different inflectional type: *rayam* to an *ā*-stem like OP *ragā*- and *rajōiṭ* to an *i*-stem.

8 The colour of the presuffixal vowel cannot be determined, as obviously we lack any attestation of the n.pl.

9 The very fact that *garəmāum* is a hapax legomenon has suggested its correction to **garəməm*, supported by the further arguments that in Avestan this substantive shows no *u*-stem and that on two occasions a stem *garəma-* is attested, cf. OI *gharmā*- (DE VAAN 2000, p. 525; DE VAAN 2003, p. 377). However the Pahlavi confirms the existence of a stem **garmu-* in Iranian, from which forms like Phl. *garmōg* < **garmayya-ka-*, *garmōwarīh* "heat ordeal", etc. would have evolved.

a form **-āuam* < **-oūom*. Starting out from an analysis of the manuscript variants of the ac.sg. ending in *-āum*, DE VAAN concludes that, at the time of the Vulgate, before *m* the diphthongs *-aō-* and *-āu-* were pronounced in a very similar way, and that in some families of manuscripts *-aom* is often substituted by *-āum*. Indeed the variants of *garəmāum* show a peculiar distribution:

<i>garəmāum</i> (V 1.18)	PV	<i>garəmāum</i>	K3a, b, B1, M13, 4, P2, Pt2
		<i>garəmaom</i>	P10
	InVS	<i>garəmāum</i>	L2, 1, O2
	IrVS	<i>garəmaōm</i>	Jp1, Mf2

It may be seen that the spelling *-āu-* appears in the manuscripts of the Pahlavi *Vīdēvdād* and in the Indian *sāde* manuscripts, while the Iranian ones show *-ao-*. This distribution matches that of *gāum* in V 1.4, although we know that in this case the original spelling is *-ao-*, since it is the ac.sg. of *gauua-*:

<i>gāum</i> (V 1.4)	PV	<i>gāum</i>	K3a, b, M13, 4, P2, Pt2, Jb
	InVS	<i>gāum</i>	Br1, L2, 1, M2
	IrVS	<i>gaōm</i>	Jp1, Mf2

The same distribution is also found in the case of the forms of *nāuma-/naoma-* “ninth” (< **naūama-*) attested in *Vīdēvdād* (DE VAAN 2000, p. 524), and in the case of the alternance *-aoš/-āuš* in the g.sg. of the *u*-stems (NARTEN 1969; DE VAAN 2000, p. 526).

This distribution seems to point to the following: in the period of the Vulgate (second millennium) the diphthongs *-ao-* and *-āu-*, at least before *š* and *m*, were probably pronounced very similarly, or with a hardly perceptible difference, and each manuscript family shows its own preference for one or the other spelling, regardless of the origin of the diphthong. Thus, the spelling *-āum* in the ac.sg. does not allow any decision to be made concerning their reconstruction as *-āuam* or *-aūam*.

Despite the evident advantages of DE VAAN’s observations, some details of his interpretation do give rise to some problems, particularly concerning the assumed ac.sg. with presuffixal lengthened grade. Those forms which certainly contain the diphthong *-āu-*, i.e. *stāumī* (Y 43.8, cf. OI *stāumi*) and above all the voc.sg. *ašāum* < **ašāuuan*, never or hardly ever show variants in *-aō-*, and in any case the variants do not fit into the picture presented above. This suggests that the graphic hesitation between *āu* and *aō* does not concern the original diphthong *āu*, but only the original *ao*, which under some circumstances and in certain manuscripts tends to appear as *āu*. Among the attestations of the ac.sg. in *-āum* we find two without any variant *-aōm* (*nasāum* and *pərəsāum*), contrary to what happens with *garəmāum*, *frādat.fšāum*, *nāuma-*, etc. DE VAAN

(2000, p. 527) tried to explain this difference by resorting to the influence of *ašāum*: not impossible, but hardly convincing.

In the case of *nasāum*, ac.sg. of *nasu-* “corpse, carrion”¹⁰, other case forms make the presuffixal lengthened grade plausible: n.pl. *nasāuuō* and g.sg. *nasāuuō*¹¹. Pahlavi also supplies further evidence for it. In Pahlavi, the equivalent to Av. *nasu-* is *nasā* <ns’y>, derived from **nacāuV-*, i.e. probably from the ac.sg. **nacāuam*¹² (cf. *ardā* <’lt’y> < *’rtāuā¹³). Thus, it does not seem probable that the

- 10 It is difficult to state the gender of this noun. At least five times it seems to be masculine, like Gr. *νέκως*:

