On the Etymology of the Avestan Personal Name *pourušaspa-*

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Abstract

This article discusses the formation and meaning of the Avestan personal name of
Zarathuštra's father, *pourušaspa-*. Taking side with the current scholarly view on the
etymology and meaning of the word, i.e., **pourušāspa-* → *pourušaspa-* 'one who has
grey horses', it is argued here that the shortening of the vowel can be explained by an
analogical model in Wištāsp Yašt 1.2, where *pourušaspa-* m. is described as *pouru.aspa-*
'having many horses'. The article also challenges the view that Wištāsp Yašt 1.2 is a
recent text.

Keywords

1   Introduction

While the names of Zarathuštra's parents are absent from the Old Avestan texts,
the Young Avesta attests Pourušaspa as the name of his father and Duγdōuuā
as that of his mother.[1] According to Bartholomae (1883: 28; idem 1885: 312;

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1   On the occurrence of *pourušaspa-* in the Young Avestan texts, see Bartholomae 1904: 903. The

idem 1904: 903),[2] the name of *pourušaspa-* m. means 'one who has grey horses', and this view is still widely accepted in the secondary literature, including Mayrhofer (1979 I/1: 72, N266). In what follows, I provide a critical analysis of the scholarly suggestions on *pourušaspa-* as meaning 'one who has grey horses'. I will then discuss a passage in the Wištāsp Yašt, where the name *pourušaspa-* m. is accompanied by the adj. *pouru.aspa-* 'having many horses', and analyse the second possibility that *pourušaspa-* might mean 'one who has many horses'. Finally, based on the Wištāsp Yašt's text, I put forward a new argument in favour of the former interpretation: *pourušaspa-* means 'one who has grey horses'.

2   Scholarly Perspectives and Rules Explaining the Form of *pouruša-aspa-* as 'One Who Has Grey Horses'

Bartholomae (1904: 903) translates *pourušaspa-* as 'one who has grey horses', although he rightly points out the problem that the expected form would then be **pourušāspa-* (*pouruša-* 'grey' + *aspa-* 'horse')[3] rather than the attested *pourušaspa-*. To justify the short -*a*-, Bartholomae (1883: 28) regards it as a spelling error ("wohl blosser Schreibfehler"). He further supports (ibid.) his analysis by providing parallel phonetic examples, where originally long vowels are shortened. These words include *anuxti-*, instead of *anūxti-*, formed of *anu-uxti-*, and *aiβiti-*, replacing *aiβīti-*, composed of *aiβi-iti-*.[4] However, these two examples are explicable, based on rules governing the development of Avestan vowels. In words such as *anuxti-*, the short vowel can be explained as being due to the influence of the preverb *anu°* (de Vaan 2003: 301). The short -*i*- in *aiβiti-*[5] follows a known pattern: the short -*i*- rather than its expected long counterpart appears when the preverbs/prepositions *aiβi, aipi*, and *ni* form the first term of compounds with nouns featuring an initial *i-* as the second term (de Vaan 2003: 205, fn. 159).

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name of Zarathuštra's mother occurs only in Fragment Darmesteter 4 (Bartholomae 1904: 748). For an overview of the time and life of Zarathuštra, see Hintze 2015.

2   Bartholomae's views on this matter will be discussed in the present paper.

3   I found one exceptional example in the manuscript 5010_G18a, where the personal name appears as the gen. sg. *paōru.šsšāspahe* with the long vowel while *°šs-* is omitted. Although this form could bear witness to the stem *pourušāspa-*, its existence, as discussed in the present article, is uncertain. Hence, an asterisk is provided above *pourušāspa-* here.

4   Bartholomae (1883: 28) transcribes the words as *anuhtaiaęka* (= normalised as *anuxtaiiaeca*?) and *aiwitem* (= normalized as *aiβitəm*). However, their actual declined variants are *anūxtōe* and *aiβitaēδaca*, respectively.

