

On Avestan text criticism (2): the accusative singular of the \check{u} - and $\check{u}a$ -stems in the long liturgy¹.

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Abstract

According to description in grammars there is in Avestan a vacillation between *-um* and *-ūm* as ending for the acc.sg. of the *u-*, *ū-* and *ua-* stems. According to De Vaan (2003) this vacillation reflects just transmission errors in the manuscripts. The universal ending was in the he supposed (Sasanian) archetype *-ūm* for the acc.sg of these stems, with the only exception of the *η^vha-* stems (< *°sua-*), whose ending was *-η^vhəm*. In this paper I show that the distribution of these endings is different in the Indian and in the Iranian manuscripts. In the latter, the acc.sg. of the *u-* and *ū-* stems (*-ūm* viz. *-īm*) is still distinguished from then acc.sg. of *ua-* (*-um* after single consonant [including *-η^vhum*] and *-ūm* after two consonants [including *-η^vhūm*]). In the Indian manuscripts the lengthening of *-um* into *-ūm* eliminated, however, this distinction. A further phonetic evolution peculiar to the Indian transmission is the evolution of *-oium* (< **-aiyam*) to *-ōim* in bisyllables (but *-ōiūm* in drisyllables). The discovery of the different regular treatment of these endings in the Indian and Iranian transmission has broad implications. The recitation of the Avestan recitatives kept changing after the emigration of a part of the community to India and our manuscripts reflect the peculiarities of both ways of reciting. Accordingly, variant readings are not just corrupt readings of the supposed Sasanian archetype, but real recited forms when the manuscripts were copied. We must redefine accordingly our goals when editing the Avestan texts and describing its grammar and historical phonetics.

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In the present paper I quote only readings that have been checked directly in manuscripts already published in facsimile or available in the Avestan Digital Archive. I shall not use Geldner’s *sigla* for the designation of the manuscripts, since many of these manuscripts were not used by him. The habit of quoting manuscripts according to their signatures in the host libraries or according to other *ad hoc* criteria for the manuscripts not used by Geldner leads to much confusion. I have therefore given new *sigla* to all manuscripts of the long liturgy. They are numerical *sigla* that give information about the text type of the manuscript and its relative chronology:

| | Liturgical | | Combined | Exegetical | |
|------------------|------------|-----------|----------|------------|-----------|
| | Iranian | Indian | | Pahlavi | Sanskrit |
| Yasna | 1-100 | 100-299 | 400-499 | 500-649 | 650-699 |
| Yasna ī Rapihwin | 300-399 | | | | |
| Wisperad | 2000-2199 | 2300-2599 | | 2600-2899 | |
| Widēwdād | 4000-4199 | 4200-4599 | | 4600 | 4750-4760 |
| Wištāsp Yašt | 5000-5199 | 5200-5299 | | 5300-5399 | |

In each class, the manuscripts are arranged chronologically where the date is known. A complete concordance of *sigla* can be found at <http://ada.usal.es/img/pdf/Numbers.pdf>.

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In Hoffmann-Forssman's (1996) description of the forms of accusative singular of several stems (*-u*, *-ū* and *-uua*) we seem to find a vacillation between *-um* and *-ūm*, whose distributional rules do not appear to be clear. The ending of the accusative singular of the *u*- stem is *-ūm* for YAv., but for OAv. *-um* (for *xratum*) and *-ūm* (*ahūm*, *da'xiūm*). For the *ū*- stems, three different forms are recorded: in YAv. *-um* (YAv. *yauuaē-sum*) and *-ūm* (YAv. *tanūm*) and in OAv. the same *-ūm* (*fsəratūm*, *tanūm*) and *-uuəm* (disyllabic, OAv. *tanuuəm*, cf. Ved. *tan_uvām*). Furthermore, for the *ua*-stems Hoffmann-Forssman seem to consider *-um* as the usual ending (YAv. *haurum*, *ōiium*), but *-ūm* before *°ca* (*hōiiūmca* beside *hōiium*). They mention *°ōim* as well as *ōiium*.

In this description they just put together the forms as they were edited by Geldner (with the exception of OAv. *xratum*), without any indication of vacillation in the manuscripts. In fact, Geldner edits the ending of the acc.sg. of the *u*- stems mostly as *-ūm*, and as *-um* for the same form of the *ua*- stems (but *-ūm* before *°ca*, *hōiiūmca* Y11.4, 4, Yt15.131). For the *ū*- stems we find in Geldner's edition *-ūm* (*tanūm* Y10.14, 11.10, 68.23, etc.) as well as *-um* (only for *yauuaē.sum*: Yt19.11, 89; *zauuanō.sum* Yt19.52). Hintze tries to eliminate this double representation of the acc.sg. ending of the *ū*- stems by editing *zauuanō.sūm* and *yauuaē.sūm* against all manuscripts and without indicating in any way that hers is a correction of the transmitted text.

In his monumental work on the Avestan vowels De Vaan dedicates the whole section 12 (2003: 319-326) to this problem. According to him, Geldner edits *-ūm* for the acc.sg. of the *u*- and *ū*- stems², but *-um* of the *ua*- stems, but he asserts (2003: 319):

“It can be shown that the reflex of **-uam* behaves identically to that of **-ūm*, both endings yielding *-ūm*. Thus, the ending *-ūm* is completely parallel to the ending *-ūm*. The only exception is formed by the subgroup of forms ending in **h_uam*, reflected as *-h_uum* in our texts which was probably rendered by **-h_uəm* in the archetype”.

In the following I will try to show that De Vaan's conclusions are a simplification. Different classes of manuscripts make for a different treatment of these endings and it is not always advisable to reduce them to a hypothetical archetypal form. Besides, at least some classes of manuscripts distinguish perfectly between the endings of the *ū*- stems and those of the *ua*- stem. Therefore, it needs to be investigated whether the confusion of all these *-ūm* endings in some classes of manuscripts is the original situation, as De Vaan supposes, or whether it is a peculiarity of the transmission and recitation of the Avestan texts in some times or areas. In fact, as I will show in this paper, the manuscripts do not reproduce the spelling of the Sasanian archetype with some deviations or transmission errors that corrupt the Sasanian original. The way how the

² He neither mentions nor discusses *zauuanō.sum* and *yauuaē.sum*.

Avestan texts were recited has kept changing until the present times. The manuscripts reflect these changes at least partially in the recitation. One of the most obvious differences is the way in which the Avestan texts were recited in India and in Iran. Such differences have left traces in the manuscripts. Therefore, every textual-critical research on the Avestan text must analyse separately the Indian and the Iranian evidence, first, and then, wherever possible, even minor regional or temporal variants.

Some of the vacillations we find in our editions are vacillations between the Indian and the Iranian spelling. In this paper we will discover a good example in the vacillation between the Iranian *ōiium* and the Indian *ōim* as acc.sg. of *aēya-* “one”. Furthermore, it seems that the Iranian manuscripts show a different distribution of the final *-ūm/-um* and probably a more archaic one than the Indian manuscripts. As a matter of fact, Iranian manuscripts often seem to preserve more archaic features. A similar case is the distribution of *-uš/ūš*. Whereas in the Iranian manuscripts *-uš* is used for the n.sg. of the *u-* stems and *-ūš* for the acc.pl., as would be expected from a historical point of view, the Indian manuscripts have generalised the ending *-ūš* for both (De Vaan 2003: 327). For further examples of the more archaic features of the Iranian manuscripts s. (Cantera (in press)).

Until recently such an investigation was quite difficult, if not impossible. Geldner does not quote in his edition all attested variants of each edited word, but only relevant readings, so “as to allow a judgement” (Geldner 1886: lii; Cantera 2012b: 469). Besides, when a divergent reading is quoted, only the first manuscript mentioned by him contains exactly this reading, while the rest of the manuscripts mentioned can show slight variations. As a result, on the basis of Geldner’s edition it is impossible to know the variants attested in the manuscripts of each single word. We have only a simplified selection of variants and even these are grouped without taking into account minor differences. Geldner’s edition of the Avesta has filtered the Avestan transmission. Therefore, only the direct usage of the manuscripts allows us to know the richness and complexity of the attested variant readings.

I have conceived the Avestan Digital Archive (ADA)³ as a tool for solving this limitation of Geldner’s edition. On this web site we publish Avestan manuscripts indexed and with metadata that allow the comparison of a selected passage in all published manuscripts. In the first phase we have concentrated our efforts on the manuscripts of the Avestan long liturgy. Geldner used around 70 manuscripts of the different variants of this liturgy. In ADA 98 manuscripts have already been digitised and 64 manuscripts have been published online. And this number keeps constantly increasing. Today, it is already possible to make a research about the orthographic conventions of the different manuscripts and manuscript classes on the basis of the manuscripts published in ADA, independently of Geldner’s edition.

This paper is one of the first attempts to review Geldner’s and subsequent editorial decisions on the basis of the manuscripts published in ADA. I have checked the forms

³ <http://www.avesta-archive.com> or <http://ada.usal.es>.

in question in the long liturgy (Yasna, Wisperad, Widēwdād) in the manuscripts that have by now (February 2013) been totally or partially published in the ADA. Additionally, Mihrābān's manuscripts have been checked, although only 4600 [L4] have been published because of their importance and of the role they have played in former editions of the Avestan texts⁴. The forms analysed are not all attested acc.sg. of the *ū̃-* stems, but a representative selection. For other phenomena less well attested I have checked all the forms. When a form was frequently attested, I have analysed only a selection of passages trying to cover the different texts and manuscript classes, but only when the results obtained were basically uniform.

The accusative singular of the *u-* stems

The acc.sg. of the non-diphthongal *u-* stems is according to Hoffmann-Forssman (1996: 130) *-ūm* in Young Avestan, but *-ūm* and *-um* in Old Avestan. The ending *-um* is only quoted in *xratum*. Actually, the acc.sg. of *xratu-* is attested twice in the Old Avesta. In both passages (Y28.1 and Y32.9) there is (among the manuscripts checked) not a single manuscript with the ending *-um*, nor does Geldner quote any manuscript with this ending. The only attested variant readings are the usual variants for *-ūm* in Old and Young Avestan. From the middle of the 17th century on, the Iranian manuscripts regularly show *-īm* instead *-ūm*: Y28.1 *xratīm*: 20, 4050, 4055; Y32.9 *xratīm*: 20, 2101, 4025, 4050, 4055. The Indian manuscripts (including Mihrābān's) occasionally have a final *-ū* instead of *-ūm*: Y28.1 *xratū*: 230; Y32.9 *ḵaratū*: 4510, *xratū*: 4515. We can therefore safely delete the form *xratum* from the forms of the acc.sg. of the *u-* stems.

Although this ending appears mostly as *-ūm*, we occasionally find *-um* in the manuscripts. In De Vaan's opinion (2003: 319 f.), the fluctuation *-ūm /-um* in the acc.sg. of the *u-* stem is the same as in the acc.sg. of the *ua-* stems. He attributes the readings with *-um* to the Iranian Wīdēwdād Sade branch (the manuscripts Mf2, Jp1 and Pt4). Thus the instances in which Mf1 has *-um* are attributed to the influence of the manuscripts of this branch⁵. Nevertheless, in our sample Y9.21 is the only instance

⁴ The manuscripts checked are the following:

- Iranian Sādes: Yasna 20; Wisperad 2005, 2010, 2101, 2102, 2104; Widēwdād 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040, 4055, 4055, 4060, 4100, 4140
- Indian Sādes: Yasna: 100, 120, 230, 231, 234, 235; Wīdēwdād 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4400, 4420, 4510, 4515
- Combined Yasna: 400, 415, 420
- Yasna Pahlavi: 500 (J2), 510 (K5), 530
- Yasna Sanskrit: 677 (S1), 680, 681, 682
- Wīdēwdād Pahlavi: 4600 (L4), 4610 (K1), 4660, 4670, 4700, 4710, 4711, 4713, 4715.

This is a total of 49 manuscripts. In order to check that my results have not been conditioned by the selection of the manuscripts, I have also used 98 complete transliterations of Y9 recently produced by the ADA team. We have checked the relevant forms in Y9 and the results were always largely concurring with the results obtained in the other samples.

⁵ De Vaan repeats Geldner's view on the position of Mf1, according to which it is a Sade extracted from a Pahlavi manuscript like Pt4 or Mf4. Yet there is no evidence that Mf1 is extracted from an old Pahlavi Yasna manuscript. It is rather an Indian copy of a real Iranian Yasna Sade and hence not influenced by the Iranian Sāde manuscripts but probably itself one of them (Cantera 2013).

of *-um* for an acc.sg. of the *u-* stems in the Iranian Sādes (s. table 1a). For this exception cf. below.

In fact, the instances of *-um* instead of *-ūm* quoted by De Vaan are all problematic. In Vr2.7 and 14.3 *ahūmca ratūmca* appears in a kind of gloss or commentary: *hō zī asti ahūmca ratūmca yō ahurō mazdā* (so Geldner). Here the acc.sg. *ahūmca ratūmca* make no sense at all. We should rather read the passage as *hō zī asti ahumaca ratumaca yō ahurō mazdā* “in fact, it is Ahura Mazdā who owns the *ahu* and the *ratu*”. Thus it is already edited by Kellens (1996: 97; 2006: 43). *ahumaca ratumaca* are most likely n.sg. of *ahuman-* *ratuman-*⁶. The manuscripts clearly support this reading, Vr2.7⁷:

- *ahumaca ratumaca*: 2010, 2101, 2102, 2104, 2230, 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100, 4140
- *ahumaca ratūmca*: 4200
- *ahūmca ratūmca*: 4210, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4400, 4410, 4510, 4515
- *ahumca ratūmca*: 4420

The reading *ahūmca ratūmca* is a *lectio facilior* common only in India.

Y9.21 *tāiium/tāiiūm* is a difficult case. The acc.sg. *tāiiūm/tāiium* is attested twice: Y9.21 and Y11.3. In Y9.21, with the exception of the Indian Sādes (which show *tāiiūm*), *tāiium* is the best attested reading in the rest of the manuscript classes:

1. *tāiium*: [Iranian Sādes] 15, 20, 82, 83, 2010, 2040, 2101, 2104, 4000, 4010, 4020, 4025, 4040, 4045, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4070, 4100, 4140, 5020; [combined Yasna] 408, 409, 410, 415, 420, 450; [Pahlavi Yasna] 500, 602; [Sanskrit Yasna] 677
2. *tāiiūm*: [Indian Sādes] 110, 120, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4220, 4240, 4250, 4340, 4360, 4410, 4420, 4440, 4450, 4500, 4503, 4504, 4506, 4507, 4510, 4515; [combined Yasna] 400; [Pahlavi Yasna] 510, 530, 605, 613; [Sanskrit Yasna] 682

Nevertheless, in Y11.3 not a single variant with *-um* is found. Together with *mourum* (cf. below), this form is the only acc.sg. of a *u-* stem in which a variant reading with *-um* is attested in the Iranian Sādes. In the rest of the manuscript classes, readings with *-um* are extremely rare, occurring only in Indian manuscripts, never in the Iranian ones. But even in the Indian manuscripts, these readings are frequent only in the case of *daxiium* alongside *daxiiūm*. In this case, we find readings with *-um* in all passages (Y62.5, 68.5, V8.3, 18.52), although they are in the minority: *daxiiumca* 682 in Y62.5; *daxiiumca* 120 (*daxuiiumca*), 234, 235, 4200, 4510 in Y68.5; *daxiiumca* 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4515, 4601 in V8.103; *°daxiium*: 4670, 4700, 4712, 4713 in V18.52. Readings with *-ūm* are, however, well attested in all passages. Strikingly, both forms in which the variant with *-um* is more or less well represented are forms in *°iium*. This sporadic Indian spelling can be related to the Indian reduction of (°)ōiium to (°)ōim, which is regular in disyllables and very irregular in polysyllables (cf. below). In fact, in the Indian Sādes *gaodaiiūm* (Vr2.11), although it does never appear as *gaodaiium*, shows some readings comparable with *ōim*, *hōim*: *gaodāim*: 4230, *gaodāim*: 4240,

⁶ Perhaps even a wrong n.sg. of *ahumant-* *ratumant-*.

⁷ A similar distribution appears in Vr14.3.

guḍāīm: 4400. The Iranian manuscripts sometimes show these words with an ending *-ām* that is exclusive of these forms: Vr2.11 *gaōdāīīām*: 2104. 62.5 *daḵīīāmca*: 20, 2101, 4050.

