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THE INSTRUMENTAL IN GATHA

I. THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE IN INDO-EUROPEAN

a) The formal aspect

The Instrumental in Indo-European has been reconstructed on the ground of the congruency of several groups of languages, mainly Aryan and Balto-Slavic. The idea of the Instrumental was already known to Roman grammarians¹, who distinguished it as one of several meanings of the Latin Ablative.

According to F. Bopp the original Instrumental endings in Indo-European were *-ā*, *-bhi* for the Singular, *-bhis* for the Plural and *-bhyāms* for the Dual, all these being particles which then coalesced with the stem.

K. Brugmann² took *-bhi*, *-mi* as the Instrumental endings in Indo-European in the Singular and the vocalic endings *-ē*, *ō*, *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū*; for stems ending in *-o* the endings *-ē*, *-ō*; for stems in *-ā*, the endings *-ā*, (*-am* for Balto-Slavic group), and *-ī*, *-ū* for stems ending in *-i*, *-u*. Nothing certain can be established concerning other stems as the usage of the element *-bh-* and *-m-* is not clear enough.

The Instrumental Dual ending also had the *-bh-* or *-m-* element. The final sound of these endings is not certain; it was *-bhya*, *-m* and *-ma* relatively in the Aryan languages, Lithuanian and Old Church Slavic. In the Indo European epoch it had been already formed both from stem and on the basis of the Nominative Dual.

¹ H. Hübschmann, *Zur Casuslehre*, p. 34 ff.

² K. Brugmann, *Vergleichende Laut-, Stammbildungs- und Flexionslehre... der idg. Sprache*, 1911, II B II T. p. 186 ff.

The Instrumental ending for the Plural in all stem groups, except these ending in *-o*, included the element *-bh-* or *-m-*. On the ground of congruency of the Aryan languages the ending *-bhis* can be assumed. The vocalic element of the ending for the second group (i. e. Balto-Slavic and Germanic) has not been established. The form *-mi* or *-mis* may be assumed. The stem of the noun in the Instrumental Plural was weak. Stems ending in *-o* had, besides *-bhis*, the ending *-ōis*. The latter has been reconstructed by Brugmann on the ground of the agreement of the Aryan, Italic and Lithuanian forms.

Pronouns had no other case formatives besides those existing for nouns. The formation of stems, however, was different; their endings included the elements *bhi* or *mi* and *ō*, *ē*, for the Singular (Masc.), *bh* or *m* for the Dual and *-bhis* (*-mis*), besides *-ōis*, for the Plural. Feminine pronouns in the Singular had the ending *-ā* (*-am* in Balto-Slavic).

The Indo-European declension of personal pronouns cannot be reconstructed because of its irregularity. The Instrumental case forms which have been preserved have analogous endings to the relative nominal forms, i. e. *-ā* and *-bhi* for Aryan languages.

H. Hirt³ admits in his Indo-European Grammar that the genesis of the Instrumental has not yet been made clear. On the assumption of the existence of a finite case system in the Indo-European language, as was the case in Old Indian, an original Instrumental case-ending was sought for. At first *e* and then *a* was taken as such. Hirt himself tried to prove *-m* to be the original ending. All these attempts were useless, however. The problem must wait for its solution till the genesis of cases in general is explained.

Originally the Instrumental had no endings at all, as is shown by Vedic forms *śamī* 'care', *manīṣā* 'meditation'. On the ground of the agreement of Germanic, Aryan and Balto-Slavic dialects, Hirt has reconstructed the endings *-ē*, *-ō*, these elements having been added not to the stem but to the form of the Locative, e. g. Skt. *naktayā* 'at night', or *kṣmayā* 'on the earth.' According to Hirt, the Instrumental was formed from the Locative by adding particles.

³ H. Hirt, *Idg. Grammatik*, T. III. 1927, p. 53 ff.

Besides *-ē*, *-ō*, the element *bhi*, preserved in the Greek ending *φι*, existed as an ending of the Indo-European Instrumental. Originally it was not restricted to the Plural and became so only when the ending *-bhi* + *am* was established for the Dual. There are several suffixes for the Instrumental in the Plural. *Bhi*, which was originally an independent element (then joined to the stem), occurred in Aryan, Armenian and Celtic. In Germanic and Balto-Slavic the ending was *-mis*. The element *bhi* is etymologically identical with German *bei*, OHG. *bī*.

Stems in *-o* had the ending *-ōis* which has been reconstructed by Hirt from the forms *θεοῖς*, *lupis*, *vŕkaīs* and *vilkaīs*. It may have possibly come from the Locative.

A. Meillet⁴ admitted that the Instrumental case-endings in separate languages differ too much to make it possible to reconstruct any common form; having considered the agreement between Sanskrit *pitṛā* and Latin *patre* he assumed that the Indo-European ending for the Instrumental, Singular might be *-ē*, but he thought the problem of the Instrumental ending so far unsolved. For the Plural, he accepted the ending with the element *-bh-* and its variant *-m-*, similar to that for the Dual. There are no exact corresponding endings for pronouns; Skt. *mayā* is similar to O. Ch. S. *mānojo*, and Skt. *vayā* to O. Ch. S. *tobojo*, yet there is no ground for drawing any conclusions.

b) The denotation of the Instrumental case in Indo-European.

For the denotation of the Instrumental case in Indo-European Brugmann⁵ has given a general rule covering both main functions of the Instrumental — comitative and instrumental. According to Brugmann's rule, Instrumental was used to express a nominal concept with which or by means of which an agent performs an action. If several different case formatives occur, as is the case in the Instrumental, there is no guarantee that any uniform meaning of the forms had originally existed. On the contrary, it seems more probable that originally some difference in usage had occurred, and the standardization by syncretism must have appeared later.

⁴ A. Meillet, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, VIII éd. 1937, p. 294 ff.

⁵ K. Brugmann, *Vergl. Grammatik*, II B 2, p. 518 ff.

The Instrumental could also express spacial relations, functioning as Sociative and Prosecutive.

The original denotation and historical relation of the usage are still obscure, as there are various case endings and their different usage points to an early process of syncretism. In the Indo-European period verbs with the sociative Instrumental had already transferred their structure to verbs which originally had the Ablative structure, e. g. Lat. *dissentire cum aliquo* and Skt. *vatsair viyutaḥ* 'separated from calves'. The Instrumental may also come into contact with other cases, e. g. with the Locative, if relating to space or time.

The Instrumental was preserved as a separate case in Aryan, Armenian and Balto-Slavic languages and residually in Germanic. In Greek it became coalescent with the Dative and then with the Locative, in Italic with the Ablative and then also with the Locative.

The Instrumental, or the syncretic case, is everywhere a living one and in all possible meanings may be used without prepositions. Its usage is fairly well differentiated. The exact scope of Instrumental for the Indo-European languages cannot be established and so any attempt at its determination must necessarily be facultative.

The scope of denotation of the Instrumental case in Indo-European languages covered, according to Brugmann, *instrumentalis sociativus (comitativus)*, e. g. Skt. *devo devebhir āgamat* 'may god come with gods'. To this category Latin strategic expressions belong, e. g. *proficisci magno exercitu*; Instrumental of the form of a phenomenon, Av. Yt 5, 64 *upatacaṭ arədvī ... kaininō kəhrpa srīrayā* ⁶, 'ahead Ardvī is running in the shape of a beautiful girl'. With nouns indicating the mood or atmosphere in which an action is being performed, the Instrumental of accompanying circumstances was used, e. g. Lat. *ioculo dixisti*. The Instrumental of permanent attribute, Lat. *vir bono animo*; the Instrumental of means (instrument), Lat. *caelum astris ornatum*. Sometimes also persons can function as instruments, Polish *dać znać posłańcem* 'he sent a message by a messenger'. With verb

⁶ Citations from *Avesta* according to K. Geldner, *Avesta, die heiligen Bücher der Parsen*, I—III, 1886—95 with corrections of Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*.

in the Passive Voice a thing which is rather a sort of creative power than an instrument may occur in the Instrumental Case. The sentence „He is glorified by songs“ really means „Songs glorify him“, Skt. *śasyase vacobhiḥ* 'you are glorified by words'. In Aryan and Slavic languages this tendency led to the usage by which even the actual agent is put in the Instrumental Case in sentences with the Passive Voice, Skt. *Prajāpatinā sṛjante*, 'they have been created by Prajapati'.

The Instrumental of cause and reason. The cause of a happening may sometimes become the means by which the action itself has taken place. In such a case the Instrumental of words denoting a purposeful action is transferred to words which may not have this meaning, Skt. *jarasā marate* 'he is dying of old age' (because of the state of being old).

The Instrumental of place and time (*prosecutivus*):

a) the space extent. Especially words denoting „way“ should be listed here. The Instrumental of means is close in its denotation because the way may be taken as the means by which a purpose may be reached. In languages in which old Instrumental and Locative Cases had coalesced it is also close to the locative meaning, Skt. *anyena pathā nayati*, or Polish *prowadzi inną drogą*, 'he leads another way'.

b) the time extent, Skt. *sa va iṣumātram evāhnā tiryann avardhata*, 'he was growing in a day by the length of an arrow', or Polish *wieczorem, latem*, 'in the evening, in summer'. With the Comparative, the Instrumental is genetically joined to the *prosecutivus*, denoting the extent of degree, O. H. G. *mihhilo mer*, Lat. *multo magis*.

The Instrumental in close connection with the verb.

Such verbs denote either a combination or one of the following groups: to buy (the price is taken as the means of purchasing), O. Ch. S. *čim kupim chleby* 'what shall we buy some bread for'; to drink out of a vessel, Skt. *mṛṇmayena pibati*, 'he drinks out of a clay vessel'; to be glad at something, Polish *żyć się czym*, 'to feed on something'; to act, to behave towards something or somebody, Skt. *kim mayā kariṣyasi*, 'what will you do with me?' to master something, O. Ch. S. *vlasti języky*, 'to rule peoples'; the verbs of motion, Polish *rzucić kamie-*

niami, 'to throw stones', Skt. *iṣubhir asyati*, 'he throws arrows'. This usage has become much more extensive in Slavic and Germanic languages; the phenomena of nature, Lat. *lapidibus pluit*, Polish *deszczem padało*, 'it was raining', and the so-called grading Instrumental when to the verb the Instrumental of the nomen actionis of the same or a relative root is added, Lith. *trimis smėrėiais aš negaliu mirti*, 'I cannot die a threefold death' or Lat. *morte morieris*. There is no adding to the contents here but only the intensification of the idea.

When following verbs meaning „to turn into something“ or „to make something or somebody become something“, the Instrumental denotes the substance by which the action expressed by the verb is performed. This type of Instrumental is best developed in Balto-Slavic languages, Lith. *jis didžiu ponu pastos*, 'he will become a great lord'.

The adnominal Instrumental. Brugmann has distinguished here the Instrumental with a noun and Instrumental with an adjective.

The Instrumental in close connection with nouns occurs with verbal abstracts, Skt. *caṇḍavarmanā campābhiyogaḥ*, 'the threat of Candavarman towards Campa'; with concrete nouns, (with the sociative denotation), Skt. *atrim muñcatho gaṇena*, 'you let free Atri with the troop'. The Instrumental functioning as a Subject (as in the Avesta) is an extension of the same category according to Brugmann, and Reichelt has followed Bartholomae in explaining it as a result of the sociative usage. The Instrumental of permanent attribute belongs to the same category, Lat. *forma eximia mulier*, Polish *Polak rodem* 'a Pole by birth'. The causative connotation can be traced in Skt. *ekayā na trimśat*, 'twenty nine'.

The Instrumental depending on an adjective follows such adjectives as equal, similar to, Skt. *samaḥ śriyā*, Polish *równy blaskiem*, 'equal by splendour'; tallied with something, Skt. *paro hi martyair asi* 'you are higher than mortals'; other adjectives with a sociative meaning, Skt. *sakhā* 'friendly'. The Instrumental of measure with the Comparative is also dependent on an adjective, Gr. πολλῶ μείζων. In many cases an Instrumental with an adjective has actually an instrumental and causative denotation, Lat. *pedibus mobilis*, Skt. *rūpena vikṛtaḥ* 'of an ugly posture'.

The Instrumental with prepositions.

Originally the Instrumental was used without prepositions, then to give more expressiveness and emphasis some prepositions were added which denoted the state of accompanying, e. g. Skt. *saha*, Greek σύν, Lat. *cum*, Gothic *miþ*, Lith. *sù*, O. Ch. S. *sъ*. Their usage, however, may be much more extensive than merely the sociative denotation, Skt. *sākam vajreṇa vivṛṣat* 'he split with a thunderbolt'.

It is as early as in the Indo-European epoch that the adverbial use of the forms of Instrumental is observed, e. g. Skt. *doṣā* 'in the evening', Av. *ašaya* 'rightly' (Skt. *ṛtaya*).

Hirt⁷, like Brugmann, doubts whether there existed any original meaning of this case at all. Therefore, one should not look for the basic meaning but compare the ways of its use. In his comparison Hirt does not go beyond the possibilities mentioned by Brugmann but he sets forth a new thesis that the Indo-European Instrumental originates from the Locative and, consequently, always derives its use from the locative meaning. Thus, according to him the forms of Instrumental Plural in **ōis* are regular Locatives, those of Instrumental Singular are the Locatives to which elements *-ē*, *-ō*, *-na* were attached or they arose from the indefinite Case by addition of the postposition *-bhi* which also has a locative meaning (Germ. *bei*). These elements were originally adverbs, and they became the more indispensable for declension the less distinct the case grew.

