CHAPTER THREE

OLD IRANIAN

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1 INTRODUCTION *

1.1 The Old Iranian languages

The Old Iranian languages known from texts are Old and Young Avestan and Old Persian. Comparative study of these three languages permits the reconstruction of proto-Iranian as a branch of the Indo-Iranian languages, an eastern branch of the Indo-European languages that may have been spoken in the area south and south-east of the Aral sea in the third millennium BCE, splitting into Iranian and Indo-Aryan some time before 2000 BCE. Geographical names contained in the *Young Avesta* confirm this location and also show that, by the time of the Achaemenids, the Avestan speakers had moved farther south as far as the Helmand valley in modern south Afghanistan (Skjærvø 1995: 163–66). See also section 1.4.

The Avestan texts contain no historical allusions, so they cannot be dated on such grounds, but Old Avestan (see below) is closely similar in grammar and vocabulary to the oldest Indic language as seen in the oldest parts of the Rigveda and should therefore probably be dated to about the same time. Similarly, Young Avestan must have been quite similar to Old Persian, which suggests it was spoken in the first half of the first millennium BCE.

Iranian tribes calling themselves Parswa and Mada are found in (north)western Iran from the ninth century BCE onward (see Waters 1999), but the extant Old Persian texts, written in a cuneiform script, are from the Achaemenid period (ca. 558–330 BCE; the texts date from between 522 and ca. 350 BCE). Thus, while the language of the Avesta probably belonged to tribes from north-eastern Iran, both history and linguistics indicate that Old Persian was the language spoken in southern (south-western) Iran.

Other Iranian languages, beside Old Persian and Avestan, were spoken in the first millennium before our era, about two of which we have some information:

Median was spoken in Western and Central Iran by the Medes, who ruled Western Iran ca. 700–ca. 558 BCE, and presumably used their language in official proclamations. Numerous non-Perside words in the Old Persian inscriptions are from a dialect that shared important phonological isoglosses with Avestan, rather than Old Persian, and are assumed to be from Median. Sometimes, both the Median and Old Persian forms of words are found.

Scythian (Saka) dialects were spoken by tribes in Central Asia.

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* Marking reconstructed older forms with an asterisk (*) has been dispensed with, as they will be easily recognisable as such by their orthography and by '<' (coming from) and non-reconstructed forms will be marked throughout (OAv., etc.). The asterisk has therefore been reserved for restored (and uncertain) forms. Note the convention '-*S*-' for the alternating *-h-/-š-/-s-*.

1.1.1 The Old and Young Avesta, Old and Young Avestan

The Avestan languages are known from the *Avesta*, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians (Mazdeans, Mazdayasnians), a collection of mostly ritual texts assumed to have been composed in the second and first millennia BCE. The texts were orally transmitted until committed to writing some time in the late Sasanian period (ca. 224–651 CE; see Skjærvø 1995, 2006; Kellens 1998). The extant Avestan texts represent only a part of the *Avesta* known at that time.

Avestan falls into two chronologically distinct layers: Old Avestan (OAv.) and Young Avestan (YAv.). Young Avestan represents a more developed form of the language than Old Avestan, especially in phonology, but also in morphology and syntax. Thus, Young Avestan is typologically closer to Old Persian (OPers.), and the simplest assumption is that these common developments had taken place before the Old Persian-speaking tribes migrated out of Central Asia at about the turn of the millennium (Skjærvø 2003–2004). Old Avestan and Young Avestan are apparently not simply different stages of the same language, as there are phonological and morphological isoglosses separating them (ibid.; de Vaan 2003: 5–10; Panaino 2007).

1.1.2 The oral background of the Avestan text

The extant text of the Avesta does not represent a text composed in writing in ancient times. Rather, it is a compilation of mainly ritual and a few didactic texts that had been transmitted orally for centuries and even millennia before being written down some time after ca. 600 CE, though not all, necessarily, at the same time. During this time, the texts had been, presumably, judging from what we know of oral poetry, first been composed and recomposed in memory and performance; then, at some time committed to memory so as not to be recomposed or changed in any way ('crystallised'). This happened, at different times, to both the Old Avestan and the Young Avestan corpora. Nevertheless, over time, the priests by necessity interfered with the text, both intentionally and unintentionally, as it was passed down through the generations and as the Iranians moved into new areas and maybe, even, changed dialects. What the situation was in the late sixth century, therefore, when it was decided to write the tradition down, we can only speculate about. It seems reasonable, however, to assume that the two principal texts, the liturgies of the *yasna* and the *videvdad sade* ceremonies, were well known by the priests among whom the alphabet was devised and so represent 'official' texts. The same may be the case of the principal texts recited at festivals to individual deities (the *yašts*) and some others, but it is not reasonable to think that all the texts were present at the religious centres; some were probably remembered only in some places by some priests, who may then have been called in to perform what they remembered to the newly educated scribes.