Of these forms, the acc.sg. of the *u*- stems is spelt almost always with *-ūm* in all manuscript classes. Since readings with *-um* are relatively frequent only in the Pahlavi Wīdēwdād manuscripts (4600 [L4] and 4610 [K1]) (cf. table 1f) but not in the Pahlavi Yasna (500 [J2] and 510 [K5]) (cf. table 1d), the oscillation between *-um/-ūm* could be a feature of Mihrābān's original for 4600 and 4610. The few forms with *-um* that we find in Mihrābān's Pahlavi Widwewdad manuscripts and their copies are: V15.43 *gātum*: 4600, 4700, 4710; V13.32a *pasūm* 4600, **4610**, 4660, 4700, 4711, 4710; V13.32b; V13.33a *pasum*: 4700; V13.33b *pasum*: 4700; V13.34 *pasum*: **4610**, 4711, 4715; V15.9a *ratum*: 4600, **4610**, 4711, 4713, 4715; V15.9b *ratum*: 4711, 4713, 4715; V1.15 °*zaṇtum*: 4713, 4700; V8.10 *zaṇtumca*: 4601, 4713; V8.103 *daḵīiumca*: 4601; V18.52 °*daḵīium*: 4670, 4700, 4712, 4713.

In the already mentioned instances and the sporadic readings in Mihrābān's Wīdēwdād manuscripts we find very few readings with *-um*: *gatum* 4240 in Vr15.43; *zaṇtum* 415 in Y62.5; *zaṇtumca* 4515 in V8.103. The only exception is *mōurum*, acc.sg. of *mōuru*-“Margiana”, OP. *margu*- (N.sg. *marguš*, acc.sg. *margum*). In V1.5 there is no a reading with *-ūm*. All manuscripts (including the Iranian ones) show *-um* but some Indian Sādes attest *mōuram* (4200, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4510, 4515). In Yt10.14 it appears t5oo as *mōurum*. Geldner does not indicate any variants and the manuscripts F1 and E1 have in fact this reading. Av. *mōurum* has obviously an ending *-um* and not *-ūm*. We can only speculate about the reasons.

The most frequent variant of this ending is not *-um*, but *-īm* (a reading almost totally absent from the *ua*- stems). It is the most frequent ending in the Iranian Sādes (cf. table 1a). As is well known, in the Iranian pronunciation of the Avestan, *ū* and *ī* converged in *ī*. This is reflected in the manuscripts: from the middle of the 17th century, they use mostly one single letter for *ī*⁸. However, the manuscripts of the brothers Frēdōn and Wahrom Marzbān (2005, 2010, 4000, 4010, 4040) and also of Frēdōn Gōbadšāh Frēdōn (4025) do still distinguish between the two sounds, even though confusions are frequent⁹. Therefore, the Iranian manuscripts copied after 1640 have always the ending *-īm* instead of *-ūm*¹⁰. In earlier manuscripts the confusion happens occasionally. Accordingly, *-ūm* was a real pronunciation of the ending and not just a graphical

⁸ This can be the old letter for *ū* or, more frequently, for *ī*. On this confusion cf. Martínez Porro (2012)

⁹ Thus we find not only *-īm* for *-ūm*, but also *-ūm* for *-īm*, e.g. Y9.8 *a.ūm* in 4010,4025. Xōsrō Anōšagruwān Rōstām, the copyist of 4020 [Mf2] has still two different letters, but *ū* is almost never used in the right positions.

¹⁰ The change of the ending *-ūm* into *īm* does not affect Mihrābān's manuscripts. They are older than this process. The combined manuscripts, copied in India from Iranian originals, are also free of this confusion. I have been able to find only one instance of an ending *-īm*: Y9.11 *patīm* [combined Yasna] 400, 450, [Pahlavi Yasna] 613 (*paitīm*), [Sanskrit Yasna] 682, [Indian Sāde] 4504. Hence we can assume that their Iranian originals were copied before the 17th century. In fact, the last Iranian copy mentioned in the colophons (Hošang Syawaxš □ahryār's) is dated 1495. The Indian manuscripts are, of course, free from this evolution.

phenomenon. Furthermore, the evolution of *-ūm* into *-īm* prevented the confusion between *-ūm* and *-um* in the Iranian manuscripts.

Arranged by frequency, the rest of the attested variants are:

1. *-ū* instead of *-ūm* appears almost exclusively in the Indian manuscripts. In Iranian manuscripts this reading can be found only for *mañiiūm*, the most frequent instance of the ending *-ū* for *-ūm*: Y18.8 °*mainiiū*: 120, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4515; °*mainaiiū*: 231; °*mainū*: 4400; °*maiñiiū* 400; °*mainiiū*: 415, 420; *mainiiū*: 682; Y47.7 °*mainiiū*: 230, 100, 120, 235, 234, 4200, 4210, 4420, 4410, 4510, 4515 °*minaiiū*: 231; Vr2.8 °*mainiiū*: 4240, 4410; V10.15 *maiñiiū*: 4000, 4010 *maiñiiū*: 4050, 4055. It might be explained as the result of an abbreviation that was restored wrongly to *maiñiiū*, cf. Vr2.8 °*mainiiūs*: 4400 °*mainiiūs*: 4515¹¹. There are other instances of *-ū* for acc.sg. *-ūm*: Y9.19 *ahū*: 510, 530; Y11.13 *tāiiū*: 231; Y27.4 *ahū*: 682; Y28.1 *xratū*: 230; Y32.9 *áaratū*: 4510, *xratū*: 4515; Y62.5 °*gātū*: 500; V1.15 °*jañtū*: 4400. These readings are more sporadic than in the case of *mañiiūm* and limited to the Indian manuscripts, so that *maiñiiū* can most probably be considered an abbreviation.
2. *-qm* instead of *-ūm* is found three times in Mihrābān's Pahlavi Wīdēwdād (4600, 4610) and their copies: V8.40 *barəšnqm* **4610**, *barəšnū.qm*: 4700; V15.43 *gātqm*: **4610**, 4711, 4715; V19.29 °*pəratqm*: 4600, **4610**, 4710, 4711, 4715. Other than in the Pahlavi Wīdēwdād manuscripts, we find it only in Vr15.43 *gāθqm* 4055 and V8.103 *zañtqmca* 4420. This fluctuation is much more frequent with the ending *-um* (cf. below).
3. The change of *-ūm* into *-əm* is very sporadic: Y9.11 *paitəm*: 415, 4210, 4240, 4250 *patəm*: 4200; V1.15 °*zañtəm*: 4601.
4. The change of *-ūm* into *-om* occurs rarely: Vr2.8 °*maiñiiom*. It is almost limited to the manuscript 4410 and the word *daxiiūm*; Y68.5 *dāxiiomca*: 4410; V8.103 *dāxiiomca*: 4410; V18.52 *dāxiiom*: 4410.
5. The change of *-ūm* into *-uum* is of a purely graphical nature, analogous to the fluctuation between *ī*, *ū* and *ii*, *uu* in some Indian Sādes: Y2.2 *ratuum*: 682; Y9.21 *tāiiuum*: 100, 230; Y19.6 *pəratuum.ciṭ*: 231; Y31.2 *ratuum*: 100; Y68.5 *dax^vauumca*: 100.

We can conclude then that the ending of the *u-* stems is clearly *-ūm* for all attested stems but *mōuru-* “Margiana”. In Mihrābān's Pahlavi Wīdēwdād manuscripts, there is almost no reading with *-um* and not a single one exists in the Iranian manuscripts (but Y9.21 *tāiiuum*). Other variant readings are mostly specific of the Indian or the Iranian transmission and reflect the idiosyncrasies of the recitation in these areas.

¹¹ A similar explanation was advanced by Hoffmann (Aufs. 600, n. 15***) for Yt5.102 *gātu*. On the abbreviations in general cf. now Tremblay (2012: 118 ff.).

The accusative singular of the *ū*- stems

There are only a few *ū*- stems attested in acc.sg. in the long liturgy: YAv. and OAv. *tanūm* (Y33.10) (*tanū* “body”) alongside the trisyllabic form OAv. *tanuuēm* (Y46.10), and YAv. *xšnūm* (*xšnū*- “friendly reception”). OAv. and YAv. *fsəratūm* could belong to a stem *fsəratu-* as well as to *fsəratū-*. The ending appears as *-ūm* in all manuscript classes, exactly like the ending of the *u*- stems, and shows the same variant readings (e.g. *-īm* in the Iranian Sādes) (cf. table 2). Only *xšnūm* is problematic. This word is almost always attested with the ending *-ēm* in the Iranian as well as in the Indian manuscripts (Y48.12 [Iranian Sādes] 2010, 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055, [Indian Sādes] 120, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240, [combined Yasna] 415; [Pahlavi Yasna] 500; Y53.2 [Iranian Sādes] 2101, [Indian Sādes] 230, 100, 120, 234, 235, 4210, 4240, 4420, [combined Yasna] 400, [Sanskrit Yasna] 680) or *-əm* (Y48.12 [Indian Sādes] 230, 100, 4410, 4420, 4510, 4515, [combined Yasna] 400, 420, [Sanskrit Yasna] 682; Y53.2 [Indian Sādes] 4400, 4410, 4510, 4515, [combined Yasna] 415, 420, [Sanskrit Yasna] 682). The ending *-ūm* appears rarely, but often in the oldest manuscripts of each class: Y48.12 [Iranian Sādes] 2005, 4000, 4010, [Indian Sādes] 231, 4400, [Pahlavi Yasna] 530; [Sanskrit Yasna] 680; Y53.2 [Iranian Sādes] 2005, 2010, [Pahlavi Yasna] 500, 530).

The accusative singular of the *ūa*- stems

De Vaan (2003: 323) writes:

“Most of the Avestan forms containing **-ūam* were edited with *-um* by Geldner, but it appears from the evidence that, after all consonants except **-h-*, final *-ūam* yielded *-ūm* in the archetype. Wherever *-um* is philologically better attested, the surrounding forms have influenced their spelling. The only real exception is the ending **-ahūam-* which was spelled *°aṇ^hhəm* in the archetype.”

De Vaan assumes that some forms like *vidōiiūm* present the same distribution between *-ūm/-um* as the acc.sg. of the *ū*- stems. Furthermore, for the numerous forms in which *-um* is better attested than *-ūm* he presents various *ad hoc* explanations (2003: 324). For *haurum* the usual ending is *-um*, but the Indian Sādes would preserve the original *-ūm*. This is an odd argument, given that De Vaan does not generally consider the Indian Sādes very authoritative. Av. *pourum* would be influenced by the frequent *pouru*. Other cases are influenced by surrounding acc.sg. in *-əm*, hence the variant readings with *-əm/-um*. The fraction nouns *θrišum*, *caθrušum* are analogical to *paṇtaṇhum*, which in turn replaces the form of the archetype **paṇtaṇ^hhəm* (!). As a matter of fact, an analysis of the really attested forms and their distribution in the different manuscript classes shows a totally different picture and make all these *ad hoc* assumptions unnecessary.

The Iranian manuscripts perfectly distinguish between the acc.sg. of the *ū*- stems with the ending *-ūm/-īm* and the acc.sg. of the *ūa*- stems with the ending *-um* (cf. table 3a). This is manifest in several expressions in which both forms appear together and the

endings are kept distinct in all Iranian manuscripts, e.g.: *barəšnūm paiti varδanəm pourum* “in the high front part of the head” (V8.40, 41, 9.15), *hōiium nūm* “the left knee” (8.62, 63, V9.22, 23) or *hōiium ascūm* (V8.64, 65, 9.23). The acc.sg. of the *u-* stems appears as *-ūm/-īm*, the latter always as *-um*. In only one instance (V9.15 *paōirīm* 4050¹²) do we find a reading with *-īm*, the regular ending of the *ǔ-* stems in manuscripts after 1640, and never *-ūm*. There are only three exceptions that show a completely different pattern of attestation: *xštūm* (Y9.21, V4.19, 4.23, 5.29), *srūm* (V9.14 [3x], 16.6) and *dadrūm* (V9.11) and *drūm* (V22.5). Actually they are not exceptions, but regular forms in which the ending *-ūm* has a different origin than the usual *-um* (cf. below).

The variant readings for the acc.sg. of the *ua-* stems in the Iranian manuscripts are different from the variant readings for the *u-* stems as well. Whereas for the latter there is almost exclusively the variant reading *-īm*, for the *ua-* stems we find the following variant readings:

- the most frequent variant reading is *-qm*: Y19.7 *θrišqm* (2010, 4025); *caθrušqm* (2010, 4040); V6.32 *θrišqm* (4050); *caθrušqm* (4010, 4025, 4040, 4601), *ciθrušqm* (4050); V16.2 *θrišqm* (4000, 4010, 4050, 4055); *caθrušqm* (4000); V18.63a *θrušqm* (4000, 4010, 4055), *θrišqm* (4050); V18.64b *θrišqm* (4000); Y11.5 *hōiiqmca* (4050); V9.18a,b *haōiiqm* (4050). It seems that *-um* and *-qm* were recited similarly and could therefore be confused. Thus Mihrābān Anōšagruwān Wahromšāh copies Y11.5 twice in 4050, writing first *hōoiiqmca* and then *hōiiumca*. Observe that *-um* appears as a variant reading of *-qm* in some instances in the Iranian manuscripts: Y9.18 *kaōiium* for *kaōiiqm* in 2010, 4010, 4025, 4031, 4040, 4045, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100, 4140; Y9.18 *tbišuuatum* for *tbišuuatqm* in 4020.
- The confusion between *-um* and *-əm* (which could, of course, be influenced by the frequent acc.sg. in *-əm*) is less frequent. It only appears in the forms *haurum* and *saurum* which show a peculiar treatment in the other classes of manuscripts as well (cf. below): Y19.14 *haurəm* (2010, 2101, 4000, 4010, 4040, 4055, 4060, 4100), *ahurəm* (20, 4025, 4050); V10.9 *saōrəm* (4000, 4010, 4050), *sōrəm* (4055).

Thus there is no doubt that the Iranian manuscripts still distinguish between the acc.sg. of the *ǔ-* stems (*-ūm*) and the acc.sg. of the *ua-* stems (*-um*). Four acc.sg. of *ua-* stems consistently show the ending *-ūm* in the Iranian manuscripts and also in the rest of the manuscript classes¹³ (cf. table 4): *xštūm* (Y9.21, V4.19, 4.23, 5.29), *srūm* (V9.14 [3x], 16.6), *dadrūm* (V9.11) and *drūm* (V22.5). In them the ending always follows two consonants. The Iranian manuscripts seem then to still distinguish between the ending *-uam#* yielding *-um* and *-uūam#* (Siever’s variant of *-uam*) yielding *-ūm*

This evolution of *-uūam* is confirmed by the n.sg. of the 2.p.sg. personal pronoun *tūm*. It derives from **tuūam* (cf. bisyllabic Av. *tuuām*, Ved. *t_vvām*) and accordingly always

¹² Obviously influenced by the corresponding feminine form *paōirīm*. In fact, it is a wrong use of the feminine form for the expected masculine.

¹³ The only exception is *srūm* in Mihrābān’s Pahlavi Wīdēwdād manuscripts and, consequently, later copies of these manuscripts.

appears in the Iranian manuscripts as *tūm/tīm*¹⁴. In its 10 attestations we have not found a single reading with *-um* in the Iranian Sāde manuscripts. If the Iranian manuscripts of the 17th century still distinguish between *°uam#* and *°uam#*, then the “Persian” pronunciation of every *-ua-* as *-uua-* (for this evolution cf. Hoffmann 1979) should be posterior to the evolution of *°uam#* into *°um* and *°uam#* into *°ūm*. This evolution took place after the lengthening of final *°um* to *°ūm*. Unfortunately we cannot date this lengthening, but in any case the Achaemenid origin of this pronunciation (supposed by Hoffmann) is highly questionable. If the use of *uu* and *ii* for intermediate *ɨ* and *ɥ* has its origin in such a pronunciation, we will have to date the different evolution of *°uam#* and *°uam#* before the invention of the Avestan script.

In the Indian Sādes this ending appears in the vast majority of the passages and manuscripts as *-ūm* (cf. table 3b), hence De Vaan’s assumption that it is the form of the archetype. Nevertheless, although *-ūm* is the most frequent ending, in some passages *-um* is still the best or even the only attested ending:

- *pourum* (acc.sg. m. of *pouruua-*) appears thus in all passages V4.47, 8.40, 41, 58 (twice) and 9.15. The only attested variant readings are *paōirīm/paoirīm* in the manuscripts 4210, 4240 and 4410 in V8.40, 41 and 9.15 and 4230 in V8.58b and 9.15. Furthermore, 4230, written by Dārāb Hīrā Candā as 4210, shows a tendency towards *paourəm* (V8.41, 58b). Only in V8.40 the manuscript 4400 shows *paourūm*.
- *saorum* (V10.9; acc.sg. of *sauruua-*, Ved. *śarvá-*) appears only with the ending *-um* (4210, 4400, 44210, 4420) or *-əm* (4200, 4230, 4510, 4515).
- in the Yasna *haurum* appears always with ending *-əm*, often transformed in the *lectio facilior ahurəm*: Y9.14 *haurəm* (4420), *hurəm* (4400), *ahurəm* (100, 120, 230, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4250, 4410, 4510, 4515); Y20.3 *ahurəm* (100, 120, 230, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4250, 4410, 4510, 4515).

