

we expect word order to act as a reliable syntactic signal, poetry where we expect these signals to be distorted by rhetorical and aesthetic pressures. We should perhaps be wary of our expectations in these matters.

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## Gathic Avestan *cikōitərəš*

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One of the most puzzling verbal forms in the Gathas is the hapax 3 pl. *cikōitərəš*, found at Y 32.11. The passage is given by Kellens and Pirart as follows:<sup>1</sup>

*taēciṭ mā mōrəndən jiiōtūm, yōi drəguuantō mazbīs cikōitərəš*  
*ap<sup>h</sup>hišcā aphauuascā, apaiieitī raēxənaḡhō vaēdəm*  
*yōi vahištāt ašaonō, mazdā rərəšiiṅ mananḡhō*

'Ils corrompent ma substance, les (mauvais) maîtres et maîtresses qui se signalent comme des partisans de la Tromperie par de grands (torts) ... , s'éloignant ainsi, ô Mazdā, de la très divine Pensée et de l'Harmonie.'

Similar interpretations – at least as far as the nuclear relative clause *yōi cikōitərəš* is concerned – are offered by Insler ('who appear as')<sup>2</sup> and Humbach ('die ... glänzen').<sup>3</sup> All these scholars take *cikōitərəš* to be the 3 pl. perfect of the root *cit-* (= Ved. *cit-* 'understand, appear'). Independent evidence for a perfect of this root in Indo-Iranian comes from Vedic (cf. *cikéta*, *cikitúr*, *cikité*, *cikit(ri)ré*, etc.), Younger Avestan (ptcp. *ciciθuš-*), and Gathic itself (ptcp. *ciciθβā* Y 43.2). The meaning 'appear' (≅ 'se signaler', 'glänzen'), though not otherwise found in Avestan, recurs in the perfect middle forms in Vedic (cf. *prá nú yád eṣām mahinā cikitré* 'now that they have appeared in their grandeur' RV I 186.9, *sākám náro dānsánair á cikitrīre* 'all at once the men have appeared in (all) their wondrousness' I 166.13).<sup>4</sup>

Yet *cikōitərəš* (i.e., /cikaitr̥š/),<sup>5</sup> if it is indeed a 3 pl. perfect, is a very peculiar one. The other 3 pl. perfects in Avestan are GYAv. *āḡharš* (: *ah-*), GYAv. *ādarš* (: *ad-*), GAv. *cāxnarš* (: *kan-*), YAv. *\*cāxrarə* (?) (: *kar-*), YAv. *dādarə* (: *dā-*), YAv. *baḡrarə* (: *bar-*), YAv. *bābuuarə* (: *bū-*), *vaonarš* (: *van-*), YAv. *vīdarə* (: *vid-*), YAv. *iririθarə* (: *riθ-*), YAv. *\*sastarə* (: *stā-*). All these forms, unlike *cikōitərəš*, show the zero-grade that is regular in the perfect plural in Indo-Iranian and the other early IE languages (cf. Ved. *cikitúr*, *dad(h)úr*, *vidúr*, *tasthúr*, etc.; Gk. *οἶδα* : *ἴδμεν*, Go. *wait* : *witun*, etc.). The ending *-ərəš* < *\*-r̥š* is also exceptional. The normal ending of the 3 pl. perfect in Avestan is not *-ərəš* but GAv. *-arə*, YAv. *-arə*, continuing Ilr. *\*-ar* < *\*-r̥*, with the same

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Kellens - Pirart (1988: 121). I am grateful to James Benson, Stanley Insler and Stephanie Jamison for their help during the planning and writing of this paper. I owe a special debt to Professor Beekes, whose comments on an oral version delivered in Leiden in April, 1996 did much to clarify my presentation here.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Insler (1975: 47).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Humbach (1959: 98).

<sup>4</sup>Translations after Insler (1975: 206).

<sup>5</sup>As correctly interpreted by Beekes (1988: 24).

phonological treatment of word-final \*-r̥ as in *yākarə* 'liver' (= Gk. ἥπαρ) and Ved. *áhar* 'day'. IIr. \*-r̥s, which gave the regular 3 pl. perfect in -ur in Vedic (cf. gen. sg. *pitúr* < \*-t̥r̥-s̄), is otherwise found in Avestan only in the 3 pl. optative (cf. YA v. *daiθiāraš* beside *daiθiān* (: *dā-*), *jamiāraš* beside *jamiān* (: *jam-*), *buiāraš* beside *buiān* (: *bū-*), \**šaciāraš* (: *hac-*)). This "optative" use of \*-r̥s, which is also regular in Vedic (cf. *gamyúr*, *bhūyúr*, etc.), was clearly an Indo-Iranian feature. What is unclear is how \*-r̥s and \*-r̥ were distributed in the perfect itself, where the Vedic evidence points to \*-r̥s, but where Avestan has both \*-r̥s and \*-r̥ — the former in the apophonically deviant *cikōitərəš*, the latter in every other perfect in the language.

As I have argued elsewhere, the 3 pl. perfect ending had three formal variants in the parent language.<sup>6</sup> The allomorph \*-r̥s appears in *cikōitərəš*, the Vedic 3 pl. perfect in -ur, and the Indo-Iranian optative forms just discussed. The byform \*-r̥, which gave Av. -arš, appears outside Indo-Iranian in the Old Irish 3 pl. preterite ending -(a)tar < \*-ontar, which shows the addition of \*-r̥ (> \*-ar), the ending of the 3 pl. perfect, to the \*-ont of the thematic aorist (cf. 3 pl. *lotar* 'went' < \**ludontar* < \**h<sub>1</sub>ludhont* (= Gk. ἤλυθον) + \*-r̥). The third variant was \*-ēr, which appears in Lat. -ēre (i.e., \*-ēr + *hic et nunc* \*i) and probably also underlies the Hittite 3 pl. preterite in -ēr (*ti-i-e-er* '(they) put', *ú-e-er* '(they) came', etc.). The patterning of these forms suggests that the original shape of the 3 pl. perfect ending was \*(é)rs, structurally parallel to the active ending \*(é)nt. The zero-grade variant \*-r̥s was retained into the dialectal period, giving \*-r̥s in Indo-Iranian. Full-grade \*-érs, on the other hand, was converted to \*-ēr by an inner-IE sound change — the phonological rule, familiar from the nominative singular of r- and n-stem nouns (cf. \**ph<sub>2</sub>-tér* 'father' < \**ph<sub>2</sub>-tér-s*, \**uks-én* 'ox' < \**uks-én-s*, etc.), that took sequences of the form \*-VRs to \*-VR in word-final position.<sup>7</sup> The s-less zero-grade variant \*-r̥ probably arose as an early compromise between \*-r̥s and \*-ēr (< \*-ers). At some time after the creation of \*-r̥, but still within the common period, the 3 pl. middle endings \*-ro (cf. Ved. *sére* '(they) lie', impf. *ásera[n]*) and \*-éro (cf. YA v. *āphāire* '(they) sit' (= Skt. *āsate*)) were created or reformed on the basis of the \*-r̥ and \*-ēr of the perfect.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Most recently in Jasanoff (1994: 150).