V 5.3 *spō.bərətō ... nasuš ... āstāraieiti*

V 5.4 *aēte nasāuuō yā spō.bərətaca*

V 6.28 *aēte nasāuuō friðuicitica puieitica*

V 19.5 *nasuš daēuuō.dātəm*

V 19.46 *nasuš daēuuō.dātō*

But in slightly more frequent cases it is evidently feminine:

V 5.4 *āy̌bq̌m nasūnq̌m*

V 5.27–42, 7.1–4, usw. *aēša druxš yā nasuš*

V 6.26–32 *aēša nasuš nižbərətaca*

V 7.25 *nasāum maṭ.guðq̌m*

V 7.29, 30 *aēša nasuš anaiβi.γmixta*

V 10.1 *nasuš ... yā... upa.raēðβaiti*

V 10.17 *auuajbā drujo auuajbā nasāuuō*

Apart from one or the other uncertain passage, there is generally a correspondence between the feminine gender and the representation of the carrion as a feminine being and as the main cause of impurity, while the corpse itself usually appears as masculine. If we put this together with the gender of Gr. *νέκως*, an original masculine gender would seem most probable.

- 11 The g.sg. *nasāuuō* is doubtless analogical to the ac.sg. and n.pl. with lengthened presuffixal grade. The starting point for this analogy must be the g.sg. **nasuuō*, which in principle would suggest an holokinetic inflection **nekōys/*n(e)kēs*. But TREMBLAY (1996, p. 142) does not believe in such an holokinetic: the comparison with Gr. *νέκως* confirms both root accent and root full vowel grade, while, according to him, holokinetics tend to extend the zero grade of the root. In its turn OIr. *éc, éco* “death” presupposes the existence of a proterokinetic *nekus/*ḡkēs*, thus we would have a relation between both similar to that supposed by himself between the stems in *-mḡ* and *-mon*. According to TREMBLAY Av. *nasu-* would thus be the continuation of an apophonic type that he names “anakinetic”: *nekōys/*nekus*, although the Avestan data alone do not rule out the possibility of an holokinetic *nekōys/*n(e)kēs*.

About this anakinetic inflection see TREMBLAY (1996). It shows such a rare trait within the apophonic system that one might doubt its very existence. It is the only nominal apophonic type where the accent in the weak cases is moved back in respect to the strong ones. In all other apophonic types the accent remains in the same position or it advances to the end of the word (MEIER-BRÜGGER 2002, p. 207).

- 12 In Parthian the form could be *n’s’w*, but it is not entirely certain, as in the only attestation available the ’ is not clear and the *w* is a conjecture (SUNDERMANN 1973, p. 119).
- 13 A similar explanation is probably required for the loanword Phl. *ablā* (*yīb*), which could derive from Av. *ašāuuā*, unlike *ablaw* < *ašāuua*. We cannot be sure if it is also possible to derive it from the g.sg. OAv. *ašāunō* (YAv. *ašāunō*), as we lack further clear examples of the Phl. evolution of the group *-āunV*. If such a derivation was phonetically possible,

ending *-āum* could be the result of the influence of *ašāum*. For *pərəsāum* we lack further evidence, but since its attestation is very similar to that of *nasāum*, we may assume that the diphthong *-āum* is also original¹⁴ in this case.

Contrary to the above, DE VAAN's argument does not allow any certain decision about *garəməum* and *frādat.fšāum* being original in the Sasanian archetype, or rather, and more probably, substituting for *garəmaom* and *frādat.fšaom*.

3. The ac.sg. *°haxāim*

The only ac.sg. of an *i*-stem showing the ending *-āim* in Avestan is *huš.haxāim*, ac.sg. of *huš.haxi-*. This group *-āim* has a correlate in OI *sákhāyam*. Here, the presuffixal lengthened grade is also reinforced by the n.pl. **haxāiiō*, *sákhāyah* < **sék^hb₂oies*.¹⁵ The weak cases show presuffixal zero grade in Avestan (*hašē* < **s(e)k^hb₂iéj₁*, *haša* < **s(e)k^hb₂iéh₁*) as well as in Old Indian (*sákhya*, *sákhyaḥ*, *sákhya*).

then it would not be correct to reject it arguing that in Pahlavi there are no loanwords taken simultaneously from the casus rectus and from the casus obliquus (CANTERA 2003, p. 257, n. 24): Av. *ādrauan-* appears in Pahlavi in two different forms: <'slwk> and <'slwn'>. MACKENZIE (1971, p. 12) reads the former as *āsrō* and derives it from the n.sg. *ādrauua*, while he reads <'slwn'> as *āsrōn* and derives it from *ādrauuan-*, which appears only in the acc.sg. *ādrauuanəm* and the n.pl. *ādrauuanō*.