In his review of the meanings of Instrumental, which is less systematical than that of Brugmann, Hirt starts from the instances where the locative meaning is still visible or where the Instrumental interchanges with Locative, as in Skt. *kṣireṇa snātaḥ* 'washed with milk', i. e. 'in milk'; with Skt. *vah-* 'to go' there appear *rathe* and *rathena*, Lat. *vehi in navi* beside *puppe*, Lith. *keturais važuóti* 'to go in a four-in-hand'. The meaning of the Prosecutive is of locative origin as well; it can be seen on such examples as Old Church S. *noštijo i dñijo* 'by day and by night'; Skt. *naktabhis*, Germ. *mit der Zeit*. The locative nuance is also observed in the Instrumental of accompanying circumstances, as Lat. *ioculo*

⁷ H. Hirt, *Idg. Grammatik*, Vol. VI. Syntax I, p. 31 ff.

diixisti, originally 'in joke', then 'joking'. The Instrumental of relation and, combined with it, the instrumental of constant quality also derive from the Locative, e. g. Skt. *apāra ojaśā* 'unequalled in strength', Skt. *namnā*, O. Church S. *imenemъ*, Greek *ὀνόματι*, Lat. *nomine*, Goth. *namin*; Lat. *bos cervi figura* 'the ox in the form of deer', O. Church S. *slabъ nogami* 'weak in the legs'.

The sociative meaning of the Instrumental derives from the locative one, particularly with regard to the Instrumental Plural for persons; Lat. *Caesar omnibus copiis proficiscitur* means 'C. marches amidst all his troops'.

The relationship of the Instrumental proper (of instrument) with the Locative is visible in many instances as well. Again, wherever it must be translated as 'by means of...', 'through...', its meaning has developed similarly as the English particle 'by', etymologically identical with Germ. *bei*.

The predicative Instrumental is peculiar to the Balto-Slavic group, e. g. O. Church S. *prětvori sebe murinomъ* 'he turned into a Negro', Lith. *jis būs karāliumi* 'he will be a king.' Hirt admits that such expressions are not derivable from the fundamental meanings known so far; however, even here did he manage — though rather artificially, one must say — to find out the locative meaning⁸.

Thus it is seen that Hirt bends various shades of meaning of the Instrumental, described by Brugmann, to make them suit his thesis that this case has developed from the Locative and that in several of its meanings it is still purely locative.

Meillet⁹, in accordance with the purpose of his „Introduction“ does not present in it either new facts or theories. He characterizes the Instrumental as the case which means: with whom or with what an action is performed, and this gives rise to the development of the meaning: by whom, by what; he also gives a few illustrative examples.

⁸ H. Hirt, *Idg. Syntax* I, p. 64 „Wenn ich sage, er ist unter Soldaten, oder er lebt mit den Soldaten, ai. *devo devebhis*, so kann sich daraus der Gedanke entwickeln er ist Soldat“.

⁹ A. Meillet, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des Langues Indo-européennes*, VIII éd. 1937.

Therefore, with regard to the meaning of the Instrumental all the three scholars agree that out of two main shades of meaning of the Indo-European Instrumental the sociative meaning was earlier. Hirt's theories of the locative origin of this case are too individual to be convincing, for he very often replaces strict reasoning by association of ideas.

H. Pedersen¹⁰ tries to prove that in subjectless sentences the Instrumental is an old Indo-European type, and comparing the Russian '*vetrom otnosit golos*' with the examples from Avesta, given by Geldner¹¹ and Caland¹², holds that the accordance of both of these examples is so striking that it suffices to accept this construction for the Indo-European language. If, however, the Russian examples come as a result of the influence of the Finno-Ugrian substratum — as is assumed by Meillet — then his theory falls, the more so that the quoted Lithuanian examples, as was proved by F. Specht¹³, showed to be a mere misprint.

Contrary to this, E. Hoffmann¹⁴ proves that the Russian examples as '*otca derevom ubilo*' are very old, for they can already be found in the chronicles of the XIIth — XVth centuries. In such remote times the influence of the Finnish substratum or of the Caucasian languages — as Schwyzer supposes — is not probable.

Finally, in the discussion on the original meanings of the Indo-European Instrumental, Ö. Beke¹⁵, basing on the analogies from the Finno-Ugrian languages, tries to prove, against Brugmann's assertions, that not instrumental but prosecutive use of this case is primary. He refers to the examples: Lat. *per*, Lith. *peř nakt budėti* 'to watch throughout the night', and the Hungarian example of a new Instrumental formed from the word *út* 'way' and the locative ending *-n*; *barđtom útján* 'through my friend

¹⁰ H. Pedersen, *Neues und Nachträgliches*, KZ 40.

¹¹ K. Geldner, *aša, vohu mananha*, KZ 31.

¹² W. Caland, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Avesta*, KZ 30—31.

¹³ F. Specht, *Eine angebliche litauische Instrumental-konstruktion*, KZ 31.

¹⁴ E. Hoffmann, *Impersonale mit Instrumental im Russischen*, KZ 57.

¹⁵ Ö. Beke, *Zur Kasuslehre des Finnisch-ugrischen und Indogermanischen*, Idg. Forschungen XLVI.

(literally: 'by the way of my friend'). Nevertheless, this proof is incomplete, because till now the genetic relationship between Finno-Ugrian and Indo-European languages has not yet been elucidated.

M. Deutschbein's¹⁶ reasonings are likewise noteworthy, for in his conception of the Indo-European cases presented at the Congress of Linguists in Rome, he distinguishes as original the both cases — Instrumental and Sociative. However, already in the discussion the abstractness of his theory was pointed out.

II. OLD INDIAN INSTRUMENTAL

a) The formal aspect

In the Aryan languages the original *e*, *o* change into *a*, thus in the Instrumental Singular the difference between both these sounds disappears and it is only in certain instances that we can deduce from the palatalization of a preceding consonant that *-e* was the original ending.

J. Wackernagel¹⁷, discussing the formations of Indian cases, expresses the view, similar to Brugmann's, that already in the Indo-European language a fairly advanced syncretism of cases took place. As regards the Instrumental, it is evident both from lack of its formal uniformity (there are two different ways of forming plural), and from the lack of the uniformity of meaning shown in the difference between the function of accompaniment and instrument.

In the Aryan languages the case-element *bh* in singular is not represented at all when the Instrumental is formed. It only occurs in the Dative Singular in personal pronouns. The Old Indian ending which appears in all formations is *ā*. Bartholomae¹⁸ reconstructed as original for Aryan languages the ending of

¹⁶ M. Deutschbein, *Die Bedeutung der Kasus im Idg.*, Atti del III Congr. Intern. dei Linguisti, 1935, p. 144.

¹⁷ J. Wackernagel, A. Debrunner, *Altindische Gramm.*, III § 12.

¹⁸ Ch. Bartholomae, *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, I, p. 122.

Instrumental Singular *-am* and observed its remains in Sanskrit adverbs *uṣām*, *kṣapām*, *doṣām*. Wackernagel considers the Vedic variations with final 'm' as nasalizations of the final *ā* in sandhi, whereas he denies the instrumental origin to adverbial forms.

In the stems in *-a* the long final vowel originated from the Indo-European ending *ē* or *ō*. For the consonant stems Wackernagel reconstructs as the original ending a short vowel which also appears in the forms of the Instrumental Singular in *-ī*, *-ū* for the stems in *-i*, *-u*. The ending *ā* of consonant stems is considered by him to be transferred from the stems in *-ā*.

The relation of the forms with the nasal in the Balto-Slavic stems in *-ā* and of instrumental suffixes **bhi* and **mi* to the Indo-European basis of the Aryan *ā* is rather vague.

It is already in the Vedic dialect that, for the stems in *-a*, the ending *-ena* appears beside the old ending *ā* (*yajñā*). It comes from pronouns (*tena*); in the classical Sanskrit it ousted the older ending *ā* altogether. This is an Indian innovation as it does not occur in Avesta.

In the stems in *-ā*, beside the Vedic ending *-ā* there appears another ending *-ayā* which in the classical Sanskrit is the only one. Like *-ena* it is of pronominal origin. Perhaps the extension to nouns took place as early as the period of the Indo-Iranian community, for in Avesta the ending *-ayā* already occurs.

The disappearance of the older ending *-ā* in the classical Sanskrit probably resulted from its coalescence with the nominative form, whence it could no longer express the function of Instrumental.

In the Vedas the stems in *-i*, *-u* possess three endings: 1. *-ī*, *-ū*; 2. *(i)yā*, *(u)vā*; 3. *-inā*, *-unā*. The first pair of the endings, peculiar to the Vedic dialect only, disappeared in the classical Sanskrit. The second pair *-yā*, *-vā* occurs in the classical Sanskrit only in a few nouns of masculine and neuter stems (*pati*, *sakhi*, *kratu*, *paśu*, *śiśu*, *madhu*), but mostly it forms the Instrumental from feminine stems. It is also represented in Avesta.

The ending *-inā*, *-unā* is common for masculine and neuter stems in the classical Sanskrit. It derives from the stems ending in a nasal consonant. This was also due to the analogy with the stems in *-a*, which adopted a pronominal ending *-ena*.

The dual ending *-bhyām*, common for Instrumental, Dative and Ablative, has in Avesta its equivalent *-bya*, in one instance *-byqm*. The stem had a weak or middle degree. In a few instances the ending does not join the stem form but the Nominative Dual. Since such a formation has equivalents in other languages (O. Ch. S. *očima*), it may be Indo-European, O. Pers. *ušibyā*.

The Instrumental Plural has the ending *-bhiḥ*, Av. *-biš*, O. Pers. *-biš* from Indo-Iranian **-bhiš*. Perhaps it is the particle *bhi* together with the plural ending *-s*.

Within the group of stems in *-a* there appears already in the Vedic dialect the ending *-aiḥ*, beside *-ebhiḥ*. In the Rig-Veda both forms are of equal frequency. Then the ending *-ebhiḥ* quickly disappears and in the classical Sanskrit only the pronominal form *ebhiḥ* is preserved. Thus this ending is probably of pronominal origin. The form *-aiḥ* also has Indo-European equivalents; Gr. *-οις* is a former Locative < *οις*, though it may also be a continuation of the Indo-European ending of the Instrumental **ōis*. Formerly it was derived from I. E. **abhis* > *ahis* > *ais* (Bopp).

b) The meanings of the Indian Instrumental

The subject was dealt with by H. Wenzel¹⁹ and, next, it was extensively treated by B. Delbrück²⁰ and J. Speijer²¹. The examples from the Brāhmaṇa have been studied by Sukumar Sen²². H. Oertel²³ discusses the beginnings of Instrumental Absolute.

Pāṇini²⁴ does not systematize his rules concerning the meaning of Instrumental but deals with these questions in a number of sentences demonstrating the particular aspects of this case. The rule 2, 3, 18 *karṭṭkaraṇayostṛīya* stating that the Instrumental denotes the agent as well as the instrument, is of the widest range.

¹⁹ H. Wenzel, *Ueber den Instrumentalis im Rigveda*, 1879.

²⁰ B. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, 1888.

²¹ J. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, 1886.

²² Sukumar Sen, *The use of cases in Vedic prose*, 1926—30.

²³ H. Oertel, *The syntax of cases in the narrative and descriptive prose of the Brāhmaṇas. I. Disjunct cases*, 1926.

²⁴ O. Böhtlingk, *Pāṇinis Grammatik*, 1887.

2, 3, 6 *apavarge tṛtīya* covers the prosecutive meaning, both of time and place. He emphasizes however, that this concerns the action performed within a certain period of time or after passing some way.

Other rules cover a much smaller range of meanings. Thus 2, 3, 19 comprises the Sociative but only when used with the preposition *saha*; 2, 3, 20 includes the Instrumental of deficiency (*akṣṇā kāṇaḥ*); 2, 3, 21 — Instrumental of characteristic feature (*itthambhūtalakṣaṇe*). Again, some other rules refer to the usage of Instrumental not in some range but only in particular instances, as e. g. 1, 4, 43 states that the verb *div* 'to play' may be used with Instrumental or Accusative (*akṣair* or *akṣān dīvyati*). One could mention here the analogous Latin syntax *iaculare telis*, beside *tela*.

Thus Pāṇini, as can be observed, does not give any basical meaning of Instrumental, but in particular rules scattered all over the work he indicates various ways of its usage. Some of these cases might be covered by wider rules.

H. Wenzel, basing on Delbrück's²⁵ compilation, tries to prove that the fundamental meaning of the Vedic Instrumental expressed sociative-local relations; it is especially obvious in the use of the prefix *sam-* and of related words with them. According to this he distinguishes:

1. Sociative Instrumental, which, comprises the usage with *saha* and with adjectives expressing community, and next the Instrumental of accompanying circumstances as well as that of space and time. Wenzel considers the way as a companion (as in German expressions 'mit dem Wege gehen').

2. In the second group Wenzel includes the Instrumental of the expressions denoting means of transport. It forms, a transition to the Instrumental of means, because a cart or a horse can be considered both as a travelling companion and as a means of moving.

3. Instrumental of instrument. Here Wenzel includes the Instrumental with various verbs denoting doing something by means of something else; next he mentions the Instrumental of ruling, abundance, use, purchase for a certain price, as well as

²⁵ B. Delbrück, *Ablativ, Localis, Instrumentalis im Altindischen, Lateinischen und Deutschen*, 1867.

the Instrumental with the verbs denoting the functions of human body and the Instrumental with Passive Voice.

4. In this group of meaning he includes the so-called loose Instrumental which denotes cause, reason.

B. Delbrück²⁶ subsumes all meanings of Instrumental under one definition by saying that this case presents the idea which accompanies the chief agent. From this fundamental meaning all kinds of usage of Instrumental can be derived. If this idea can be considered as a companion, e. g. person, while the verb, e. g. to go' is of such a kind that one can imagine a companion beside it, then we speak about Sociative Instrumental, e. g. *devo devebhir āgamat* 'may the god come with gods'. On the other hand, if this notion can be considered as an instrument and the verb can be accompanied by it as an object, then we speak about the Instrumental of instrument, e. g. *juhvā juhōti* 'he pours with a spoon'. In other situation there arises the Instrumental of cause, and when the idea denoting space or time combines with a proper verb, the Instrumental of space and time is created. Therefore, what we call different nuances of Instrumental derives from the variety of meaning of a respective noun and verb.