<sup>7</sup>The rule is best known from its statement by Szemerényi (1970: 155). The parallel change of word-final \*-VRH to \*-VR is discussed by Nussbaum (1986: 129f.).

<sup>8</sup>The term "perfect endings" is technically a misnomer, albeit a convenient one. \*-h<sub>2</sub>e, \*-th<sub>2</sub>e, \*-e, \*(é)rs, etc. were originally the endings of a pre-PIE category which, for want of a better term, I have called the "protomiddle" (cf. Jasanoff 1994: 163f.). Protomiddle paradigms which became "true" middles in late Proto-Indo-European underwent a series of inner-IE formal renewals, including a) the elimination of paradigmatic ablaut, b) the introduction of the middle *hic et nunc* particle \*r, and c) the generalization of o-timbre in the third person endings (e.g., 3 sg. \*-o(r), later also \*-to(r)). Protomiddle paradigms which were not renewed as middles, on the other hand, retained their "perfect" endings and ablaut, yielding a) perfects proper, characterized by e-reduplication, \*o: zero ablaut, and resultative stative meaning; and b) actives of the "h<sub>2</sub>e-conjugation," built to a variety of stem types and functionally indistinguishable from "mi-conjugation" actives in \*-m(i), \*-s(i), \*-t(i), \*(é)nt(i), etc. Strictly speaking, the 3 pl. middle endings \*-ro and \*-éro were probably

PIE \*-ēr was lost in Indo-Iranian, but both \*-r̥s (> IIr. \*-r̥s) and \*-r̥ (> IIr. \*-ar) are unambiguously continued in Avestan. Both endings, therefore, must have been present in Proto-Indo-Iranian, where they were presumably distributed in some principled way. \*-r̥s was evidently the regular r-ending in the 3 pl. optative (cf. above). \*-r̥, on the other hand, was regular in the 3 pl. of the perfect indicative — or at least in the apophonically normal variety of perfect indicative with zero grade in the plural (see below). This ending survived in Avestan (*vidarə*, etc.) but was replaced, here and elsewhere, by \*-r̥s in Vedic (*vidúr*, etc.). A trace of the 3 pl. perfect in \*-ar < \*-r̥ in Indic is perhaps detectable in the 3 du. ending Ved. -atur (: YA v. -atarə; cf. also Ved. 2 du. -athur), the -a- of which is best explained by assuming a reanalysis of \*-ar as \*-a- (union vowel) + \*-r (desinence).<sup>9</sup> In *cikōitərəš*, which is clearly not a perfect of the apophonically "normal" type, the rationale for the appearance of \*-r̥s rather than \*-r̥ is unclear.

The isolation of *cikōitərəš* in Avestan is so complete that it may come as a shock to realize that the addition of -ur < \*-r̥s to the "strong" perfect stem is fairly well attested in Vedic Sanskrit. Significantly, most of the forms of this type are augmented — that is, they are *pluperfects*. A typical case is *adīdhayur* '(they) appeared' (V 40.5; also *úd adīdhayur* 'looked up' VII 33.5). The Indo-Iranian root \**dh̥r̥* 'look, think' originally formed a stative perfect with present meaning, direct reflexes of which are found in Ved. 1 sg. *dīdhaya*, 1 pl. *dīdhima*, 3 pl. *dīdhiyur*, etc. and in YA v. 3 sg. *dīdaiia*, ptc. *dīduuā*. The corresponding preterite is the pluperfect *adīdhet* 'appeared' (X 98.7), which has an associated "perfect injunctive" *dīdhet* (X 144.3); forms of this kind are also found in Iranian (e.g., YA v. 1 sg. \**dīdāem* Vyt. 43). Ved. *adīdhayur*, likewise a pluperfect, is simply the 3 pl. counterpart of *adīdhet*. Forms like *adīdhet* and *adīdhayur* have often been misinterpreted, in part because stative perfects of the type IIr. \**dh̥r̥h̥āja*, influenced by pluperfects of the type \**adh̥r̥h̥ajit*, show a tendency in both Indic and Iranian to be replaced by back-formed presents of the type \**dh̥r̥h̥āiti*. Thus, e.g., Vedic substitutes the present participle *dīdhiat* for the inherited perfect participle \**dīdhivāms-*, while Avestan has a 3 sg. present YA v. *dīdāiti* (for \**dīdāēiti*; Yt. 10.13 etc.) and a present participle YA v. *daiθiānt-*. Note that the creation of the secondary present \**dīdhēti* would automatically have entailed the reanalysis of the 3 pl. pluperfect *adīdhayur* as an imperfect.<sup>10</sup>

Parallel to *adīdhayur* are the post-Rigvedic forms *ābībhayur* (: *bh̥r̥* 'fear'; Kh. I 7.5) and *acikayur* (: *ci-* 'observe'; MS I 10.15, etc.). *ābībhayur* is the

influenced not by the perfect endings as such, but by the h<sub>2</sub>e-conjugation active endings \*-r and \*-ēr, just as the 3 pl. middle ending \*(é)nto was influenced by the mi-conjugation active ending \*(é)nt. Cf. note 16.

<sup>9</sup>Compare, e.g., the spread of -u- in the plural and dual of the strong preterite in Germanic (Go. 1 du. *witu* (< \*-uwe), 2 du. *wituts*, pl. *witum*, -uþ, -un), where the only phonologically regular form was the 3 pl. in \*-un < \*-nt.