5   For a discussion of *aiβiti-*, see Hintze 1994: 87–88.

Kellens (2006: 269) agrees with Bartholomae's view on the personal name as consisting of *pouruša-* 'grey' and *aspa-* 'horse' and provides a phonetic explanation for the shortening of *-ā-* to *-a-* in the name. With reference to the metre of the Avestan hymns, including the Yašts and Y 9–11, where octosyllabic verse-lines prevail,[6] Kellens (2006: 269) proposes that the mechanism of vowel reduction in the hexasyllabic *pourušāspahe* (*pouruša'aspahe*) to the pentasyllabic *pourušaspahe* maintains the octosyllabic metre of Y 9.13 *nmānahe pourušaspahe*:

> Y 9.13 *āaṯ.mē aēm paitiiaōxta* (8 syllables)
> *haōmō ašauua dūraōšō* (8 syllables)
> *pourušaspō mąm tūiriiō mašiiō* (+ 8 syllables)
> *astuuaiϑiiāi hunūta gaēϑiiāi* (8 syllable)
> *hā ahmāi ašiš ərənāuui* (8 syllables)
> *taṯ ahmāi jasaṯ āiiaptəm* (8 syllables)
> *yaṯ.hē tūm us.zaiiaŋha* (8 syllables)
> *tūm ərəzuuō zaraϑuštra* (8 syllables)
> *nmānahe pourušaspahe* (8 syllables)
> *vīdaēuuō ahura.ṯkaēšō* (8 syllables)

> Then he, the righteous Haōma who is hard to kindle, answered me:
> 'Pourušaspa was the fourth mortal to press me for his corporeal world.
> That reward was granted to him,
> that boon came to him
> that you were born to him.
> You O upright Zaraϑuštra,
> who belong to the house of Pourušaspa,
> who reject demons, accept the lord's doctrine'.[7]

By way of comparison between the vowel shortening of **pourušāspa-* → *pourušaspa-* in *nmānahe pourušaspahe* (8 syllables) and vowel deletion of dat. sg. *gaēϑaiiāi* → *gaēϑiiāi* in *astuuaiϑiiāi hunūta gaēϑiiāi* (8 syllables), Kellens (2006: 269) suggests that through a similar mechanism, the octosyllabic metre of the verse-line *astuuaiϑiiāi hunūta gaēϑiiāi* is also preserved.[8]

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6 For a discussion of the poetic structures of the Avesta, see Hintze 2014: 14–16.

7 Text and translation by Khanizadeh (forthcoming). For the syllable counts of this passage, see Kellens 2007: 55.

8 It should be noted that the expected dat. sg. *gaēϑaiiāi* is also attested in some manuscripts. For

Proposing that *gaēϑaiiāi → gaēϑiiāi* is developed by analogy with *astuuai-ϑiiāi*, Reichelt (1909: 197, fn. 1) provides a different logical view for the variant *gaēϑiiāi*. Hence, Kellens's explanation for the deletion of -*a*- in *gaēϑaiiāi → gaēϑiiāi* is uncertain. Kellens's suggestion is also problematic for the reason that even with the vowel reduction, the verse-line *pourušaspō mąm tūiriiō mašiiō* in Y 9.13 still contains more than eight syllables (see Kellens 2007: 55). Furthermore, vowel reduction is not necessarily needed to maintain the originally assumed metre of the verse-lines. For example, Kellens (2006: 269) regards the name *kərəsāspa-* in Y 9.11 *yim upairi kərəsāspō* and *naire.manå kərəsāspō* as having a hiatus. Although Kellens is silent as to Yt 19.39 *yā upaŋhacaṱ kərəsāspəm*, the long vowel of *kərəsāspəm* in Yt 19.39 must be contracted, or count three syllables, in order to maintain the octosyllabic metre of the verse-line.[9]

It is worth noting that any arguments that are based on preserving the octosyllabic metre of the Avestan hymns generally suffer from the inherent problem that there are many exceptions to this structure. Moreover, while the intervening PrIE laryngeal prevents the merger of adjacent vowels in Old Avestan when the second term of a compound originally had an initial laryngeal consonant, as in the case of *aspa-* > PrIE *$h_1e\hat{k}wo$-,[10] there is no evidence that laryngeals still had this role in Young Avestan syllabification.