J. S. Speijer²⁷, discussing the meanings of Instrumental, observes in all of them the common feature that the function of this case is to predicate about the quality of action or state expressed by a verb or noun on which the case depends. Although he gives a few characteristic kinds of usage of Instrumental, he admits that, on the one hand, they do not exhaust all possible instances and no division, even if very detailed, will ever do it; on the other, there exist some instances which may be differently interpreted. It is so because the Indian Instrumental, for all its nuances, is one and the same case, as the English particle „with“, in spite of the variety of use, is always the same word.

Thus, although a review of the meanings of Instrumental will not cover all possible instances and interpretations, it will facilitate some orientation in the range of its usage.

The first group is usually formed by Sociative (Comitative) Instrumental. Perhaps it was also its original meaning. Pāṇini

²⁶ B. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 122 ff.

²⁷ J. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 47 ff.

does not introduce it as a separate class of meaning but only mentions in the rule 2, 3, 19 *sahayukte 'pradhāne* that in the combination with *saha* it denotes a subordinate person. This rule as well as the example from Kāśika: *putrena sahāgataḥ pitā* 'father who came together with his son' suggest an assumption that as early as the time when Pāṇini lived the sociative Instrumental without a preposition was getting out of use. In the Vedic dialect the sociative use with no preposition was frequent, RV 3, 10, 4 *agnir devēbhir āgamat* 'may Agni come with gods'.

By analogy to the words that denote joining (*yuj-*) the instrumental construction is likewise adopted by the verbs denoting separation (*viyuj-*) where the Ablative was originally used, *prāṇair na viyuktaḥ* 'not deprived of life'.

The change from the sociative Instrumental to that of instrument is made in the instances where persons perform the functions of an instrument, RV 1, 36, 4 *viśvam sō agne jayati tvāyā dhānam* 'through you, o Agni, does he gain all good'. Another change is observed in the Instrumental denoting means of transport. Pāṇini writes down this Instrumental 3, 1, 102 *vahyam karaṇam*. The competitive case here is Locative, thus *vah-* with *rathena*, and *rathe*.

The usage of Instrumental as that of means (*karaṇa*) is most common; the example from Kāśika: *dātrena lūnāti* 'he cuts with a sickle'. The price of purchase or hire may also be considered as means of agency. Pāṇini mentions this usage as a separate kind 1, 4, 44 *parikrayane saṁpradānam anyatarasyām*, admitting that Dative (*saṁpradāna*) can stand here as well.

The Instrumental of instrument coalesces with the Instrumental with Passive Voice. Then it denotes the agent (*kartr*), who in the Active Voice is expressed by Nominative. The transition from the notion of instrument to that of agent takes place in such instances where a living creature is the instrument, *śasyate vācobhiḥ* 'is praised with words', then *śasyate kavibhiḥ* 'is praised by bards'. This construction has become widely spread as in the classical Sanskrit the Past Participle replaces to a great extent an active verb; thus we have the phrases like *tenoktam* (instead of *uvāca*), *jalānte duṣṭagraheṇa bhavyam* (Pañc. V. 10) 'there must be an evil spirit in water'.

The Instrumental of instrument coalesces also with that of characteristic and circumstances. The latter has a very wide but less definite range. Pāṇini mentions it 2, 3, 21 *itthambhūtalakṣane* 'a mark through which something looks in a special way', but this meaning could cover, as a particular case, Pāṇini's former rule as well 2, 3, 20 *yenāṅgīvikārah* 'this by which the body is deformed', e. g. *akṣṇā kāṇaḥ* 'one-eyed'.

A characteristic of action may easily become a cause, a reason, *kṛpayā* 'out of pity', RV 10, 86, 11 *jārasā mārāte pātīḥ* 'of age does the husband die'. Pāṇini marks this expression 2, 3, 23 as 'hetau'. The competitive case is here Ablative and it often interchanges with Instrumental.

The Instrumental of instrument is also related to that of space and time. Pāṇini, as has been emphasized, reduces the latter to the instances when within a certain period of time (or a certain way) something comes off; if this definition does not occur and only duration is meant, then Accusative is employed. The example from Kāśika *māsenānuvāko 'dhītaḥ* 'the chapter has been learnt within a month', *yojanenānuvāko 'dhītaḥ* '... after passing one mile'. The real usage of this Instrumental is, however, much wider, *ekāhnā* 'in one day', *dīrghena kālena* 'after a long time'.

The same applies to the Instrumental denoting the way. Here, too, the usage is wider as compared with what is taught by Pāṇini, *narādhipā ... budhopadiṣṭena pathā na yanti ye* Pañcat. 1, 414 'the kings that do not follow the way indicated by the sages'. From the Instrumental of the words denoting the way a new formation was even formed to express the way of execution, more expressive than the ending of Instrumental itself, *mārgena, pāthā*.

Moreover, the Instrumental is used with various verbs; some of the constructions are mentioned by Pāṇini, e. g. 1, 4, 43 (1, 4, 42) *divaḥ karma ca*, denoting that the verb *div*, 'to play' joins Instrumental and Accusative; *yaj-* 'to make sacrifices' (Pāṇini 3, 2, 85).

The constellation, under which something happens, may stand in Instrumental or Locative (P 2, 3, 45) *puṣyena* or *puṣye pāya-sam aśnīyat* 'in the constellation of Pushya let him take milk food'.

Likewise, the verbs denoting struggle, competition require

the instrumental construction, *yudh*, ŚB. 4, 1, 5, 3 *pitaiva putreṇa gūyudhe bhrātā bhrātrā* 'father fought against son, brother against brother'. These examples do not, however, exhaust all possible uses of Instrumental.

The verbs of instrumental construction often have the prefix *sam-*. The prepositions combining with the Instrumental also possess the same element e.g. *saha, sākam, sārddham, samam, saratham*. Since, by analogy, verbs with the prefix *vi-* likewise combine with this case, then some prepositions of separation, such as *vinā* 'without' also adopt this construction.

Beside verbs adjectives require the instrumental construction as well. These are first of all compounds with *sa-*, as *sayuj, sajoṣa*, but also other ones denoting equality, similarity, *sama, tulya; sadṛśa* (Pāṇini 2, 3, 72) *sadṛśo devadattena* 'similar to D'.

The use of Instrumental in the phrases with a negative shade is not mentioned by Pāṇini; neither is it used in the Vedas; therefore it was perhaps taken from the living speech. The examples are: *kim prayojanam ... ko 'rthaḥ* '... what of (that)'; *kim bahunā* 'why (to talk) much'. The prohibitive nuance is found in: *alam, astu, kṛtam* Śakunt. I. ²⁸ *athava kṛtam samdehena* 'enough of uncertainty'.

The usage of Instrumental in these expressions approaches the construction of Absolute cases, loosely connected with the rest of the sentence. Sanskrit possesses two developed Absolute cases, Genitive and Locative, yet the beginnings of such a construction can be observed in Instrumental as well. H. Oertel, in his study of the syntax of cases in the Brāhmaṇa, demonstrated the way in which those which he called disjunct cases become gradually separated from the context of the sentence. Rāmāy. 2, 64, 18 *sa coddhṛtena bāṇena sahasā svargam āsthitāḥ* 'and when the arrow was taken out, he immediately went to heaven'. ŚB 1, 2, 47 *tena samśītena nātmānam upasprśati na pṛthivīm* 'when it is sharpened, let it touch neither itself nor earth'.

Sometimes the forms of Instrumental lost the syntactical meaning of a case and became adverbs. Some of them are also used as syntactical cases, others only as adverbs. Such adverbs

²⁸ Ed. by Böhtlingk p. 11, 11.

of instrumental origin in statu nascendi are: *prāyena* 'mostly', *sukhena* 'easily', *duḥkkena* 'with difficulty', *sarvātmanā* 'with all heart'; likewise, the expressions *mārgena* 'through', *dvāreṇa* 'with help of', which replace the less expressive Instrumental of manner, are the forming adverbs. Adverbs are also formed from pronominal stems, *tena* 'therefore', *kayā* 'how', *amuyā* 'in that manner'. The following are formed from adjectives: *dūreṇa* 'far, from afar', and the Comparative from it *dūratareṇa* 'still farther from', *tiraścā* 'across', *uccaiḥ* 'high, loudly', *śanaiḥ* 'slowly'. The following are of nominal origin: *diṣṭyā* 'luckily', *sahasā* 'suddenly', *viśeṣeṇa* 'especially', *divā* 'by day', *adhunā* 'now' (the old Instrumental from *adhvan* 'way'). The separation from flexion is complete where the given word is not used in other than adverbial form, e. g. *mithyā* 'in vain'. Likewise, in the Vedic dialect we find the adverbs of instrumental origin, *amā* 'at home', *gūhā* 'in concealment', *pascā* 'in the rear, afterwards', *uccā* 'high'. They differ from declension forms by their stress.

III. OLD IRANIAN INSTRUMENTAL

a) The formal aspect

The Instrumental of Old Iranian languages can be deduced chiefly from Avesta, as the Old Persian texts offer very few examples for reconstruction. However, even the Avestan examples are not quite valid as material on account of unsettled views on their spelling and, consequently, on their transcription and because of the differences in the interpretation of the texts. The Old Indian examples, which are better preserved and commented, are used as a corrective even now. The comparison with them indicates that, on the whole, the Avestan Instrumental has no innovations²⁹ when compared with the Indian case.

Instrumental Singular has the ending *-ā* which in the Young Avesta was shortened, while the Gāthā examples as possessing all final vowels long do not, in this respect, say anything certain. The only valid examples are those whose endings, on account

²⁹ H. Reichelt, *Avest. Elem.* p. 171 ff.

of attaching the conjunction *ča* to the instrumental form, became medial.

Bartholomae³⁰, who for the Instrumental in the Aryan languages adopted the ending *-ām*, *-m*, considered the adverbially used forms, such as *apam* 'farther on', **paščam* 'in the rear' (reconstructed from *pasčaiḍya* 'situated in the back'), then those used as infinitives *hubəratəm*, *vohubəratəm* 'in order to look well after', the adverb *kam* 'by what, how' — as the remains of the Instrumental in *-m*. One must add, however, that in this he referred to the earlier notions of Hirt, who recalled them afterwards (Idg. Grammatik III).

The ending *ā* (a) is found in all stems:

<i>āh</i> n 'mouth'	Instr. Sing.	<i>əānhā</i>
<i>ap</i> f 'water'	" "	<i>apāča, apa</i>
<i>paθ</i> m 'way'	" "	<i>paða</i>
<i>zərəd</i> n 'heart'	" "	<i>zərədāča</i>
<i>zam</i> f 'earth'	" "	<i>zəmə</i>
<i>manah</i> n 'mind'	" "	<i>manavhā</i>
<i>nar</i> m 'husband'	" "	<i>nara</i>
<i>haṣay</i> m 'friend'	" "	<i>haša</i>
<i>xratav</i> m 'will'	" "	<i>xradvā</i>
<i>vanhvi</i> f 'good'	" "	<i>vanhuya</i>
<i>zasta</i> m 'hand'	" "	<i>zastā</i>
<i>daēnā</i> f 'religion'	" "	<i>daēnā</i>

Old Pers. *vašnā*

In the Old Persian the Ablative in **at* lost its final consonant and formally coalesced with the Instrumental.

The feminine stems in *-ā* possess, as in Sanskrit, beside the ending *-ā* also another one *-ayā* borrowed from the pronominal declension (*ayā*, *aētaya*); hence, beside the form *daēnā* we observe another one *daēnaya*. This is an Indo-Iranian innovation. Among the Avesta forms there is no trace of the analogous influence of pronominal declension on the masculine stems in *-a*.

So there are no Old Iranian forms ending in *-ena*, though there existed pronominal forms which had a nasal in the Instrumental. The latter are attested both in Avesta and Old Persian, Av. *anā*, O. P. *anā*, Av. *kana*, O. P. *tyana*.

³⁰ Ch. Bartholomae, *Grundriss*, I, 1 p. 122 ff.

Other pronominal forms had the ending *ā* in the Instrumental Singular; Demonstrative Pronouns: *tā*, *aētā*, *avā*; Relative Pronouns: *yā*; Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns *kā* (besides *kana*), *kācit*; Personal Pronouns *θwā*, *χšmā*.

Stems ending in *-i* *-u* (the strong form *-ai*, *-au*) had, like in the Vedic dialect, besides *ā*, the formation ending in *-ī* *-ū*:

ašay (Fem), 'payment', Instr. Sg. *aši*,

patay (Masc), 'lord, husband', Instr. Sg. *paiti*,

χratav (Masc), 'will', Instr. Sg. *χratū* (besides *χradwā*),

daenav (Fem), 'woman', Instr. Sg. *daenu*.

As the materials are scarce, it is difficult to determine what was the quantitative relation between the two formations.

In the Dual, the Instrumental corresponds to the Indian formation. Its ending was *-bya*, and in one case *-byam* (*brvatbyam*). It has not been so far decided whether the ending was **-bhiam* in Old Iranian and the nasal disappeared, or, on the contrary, the original ending **-bhya* was enlarged by adding a nasal in Indian forms.

In Younger Avesta the ending *-bya* frequently occurs as *-we(ve)* which indicates the spirantal pronunciation of the labial sound (*pādave*).

The ending *-bya* was added to the stem, Av. *berəzant*, 'high', the Instr. Dual. *berəzanbya*, Skt. *brhadbhyaṃ*, yet with vocalic stems the form of the Nominative Dual was used instead of the stem, Av. *ašibyā*, 'with eyes', *pādave*, 'with feet', *zastōibyā*, 'with hands', *dvaēibyā*, 'with two'.

In the Plural, the Avestan Instrumental had two endings, *biš* and *aiš*. In Old Persian inscriptions only the former occurs.

Bartholomae³¹ and then Reichelt³² accepted *-iš* as the third ending for the Instrumental case, Plural. Bartholomae has explained it as a variant of the Indo-European ending **-ōis*, which had been preserved in no other Indo-European language. After Andreas's studies on the original Avestan alphabet Reichelt admitted³³ that *-iš* was by no means a separate ending but its occurrence was due either to an inaccurate transcription from the

³¹ C. Bartholomae, *Grundriss d. ir. Phil.* I., p. 134, § 231, 2.