<sup>10</sup>On the Avestan forms, and the 3 sg. \**dīdāēiti* in particular, see Insler (1971: 583f.), followed by Kellens (1984: 183). The process by which presents were back-formed to pluperfects is described at greater length by Thieme (1929: 35ff.), elaborating on Wackernagel (1905: 305ff.).

3 pl. pluperfect corresponding to 3 sg. plpf. *abibhet* (X 138.5), 3 sg. perf. *bibhāya*, and 3 pl. perf. *bibhyur* (*bhī-* 'fear').<sup>11</sup> Here, as in *dhī-*, there is a nascent present system: the participle *bibhyat-* occurs already in the Rigveda, and finite forms of the present *bibhēti* begin to appear in the Atharvaveda. In the case of *acikayur*, properly the 3 pl. corresponding to 3 sg. plpf. *áciket* (X 51.3; cf. 3 sg. perf. *cikāya*, 3 pl. perf. *cikyúr*), a secondary reduplicated present appears in the participle *cikyat-* (RV) and in the 2 sg. *cikēsi* (AV). From the synchronic perspective of late Vedic, the pluperfects *ábibhayur* and *acikayur* are imperfects – a mechanical consequence of the fact that the corresponding perfects were renewed as reduplicated presents. It was such "neo-imperfects" as these that gave rise to the synchronic rule – rarely noticed or commented on by Indo-Europeanists – that the reduplicated presents built to roots ending in \*-ṛ-, \*-ū-, and \*-ī- take *guṇa* before the -ur of the 3 pl. imperfect. Forms of this type (*abibharur*, *ajuhavur*, *asuṣavur*, etc.) are canonical in Classical Sanskrit (cf. Whitney 1889: 246-7).

The list of 3 pl. pluperfects attested in the Rigveda is not confined to *ádīdhayur*. Other forms of interest include the following:

a) *avivyacur* (: *vyac-* 'encompass'; X 56.4), historically the 3 pl. pluperfect (: 3 sg. *ávivyak* VII 18.8, 63.1) corresponding to the perfect *vivyāca* (2 sg. *vivyáktha*); cf. also augmentless *vivyacur* (IX 80.1). A secondary present appears in 3 du. *viviktáh* (2×).<sup>12</sup>

b) *ámamadur* (: *mad-* 'rejoice, delight'; VII 18.21), properly the 3 pl. pluperfect corresponding to 3 sg. perf. *mamáda*; a secondary present appears in the 2 sg. form *mamatsi* (IV 21.9). Note the contrasting 3 pl. perfect *mandúr* < \**me-md-* (VII 33.1, VIII 12.13), traditionally assigned to the collateral root *mand-*.

c) *anonavur* (: *nu-* 'roar, praise'; I 80.9, VIII 59.4), the 3 pl. pluperfect/imperfect corresponding to the "intensive" perfect *nónāva* (I 79.2), 3 pl. *nonuvur* (VI 47.25). The 3 sg. counterpart of *anonavur* is (*á*)*nūnot* (V 45.7, VI 3.7), occupying the place of expected \**ánonot* (cf. *návīnot* VI 3.7).<sup>13</sup> The relationship of the intensive perfect *nónāva*, *nonuvur* to the ordinary intensive present *nónavīti* is formally the same as that of *bibhāya*, *cikāya*, etc. to *bibhēti*, *cikēti*.

d) *ásíśrayur* (: *śri-* 'direct, lay'; VII 2.5, etc.), *ácucyavur* (: *cyu-* 'move, stir'; V 53.6, etc.), and *asuśravur* (: *śru-* 'hear'; X 94.12), pluperfects in form but not in meaning. *ásíśrayur*, the 3 pl. counterpart of 3 sg. *ásíśret* (III 38.8, VII 38.1), has the same preterital value as the perfect *śíśrāya* (X 42.6).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup>The long reduplication of *ábibhayur* is secondary and not confined to the pluperfect; a perfect *bibhāya* is found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

<sup>12</sup>Here too belongs the 3 du. form *áviviktām* (X 12.4), probably not an old pluperfect, but a productively formed preteritalization of *viviktáh*.

<sup>13</sup>See Narten (1981: 4) and the references there cited.

<sup>14</sup>Note also *abhí asíśrayur* (: *śrī-* 'mix'; IX 11.2, 86.17), probably also a pluperfect, but without a securely attested perfect active.

Both the hapax *asuśravur* (: perf. *śuśrāva*) and *ácucyavur* (9×; cf. also 3 sg. *acucyavīt*, 2 pl. *acucyavīšana*), the commonest pluperfect form in the Rigveda, pattern synchronically as reduplicated aorists.

e) *viveśur* (: *viś-* 'enter'; IV 23.9), probably the augmentless pluperfect (cf. 2 sg. plpf. *áviveśih* III 32.10) corresponding to 3 sg. perf. *viveśa*. The true 3 pl. perfect is *viviśur* (3×), with zero grade.

Although several of these forms allow more than one interpretation, the evidence as a whole – and in particular the pairs *dīdhayur* : *ádīdhayur*, *bibhyur* : *ábibhayur*, *cikyúr* : *acikayur*, *mandúr* : *ámamadur*, and *nonuvur* : *anonavur* – makes it abundantly clear that in Vedic Sanskrit the 3 pl. pluperfect was made from the strong form of the perfect stem. There are no exceptions to this rule in the Rigveda.

How is this peculiarity to be explained? In principle, the full-grade root of the 3 pl. pluperfect could either have been an Indic innovation or an inheritance from Proto-Indo-Iranian. The first possibility is unlikely, since there was no verbal category in early Indic that could have provided a model for the replacement of 3 pl. forms of the type \**ádīdhayur*, \**ábibhiyur*, etc. by the attested *ádīdhayur*, *ábibhayur*. The vocalism of *ádīdhayur*, *ábibhayur*, etc. is therefore probably an archaism. The evidence from Iranian is consistent with this conclusion. We know from GAV. 3 sg. *urūraost* (Y 51.12) 'rejected' < \**rurau(t)st* < \**ruraud<sup>s</sup>-t*, a form related to YAv. 1 sg. perf. \**urūraoda* (Y 1.21), that the pluperfect was an Indo-Iranian category. There are no independently assured instances of the plural of the pluperfect in Iranian; we therefore cannot tell by simple inspection whether the 3 pl. equivalent of *urūraost* would have had full or zero grade of the root, or whether it would have ended in -*arō*, -*ərōš*, -*aṭ* (< \*-*ṛt*) or -*ən* (< \*-*ent*). But the indeterminacy of the Iranian material makes it tempting to assume that the rule for the formation of the 3 pl. pluperfect in Avestan was the same as in Vedic Sanskrit, with the ending \*-*ṛš* added to the "strong" perfect stem. If the Indic and Iranian pluperfects were in fact identically formed, the 3 pl. counterpart of *urūraost* would have been \**urūraodərəš* (i.e., /*ruraudṛš*/). Precisely such a 3 pl. form, I suggest, is attested in *cikōitərəš*, which is best taken not as a perfect but as a pluperfect.