The analysis of the use of this doublet in the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta shows that the spelling <'slwn'> is practically only applied to the translation of the oblique cases:

ādrauua:

<'slwk>	V 5.28 (K1, Jmp), 8.19, 13.22, 13.45 (4 ×)
<'slwn'>	Y 11.6, 19.17
<'slwn'n'>	Vyt 2.9

ādrauuanəm:

<'slwk>	V 7.41, 9.37 (L4a, Jmp), 18.1,2,3,4,5,6; Y 10.15; G 4.7
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aḍaurune:

<'slwn>	V 5.57, 58, 7.17
<'slwn'n'>	V 13.45, 14.8

aḍaurunō

<'slwn>	Vyt 1.3
<'slwn'n'>	Vyt 3.16

The only attestation of the n.pl. *ādrauuanō* (Yt 14.16) is translated by <'slwn'n'>, but this is quite a late translation, and one of the worst of all the corpus, so that it is a weak witness. Thus <'slwn'> probably does not derive from *ādrauuan-*, but from the g.sg. *aḍaurunō*, which would have evolved to **asarun*, with the well-known syncope in antepenultima when the syllable is an open one (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000, p. 210), in which case it ought to be read as *asrun*.

14 About the inflection of this form see TREMBLAY 1998, p. 188ff.

15 About this inflection see MAYRHOFER 1992–2001, vol. 2, p. 684f. with a large bibliography, and recently TREMBLAY 1996, p. 105.

4. The accusatives in *-aom*

Besides the ac.sg. forms *garəməum* and *frādat.fšāum*, possibly representing *garəmaom* and *frādat.fšaom*, *daŋhaom* (2x in Yt 10.26) and *frazdānaom* (Yt 5.108) are also attested. In principle, one would expect these accusatives to represent an older presuffixal *e*-grade, but the sole stem offering enough material to infer the presuffixal apophonic grade seems to contradict this conjecture.

In Old Persian the following forms of *dahayu-* are attested:

	Singular	Plural
n.	d-h-y-a-u-š	d-h-y-a-v
ac.	DH-u-m ¹⁶	
	DH-y-u-m ¹⁷	
	d-h-y-a-u-m ¹⁸	
	d-h-y-a-v-m ¹⁹	
	(vi-i-s-d-h-y-u-m ²⁰)	
g.		DH-n-a-m
loc.	d-h-y-u-v-a	d-h-y-u-š-u-v-a

The ac.sg. shows several different forms, which are hard to evaluate. On the one hand the spellings with the heterogram *DH* and the compound *vi-i-s-d-h-y-u-m* seem to represent an ac.sg. **dahayaum* or **dahayum*. On the other, the spellings *d-h-y-a-u-m* and *d-h-y-a-v-m* do represent – respectively – */dahayāum/* and */dahayāvam/*, the latter being the regular form and the former a secondary one derived from the n.sg. *dahayāuš* (BARTHOLOMAE 1895–1901, p. 228; SCHMITT 1989, p. 72). It is difficult to decide which interpretation of the first forms is the true one. If on the one hand we could compare **dahayaum* directly with Av. *daŋhaom*, on the other we could easily explain **dahayum* as analogical to the remaining *u*-stems and as directly comparable with Av. *daxiiūm*, OI *dásyūm*.

The remaining forms of the strong cases of OP (n.sg. d-h-y-a-u-š, n.pl. d-h-y-a-v) doubtless show a lengthened presuffixal grade. In Avestan the following forms are attested:

16 DSf 58, DSj 6.

17 A³Pa 26.

18 AsH 8, 11, 13, DPd 15, 18, DNa 53, D²Ha 18.

19 XPh 33, 58.

20 XPa 12.

	Singular	Plural
n.	<i>daǰhuš</i>	<i>daǰhāuuō</i>
ac.	<i>daǰhaom/daǰiiūm</i>	
dat.	<i>daǰbauue</i>	
g.	<i>daǰhēuš</i>	

The n.sg. *daǰhuš* (face to OP *dahayāuš*) is clearly analogical to the remaining *u*-stems, while the n.pl. *daǰhāuuō* shows a lengthened presuffixal grade and thus confirms the full presuffixal grade of all the forms of the strong cases in Old Persian, except the alternative ac.sg. **dahayum/*dahayayum*. If the lengthened presuffixal grade is original, as suggested by comparison of OP and Av., then we lack any explanation for the ac.sg. **dahayum/*dahayayum* and for the Av. *daǰhaom*. However, the former could be interpreted as **dahayum* because of Av. *daǰiiūm* and *daǰhuš*. Then, Av. *daǰhaom* seems to be the ac.sg. of a stem with presuffixal *o*-grade.²¹