Although in the rest of the attested forms the almost universal ending is *-ūm*, we occasionally come across *-um*. This ending appears only in the oldest Indian Sades, while in the same passages more modern manuscripts show *-ūm*: Y19.7 *ciθrušum* (230, 100); V6.32 *θrišum* (4200, 4210); V16.2 *caθrušum* (4200, 4210), *ciθrušum* (4240). Furthermore, we sometimes find endings that usually alternate with *-um* and not with *-ūm*. Thus the related manuscripts 4510 and 4515 have three times *ciθrušəm* (Y19.7, V6.32, 16.2). 4400 has one occurrence of *ciθrušqm* (V16.2).

In Mihrābān’s manuscripts the ending *-um* is still majoritarian (cf. tables 3d, f) in all forms, but in the acc.sg. of *°ōiiūm* we find exclusively *-ūm* (cf. tables 4d, f). In the rest of the forms, apart from *-um* we find the variant reading *-qm* which is specific for *-um* in the Iranian manuscripts. It appears only in Mihrābān’s Pahlavi Wīdēwdād manuscripts: V16.2 *θrišqm* (4600), V18.63a *θrišqm* (4600, 4610), V18.63b *θrišqm* (4600); V6.32 *caθrušqm* (4610), *ciθrušqm* (4700). Furthermore, in V6.32 both 4700 and 4713, copies

¹⁴ Thus could be explained the two spellings of the secondary middle ending of the 2.p.sg. **d^huam*: OAv. *°dūm* would derive from **duyam* (the form of the ending after two consonants or long vowels) and YAv. *°δβəm* from **duam* (the ending after a short vowel).

of 4600, presume *θriṣqm* in the lost 4600. Although Mihrābān copied both manuscripts from the same source, the readings *-um* and *-qm* alternate in the same passage in both manuscripts. Readings with *-ūm* appear only rarely, but are especially frequent in 4610 (K1). We find *θriṣūm* in 510 (Y19.7) and in 4610 (V18.63b, 18.64b). In all cases the older manuscripts 500 (J2) and 4600 (K1) show the older endings *-um* or *-qm*. The ending *-ūm* seems to be an Indian influence. In the Sanskrit Yasna (400, 415, 420) the dominant ending is clearly *-um* (cf. tables 3e, 4e). It is also the only form I find in 677 (S1): Y19.7 *θriṣum* (677, 682), *θriṣum* (680); *caθruṣum* (677), *ciθruṣum* (680), *ciθruṣum* (682), Y2.13 [*vīdōii*]um (677), Y11.4 *hoiiumca* (682).

The ending *-um* appears clearly as the older form of the ending for the acc.sg. of the *ya*-stems. Its almost universal spelling as *-ūm* in the Indian manuscripts must be the result of a secondary lengthening. It appears occasionally as early as in Mihrābān's manuscripts, especially in the later ones, so that this lengthening must have taken place before the 14th century. Interestingly, 677 (S1) seems not to be affected by it. It is only through this secondary lengthening of *-um* into *-ūm* that the endings of the acc.sg. of the *ū*- and *ya*- stems became indistinguishable in the Indian manuscripts.

The stems ending in ^o*aiya*- require special attention (cf. table 5). In the Indian manuscripts, they present a clear distribution that has not yet been recognised (cf. table 5b). In the Indian Sāde and in Mihrābān's manuscripts trisyllabic (or longer) stems show the ending *-ōiūm* with *-ūm* (whereas in the Iranian sources we find *-um*): *vīdōiūm* (acc.sg. of *vīdaēuua*- “exorcising the *daēuua*”) and *harōiūm* (acc.sg. of *haraēuua*- “Haraiva, a country name”). Disyllables show, however, a different spelling. In the Indian Sāde manuscripts (from the oldest ones on), the ending *-ōiūm*¹⁵ yields *ōim*. As a result these disyllabic stems become monosyllabic. Thus, in the Indian Sādes the acc.sg. of *aēuua*- “one” is *ōim* and of *haoiia*- (Ved. *savya*-) it is *hōim*¹⁶. Y11.4, 5 *hōiūmca* in all Indian Sādes (with minor variants not affecting the ending) confirms that the reduction *-ōiūm* to *-ōim* affects only disyllables. The only exception is the Indian Yasna Sāde 231, a manuscript very strongly influenced by the modern recitation. There we find Y11.4, 5 *hōimaca*. The Pahlavi manuscripts too, including Mihrābān's 4600 and 4610, always have *ōim* and *hōim* (cf. tables 5d,f), but *hōiūmca* Y11.4 (500, *hūiūmca* 510, 530) and 11.5 (500, 510, 530)¹⁷. In the Iranian manuscripts these acc.sg. appear always as *ōiūm* and *hōiūm*, both with minimal variant readings, but never as *ōim* or *hōim* (cf. table 4a). Unfortunately, we lack data for the combined Yasna and for the oldest Sanskrit manuscripts.

The distribution of the forms of the acc.sg. of the stems in *-aiya*- can be represented schematically as follows:

¹⁵ I assume that the reduction of *-ōiūm* into *-ōim* is prior to the Indian lengthening of *-um* not only because this seems more likely, but as well because the reduction affects Mihrābān's manuscripts, while the lengthening appears there only sporadically.

¹⁶ This is not a spelling for **haoim*, perhaps the regular acc.sg. of *haoiia*-, but a reduction of *hōiūm* (attested in the Iranian Sādes) and with the enclitic ^o*ca*, *hōiūmca*.

¹⁷ 613 has *hoiiumca* in both passages.

| | Iranian Sādes | Indian Sādes | Mihrābān | combined Yasna | other Pahlavi manuscripts | Yasna Sanskrit |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>aēuua-</i> (disyllables) | <i>ōiium</i> | <i>ōim</i> | <i>ōim</i> | ----- | <i>ōim</i> | ----- |
| <i>haoīia- + °ca</i> | <i>hōiiumca</i> | <i>hōiiumca</i> | <i>hōiiumca</i> | <i>hōiiumca/ hōiiumca</i> | <i>hōiiumca / hōiiumca</i> | <i>hōiiumca / hōiiumca</i> |
| <i>vidaēuua-</i> (trisyllables or +) | <i>vīdōiium</i> | <i>vīdōiium</i> | <i>vīdōiium</i> | <i>vīdōiium/ vīdōiium</i> | <i>vīdōiium</i> | <i>vīdōiium/ vīdōiium</i> |

Some Indian Sāde manuscripts sometimes use the ending *-ōim* (or similars) even for trisyllables, but the expected forms are always better attested. These variant readings belong almost always to the same manuscripts¹⁸, viz. such as are strongly influenced by the recitation and show little, if any, dependence from written copies (Cantera 2012a: 301 f.): Y2.13 *vīduiim* (231), *vīduiim* (4400), *vīdaoīm* (4200); Y6.12 *vīdūim* (415, 4400); Y25.6 *vīduiim* (230, 100), *vīduiimm* (231); Y71.5 *vīdōim* (230, 120), *βiduiim* (231), *vīdūim* (4400).

Av. *daēuua-* shows an unexpected acc.sg. (cf. table 6). The regular form would be **dōiium* for the Iranian manuscripts and **dōim* for the Indian ones. Instead we find almost everywhere the acc.sg. *daēum* (with *-um* and not *-ūm*). The diphthong *aē* did not yield the expected *ōi* because of the influence by *aē* of the rest of the paradigm (*daēuuō*, etc.). Only two variant readings appear: *daēuum* is a frequent variant reading in the Iranian Sādes (V10.13 4000, 4050, 4055; V13.7 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055) and *daem* in the Indian manuscripts (already in Dārāb Hīrā Candā: V10.9 4230, 4410; V13.7 4200, 4230) and once already in Mihrābān’s 4610 (K1) *daēm*¹⁹. This form is the equivalent of **dōim*, for it appears only in manuscripts with the evolution *-ōiium* > *-ōim*, but with restitution of the paradigmatic *daē°* instead of *°dōi°*. The reading *daēuum* is the result of another restitution of the stem *daēuua-*.

According to Hoffmann and Narten (1989: 52 n. 57) the acc.sg. of the *ya-* stems after *h*, like *hauuaṅ^vha-* “good life” (< **hau-yaḥya-*), was *hauuaṅ^vhəm* in the archetype. This would be the only form that could explain the really attested forms *hauuaṅ^vhəm* and *hauuaṅ^vhum*. The form supposed for the archetype is not justified by palaeographic or textual-critical evidence. It is just the lowest common denominator to the attested forms

¹⁸ An exception is Y71.5 *vīdōim* in Dārāb Hīrā Candā’s manuscript 120 (Lb2).

¹⁹ But 4600 (L4) *daēum*. A problem is posed by *vaēm*, the strange and only acc.sg. of *vaiiu-* (Ved. *vāyú-*). The expected form would be **vaiium* in Iranian manuscripts and **vōim* (monosyllabic) in the Indian manuscripts, from Mihrābān on. Actually, the only attested form is *vaēm*. Unfortunately, we are not sure of the form of this acc.sg. in the Iranian liturgical manuscripts. The only attestation in the Yasna appears in Y25.5. This passage is part of the standard *šnūman* of Mīnō-Nāwār, used in the daily ceremonies. This *šnūman* is usually not included in the Iranian Wisperad or Wīdēwdād Sādes. Hence, among the manuscripts already published in ADA, this form is unfortunately only attested in the late Yasna Sāde manuscript 20, where it appears as *vaē*. Geldner does not quote any variant readings in the rest of attestations in the Khorde Avesta: S2.21, Yt15.1, Yt15.5, Yt15.57, Y25.5. Therefore, this form is not directly comparable with the sporadic variant reading *daēm*. Perhaps the original form was **vaēum* parallel to *daēum* and not the non-paradigmatic **vōim*. The attested *vaēm* could be the result of a dissimilation or even a faulty restitution of one abbreviated form *vaē*, cf. Y25.5 *vaē* (20). In any case, De Vaan (2003: 326) is right in rejecting the derivation of *vaēm* from an Ilr. stem *vājā-* (hesitatingly suggested by Hoffmann and Forssman 1996: 58).

and thus a reconstructed form with respect to which we cannot know whether it was ever written down as such. The only argument for postulating it is that both forms must derive from an “archetypal” common form and that we suppose it to be the direct ancestor of the different attested forms. In fact, there are no more arguments for postulating a Sasanian **hauuaŋ^vhəm* than a **caθrušuuəm*.

De Vaan, however, thinks the confirmation of this postulate lies in the distribution of the variant readings of *paŋtaŋ^vha-* “one fifth”. Actually, the attested forms show almost the same distribution of the variant readings as for the rest of the *uuu-* stems. The Iranian Sādes never show a final *°ŋ^vhəm²⁰*, but always the two more frequent endings for the *ua-* stems, i.e. *-um* and *-qm* (cf. table 7a):

- *-um*:
 - for *paŋtaŋhum*: :Y19.7 *paŋtaŋhum*: 4000, 4010, 4055 *paŋtaŋhum*: 4060, 4100, *paŋtaŋhum*: 2101; V6.32 *paŋtaŋhum*: 4000; V16.2 *paŋtaŋhum*: 4010, 4055
 - for *hauuaŋhum*: Y71.11a *hauuaŋhum*: 2101, 4000, 4010, 4055; *hauuaŋ^vhum*: 2010; Y71.b *hauuaŋ^vhum*: 2101; *hauuaŋhum*: 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055
 - *-qm*: Y19.7 *paŋtaŋhqm*: 4025, 4040, 4050, *paŋtaŋhqm*: 20, *paŋtaŋhqm*: 2010; V6.32 *paŋtaŋhqm*: 4010, 4025, 4040, *paŋtaŋhqm*: 4050, 4055; V16.2 *paŋtaŋhqm*: 4000, 4050.

In the Indian Sādes we find three endings that also appear for the rest of *ua-* stems, but this time the distribution is not exactly the same (cf. table 6b). Here the ending *-əm* is visibly more frequent than in the rest of *ua-* stems. Nevertheless, in all passages the ending *-um* or *-ūm* is better represented (but V16.2):

| <i>paŋtaŋ^vhūm</i> | <i>-um</i> | <i>-ūm</i> (or <i>-uum</i>) | <i>-əm/-əm</i> | <i>-qm</i> |
|------------------------------|--|---|--|---|
| Y19.7 | <i>paŋtaŋhum</i> : 100 <i>paŋtaŋhum</i> : 677 | <i>paŋgataŋghūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4240 <i>paŋgataŋghūm</i> : 4250 <i>paŋgataŋgūm</i> : 4420 <i>paŋgataŋghūm</i> : 4410 <i>paŋhe.taŋhūm</i> : 4400 | <i>paŋxa.tŋrəm</i> : 231 <i>paŋtaŋhəm</i> : 120, 234 <i>paŋ.taŋhəm</i> : 235 <i>paŋgataŋhəm</i> : 4510, 4515 <i>paŋhataŋhəm</i> : 420 <i>paŋtaŋhəm</i> : 500, 530 | |
| V6.32 | | <i>paŋgataŋhūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4420 <i>paŋgataŋhūm</i> : 4340 <i>paŋhdaŋhūm</i> : 4400 | <i>paŋgataŋhəm</i> : 4230 <i>paŋatataŋhəm</i> : 4410 <i>paŋg.taŋhəm</i> : 4510, 4515 <i>paŋhtaŋhəm</i> : 4670, 4713 <i>paŋhaotaŋhəm</i> : 4710 | <i>paŋtaŋhqm</i> : 4711, 4715 <i>paŋhtaŋhqm</i> : 4601, 4712 <i>paŋhaitaŋhqm</i> : 4700 |
| V16.12 | | <i>paŋhu.taŋhūm</i> : 4400 | <i>paŋtaŋhəm</i> : 4700 <i>paŋhataŋhəm</i> : 4670 <i>paŋhutaŋhəm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4240, 4420 <i>paŋhutaŋhm</i> : 4230 <i>paŋhataŋhəm</i> : 4410 <i>paŋg.taŋhəm</i> : 4510 <i>paŋg.taŋgəm</i> : 4515 | <i>paŋtaŋhqm</i> : 4600, 4660, 4711, 4713 <i>paŋhqm</i> : 4710 |

²⁰ The only exception is 2010 Y71.11a, but it was corrected into *hauuaŋhum*.

| <i>hauuaŋ^vhūm</i> | <i>-um</i> | <i>-ūm</i> (or <i>-uum</i>) | <i>-əm/-ēm</i> | <i>-qm</i> |
|------------------------------|---|--|---|------------|
| Y71.11a | <i>hauuaŋhum</i> : 4420 <i>huuaŋum</i> : 4240 <i>auuaŋhum</i> : 4410 | <i>hauuaŋhō.hūm</i> : 231 <i>hauuaŋhūm</i> : 4510 <i>huuaŋhūm</i> : 4515 <i>hauuaŋhauum</i> : 100 <i>huuaŋhuum</i> : 235, 234 | <i>hauuaŋhəm</i> : 400, 415 <i>hauuaŋhēm</i> : 500 <i>hauuaŋhəm</i> : 500, 530, 682 | |
| Y71.11b | <i>hauuaŋum</i> : 4240 <i>auuaŋhum</i> : 4410 | <i>hauuaŋhūm</i> : 235, 234, 4420, 4510 <i>huuaŋhūm</i> : 4515 <i>hauuaŋhauum</i> : 100 | <i>hauuaŋhəm</i> : 400, 415, 420 | |

This frequency of *-um/-ūm* never occurs in other final words with final *-əm*. The question is whether the frequency of *-əm* in Mihrābān's, the combined Yasna manuscripts and especially in the Indian Sādes reflects a peculiar development of the recitation affecting only a part of the transmission (like the lengthening of *-um#* into *-ūm#*), or whether is an old feature (the non-coloration of *-əm#* after *ŋ^vh* in the same way as after *uua*) lost in other areas. The second explanation fits better with Hoffmann-Narten's assumption of an archetypal *°ŋ^vhəm* that appears then in a part of the manuscripts as *°ŋ^(v)hum/°ŋ^(v)hūm* and in another part as *°ŋhəm*. Although we cannot rule out this explanation, it poses some difficulties. The coloration was universal in the tradition underlying the Iranian Sādes. The rest of the manuscripts will attest a fluctuation between coloration and non-coloration. To attribute the coloration of *-əm* into *-um* to the labiality of *ŋ^vh* at the time of the writing down of the Iranian Sādes is, however, problematic, since even Mihrābān's manuscripts and the oldest Iranian and Indian Sādes do not reflect the labiality of this group either for *hauuaŋ^vhum* or for *paŋtaŋ^vhum*. As I have recently shown (Cantera (in press)), although the use of *ŋh* for *ŋ^vh* is quite frequent in all manuscripts, *ŋ^vh* is still used in the expected positions in the oldest Iranian manuscripts like 4000 and 4010. Furthermore, the Indian Sādes, while not attesting *ŋ^vh*, quite often use *ŋuh* for it. In the attestations of *hauuaŋ^vhum* and *paŋtaŋ^vhum*, *ŋ^vh* appears very rarely in Iranian manuscripts, namely only in the manuscript 2010 at Y71.11a (*hauuaŋ^vhum*) and in 2101 at Y71.11b (*hauuaŋ^vhum*). The alternative *ŋuh* is totally absent from the Indian manuscripts. Furthermore, *-um* or the alternative *-qm* appear already in Mihrābān's and in the oldest Indian Sādes. Therefore, it is more likely that the regular ending of the acc.sg. of the stems in *°ŋ^vha-* was *-ŋ^vhum*. In India *°ŋhum* was recited probably in a way very similar to *°ŋhəm*²¹ and this led to confusion, thanks also to the frequency of *-əm#* in the acc.sg.

