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Societas Iranologica Europæa
Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente
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Area della Ricerca e delle Relazioni Internazionali, Università di Bologna
Pro-rettore per i Poli della Romagna, Università di Bologna
Facoltà di Conservazione dei Beni Culturali, Università di Bologna
Dipartimento di Storie e Metodi per la Conservazione dei Beni Culturali, Università di Bologna
Polo Scientifico-didattico di Ravenna, Università di Bologna
Fondazione Flaminia, Ravenna
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Cover and title-page by Sara CIRCASSIA.
Electronic paste-up by Gian Pietro BASELLO (text) & Sara CIRCASSIA (plates).

Printed in Italy
by Edizioni Mimesis
Via M. Pichi 3 – 20143 Milano
<www.mimesisedizioni.it>
ISBN 88-8483-465-2

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The Instrumental Plural of *u*-stems in Young Avestan

1. Proto-Iranian **b* underwent lenition in intervocalic position in YAv., yielding either β or *uu*. The stop was restored in a few forms, but only in the anlaut of a recognizable morpheme, as in *apauuarāni* (V 22.6) ‘I will take away’ against *apa.barāni* (Yt 9.10, 10.111). The rareness of these restorations suggests that they arose during the post-YAv. text transmission. Only in one specific category of forms has *b* been restored in more than 95% of the relevant forms, viz. the dual and plural endings in Indo-Iranian **b^h-*: dat.ins.abl. dual *-biia*,¹ dat.abl. plural *-biiō* and ins. plural *-biš*. The ending **-biā* occurs as *-βe* in two forms (*gaošaēβe* 2x, *bāzuβe* 4x), as *-uue* in one form (*pāḍauue* ‘with both feet’ 2x), but usually as *-biia*. Two of the three lenited forms are also attested with restored *b*, viz. *bāzubiia* (Yt 13.107) and *pāḍaēibiia* (V 5.11, 6.46; with the *a*-stem ending). Word-final **-biah* appears as *-βiiō* in four stems (*aiβiiō* passim, *aiβiiasca* 1x, *xštəuuiβiiō* 1x, *hinūiβiiō* 1x), as *-uiiō* and *-oiō* in seven different stems (*ašāuuauuiiō* 5x, *gaēθāuuiiō* 1x, *(*)nəruuiiō* 4x, *yūšmaoiō* 1x, *vōiynāuuiiō* 1x, *rasmaoiō* 5x, *šanmaoiō* 1x), but usually as *-biiō*. The lenited forms occur mainly in the Yašts, as is shown especially by fivefold *ašāuuauuiiō*, which corresponds to *ašauuabiiō* in the Yasna (1x) and the Videvdad (27x).

Matters are different for the Plr. ending **-biš*, for which not a single form in *-βiš*, *-βīš*, *-uiiš* or *-uiš* is attested in YAv. In postvocalic position, we always find *-biš* or *-bīš*: *-abīš*, *-ābīš*, *-əbīš*, *gaobīš*, *-ibīš*, *aēibīš*. The *u*-stems are conspicuously absent from this enumeration: no ins.pl. forms in *-biš* or *-bīš* are attested in YAv. In OAv., we only have one form, viz. the *ū*-stem *hizubīš* ‘with tongues’. There are, however, several YAv. forms in *-ūš* or *-uš* which scholars assume to reflect **-ubiš* with lenited **b*; compare, among others, Hoffmann 1976: 614 and Hoffmann–Forssman 1996: 131. Hoffmann–Narten 1989: 83 claim that the archetype knew the ending in the form *-uiiš*; in other words, that the contraction had not yet taken place in the archetype. This last assertion can be challenged; see section 4 below.

In my 2003 study of the Avestan vowels, I followed earlier scholarship in acknowledging on p. 332–333 eight YAv. forms in *-ūš* or *-uš* as evidence for lenition in **-ubiš*. After a renewed study of the text passages concerned, however, I have come to the conclusion that the analysis of most of those forms as ins.pl. is untenable. It appears that only Nērangestān 57 and Y 12.4 present reliable evidence for a contraction of **-ubiš* to *-ūš*. I will discuss those two passages in section 3; but first, let us look at the forms for which the interpretation as an ins.pl. must be dismissed.