5. The ac.sg. *kauuaēm*

The n.sg. *kauua* and the n.pl. *kāuuaiias(cit)* are comparable to the n.sg. *haxa*, n.pl. *+haxāiiō* (with a variant *haxaiō* in some manuscripts), from *haxi-* “friend, follower”, whose reconstruction with lengthened presuffixal grade is certain because of OI n.sg. *sákhā*, ac.sg. *sákhāyam*, n.pl. *sákhāyah*. In the strong cases of both declensions the only difference is the ac.sg. *kauuaēm* as compared to the ac.sg. *haxāim*. The latter seems to presuppose the lengthened presuffixal grade; the former, however, the short one. This is why the traditional reconstruction of both forms differs in the presuffixal vowel grade of the strong cases: **kouh₂éǰ*, *kouh₂éǰ*, **kouh₂éǰes*, but **sékh₂ōǰ*, **sékh₂ōǰ*, **sékh₂ōǰes* (KUIPER 1942, p. 64ff.; HOFFMANN 1967, p. 32). TREMBLAY (1996, p. 105, n. 30) seems to have no doubt about this reconstruction for several reasons: 1. the only known nouns in *-eǰ* are the neuter collectives of the type *utne*, *utniǰaš*, (although some lines below he reconstructs a hysterokinetic **uǰp-éǰ* for Av. *urupa* and Lat. *volpes*); 2. accord-

21 TREMBLAY (1998, p. 191, n. 11) presumes the reflex *-aom* for **-āyam* in Avestan for *frazdānaom* (Yt 5.108). This author analyses *frazdānaom* as a haplological form from **para-dh₂ta-dānāy-* “which provokes streams”, which would be in the same apophonic relation with its simplex *dānuš* as *°bāzāu-* with the simplex *bāzu-*: composites with a proterokinetic simplex would be anakinetics. This implies that *°dānaom* derives from *°dānāyam* with the same evolution as *daǰhaom*. However, we have to keep in mind that the hypothesis of a hysterokinetic inflection with full grade, analogical to the simplex, cannot be discarded in either of the two cases. This type of inflection is assumed for *°bāzāy-* both by KUIPER (1942, p. 40ff.) and NARTEN (1969, p. 234).

ing to his opinion the stem *kauui-* fits well into the category of the personal nouns in *-oḷ*; 3. the Lydian form *kawés* “priest” seems to presuppose a presuffixal grade *-oḷ*. Putting all this together, TREMBLAY reconstructs **kouh₂ōḷ*. Thus, the final *-aēm* might also represent an old presuffixal *o*-grade, as in the case of *-aom*.

6. Possible explanations of the ac.sg. forms with *-aēm/-aom* in stems with presuffixal *o*-grade.

In principle, the ac.sg. of the stems with presuffixal *o*-grade should present a long presuffixal vowel, as is actually the case with OI *sákhāyam*. For the Indo-Iranian groups **-āuam* and **-āiam*, we would expect in Avestan *-āum* (*nasāum*) and *-āim* (*°haxāim*). There are several possible explanations for *-aom/-aēm* appearing instead of the expected forms, but not all of them are equally plausible.

First, one could resort to a purely graphic explanation, above all for the *u*-stems: if in the pronunciation of the Vulgate the diphthongs *āu* and *ao* become confused before *š* and before *m*, then we could not only assume that the spelling *āu* conceals *ao* of the archetype, but also the contrary: i.e., the spelling *ao* represents the *āu* of the archetype. This explanation sounds less plausible in the case of the *i*-stems. Generally speaking, there are few interferences between *-āim* and *-aēm* in the manuscripts (DE VAAN 2003, p. 358).²²

On the other hand these spellings could also be explained as a true phonetic shortening, assuming a sporadic shortening of *ā* before *u* and *i*.²³ In the case of the ac.sg. *kauuaēm*, this shortening would be directly comparable to that of *āēm* “egg” < **āiam* (SCHINDLER 1969, p. 160). And similarly *daj̄haom* could be explained as a shortening of **dah̄iāuam* to **dah̄iaum*. However, there are some counter-examples such as *haxāim*, *nasāum* and *pərəsāum*, which make such an explanation less convincing.

A third possibility is that, since *-āum* as well as *-aom* are secondary forms, further forms could have originated independently of the original presuffixal vowel grade as a result of different analogical processes. In the case of the ac.sg. in *-āum* and *-āim* the analogy would have started from the n.sg. and n.pl. with lengthened presuffixal grade (*-āuš̄/-ā(i)* and *-āuab̄/-āiab̄*). When, in

22 One comparable case would be *auuaēn* in V 19.13 as a quotation of *auuāim* in Y 57.23 (KELLENS 1984, p. 86; DE VAAN 2003, p. 358).