³² H. Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, p. 181.

³³ H. Reichelt, *Festschrift für Streitberg*, 1924, p. 287.

Aramaic alphabet (*-uš* instead of *-vvyš* < **wviš*) or else (with *-niš*) to the confusion of signs for *n* and *v* which resulted in writing *niš* instead of *vyš* < **aviš*. Thus what had been supposed to be a separate ending proved an inaccurate graphical designation for the ending *-biš* (*viš*).

In Avesta, all formations except stems in *-a* had the ending *-biš*. Stems in *-a* had, as in Indian, the ending *-aiš*, represented also in pronominal forms (*āiš*, *tāiš*, *anāiš*, *avāiš*, *yāiš*, *kāiš*). The only pronominal form (Masc) ending in *-biš* which has been preserved is the form *aēibiš* (Skt. *ebhiḥ*), used besides *āiš*. Two forms with stems in *-a* and the ending *-biš* attested in Avesta, i. e. *āfrivanaēibiš* (Fragm. Westerg. 8) from *āfrivana*, 'curse', and *hadrākaēibiš* (Nirang. 97) (used adverbially with the meaning 'together') were, according to Bartholomae³⁴ due to the influence of the pronominal declension. In Old Persian, on the other hand, only the ending *-biš* (*-aibiš* with stems in *-a*) is attested. Inscriptions being scarce, it cannot be dependably concluded that the ending *-aiš* has disappeared in the language.

Neither are the Avestan materials profuse enough to serve as a basis for any decision concerning the decline of some forms. Besides, in the texts there are great declensional irregularities, caused either by the decay of the language or by the lack of sense of the language among compilers of Younger Avesta.

b) The denotation of the Instrumental³⁵

One can find similar difficulties when attempting at determining the denotation of the Iranian Instrumental case. These are due to the scantiness of linguistic materials on one hand and to the uncertainty in interpretation on the other, the latter being caused by inaccurate spelling and, to some extent, by the obscurity of expressions which must have often been incomprehensible already for the Pehlevi commentators.

Having considered these restrictions some semantic criteria for the Iranian Instrumental can be established, similar to those relating to the denotation of this case in Indian.

³⁴ C. Bartholomae, *op. cit.*, p. 134, § 230.

³⁵ H. Reichelt, *Awest. Elementarbuch*, p. 232 ff.

1. When examining the denotation of the Instrumental, the confusion of cases ³⁶, or even their coalescence, must be considered. In the Dual, the fact occurred already in the pre-Iranian period and in the Plural the Dative and the Instrumental were often confused because of the similarity of the two forms, Y 9, 22 *haomō aēibiš ... zavarə ... baχšaiti*, 'Haoma grants them strength'. The Instrumental form has the meaning of the Dative here. It is reverse in Yt 5, 8, *ko maṃ ... yazāite haomavaitibyō zaoθrābyō*, 'who will give me the offering of Haoma?'

In the Singular, the Instrumental was also confused with the Locative, as the latter, when formed from stems in -ā also formally coalesced with the former. Besides, the Ablative forms were sometimes used instead of the Instrumental, Y 4, 4 *yōi vavhəuš ā manavhō šyeinti*, '... who live with Vohu Manah'.

2. The sociative Instrumental was frequently met, both independent and accompanied by prepositions which express coexistence, Y 12, 3 *gaobiš šyeinti*, 'they live together with the flock', and with the particle *hadā*, Y 58, 4 *hačā nā ... nišanharatū hadā ašāčā*, 'let this man guard us together with Aša'.

In Old Persian inscriptions the sociative usage of the Instrumental with the particle *hadā* is the only attested, Bh 1, 56—7 *hadā kamnaibiš martyaibiš*, 'with a few men'.

Although the examples of this usage are too scarce, it can be assumed that both in Avesta and Old Persian the *sociativus*, if not accompanied by a verb which would express connection, was not felt expressive enough and so later it was displaced by constructions with prepositions.

There are several instances where the Instrumental expresses division, Y 10, 17 *ərəzataēna hača tašta zaranaēnəm aoi taχše*, 'out of a silver bowl he pours into a golden one'. The preposition *hača* originally meant 'together' (Indo-European *sm-), as it can be still traced in Indian *saca*, 'together', but in the Iranian languages it got the meaning of division, removal, and was usually accompanied by the Ablative. In Avesta there are several examples of the construction with the Instrumental, yet in Old Persian it is only joined by the Ablative (with stems in -a which

are formally identical with the Instrumental), Bh 1, 61—2 *χšaθram tya hačā amāχam taumāyā parābartam āha*, 'the kingdom that had been taken from my family', Y 34, 5 *vīspāiš parə vaoχəmā daēvāiščā χrafstrāiš mašyāiščā*, 'we broke with all demons and perverse men'.

3. The instrumental usage of the Instrumental case is the most frequent one and of the most extensive scope. Here also some intermediate instances occur, such as using people as instruments, Y 41, 4 *θwā əmavantasčā buyamā*, 'may we become powerful with you' (thanks to you). A cart, when used in the Instrumental, may also be taken as the means or a companion, Yt 10, 67 *yō vāša mainyuhamtašta fravazaitē*, 'who comes with (in) a cart made by the spirits'.

First of all, limbs and sense organs were treated as instruments, Y 43, 4 *zastā yā tū hafšē avā ... ašiš*, 'with the hand in which you are holding those fates', Y 1, 21 *yezi θwā didvaēša yezi mananha yezi vačanha yezi šyaodna*, 'if I offended you with a thought, a speech or a deed'. As an instrument can be also considered an accompanying circumstance, the Instrumental was sometimes supplied with a particle indicating coexistence (in Younger Avesta only), Y 10, 19 *āstaoiti hadra ana gadwya vača*, 'to him who glorifies with this Gathic word'. In Old Persian, on the other hand, the Instrumental case with the instrumental meaning was not used with particles, Bh 1, 13—14 *vašna auramazdaha (a)dam šām χšāyadriya aham*, 'by mercy of Ahura Mazda I became their king'.

Sometimes the Instrumental does not introduce any new idea but only intensifies that expressed by the verb. It is usually formed from the same stem as the verb. Similar syntax occurs also in Sanskrit, *prāṇena prāṇiti*, 'breathes with the breath', Tait. Samh. 7, 1, 10 *yajñena yajate*, 'offers the offering'. It is fairly frequent in Avesta, Yt 15, 40 *yavata gaya jvāva*, 'as long as we shall both live the life', Vd 9, 46 *handarəzačit handarəzayən*, 'may they fetter him with fetters'.

4. The Instrumental case with the Passive Voice. A person by whom something takes place is in Avesta expressed by the Instrumental (similarly in Sanskrit *kartar*), in Old Persian inscriptions, on the other hand, the Ablative with *hača* is then used,

³⁶ H. Reichelt, *op. cit.*, p. 223 f.

Vd. 3, 24 *īm zā ... yā karšya karšivata*, 'the soil which should be ploughed by a ploughman', Bh 1, 23—24 *yadāšām hačāma adahya*, 'as it was told them by me'.

5. The Instrumental of an attribute, circumstance and relation. Vd. 14, 15 *χ^{an}ha vā duγda vā nərəbyō ašavabyō nāiridwana*³⁷ *upavādayaēta* 'let a sister or a daughter be led to the pious men as (their) wives'.

Vd. 19, 37 *tištrīm stārēm gēuš kəhrpa zaranyō.srvahe*, 'the star of Tishtrya in the shape of a gold-horned bull'.

Y 32, 12 *yōi gēuš morəndən urvaχš.uxti jyōtūm*, 'who destroy the life of an ox among (with) shouts of joy' (circumstance).

Y 9, 11 *yim upairi viš raodat arštyō.barəza*, 'who was flushed of venom at a spear's height' (relation, measure). Similarly in Old Persian, Dar. Suz. 1, 26 40 *arašniš baršna*, '40 fathoms in height'.

6. The causative Instrumental. Y 57, 3 *ahe raya χ^{arənan}hača ... təm yazāi*, 'I want to honour him for his splendour and glory'.

7. The prosecutive Instrumental. The prosecutive Instrumental indicates the way along which an action is performed. In Avesta there are no evident instances of analogous expressions which would refer to time. There are only several cases of the adverbial usage of the Instrumental, *fraidivā*, 'long ago', *yavatā*, 'as long as'.

Vd. 8, 14 *paða uzbarənte ... naraēča irista*, 'the corpses of men are carried along the road'. A general idea of the place where an action is performed is connected with this denotation, Y 68, 6 *vīspāšca āpō yazamaide yā zəma armaēštā frātāt.čaratasča*, 'we glorify all waters, standing still and floating all over the earth', and in the same meaning, with a preposition, Y 12, 3 *upairi āya zəmə gaobiš šyeinti*, 'who live on the earth together with the cattle'.

The same construction is also met in Old Persian, Xerx. Pers. a 14 *vasiy (vasaiy) aniyašciy naibam kartam anā Pārsā*, 'there are more beautiful things done in this Persia' (throughout this Persia).

8. The adnominal Instrumental. The denotation of the adnominal Instrumental depends on the contents of the nomen. If it indicates connection, the sociative meaning is expressed, Yt 10, 67

³⁷ C. Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterbuch*, 1066 *nairidwanāi*.

hačimnō χ^{arənan}hača ... vərəθraynača, 'together with majesty and victory'.

Y 32, 2 *ašā hušhaχā χ^{ən}vātā*, 'familiar with sunny Aša'.

Analogically, the Instrumental joins the nouns which indicate division, Vd. 9, 31 *tanuš hiynvi pašnu*, 'the body free from dust'.

A circumstance: Yt 8, 50 *azəm dadəm ... tištrīm avāntəm yesnyata*, 'I have created Tishtrya, equal to me as regards venerability'.

9. Adverbs. Some forms of the Instrumental, as in Old Indian, are isolated out of paradigms and occur only in the adverbial usage. But, since Avestan texts are scarce and one-sided, it is not always certain whether a given form is used only as an Adverb or if it is a real Instrumental form, other bases of the same stem being just not attested. Therefore, depending on the interpretation, some forms are considered either Adverbs or real case forms. Bartholomae³⁸ takes the following forms as Adverbs of the Instrumental origin:

Stems in -a:	<i>aorā</i> ,	'down' (Skt. <i>avara</i>)
	<i>ađara</i> ,	'below', (Skt. <i>adhara</i>)
	<i>apara</i> ,	'afterwards' (Skt. <i>apara</i>)
	<i>anya</i> ,	'beside'
	<i>aiš</i> ,	'thus', 'therefore' (Instr. Pl. from a-)
	<i>upara</i> ,	'above' (Skt. <i>upara</i>)
	<i>upəma</i> ,	'highest' (Skt. <i>upama</i>)
	<i>usča</i> ,	'up' (Skt. <i>ucca</i>)
	<i>tā</i> ,	'then, thus' (Skt. <i>tena</i>)
	<i>tāiš</i> ,	'so' (Instr. Pl. from ta-)
	<i>paitiša</i> ,	'towards' (<i>paitiyan</i> -)
	<i>paourva</i> ,	'ahead' (Skt. <i>pūrvā</i>)
	<i>paoirya</i> ,	'at first' (Skt. <i>pūrvya</i>)
	<i>pasča</i> ,	'afterwards, behind' (Skt. <i>paśca</i>)
	<i>fraidivā</i> ,	'long ago' (Skt. <i>pradivah</i>)
	<i>fraša</i> ,	'forward' (Skt. <i>prāṅ</i>)
	<i>nava</i> ,	'anew' (Skt. <i>nava</i>)
	<i>mađəmya</i> ,	'among'
	<i>yā</i> ,	'as' (Skt. <i>yena</i>)

³⁸ C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1904.

	<i>yaiš,</i>	'as', 'in which way'
	<i>vispāiš,</i>	'ever', 'forever'
	<i>haiḍyā,</i>	'really' (Skt. <i>satya</i>)
	<i>hāvōya,</i>	'left' (Skt. ' <i>savya</i> ')
Stems in -i:	<i>apaiti.busti,</i>	'imperceptibly'
	<i>išarə.štāitya</i>	'at once'
	<i>fraṣṣti</i> ³⁹	'abundantly'
	<i>mišti,</i>	'always' ⁴⁰
Stems in -u:	<i>kū,</i>	'where' (Skt. <i>ku</i> 'where')
	<i>čū,</i>	'how' (from <i>kav-</i> , Pron. Interrog.)
	<i>yavā,</i>	'always'
Consonantal	<i>yavatā</i>	'until' (from <i>yavant-</i>)
Stems:		
	<i>parača,</i>	'away' (<i>parānk-</i>)
	<i>mazibiš,</i>	'very' ⁴¹ (<i>maz-</i>).

10. Prepositions standing with Instrumentals. In early times already Instrumentals stand with prepositions which often modify their meaning. There occur before all particles which express association. Sometimes they act here independently as adverbs: *hadrā* (Skt. *satra* adv. 'together') stands with Instrumental or a substitutional case (Locative or Dative), Yt 13, 47 *fravašyō*, *hadra midrāča rašnuča* 'Fravashi with Mitra and Rashnu'.

Because of a close connection, however, between a comitative and instrumental meaning *hadrā* may mean 'by means of', Y 10, 19 *hadra ana gāḍwya vača*.

Gathic *hadā*, Y/Av. *hada* 'with', 'together with', Old Persian *hadā* (Skt. *saha*), Bh 1, 93 *aiš hadā karā* 'set out with an army', Y 58, 4 *hadā ašāčā vāstrācā* 'with Aša and cattle'.

This preposition, however, is used not only to express accompanying (association) but as well to denote the relation of fighting like in the Sanskrit *saha*.

Y 57, 17 *yō... yūidyēiti māzanyaēibyō hada daēvaēibyō* 'who fights with Mazanian demons' (here Dative Pl. instead of Instr. Pl.).