* * *

2. Most of the alleged ins.pl. forms in *-uš* are found in the Videvdad. The first one is V 3.42 *pəranāiiuš* ‘grown up’. The line in which *pəranāiiuš* occurs does not fit in the context of V 3.41 and 42. It is therefore regarded by Geldner in his edition as a probable gloss to the original text:

¹ The ending *-biiqm* only occurs after a consonant, viz. in *bruuat.biiqm* ‘eyebrows’.

vohu iḍa zaraθuštra
 huuarštəm šiiəonəm vərəzimnəm
 vaŋ^vhi daēna māzdaiiasniš
 pərənāiiuš² ciθqm θβərəsaiti

Bartholomae (1904: 895) analyzes *pərənāiiuš* as an ins.pl., used as a dative. Accordingly, Wolff (1909: 332) translates these lines as follows: ‘Gut (ist) hier, o Zaraθuštra, die gutvollzogene Handlung, (die) zu vollziehen (ist); die gute mazdayasnische Religion setzt den Mündigen die Strafe fest.’ I agree with Hertel (1929: 140) that this renders the text incomprehensible: why would the religion be punishing adults, without a word about their possible crime? Hertel interprets *vaŋ^vhi daēna māzdaiiasniš* as a nominal clause ‘the Mazdayasnian religion is good’, leaving the last three words *pərənāiiuš ciθqm θβərəsaiti* to form a separate clause ‘(only) an adult sets the penalty’, with *pərənāiiuš* as a nom.sg. This interpretation is supported by the similar use of the combination *ciθqm θβərəsa-* in V 7.71: *āat vō yūžəm yōi mazdaiiasna ciθqm frāθβərəsaēta; aoxtō ratuš aoxtō sraošāuuarəzō ciθqm frāθβərəsaiti* ‘Then you, the Mazdayasniens, must set the penalty; the Ratuš, the Sraošāvarz, who have been summoned for this occasion, set the penalty’.

The Pahlavi translator does not seem to have understood the text in the way we do, since he interprets *vaŋ^vhi* to *θβərəsaiti* as a single clause: ŠPYL dyn’ y m’zdysn’n’ w’plyk’n’ [PWN] twčšn’ blyhynynt ‘The good religion of the Mazdayasniens truly sets the penalty.’ The word *w’plyk’n’* = *wābarīgān* ‘true, trustworthy’ is not the usual translation of *pərənāiiu-*, which would be *pwl’n’y*. It thus seems that the Pahlavi translator felt uneasy about the use of the word ‘adult’ in this context (‘the grown-up Mazdayasnian religion’ made no sense to him), and he replaced it by a word which seemed to fit the meaning of the text better. It was probably the occurrence of a derivative of *pərəna-* ‘full’ which prompted the association with a word meaning ‘trustworthy’.³

* * *

The next form to be discussed is V 13.1 *aŋrō.mainiiuš*. The context is the following:

kaṭ taṭ dāma spəntō.mainiiuua aētaŋhqm dāmanqm yōi hənti spəntahe mainiiuūš dāma dātəm;
 vīspəm paiti ušāŋhəm ā hū⁺ vaxšāt hazaraja aŋrō.mainiiuūš⁴ paiti.jasaiti

‘Which is the creature, belonging to the bountiful spirit, among these creatures which are the created creatures of the bountiful spirit? At every dawn before sunrise the thousand-slayer *aŋrō.mainiiuūš* *paiti.jasaiti*.’

It is usually assumed that *aŋrō.mainiiuūš* must represent an object to *paiti.jasaiti* ‘turns against/returns’, but it cannot represent a regular form of *aŋra- mainiiu-* ‘the evil spirit’, since the first member is uninflected. Nor can it be a case form of the adjective *aŋrō.mainiiuua-* ‘belonging to the evil spirit’, since the ending does not fit an *a*-stem.⁵ It

² Written -ūš in the PV mss. descending from K1.

³ Klingenschmitt (1968: 144) has observed that F 473 *pərənāuuaiiā* is also translated by *wābarīgān*. He then argues that V 3.42 *pərənāiiuūš* is a corruption of (a case form of) *pərənāuuaiiā*. This would be an unusually drastic corruption, especially since the Avestan text of V 3.42 makes good sense to us. It seems more likely that F 473 *pərənāuuaiiā* is a corruption of *pərənāiiuūš*; note that F is a word list, which contains isolated quotations from other Avestan texts.