In the occurrences of the personal name, the unexpected short vowel appears either in the penultimate (*pourušaspō* and *pourušaspəm*) or in the antepenultimate (*pourušaspahe*) syllables. Shortening of the penultimate syllable occurs only in a small number of words, whose expected vowel length is often attested in some manuscripts (de Vaan 2003: 128). Such shortenings usually take place by analogy, for example the long vowel of the acc. sg. f. *bipaitiš-tanąm* of *bipaitištāna-* adj. 'two-footed' is shortened based on analogy with the gen. pl. ending -*anąm*. There are also instances where the original length of *ā* is unknown because the etymology of the word in question is uncertain, for example *uštǎna-*.[11] By contrast, the closest analogical model for the shortening of *ā* in *pourušaspa-* in the penultimate syllable is the acc. sg. m. *aurušāspəm*, attested in Yt 10.102, from the stem *aurušāspa-* adj. 'having white horses', which has the long vowel -*ā*-.[12]

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a discussion on the occurrences of *gaēϑiiāi* and *gaēϑaiiāi* in Yasna 9, see Khanizadeh (forthcoming).

9   On the metre of Yt 19.39, see Hintze 1994: 209.

10   On the role of the laryngeals in forming the hiatus in Old Avestan, see Monna 1978: 97 f. and Beekes 1981: 48.

11   For a review of the shortening of *ā* in the penultimate syllable, see de Vaan 2003: 128–132.

12   For an edition of Yt 10.102, see Gershevitch 1959: 122. The adj. *aurušāspa-* is derived from

The shortening of *-ā-* to *-a-* in the antepenultimate syllable of the gen. sg. *pourušaspahe* is also inexplicable according to the established rules governing the development of the Avestan vowels. Such shortenings occur, for instance, in the antepenultimate open syllables of *ar*-stem agent nouns, in the sequence of nom. **-āras*/acc. **-āram*, in *n*-stems, or in a few other examples, all of which feature the enclitic *-ca*/-*ciṯ*. Moreover, the vowel *ā* is shortened before *ii* and *uu*, or in the ablative case, when the thematic ending *-āṯ* is followed by *haca*.[13]

It should be added that comparable personal names with *aspa-* as the second term, in particular (*də̄*)*jāmāspa-*, (from (*də̄*)*jāma-* + *aspa-*), *kərəsāspa-*, (from *kərəsa-* + *aspa-*), and *vištāspa-*, (from *vi-hita-* + *aspa-*),[14] consistently occur with the long vowel *-ā-*. In the case of split compounds, both vowels are correctly written, e.g., *kadruua.aspa-* 'having brown horses'[15] and *yūxta.aspa-* 'having put horses into harness'.[16]

The postulated shortening in Av. *pourušāspa-* could be supported with reference to the noun *spitāma-*, where *spitāma-* < *spita-* + *ama-* in the voc. sg., voc. pl., and dat. pl. declensions appears as *spitama*, *spitamā̊ŋhō*, and *spitamāi*, respectively. However, the shortening of the vowel in the aforementioned examples is associated with the retraction of the accent in the vocative cases, and the dissimilation of *ā* in the dative case because of the *-ā-* in the following syllable (de Vaan 2003: 134).

While the above-mentioned explanations on the shortening of *-ā-* in *pourušaspa-* have been unsatisfactory, an alternative solution is sought in the next chapter.

3   The Name *pouruš-aspa-* Means 'One Who Has Many Horses'

By placing the attribute 'having many horses' next to the name *pourušaspa-*, the Young Avestan text of Wištāsp Yašt 1.2 (~ Āfrīn ī Zardušt 4), describes Pourušaspa as 'having many horses':

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auruša- 'white' and *aspa-* 'horse'. In agreement with Gershevitch's edition, *auruśāspəm* (with *variae lectiones*) occurs with the long *-ā-* in the manuscripts that I have checked.

13   For a review of the shortening of *ā* in the antepenultimate syllable, see de Vaan 2003: 109–122.

14   The corresponding word in Old Persian, spelled as *v-š-t-a-s-p*, also appears with long vowel (Mayrhofer 1979 I/2: 29, N59).