³⁹ According to Bartholomae, uncertain lection (Air. WB. 977).

⁴⁰ The meaning according to C. Bartholomae, *Zum altir. Wörterb.*, p. 207; in his Dictionary: 'in a confused way'.

⁴¹ H. S. Nyberg explains the word as the real Instrumental, Plural, from *maz-* 'together with the great' (Die iran. Religionen, p. 453).

Bh 2, 85—86 *hamaranam akunauš hadā čīdrantaxma* 'fought a battle with Čithrantaxma'.

haca 'from' (Skt. *sacā*) usually stands with Ablative, in the Younger Avesta, sometimes also with the Instrumental, Yt 19, 44 *avanayeni spəntəm mainyūm hača raoṣšna garō.nmāna* 'I shall lead the holy ghost out of the bright house of glory'.

mat 'with, together with' (Skt. *smat*).

Vd 6, 27 *mat aodranəm framuxti* 'with taking off shoes'.

Y 34, 11 *aša mat ārmaitiš* 'Armaiti together with Aša'.

Moreover some other prepositions stand besides other cases with Instrumental as well.

paiti 'on, after, for'.

Y 9, 15 *yōi apatayən paiti āya zəmā* 'those who were running on this earth'.

upairi 'over, on'.

Y 12, 3 *upairi āya zəmā* 'on this earth'.

pasča (Skt. *paścā* adv.) 'after' is used with Instrumental only in the temporal meaning, Vd 5, 57 *pasča... frasnaiti* 'after washing'.

11. Infinitive of Instrumental origin. Instrumental from verbal nouns acts beside other cases as an infinitive as well. Bartholomae⁴² regarded also forms on *-qm* as such a kind of Instrumental infinitives, treating this ending as an original ending of the Instrumental.

Among the semantic nuances of these infinitives following items can be distinguished: its use to express purpose Y 68, 14 *hušiti rāmōšiti darəyō.šiti* 'to live well in peace and for a long time'; the Imperative use is in Y 65, 7 *mā nō āpō dušmanavhe... frādaiti* 'don't give us out to a man who harbours evil thoughts'.

The Instrumental infinitive can also be used with a verb *dā* in Medium. Y 11, 17 *aibigairyā daiḍe* 'I decide to accept'.

Example Y 32, 6 is not quite dependable: *ənāṣṣtā yāiš srāvahyeiti* 'through which he achieved that he is famous'. Bartholomae⁴³ and Reichelt after him regard *sravahyeiti* as infinitive of Instrumental origin. It is more simple, however, to treat this

⁴² Ch. Bartholomae, *Grundriss*, I. p. 146.

⁴³ Ch. Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterbuch*, 1645; H. Reichelt, *Awest. Element*, p. 200.

form as III Person Sing. as do M. Wilkins Smith ⁴⁴ and J. Duchesne-Guillemin ⁴⁵ in their translations.

12. Instrumental as Nominative, Accusative and Vocative. Among many ways of the use of Instrumental characteristic of Avesta the use as a subject and object should be mentioned as well. Hübschman ⁴⁶ noticed it first in Plural forms on -āiš. He ascribed this confusion of Comitative, Nominative and Accusative either to a language corruption or to a bad tradition. He gives some examples as Y 19, 2 *para asmam para āpam... para daēvāišca xrafstrāiš mašyāišca* 'before heaven, water, demons and evil men' ⁴⁷ — in which Instrumental (Hübschmann calls it Comitative, considering this function as a principal one) is used in the meaning of the Nominative or Accusative. On these grounds he concludes that in many other cases where formally a Comitative is used it does not act as such from the syntactic point of view.

Caland and Geldner made similar observations on Gathic texts. Caland ⁴⁸ drew the attention to the fact that in Gāthā the plural form of a verb often stands with the II person Plural of a pronoun to call a single deity. To explain it he assumes that Plural also refers to other deities sometimes not mentioned in the text. He considers such expressions as *mazdā ašā* to be composita *dvandva* in Vocative Dual. In a similar way he treats *vohū manavhā*. Thus, forms *mazdā, ašā, vohū manavhā* are, according to him, not Instrumentals but Vocatives. In the final remark in his article, however, he words his conclusions in a somewhat different way. He says: 'It could be said that the form *vohū manavhā* is an Instrumental used as Vocative'.

In Kuhn's Zeitschrift 31 ⁴⁹ Caland considers cases in which Instrumental case is used with names of geniuses Nominative or Vocative. He cites as examples Y 33, 10 *vohū uxšyā manavhā*

⁴⁴ M. Wilkins Smith, *Studies in the Syntax of the G.*, p. 84.

⁴⁵ J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre*, 1958, p. 254.

⁴⁶ H. Hübschmann, *op. cit.*, p. 265 f.

⁴⁷ Instrumental phrases used here are mechanically transferred from Y 34, 5.

⁴⁸ W. Caland, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Avesta*, 6. KZ 30 p. 540.

⁴⁹ W. Caland, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Avesta*, 9. KZ 31.

xšaθrā ašācā uštā tanūm and translates: 'require me o Vohu Manah Xšaθra and Aša'; Y 30, 7 *ahmāičā xšaθrā jasaš manavhā vohū ašācā* 'him then approached Xšaθra, Vohu Manah and Aša'.

In the same volume KZ, Geldner ⁵⁰ rejects Caland's theory that expressions *ašā — vohū manavhā* are dual forms and develops his thesis that Instrumentals used with names of geniuses have a Vocative or Nominative meaning and makes it a principle that the form *ašam* occurs as a Nominative when standing before an adjective, whereas in other contexts the form *ašā* is used. To justify this statement he refers to the facts in Younger Avesta where Instrumentals in Plural often replace other cases. He maintains as well that Instrumental often became a general case for Plural. It seems, thus, possible that already in Gāthā Instrumental occurs in the form of a substitute for Nominative and consequently for Vocative in order to denote, in certain circumstances, a difference between a Nominative and Accusative of geniuses of neutral gender. He admits, however, that it is a subterfuge of doubtful value, but to end this article he concludes that in the interpretation of Gāthā difficulties pile up indefinitely.

Bartholomae (Studien zur idg. Sprachgeschichte) gave a uniform explanation of these facts. He maintains that subjective use of Instrumental developed from its comitative use by making its form independent. Reichelt accepted this explanation in his manual of Avesta ⁵¹ and in „Geschichte der idg. Sprachwissenschaft“ IV 2 where he calls this interpretation a fruitful observation. Andreas, Meillet and Hertel do not share this view point in their translations of Gāthā and translate Instrumental forms always as syntactic Instrumentals.

M. Wilkins Smith ⁵² shares Meillet's view point; she makes it a principle, however, that Vocative in Gāthā may stand only at the end of *pāda* and therefore she is forced to assume the instrumental meaning if this form occurs in another place of the line, there where Instrumental and Vocative forms are identical. This refers first of all to the term Mazdah. She considers this word

⁵⁰ K. Geldner, *ašā, vohū manavhā* KZ 31.

⁵¹ H. Reichelt, *Avest. Elementarbuch*, p. 223 f.

⁵² M. Wilkins Smith, *Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas*, 1929, p. 15 f.

not to be a part of the name of Ahura but his aspect, his manifestation equally with *aša vohu manah*, *χšadra* and *armaiti*. The form *mazdā*, if it does not stand at the end of *pāda*, is, thus, always translated by her as an Instrumental 'through wisdom'. She does not take analogous cases in the Younger Avesta into consideration because — as she says — her dissertation should be an explanation of certain forms and Gathic constructions as they could have been understood by Zarathuštra's disciples, for whom neither disquisitions of Younger Avesta nor translations of Pehlevi nor Parsi tradition existed⁵³. Making this provision, however, the fact has been neglected that the closest disciples of Zarathuštra had an oral comment of their master, that is not available nowadays, to understand the Gathic hymns.

E. Schwyzer⁵⁴ distinguishes in the Nominative or Vocative use of Instrumentals in Avesta various layers; first of all he investigates individual places where Bartholomae takes the Vocative use of Instrumental in Gāthā for granted and derives the conclusion that in some cases referring only Gathic geniuses *aša*, and *vohu manah* — such a use is absolutely necessary as it is in agreement with the content, whereas translation of these forms as Instrumentals of instrument or Comitatives vitiates the sense and so e. g. Y 28, 7 *daidi ašā... daidi tū āрмаite* „give Aša ... give Armaiti“; for *vohu manah* Y 29, 7 *kastē vohū manavhā ya* „whom are you having, o Vohu Manah, who...“.

Schwyzzer finds that Vocatives which became independent from comitative Instrumentals are a characteristic feature of liturgical language coming from Zarathuštra himself. The semantic transition from the formula „oh, with Aša“ to „oh, Aša“ treats Schwyzzer as a mechanical one. The formula *mazdā*, *ašā*, *vohū manavhā* was very common in texts. The word *mazdā* was a Vocative, the form *ašā* having the same ending was also felt as Vocative and therefore the doubtless instrumental *vohū manavhā* not only lost its syntactic position under the influence of the two preceding words but also assumed the meaning of a Vocative.

⁵³ M. Wilkins Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Z. Schwyzer, *Die sog. missbräuchlichen Instrumentale im Avesta*, Idg. Forsch. XLVII, p. 214—71.

Nominative Instrumentals are regarded by Schwyzer as originating independently of Vocative ones. He regards them as an Indo-European structure. First of all he gives a more precised form to Geldner's observations concerning the forms *ašəm* and *ašā* pointing out that the form *ašā* is used as a subject in verbal sentences. In order to explain this phenomenon he refers to Pedersen's⁵⁵ thesis. This scholar compared examples from the Russian syntax as *vetrom slomilo dva dereva* „the wind has broken two trees“ and maintains that the Russian subjectless sentences with an Instrumental substituting the subject are a continuation of a very ancient structure. To support his hypothesis he gave also an Old Persian example Bh 1, 96 — 95 *apišim parabara* and translates it impersonally „in water it was carried off“ considering *api* to be a Locative standing in place of a former Instrumental. Bartholomae, Meillet⁵⁶ and Hinz⁵⁷, however, translate *āpi* as Nominative „the water carried them off“.

The argument of the Russian and Avesta syntax being in agreement is for Pedersen so striking that it suffices to accept this structure for the Indo-European language. These examples, however, are not convincing for Bartholomae and Reichelt⁵⁸ the more so that this phenomenon is unknown in Sanskrit.

Schwyzzer accepts Pedersen's hypothesis and explains the irregularities in examples by archaism of construction and its decline. He also gives a Latin example, *si hominem fulmine occidit*, which shows that in impersonal phenomena the subject was in Instrumental as, according to the primitive world's outlook an unanimate thing cannot be the subject of an intended action but only its means. As evidence of the ancient origin of the instrumental structure of the subject Schwyzer regards also the word order which requires the subjective Instrumentals to precede the verb immediately.

In the Younger Avesta, nominative and accusative Instrumentals, specially those with the ending *-āiš* occur too. Schwyzer

⁵⁵ H. Pedersen, *Neues and Nachträgliches*, KZ 40.

⁵⁶ A. Meillet, *Grammaire du Vieux-Perse*, 1915, p. 45, 138.

⁵⁷ W. Hinz, *Altpersischer Wortschatz*, 1942, p. 54.

⁵⁸ H. Reichelt, *Aw. Elem.*, p. 224.

treats them separately from the Gathic examples and forwards a thesis that originally they were not Instrumentals but Plural Genitives of pronouns ending on *-aišām*. At a later developmental stage of the Old Iranian languages the Genitive became a general case of Plural as it was pointed out by Andreas. After a fall off of the ending *-ām* the forms on *-aiš* fused with true Instrumentals from stems on *-a* and were also felt as such ones. With analogy to these forms other forms of the Instrumentals of Plural number i. e. ending on *-biš* were also used in the nominative meaning. To support this thesis Schwyzer mentions the fact that the majority of endings on *-aiš* with Instrumentals used in the nominative meaning are found in pronoun forms which in fact had originally a Plural Genitive ending on **-aišām*, and further that nouns standing nearby to these supposed Instrumentals usually have no ending *yāiš vīspāiš dāman* 'which all these beings' developed from **yāišām *vīspaišām *dāmanām*.

Schwyzzer gives also his own explanation of the forms *ašaonīš*, *namənīš*, which were considered Instrumentals but of the meaning of Nominative or Accusative of Plural. Schwyzer rejects the explanation Reichelt's that *-niš* developed from **viš < biš* as the result of resemblance and confusion of signs for „n“ and „v“ and forwards his own hypothesis. The Gathic form of *namənīš* developed from the confusion of signs for „n“ and „b“. In Younger Avesta the endings *-aiš* originating from *-aišām* spread over consonantal stems as well and built forms **ašaonaiš*, **namənaiš*. In the original alphabet of Avesta *-aiš* was noted as 'yš. At the transcription into the more precised alphabet in the time of Sasanides only forms belonging to the stems on *-a* were regarded as instrumentals on *-aiš*, others fused with the Plural Feminine ending *-iš*.

Schwyzzer's dissertation, though very detailed and full of new conceptions, cannot be considered a final explanation of this problem. Schwyzer adopts e. g. the vocative meaning of an Instrumental to settle the interpretation difficulty in one place (Y 29, 7) i. e. in translating the form *voḥū manavhā* as a true Instrumental. But there is no binding interpretation of the Gathic texts, on the contrary, it is only achieved by means of an analysis of forms.

It would be justified to accept forms on *-aiš < *aišām* as original Genitives if we had forms on *-aišām* really preserved in texts so as we have evidenced forms of Plural Genitive on *-anām* besides endings on *-an*. These forms, however, do not exist in in Avesta. There are only pronoun forms on *-aēšām*. Hypothetical forms, which replaced the recorded existing forms have, thus, been here adopted.

Deducing the forms of Younger Avesta *namənīš < *namənaiš* and assuming at the same time that the Gathic *namənīš* (Y 51, 22) originates from another source i. e. from **naməbiš* does not seem probable.