⁴ V.ll. °uš L4.K1; °uš L1.2, °āuš Br1; °uš Mf2, °āuš Jp1. The analysis of *mainiiuūš* as a nom.sg. in de Vaan 2003: 328 must be discarded.

⁵ Kellens 1974: 155 assumes a corruption of *-auua to -uš in the mss. As he admits himself, this is a rather remote possibility.

is therefore inevitable to posit with Bartholomae (1904: 105) a stem *aṇrō.mainiiu-*, a univerbation on the basis of the nom.sg. *aṇrō mainiiuš* ‘evil spirit’. The union of these two words may have been prompted by the occurrence of *spəṇtō.mainiiuua* in the beginning of the text; in any case, it is confirmed by the form *spəṇtō.mainiiūš* in V 13.5, see below.

According to Bartholomae, V 13.1 *aṇrō.mainiiuš* represents an original ins.pl. in **-ubiš*, which here functions as an acc.pl.n. determining *dāma* ‘creature’. Yet there is no compelling reason to assume an instrumental here. Also, the adjectival meaning which Bartholomae assumes is unlikely. Hertel (1929: 140) interprets *aṇrō.mainiiuš* as an accusative to *paiti.jasaiti*, with an original ending **-ūš*. But a plural meaning ‘the evil spirits’, which Hertel advocates, is very unlikely: our Avesta knows only one *aṇrō mainiiuš*.

One solution has not been considered yet, viz. that *aṇrō.mainiiuš* is not the object of the verb, but a complement to *hazaṇraja*. In that case, the gen.sg. *aṇrō.mainiiūš*, which is attested in Jp1 and Br1, is the original form: *hazaṇraja aṇrō.mainiiūš paiti.jasaiti* ‘The thousand-slayer of the evil spirit returns’. The use of the genitive for the object of *hazaṇra-jan-* is well-attested in YAv. Compare the gen.pl. forms which follow the noun in V 8.80: *yahmāṭ kahmāiciṭ naēmanq̄m vātō āθrō baoiḍīm vībaraiti, ahmāṭ kahmāiciṭ naēmanq̄m hazaṇrayna⁶ paiti.jasaiti ātarš mazdā ahurahe daēuuanq̄m mainiiuuanq̄m təmasciθranq̄m druuatq̄m bižuuaṭ yātunq̄mca pairikanq̄mca* ‘from which and to whichever side the wind carries off the scent of fire, from that side and to whichever side turns the fire of Ahura Mazda, the thousand-slayer of the spiritual, darkness-born, deceitful daevas, of twice that number of sorcerers and witches.’ The absolute use of *paiti.jasa-* is rare (usually there is a complement in the dative or the accusative), but we do find it in Yt 5.132 *yaθa tē vīspe auruuanta zazuuāṇha paiti.jasq̄n* ‘so that all your/these runners may return victoriously’.

The text of V 13.2 shows that the creature of the bountiful spirit, to which this passage refers, is the hedgehog. This is a nocturnal animal, which explains the meaning of the text: it is a useful animal for mankind (hunting insects and snakes), and when the day breaks, it withdraws to its lair.

* * *

The text of V 13.5 and 6 offers the mirror image of V 13.1 and 2: where the latter speaks about *spəṇtō.mainiiuua-* and *spəṇta- mainiiu-*, 13.5 and 6 speak about *aṇrō.mainiiuua-* and *aṇra- mainiiu-*, and vice versa. The form with which we are concerned is edited as *spəṇtō.mainiiūm* by Geldner. Final *-m* is attested in mss. of the Pahlavi Videvdad (L4.K1 in V 13.5, only L4 in 13.6), but we find *-ūš* on both occasions in Jp1 and *-uš* in Mf2, L2.Br1, and in K1a in V 13.6; L4 has *-ūš* in V 13.6. I restore **spəṇtō.mainiiūš*, and the text can be interpreted in the same way as V 13.1 and 2:

*kaṭ taṭ dāma aṇrō.mainiiuua aētaṇhqm dāmanqm yōi hēṇti aṇrahe mainiiūš dāma dātəm; vīspəm paiti ušāṇhəm ā hū *vaxšāṭ hazaṇraja *spəṇtō.mainiiūš paiti.jasaiti*

‘Which is the creature, belonging to the evil spirit, among these creatures which are the created creatures of the evil spirit? At every dawn before sunrise the thousand-slayer of the bountiful spirit returns.’