The development of the acc.sg. of these stems

The manuscripts show a variety of readings for the ending of the acc.sg. of the *ū-* and *ua-* stems. However, an analysis of the readings attested in each different class of manuscripts, combined with a consideration of the geographical and chronological distribution of the manuscripts, reveals more or less clear distributions:

²¹ Compare the frequent confusion between *-um* and *-qm* in the Iranian manuscripts.

| | Iranian Sādes | Indian Sādes | Mihrābān | combined Yasna | other Pahlavi manuscripts | Yasna Sanskrit |
|---|--|--|--|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| <i>u-</i> stems | <i>-ūm</i> <i>-īm</i> | <i>-ūm</i> (-ū) (-um) | <i>-ūm</i> | <i>-ūm</i> | <i>-ūm</i> (-um) | <i>-ūm</i> |
| <i>ū-</i> stems | <i>-ūm</i> <i>-īm</i> | <i>-ūm</i> | <i>-ūm</i> | <i>-ūm</i> | <i>-ūm</i> | <i>-ūm</i> |
| ^o <i>ya-</i> stems | <i>-um</i> <i>-ūm</i> (after 2 consonants) | <i>-ūm</i> | <i>-um</i> <i>-qm</i> <i>-ūm</i> | <i>-um</i> <i>-ūm</i> | <i>-ūm</i> <i>-um</i> <i>-qm</i> | <i>-um</i> (-ūm) |
| trissyllabic ^o <i>aiya-</i> stems | <i>-ōiium</i> | <i>-ōiiūm</i> <i>-ōiium</i> | <i>-ōiiūm</i> | <i>-ōiiūm</i> <i>-ōiium</i> | <i>-ōiiūm</i> (-ōiium) | <i>-ōiiūm</i> <i>-ōiium</i> |
| disyllabic ^o <i>aiya-</i> stems | (^o) <i>ōiium</i> | (^o) <i>ōim</i> | (^o) <i>ōim</i> | ----- | (^o) <i>ōim</i> | ----- |
| stems in ^o <i>ḡ^vha</i> | ^o <i>ḡ^vhum</i> | ^o <i>ḡhūm</i> ^o <i>ḡhəm</i> ^o <i>ḡhum</i> | ^o <i>ḡhqm</i> ^o <i>ḡhəm</i> | ^o <i>ḡhəm</i> | ^o <i>ḡhqm</i> ^o <i>ḡhəm</i> | <i>-ḡhum</i> |

This distribution can be explained as the result of a series of evolutions of the expected ending for an Old Iranian language (*-um*, *-ūm* and *-yam* or *-yəm*). Some of these affected the totality of manuscripts, but others extended only to a part of the transmission. The most widespread phenomenon is also the oldest one: the lengthening of *-um* (acc.sg. of the *u-* stems) to *-ūm*, so that the distinction between the two acc.sg. faded away. As the evidence of the Iranian Sādes and isolated forms in other manuscript classes show, this lengthening did not affect the outcome of *yəm*. Therefore, it should have taken place before the evolution of *-yəm* > *-um*. At a later stage, *-yəm* yielded *-um*, and *-uyəm* (a Sievers variant of *-yəm*) became *-ūm*. This is exactly the situation reflected in the Iranian Sādes: the acc.sg. of the *ū-* stems is *-ūm* and the acc.sg. of the *ya-* stems *-um* or *-ūm*, when the suffix follows two consonants. This evolution, if it ever took place, happened before the pronunciation *uyV* for older *yV* was generalized, if such evolution did ever take place.

Another group of manuscripts, represented mainly by the Indian Sādes, reflects a tradition of recitation in which further changes took place. First, the new *-um* (< *-yəm*) was lengthened as well and got confused with the ending of the *ū-* stems, so that the distinction between both stems disappeared. The spelling *-um* continued to be used sporadically, but it was pronounced exactly like *-ūm*. Furthermore, in the same group of manuscripts disyllabic words ending in *-ōiium* were reduced to *-ō*, thereby becoming monosyllabic, probably before the second lengthening of *-um*.

As we see, the endings of the *ū-* and *ya-* stems in the Avestan manuscripts do not reflect how, and with how much accuracy, these endings were written in an imaginary Sasanian archetype. They rather reveal how these endings were recited in the different traditions. The Iranian manuscripts appear clearly as constituting a tradition by itself, a tradition which, as so often, shows more archaic features here than the alternative tradition represented by the Indian Sāde manuscripts (Cantera (in press)). Mihrābān

manuscripts and the so-called “Iranian” Pahlavi Yasna held a kind of middle position between the “Iranian” and the “Indian” tradition. The “Iranian” Pahlavi Yasna manuscripts are in reality Indian manuscripts with an Iranian original copied two centuries before the extant manuscripts. We neither know how many copies there are in between, nor when these copies arrived in India. In any case, Indian influence is by no means to be ruled out.

The case of the Mihrābān manuscripts is different, for here we have the originals (500, 510, 4600, 4610). In them we already find the reduction of *-ōiiūm* to *-ōim* in disyllables which does not appear in the Iranian Sādes, but the lengthening of *-um* (< **-hūam*) is only rare. In fact, these are not the only features that Mihrābān’s manuscripts share with the later Indian manuscripts. Thus Mihrābān uses the “Indian” initial *y*²² and not the Iranian one we find in the Iranian Sādes and, alternating with the Indian, in the oldest Indian Sādes. Furthermore, he only seldom uses *ń*, just like the Indian Sādes where it is totally absent, whereas its usage is regular in the Iranian Sādes. Mihrābān therefore either represents an alternative Iranian tradition (different from the tradition represented in the Sādes) or, since his manuscripts were copied in India and perhaps from originals already available in India, they might be influenced by the Indian tradition. The position of Mihrābān’s manuscripts in the transmission of the Avesta needs to be further researched (the same is actually true for almost all important Avestan manuscripts and copyists).

This research on the acc.sg. of the *ũ-* and *ya-* stems shows that the forms attested in the manuscripts are the result of the evolution of the pronunciation of the Avestan language after the Sasanian times. Even after the segregation of the Indian and Iranian communities the way how the Avestan language was recited in the ritual continued changing and these changes are reflected in the manuscripts. Thus, the forms attested in the manuscripts are not degenerations of a supposed original Sasanian archetype or a subsequent hyparchetype through the copying process²³. But even if we accept the existence of a Sasanian archetype for the extant manuscripts, the attempt to edit the recitative of the long liturgy in the form in which it was written down in the “liturgical” Sasanian archetype is too risky. Returning to the acc.sg. forms we have discussed, it is impossible to know which was the stage reached at the time of the supposed Sasanian archetype. Had the distinction between the acc.sg. of the *u-* and *ū-* stems already faded away? Had *-uəm#* already evolved into *-um* and *-uūəm#* into *-ūm*? Being strict, we can only edit either the Iranian redaction (with its distinction of the acc.sg. of *ũ-* and *ya-* stems) or the Indian one (without such distinction and with reduction of *ōīīūm* to *ōim* in disyllables). The phonetic changes of the Avestan language did not come to an end in Sasanian times but continue until today. The extant manuscripts are not defective copies

²² Strikingly Tremblay (2012: 129 f.) in his discussion of the matter does not take into consideration that Mihrābān uses this letter.

²³ Indeed, the existence of the archetype and the hyparchetypes has recently been doubted (Cantera 2012a; Tremblay 2012). In any case, even if there was a Sasanian archetype, our manuscripts do not derive directly from it (Kellens 1998; Kellens 2012).

of a Sasanian archetype but reflect the way the Avestan text was recited in their respective traditions. Editions of the Avestan texts must take into account this fact.

Tables

Table 2 : *ū*- stems

| Table 1a | Iranian Sādes | | |
|---------------------|--|--|--|
| ahūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.19 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 2101 | <i>ahīm</i> : 15, 20, 82, 83, 2010, 2040, 2104, 2801, 4000, 4010, 4020, 4025, 4031, 4040, 4045, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4070, 4100, 4140, 5020 |
| Y11.10 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 2010, 4000 | <i>ahīm</i> : 20, 2101, 2104, 4140 |
| Y27.5 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 2005, 2010, 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040 | <i>ahīm</i> : 20, 2101, 4050, 4055, 4100 |
| Y30.6 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 2005, 2010, 2101, 4000, 4010, 4025 | <i>ahīm</i> : 20, 4040, 4050, 4055 |
| V2.22a | | <i>ahūm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040 | <i>ahīm</i> : 4050, 4055 |
| V2.22b | | <i>ahūm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040 | <i>ahīm</i> : 4050, 4055 |
| V18.16 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 4000 | <i>ahīm</i> : 4050, 4055 |
| barāšnūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V8.40 | | | <i>barāšnīm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025, 4050, 4055 |
| V8.41 | | <i>barāšnūm</i> : 4010, 4025 | <i>barāšnīm</i> : 4000, 4050, 4055 |
| V9.15 | | | <i>barāšnīm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4055 <i>baršnīm</i> : 4050 |
| daṣīūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y62.5 | | <i>daṣīūmca</i> : 2010, 4000, 4010, 4055 | <i>daṣīīmca</i> : 20, 2101, 4050 |
| Y68.5 | | <i>daṣīūmca</i> : 2005, 2010, 4000, 4010 | <i>daṣīīmca</i> : 20, 2101, 4050, 4055 |
| V8.103 | | | <i>daṣīūmca</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025, 4050, 4055 |
| V18.52 | | ^o <i>daṣīūm</i> : 4000, 4010 | ^o <i>daṣīīm</i> : 4050, 4055 |
| gaōdaiūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Vr2.11 | | <i>gaōdaiūm</i> : 2010, 4040 <i>gaōduiūm</i> : 4000 | <i>gaōdaiīm</i> : 2101, 2102, 4010, 4025, 4050, 4060, 4100, 4140 <i>gōdaiīm</i> : 4055 <i>gaōdaiīm</i> : 2104 |
| gātūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y62.5 ²⁴ | | ^o <i>gātūm</i> : 2005, 2010, 4010 | ^o <i>gātīm</i> : 20, 2101, 4050, 4055 ^o <i>gāθīm</i> : 4000 |
| V9.33 | | ^o <i>gātūm</i> : 4000 | ^o <i>gātīm</i> : 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| V9.34 | | ^o <i>gātūm</i> : 4000 | ^o <i>gātīm</i> : 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| V15.43 | | | <i>gāθīm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050 <i>gāθqm</i> ; 4055 ²⁵ |
| maiñiūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y18.8 | | ^o <i>maiñiūm</i> : 2005, 2010, 4000, 4010, 4040 | ^o <i>maiñiīm</i> : 20, 2101, 4025, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100 |
| Y47.7 | | ^o <i>maiñiūm</i> : 2005, 2010, 4000, 4010 | ^o <i>maiñiīm</i> : 20, 2101, 4055, 4055 |
| V10.5 | | | <i>maiñiū</i> : 4000, 4010 <i>maiñiī</i> : 4050, 4055 |
| Vr2.8 | | ^o <i>maiñiūm</i> : 2010, 4000 | ^o <i>maiñiīm</i> : 2101, 2102, 2104, 4010, 4025, 4040, 4050, 4055, 4140 ^o <i>maiñiom</i> : 4100 |
| Vr19.0 | | ^o <i>maiñiūm</i> : 2005, 2010, 4000, 4010 | ^o <i>maiñiīm</i> : 2101, 4050, 4055 |
| mōurum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V1.5 | <i>mōurum</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040, 4050, 4055 | | |
| pasūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V13.31 | | <i>pasūm</i> : 4000, 4010 | |
| V13.32a | | <i>pasūm</i> : 4010 | <i>pasīm</i> : 4000 |
| V13.32b | | <i>pasūm</i> : 4000, 4010 | |
| V13.33a | | <i>pasūm</i> : 4000, 4010 | |
| V13.33b | | <i>pasūm</i> : 4000, 4010 | |
| V13.34 | | <i>pasūm</i> : 4000, 4010 | |
| piūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |

²⁴ Corresponds to VrS32.5.

²⁵ Corrected into *gāθīm*.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---|--|--|
| Y9.11 | | <i>paitūm</i> : 4010, 4025 | <i>piitūm</i> : 15, 82, 83, 2010, 2101 <i>paitūm</i> : 20, 2040, 2104, 4000, 4020, 4031, 4040, 4045, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4070, 4100, 4140, 5020 |
| pāratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y46.10 | | <i>pāratūm</i> : 2010, 4010 | <i>pāratīm</i> : 20, 2101, 4000, 4050, 4055 |
| V13.3 | | ^o <i>pāratūm</i> : 4010 | ^o <i>pāratīm</i> : 4000, 4050, 4055 |
| V18.6 | | | ^o <i>pāratīm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| V19.29 | | ^o <i>pāratūm</i> : 4000, 4010 | ^o <i>pāratīm</i> : 4050, 4055 |
| V19.30 | | | <i>pāratīm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| V19.36 | | ^o <i>pāratūm</i> : 4000 | ^o <i>pāratīm</i> : 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| VrS8.1 ²⁶ | | ^o <i>pāratūm</i> : 2010, 4010, 4040 | <i>pāratīm</i> : 2101, 4000, 4025, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100 |
| Y19.6 | | <i>pāratūmciṭ</i> : 2010, 4025, 4040 | <i>pāratīmciṭ</i> : 20, 2101, 2230, 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100 |
| Y71.16 | | | <i>pāratēm</i> : 20 <i>pāratīm</i> : 2010, 4000, 4010, 4050 |
| rašnūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| VrS8.2 ²⁷ | | [<i>raš</i>] <i>nūm</i> : 2005 <i>rašnūm</i> : 2010, 4040 <i>rašnūm</i> : 4025 | <i>rašnīm</i> : 2101, 2230 <i>rašnīm</i> : 4001, 4010, 4050, 4060, 4100 [<i>raš</i>] <i>nīm</i> : 4055 |
| Y2.7 | | <i>rašnūm</i> : 2010 | <i>rašnīm</i> : 2101, 2104 <i>rašnīm</i> : 20, 2102 |
| Y6.6 ²⁸ | | <i>rašnūm</i> : 2010 | <i>rašnīm</i> : 20, 2101, 2102 <i>rašnīm</i> : 2104 |
| Y16.5 | | <i>rašnūm</i> : 2010, 4040 <i>rašnūm</i> : 4025 | <i>rašnīm</i> : 20, 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100 <i>rašnīm</i> : 2101 |
| Y17.6 ²⁹ | | <i>rašnūm</i> : 2010, 4000, 4040 | <i>rašnīm</i> : 20, 4010, 4025, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100 |
| ratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y2.2 | | <i>ratūm</i> : 2010, 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040 | <i>ratīm</i> : 20, 2101, 2102, 2104, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100, 4140 |
| Y2.4a | | <i>ratūm</i> : 2010, 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040 | <i>ratīm</i> : 20, 2101, 2102, 2104, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100, 4140 |
| Y2.4b | | <i>ratūm</i> : 2010, 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040 | <i>ratīm</i> : 20, 2101, 2102, 2104, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100, 4140 |
| Y2.5a | | <i>ratūm</i> : 2010, 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040 | <i>ratīm</i> : 20, 2101, 2102, 2104, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100, 4140 |
| Y2.5b | | <i>ratūm</i> : 2010, 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040 | <i>ratīm</i> : 20, 2101, 2102, 2104, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100, 4140 |
| Y9.1 | | <i>ratūm</i> : 40, 4010, 4025, 4055 | <i>ratīm</i> : 15, 20, 82, 83, 2010, 2040, 2101, 2104, 2801, 4000, 4031, 4040, 4045, 4050, 4060, 4070, 4100, 4140, 5020 <i>ratī</i> : 4020 |
| Y31.2 | | <i>ratūm</i> : 2005, 2010, 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040 | <i>ratīm</i> : 20, 2101, 4050, 4055 |
| V15.9a | | ^o <i>ratūm</i> : 4000, 4010 | ^o <i>ratīm</i> : 4050, 4055 |
| V15.9b | | ^o <i>ratūm</i> : 4000, 4010 | ^o <i>ratīm</i> : 4050, 4055 |
| tāiūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.21 | <i>tāiūm</i> : 15, 20, 82, 83, 2010, 2040, 2101, 2104, 4000, 4010, 4020, 4025, 4040, 4045, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4070, 4100, 4140, 5020 | | |
| Y11.3 | | <i>tāiūm</i> : 20, 2010, 4000, 4010, 4025 | <i>taiiīm</i> : 2101, 2104, 4040, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100, 4140 |
| xratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y28.1 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 2010, 4010, 4025, 4040 <i>xratūm</i> : 4000 | <i>xratīm</i> : 20, 4050, 4055 |
| Y32.9 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 2005, 2010, 4000, 4010, 4040 | <i>xratīm</i> : 20, 2101, 4025, 4050, 4055 |
| V18.6 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 4000 | <i>xratīm</i> : 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| VrS24.2 ³⁰ | | <i>xratūm</i> : 2005, 2010, 4000, 4010 | <i>xratīm</i> : 2101, 2230, 4050, 4055 |
| Y25.6 | | | <i>xratīm</i> : 20 |
| Y62.4 | | | <i>xratīm</i> : 20 |
| zantūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |

²⁶ Vr7.1²⁷ Vr7.2²⁸ = VS6.2²⁹ = VS17.2³⁰ Vr19.1

| | | | |
|---------------------|-----|--|--|
| Y62.5 ³¹ | | <i>zan̄tūmca</i> : 2010 | <i>zan̄tūmca</i> : 20, 2005, 2101, 400, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| Y68.5 | | <i>zan̄tūmca</i> : 2000, 2010 | <i>zan̄tūmca</i> : 20, 2101, 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| V1.15 | | ^o <i>zan̄tūm</i> : 4010, 4025, 4040 | ^o <i>zan̄tūm</i> : 4000, 4050, 4055 |
| V8.103 | | | <i>zan̄tūmca</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025 ³² , 4050, 4055 |
| V18.52 | | | ^o <i>zan̄tūm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| n̄m | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V9.22 | | | <i>n̄m</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| V9.22 | | | <i>n̄m</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| V9.22 | | | <i>n̄m</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| V9.23 | | | <i>n̄m</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |

| Table 1b Indian Sādes | | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|--|
| ah̄m | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.19 | | <i>ah̄m</i> : 100, 110, 120, 230, 234, 4200, 4210, 4220, 4240, 4250, 4340, 4360, 4400, 4410, 4420, 4440, 4450, 4500, 4503, 4504, 4506, 4507, 4510, 4515 | <i>ah̄.ma</i> : 231 |
| Y11.10 | | <i>ah̄m</i> : 100, 120, 230, 231, 234, 235, 4210, 4240, 4420, 4400, 4510 | |
| Y27.4 | | <i>ah̄m</i> : 100, 120, 230, 234, 235, 4420, 4410 <i>dāh̄m</i> ³³ : 234, 4400 | |
| Y30.6 | | <i>ah̄m</i> : 100, 120, 230, 231, 234, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4420, 4400, 4510, 4515 | <i>ah̄</i> ³⁴ : 235, 4410 |
| V2.22a | | <i>ah̄m</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4400, 4410, 4510, 4515 | |
| V2.22b | | <i>ah̄m</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4400, 4410, 4510, 4515 | |
| V18.16 | | <i>ah̄m</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| barāšn̄m | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V8.40 | | <i>barāšn̄m</i> : 4200, 4210, 4240, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>barāsn̄m</i> : 4230, 4410 <i>baraišn̄m</i> : 4400 | |
| V8.41 | | <i>barāšn̄m</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>baršn̄m</i> : 4400 <i>barāsn̄m</i> : 4410 | |
| V9.15 | | <i>barāšn̄m</i> : 4200, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>barāsn̄m</i> : 4210, 4230, 4240, 4410 <i>baršn̄m</i> : 4400 | |
| dax̄iūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y62.5 ³⁵ | | <i>dax̄iūmca</i> : 230 | |
| Y68.5 | <i>dax̄iūmca</i> : 234, 235, 4200, 4510 <i>dax̄iūmca</i> : 120 | <i>dax̄iūmca</i> : 4210, 4420, 4400, 4515 <i>dax̄aiūmca</i> : 4240 <i>dax̄aiiūmca</i> : 231 | <i>dax̄^yauumca</i> : 100 <i>dāx̄iūmca</i> : 4410 |
| V8.103 | <i>dax̄iūmca</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4515 | <i>dax̄iūmca</i> : 4420, 4400, 4410 | <i>dāx̄iūmca</i> : 4410 |
| V18.52 | | ^o <i>dax̄iūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4400, 4510 | <i>dāx̄iūm</i> : 4410 |
| gaōdāiūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Vr2.11 | | <i>gaōdāiūm</i> : 4200 <i>gaōdāiūm</i> : 4250, 4420, 4410, 4515 <i>gaōdāiūm</i> : 4510 | <i>gaōdāim</i> : 4230 <i>gaōdāim</i> : 4240 <i>gudāim</i> : 4400 |
| gātūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y62.5 | | ^o <i>gātūm</i> : 230 | |
| V9.33 | | ^o <i>gātūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| V9.34 | | ^o <i>gātūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4515 ^o <i>yātūm</i> : 4510 | |
| V15.43 | <i>gātūm</i> : 4240 | <i>gātūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| mañiūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y18.8 | | <i>mainiūm</i> : 4510 | ^o <i>mainiū</i> : 120, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4515 ^o <i>maeniūm</i> : 230 ^o <i>mainiūm</i> : 100 ^o <i>mainiū</i> : 231 |

³¹ = VrS32.5 in the Wisperad, Widēwdād and Wīštāsp Yašt ceremonies.

³² This is a modern part completing a destroyed half page of the original manuscript.

³³ For *dā ah̄m*.

³⁴ Before *marātānō*.

³⁵ = VrS32.5 in the Wisperad, Widēwdād and Wīštāsp Yašt ceremonies.

| | | | |
|----------------|-----|---|--|
| | | | <i>mainū</i> : 4400 |
| Y47.7 | | <i>mainiūm</i> : 4400 | ^o <i>mainiū</i> : 230, 100, 120, 235, 234, 4200, 4210, 4420, 4410, 4510, 4515 ^o <i>mainiū</i> : 231 |
| V10.5 | | <i>mainiūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| Vr2.8 | | ^o <i>mainiūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4510 | ^o <i>mainiū</i> : 4240, 4410 ^o <i>mainiūs</i> : 4400 ^o <i>mainiūs</i> : 4515 |
| Vr19.0 | | ^o <i>mainiūm</i> : 4200, 4230, 4400, | ^o <i>mainiū</i> : 4240, 4410, 4510 ^o <i>mainiūs</i> : 4515 |
| pasūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V13.31 | | <i>pasūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| V13.32a | | <i>pasūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| V13.32b | | <i>pasūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| V13.33a | | <i>pasūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| V13.33b | | <i>pasūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| V13.34 | | <i>pasūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| pitūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.11 | | <i>pitūm</i> : 100, 110, 4360, 4503, 4506 <i>patūm</i> : 230, 231, 4340, 4400, 4420, 4440, 4450, 4500, 4507, 4510, 4515 <i>pitūm</i> : 120, 234, 4220, 4410 | <i>pitam</i> : 4210, 4240, 4250 <i>patam</i> : 4200 <i>pitam</i> : 4504 |
| pārātūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y46.10 | | <i>pārātūm</i> : 100, 120, 230, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4410, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>pairitūm</i> : 4400 | |
| V13.3 | | ^o <i>pārātūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4410, 4420, 4510, 4515 ^o <i>pairātūm</i> : 4400 | |
| V18.6 | | ^o <i>pārātūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4400, 4410, 4420, 4510, 4515 | |
| V19.29 | | ^o <i>pārātūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4410, 4420, 4510, 4515 ^o <i>pairitūm</i> : 4400 | |
| V19.30 | | <i>pārātūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4400, 4410, 4420, 4510, 4515 | |
| V19.36 | | ^o <i>pārātūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4400, 4410, 4420, 4510, 4515 | |
| VrS8.1 | | <i>pārātūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4400, 4410, 4420, 4510, 4515 | |
| Y19.6 | | <i>pārātūm.ci</i> : 100, 120, 230, 234, 4200, 4250, 4410 <i>pārātūm.ci</i> : 4420, 4515 <i>pārātūmci</i> : 4210, 4240 <i>pārātūmci</i> : 4510 <i>pairi.tūm.ci</i> : 235 <i>pairi.tūm.ci</i> : 4400 | <i>pārātūm.ci</i> : 231 |
| Y71.16 | | <i>pārātūm</i> : 100, 120, 230, 235, 4200, 4240, 4410, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>pārītūm</i> : 231 <i>pairitūm</i> : 234, 4400 | |
| rašnūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| VrS8.2 | | <i>rašnūm</i> : 4200, 4400, 4420 <i>rasnūm</i> : 4210, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4410, 4510, 4515 | |
| Y2.7 | | <i>rasnūm</i> : 100, 120, 230, 234, 235 <i>rašnūm</i> : 231, 4230 | |
| Y16.5 | | <i>rasnūm</i> : 100, 230, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4250, 4410, 4515 <i>rašnūm</i> : 120, 234, 4400, 4420, 4510 <i>rašānūm</i> : 231 | |
| ratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y2.2 | | <i>ratūm</i> : 100, 120, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4510, 4515 <i>rtūm</i> : 4400 | |
| Y2.4a | | <i>ratūm</i> : 100, 120, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4510, 4515 <i>rtūm</i> : 4400 | |

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|---------------|------------------------|--|---|
| Y2.4b | | <i>ratūm</i> : 100, 120, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4510, 4515 <i>rtūm</i> : 4400 | |
| Y2.5a | | <i>ratūm</i> : 100, 120, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4510, 4515 <i>rtūm</i> : 4400 | |
| Y2.5b | | <i>ratūm</i> : 100, 120, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4510, 4515 <i>rtūm</i> : 4400 | |
| Y9.1 | | <i>ratūm</i> : 100, 110, 120, 230, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4220, 4240, 4250, 4340, 4360, 4400, 4410, 4420, 4440, 4450, 4500, 4503, 4504, 4506, 4507, 4510, 4515 | |
| Y31.2 | | <i>ratūm</i> : 120, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4410, 4420, 54510, 4520 <i>rtūm</i> : 4400 | <i>ratuum</i> : 100 |
| V15.9a | | <i>ratūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 420, 4240, 4410, 4420, 4510, 4520 <i>rtūm</i> : 4400 | |
| V15.9b | | <i>ratūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 420, 4240, 4410, 4420, 4510, 4520 <i>rtūm</i> : 4400 | |
| tāiium | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.21 | | <i>tāiium</i> : 110, 120, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4220, 4240, 4250, 4340, 4360, 4410, 4420, 4440, 4450, 4500, 4503, 4504, 4506, 4507, 4510, 4515 | <i>tāiuum</i> : 100, 230 <i>tāim</i> : 4400 <i>tāiū</i> : 231 |
| Y11.3 | | <i>tāiium</i> : 230, 100, 120, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | <i>tāiū</i> : 231 |
| xratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y28.1 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 100, 120, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4250, 4410, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>ḫarītūm</i> : 231 <i>xrətūm</i> : 4400 | <i>xratū</i> : 230 |
| Y32.9 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 100, 120, 230, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4420 <i>xritūm</i> : 231 <i>ḫaratūm</i> : 4410 <i>ḫarətūm</i> : 4400 | <i>ḫaratū</i> : 4510 <i>xratū</i> : 4515 |
| V18.6 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4400, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>xaratūm</i> : 4410 | |
| VrS24.2 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 4200, 4230, 4240, 4510, 4515 <i>xaratūm</i> : 4410 <i>xritūm</i> : 4400 | |
| Y25.6 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 100, 120, 230, 234 <i>ḫritūm</i> : 231 <i>xaratūm</i> : 235 <i>xrətūm</i> : 230 | |
| Y62.4 | | <i>xrətūm</i> : 230 | |
| zantūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y62.5 | | <i>jntūmca</i> : 230 | |
| Y68.5 | | <i>zantūmca</i> : 230, 100, 120, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| V1.15 | | ^o <i>zantūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4510, 4515 ^o <i>janṭūm</i> : 4410 | ^o <i>janṭū</i> : 4400 |
| V8.103 | <i>zantūmca</i> : 4515 | <i>zantūmca</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4400, 4410 | <i>zantūmca</i> : 4420 |
| V18.52 | | ^o <i>zantūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4400, 4510 | |
| nūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V9.22 | | <i>nūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420 <i>anūm</i> : 4400, 4410, 4510, 4515 | |
| V9.22 | | <i>nūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420 <i>anūm</i> : 4400, 4410, 4510, 4515 | |
| V9.22 | | <i>nūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420 <i>anūm</i> : 4400, 4410, 4510, 4515 | |
| V9.23 | | <i>nūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420 <i>anūm</i> : 4400, 4410, 4510, 4515 | |

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|---------------|-----|---|---------------|
| ahūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.19 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 400, 408, 409, 410, 415, 420, 450 | |
| Y11.10 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 400, 415, 420 | |
| Y27.4 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 400, 415, 420 | |
| Y30.6 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 400, 415, 420 | |
| daxiūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y62.5 | | <i>daxiūmca</i> : 400, 415, 420 | |
| Y68.5 | | <i>daxiūmca</i> : 400, 415, 420 | |
| gātūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |

| | | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| Y62.5 | | ^o gātūm: 400, 415, 420 | |
| maiñiūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y18.8 | | | ^o maiñiū 400 ^o maiñiū: 415, 420 |
| pitūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.11 | | patūm: 408, 409, 420 paitūm: 410 | paitūm: 400 paitəm: 415 paiīm: 450 |
| pəratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y46.10 | | pəratūm: 420 fəratūm: 400, 415 | |
| Y19.6 | | pəratūm.ciṭ: 400 pairitūm.ciṭ: 415 pəratəmciṭ: 420 | |
| Y71.16 | | pəratūm: 400, 415, 420 | |
| rašnūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y2.7 | | rašnūm: 400, 415, 420 | |
| Y6.6 | | rašnūm: 400 rasnūm: 415 | |
| Y16.5 | | rašnūm: 400, 415, 420 | |
| Y17.6 | | rašnūm: 400 | |
| ratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y2.2 | | ratūm: 400, 415, 420 | |
| Y2.4a | | ratūm: 400, 415, 420 | |
| Y2.4b | | ratūm: 400, 415, 420 | |
| Y2.5a | | ratūm: 400, 415, 420 | |
| Y2.5b | | ratūm: 400, 415, 420 | |
| Y9.1 | | ratūm: 400, 408, 409, 410, 415, 420, 450 | |
| Y31.2 | | ratūm: 400, 415, 420 | |
| tāiūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.21 | tāiūm: 408, 409, 410, 415, 420, 450 | tāiūm: 400 | |
| Y11.3 | | tāiūm: 400, 415, 420 | |
| xratūm | -um | -ūm (/ -īm) | other endings |
| Y28.1 | | xratūm: 400, 415, 420 | |
| Y32.9 | | xratūm: 400, 415, 420 | |
| Y25.6 | | xratūm: 400, 420 | |
| Y62.4 | | xratūm: 400, 415 xraītūm: 420 | |
| zañtūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y62.5 | zañtumca: 415 | zañtūmca: 400, 420 | |
| Y68.5 | | zañtūmca: 400, 415, 420 | |

| Table 1d | Yasna Pahlavi | | |
|----------------|---------------|--|------------------------|
| ahūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.19 | | ahūm: 500, 602, 605, 613 | ahū: 510, 530 |
| Y11.10 | | ahūm: 500, 510, 530, 613 | |
| Y27.4 | | ahūm: 500, 510, 530 | |
| Y30.6 | | ahūm: 500, 510, 530 | |
| dañiūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y62.5 | | dañiūmca: 500, 510, 530 | |
| Y68.5 | | dañiūmca: 500, 510, 530 | |
| gātūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y62.5 | | ^o gātūm: 510, 530 | ^o gātū: 500 |
| maiñiūm | | -ūm | |
| Y18.8 | | maiñiūm: 500, 510, 530 | |
| pitūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.11 | | patūm: 510, 530, 602 paitūm: 605 | paitūm: 613 |
| pəratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y46.10 | | pəratūm: 500, 510, 530 | |
| Y19.6 | | pəratūmciṭ: 500, 510 pəratūm.ciṭ: 530 | |
| Y71.16 | | pəratūm: 500, 510, 530 | |
| rašnūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y2.7 | | rašnūm: 500, 510 | |
| Y6.6 | | rašnūm: 530, 510 | |
| Y16.5 | | rašnūm: 500, 510, 530 | |
| ratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y2.2 | | ratūm: 500, 510, 530 | |
| Y2.4a | | ratūm: 500, 510 | |