15   On *kadruua.aspa-*, see Bartholomae 1904: 434–435; Hintze 1994: 421. For variant readings, see Hintze 1994: 86.

16   On *yūxta.aspa-*, see Bartholomae 1904: 1301.

Wyt 1.2 *xaiiə̄uš ašauua yaϑa zaraϑuštrō*
pouru.gāuuō yaϑa āϑβiiānōiš
pouru.aspō yaϑa pourušaspahe
ašəm.mərəcō yaϑa kauua haōsrauua …[17]

(May) you, yourself,[18] (be) as righteous as Zaraϑuštra,
(may you be the one) who has as many cows as Āϑβiiyanide,
(may you be the one) who has as many horses as Pourušaspa
(may you be) as *ašəm.mərəcō*[19] as Kauui Haōsrauuah.

17　The Avestan text is taken from Westergaard 1852–1854: 302. The segmentation of the Aves-
tan text here follows the division of the text in the Pahlavi Wištāsp Yašt in the manuscript
5310_F12A folios 4v–5r, where the corresponding Pahlavi versions are interpolated after
*xaiiə̄uš ašauua yaϑa zaraϑuštrō, pouru.gāuuō yaϑa āϑβiiānōiš, pouru.aspō yaϑa pourušas-
pahe*, and *ašəm.mərəcō yaϑa kauua haōsrauua*. This semantic understanding also agrees
with that of modern scholars, such as Bartholomae (1904: 903) and Darmesteter (1882:
326, 328). However, the TITUS website displays different line breaks in Wištāsp Yašt 1.2:
*ašauua / yaϑa zaraϑuštrō pouru.gāuuō / yaϑa āϑβiiānōiš pouru.aspō / yaϑa pourušaspahe
ašəm.mərəcō / yaϑa kauua haōsrauua / ....* A translation of this text according to such a
segmentation would be: '(May you be) righteous, / (may you be) like Zarathuštra, who
has many cows, / (may you be) like Pourušaspa who is an *ašəm.mərəcō*, / (may you be) like
Kauui Haōsrauuah'. This segmentation, however, is at odds with the Pahlavi version of Wiš-
tāsp Yašt 1.2 and the Zoroastrian stories in which Āϑβiia's family, rather than Zarathuštra's,
is closely associated with cows. Furthermore, the line breaks of the TITUS website leave
Kauui Haōsrauuah without any descriptors. For a review of the association of cattle with
Āϑβiia's family, see Tafażżoli 1999: 531–533.

18　The form *xaiiə̄uš* is also attested as *xᵛə̄uš*. Darmesteter (1892: 666, fn. 7) correctly notes
that the forms are based on the corresponding Pahlavi version, *xwēš* 'own'. Furthermore,
he takes it as an adverbial genitive, although the expected genitive variants of the stem
xᵛa-/hauua- 'self' are either *xᵛahe* or *xᵛaŋ́he* or *hauuahe*. In Westergaard's (1852–1854: 302)
edition, *xaiiə̄uš* belongs to the preceding stanza. Here, I have followed the division of the
text according to the Pahlavi Wištāsp Yašt manuscripts (cf. manuscript 5310_F12A), which
also agrees with Darmesteter's (1892: 666) division of Wyt 1.2.

19　As noticed by Bartholomae (1904: 257–258), the compound *ašəm.mərəcō* 'destroyer of
Order' does not make sense in the above context. Darmesteter (1892: 666) discusses
ašəm.mərəcō in fn. 11, where he cautiously associates °*mərəcō* with the Persian word *marz*
'border'. He notes that in the Pahlavi version, *ašəm.mərəcō* is rendered as *ahlāyīh pay-
mānag* 'righteousness, measure', and reminds his readers that in the corresponding Aves-
tan version of Āfrīn ī Zardušt 7, the Wištāsp Yašt's *ašəm.mərəcō yaϑa kauua haōsrauua*
appears as *aiiaskəm amahrkəm bauuāhi yaϑa kauua haōsrauua* (cf. Westergaard 1852–
1854: 301) 'may you be healthy (and) immortal like Kauui Haōsrauuah'. Hence, Darmesteter
(1892: 666, fn. 11) suggests that *mərəcō* must have been *amərəcō* 'immortal'. Kuiper (1965:
297) also subscribes to Darmesteter's view. Accepting Darmesteter's semantic analysis of
the corrupt *mərəcō*, Kellens (1974: 62) puts forward that the original form must have been
amahrkō in order to mean 'immortal'. Neither Darmesteter nor Kellens discusses the pre-
ceding *ašəm*°, while Kuiper (1965: 297) writes that *ašəm*° cannot be reconstructed as *aš*° in