⁶ This hapax is generally analyzed as the nom.sg. of an *n*-stem noun *hazaṇra-ynan-* ‘who kills a thousand’. Duchesne-Guillemin (1936: 109) assumes that it was formed on the basis of the verb *jan-*, like e.g. *ə-uuīndan-* ‘finding nothing’. Yet in view of the similarity in context with V 13.1 and 5, it seems more likely that the *n*-stem was formed on the basis of the noun *hazaṇra-jan-*, with its oblique case forms in *hazaṇra-yn-*.

The animal to which this passage refers is *zairimiiaṇura-*, generally translated as ‘tortoise’, which probably contains the cognates of Skt. *harmīyá-* ‘firm structure’ and **aṅgula-* ‘finger’ as in *daśāṅgulá-* ‘a length of ten fingers’. The literal translation may thus be ‘who has his toes (or limbs) in a house’. A different word *kasiiapa-*, cognate of Skt. *kaśyāpa-*, is used for ‘tortoise’ in V 14.5, where it is explicitly mentioned as one of the daevic animals which are to be slain by the tens of thousands. It is no counterargument for the translation of *zairimiiaṇura-* as ‘tortoise’ that we find another word with the same meaning in the Avesta; compare ‘hedgehog’, for which the Videvdat also has two words: *vaṇhāpara-* and *dužaka-*, both in V 13.2. Nevertheless, alternative translations for *zairimiiaṇura-* such as ‘crawfish’ (thus Geldner 1881: 566) or ‘snail’ (many species of which are nocturnal animals) seem equally possible.

* * *

The last of the relevant V forms is *ṇrō.mainiiuš* in V 19.8:

paiti ahmāi adauuata duždāmō ṇrō mainiiuš: kahe vaca vanāi, kahe vaca apa.yasāi, kana zaiia hukərətāṇhō mana dāma ṇrō.mainiiuš

‘To him answered the evil spirit of evil creation: with whose speech do you want to overcome, with whose speech do you want to remove, with which weapon *hukərətāṇhō*, my creature *ṇrō.mainiiuš*?’

The first crux is *hukərətāṇhō*, which can only represent the nom.pl. of the adj. *hukərəta-* ‘well-made’; in fact, the combination of this adjective with weaponry is well-attested in other YAv. texts. Therefore, one might regard *hukərətāṇhō* as a corruption of ins.sg. **hukərəta*, governed by *zaiia*. Accordingly, Wolff translates ‘mit dieser wohlgefertigten Waffe’. Yet a corruption of *-a* to *-āṇhō* would be inexplicable from the graphematic point of view. Hertel (1929: 139) interprets *hukərətāṇhō* as the object to *vanāi* and *apa.yasāi*, and assumes that the nom.pl. was erroneously used instead of an acc.pl. There seems to be no uncertainty, however, about the function of the ending *-āṇhō* as the nom.pl. of *a*-stems in neighbouring V passages, except for V 18.65. This form remains enigmatic to me.

For *ṇrō.mainiiuš* (no v.ll. *-ūš* are attested), there is no functional reason to assume an ins.pl. Hertel assumes an original acc.pl. in **-ūš*, which would depend on the two verbs in the subjunctive. His translation of the passage runs as follows: ‘Durch wessen Wort willst du besiegen, durch wessen Wort willst du abhalten, durch welche Waffe, die Wohlgebildeten, meine Schöpfung, die Anhänger des finsternen Geistes?’ He assumes that the stem *ṇrō.mainiiu-* has been used here instead of *ṇrō.mainiiuu-* ‘belonging to the evil spirit’; this renders his solution less likely. I would like to propose another alternative: a gen.sg. **ṇrō.mainiiūuš*, in agreement with the gen.sg. *mana*. This solution is supported by the continuation of the text in V 19.9, with a parallel build-up of the text:

paiti ahmāi auuašata yō spitāmō zaraθuštrō: hāuuanaca taštaca haomaca vaca mazdō.fraoxta; mana zaiia asti vahištəm, ana vaca vanāni, ana vaca apa.yasāne, ana zaiia hukərətāṇhō āi dužda ṇra mainiiō

‘To him answered Spitāma Zarathustra: with the mortar and the cup and with haoma, with the speech which was uttered by Mazdā; the *vahištəm* (prayer) is my weapon, with this speech I will overcome, with this speech I will remove, with this weapon *hukərətāṇhō*, o maleficent evil spirit!’