The oral background of the Avestan texts suffices to explain the grammatical inconsistencies and (from our point of view) erroneous forms and uses. The ideas, common throughout the twentieth century, that the 'errors' were due to the 'authors' and 'late' composition, was based on the notion that oral literature could be evaluated in this respect like written literature (see Skjærvø 2005–2006, 2006b: 112–15). Note also that the suggestion that Old Avestan might in fact be later than Young Avestan, adducing the comparison with the use of Latin in Europe long after it was no longer a spoken language, is faulty, as Latin was learned from existing manuscripts and grammars.

The most important fact to keep in mind is that the priests who performed the texts no longer spoke the languages and that their understanding of them was that of the secondary traditions as recorded later in the Pahlavi texts.

As a result, on the one hand, the Old Avestan texts contain many elements that are clearly borrowed from or influenced by Young Avestan and, on the other hand, Young Avestan texts contain both elements that are imitations of Old Avestan ('pseudo-Old Avestan') and later features introduced by the scribes (including from local spoken languages). This makes it a challenge to determine which of the sound changes we observe in our extant manuscripts already belonged to the 'original' two languages and which ones were introduced during the oral and written transmission of the texts. It renders even more problematic attempts to identify additional linguistic stages between Old and Young Avestan (see Tremblay 2006).

Nevertheless, although it is not likely that the texts in every detail reflect a genuine spoken language, research has shown that, in spite of all the inconsistencies of the extant text and contrary to the common opinion of pre- Second World War European scholarship, it reflects a real linguistic system (Morgenstierne 1942).

1.1.3 The Avestan alphabet

Some time during the Sasanian period a phonetic alphabet was invented, which was used to write down the known Avestan texts to ensure their correct recitation, crucial to the success of the rituals in which they were used. The alphabet was based on the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) script, of which various stages and styles are known. It is usually assumed that the Avestan script was primarily based upon the common Pahlavi script as known from the extant manuscripts, with the addition of forms taken from the Psalter script (see, e.g. Hoffmann 1988). We have no guarantee, however, that the script seen in the extant manuscripts is identical with that of the first manuscripts. It is just as likely that the shape of the Avestan letters developed together with those of the Pahlavi letters, for instance.

What the principles were that governed the phonetic analysis of the spoken text we do not know for certain, but they were probably the same that applied to the learning of the text. Thus, it is possible that the priests simply assigned a sign to each of the sounds they had been taught to utter during recitation, e.g.: 'to speak this word you say the sound X' > 'to write this word you use the sign X'.

The oldest manuscripts of the *Avesta* are from the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries (*Vispered* ms. K7a: 1278?; *Yasna* mss. J2 and K5: 1323; *Videvdad* mss. K1: 1324, L4: 1323; *Xorde Avesta* ms. Jm4: 1352), and, from the evidence of the manuscript colophons and mistakes common to all the manuscripts of a text, all go back to single manuscripts for each part of the *Avesta* that were in existence around 1000 CE.

Most manuscripts of the *Avesta* are much later, however, and, for some parts of the text, the manuscript tradition does not go back beyond the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries. This means that text criticism in the Classical sense can only restore the readings of manuscripts no older than 1000 CE, but mostly later.

A serious desideratum is a study of individual manuscripts in order to determine the scope of scribal variations in paleography and orthography. Until this has been done, no definitive descriptive orthography, hence also phonology and morphology, of Avestan can be written. Current and earlier descriptions are all, to a large extent, based upon the orthography of K. F. Geldner's critical edition, which is the one most often referred to for

grammatical purposes. It is not a completely 'critical' edition, however, since the relative importance of the manuscripts was not clear to him during the publication (see his *Prolegomena*). The edition can therefore not (as is now widely recognized) be used directly as the basis for grammatical analysis.