Schwyzzer himself felt his thesis to be hypothetical and in his article about the relicts of the former use of the Instrumental in German⁵⁹ he admits that Pedersen's thesis needs support by some further evidence because the Lithuanian and Nordic examples fell off. Examples from the Russian syntax have only remained and even in them foreign influence (Finno-Ugrian) is not excluded.

From the further commentators Lommel⁶⁰ after Andreas rejects the nominative use of the Instrumental. Markwart in his interpretation of Gāthā uštavaitī I⁶¹ hesitates whether to translate stanza 7/9, 11, 13, 15/ comitatively or as Instrumental of quality. Nyberg is not consequent in his interpretation of Gāthā⁶²; he translates almost all Instrumentals as syntactic ones i. e. either as Comitatives or Instrumentals of instrument. But in Y 28, 1 *ahyā yasā nēmanhā ustānazastō rafədrahyā mainyēuš mazdā paourvīm spəntahyā ašā vīspəng šyaodanā*, he translates the word *ašā* as a Vocative⁶³.

E. Herzfeld in his monograph on Zoroaster⁶⁴ and J. Du-

⁵⁹ H. Schwyzer, *Nachleben alten Instrumentals bei nhd. mit. Idg. Forsch.* XLVIII.

⁶⁰ H. Lommel, *Yasna* 29, ZII 10, p. 96—115.

⁶¹ J. Markwart, *Das erste Kap. der Gatha ušt.* p. 66.

⁶² H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, 1938.

⁶³ H. S. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 164 „Mit den anbetend ausgestreckten Händen zur (Erreichung) dieser Hilfe bitte ich zuerst, o Mazda und Aša, (euch) alle um Taten des wirksamen Mainyu“.

⁶⁴ E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and his world*, 1947.

chesne-Guillemin in his translation⁶⁵ of Gāthā introduce Instrumental of quality instead of a nominative use of Instrumental; they both call upon Markwart. This semantic nuance, however, is used by them facultatively as J. Duchesne-Guillemin⁶⁶ himself admits. Instrumental of quality is already quite approximate in meaning to the nominative meaning. In Younger Avesta where this instrumental is a reminiscence of Gāthā e. g. Yt 19, 95 *vanāt aša akəm drujəm* 'Aša will defeat the evil Druj' its meaning is an outstanding Nominative one. It results most probably from a decline of language understanding. Translations in Pehlevi corroborate it as well.

13. Instrumental in Old Persian data. Data in Old Persian inscriptions have preserved another property of the Iranian Instrumental. Two formulae can be found here. The first of them appears only once and denotes the first day of the month (*Garmapada*); Bh 3, 7 — 8 *Garmapadahya māhyā I rauča θakataṃ āha* — according to Meillet⁶⁷ and Benveniste 'in the month of Garmapada one day has passed'; *māhyā* Locat. from *māh*, and *rauča* could have been originally an Instrumental. According to Hinz⁶⁸ *māhyā* is a Genitive and *rauča* Nominative.

The other kind of this formula refers to the days of the month with the exception of the first one and repeats in the inscription of Behistun 18 times, e. g. Bh. 1, 37 — 38 *viyaṇnahya māh(yā) XIV raučabiš θakataṃ āha(n)* 'in the month of Viyaxna 14 days have passed'. Benveniste⁶⁹ maintains that the form *θakata* is an Instrumental Sing. of the passive participle and *raučabiš* is a Plural Instrumental caused by the number 14; he deduces this use from the Instrumental of the spread in time.

Hinz considers the form *raučabiš* an Instrumental of nominative meaning, and *θakata* a Nominative of Plural number.

⁶⁵ J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre, étude critique avec une traduction commentée des Gāthā*, 1948.

⁶⁶ J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *op. cit.*, p. 149 f. „On verra dans la traduction ci-dessous que j'ai usé de la même interprétation (instrumental de la qualité) pour tous les passages des *gāthā* où elle m'a paru utilement applicable“.

⁶⁷ A. Meillet, E. Benveniste, *Grammaire du Vieux-Perse*, II éd.

⁶⁸ W. Hinz, *Altpersischer Wortschatz*, 1942, p. 105, 124.

⁶⁹ E. Benveniste, *Persica II*, BSLP 30, p. 69.

A. Meillet in the I edition of his Old Persian⁷⁰ grammar supposed that such a use of Instrumental was connected with an Instrumental used as Nominative in Avesta. In the second edition Benveniste replaced this explanation by his own interpretation. He finds this formula very old, originating from a contamination of the Nominative and Instrumental syntax. He also compares Old Persian data with a similar way of putting data in Sogdian manuscripts and suspects in them either a general Iranian syntax or Old Persian influence.

Due to the scarce Old Persian material this syntax has not yet been elucidated.

IV. A REVIEW OF MEANINGS OF THE GATHIC INSTRUMENTAL

1. General remarks

The greatest difficulty in the approach to the Gathic Instrumentals is the establishment of certain forms as instrumental ones. As all final vowels in Gāthā words are long ones this feature cannot be helpful in establishing instrumental forms. This refers to forms which would differ from instrumental only by the length of the final vowel.

There is a great divergency in this respect among various commentators and this divergency can be seen from a comparison of translations of the word *mazdā* by Bartholomae⁷¹ and M. Wilkins Smith⁷². Bartholomae translates this form which appears in Gāthā 137 times always as Vocative „Oh, Mazda“ whereas M. Wilkins Smith translates it 96 times as Instrumental and 39 as Vocative from the word *mazdah* 'wise'. Having assumed the thesis that a Vocative in Gāthā can stand only at the end of *pāda* she translates the form *mazdā* in other positions with the phrase 'through wisdom' and states that in this way only the

⁷⁰ A. Meillet, *Grammaire du Vieux-Perse*, 1915, p. 191.

⁷¹ Ch. Bartholomae, *Die Gatha's des Avesta, Zarathushtra's Verspredigten*, 1905.

⁷² M. Wilkins Smith, *Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas of Zarathushtra together with text, translation and notes*, 1929.

accordance with grammatical forms can be achieved. She objects against Bartholomae's translation in which a monotonous repetition 'oh, Mazda' becomes a refrain without any meaning. However, one also comes across semantic difficulties in M. Wilkins Smith's translation by use of Instrumental, e.g. Y 32, 13 *anhəuš maraxtarō ahyā yaēčā mazdā jigerəzat* 'the destroyers of this life who through wisdom will lament' ⁷³ where the expression „through wisdom“ used with reference to the believers of Daeva religion „destroyers of life“ gives a comical meaning, especially when compared with other examples e.g. Y 30, 6 *ayā nōit əraš višyatā daēvācinā hyat iš ā. dābaomā pərəsmanəng upājasat* „from these two, Daeva neither have decided properly, as when they were deliberating stupidity took them into possession“. The translator cannot interpret the expression *mazdā* as occurring in the middle of the *pāda* as Vocative ⁷⁴ because of the previously adopted thesis.

My interpretation considers the expression *mazdā* always Vocative and this form cannot be treated as an Instrumental.

Every syntactic interpretation gives occasion to an individual conception and in the Gāthā interpretation this subjective attitude is very striking. The divergence of various interpretations shows that there do not exist any established criteria and even a very thorough knowledge of the text cannot decide in doubtful places and the subjective approach is usually decisive. There may be quoted the example Y 50, 8 where Bartholomae interprets the expression *ašā* as Vocative 'oh. Aša!', M. Wilkins Smith as Instrumental „through justice“, Nyberg as a comitative 'with Aša' and Duchesne-Guillemin as Instrumental of quality „as justice“.

2. Instrumental in relation with other cases

In its large scale of meaning Instrumental often assumes the meaning nuances of other cases.

⁷³ M. Wilkins Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁷⁴ Another example of doubts in deciding whether a given form is or not an Instrumental is found in the quoted dissertation of E. Schwyzler p. 240. Assuming after Pedersen the subjective use of Instrumental as a principle he would be inclined to treat even the form *kaēna* Y 30, 8

The dative meaning may be found in following Instrumentals in Gāthā: Y 29, 3 *Yahmāi ... jīmā kərədušā* 'to whom I come with help'. Reichelt ⁷⁵ (after Bartholomae) ⁷⁶ translates *kərədušā* (zu Hilfe) as Dative but a sociative conception is also possible. Bartholomae quotes, however, an example with Dative RV 8, 9, 1 *ā nānām ... gantam āvase* 'come now for help' but his interpretation by Dative seemed rather to be influenced by the respective structure in German language „zu Hilfe“. This instrumental can also be interpreted as Instrumental of quality „as help“.

Y 48, 1 *asašutā ... daēvaišcā mašyāišcā* 'will be allotted to Daeva and men'. The form *asašutā*, 'however, being as Bartholomae ⁷⁷ assumes, a corrupt one, the meaning of both Instrumentals can change in dependence on its interpretation.

Y 53, 9 *dužvarənāiš vaēšō rāstī* 'the place of rottenness is deserved by the unbelievers'.

Locative meaning.

Y 29, 6 *vaočət ahuro mazdā ... vyānayā* 'said Ahura Mazda in his wisdom'. The Locative fused here both in meaning and form with Instrumental. Bartholomae translates it as an Instrumental („mit Weisheit“). H. Lommel ⁷⁸ and Duchesne-Guillemin as a Locative.

A similar example is Y 44, 7 *kē uzəmēm čorət vyānayā pudrēm piḍrē* 'who in his wisdom (or 'through wisdom') made the son obedient to the father'. These examples, however, are doubtful, because as Bartholomae gives on (Air. WB 1478) both etymology and meaning of *vyāna* are not certain.

Y 31, 21 *Yē hōi mainyū šyaodanāišcā urvadō* 'who is friendly for him in thought and deed'. Bartholomae as well as Duchesne-Guillemin treat these Instrumentals as Locatives; they may, however, be also treated as Instrumentals, 'with thought and deed'.

Y 44, 13 *nōit frasayā varhəuš čəxnarə manavhō* 'neither they are seeking advice by Vohu Manah'. Bartholomae interprets it which usually is a formal Nominative as a subjective Instrumental (*yadā aēšəm kaēnā jamaitī aēnanhəm* 'when punishment for sins comes over them').

⁷⁵ H. Reichelt, *Aw. Elem.*, p. 233.

⁷⁶ Ch. Bartholomae, *Altir.*, WB 467.

⁷⁷ Ch. Bartholomae, *Altir.*, WB 359—60.

⁷⁸ H. Lommel, Y 29, ZII X p. 97.

inconsequently considering the form *frasayā* once a Locative⁷⁹ another time an Instrumental⁸⁰. Both these cases fuse here with each other and in dependence on the interpretation this form may be translated in a different way. From the view point of semantics this is an Instrumental and the locative meaning assumed for this case by Bartholomae seems rather improbable.

Ablative meaning.

Y 48, 11 *kōi drəgvō.dəbiš xrūrāiš rāmam dānte* 'who are those who will give peace from the bloodthirsty tyrants?'

Y 53, 8 *rāmamcā āiš dadatū šyeitibyō vižibyō*; Bartholomae and Wilkins Smith translate: 'and to the merry villages let him spare peace from them'. *āiš*, however, may be translated here as Instrumental as well: „through them“. Herzfeld⁸¹ and Duchesne-Guillemin⁸² translate „among them“.

On the other hand forms of other cases can assume a syntactic meaning of the Instrumental.

Dative. Y 29, 5 *mazdam dvaidi ferasābyō*. Bartholomae and, after him, Reichelt⁸³ accept the form *ferasābyō* as the Instrumental and translate 'to press Mazdah with requests'. Similarly does Herzfeld ('with demands'). Lommel⁸⁴ interprets this as the Dative: 'to induce Mazdah to give orders'. Duchesne-Guillemin follows this translation.

Locative. Y 31, 13 *tā čašmēng θwisrā hārō*; Bartholomae⁸⁵, followed by Wilkins Smith, combines *θwisrā* with *čašmēng* and considers the form *čašmēng* to be a syntactic Instrumental ('beholding with a radiant eye'). Nyberg⁸⁶ dissociates these two words and translates *čašmēng* as a Locative and *θwisrā* as an adverbial Instrumental ('quickly comprehending in his eye'). Duchesne-Guillemin gives a similar translation.

Y 45, 8 *nū zīt čašmainī vyādarəsəm*; Bartholomae translates:

⁷⁹ Altir. WB 437.

⁸⁰ Altir., WB 1001.

⁸¹ E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and his world*, p. 201.

⁸² J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

⁸³ H. Reichelt, *Aw. Elem.*, pp. 466 and 224.

⁸⁴ H. Lommel, Y 29, ZII X, p. 97.

⁸⁵ C. Bartholomae, *Die Gathas*, p. 21.

⁸⁶ H. S. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

'now I wish to behold him with my eye'; Wilkins Smith⁸⁷ and, after her, Duchesne-Guillemin accept the Locative 'in the eye'.

Y 50, 10 *yācā vohū čašmam arəjat manavhā*; Bartholomae: 'and that which becomes more valuable through the eye, o Vohu Manah!'; others (Wilkins Smith⁸⁸, Nyberg) translate *čašmam* as the Locative.

Ablative. Y 32, 2 *χšaθrāt hačā*; Bartholomae⁸⁹ here translates 'through Xšaθra', however in this case the Instrumental and the Ablative approach in their meaning to each other. Herzfeld⁹⁰ gives 'through Xšaθra's mouth'.

It follows from the above that syntactic Instrumentals bearing the endings of other cases, accepted as such by Bartholomae, may be conceived in a simpler way, without assuming a far reaching confusion of cases in the Gāthā.

3. Instrumentalis qualitatis

What was assumed by Caland and Geldner to be the use of the Instrumental instead of the Nominative and Vocative is now interpreted as a shade in the meaning of the Instrumental.