23 Recently DE VAAN (2003, p. 118ff.) has again analysed the evidences of this change and has shown its sporadic and recent character. He even uses the argument of the preservation of the long vowel in *aibigāim*, unlike *aibigaiia*, to state that this is later than the period of spoken Avestan. If this is true, then such a shortening would hardly be able to explain the ac.sg. *kauuaēm* and *daj̄haom*, but it also would fail with the ac.sg. *aēm* “egg”, which DE VAAN himself explains by resorting to the shortening (DE VAAN 2003, p. 120).

turn, *-aom/-aēm* appears as the ac.sg. of an old stem with presuffixal *o*-grade, the analogy probably starts from the weak cases with full presuffixal grade. In fact, the stems with an ac.sg. in *-āum* or *āim* show presuffixal zero grade in the oblique cases. This is evident in *haxāim* (see Av. *hašē*, *haša*) and very probable in *nasāum*, since, as we have already seen above, to explain the attested g.sg. *nasāuuō* we must start from a g.sg. **nasuuō*. We have no attested g.sg. of *pərəsāum*, but we would expect **pərəsuuō* (TREMBLAY 1998, p. 191). Contrary to this, the forms showing an ac.sg. in *-aom/-aēm* – despite their original presuffixal *o*-grade – show presuffixal full grade, e.g. dat.sg. *daj̄hauue* in the case of *daj̄haom*; *kauuōiš* in that of *kauuaēm*. This is also the explanation for the secondary form *gaom* beside the original one (*gām*), which shows this form because in the weak cases it has full presuffixal grade (*gauua*, *gauuōi/gauue*, *gōuš*, *gaoš*).

We may therefore conclude that, originally, the diphthongs of the ac.sg. of the *i*-/*u*-stems with full or lengthened presuffixal grade were treated according to STANG's law, and the original ending was *-qm* for both. In Iranian, the development of secondary analogical forms is quite recent. Indeed, apart from the preservation of some non-analogical examples (*hiḍqm*, *rayqm* and *gauuqm*) in Avestan, the analogical processes working in the different Iranian tongues are different from each other. For example, OP *dahayāum* and *dahayāvam* show that in this language the analogy was not governed by the same rules as in Avestan, since otherwise we would find **dahayavam*. In Southwestern Iranian we find a certain expansion of the secondary accusatives in *-āum*. Pahlavi attests some forms in *-ā <'y>* associated with old *u*-stems, going back to an ancient ac.sg. in *-āum*: *nasā <*nacāum*; *bāzā <b'c'y>*²⁴ <**bāzāum* (KLINGENSMITT 2000, p. 201) and Phl. *garā <gl'y>* “heavy” <**g(a)rHāum* (CANTERA, forthcoming), cf. Av. *gouru°* (OI *gurú*). At least in the case of *bāzā* the ac.sg. **bāzāum* is secondary. We would expect an IIr. form **bājām*, or without STANG's law **bājāum*, but never **bājāum*. Thus, it seems that in Southwestern Iranian there is a tendency to extend the lengthened presuffixal grade to the ac.sg. of all stems with lengthened presuffixal grade in the n.sg.

We may state, in conclusion, that the original form of the ac.sg. of the *i*-/*u*-stems with full or lengthened presuffixal vowel grade in Avestan was *-qm*, although it only appears in one OAv. form (*hiḍqm* Y 31.8, 34.10, but cf. *huš.haxāim* Y 46.13) and one place name (*rayqm*). The current forms show instead a reintroduced *-i*-/*u*-, which gives rise to the diphthongs *-āum/-āim* and *-aom/-aēm*. The distribution of the long and short diphthongs is to some extent independent of the original presuffixal vowel grade. When the n.sg. and the n.pl.

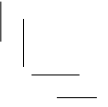
24 The *z* of the Pahlavi and of Mod.P. *bāzu* is a Northwestern dialectalism. The expected Southwestern form is attested in the Psalter b'dwky (Psalm 98.1, 135.12). This suggests that this process of secondary building of the accusative also applies in Northwestern Iranian.

show a long presuffixal vowel (going back to an Indo-European *o*-grade), the ac.sg. shows the long diphthong whenever the weak cases show presuffixal zero-grade; when, instead, the weak cases have full presuffixal grade, the ac.sg. has the short diphthong. As far as we know, *-i-/-u-* were also reintroduced in other Iranian languages, although according to different distribution patterns.

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