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|---------------|--------------------------|---|---------------|
| Y2.4b | | <i>ratūm</i> : 500, 510 | |
| Y2.5a | | <i>ratūm</i> : 500, 510 | |
| Y2.5b | | <i>ratūm</i> : 500, 510 | |
| Y9.1 | | <i>ratūm</i> : 500, 510, 530, 602, 605, 613 | |
| Y31.2 | | <i>ratūm</i> : 500, 510, 530 | |
| tāiium | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.21 | <i>tāiium</i> : 500, 602 | <i>tāiium</i> : 510, 530, 605, 613 | |
| Y11.3 | | <i>tāiium</i> : 500, 510, 530, 613 | |
| xratūm | -um | -ūm (/ -īm) | other endings |
| Y28.1 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 500, 510, 530 | |
| Y32.9 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 500, 510, 530 | |
| Y25.6 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 500, 510, 530 | |
| Y62.4 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 500, 510, 530 | |
| zantūm | | | |
| Y62.5 | | <i>zantūmca</i> : 500, 510, 530 | |
| Y68.5 | | <i>zantūmca</i> : 500, 510, 530 | |

| Table 1e | Yasna Sanskrit | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|---|---------------------|
| ahūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.19 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 677, 682 | |
| Y11.10 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 677, 682 | |
| Y27.4 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 680 | <i>ahū</i> : 682 |
| Y30.6 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 677, 680, 682 | |
| daxiūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y62.5 | <i>daxiūmca</i> : 682 | <i>daxiūmca</i> : 680 | |
| Y68.5 | | <i>daxiūmca</i> : 682 | |
| gātūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y62.5 | | <i>gātūm</i> : 680, 682 | |
| mañiūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y18.8 | | <i>mañiūm</i> : 677 | <i>mañiū</i> : 682 |
| pəratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y46.10 | | <i>pəratūm</i> : 677, 680, 682 | |
| Y19.6 | | <i>pəratūmci</i> : 677 | |
| Y71.16 | | <i>pəratūm</i> : 682 | |
| pitūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.11 | | <i>pətūm</i> : 677 | <i>patīm</i> : 682 |
| rašnūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y2.7 | | <i>rašnūm</i> : 677, 682 <i>rašnūm</i> : 681 | |
| Y6.6 | | <i>rašnūm</i> : 677 <i>rašnūm</i> : 681 | |
| Y16.5 | | <i>rašnūm</i> : 677, 682 | |
| ratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y2.2 | | <i>ratūm</i> : 677, 681 | <i>ratuum</i> : 682 |
| Y2.4a | | <i>ratūm</i> : 677, 681, 682 | |
| Y2.4b | | <i>ratūm</i> : 677, 681, 682 | |
| Y2.5a | | <i>ratūm</i> : 677, 681, 682 | |
| Y2.5b | | <i>ratūm</i> : 677, 681, 682 | |
| Y9.1 | | <i>ratūm</i> : 677, 681, 682 | |
| Y31.2 | | <i>ratūm</i> : 677, 680, 682 | |
| tāiium | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.21 | <i>tāiium</i> : 677 | <i>tāiium</i> : 682 | |
| Y11.3 | | <i>tāiium</i> : 682 | |
| xratūm | -um | -ūm (/ -īm) | other endings |
| Y28.1 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 677, 680, 682 | |
| Y32.9 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 677, 680, 682 | |
| Y25.6 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 682 | |
| Y62.4 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 680, 682 | |
| zantūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y62.5 | | <i>zantūmca</i> : 680, 682 | |
| Y68.5 | | <i>zantūmca</i> : 682 | |


| Table 1f | Widēwdād Pahlavi | | |
|-----------------|------------------|--|--|
| ahūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V2.22a | | <i>ahūm</i> : 4670 | |
| V2.22b | | <i>ahūm</i> : 4670, 4700, 4711, 4712, 4713, 4715, 4710 | |
| V18.16 | | <i>ahūm</i> : 4600, 4660, 4700, 4711, 4712, 4713, 4715, 4710 | |
| barəšnūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V8.40 | | <i>barəšnūm</i> : 4601 <i>barəšnūm</i> : 4713 <i>barəšnūm</i> : 4670, 4711 | <i>barəšnū.əm</i> : 4700; <i>barəšnəm</i> : 4610 |


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| | | <i>baraišnūm</i> : 4700 | |
| V8.41 | | <i>barəšnūm</i> : 4713 <i>barəšnūm</i> : 4700, 4711, 4610 <i>baršnūm</i> : 4601 <i>baršnūm</i> : 4670 | |
| V9.15 | | <i>baršnūm</i> : 4600, 4610 ³⁶ , 4700, 4715 <i>barašnūm</i> : 4670, 4711, 4710 <i>baršnūm</i> : 4713 | |
| <i>daxiium</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V8.103 ³⁷ | <i>daxiiumca</i> : 4601 | <i>daxiiumca</i> : 4700, 4700, 4711, 4713 | |
| V18.52 | ^o <i>daxiium</i> : 4670, 4700, 4712, 4713 | | ^o <i>daxiium</i> : 4660 |
| <i>gātūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V9.34 | | ^o <i>gātūm</i> : 4600, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4710 | |
| V15.43 | <i>gātum</i> : 4600, 4700, 4710 | <i>gātūm</i> : 4670, 4660, 4713 | <i>gātqm</i> : 4610, 4711, 4715 |
| <i>maiium</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V10.5 | | <i>maiium</i> : 4600, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4710; <i>m[ainii]ūm</i> : 4610 | |
| <i>pasūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V13.31 | | <i>pasūm</i> : 4600, 4610, 4670, 4660, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4710 | |
| V13.32a | <i>pasum</i> : 4600, 4610, 4660, 4700, 4711, 4710 | <i>pasūm</i> : 4670, 4713, 4715 | |
| V13.32b | <i>pasum</i> : 4600, 4660, 4700, 4710 | <i>pasūm</i> : 4610, 4670, 4711, 4713, 4715 | |
| V13.33a | <i>pasum</i> : 4700 | <i>pasūm</i> : 4600, 4610, 4670, 4660, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4710 | |
| V13.33b | <i>pasum</i> : 4700 | <i>pasūm</i> : 4600, 4610, 4670, 4660, 4711, 4713, 4715 | |
| V13.34 | <i>pasum</i> : 4610, 4711, 4715 | <i>pasūm</i> : 4600, 4670, 4660, 4700, 4713, 4710 | |
| <i>pəratūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V13.3 | | ^o <i>pəratūm</i> : 4600, 4610, 4660, 4670, 4700, 4710, 4711, 4713, 4715 | |
| V18.6 | | ^o <i>pəratūm</i> : 4600, 4660, 4670, 4700, 4710, 4711, 4712, 4715 | |
| V19.29 | | ^o <i>pəratūm</i> : 4660, 4670, 4700, 4712, 4713 | ^o <i>pəratqm</i> : 4600, 4610, 4710, 4711, 4715 |
| V19.30 | | <i>pəratūm</i> : 4600, 4610, 4660, 4670, 4700, 4710, 4711, 4712, 4713, 4715 | |
| V19.36 | | ^o <i>pəratūm</i> : 4600, 4610, 4660, 4670, 4700, 4710, 4711, 4712, 4713, 4715 | |
| <i>ratūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V15.9a | <i>ratum</i> : 4600, 4610, 4711, 4713, 4715 | <i>ratūm</i> : 4660, 4670, 4700, 4710 | |
| V15.9b | <i>ratum</i> : 4711, 4713, 4715 | <i>ratūm</i> : 4600, 4660, 4670, 4700, 4710 | |
| <i>xratūm</i> | -um | -ūm (/ -īm) | other endings |
| V18.6 | | <i>xratūm</i> : 4600, 4610, 4660, 4670, 4700, 4710, 4711, 4712, 4715 | |
| <i>zañtūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V1.15 | ^o <i>zañtum</i> : 4713, 4700 | ^o <i>zañtūm</i> : 4600, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4712, 4715, 4710 | ^o <i>zañtəm</i> : 4601 |
| V8.103 ³⁸ | <i>zañtumca</i> : 4601, 4713 | <i>zañtūmca</i> : 4700, 4711 | |
| V18.52 | | ^o <i>zañtūm</i> : 4660, 4670, 4700, 4712, 4713 | |
| <i>nūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V9.22 | | ,nūm: 4600, 4670, 4700; [n]ūm: 4610 ,anūm: 4713 | |
| V9.22 | | ,nūm: 4600, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4713 | |
| V9.22 | | ,nūm: 4600, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4710, 4711, 4715 ,anūm: 4713 | |
| V9.23 | | ,nūm: 4600, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4710, 4711, 4715 ,anūm: 4713 | |

Table 2 : ū- stems

| Table 2a | Iranian Sādes | | |
|-----------------|---------------|-----|---------------|
| <i>fsəratūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |

³⁶ 4610 .

³⁷ 4610 .

³⁸ 4610 .

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|--------------|-----|--|--|
| Y5.5 | | <i>fsəratūm</i> : 4010, 4025, 4040 <i>fsiratūm</i> : 4000 <i>fsarətūm</i> : 2010 | <i>fsəratīm</i> : 4060, 4100, 4140 <i>fsarətīm</i> : 2101 <i>fsiratīm</i> : 2104, 4050, 4055 |
| Y27.9 | | <i>fsəratūm</i> : 2005, 4000, 4010, 4040 <i>fsaratūm</i> : 2010 | <i>fsəratīm</i> : 2101, 4025, 4050, 4100 <i>pəsəratīm</i> : 20 <i>fsiratūuōm</i> : 4055 |
| Y33.12 | | <i>fsəratūm</i> : 4040 | |
| Y37.5 | | <i>fsəratūm</i> : 2005, 4000, 4010, 4025 | <i>fsəratīm</i> : 2101, |
| tanūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.17 | | | ^o <i>tanīm</i> : 15, 20, 82, 83, 2010, 2040, 2101, 2104, 2801, 4000, 4010, 4020, 4025, 4031, 4040, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4070, 4100, 4140, 5020 ^o <i>tanəm</i> : 4045 |
| Y10.14 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 2010, 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040 | <i>tanīm</i> : 20, 2101, 2104, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100, 4140 |
| Y33.10 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 40, 2005, 2010, 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040 | <i>tanīm</i> : 2101, 4050, 4055 |
| V4.17 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040 | <i>tanīm</i> : 4050, 4055 |
| V5.12 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4040 | <i>tanīm</i> : 4025, 4050, 4055 |
| V9.1 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 4000 | <i>tanīm</i> : 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| xšnūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y48.12 | | <i>xšnūm</i> : 2005, 4000, 4010 | <i>xšnīm</i> : 20 <i>xšnīm</i> : 2101 <i>xšnəm</i> : 2010, 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| Y53.2 | | <i>xšnūm</i> : 2005, 2010 | <i>xšnīm</i> : 20, 4050, 4055 <i>xšnəm</i> : 2101 |

| Table 2b Indian Sādes | | | |
|------------------------------|-----|--|---|
| fsəratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y5.5 | | <i>fsəratūm</i> : 230, 100, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4250, 4420 <i>fsəratūm</i> : 120, 234, 235 <i>fsə.ratūm</i> : 4510 <i>fsə.ratūm</i> : 4400, 4515 <i>frsəratūm</i> : 100 <i>frasəratūm</i> : 231 <i>frasaratūm</i> : 4410 | |
| Y27.9 | | <i>fsiratūm</i> : 230 <i>frširatūm</i> : 100 <i>fərašaratūm</i> : 231 <i>fəsəratūm</i> : 235 <i>fəsə.ratūm</i> : 4240 | |
| Y37.5 | | <i>fəsiratūm</i> : 230 <i>fsarətūm</i> : 100 | |
| tanūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.17 | | ^o <i>tanūm</i> : 100, 110, 120, 230, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4220, 4240, 4340, 4400, 4420, 4440, 4450, 4503, 4504, 4506, 4507, 4510, 4515 | ^o <i>təməm</i> : 4250 |
| Y10.14 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 230, 100, 120, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| Y33.10 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 235, 234, 4200, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 <i>tūm</i> : 4240 | <i>tanōm</i> : 100, 230, 231 <i>tanəm</i> : 120 |
| V4.17 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| V5.12 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| V9.1 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| xšnūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y48.12 | | <i>xšnūm</i> : 231, 4400 | <i>xšnəm</i> : 120, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240 <i>xšnəm</i> : 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>xšnəm</i> : 230, 100 <i>xāšnəm</i> : 4410 |
| Y53.2 | | | <i>xšnəm</i> : 234, 235, 4210, 4240, 4420 <i>xšnəm</i> : 230, 100, 120 <i>xšnəm</i> : 4400, 4510, 4515 <i>xāšnəm</i> : 4410 <i>xāšnəm</i> : 231 |

| Table 2c Combined Yasna | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|--|-----------------------|
| fsəratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y5.5 | | <i>fəšəratūm</i> : 415 <i>fsə.ratūm</i> : 420 | <i>fsəratīm</i> : 400 |

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|--------------|-----|---|---|
| Y27.9 | | | |
| Y33.12 | | <i>fsəratūm</i> : 400 | |
| Y37.5 | | <i>fsəratūm</i> : 400 | |
| tanūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.17 | | ^o <i>tanūm</i> : 400, 408, 409, 410, 415, 420, 450 | |
| Y10.14 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 400, 415, 420 | |
| Y33.10 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 400, 415, 420 | |
| xšnūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y48.12 | | | <i>xšnəm</i> : 400, 420 <i>xšnəm</i> : 415 |
| Y53.2 | | | <i>xšnəm</i> : 400 <i>xšnəm</i> : 415, 420 |

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|-----------------|---------------|--|--------------------|
| Table 2d | Yasna Pahlavi | | |
| fsəratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y5.5 | | <i>fsəratūm</i> : 500, 510, 530 | |
| Y33.12 | | <i>fsəratūm</i> : 500 <i>fəsarəratūm</i> : 510, 530 | |
| Y37.5 | | <i>fsəratūm</i> : 500, 510, 530 | |
| tanūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.17 | | ^o <i>tanūm</i> : 500, 510, 530, 602, 605, 613 | |
| Y10.14 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 500, 530, 613 | |
| Y33.10 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 510, 530 | |
| xšnūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y48.12 | | <i>xšnūm</i> : 510, 530 | <i>xšnəm</i> : 500 |
| Y53.2 | | <i>xšnūm</i> : 500, 530 | <i>xšnəm</i> : 510 |

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|-----------------|----------------|--|--|
| Table 2e | Yasna Sanskrit | | |
| fsəratūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y5.5 | | <i>fsəratūm</i> : 677 <i>fəšəratūm</i> : 681 <i>fsəratūm</i> : 682 | |
| Y27.9 | | <i>fšəratūm</i> : 677, 682 <i>fsə.ratūm</i> : 680 | |
| Y33.12 | | <i>fsəratūm</i> : 677, 682 | |
| Y37.5 | | <i>fsəratūm</i> : 682 | |
| tanūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.17 | | ^o <i>tanūm</i> : 677, 682 | |
| Y10.14 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 677, 682 | |
| Y33.10 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 677, 680, 682 | |
| xšnūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y48.12 | | <i>xšnūm</i> : 680 | <i>xšnəm</i> : 682 |
| Y53.2 | | | <i>xšnəm</i> : 680 <i>xšnəm</i> : 682 |

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| Table 2f | Widēwdād Pahlavi | | |
| tanūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V4.17 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 4600, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4712, 4713, 4715, 4710 | |
| V5.12 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 4601, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4712, 4713, 4715, 4710 | |
| V9.1 | | <i>tanūm</i> : 4600, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4710 | |

Table 3: *μa*- stems

| | | | |
|-----------------|--|-----|--|
| Table 3a | Iranian Sādes | | |
| caθrušum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.7 | <i>caθrušum</i> : 2005, 4000, 4055, 4060, 4100 <i>ciθrāšum</i> : 20 <i>ciθrušum</i> : 2101, 4025, 4050 | | <i>caθrušqm</i> : 2010, 4040 |
| V6.32 | <i>ciθrušum</i> : 4000, 4055 | | <i>caθrušqm</i> : 4010, 4025, 4040, 4601 <i>ciθrušqm</i> : 4050 |
| V16.2 | <i>caθrušum</i> : 4010, 4050 <i>ciθrušum</i> : 4055 | | <i>caθrušqm</i> : 4000 |
| pourum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V4.47 | <i>pourum</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040, 4055 <i>pədurum</i> : 4050 | | |
| V8.40 | <i>pourum</i> : 4000, 4055, 4200 <i>pədurum</i> : 4010, 4050 | | |
| V8.41 | <i>pourum</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025, 4055 <i>pədurum</i> : 4050 | | |
| V8.58a | <i>pourum</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025, 4055 <i>pədurum</i> : 4050 | | |
| V8.58b | <i>pourum</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025 | | |