Although the Wištāsp Yašt's description does not necessarily indicate that *pourušaspa-* was analysed as 'one who has many horses', some scribes of Avestan manuscripts have held the view that the first term of the compound is *pouru-* 'many'. In most of the Avestan codices, *pourušaspa-* is written as an unsplit compound. However, a compositional dot is occasionally observed in some codices, where this interpunct is usually placed before the °*š-*. The form *pouru.šaspa-* (with *variae lectiones*) indicates that the scribes of these manuscripts considered the first element to be *pouru*° 'many'. Pakhalina (1987: 157) also suggests that the first element of *pourušaspa-* is *pouru-* 'many', while she derives the second element from a word which she reconstructs as PrIr **šaśva-* and derives from a PrIE root she posits as ²**sekʷ* 'to see, to feel, to notice, to speak'. According to Pakhalina, her reconstructed **paru-šaśva- > pouru-šaspa-* means 'much-seer, foreteller, prophet'. The problem is that the root ²**sekʷ* is absent from the Indo-Iranian languages although it may have originally been identical with ¹**sekʷ* 'to join, to connect' that is attested in the Indo-Iranian languages (Rix et al. 2001: 525–526 and 526 fn. 1). Moreover, the outcome of **sekʷ*e/o- in Avestan is *haca-* or °*šaca-* (the latter after RUKI) and not *šaspa-* (after RUKI), as Pakhalina postulates. Therefore, it is more likely that the second element of *pourušaspa-* is the noun *aspa-* 'horse' < **h₁eĉwo-*, which was productive as the second element of *bahuvrīhi* compounds, for example *vištāspa-*, *dōjāmāspa-*, *auruuaṭ.aspa-*, and *arəjaṭ.aspa-*.

The reading *pourušspō yaθa pourušaspahe* in Wyt 1.2 of the Wištāsp Yašt manuscript 5102_DY1 (folio 83v lines 5–6), written in the Safavid period,[20] is interesting, since here the form *pouruš(a)spō*, replacing *pouru.aspō*, indicates that Pourušaspa is explicitly considered to mean 'having many horses'.

I have also found two examples in the Indian Yasna manuscripts 130_O1 (folio 35r lines 12–13) and 234_G26 (folio 46r lines 3–4), in which the variants *pōuruš.aspahe* and *paōuruš.aspō* occur, respectively. From the variants of these two manuscripts, it might be concluded that the -*š*° is taken as either the compositional consonant or the nom. sg. ending of the first term of the *bahuvrīhi* compound in them, and that the personal name was interpreted as *pouruš.aspa-* 'one who has many horses' by their scribes. This view will be critically analysed later in this section.

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* *aš.amərəcō* because "*aš-* does not stand before the negative *a-*". Based on its Pahlavi translation, *ahlāyīh*, I cautiously suggest that *ašəm* may be considered to be a corrupt form of the stem *ašauua-*. It is worth stating that alongside °*mərəcō*, the variant °*mərəṇcō* is also found in the manuscripts. Kellens (1974: 60–62) convincingly argues for the former, i.e., °*mərəcō*.

20   On 5102_DY1, see Martínez-Porro 2013: 75.

Bartholomae (1904: 903) also believes that the passage in Wištāsp Yašt 1.2 (~ Āfrīn ī Zardušt 4) interprets *pourušaspa-* as meaning 'one who has many horses'. However, he takes this interpretation as a pseudo-etymological explanation of the name ("ein misslungener Deutungsversuch des Names") (Bartholomae 1904: 903). His judgement of Wištāsp Yašt 1.2 reflects the outdated scholarly belief that the text of the Wištāsp Yašt, exhibiting several grammatical and textual issues, is late. Contrariwise, Cantera (2013: 85–110) argues that these issues and transmission errors do not indicate its young age; instead, the textual and philological issues of the Wištāsp Yašt result from its infrequent performance.