This situation also renders theories about dialect features in Young Avestan doubtful, such as that of Schindler (1982), who interpreted the different treatments of final *-aŋh* (< IIr. *-ans*) in terms of dialects, and Hoffmann, who ascribed features such as $h\mu > x^v$ instead of *huu-* (Hoffmann and Forssmann 1996, §6.2) and $V\beta V > V\mu V$ to an Arachotian dialect (ibid., §63cg).

1.1.4 Stages of Avestan

We may represent the history of the Avestan texts after the proto-Iranian stage schematically as follows (cf. Hoffmann 1970, Skjærvø 1994, Kellens 1998, de Vaan 2002: 11–15; Tremblay 2006: 276–77):

- Mid-second millennium BCE: Composition of ritual texts constantly recomposed and linguistically updated in performance, the last direct evidence of which are the extant Old Avestan texts.
- End of second / early first millennium: Composition of texts, constantly linguistically updated, etc. which resulted in the Young Avestan texts.
- Late Old Avestan period: Crystallisation of a set of Old Avestan texts as unchangeable, but, probably, with the introduction of editorial changes then and/or later. These were the 'five *Gāθās* of Zarathustra', as they are called in the Young Avesta, plus the *Yasna Haptaŋhā'ti*, the sacrifice in seven sections.
- First half of first millennium(?): Crystallisation of the Young Avestan text (containing the *Old Avesta*) as unchangeable.
- Up to ca. 500 CE: Transmission of the entire immutable text with introduction of linguistic novelties and changes by the oral transmitters.
- 600+: Creation of a phonetically unambiguous alphabet, in which the entire known corpus was written down (to the extent it was deemed worthy?).
- Ca. 600 to thirteenth century: Written transmission of the text (copying of manuscripts), still probably influenced by the oral tradition, and oppression of the religion and its texts by the Arab conquerors, all of which contributed to deterioration of the text. Ca. 1000 CE there was only single manuscripts in existence of each part of the extant Avesta.

Another problem is the 'canonisation' of the corpus, that is, the process of selecting which texts were to be part of the sacred corpus. The concept, however, is based on the canonisation process of the Bible and may not have the same relevance for the Avestan texts.

1.1.5 Old Persian

We do not know when or how the Old Persian-speaking tribes came from Central Asia to south-western Iran, where they are found in the historical period from the ninth century onward. The extant Old Persian texts all date from the sixth to the fourth century BCE. They are written in a cuneiform script, probably invented under Darius for the purpose of recording his deeds. The Old Persian language as we know it from the inscriptions

(sixth–fourth centuries) was already about to change to 'proto-Middle Persian', the predecessor of Middle Persian as known from the first century BCE on, as we can see from the late inscriptions, in which 'wrong' orthography, especially endings, are common (Skjærvø 1999: 158–61). It is therefore probable that Old Persian had already been spoken throughout most of the first half of the first millennium BCE and had been more or less contemporary with Young Avestan.

1.1.6 The Old Persian script

The Old Persian script is a cuneiform script, but differs from all the neighboring script of the time in having a small set of signs.

Opinions vary about who invented and first used this script, but strong arguments have been adduced that Darius invented it for his Behistun (Bisotun) inscription (520 BCE). On the one hand, it has been shown that the Old Persian version of his ancestor Cyrus's inscription is a later addition to the Akkadian and Elamite versions, and those attributed to his grand- and great-grandfathers Arsames and Ariaramnes are probably modern, less likely antique, forgeries (Schmitt 2007: 25–31). On the other hand, in §70 of the Behistun inscription, Darius appears to say that he was the first to write 'in Aryan'.

Although the orthography is relatively consistent, there is no particular reason to think that an orthographic standard had been established (e.g. that of the Behistun inscription) that was supposed to be followed both under Darius and after him and against which modern scholars are entitled to judge diverging spellings to be errors. This is all the more true for late inscriptions, which were obviously written by scribes who no longer spoke 'the King's Old Persian' (see Skjærvø 1999b: 158–61).