From a semantic point of view there can be no objection to the interpretation of *cikōitərəš* as a pluperfect or perfect injunctive. The gloss 'appeared/ se signalent/ glänzten' gives as good a reading of Y 32.11 as 'appear/ se signalent/ glänzen' – at least if we follow Insler (cf. above) in taking *mōrəndən*, the verb of the main clause, as a preterite (= augmentless imperfect) rather than as a present injunctive. If, on the other hand, we take *mōrəndən* as an injunctive with the force of a general present ('ils corrompent', 'they destroy', etc.), then *cikōitərəš* can just as easily be read as a perfect injunctive – i.e., as a stative present of general or indefinite temporal reference ('appear from time to time', 'se signalent de temps en temps', etc.). It is significant that in the structurally parallel preceding verse (Y 32.10), where the main clause verb is 3 sg. *mōrəndaṭ* (matching *mōrəndən* in Y 32.11), the position of *cikōitərəš* is

occupied by the imperfect/ present injunctive *aogadā*.<sup>15</sup>

If *cikōitərəš* is in fact a pluperfect or perfect injunctive, then the Indo-Iranian system can be envisaged as follows:

	3 sg.	3 pl.
perfect indicative	* <i>čikāit-a</i>	* <i>čicit-ī</i> (> * <i>čiki-</i> )
pluperfect/ perfect injunctive	* <i>čikāit-s-t</i>	* <i>čikāit-īš</i>

The form \**čikāit-īš* is from every point of view an anomaly. Yet peculiar as the above array may seem, it has a logic of its own. \*-īš, as opposed to \*-ī, patterns specifically as a secondary ending in Indo-Iranian – not only in the pair \**čicit-ī* : \**čikāit-īš*, but also in the optative, where the *s*-less ending \*-ī does not occur. In both the pluperfect and the optative, moreover, the role of \*-īš is that of an ordinary active ending, paradigmatically associated with a 1 sg. in \*-m, a 2 sg. in \*-s, and a 3 sg. in \*-t. The rationale for the use of \*-īš in the active optative has been discussed elsewhere (cf. Jasanoff 1991: 111ff.). As I have there argued, the PIE optatives corresponding to the active presents and aorists of the “*h<sub>2</sub>e*-conjugation” – the formal types represented, e.g., by \**mólh<sub>2</sub>/ \*mélh<sub>2</sub>* (pres.) ‘grind’ and \**uón-/ \*uén-* (aor.) ‘strive for’ – were probably originally characterized by the *h<sub>2</sub>e*-conjugation (i.e., perfect) endings.<sup>16</sup> This situation is not directly continued in the daughter languages; at some point prior to the breakup of Proto-Indo-Iranian, and probably within the parent language itself, forms of the type 1 sg. \**mélh<sub>2</sub>-ih<sub>1</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>e*, \**uén-ih<sub>1</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>e*, 2 sg. \**mélh<sub>2</sub>-ih<sub>1</sub>-th<sub>2</sub>e*, \**uén-ih<sub>1</sub>-th<sub>2</sub>e*, and 3 sg. \**mélh<sub>2</sub>-ih<sub>1</sub>-e*, \**uén-ih<sub>1</sub>-e*, which were functionally active, were regularized to 1 sg. \**mélh<sub>2</sub>-ih<sub>1</sub>-m*, \**uén-ih<sub>1</sub>-m*, 2 sg. \**mélh<sub>2</sub>-ih<sub>1</sub>-s*, \**uén-ih<sub>1</sub>-s*, and 3 sg. \**mélh<sub>2</sub>-ih<sub>1</sub>-t*, \**uén-ih<sub>1</sub>-t* (= YAv. *vainī*), with the ordinary active endings.<sup>17</sup> Only in the 3 pl., for reasons that are still

<sup>15</sup>The line is *huuō mā nā srauuā mōrəudat yā acištəm vāēnāghē aogadā // gām ašibiā huuarēcā*, rendered ‘Il corrompt mes hymnes, l’homme qui en prononce un très mauvais pour voir de ses yeux la Vache et le soleil’ (Kellens-Pirart), ‘Each such man has (also) ruined Thy teachings: the one who has professed the worst in order to see the cow and the sun with his eyes’ (Insler), ‘Derjenige Mann verdirbt die Verkündigungen, der gar Schlimmes ausspricht, um die Kuh und die Sonne mit seinen Augen zu schauen’ (Humbach).

<sup>16</sup>Cf. note 8. *h<sub>2</sub>e*-conjugation aorists of the type \**uón-/ \*uén-*, which employed a suppletive sigmatic stem (\**uén-s*, etc.) in the 3 sg. indicative, eventually gave rise to *s*-aorists of the classical type in Indo-Iranian, Greek and other branches of the family. Significantly, however, the optative paradigm corresponding to the *s*-aorist indicative was never sigmatized in Indo-Iranian (cf. Hoffmann 1967: 31f.), where the root aorist optatives that replace *s*-aorist optatives (e.g., Ved. 3 sg. *vāyāh* (: indic. *vāms-*, subj. *vāmsa-*), YAv. *vainī* (: GAv. subj. *vāngha-*)) can be shown to have had an acrostic paradigm different from that of “normal” root aorist optatives (Jasanoff, loc. cit.).