Furthermore, Bartholomae's view entails the assumption that either the composers or later exegetes of these Avestan texts understood the name as including the word *pouru-* 'many' while retaining the *-š-* of *pouruša-* 'grey'. Henceforth, according to Bartholomae, they would have written forms of this name with short *-a-* as from *pourušaspa-* rather than with long *-ā-* as required for **pourušāspa-* < *pouruša-aspa-* 'one who has grey horses'. However, this assumption is called into question by the evidence of the Avesta, where the simplex *pouruša-* clearly has the meaning 'grey' in Wd 7.57 *pourušō asti varsō* 'the hair is grey' and is translated as *pīr* 'old' in the corresponding Pahlavi version. This shows that even the Pahlavi-speaking interpreters of the Windēdād could still differentiate between *pouru-* 'many' and *pouruša-* 'grey'. Likewise, the compound *pouruša.gaōna-* adj. 'having grey hair' is correctly translated as *pīr mōy* 'having old hair' in the Frahang ī Ōīm.[21]

If the name of Zarathushtra's father means 'one who has many horses', one would expect *pouru.aspa-*, or **pouruuaspa-*, rather than *pourušaspa-*. As stated earlier, the emergence of the *-š-* after *pouru-* 'many' may be explainable by assuming that the *-š°* is either the compositional consonant or the nom. sg. ending of the first term of the *bahuvrīhi* compound *pouruš-aspa-* 'one who has many horses'. There are also parallel examples from the Avesta, inserting *-š°* at the end of the first terms of the compounds. The closest example is *pouruš.xᵛāϑra-* adj. 'which provides much well-being', in which the *-š°* appears after *pouru°* (see Bartholomae 1904: 903; Hintze 1994: 439).

The problem with the above conclusion is that the insertion of *-š°* in *pouruš.xᵛāϑra-* and similar cases such as *paitiš.xᵛrəna-* is due to the post-RUKI development of PrIr **-hu̯* to *-šxᵛ-/-š.xᵛ-* in compounds whose second terms begin with **-hu̯*. In these examples, the *h* of **-hu̯* simultaneously becomes *š* and develops to *x* in *xᵛ* (Bartholomae 1895–1901: 182, N45). The same devel-

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21   On *pouruša-gaōna-* in the Frahang ī Ōīm, see Asha 2009: 91 and Klingenschmitt 1968: 44, N104.

opment is present in PrIr *-*h*- to *šh*/*š.h* after RUKI (Bartholomae 1895–1901: 182, N45).[22] Such model is absent from *pourušaspa*-. Furthermore, as rightly observed by Duchesne-Guillemin (1936: 13–14), the -*š*- after the first members of the compounds from *i*- and *u*- stems typically does not serve as the nom. sg. ending and its occurrences are always linguistically explained. Likewise, Hintze (2009: 129–130) confirms that the -*š*° is found in compounds whose terms are in accusative,[23] genitive,[24] or locative[25] relationships.

Another problem with the interpretation of *pouruš-aspa*- as 'one who has many horses' is that the emergence of the compositional consonant *š*, based on the model of *pouruš.x^v ā ϑra*-, is absent from other compounds whose first element is *pouru*° 'many' (see Bartholomae 1904: 899–902; Duchesne-Guillemin 1936: 162).[26] It is worth adding that Mayrhofer (1973: 215, N8.1296) draws attention to the existence of the shortened personal name *parruš* (spelled as par-ru-iš) 'many' in the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury archives.[27] However, the auslaut -*š* is the expected ending in *parruš* nom. sg. from **paru*- m. of PrIr **paru*-[28] 'many'.[29] Based on these arguments, the sibilant -*š*- in *pourušaspa*- cannot be taken as the nom. sg. ending of *pouru*-. In the following paragraphs, I investigate the possibility of an explanation for the unetymological -*š*- in *pouruš-aspa*-.

When a word functions as both a noun or an adjective, on the one hand, and a personal name, on the other hand, its different linguistic roles might

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22   For a discussion on the expected outcome of PrIr **s* after *u*, based on the RUKI rule, also see Hoffmann 1958: 17.