It is the evil spirit in the singular who is addressed at the end of the passage in V 19.9, and it is attractive to assume identity with the speaker in V 19.8 *mana dāma *ṇrō.mainiiūuš*

‘the creature of me, the evil spirit.’ We must accept that the combination *ayra- mainiiu-* was reinterpreted as a compound *ayrō.mainiiu-*, in the same way as we have postulated for V 13.1 and 2.

* * *

Pirart (2000: 385) has assumed that Yt 13.151 contains another *u*-stem ins.pl. in *-ūš*: *paoiriiqn tkaēš yazamaide ... ašō.ąhānō mąθraąhānō uruuō.ąhānō vīspāiš vaąhūš vaąhušānō* ‘We worship the first teachers ... who have gained *aša*, who have gained the holy word, who have gained the soul, who have gained the good as far as all good is concerned.’ According to Bartholomae (1904: 1350), *vīspāiš* would be an adverb meaning ‘always’, and *vaąhūš* would agree grammatically with the acc.pl. *paoiriiqn tkaēš* at the beginning of the sentence. Neither of these assumptions is attractive. In my view, *vīspāiš vaąhūš* functions as an accusative of restriction to the following word *vaąhušānō*. It contains the regular acc.pl.m. of *vaąhu-* and (what is formally) the ins.pl. of *vīspa-*. The same construction occurs in *vīspāiš aiiqn xšafnasca* ‘during all days and nights’ (Y 57.17, Yt 1.11), and, with an acc.pl.f., in Yt 8.43 *yō vīspāiš naēnižaiti simā* ‘who washes off all filths’ (Panaino 1990: 67).

Pirart (2000: 388) also reads an ins.pl. in the form *pauruš* in Yt 8.49: *tištrīm ... yazamaide ... xšaiiamnəm isānəm hazaąrāi aiiaptanąm yō dađāiti kuxšnuuąnāi pauruš aiiaptā jaiđiiąntāi*. *Pauruš* is interpreted as nom.sg.m. by Bartholomae (1904: 855), who translates it as an adverb ‘gern, immer wieder’. This is adopted by Panaino (1990: 73): ‘We worship ... *Tišttrya*, powerful, who disposes of a thousand boons, who often gives boons to a spontaneously (*Tišttrya*)-satisfying man petitioning him.’ However, we would expect *u*-mutation to apply to a preform nom.sg.m. **paruš*, whence **puruš*. It seems more likely that we are dealing with the acc.pl.f. *paoiriš*, attested elsewhere in YAv., in which the ending was corrupted to *-uš* in the mss. transmission. Thus, we get **paoiriš aiiaptā* ‘many boons’.

* * *

3. The passage which contains the clearest evidence for a lenited ins.pl. ending **-ubiš* is Y 12.4, in the middle of the *frauuarānē* prayer:

*vī daēuuāiš ayāiš auuaąhūš anarətāiš akō.dābīš sarəm mruiiē,
hātąm draojištāiš, hātąm paoišštāiš, hātąm auuaąhutəmāiš;
vī daēuuāiš vī daēuuauuąbīš vī yātuš vī yātumaąbīš,
vī kahiiācīt hātąm ātarāiš vī manēbīš vī vacēbīš vī šiiāoθanāiš vī ciθarāiš;
vī zī anā sarəm mruiiē yaθanā drąguuātā rąxšaiiaąntā*

‘I deny (*vī mruiiē*) alliance (*sarəm*) with the evil demons, who are not good, who are untruthful, who bring about evil, the most deceitful who be, the most rotten who be, the least good who be;

with the demons, with the demons’ companions, with the sorcerers, with the sorcerers’ companions, with those who attack everyone who is, [I deny it] with my thoughts, my words, my deeds, my display; for I deny the alliance with any deceitful aggressor.’