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|---------------|--|-----|--|
| | <i>pōurum</i> : 4050, 4055 | | |
| V9.15 | <i>paōurum</i> : 4000, 4010, 4055 | | <i>paōirīm</i> : 4050 |
| saorum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V10.9 | | | <i>saōrām</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050 <i>sōrām</i> : 4055 |
| θrišum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.7 | <i>θrišum</i> : 4000, 4040, 4050, 4055 <i>θrāšum</i> : 20, 2005, 2101, 4100 <i>srišum</i> : 4060 | | <i>θrišqm</i> : 2010, 4025 |
| V6.32 | <i>θrišum</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040, 4055 | | <i>θrišqm</i> : 4050 |
| V16.2 | | | <i>θrišqm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| V18.63a | | | <i>θrušqm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4055 <i>θrišqm</i> : 4050 |
| V18.63b | <i>θrišum</i> : 4000, 4050 <i>θrāšum</i> : 4010, 4055 | | |
| V18.64a | <i>θrāšum</i> : 4010, 4055 <i>θrišum</i> : 4050 | | <i>θrišqm</i> : 4000 |
| V18.64b | <i>θrišum</i> : 4000, 4050 <i>θrāšum</i> : 4010, 4050 | | |

| Table 3b | Indian Sādes | | |
|-----------------|---|---|---|
| caθrušum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.7 | <i>ciθrušum</i> : 230, 100 | <i>ciθrušūm</i> : 234, 4240, 4420, 4410 <i>caθrušūm</i> : 235, 4200, 4210, 4350 <i>ciθrašūm</i> : 4400 | <i>ciθarašuum</i> : 231 <i>ciθrušām</i> : 4510, 4515 |
| V6.32 | | <i>caθrušūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4400 <i>ciθrušūm</i> : 4410 | <i>ciθrušām</i> : 4510, 4515 |
| V16.2 | <i>caθrušum</i> : 4200, 4210 <i>ciθrušum</i> : 4240 | <i>caθrušūm</i> : 4230, 4420 <i>ciθrušūm</i> : 4410 | <i>ciθrušqm</i> : 4400 <i>ciθrušām</i> : 4510, 4515 |
| haurum | -um | -ūm | -əm |
| Y19.14 | | | <i>ahurām</i> : 100, 120, 230, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4250, 4410, 4510, 4515 <i>hurām</i> : 4400 <i>haurām</i> : 4420 |
| Y20.3 | | | <i>ahurām</i> : 100, 120, 230, 231, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4250, 4400, 4410, 4510, 4515 |
| V13.12 | <i>ahurum</i> : 4240 | | <i>haurām</i> : 4420 |
| V13.13 | | ^o <i>haourūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4240, 4410, 4510, 4515 ^o <i>hurūm</i> : 4400 ^o <i>haorūm</i> : 4410 | |
| V13.20 | | ^o <i>haurūm</i> : 4200, 4230, 4420, 4515 ^o <i>haorūm</i> : 4210, 4410 ^o <i>harūm</i> : 4240 ^o <i>huruum</i> : 4400 ^o <i>haourūm</i> : 4510 | |
| pourum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V4.47 | <i>pōurum</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4515 <i>paourum</i> : 4240, 4400 <i>paōurum</i> : 4510 | | |
| V8.40 | <i>paourum</i> : 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>pourum</i> : 4200 <i>paorum</i> : 4230 | <i>paourūm</i> : 4400 | <i>paoirīm</i> : 4210, 4410 <i>paōirīm</i> : 4240 |
| V8.41 | <i>pourum</i> : 4200 <i>paourum</i> : 4420, 4400, 4510, 4515 | | <i>paourām</i> : 4230 <i>paoirīm</i> : 4210, 4410 <i>paōirīm</i> : 4240 |
| V8.58a | <i>pourum</i> : 4200 <i>pōurum</i> : 4240, 4420 <i>paōurum</i> : 4210 <i>paourum</i> : 4410, 4400, 4510 <i>pirum</i> : 4515 | | <i>paoirīm</i> : 4230 |
| V8.58b | <i>pourum</i> : 4200 <i>pōurum</i> : 4210, 4240, 4420, 4515 <i>paourum</i> : 4400, 4510 | | <i>paourām</i> : 4230 |
| V9.15 | <i>paōurum</i> : 4200 <i>paourum</i> : 4420, 4400, 4510, 4515 | | <i>paōirīm</i> : 4210, 4230, 4240 <i>paoirīm</i> : 4410 |
| saorum | -um | -ūm | other endings |

| | | | |
|---------------|---|--|---|
| V10.9 | <i>saorum</i> : 4420 <i>saorum</i> : 4210 <i>surum</i> : 4410, 4400 | | <i>saorəm</i> : 4200 <i>surəm</i> : 4230, 4510, 4515 |
| θrišum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.7 | | <i>θrišūm</i> : 120, 234, 4200, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>θrəšūm</i> : 100, 235, 4210, 4240, 4250 <i>θarišūm</i> : 231 <i>θaraešūm</i> : 4410 <i>θrašūm</i> : 4400 | <i>θrəšuum</i> : 230 |
| V6.32 | <i>θrišum</i> : 4200, 4210 | <i>θrišūm</i> : 4230, 4240, 4410, 4420, 4400, 4510, 4515 <i>θrəšūm</i> : 4710 | |
| V16.2 | | <i>θrišūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4400, 4510, 4515, 4670 <i>θarišūm</i> : 4410 | |
| V18.63a | | <i>θrišūm</i> : 4200, 4230, 4420, 4410, 4510, 4515 <i>θrišūm</i> : 4210, 4240 | |
| V18.63b | | <i>θrišūm</i> : 4200, 4230, 4420, 4400, 4510, 4515 <i>θarišūm</i> : 4410 <i>θrišūm</i> : 4210, 4240 | |
| V18.64a | | <i>θrišūm</i> : 4200, 4230, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>θarišūm</i> : 4410 <i>θraišūm</i> : 4400 <i>θrišūm</i> : 4210, 4240 | |
| V18.64b | | <i>θrišūm</i> : 4200, 4230, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 <i>θrišūm</i> : 4210, 4240 | |

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|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| Table 3c | Combined Yasna | | |
| caθrušum | -um | -ūm | -əm |
| Y19.7 | <i>ciθrušum</i> : 400 | <i>ciθrašūm</i> : 420 | |
| haurum | -um | -ūm | -əm |
| Y19.14 | <i>haurum</i> : 400 | | <i>ahurəm</i> : 415 <i>haurəm</i> : 420 |
| Y20.3 | | | <i>ahurəm</i> : 415 |
| θrišum | -um | -ūm | -əm |
| Y19.7 | | <i>θrišūm</i> : 400, 415, 420 | |

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|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Table 3d | Pahlavi Yasna | | |
| caθrušum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.7 | | [ca]θrušūm: 500 | caθrušəm: 510, 530 |
| haurum | -um | -ūm | -əm |
| Y19.14 | | | <i>haurəm</i> : 500, 510, 530 |
| Y20.3 | <i>haurum</i> : 510, 530 | | <i>haurəm</i> : 500 |
| θrišum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.7 | <i>θrišum</i> : 500 | <i>θrišūm</i> : 510, 530 | |

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|-----------------|---|-----|--|
| Table 3e | Yasna Sanskrit | | |
| caθrušum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.7 | <i>caθrušum</i> : 677 <i>ciθrušum</i> : 680 <i>ciθrušum</i> : 682 | | |
| haurum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.14 | | | <i>ahurəm</i> : 680 <i>ahurim</i> : 682 |
| Y20.3 | | | <i>ahurəm</i> : 680, 682 |
| θrišum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.7 | <i>θrišum</i> : 677, 682 <i>θrišum</i> : 680 | | |

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|-----------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| Table 3f | Pahlavi Widēwdād | | |
| caθrušum | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V6.32 | | <i>caθrušūm</i> : 4710 | <i>caθrušqm</i> : 4601 <i>caθrušqm</i> : 4610, 4711, 4715 <i>ciθrušqm</i> : 4712 <i>ciθrušqm</i> : 4700, 4713 <i>ciθrušəm</i> : 4670 |
| V16.2 | <i>caθrušum</i> : 4610, 4711, 47 | | <i>caθrušqm</i> : 4600, 4660, 4710 <i>caθrušəm</i> : 4670 |

| <i>haurum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
|---------------|--|--|--|
| V13.12 | ⁹ <i>haurum</i> : 4600, 4610, 4660, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4713 | | |
| V13.13 | ⁹ <i>haurum</i> : 4600, 4610, 4660, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715 | | |
| <i>pourum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V4.47 | <i>paourum</i> : 4601, 4670, 4700, 4713, 4715, 4710 | | <i>paoru</i> : 4712 |
| V8.40 | <i>paourum</i> : 4610, 4711, 4713, 4715 | <i>paourūm</i> : 4601, 4670, 4700 | |
| V8.41 | <i>paourum</i> : 4601, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715 | | |
| V8.58a | <i>pōurum</i> : 4601, 4670 <i>paourum</i> : 4610, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715 | | |
| V8.58b | <i>pōurum</i> : 4601, 4670 <i>paōurum</i> : 4700 <i>paourum</i> : 4610, 4711, 4713, 4715 | | |
| V9.15 | <i>paourum</i> : 4600, 4610, 4700, 4710, 4711, 4713, 4715 | | <i>paoirīm</i> : 4670 |
| <i>saurum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V10.9 | <i>saurum</i> : 4610; <i>surum</i> : 4670, 4711, 4715 | | <i>surəm</i> : 4700 <i>sauru</i> : 4600 <i>suru</i> : 4710 |
| <i>θrišum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V6.32 | <i>θrišum</i> : 4610 | <i>θrišūm</i> : 4670, 4711 <i>θrəšūm</i> : 4710 | <i>θrišqm</i> : 4700, 4713 <i>θrišqm</i> : 4601, 4712 |
| V16.2 | <i>θrišum</i> : 4610, 4711, 4715 | <i>θrišūm</i> : 4670 <i>θrəšūm</i> : 4710 | <i>θrišqm</i> : 4700, 4713 <i>θrišqm</i> : 4600, 4660 |
| V18.63a | | <i>θrišūm</i> : 4660, 4713 <i>θrišūm</i> : 4670 | <i>θrišqm</i> : 4600, 4610, 4712, 4715 <i>θrašqm</i> : 4700 |
| V18.63b | | <i>θrišūm</i> : 4660 <i>θrišūm</i> : 4610, 4670, 4713 | <i>θrišqm</i> : 4600, 4700, 4712 <i>θrišīm</i> : 4715 |
| V18.64a | <i>θrišum</i> : 4600, 4700, 4712 | <i>θrišūm</i> : 4660, 4713 <i>θrišūm</i> : 4610, 4670, 4715 | |
| V18.64b | | <i>θrišūm</i> : 4660, 4713 <i>θrišūm</i> : 4610, 4670, 4715 | <i>θrišqm</i> : 4600, 4700, 4712 |

Table 4: *xštūm*, *srūm*, *darūm*, *drūm*

| Table 4a | Iranian Sādes | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|--|--|
| <i>dādrūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V9.11 | | | <i>dādrīm</i> : 4050, 4055 <i>dādrē</i> : 4000 <i>dādrī</i> : 4010 |
| <i>drum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V22.5 | | <i>drūm</i> : 4000, 4010 | <i>drīm</i> : 4050, 4055 |
| <i>srūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V9.14a | | | <i>srīm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| V9.14b | | | <i>srīm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| V9.14c | | | <i>srīm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| V16.6 | | | <i>sraēm</i> : 4000 <i>srīm</i> : 4050, 4055 |
| <i>xštūm</i> ³⁹ | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.21 | | <i>xštūm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025 | <i>xštīm</i> : 15, 20, 82, 83, 2010, 2040, 2101, 2104, 4000, 4020, 4040, 4045, 4050, 4055, 4060, 5020 <i>xstīm</i> : 4070, 4100, 4140 <i>x'štīm</i> : 4031 |
| V4.19 | | <i>xštūm</i> : 4010 | <i>xštīm</i> : 4000, 4025, 4040, 4050, 4055 |
| V4.23 | | <i>xštūm</i> : 4000, 4010 | <i>xštīm</i> : 4025, 4040, 4050, 4055 |
| V5.29 | | | <i>xštīm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025, 4040, 4050, 4055 |
| Table 4b | Indian Sādes | | |
| <i>dādrūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V9.11 | | <i>dādrūm</i> : 4200, 4400, 4670 <i>dādrūm</i> : 4210, 4230, 4510, 4515 <i>dādarūm</i> : 4240 <i>dādarūm</i> : 4420 | <i>dādrəm</i> : 4410 |
| <i>drūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V22.5 | | <i>drūm</i> : 4200, 4230, 4420, 4510, 4515 | <i>dūrəm</i> : 4210, 4240 |

³⁹ Similar distribution in V5.30, 8.77, 9.7, 9.28.

| | | | |
|-----------------|--|---|--|
| | | <i>darūm</i> : 4410 <i>ḍrūm</i> : 4400 | |
| srūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V9.14a | | <i>srūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4400, 4510, 4515 <i>sarūm</i> : 4410 | |
| V9.14b | | <i>srūm</i> : 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>sarūm</i> : 4410 <i>ṣrūm</i> : 4400 | |
| V9.14c | | <i>srūm</i> : 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4400, 4510, 4515 <i>sarūm</i> : 4410 | <i>sūrām</i> : 4200 |
| V16.6 | | <i>srūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 <i>sūrūm</i> : 4230 | |
| xštūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.21 | | <i>xštūm</i> : 100, 110, 120, 230, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4220, 4240, 4340, 4360, 4400, 4420, 4440, 4500, 4503, 4504, 4506, 4507, 4510, 4515 <i>xstūm</i> : 4250 <i>xaštūm</i> : 4410 <i>ṣaštūm</i> : 231 | <i>xštām</i> : 4450 <i>xštū</i> : 235 |
| V4.19 | | <i>xštūm</i> : 4010, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4400, 4510, 4515 <i>xaštūm</i> : 4410 | <i>xštū</i> : 4200 |
| V4.23 | | <i>xštūm</i> : 4000, 4010, 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| V5.29 | | <i>xštūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4400, 4510, 4515 | |
| Table 4c | Combined Yasna | | |
| xštūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.21 | | <i>xštūm</i> : 400, 408, 409, 410, 415, 450 | |
| Table 4d | Yasna Pahlavi | | |
| xštūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.21 | | <i>xštūm</i> : 500, 510, 530, 602, 605, 613 | |
| Table 4e | Yasna Sanskrit | | |
| xštūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y9.21 | | <i>xštūm</i> : 677, 682 | |
| Table 4f | Widēwdād Pahlavi | | |
| dādrūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V9.11 | <i>dādrum</i> : 4601, 4700, 4713 <i>dādarum</i> : 4710 | | <i>dādarqm</i> : 4610 ⁴⁰ , 4711, 4715 |
| drūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V22.5 | <i>drum</i> : 4670, 4715 | <i>drūm</i> : 4600, 4700, 4710, 4712, 4713 <i>darūm</i> : 4660 | |
| srūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V9.14a | <i>srum</i> : 4600, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715 | <i>srūm</i> : 4710 | |
| V9.14b | <i>srum</i> : 4600, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4710 | | |
| V9.14c | <i>srum</i> : 4600, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4710 | | |
| V16.6 | <i>srum</i> : 4600, 4670, 4660, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4710 | | |
| xštūm | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V4.19 | | <i>xštūm</i> : 4601, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4712, 4713, 4715, 4710 | |
| V4.23 | | <i>xštūm</i> : 4601, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4712, 4713, 4715, 4710 | |
| V5.29 | | <i>xštūm</i> : 4601, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4712, 4713, 4715, 4710 | |