23   *kərəfš.x^v ar*- 'eating corpses'.

24   Some examples, as provided by Hintze (2009: 129), are *aβždānuuan*- 'characterised by water-streams', *aβaž-dāna*- 'forming a water-basin', *afš-tacina*- 'provided with streams of water,' and *afšci ϑra*- 'having the seed of water'.

25   One example, as provided by Hintze (2009: 129), is *aβ ždāta*- 'put into water'.

26   The first term of the Avestan personal name *pourušti*- is also *pouru*°. Nonetheless, the emergence of the consonant -*š*- is possibly the result of the normal development of *s* to *š* in *pouru-sti*- due to the RUKI rule. For *pourušti*-, see Mayrhofer 1979 I/1: 72, N267.

27   The shortened form *parruš* might not be associated with the Avestan *pouruš.x^v ā ϑra*- because its corresponding form, or *parrumaturriš*, occurs without the sibilant *š* in the tablets. On *parrumaturriš*, see Mayrhofer 1973: 126, N8.1293.

28   PrIr **paru*- develops to *pouru*- in Avestan.

29   Based on the fact that the final *a* of a word or term in a compound can be omitted in the Elamite orthography (Mayrhofer 1973: 118, N7.5), he does not exclude the second possibility that *parruš* might also have descended from PrIr **paruša*- 'grey' (Mayrhofer 1973: 215, N8.1296). Regarding Mayrhofer's second suggestion, the final *a* has been retained in *anparruša* (spelled as an-par-ru-ša), whose second term goes back to PrIr **paruša*- 'grey' (Mayrhofer 1973: 126, N8.72). Therefore, it is more likely to conclude that *parruš* developed from PrIr **paru* 'many', as in the case of the second possibility, the shortened form of a personal name, containing the term for 'grey', must have been written as *parruša*.

be expressed in the orthography and pronunciation: for example, *yūxta.aspa-* adj. vs. the personal name *yūxtāspa-* m.,[30] or *caθβarə.aspa-* ntr. vs. the personal name *caθβarəspa-* masculine.[31] In a similar way, it might be argued that *pouru.aspa-* adj. and the personal name *pourušaspa-* m. could have been distinguished by introducing an interpunct in the former and adding the ending *š* to the latter, based on analogy with compounds with *-š-* after their first terms.

The issue is that *yūxta.aspa-* adj. (Yt 9.2) vs *yūxtāspa-* m (Yt 13.14) and *caθβarə.aspa-* (Frahang ī Ōīm) vs. *caθβarəspa-* (Yt 13.122) do not frequently occur in the Avestan literature, and no new edition of these Yašt texts, accompanied by a positive text-critical apparatus of different manuscript readings, is available. Hence, any conclusions based on these variants would be problematic. Moreover, the hypothetical suggestion of the orthographic distinction between the personal names and their adj. or substantive counterparts is not ubiquitous. For example, there is no difference in the spelling of *auruuaṯ.aspa-* adj. 'having swift horses' and the personal name *auruuaṯ.aspa-* 'one who has swift horses'.[32] Finally, the suggestion of the existence of unetymological *-š-* in the bahuvrīhi *pouruš-aspa-* is ad hoc.

As none of the arguments in sections 2 and 3 regarding the etymology and meaning of the personal name have been convincing, I will endeavor to investigate whether the sequence *pouru.aspō yaθa pourušaspahe* in Wyt. 1.2 could contribute to solving the riddle concerning the form and meaning of the word.

4 Analogical Role of *pouru.aspa-* 'Having Many Horses' in the Shortening of *-ā-* in **pourušāspa- → pourušaspa-* 'One Who Has Grey Horses'

Duchesne-Guillemin (1936: 14) studies the variant *pouru.xᵛāθra-*, which occurs alongside *pouruš.xᵛāθra-*. He suggests that *pouru.xᵛāθra-*, occurring in non-metrical texts, is recent. Lubotsky (1999: 312) rejects this suggestion. He reminds his readers that on the one hand, the variants of *pouru.xᵛāθra-* are attested in the Elamite, Greek, and Aramaic sources. Therefore, this variant cannot be a recent development (Lubotsky 1999: 312, fn. 20). On the other hand, except one instance in Āfrīn ī Zardušt 7 that *pouru.xᵛāθra-* has no analogical model, *pouru.xᵛāθra-* occurs together with *vispā.xᵛāθra-* or *ašax ᵛāθra-* else-

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where. Hence, the sibilant -*š*- in *pouru(š).xᵛāϑra*- is lost due to analogy with
vispā.xᵛāϑra- and *ašaxᵛāϑra*- (Lubotsky 1999: 312).