The two *u*-stem ins.pl. forms are *auuaąhūš* to *a-uaąhu-* ‘not good, bad’ and *yātuš* to *yātu-* ‘sorcerer’. The interpretation of *auuaąhūš* and *yātuš* as ins.pl. is compelling, since they occur in the same syntactic position as the surrounding ins.pl. forms in *-āiš* or *-bīš*. For *auuaąhūš*, the spelling *-iš* is attested in some of the good mss. (Pt4.Mf4, K5, K4), but *-ūš* is *lectio difficilior* in the context. The spelling *-ūiš* is found in K6 and J4, two mss. which depend on J3, which itself spells *-ūš*; hence, *-ūiš* is not a relic of archetypal **-uuīš*, but

shows the addition of -īš to original -ūš (pace Hoffmann–Narten 1989: 83). The short vowel of *yātuš* may be due to the influence of the following word *yātumaṭbīš*.

* * *

Two forms in -uš are found in Nērangestān 57, viz. *pituš* to *pitu-* ‘food’, and *vīzuš* which may belong to *vīzu-*, a kind of dog. These occur among several clear ins.pl. forms in -bīš and -āīš:

*ratu.friš *paiiābīš xʷāstāīš.ca a.xʷāstāīš.ca azdiiāīš.ca an.azdiiāīš.ca*
 ‘He satisfies the Ratus with cooked and with uncooked milk, with fat and with skimmed milk’

*ratu.friš *pituš xʷāstāīš nōiṭ a.xʷāstāīš azdiiāīš.[ca] nōiṭ an.azdiiāīš*
 ‘He satisfies the Ratus with cooked, not with raw food, with fat, not with lean food’

ratu.friš snākēnišca vīzuš.ca xʷāstāīš.ca nōiṭ a.xʷāstāīš azdiiāīš.[ca] nōiṭ. an.azdiiāīš
 ‘He satisfies the Ratus with [snākēniš] and with [vīzuš], with cooked, not raw ones, with fat, not lean ones.’

The readings *paiiābīš* and *pituš* are emendations; the manuscript TD reads *pasuiiābīš* and *patuš*, whereas HJ has *pasiiābīš* and *patuš*. The Pahlavi translation of this passage supports the interpretation of these forms as *paiiah-* ‘milk’ and *pitu-* ‘food’. The plural of *paiiah-* is also used in V 5.52, where the food is described which is due to a woman who must live in seclusion after having had a miscarriage. In the third line of N 57, both mss. share the readings *snākēnišca* and *vīzušca*, the interpretation of which is less clear. Bartholomae (1904: 1629) accepts *snākēnišca* and posits a stem *snākan-* ‘kind of food’; the meaning would match the Pahlavi translation *sūr* ‘meal’, but it is hard to find a root from which *snākan-* could have been derived: *snā-* means ‘to wash’. Moreover, *sūr* translates the two words *snākēnišca* *vīzušca* together.⁷ The word *vīzuš-ca* is therefore interpreted by Bartholomae as another ‘kind of food’, but Hertel (1929: 139) and Waag (1941: 124) connect it with *vīzu-*, an animal of some sorts which is counted as a ‘dog’ in the Videdvad. In his commentary, Waag (1941: 124) gives priority to the latter meaning of *vīzu-* and therefore proposes to reverse matters: in his view, *snākēnišca* may also be a kind of dog, and because of the superficial similarity with *spaka-* ‘dog’, attested in V 14.5, he emends *snākēnišca* to **spakaēbīšca*. Tremblay (1997: 165, fn. 14), in his turn, wonders whether it may rather have been **spakāīšca*. The problem with this interpretation is the meaning: within the context of sacrificial food at N 57, the mentioning of dogs is unexpected. In V 5 and 13, *vīzu-* occurs in an enumeration between words probably meaning ‘hedgehog’ and ‘porcupine’, followed by ‘marten’ and ‘fox’. None of these were sacrificial animals, as far as we know, although at least the hedgehog is regarded as a useful animal by V 13.2. Also, in view of the surrounding forms which have the ending -āīš(ca) in this passage, it would be surprising if it had corrupted to -ēnišca here.

We will focus on the forms **pituš* and *vīzušca*. The suggestion that they are indeed ins.pl. is strengthened by the surrounding ins.pl. forms, and in general by the use of the instrumental in the Nērangestān to indicate the conditions under which one ‘satisfies the

⁷ That is, probably. The translation of line 3 *ratu.friš snākēnišca vīzuš.ca xvāstāīš.ca nōiṭ a.xvāstāīš* is Phl. *radīhā sūr ān ī puxt pīh nē ān ī apuxt* ‘The Ratus are satisfied by a meal which is cooked, fat, not one which is uncooked’. The word *pīh* ‘fat’ seems out of place, and may have originally stood after *sūr* ‘meal’. The latter would then be the translation of *snākēnišca*, whereas *pīh* would translate *vīzuš.ca*.