<sup>17</sup>I here depart from the chronology of my 1991 article, where I interpreted the replacement of forms of the type 3 sg. \**uén-ih<sub>1</sub>-e* by \**uén-ih<sub>1</sub>-t* as a purely Indo-Iranian development and saw the Greek *s*-aorist optative in \*-σια, \*-σιας, \*-σιε (cf. Cretan *δικασιε, χομισιε*) as an inner-Greek sigmatization of older 1 sg. \*-ια (< \*-ih<sub>1</sub>-h<sub>2</sub>e), 3 sg. \*-ιε (< \*-ih<sub>1</sub>-e), etc. (116ff.). Partly owing to the parallelism between the *h<sub>2</sub>e*-conjugation optative and the pluperfect, I now think it likelier that the “alphathematic” inflection of the Greek *s*-aorist optative was entirely a Greek innovation, replacing late PIE \*-ih<sub>1</sub>-m, \*-ih<sub>1</sub>-s, \*-ih<sub>1</sub>-t.

unclear, did the inherited perfect ending survive. Eventually, 3 pl. forms of the type \**mélh<sub>2</sub>-ih<sub>1</sub>-īš*, \**uén-ih<sub>1</sub>-īš* became the point of departure for the (originally optional) extension of Ilr. \*-īš to all athematic optatives.<sup>18</sup>

A comparable replacement of the perfect endings by the active endings seems to have taken place in the pluperfect. Although the relevant forms are often overlooked, a pluperfect of the Indo-Iranian type is attested in a number of other IE languages. In Greek, for example, the plural and dual of the Homeric pluperfect are formed by adding the normal active secondary endings to the perfect stem (cf. 1 pl. (ἐ)πέπιθμεν ‘we believed’, 3 du. ἐίκτην (< \**φεφίκταν*) ‘they (two) resembled’, etc.), exactly as in Vedic and Avestan.<sup>19</sup> The still unexplained Greek pluperfect singular in -εα, -εας, -ει/-εε (1 sg. (ἐ)πεποίηα ‘I believed’, etc.) is probably a late replacement of the inherited singular in \*-η, \*-s, \*-t — endings which would have led to inconveniently shortened surface forms in the 2 sg. and 3 sg. (e.g., 2 sg. \*(ἐ)πέποις < \*-th-s, 3 sg. \*(ἐ)πέποις < \*-th-t; 2 sg. \*(ἐ)λέλοιψ < \*-k<sub>2</sub>-s, 3 sg. \*(ἐ)λέλοιψ < \*-k<sub>2</sub>-t, etc.).<sup>20</sup> In Hittite, an old pluperfect was probably the source of the irregular Middle Hittite form *wewakta* (< \**weuók-t*), which patterns synchronically as the 3 sg. preterite of the perfect-present 3 sg. *wewakki* ‘demands’ (< PIE 3 sg. perf. \**weuók-e* ‘wishes’; cf. Ved. ptcp. *vāvasānā* ‘desiring’).<sup>21</sup> Further afield, Germanic preserves a pluperfect in the isolated and irregular Gothic prohibitive *ni ogs* (*bus*) ‘fear not!’ The 2 sg. form *ogs*, a derivative of the preterito-present (< perfect) *ogan* ‘fear’ (< \**āgh-*), is usually referred to a “short-vowel” perfect subjunctive in \*-e-s.<sup>22</sup> But no other trace of the PIE subjunctive remains in Germanic, and prohibitions in the parent language were expressed not with the subjunctive but with the unaugmented secondary tenses of the indicative, i.e., the present, aorist, and perfect injunctive. The simplest interpretation of *ogs*, therefore, is as a pluperfect/ perfect injunctive \**āgh-s*; compare Ved. *mā bibheḥ* (AV), also meaning ‘fear not!’

Proto-Indo-European would thus seem to have had a pluperfect in \*-m, \*-s, \*-t (\**k<sub>2</sub>kek<sub>2</sub>oit-ṃ*, \**bhebhóidh-ṃ*, \**weuók-ṃ*, etc.), which contrasted with the

<sup>18</sup>Pre-Ilr. \*-ih<sub>1</sub>-īš, of course, would regularly have given \*-i(y)ur in Vedic; the attested scansion -yur shows the influence of the -yā- of the other active forms. The \*-iā- of YAv. -iāreš is likewise analogical.

<sup>19</sup>So too in the 3 pl., where -σαν (e.g., (f)ισαν ‘(they) knew’) is synchronically simply an active secondary ending. The pluperfect middle (e.g., 3 sg. (ἐ)πέπιστο ‘understood’, εἰμαρτο ‘was fated’, etc.) is formed in the same way as the plural and dual of the active.

<sup>20</sup>The endings -εα, -εας, -ει/-εε will be discussed in a forthcoming study by Joshua Katz. The unique pluperfect singular of the verb ‘to know’, which rests on a stem \*(ἐ)weid-ē (cf. especially 2 sg. ἦ(f)ειδης, ἦδησα), is best explained, in my view, as a back-formation from the optative (f)ειδειν — itself an inner-Greek replacement of the inherited perfect optative \*(f)ειδην (= Ved. *vidyām*).

<sup>21</sup>The forms are discussed by Oettinger (1979: 432f.), where two occurrences of *wewakta* are quoted; only the citation at KUB XLIII 23 Rs 12’, however, is valid, as Gillian Hart points out to me. Oettinger’s attempt (p. 433) to refer *wewakki* and *wewakta* to a PIE present \**weuók-ti* is *prima facie* improbable, since such a present ought to have yielded a *mi*-verb in Hittite. The accent of the Vedic 2 sg. present *vaváksi* shows it to be a neologism like *mamatsi* (cf. above), back-formed from a pluperfect \**weuók-s*.

<sup>22</sup>So, e.g., Bammesberger (1986: 89), Krause (1968: 227).

familiar perfect in  $*-h_2e$ ,  $*-th_2e$ ,  $*-e$  ( $*k^{\text{nek}}\text{óit-}h_2e$ ,  $*bhebhóidh-h_2e$ ,  $*\mu e\acute{o}k-h_2e$ ). The endings  $*-m$ ,  $*-s$ ,  $*-t$ , etc. served, in effect, as the "secondary" perfect endings; their introduction into the perfect system was presumably motivated by a need to distinguish between the use of the perfect as a stative present and its ancillary pre-PIE use as a stative preterite.<sup>23</sup> As Iir.  $*\acute{c}ikáit\text{-}\acute{r}\acute{s}$  shows us, however, the use of the active secondary endings for this purpose was not quite universal. The 3 pl. of the nascent pluperfect seems never to have passed through a stage  $*k^{\text{nek}}\text{óit-}\acute{e}nt$  or  $*k^{\text{nek}}\text{óit-}\acute{nt}$ , with the active ending  $*-(e)nt$ . Rather, as the Vedic and Avestan evidence suggests, the 3 pl. pluperfect retained its original  $r$ -ending, which here, as in the  $h_2e$ -conjugation optative, took the form  $*-\acute{r}\acute{s}$ .