In a similar way, it can be suggested that *pouru.aspa*- in the phrase Wyt
1.2 *pouru.aspō yaϑa pourušaspahe* provided an analogical model for the short-
ening of -*ā*- in *pourušaspa*-. It should be noted that analogy can lead to the
complete replacement of an original form with a new one. An example includes
the emergence of *yasna*- m. instead of **yašna*- by analogy with the verbal root
yaz 'to worship, to sacrifice'.[33]

This suggestion provides the only convincing phonetic argument that can
reconcile the coexistence of the consonant -*š*- and short vowel -*a*- in *pouru-
šaspa*- based on my analysis of various phonetic and graphic possibilities aimed
at explaining the form and meaning of *pourušaspa*-. If so, like *pouru.xᵛāϑra-,
pouru.aspa*- is not a recent variant.[34] Furthermore, the phrase *pouru.aspō yaϑa
pourušaspahe* in Wyt 1.2 represents an ancient and well-known formulaic struc-
ture. The reason is that other texts, featuring the personal name *pourušaspa*-,
likely borrowed the variant with short -*a*- from the aforementioned phrase or
a similar one. This analysis of the phrase also agrees with Cantera (2013: 85–
110) who suggests that the Wištāsp Yašt carries an old ritual text in spite of its
grammatical and textual issues.

It is worth adding that in the almost 70 manuscripts that I have checked, they
consistently write *pourušaspa*- (with *variae lectiones*) with short -*a*-. However, I
have encountered one exception in the manuscript 5010_G18a (folio 13v line 11),
written in 1647 AD,[35] which provides Wyt 1.2 *paōrō.aspō yaϑa paōru.šsšāspahe*
with °*šs*- crossed out. It seems that the scribe first wrote *paōru.šs*; then, he
crossed °*šs* out and included °*šāspahe*:
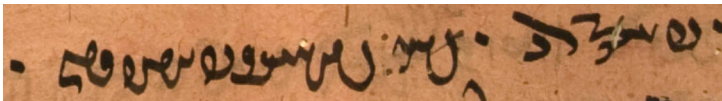
It is unclear whether the long vowel is etymological or unetymological (dialec-
tical) in this manuscript. If the former is true, *paōru.šāspahe* provides the first
piece of evidence for the transmission of a variant from *pourušāspa*-. Further-
more, it shows that the variants from *pourušāspa*- were not entirely replaced
by those from *pourušaspa*-.

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33   For a review on the form *yasna*-, see Martínez/de Vaan 2014: 33.
34   Barthlomae (1904: 899) considers *pouru.aspa*- 'having many horses' as a very recent form.
35   On 5010_G18a, see Cantera 2014: 113–114.

5 Conclusion

The above arguments, comparing the interpretations of the name *pourušaspa-* as 'one who has grey horses' and as 'one who has many horses', lend more weight to the former. Critically reviewing various possibilities for the shortening of the vowel in **pourušāspa- → pourušaspa-*, I suggest that long *-ā-* in **pourušāspa-* is shortened due to analogy with the adj. *pouru.aspa-* 'having many horses', which qualifies *pourušaspa-* m. in Wyt. 1.2. Furthermore, it is suggested that Wyt. 1.2 *pouru.aspō yaϑa pourušaspahe* witnesses to an old formulaic structure that provided a model for the pronunciation of the personal name with short *-a-* in other Avestan texts.

Finally, it is reported here that the manuscript 5010_G18a, dating back to 1647 AD, writes the personal name with long *-ā-*. This might be the sole example for the transmission of the stem *pourušāspa-*, unless the long vowel is dialectical.

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