Ratus'. Usually, the ins.sg. is used, e.g. in N 59 *ratufriš nāirikaiiā kəhrpa* 'one satisfies the Ratus with the body of a female'. In N 107 and 108, the ins.du. is used because 'mortar' is expressed by a dual: **hāuuanaēibiia [nā] ratufriš aiaṇhaēnaēibiia zamaēnaēibiia* 'With a metal mortar and with an earthen⁸ mortar one satisfies the Ratus'. N 57 is the only passage in which we find the plural. Bartholomae assumes that **pituš* and *vīzušca* represent original **-uuiš*, whereas Waag posits **pitubiš* and **vīzubiš*. The latter assumption seems less likely, since *-biš* has been preserved in **paiiābiš*.

Thus, we may conclude that **pituš* and *vīzušca* may indeed reflect lenition of the ending **-ubiš*, but in view of the problems involved in explaining the text passage N 57, they are less reliable than *auuaṇhūš* and *yātuš* in Y 12.4.

* * *

4. Since ins.pl. *-biš* has always been restored in YAv. in intervocalic position, except in a few *u*-stems, the occurrence of *-ūš* instead of *-ubiš* requires an explanation. Two important factors must be taken into account.

Firstly, the phonetic proximity of *u* and (**b >*) **u* may have led to an earlier loss of **u* than in other inflectional classes; in other words, there may have been no bilabial glide left as a basis to restore *-biš*.

Secondly, the resulting ending *-ūš* is identical to the acc.pl. ending of *u*-stems. For this reason, later redactors may not have felt the need to restore an ins.pl. We may even go one step further. As is well-known, the ins.pl. has come to serve in YAv. as an acc.pl. especially (but not exclusively) in combination with neuter nouns; see Oettinger 1986 and Pirart 2000: 384ff. for recent discussions of this phenomenon. In the text of Y 12.4, lenited forms in *-ūš* are surrounded by ins.pl. in *-āiš* and *-biš*. The non-restoration of *-ubiš* may be due to the fact that the co-occurrence of acc.pl. with ins.pl. forms was so common, that the forms in *-ūš* were accepted as such. In N 57, the form *snākēnišca* reminds us of the ending *-iš* in YAv. acc.pl. forms such as *nāmēniš* (to *nāman*- 'name' n.) and *aṣaoniš*, which occur together with ins.pl. complements in *-āiš*. This renders it conceivable that *snākēnišca* reflects a neuter *n*-stem **snākan*-. After the lenition of **-ubiš* to **-ūš*, N 57 would have contained the ins.pl. endings *-biš* and *-āiš*, together with accusative plurals in *-ēniš* and *-ūš*.

A few words must be said about the phonetic likelihood of the disappearance of **i* in the position between **ub* and *š*. Although only *auuaṇhūš* is attested with the long vowel in the final syllable, we may assume that all four *u*-stem ins.pl. had *-ūš* in the archetype, since the ending is the result of contraction of two syllables. The phonetic development probably was **-ubiš > *-uuiš > *-uuiš > -ūš*. A comparable assimilation of **i* to **u* has occurred in *juua*- 'alive' < **jiHua*-, *ascuua*- 'shin bone' < **Hast-čiHua*- (according to Lubotsky 2002) and *cuuaṇt*- 'how much' (Skt. *kīvant*-); here, the preceding palatal stop is a necessary condition for the disappearance of **i*. Since *š* was probably a retroflex sibilant (cf. Lubotsky 1999), and since the ins.pl. contained short **i*, the conditions are not identical. Nevertheless, the assimilation is a fact.

The word which comes closest to being a counterexample is the 2s.pres.opt.med. **fra-mruuiša* (Yt 10.119) < **mruH-iH-ša*. But it had long **ī*, as opposed to the short vowel in **-ubiš*; and its **ī* may have been restored on the model of the corresponding 3s., attested in Y 12.6 as *vī-ā-mruuīta*.

⁸ Since a mortar made of clay seems unlikely, Waag (1941: 105) assumes that a stone mortar is implied. At other places, however, YAv. uses the adjective *asmana*- to refer to a stone mortar.

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