M. Wilkins Smith⁹¹, while rejecting the interpretation of Instrumental forms as Nominatives and Vocatives, refers to the opinion of Meillet who maintains (Trois Conférences sur les Gāthā de l'Avesta) that in such an archaic text as that of the Gāthā it is impossible for the subject to be expressed by the Instrumental. She seems to take for granted that the Nominative, as the case of the subject, is in its denotation too remote from the Instrumental and that there is no transition between them. However, already the Indian grammarians felt a certain relationship of the meaning of these two cases. The Instrumental was called by them *tr̥tiyā*, because it is closest to the Nominative (*prathamā*) and Accusative, which have identical forms in the neuter gender. When arranging the order of the cases, the Indian grammarians took into consideration — apart from formal criteria, such as

⁸⁷ M. Wilkins Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁸⁸ M. Wilkins Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁸⁹ *Gatha*, p. 27.

⁹⁰ E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

⁹¹ M. Wilkins Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

the identity of case endings — the relationship of the meaning of individual case forms.

Pānini also felt this relationship and, in his rule of *kartṛka-ṛaṇayostrīyā*, defined the Instrumental as a case which expressed the agent and the instrument. The Instrumental performed the role of the agent in Passive constructions which were very frequent in Sanskrit. In Prakrits, the Passive construction with transitive verbs superseded, when the past was to be expressed, the active construction. In the New Indian dialects it is used exclusively and itself accepts the features of the Active voice; the subject still has the form of the Instrumental, but it is treated as a Nominative, whereas the object is in the Accusative; Hindi: *usne us ādmīko dekhā* 'he saw that man' (literally: 'ab eo illum hominem visum (est)').

The Iranian dialects also supply similar examples. To the Old Persian *mana kartam* 'done by me' corresponds the Middle Persian *man kart* 'I did'. However, along with this form, a new construction develops in Pehlevi from the combination of the enclitic personal pronoun *-am* and the participle *kard*; their continuation is the New Persian form *kārdām*.

The above-mentioned analogies show that, as far as the question of denotation is concerned, a certain convergence between the Instrumental and the Nominative can be observed — at least in the Indo-Iranian group — which facilitates the transition of the meaning. It remains unsolved whether analogous phenomena in the Slavic languages are archaisms from the times of the Indo-European language community or an innovation which developed under the influence of an alien ethnic substratum.

The Instrumental of quality comes nearest in its meaning to the Nominative. Its meaning is contained within the range of the Instrumental of feature. It occurs in the Vedic dialect, e. g. Ś. B. 6, 1, 2, 1 so 'gninā prthivīm mithunam samabhavat 'as (in the shape of) Agni he entered into the union with the earth'.

J. Markwart⁹² sees the Instrumental of quality in the formula: *yadā ahū vairyo adā ratuš ašātēt hačā* 'in the same way as he ought to be elected the ruler, he became, according to law, a judge'.

⁹² J. Markwart, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

In the Gāthā, the examples of this use of the Instrumental are supplied in the names of the geniuses which are today considered to be the aspects of the supreme deity, Ahura⁹³. The most frequent are *ašā* and *vohū manavhā*. These Instrumentals are translated by Bartholomae as Nominatives and Vocatives, and by Wilkins Smith for the most part as Instrumentals of means.

Y 28, 3 *yē vā ašā ufyānī* 'I who want to praise you as Aša'.

Y 28, 6 *dāidī ašā dā daragāyū* 'give, as Aša, the everlasting gift'.

Y 29, 3 *ahmāi ašā nōit sarəjā advaēsō gavōi paiti.mravat* 'he answered him as Aša: 'there is no companion for the cattle who would not do wrong to it'.

Y 31, 5 *tat mōi vīdyāi vaočā hyat mōi ašā dātā vahyō* 'tell me as Aša, so that I may discern what good you have destined to me'.

Y 33, 12 *dasvā... ašā hazō amavat* 'give, as Aša, a strong power'.

Y 43, 2 *yā dā ašā*; Markwart⁹⁴, who was the first to use in his translation of the Gāthā the Instrumental of quality, renders this place by the Instrumental of means: 'which thou wilt bestow in virtue of law' and so does Bartholomae⁹⁵; Duchesne-Guillemin⁹⁶ on the other hand, who follows Markwart in the use of the Instrumental of quality, also here sees this case and translates accordingly. This example shows that, even if there is an agreement as to the general principles of interpretation, in their application in individual instances subjective conceptions occur.

Y 44, 15 *yezī ahyā ašā pōi mat xšayehī* 'hast thou as Aša power to remove that away from me?'

Y 50, 5 *arōi zī xšmā mazdā ašā ahurā* 'they are given by you, Mazdah Ahura acting as Aša'.

Herzfeld found a similar construction in an Old Persian inscription of Xerxes directed against the cult of Daivas⁹⁷ which

⁹³ M. Wilkins Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁹⁴ J. Markwart, *op. cit.*, p. 53: „die du kraft des Rechts verleihen wirst“.

⁹⁵ C. Bartholomae, *Die Gatha's*, p. 49: „die du durch Aša verleihen wirst“.

⁹⁶ J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *op. cit.*, p. 267: „que tu donneras en tant que Justice“.

⁹⁷ E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 397 f. Another transcription and interpretation is given by R. G. Kent, *The Daiva-Inscription of Xerxes*, Lg. 13, pp. 294—296.

he discovered in 1935; § 4d: *yadāyā parvam devā ayadya avadā adam ōramazdam ayadē rtāča brazmani* 'where formerly Daivas had been worshipped, I worshipped Oramazdah as Rtam by brazman'.

According to Herzfeld, the use of the Gathic syntax in the Old Persian inscription proves that the Achemenids were the believers of Zarathushtra.

Y 43, 7 (9, 11, 13, 15) *hyať mā vohū pairi.jasat manavhā* 'when he approached me as Vohu Manah'.

Y 46, 3 *kaēibyō udāi vohū jimat manavhā* 'to whom will he bring help as Vohu Manah?'

Y 51, 2 *χšaθrēm χšmakēm vohū manavhā vahmāi dāidī savanhō* 'give, as Vohu Manah, the kingdom of salvation to your worshipper'.

Besides the above-mentioned comes several times *spēntā mainyū* as the aspect of Ahura Mazda.

Y 51, 7 *dāidī mōi yē gəm tašō apasčā urvarāščā amərətātā haurvātā spēništā mainyū mazdā* 'thou who hast created the herd, waters and trees, give, as the holiest spirit, immortality and completeness, O Mazda!'

4. Instrumentalis sociativus

A. The use without prepositions.

Y 28, 8 *vahištēm θwā vahištā yēm ašā vahištā hazaošēm ahurēm yāsā* 'best Ahura, who hast the same best will with Aša, I beg thee for that which is best'.

Y 32, 2 *aēibyō mazdā ahurō sərəmnō vohū manavhā... paiti. mraot* 'Ahura Mazda, united with Vohu Manah, answered them'.

Y 34, 2 *yehyā urvā ašā hačaitē* 'whose soul is united with Aša' ⁹⁸.

Y 29, 2 *kēm hōi uštā ahurēm yē drəgvō.dəbiš aēšəmēm vādāyōit* 'whom have you appointed the ruler that will repel the demon of fury together with evil men?'

Y 46, 10 *tāiš vispāiš činvatō frafrā pərətūm* 'with all these I shall pass over the dividing bridge'.

⁹⁸ M. Wilkins Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 93, translates as the Instrumental of means ('through justice').

Y 53, 8 *iratū iš dvaššō hvō dərəzā mərəidyaoš* 'let him send upon them vexation together with the fetters of death'.

B. The use with prepositions.

Following prepositions are used in the Gāthā: *hadrā*, *hadā* and *mať*.

Y 28, 4 *yē urvanəm mēn gairē vohū dadē hadrā manavhā* 'I who remember to protect the soul with Vohu Manah'.

Y 46, 17 *hadā vēstā vahmēng sərəaošā rādanhō* 'ardent prayers together with your obedience'.

Y 34, 11 *ašā mať ārmaitiš* 'Armaiti together with Aša'.

The Comitative is in the Gāthā used more frequently without than with prepositions. The transition to the use with prepositions was facilitated by the instances in which the Instrumental was governed by verbs or adjectives indicating a junction. These words often had prefixes denoting community, e. g. *hazaoša*. Where the governing word did not express this junction, the particles which indicated coexistence were added and afterwards they developed into prepositions.

By analogy, the Instrumental is also used with the verbs of disjunction. In the Gāthā, the only example of this use is the passage Y 34, 5 already quoted; in later texts it is more frequent.

5. Instrumental of means

This kind of instrumental, which may be considered as proper in its meaning, occurs most frequently. The examples of its use are more numerous than the other shades of meaning taken together.

Y 50, 7 *aurvatō... yāiš azādā mahmāi hyatā avanhē* '... steeds, on which you may arrive, be to my aid!' The Instrumental *yāiš* has here still an intermediate meaning between the Instrumental of means and the Comitative.

Y 28, 5 *anā maθrā mazištēm vaurōimaidi χrafstrā hizvā* 'through this revelation we want to convert with our tongue the evil men to the sublime'.

Y 49, 4 *yōi duš.χraθwā aēšmēm varədən rāmēmčā χvāiš hizubiš* 'who maliciously spread with their tongues atrocities and wrath'.

Y 30, 2 *sraotā gəušāiš vahištā* 'listen with your ears to that which is best'.

Y 51, 21 *hvō čisti uxδāiš šyaodanā daēnā ašēm spēnvat* 'he makes Aša greater by thought, words, deed and soul'.

Y 31, 22 *vohū hvō xšadrā ašēm vačanhā šyaodanāčā hapti* 'he supports Aša together with the good kingdom by his words and deeds'.

Y 44, 6 *ašēm šyaodanāiš dēbzaiti ārmaitiš* 'may piety support Aša by deeds'.

Y 30, 5 *yaēčā xšnaošen*⁹⁹ *ahurēm haiḍyāiš šyaodanāiš fraorēt mazdqm* 'and also those who voluntarily do the will of Ahura Mazda by good deeds'.

Y 31, 18 *adā iš sāzdūm snaidišā* 'resist them with your arms'.

Y 43, 4 *θwahyā garēmā adrō* 'through the glow of thy fire'.

Y 31, 3 *yqm dā mainyū adrāčā ašāčā čōiš rānōibyā xšnūtēm*¹⁰⁰ 'the pay which thou will give as the (holy) ghost through the fire, which thou as Aša have destined for both parts'.

Y 45, 8 *tēm nē staotāiš nēmanhō ā vīvarēšō* 'try to win him for us by hymns of homage'.

Y 32, 12 *yā rāvhayēn sravanhā vahištāt šyaodanāt marētānō* 'doctrine by which they divert people from best deeds'.

Y 34, 4 *aojovhvantēm ašā* 'strong through Aša'.

Y 33, 10 *vohū uxšyā mananhā xšadrā ašāčā uštā tanūm* 'through Vohu Manah, Xšaθra and Aša assist (my) person according to (my) wishes'.

Y 34, 15 *xšmākā xšadrā ahurā fərašēm vasnā haiḍyēm dā ahūm* 'through your dominion, o Ahura, cause that creature might be restored according to Your will'.

Y 51, 22 *tq yazāi xʷāiš nāmēnīš* 'I wish to honour them with their names'.

Y 31, 7 *raočēbiš rōiḍwēn xʷādrā* 'may the blissful space be filled with stars'.

Y 44, 3 *kē yā mā uxšyeiti nərəfsaiti θwat* 'who else but thee through whom the moon now waxes now wanes'? In the above example the Instrumental *yā* does not express the instrument but

⁹⁹ Bartholomae, Air. WB 558: *xšnav* 'to please someone'; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 152, understands this word as 'to be obedient' and translates the quoted passage (p. 312): 'and all who by conduct as it should be are voluntarily obedient to Ahura Mazda'.

¹⁰⁰ E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 293 *xšnūt* 'hearing'.

rather a cause and its function and is more similar to the next group covering Instrumental as agent (in Passive Voice).

Y 31, 13 *yā frasā āvišyā yā vā mazdā pərəsaētē tayā* 'evident and secret deeds, which are punished by penalty, o Mazda'. Here the function of the Instrumental *frasā* as Instrumental of means is but seeming as it does not add anything to the notion *pərəsaētē* but only emphasizes it stylistically. It is the only example of emphasizing Instrumental in Gāthā. In the Younger Avesta it is more often used.

6. Instrumental in Passive Voice

It arises from the Instrumental of means when a person who brings about an effect is the instrument (Y 44, 3). In Passive Voice it becomes the agent.

Y 29, 4 *saxʷārē ... yā zī vavərəzōi pairī.čidit daēvāiščā mašyāiščā* 'sins once committed by Daevas and men'.

Y 30, 1 *humazdrā ašā yečā raočēbiš darəsātā urvāzā* 'bliss which shall be seen by him who will remember well through Aša together with heavenly light'.

Y 32, 12 *yāiš grēhmā ašā varatā* 'by whom Grahma is more estimated than Aša'.

Y 43, 6 *yehyā šyaodanāiš gaēḍā ašā frādentē* 'by whose deeds creatures are being helped through Aša'.

Y 43, 10 *parštēm zī θwā yadanā tat ēmavatqm* 'for thy question is like a question of the mighty'.

Y 43, 11 *hyat xšma uxδāiš didaiūhē paourvīm* 'when I was first taught by you the words'.

Y 50, 5 *ārōi zī xšmā* 'they are granted by you'.

Y 44, 5 *kē yā ušā arēm.piḍwā xšapāčā* 'who is he through whom morning, noon and night (have arisen)'. Here the verb is not expressed at all, we guess it, however, as the participle *karəta*.

7. Instrumental of circumstance

As Reichelt points¹⁰¹ out this function cannot always be separated from the Instrumental of means from which it is derived; it is because the thing by which something is done is often at the

¹⁰¹ H. Reichelt, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

same time the most characteristic circumstance and feature. In Gāthā the Instrumental of feature (besides the Instrumental of quality which has been spoken of before) does not occur distinctly.

Y 28, 1 *yāsā nēmanhā ustānazastō* 'raising (my) hands with a bow I ask'.