⁴⁰ 4610 

Table 5: *aīua-* stems

| Table 5a | | | |
|-----------------|--|-----|--|
| Iranian Sādes | | | |
| <i>harōiium</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V1.8 | <i>harōiium</i> : 4010, 4025, 4040, 4055 <i>hrōiium</i> : 4000 <i>haraōiium</i> : 4050 | | |
| <i>hōiium</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V9.17a | <i>hōiium</i> : 4000, 4010, 4055 <i>haōiium</i> : 4050 | | |
| V9.17b | <i>hōiium</i> : 4000, 4010 <i>haōiium</i> : 4050, 4055 | | |
| V9.18a | <i>hōiium</i> : 4000, 4010, 4055 | | <i>haōiiqm</i> : 4050 |
| V9.18b | <i>hōiium</i> : 4000, 4010, 4055 | | <i>haōiiqm</i> : 4050 |
| <i>hōiiumca</i> | | | |
| Y11.4 | <i>hōiiumca</i> : 20, 2101, 2104, 4000, 4010, 4050 <i>haōiiumca</i> : 2010, 4025, 4040, 4055, 4060, 4100, 4140 | | |
| Y11.5 | <i>hōiiumca</i> : 20, 2101, 4010, 4025, 4040, 4050, 4060 <i>haōiiumca</i> : 2010, 2104, 4000, 4055, 4100, 4140 | | <i>hōiiqmca</i> : 4050 ⁴¹ |
| <i>ōiium</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V8.25 | <i>ōiium</i> : 4000, 4050, 4055 <i>aōiium</i> : 4010, 4025 | | |
| V16.12 | <i>ōiium</i> : 4025, 4050 <i>aōiium</i> : 4000, 4010, 4055 | | |
| V20.4 | <i>aōiium</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 | | |
| <i>vidōiium</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y2.13 | <i>vidōiium</i> : 20, 2010, 2101, 2102, 2104, 4040, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100, 4140 <i>vīdoiium</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025 | | |
| Y6.12 | <i>vidōiium</i> : 20, 2101, 2104, 4010, 4025, 4040, 4050, 4055, 4060 <i>vīdoiium</i> : 4000, 4100, 4140 | | <i>vīduiiqm</i> : 2010 |
| *Y17.13 | <i>vidōiium</i> : 20, 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4100 <i>vīdiium</i> : 4025 | | |
| *Y25.6 | <i>vidōiium</i> : 20 | | |
| *Y71.5 | <i>vidōiium</i> : 2005, 2010, 2101, 4000, 4050 <i>vīdaōiium</i> : 4010 <i>vīdīiium</i> : 20 | | |
| V5.22 | <i>vidōiium</i> : 4000, 4040 <i>vīduiium</i> : 4050, 4055 | | <i>vīduiiōm</i> : 4010, 4025 |
| V5.23 | <i>vidōiium</i> : 4010, 4025, 4040, 4055 <i>vīduiium</i> : 4050 | | |
| V5.24a | <i>vidōiium</i> : 4000, 4025, 4040, 4050 <i>vīdaōiium</i> : 4010, 4055 | | |
| V5.24b | <i>vidōiium</i> : 4000, 4050 | | <i>vīduiiōm</i> : 4010, 4025, 4040, 4055 |
| V5.25 | <i>vidōiium</i> : 4000, 4010, 4025, 4050, 4055 | | |

| Table 5b | | | |
|-----------------|-----|---|---|
| Indian Sādes | | | |
| <i>harōiium</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V1.8 | | <i>harōiīum</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4410 <i>hurōiīum</i> : 4400 <i>harōi.yūm</i> : 4510 <i>harō.yūm</i> : 4515 | |
| <i>hōiium</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V9.17a | | | <i>hōim</i> : 4200, 4230, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 <i>haōim</i> : 4210, 4240 |
| V9.17b | | | <i>hōim</i> : 4200, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 <i>hōm</i> : 4210 |
| V9.18a | | | <i>hōim</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 |
| V9.18b | | | <i>hōim</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, |

⁴¹ Interestingly, the scribe copied Y11.5 twice, each time spelling *hōiiumca* differently: first *hōoiqmca* and then *hōiiumca*.

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----|--|---|
| | | | 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 |
| <i>hōiiumca</i> | | | |
| Y11.4 | | <i>hōiiumca</i> : 100, 120, 234, 235, 4210, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 <i>haōiiumca</i> : 4200 <i>hūiiumca</i> : 230 | <i>hōimaca</i> : 231 |
| Y11.5 | | <i>hōiiumca</i> : 230, 100, 120, 234, 235, 4200, 4210, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | <i>hōimaca</i> : 231 |
| ōiium | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V8.25 | | | <i>oim</i> : 4200, 4210, <i>ōim</i> : 4230, 4240, 4510, 4515 |
| V16.12 | | | <i>ōim</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4400, 4240, 4420 <i>aōim</i> : 4410, 4510, 4515 |
| V20.4 | | | <i>aōim</i> : 4200, 4210, 4410, 4510 <i>ōim</i> : 4230, 4515 <i>aoim</i> : 4240, 4400 |
| vīdōiium | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y2.13 | | <i>vīdōiium</i> : 230, 100, 234, 235, 4240, 4250, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>vīduiium</i> : 120 <i>vīdōiium</i> : 4410 | <i>vīduiim</i> : 231 <i>vīdōiim</i> : 4400 <i>vīdaoim</i> : 4200 |
| Y6.12 | | | <i>vīdūim</i> : 4400 |
| Y25.6 | | | <i>vīduiim</i> : 230, 100 <i>vīdaeuum</i> : 120 <i>vīdōiim</i> : 231 <i>vīdaiuum</i> : 235 |
| Y71.5 | | <i>vīdōiium</i> : 234, 4240, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>vīduiium</i> : 100 <i>vīdōiium</i> : 4200, 4410 | <i>vīdōim</i> : 230, 120 <i>βīduiim</i> : 231 <i>vīdōiium</i> : 235 <i>vīdūim</i> : 4400 |
| V5.22 | | <i>vīdōiium</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>vīdōiium</i> : 4410 <i>vīduiium</i> : 4400, 4670 <i>vīdōiium</i> : 4240, 4400, 4712 | |
| V5.23 | | <i>vīdōiium</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>vīdūim</i> : 4400 <i>vīdōiium</i> : 4410 | |
| V5.24a | | <i>vīdōiium</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>vīduiium</i> : 4240 <i>vīdūim</i> : 4400 <i>vīdōiium</i> : 4410 | |
| V5.24b | | <i>vīdōiium</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>vīduiium</i> : 4240 <i>vīdūim</i> : 4400 <i>vīdōiium</i> : 4410 | |
| V5.25 | | <i>vīdōiium</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4420, 4510, 4515 <i>vīduiium</i> : 4240, 4400 <i>vīdōiium</i> : 4410 | |

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|-----------------|---|---|----------------------|
| Table 5c | Combined Yasna | | |
| hōiiumca | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y11.4 | <i>hōiiumca</i> : 400 <i>haoiiumca</i> : 420 | <i>hōiiumca</i> : 415 | |
| Y11.5 | <i>hōiiumca</i> : 400 <i>haoiiumca</i> : 400 | <i>hōiiumca</i> : 415 | |
| vīdōiium | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y2.13 | | <i>vīdōiium</i> : 400 <i>vīdūim</i> : 415, 420 | |
| Y6.12 | | <i>vīdōiium</i> : 400 | <i>vīdūim</i> : 415 |
| Y17.10 | | | <i>vīdōiom</i> : 400 |
| Y25.6 | | <i>vīdōiium</i> : 420 | <i>vīdōiom</i> : 400 |
| Y71.5 | <i>vīdōiium</i> : 400 | <i>vīdōiium</i> : 420 | |

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|---|---------------|
| Table 5d | Yasna Pahlavi | | |
| hōiiumca | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y11.4 | <i>hōiiumca</i> : 613 | <i>hōiiumca</i> 500 <i>hūiiumca</i> : 510, 530 | |
| Y11.5 | <i>hōiiumca</i> : 613 | <i>hōiiumca</i> 500, 510, 530 | |
| vīdōiium | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y2.13 | | <i>vīdōiium</i> : 500, 510, 530 | |
| Y6.12 | | <i>vīdūiium</i> : 500 | |

| | | | |
|--|--|---------------------------|--|
| | | <i>vīdūiūm</i> : 510, 530 | |
|--|--|---------------------------|--|

| Table 5e Yasna Sanskrit | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|--|----------------------|
| <i>hoiūmca</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y11.4 | <i>hoiūmca</i> : 682 | | |
| Y11.5 | | <i>hōiūmca</i> : 682 | |
| <i>vīdōiūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y2.13 | [<i>vīdōii</i>]um: 677 | <i>vīdōiūm</i> : 681 <i>vīdōiūm</i> : 682 | |
| Y25.6 | | | <i>vīdōiūm</i> : 682 |

| Table 5f Widēwdād Pahlavi | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|--|---|
| <i>harōiūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V1.8 | | <i>harōiūm</i> : 4601, 4670, 4711, 4712, 4713, 4715 | <i>harōiūm</i> : 4700 <i>harōim</i> : 4710 |
| <i>hōiūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V9.17a | | | <i>hōim</i> : 4600, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4710 |
| V9.17b | | | <i>hōim</i> : 4600, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4710 |
| V9.18a | | | <i>hōim</i> : 4600, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4710 |
| V9.18b | | | <i>hōim</i> : 4600, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4710 |
| <i>ōiūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V8.25 | | | <i>ōim</i> : 4601, 4700 <i>aoim</i> : 4610, 4711, 4713, 4715 |
| V16.12 | | | <i>ōim</i> : 4600, 4610, 4610, 4660, 4670, 4700, 4710, 4711, 4713, 4715 |
| V20.4 | | | <i>aoim</i> : 4600, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4710, 4712 <i>aom</i> : 4660 |
| <i>vīdōiūm</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V5.22 | | <i>vīdōiūm</i> : 4601, 4700, 47100, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4757 <i>vīdūiūm</i> : 4670 <i>vīdūiūm</i> : 4712 | |
| V5.23 | | <i>vīdōiūm</i> : 4601, 4700, 4711, 4713, 4715, 4710 <i>vīdōiūm</i> : 4712 <i>vīdaēiūm</i> : 4757 | |
| V5.24a | | <i>vīdōiūm</i> : 4711 | <i>vīdūiūm</i> : 4670 |
| V5.24b | | | <i>vīdūiūm</i> : 4670 |
| V5.25 | | <i>vīdōiūm</i> : 4700, 4711 | <i>vīdūiūm</i> : 4670 |

Table 6: daēum

| Table 6a Iranian Sādes | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|-----|--|
| | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| V10.9 | <i>daēum</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 | | |
| V10.13 | <i>daēum</i> : 4010 | | <i>daēuum</i> : 4000, 4050, 4055 |
| V13.6 | <i>daēum</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 | | |
| V13.7 | | | <i>daēuum</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 |
| Table 6b Indian Sādes | | | |
| V10.9 | <i>daeum</i> : 4200, 4210, 4240, 4420, 4400, 4510, 4515 | | <i>daem</i> : 4230, 4410 |
| V10.13 | <i>daeum</i> : 4200, 4210, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | | <i>daem</i> : 4230 |
| V13.6 | <i>daeum</i> : 4200, 4210, 4230, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4400, 4510, 4515 | | |
| V13.7 | <i>daeum</i> : 4210, 4240, 4420, 4410, 4510, 4515 | | <i>daem</i> : 4200, 4230 |
| Table 6c Widēwdād Pahlavi | | | |
| V10.9 | <i>daēum</i> : 4600, 4610, 4670, 4700, 4711, 4715, 4710 | | |
| V10.13 | <i>daēum</i> : 4600, 4670, 4700, 4713, 4715, 4710 | | <i>daēm</i> : 4610, 4711 |
| V13.6 | <i>daēum</i> : 4600, 4670, 4660, 4700, 4713, 4710 <i>daeum</i> : 4610, 4711, 4715 | | |
| V13.7 | <i>daēum</i> : 4600, 4660, 4700, 4713, | | |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| | 4710 <i>daem</i> : 4610, 4670, 4711, 4715 | | |
|--|--|--|--|

Table 7: **hūam*

| Table 7a Iranian Sādes | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|---|---|
| <i>hauuaṅhum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y71.11a | <i>hauuaṅhum</i> : 2101, 4000, 4010, 4055 <i>hauuaṅ'hum</i> : 2010 | | <i>hauuaṅhəm</i> : 2010 ⁴² |
| Y71.11b | <i>hauuaṅ'hum</i> : 2101 <i>hauuaṅhum</i> : 4000, 4010, 4050, 4055 | | |
| <i>paṅtaṅhum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.7 | <i>paṅtaṅhum</i> : 4000, 4010, 4055 <i>paṅtaṅ'hum</i> : 4060, 4100 <i>paṅtaṅhum</i> : 2101 | | <i>paṅtaṅhəm</i> : 4025, 4040, 4050 <i>paṅtaṅhəm</i> : 20 <i>paṅtaṅhəm</i> : 2010 |
| V6.32 | <i>paṅtaṅhum</i> : 4000 | | <i>paṅtaṅhəm</i> : 4010, 4025, 4040 <i>paṅtaṅhəm</i> : 4050, 4055 |
| V16.2 | <i>paṅtaṅhum</i> : 4010, 4055 | | <i>paṅtaṅhəm</i> : 4000, 4050 |
| Table 7b Indian Sādes | | | |
| <i>hauuaṅhum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y71.11a | <i>hauuaṅhum</i> : 4420 <i>hauuaṅum</i> : 4240 <i>auuaṅhum</i> : 4410 | <i>hauuaṅhō.hūm</i> : 231 <i>hauuaṅhūm</i> : 4510 <i>hauuaṅhūm</i> : 4515 | <i>hauuaṅhauum</i> : 100 <i>hauuaṅuhuum</i> : 235, 234 <i>hauūm.ṅhumē</i> : 230 <i>hauuaṅhauuaṅmē</i> : 120 <i>hauuaṅhō.mē</i> : 4400 <i>hauuaṅhē</i> : 4200 |
| Y71.11b | <i>hauuaṅum</i> : 4240 <i>auuaṅhum</i> : 4410 | <i>hauuaṅhūm</i> : 235, 234, 4420, 4510 <i>hauuaṅhūm</i> : 4515 | <i>hauūm.ṅhu.mē</i> : 230 <i>hauuaṅhauum</i> : 100 <i>hauuaṅhauuaṅmē</i> : 120 <i>hauuaṅhō.hūma</i> : 231 <i>hauuaṅhumē</i> : 4200 <i>hauuaṅhō.mā</i> : 4400 |
| <i>paṅtaṅhum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.7 | <i>paṅtaṅhum</i> : 100 | <i>paṅgataṅhūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4240 <i>pəṅgataṅhūm</i> : 4250 <i>paṅgataṅgūm</i> : 4420 <i>paṅgataṅghūm</i> : 4410 <i>paṅhe.taṅhūm</i> : 4400 | <i>paṅya.tṅxəm</i> : 231 <i>paṅtaṅhəm</i> : 120, 234 <i>paṅ.taṅhəm</i> : 235 <i>paṅgataṅhəm</i> : 4510, 4515 |
| V6.32 | | <i>paṅtaṅhūm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4420 <i>paṅataṅhūm</i> : 4340 <i>paṅhōdaṅhūm</i> : 4400 | <i>paṅtaṅhəm</i> : 4230 <i>paṅataṅhəm</i> : 4410 <i>paṅ.taṅhəm</i> : 4510, 4515 |
| V16.2 | | <i>paṅhu.taṅhūm</i> : 4400 | <i>paṅhutaṅhəm</i> : 4200, 4210, 4240, 4420 <i>paṅhutaṅhəm</i> : 4230 <i>paṅhataṅhəm</i> : 4410 <i>paṅ.taṅhəm</i> : 4510 <i>paṅ.taṅəm</i> : 4515 |
| Table 7c Combined Yasna | | | |
| <i>paṅtaṅhum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.7 | | | <i>paṅhataṅhəm</i> : 420 |
| <i>hauuaṅhum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y71.11a | | | <i>hauuaṅhəm</i> : 400, 415 <i>hauuaṅhē</i> : 420 |
| Y71.11b | | | <i>hauuaṅhəm</i> : 400, 415, 420 |
| Table 7d Yasna Pahlavi | | | |
| <i>hauuaṅhum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y71.11a | | | <i>hauuaṅhəm</i> : 500 |
| Y71.11b | | | <i>hauuaṅhəm</i> : 500, 530, 682 |
| <i>paṅtaṅhum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.7 | | | <i>paṅtaṅhəm</i> : 500, 530 |
| Table 7e Yasna Sanskrit | | | |
| <i>paṅtaṅhum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |
| Y19.7 | <i>paṅtaṅhum</i> : 677 | | |
| Table 7f Wīdēwdād Pahlavi | | | |
| <i>paṅtaṅhum</i> | -um | -ūm | other endings |

⁴² Corrected into *hauuaṅhum*.

| | | | |
|-------|--|--|--|
| V6.32 | | | <i>paṇtaṇḥm</i> : 4711, 4715 <i>paṇḥaitaṇḥm</i> : 4601, 4712 <i>paṇḥaitaṇḥm</i> : 4700 <i>paṇḥaitaṇḥm</i> : 4670, 4713 <i>paṇḥaitaṇḥm</i> : 4710 |
| V16.2 | | | <i>paṇtaṇḥm</i> : 4600, 4660, 4711, 4713 <i>paṇḥm</i> : 4710 <i>paṇḥaitaṇḥm</i> : 4700 <i>paṇḥaitaṇḥm</i> : 4670 |

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