The  $r$ -ending of  $*\acute{c}ikáit\text{-}\acute{r}\acute{s}$ , which contrasts with the other pluperfect endings, is thus probably an archaism. But what of the other notable peculiarity of  $*\acute{c}ikáit\text{-}\acute{r}\acute{s}$  – its ablaut grade? Our decision in the preceding discussion to treat the full grade of Ved.  $\acute{a}d\acute{i}dhayur$ ,  $\acute{a}b\acute{i}bhayur$ , etc. as an Indo-Iranian, rather than as a purely Indic, feature was made necessary by the impossibility of motivating a replacement of the type  $*\acute{a}d\acute{i}dhiyur \rightarrow \acute{a}d\acute{i}dhayur$  within Vedic. Yet the prospects for explaining a replacement of the type  $*(\acute{a})\acute{c}ikit\text{-}\acute{r}\acute{s} \rightarrow *(\acute{a})\acute{c}ikáit\text{-}\acute{r}\acute{s}$  at the Indo-Iranian level are not much better. We must therefore consider the third logical possibility, namely, that the full grade of Iir.  $*\acute{c}ikáit\text{-}\acute{r}\acute{s}$ , like its ending, was inherited from Proto-Indo-European itself. Seen from the vantage point of the parent language, the vocalism of  $*\acute{c}ikáit\text{-}\acute{r}\acute{s}$  is not altogether surprising. The canonical  $*o$  : zero ablaut of the perfect, though often discussed as if it were a typical IE alternation pattern, was actually quite exceptional within the PIE system. Alternations of  $*e$  with zero,  $*\acute{e}$  with  $*\acute{e}$ , and  $*o$  with  $*e$  are all well attested in IE paradigms, both nominal and verbal.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, apparent cases of  $*o$  : zero ablaut are usually replacements of an older  $*o$  :  $*e$  pattern, as, e.g., in root nouns (type  $*\mu\acute{o}ik-s$  'clan', gen.  $*\mu\acute{i}k-\acute{e}s$  (cf. Ved.  $\text{vis}\acute{á}h$ ), replacing older gen.  $*\mu\acute{e}ik-s$ ),<sup>25</sup> suffixed nouns ( $*d\acute{o}r-u$  'wood', gen.  $*dr-\acute{e}u-s$  (cf. Ved.  $\text{dr}\acute{o}h$ ), replacing older gen.  $*d\acute{e}r-u-s$ ),<sup>26</sup> and root presents ( $*k\acute{o}nk-e$  'hangs',

<sup>23</sup>I here assume, following the communis opinio, that the perfect, like the present and aorist, was originally "timeless" in the parent language. The category of tense eventually came to be expressed in the present system through the primary : secondary opposition in the personal endings. In the perfect system, where there was no contrast between, e.g., a 1 sg. "primary"  $*-h_2ei$  and a 1 sg. "secondary"  $*-h_2e$ , the secondary endings of the present were pressed into service to mark the new preterite of the perfect. Note that there is no empirical basis for the claim that the perfect is still neutral as to time in the older IE languages: the preterite of Gk.  $\acute{\pi}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{o}\upsilon\text{te}$  'believes' is the pluperfect ( $\acute{\iota}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{o}\upsilon\text{ta}$  'believed'), and the preterite of Ved.  $\acute{d}\acute{i}d\acute{h}\acute{a}y\acute{a}$  'appears' is the pluperfect  $\acute{á}d\acute{i}d\acute{h}\acute{e}t$  'appeared'. On the special case of OIr.  $ro\text{-}f\acute{i}t\acute{r}$ , which means both 'knows' and 'knew', see note 30.

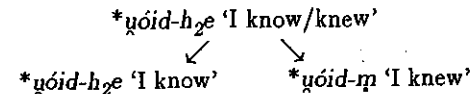
<sup>24</sup>The  $*e$  : zero pattern is familiar, e.g., from root nouns of the type  $*d\acute{i}j\acute{e}r-$  /  $*d\acute{i}j\acute{e}r-$  'sky' and root presents like  $*h_1\acute{e}s-$  /  $*h_1s-$  'be'; the  $*\acute{e}$  :  $*\acute{e}$  pattern is found, e.g., in nouns of the type  $*j\acute{e}k\acute{h}-\acute{g}$  /  $*j\acute{e}k\acute{h}-n$  'liver' (cf. Schindler 1975: 5f.) and "Narten" presents like  $*st\acute{e}u-$  /  $*st\acute{e}u-$  'praise' (cf. Narten 1968). The  $*o$  :  $*e$  pattern, originally identified and described in root nouns of the type  $*p\acute{o}d-$  /  $*p\acute{e}d-$  'foot' (Schindler 1972: 32ff.), is further exemplified in the following discussion.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. Schindler (1972: 34ff.).

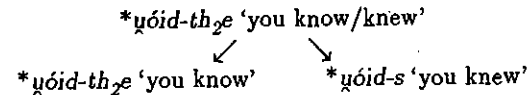
<sup>26</sup>Cf. Schindler (1975: 7).