Y 34, 3 *aṭ tōi myazdēm ahurā nēmanhā ašāicā dāmā* 'let us offer you Ahura and Aša a humble sacrifice' ¹⁰².

Y 29, 5 *ustānāiš zastāiš* 'with outstretched hands' ¹⁰³.

Y 31, 4 *χšadrēm aōjōnghvat yehyā vərədā vanaēmā druḡim* 'the strong power by means of which when it has grown we shall overcome evil'.

Y 32, 12 (quoted above).

Y 33, 3 *vidas vā θwaxšavhā gavōi* 'or he who takes care of his herd'. Here the Instrumental approaches the adverbial usage.

Y 44, 11 *vispēng anyēng mainyēuš spasyā dvaēšavhā* 'I look at all the others with the hostility of thought'.

Y 46, 8 *paityaogət tā ahmāi jasōit dvaēšavhā* 'let them return to him with hostility'.

Y 47, 6 *ārmatoiš dēbzavhā* 'through Armaiti'.

Y 49, 10 *vazdavhā avēm irā* 'so that you may watch with steadfast energy'.

Y 51, 1 *vidišēmnāi izācit* 'to him who acts with zeal'.

8. Prosecutivus

In Gāthā we have only one example of the Instrumental denoting the way along which something is being done.

Y 34, 13 *tēm advānēm ... daēnā saōšyantəm yā ... urvāχšat* 'the way along which the souls of saviours shall go'.

It occurs more often in expressions in figurative meaning such as 'according to something'.

Y 28, 6 *ərəšvāiš ... uχdāiš* 'according to true words'. Similarly Y 51, 20 *uχdā rafədrēm čagədō* 'according to the word grant us support' ¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰² M. Wilkins Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 94 as Sociative.

¹⁰³ M. Wilkins Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 64 as Sociative.

¹⁰⁴ J. Kuryłowicz, *Traces de la place du ton en Gathique*, 1925; Bartholomae, *Altir. WB* 575—6 in spite of his previous opinion (*Grundriss I* p. 61) considers the form *čagədō* as Nom. Plur.

Y 31, 1 *yōi urvātāiš druḡō ašahyā gaēdā vimərənčaitē* 'who according to the commands of evil destroy the creatures of Aša'.

Y 31, 12 *vidvā vā vīdvā ahyā zərədāčā manavhačā* 'knowing one as well as not knowing, everyone according to his heart and mind' ¹⁰⁵.

Y 33, 1 *yadā āiš idā ... yā dātā avhēuš paouruyehyā* 'as are the laws for the first life' ¹⁰⁶.

Y 34, 4 *zastāištaiš* 'according to the indications'.

Y 34, 15 *ferāšēm vasnā haiḍyēm dā ahūm* 'do so that humanity might become according to (your) will'. Similarly Y 46, 19 *hyat vasnā ferāšōtēməm* 'this, which will best suit (my) wish'. Similarly Y 50, 11 *hyat vasnā ferāšōtēməm*.

Y 43, 2 *χādrōyā* 'according to the desire of paradise'.

Y 43, 16 *ašim šyaoḍanāiš vohū daidit manavhā* 'let him give the payment through Vohu Manah according to the deeds'.

Y 44, 14 *θwahyā maḍrāiš sēnghahyā* 'according to the words of your doctrine'. Similarly Y 44, 17 'avā maḍrā according to that word'.

Y 46, 5 *rašnā jvas* 'living according to the commands'.

Y 46, 15 *yāiš dātāiš paouruyāiš ahurahyā* 'according to the first laws of Ahura'. Similarly Y 49, 7 *kē airyamā kē χaētus dātāiš avhat* 'which priest, what noble shall be in accordance with the laws' ¹⁰⁷. The same Y 51, 19 *mazdā dātā* 'according to the law of Mazda'.

9. Instrumental of cause

It is also strictly connected with the Instrumental of means, because something through which a thing is done is often its cause. The most often form of it is the Instrumental of the word *šyaoḍana* 'work'.

¹⁰⁵ H. Reichelt, *op. cit.*, p. 233 translates the same, but reckons this example among Instrumental of feature.

¹⁰⁶ M. Wilkins Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 88 translates this form as Instrumental of means (by those), but in her notes she marks it as a Sociative (instrum. of association).

¹⁰⁷ H. S. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 243 translates: „nach den göttlichen Gesetzen“; E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 131 takes *dātāiš* as Instrumental of means: „through dāta (royal edicts)“.

Y 31, 20 *tēm vā ahūm dragvantō šyaodanāiš xʷāiš daēnā naēšat* 'your soul will lead you wicked men, to this state because of (your) own deeds'.

Y 34, 1 *yā šyaodanā yā vačavhā yācā yasnā amərətātəm ... dānhā* 'deeds, words, prayers for which immortality shall be granted'.

Y 46, 4 *xʷāiš šyaodanāiš ahēmustō* 'he abhorrent because of his deeds'.

Y 46, 8 *nōit ahyā mā ādriš šyaodanāiš frōsyāt* 'may destruction because of his deeds not reach me'.

Y 47, 1 *spəntā mainyū vahištācā manavhā
hačā ašāt šyaodanācā vačavhācā
ahmāi dān haurvātā amərətātā
mazdā xšadrā ārmaiti ahurō.*

'May Ahura Mazda as the holy spirit for the best thoughts, which come from Aša and the deeds and words give us wealth and immortality together with the dominion and piety'.

Y 51, 14 *ā sēndā xʷāiš šyaodanāišcā sēnghāišcā yē īš sēngho apēməm drūjō dēmanē ādāt* 'for their deeds and doctrines execute the sentence which at the end will lead them to the house of lie'.

Y 28, 9 *anāiš vā nōit ahurā mazdā ašəmčā yānāiš zarānaēmā* 'for those graces we would not like to make (you) Ahura and Aša angry'.

Y 34, 8 *θwahyā mazdā qstā urvatahyā* 'out of the hate of thy orders, o Mazda'.

Y 34, 9 *vavhēuš ēvistī manavhō* 'because of not knowing Vohu Manah'.

Y 47, 2 *ōyā cistī* 'as a result of this knowledge'.

Y 49, 5 *tāišcā vīspāiš θwahmī xšadrōi ahurā* 'for all these ¹⁰⁸ (virtues) he shall be in thy dominion, o Ahura'.

Y 50, 3 *yē nā ašōiš aojavhā varədayētā ... nazdištəm gaēdəm* 'who by the power of fate increases the nearest possessions'.

Y 50, 7 *jayāiš ... vahmahyā yūšmakahyā* 'thanks to the incentive of your glory'.

¹⁰⁸ Ch. Bartholomae, *Gatha*, p. 95 takes this Instrumental as a sociative one ('mit denen allen').

Y 32, 3 *yāiš asrūždūm būmyā haptaidē* 'by which you are known even in the seventh part of the earth'.

Y 46, 2 *vaēdā tat yā ahmī mazdā anaēšō* 'I know, o Mazda, why I am helpless'. Here the Instrumental approaches the adverbial use.

10. Adverbs of Instrumental origin

Because of the scarcity of texts it cannot always be stated if a given Instrumental form has ceased to be a syntactic case and is used only adverbially as according to the interpretation of the text the same form may be differently understood.

The Instrumental of relative pronouns (as well as of several others) through the adverbial function ('through which', 'with which') has further developed and often plays the role of a conjunction.

Y 44, 20 *yācā kavā qnmēni urūdōyatā* 'as kavi makes it always roar'.

Y 53, 4 *yā fədrōi vidāt* 'that she may serve the father'.

In the meaning of final conjunction.

Y 28, 1 *yā xšnavišā gəušcā urvaqəm* 'that I may satisfy the soul of the herd'.

Y 28, 7 *yā və mądrā srəvim ārādā* 'that your prophet may be heard'.

Y 31, 2 *yā ašāt hacā įvāmahī* 'that we may live according to Aša'.

Y 33, 7 *yā srūyē* 'that I may be heard'.

Y 34, 3 *gaēdā vīspā ... yā vohū θraoštā manavhā* 'that you may through Vohu Manah make all beings better'.

As causal conjunction:

Y 48, 2 *vaočā mōi yā tvēm vidvā ahurā* 'tell me for thou knowest, Ahura'.

The forms of Plural:

Y 32, 7 *yāiš sravi* 'as it is known'.

Y 44, 20 *yāiš qəm karapā usiχšcā aēšəmāi dātā* 'as Karapan and Usij let the herd be the victim of rage'.

Y 28, 11 *yāiš ā anhuš paouruyō bavaī* 'how the first life has arisen'. Bartholomae accepts here *yāiš ā* as adverbial construction. Similarly *tāiš ā*, *anāiš ā* are used.

Y 34, 11 *tāiš ā vīdvaēšam θwōi ahī* 'thus o Mazda, thou support them that fight your enemies'.

Y 32, 15 *anāiš ā vinēnāsā* 'therefore they will perish'.

Y 53, 6 *anāiš ā manahīm mərəngəduyē ahūm* 'thus you destroy the life of the spirit'.

Y 53, 8 *anāiš ā duzvarəšnəvhō dafšnyā hēntū* 'thus may the wicked ones be deceived'.

Other demonstrative pronouns may also be used adverbially respectively as conjunctions, Y 28, 11 *yē āiš ašəm nipānhē* 'therefore thou who observe Aša', The same Y 31, 2 und Y 44, 11.

Adverbs from interrogative pronouns: Y 44, 8 *kā mē urvā vohū urvaṣṣat āgəmat.tā* 'how shall my soul attain good that brings happiness?' ¹⁰⁹.

Y 48, 8 *kā tōi ašōiš θwəhyā (ištiš) maibyō ahurā* 'Is the acquisition of thy payment destined for me, o Ahura?' ¹¹⁰.

Y 51, 4 *kū spəntā ārmaitiš* 'where is the holy Armaiti?'. Similarly Y 53, 9.

Y 44, 12 *ēyənhat* 'how shall it be?' (stem *ēi*-).

The temporal adverbs of instrumental origin: *yavā*; Bartholomae translates this word 'at any time, always'. He considers it to be the Instrumental of *yav-* 'lasting', Y 49, 1 *at mā yavā bēndvō pəfrē mazištō* (according to Bartholomae) ¹¹¹ 'always Bandva is to me the greatest obstacle'.

Y 29, 9 *kadā yavā hvō avhat* 'when shall he ever come?'

yavatā (as conjunction) 'as long as' Y 43, 8 *yavatā θwā mazdā staomī ufyāčā* 'as long as I praise and sing thee, o Mazda'.

fraīdivā Y 32, 14 'since long'.

vīspāiš Y 34, 3 'for ever'.

¹⁰⁹ According to Bartholomae, *Gatha*, p. 60; Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 158 „wie wird meine Seele verzückt werden mit der Schar der guten Angelangten?“ E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 281 „will my soul rejoice at welcome?“.

¹¹⁰ J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *op. cit.*, p. 178 „comment celle (possession) de ta récompense, Seigneur, seront-elles à moi?“.

¹¹¹ E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 188 „and once, my brother-in-law will be forfeited to the law, the princeps“. According to the thesis of E. Herzfeld *bandva* (brother-in-law) of Zarathushtra is Kambyes, who confirmed his proscription.

haiḍyā 'truly', Y 53, 6 *iḍā ī haiḍyā narō adā jēnayō* 'thus truly, it is o men and women'.

mazibiš Y 32, 11; Bartholomae ¹¹² translates it as 'very much'. Nyberg ¹¹³ as syntactic sociative Instrumental.

11. Instrumental infinitives

In Gāthā there is only one example *apayeiti* 'take away', 'deprive', Y 32, 11 *avuhišča anhrasčā apayeiti raēxnəvhō vaēdam* 'to prevent men and women from attaining the inheritance'.

The word *srāvahyeiti* Y 32, 6 considered by Bartholomae and Reichelt as infinitive of Instrumental origin can be better understood as verbum finitum from *sravahya* (3 Person Sing.) ¹¹⁴.

CONCLUSIONS

The review of different meanings of Instrumental in Gāthā shows in comparison with its usage in Younger Avesta certain features which may be explained by earlier stage of the language development. The confusion of Instrumental with other cases occurs much less than in the text of Younger Avesta. The use of some of its forms as Nominatives and Vocatives, assumed in Gāthā which in fact occurs in Younger Avesta is explained as a nuance of its meaning, namely the Instrumental of quality. This term, invented by Markwart is used by Herzfeld and Duchesne-Guillemin. It must be stressed, however, that it does not express the function of this Instrumental exactly and little differs from the Instrumental of feature, from which it has developed. The term Instrumental of identity or equality would be more suitable.

The sociative usage of Instrumental without prepositions is to be found more often in Gāthā than in Younger Avesta and its

¹¹² Bartholomae, *Altir. WB.* 1156; M. Wilkins Smith follows him *op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹¹³ H. S. Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 458; his interpretation is accepted by J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *op. cit.*, p. 252 („avec les grands“).

¹¹⁴ Thus it has been assumed by M. Wilkins Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 84, E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

use as Instrumental of means together with prepositions which occurs in Younger Avesta is not noted at all in Gāthā.

The adverbs of Instrumental origin have not yet lost their connection with the case forms and may be considered according to the interpretation of the text as real cases.

A more exact presentation of various semantic nuances of the Gathic Instrumental, especially in statistical meaning, is as yet not possible the interpretation of texts being uncertain. Although the exegesis of Avestan texts has progressed considerably since the Bartholomae's dictionary was published owing to many particular studies, it has not led to their new interpretation on a larger scale.

Differences in the understanding of texts are still great as the philological interpretation is highly influenced by the views of Iranists on the problems which have not yet been solved, e. g. time and place of the origin of Avesta and hypotheses connected with it.

The studies in the syntax of Avesta are as yet based on Bartholomae's dictionary although it contains not only the synthesis of the views which dominated in the beginning of the XXth century but also the individual views of the author.

Further researches must then go towards a critical examination of the Old-Iranian vocabulary the more so that since the publication of Bartholomae's dictionary new materials both Old and Middle Iranian have been found.

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