3 pl.  $*k\acute{h}k-\acute{e}nti$  (cf. Hitt. *kankanzi*), replacing older 3 pl.  $*k\acute{e}nk-\acute{nt}i$ ).<sup>27</sup> Only in the perfect does  $*o$  : zero ablaut appear to have been genuinely ancient, and even here, given the productivity of zero grade as the PIE "weak" vocalism par excellence, it cannot be proved that this was the original pattern.<sup>28</sup>

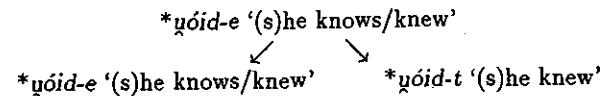
It is precisely the evidence of the pluperfect, in fact, that suggests that the attested  $*o$  : zero ablaut pattern of the perfect may be secondary. As we have seen, the PIE perfect : pluperfect contrast probably reflects a prehistoric functional split. A form like 1 sg.  $*\mu\acute{o}id-h_2e$ , which primitively meant both 'I know' and 'I knew', came to be represented at a later linguistic stage by two forms –  $*\mu\acute{o}id-h_2e$  'I know' and  $*\mu\acute{o}id-m$  'I knew'.<sup>29</sup> We can represent this development by a diagram :



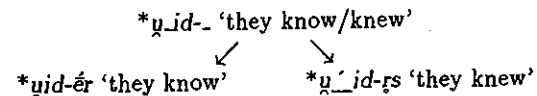
Similarly, in the 2 sg.:



and in the 3 sg.:



In the 3 pl., there is good reason to believe that the late PIE representative of the perfect proper was  $*\mu\acute{i}d-\acute{e}r$  ( $< *-\acute{e}rs$ ) 'they know', with zero grade of the root and the accented full-grade variant of the underlying ending  $*-(\acute{e})rs$ . In the pluperfect, on the other hand, the Indo-Iranian evidence points to a preform of the type  $*\mu\acute{o}id-\acute{r}\acute{s}$  or  $*\mu\acute{e}id-\acute{r}\acute{s}$ , with an indeterminate full grade. Leaving the unknown elements unspecified, we obtain the schema

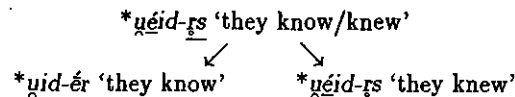


– where the simplest "solution" is plainly

<sup>27</sup>According to Melchert (1994: 139), the PIE e-grade  $*k\acute{e}nk-$  would have given  $*k\acute{i}nk-$  in Hittite. Starting from roots of the structure TERT-, where  $-R-$  gave  $-aR-$  by regular sound change, the vowel  $-a-$  (never  $-\acute{a}-$ ) enjoyed a considerable secondary productivity in Hittite. The Hittite "morphological" zero-grade in  $*-\acute{a}-$  will be discussed at greater length in Jasanoff (to appear).

<sup>28</sup>Another category with secondary  $*o$  : zero ablaut is the Indo-Iranian aorist "passive" (type Ved.  $\acute{á}b\acute{o}d\acute{h}i$  'awoke', pl.  $\acute{a}b\acute{u}d\acute{h}r\acute{a}n$ ; cf. Jasanoff 1992: 143ff., Insler 1968). The spread of zero grade at the expense of e-grade in "weak" position is not, of course, confined to categories with  $*o$  :  $*e$  ablaut, but is also found in paradigms of the type Ved.  $\acute{s}t\acute{a}u\acute{t}i$  ( $< *st\acute{e}u-t\acute{i}$ ), pl.  $\acute{s}t\acute{u}v\acute{á}nti$  (for  $*st\acute{a}v\acute{a}ti < *st\acute{e}u-nti$ ; cf. Narten op. cit., 15ff.).

<sup>29</sup>This example, atypical in its lack of reduplication, is chosen purely for convenience.



I suggest, therefore, that e-grade, and not zero grade, was the original "weak" vocalism of the perfect. By late PIE times, of course, the system had changed: zero grade had clearly been introduced into the forms of the plural, as shown by Ved. *vidúr*, Gk. *ἰδῶσι*, Go. *witun*, etc. But in the 3 pl., at least, the replacement of e-grade by zero grade seems to have been an innovation confined to the perfect proper. In the 3 pl., and perhaps originally throughout the whole plural and dual of the pluperfect, the pluperfect was distinguished from the perfect by its retained accented e-grade, the relic of an older acrostatic paradigm with \*o : \*e ablaut.<sup>30</sup>

If this explanation of the 3 pl. pluperfect is correct, we can refine our account of the distribution of \*-ér, \*-ǵ, and \*-ǵs in late Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Indo-Iranian (cf. above). Aphophonically "normal" 3 pl. perfects like \**ǵid-ér*, \**kʷekʷit-ér*, etc. were oxytone at the time of the breakup of the parent language and took the accented full-grade form of the ending \*(é)rs. But alongside the normal perfect, the parent language also had a number of marginal perfect types, including an acrostatic "Narten" class with \*ō : \*ǵ ablaut (cf. Gk. *εἰωθε* 'is accustomed', *γέγωνε* 'shouts') and a second acrostatic type with \*ā : \*ǵ ablaut (cf. Gk. (σὲ) *ἐλάθε* 'is unnoticed (by you)', OIr. *ro-lámair* 'dared', Lat. *scābī* 'scratched', etc.).<sup>31</sup> In perfects like these, the root was always accented, and both the perfect and pluperfect would regularly have ended in \*-ǵs in the 3 pl. In tabular form:

	perfect proper	pluperfect
"normal" perfect stems	*-ér	*'-ǵs
"long-vowel" perfect stems	*'-ǵs	*'-ǵs

We can now see why \*-ér and \*-ǵs were eventually joined by the analogical s-less variant \*-ǵ. \*-ǵs was the ending of the 3 pl. pluperfect in all stem types; \*-ǵs also occurred in the perfect proper, but only in the small minority of perfect stems that belonged to one of the two "long-vowel" types. It would have been very natural, therefore, for speakers to reanalyze the final \*-s of \*-ǵs as a morphological mark of the pluperfect, and to replace \*-ǵs by \*-ǵ in the

<sup>30</sup> Although it would be reasonable to suppose that e-grade was once the general weak vocalism of the pluperfect, it is impossible to confirm this from the meager Vedic evidence (cf. note 12). In Greek, the zero grade of forms like *ἐπέπθμεν*, *ἔλχην*, etc. is easily explainable as a transfer from the perfect; the same is true a fortiori of the heavily remade 3 pl. pluperfect (Ϝ)ισσω. As will be argued elsewhere, the paradigm of the verb 'to know' in Celtic (OIr. *ro'fítir* 'knows, knew' (< \**wid-r*), MW 3 sg. *gwyr* 'knows' (< \**weid-r*), pl. *gw(y)dant* (< \**wid-*)) rests on an amalgam of the perfect \**ǵoid-/ \*ǵid-* and the pluperfect \**ǵoid-/ \*ǵeid-* (3 pl. \**ǵéid-ǵs*).

<sup>31</sup> The weak stem corresponding to *ἐλάθθ* appears in forms like 3 sg. mid. *ἐλάσασται*, ptc. *ἐλάσασμένος*, etc. The existence of a weak stem in \*-ǵ in the type *εἰωθε* (< \**sesǵōdh-*) is purely conjectural.

comparatively few perfects where \*-ǵs was etymologically justified. The result would have been the system reconstructible for the latest stage of Proto-Indo-European:

	perfect proper	pluperfect
"normal" perfect stems	*-ér	*'-ǵs
"long-vowel" perfect stems	*'-ǵ	*'-ǵs

The extension of \*-ǵ to the oxytone 3 pl. of "normal" perfects – the process that culminated in the generalization of \*-ǵ (> GAv. *-arə*, YAv. *-arə*) at the expense of \*-ér in Indo-Iranian and elsewhere – must have been a development of the dialectal period.<sup>32</sup>

We have come a considerable distance from *cikōitərəš*, and it may be useful to review our main findings. The "strong" vocalism of the 3 pl. pluperfect in Vedic (*ádīdhayur*, *ábībhayur*, etc.) invites the assumption that *cikōitərəš* was likewise a form of this type. But if this surmise is correct, then Proto-Indo-Iranian must have had 3 pl. pluperfects of the type \*(á)*čikaitǵs*, \*(á)*ǵuidǵs*, etc., which contrasted in both ablaut and ending with the corresponding perfect forms \*(*čicitǵ*), \*(*ǵidǵ*), etc.). The formal difference between the 3 pl. perfect and pluperfect can only be explained in the light of the pre-IE history of the pluperfect. While there is no way that the vocalism of \*(á)*čikaitǵs* could have been generated in the pluperfect within Indo-Iranian, an inner-IE replacement of e-grade by zero grade in the plural of the perfect would have been in complete agreement with the general tendency of morphological change in late Proto-Indo-European. We are thus led to a conclusion of unexpected generality – that the PIE perfect system was originally characterized by \*o : \*e ablaut, and that pluperfects of the type 3 pl. \**kʷekʷitǵs/ \*(á)čikaitǵs/cikōitərəš* preserve the inherited weak stem more faithfully than any of the attested forms of the perfect proper.

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<sup>32</sup> The same generalization of the zero-grade ending took place in Celtic (OIr. *-(a)tar* < \**-ont-ǵ*) and probably Germanic, where \*-ǵ was subsequently replaced by \*-ǵt (> Go. *-un*).

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## L'accusatif pluriel des thèmes en -ā- en avestique

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Les chapitres parallèles du début du Yasna présentent l'étrange divergence Y 3.2 *aēsma āiiese yešti baoidi xšnūmaine* ... = Y 4.1 *aēsmašca baoidīmca ... pairica dadəmahī āca vaēdaiimahī* = Y 7.2 *ašaiia dadəmi aēsma baoidi xšnūmaine* ... L'indépendance relative de Y 4.1 n'est pas surprenante: sa liste litannique est différente de celle des autres chapitres et, la coordination en fait foi, autrement structurée. Par contre, la disparité entre les chapitres 3 et 7, identiques à l'exception du groupe verbal, paraît anormale. Johanna Narten (ASA 134 n. 2), comme l'avait fait Bartholomae (AIW 27 et 918), diagnostique pourtant deux constructions distinctes: *aēsma ... baoidi* allierait accusatif pluriel et instrumental comitatif, tandis que *aēsma baoidi* serait un *dvandva* accusatif. Je reste persuadé qu'une variation syntaxique entre ces passages est une anomalie, d'autant que l'instrumental comitatif est toujours une solution de facilité et que le comitatif de l'objet n'est pas sûrement usité (Kellens, Second European Conference of Iranian Studies, Roma 1995, 354 n. 17, notant la pauvreté du matériel relevé par Kellens-Pirart, TVA II 6-7).

Il est préférable de reconnaître en *aēsma ... baoidi* un véritable *dvandva* combinant deux particularités plausibles: insertion de mots entre les deux termes<sup>1</sup>, comme dans RS 7.42.5 *ā nāktā barhīh sadatām ušāsā* (AIG II 1, 151 sq.), et désinence plurielle du terme impliquant une réelle pluralité, comme dans le vocatif *indrāmarutaḥ* de RS 2.29.3 (ibid. 156). Mais pourquoi la désinence plurielle ne figure-t-elle pas dans Y 7.2?

*aēsma* n'est pas une leçon incontestable. La situation est la suivante selon Geldner: *aēsma* Pt4 Mf4 J5.6.7 H1 L13 K11, *aēsmi* J2 Mf1.2.3 B2, *aēsme* J3 L2, *aēsma* K5 P6, *aēsmahe* L3. Certaines de ces leçons sont sans autorité réelle. *aēsma* de Pt4 et Mf4 ne s'impose pas, puisque Mf1, copie plus ancienne du même modèle, lit *aēsmi*. De même *aēsma* de K5, car J2, qui descend plus directement du modèle commun, lit lui aussi *aēsmi*. *aēsme* de J3 est isolé au sein des trois traditions pehlevies. En fait, le choix se situe entre *aēsma* de la Vulgate (Vidēvdād et Yasna sādē indien) et *aēsmi*, qui est absurde, mais qui est la leçon originale commune aux traditions pehlevies indiennes et iraniennes et à la sādē iranienne.

Or, dans la phrase suivante, la même leçon absurde *haomi*, au lieu de *haoma* attendu et figurant effectivement dans Y 3.3, est si massivement représentée que Geldner se sent obligé de s'y tenir: *haomi* J2.3.6.7 K5.4.11 Pt4 Mf1.2.4 H1 L13.2 O1.2 C1 Bb1, *haome* K6, *haoma* J5 L20.5, *haomahe* L3. *haomā* n'est pas attesté et *haome* est négligeable, puisque K6 est une copie de J3,

<sup>1</sup>Dans Y 3, le groupe verbal *āiiese yešti* suit toujours la liste des objets. Paradoxalement, son insertion entre ces deux-ci établit-elle entre eux une relation différente de la simple *asyndète*?