1.1.7 Old Iranian grammars

As the extant Avestan text cannot be assumed to represent actually spoken languages, any description of the two Avestan languages based upon this text will also not be of actually spoken languages. Let us sum up:

- the 'crystallized' text probably represents a language no longer spoken by the current generation;
- the oral transmission took place over a large territory, and we do not know from which local traditions the extant texts have come to us, which may all have left their imprints on the text in the form of dialect features;
- the oral transmission went on for centuries, and we do not know to what extent phonological and grammatical features may reflect the languages of the transmitters, rather than the original languages;
- the oral transmitters, at some stage, grew increasingly unfamiliar with the (whole) 'correct' text and would substitute passages they knew in places they did not belong, upsetting the grammar and the context (and metre);
- inferior oral traditions influenced the written tradition and, probably, vice versa. The most serious consequence of this situation is, of course, that no complete phonemic analysis of the two Avestan languages is possible, since it is a concept presupposing the possibility of capturing an actual linguistic state.

It must always be kept in mind that 'Avestan' always means 'the Avestan text as presented by the manuscripts'. One consequence is that 'Old Avestan' does not

necessarily imply that a form is thought to have been spoken by the original speakers; it can also be a form modified by Young Avestan speakers. For instance, it is not likely that Old Avestan had OAv. *haⁱθiiə̄m* beside *haⁱθīm* = YAv. 'true, real'; it is, in fact, more likely that the 'original' form, that spoken by the composers, was * *haθiam.*

As for Old Persian, two features need to be kept in mind:

1. the lateness of the language of the inscriptions in the history of Old Persian warns against forcing phonetic and grammatical forms too much into an Old Iranian mould; instead one should consider Old Persian as suspended, as it were, between the Old Iranian and the Middle Iranian language types;
2. the mixed-language type prevents us from grasping the genuine South-West Iranian phonological system.

1.2 The phonology of Indo-Iranian

The traditional reconstruction of late Indo-European phonemes, after the laryngeals H_2 and H_3 had colored *e* to *a* and *o* (etc.), is set out in Table 3.1.1. A number of changes distinguish Indo-Iranian from this reconstruction.

TABLE 3.1.1: LATE INDO-EUROPEAN PHONEMES

Vowels and diphthongs						Syllabic liquids, nasals	
i	*e ē*	*a ā*	*o ō*	*u*	(*ə*)	*r̥ l̥*	*n̥ m̥*
	ei ēi	*ai āi*	*oi ōi*				
	eu ēu	*au āu*	*ou ōu*				

Consonants						
Labials	*p*	*b*	*b^h*	*u̯*	*m*	
Dentals	*t̥*	*d*	*d^h*	*l r*	*n*	*s (z)*
Palatals	*k̂*	*ĝ*	*ĝ^h*	*i̯*		
Velars	*k*	*g*	*g^h*			
Labiovelars	*ku̯*	*g^u̯*	*g^u̯h*			
Laryngeals	H_1	H_2	H_3			

1.2.1 Consonants

1.2.1.1 IIr. Velars

The IE. labio-velars *k^u̯ g^u̯ g^u̯h* merged with the velars into one series, *k g g^h*.

1.2.1.2 IIr. Affricates

The IE. palatals *k̂ ĝ ĝ^h* became the palatal affricates *č j̊ j̊^h* [tś dź dź^h].

The velars *k g g^h* produced the allophones *k^y g^y g^yh* before *i̯*, *i*, *e*, which developed into (post-)alveolar affricates *č ǰ ǰ^h* [tš dž dž^h]; when IE. *e*, *a*, *o* merged into IIr. *a*, the conditioned variants became phonemes.

1.2.1.3 IIr. *š́ ž́*

IIr. *š́* and *ž́* developed from various sources:

- IE. *s* (*z*) became *š* (*ž*) after *i* and *u*, *r* and *ṛ* (<*r* and *l* and their syllabic variants), *k* and *g⁽ʰ⁾*, and *p* and *b⁽ʰ⁾* (the '*ru(p)ki*' rule); this rule also worked after an intervening *n*, e.g. acc. plur. *-inš*, *-unš*, *-ṛnš* (Av. *-īš*, *-ūš*, *-ərᵗš*);
- The resulting *š* became voiced *ž* before voiced stops, but also before vowels, notably in prefixes and before enclitic particles (Ir. *duž-*, *niž-*; *yūž-am*).
- The IIr. palatal affricates *ć j́ j́ʰ* [tś, dź, dźʰ] became *š* and *ž⁽ʰ⁾* before dentals and, probably, after labials.
- *š* and *ž* developed in the IE. 'thorn' groups, '*k̑p*, *kp*', etc. > IIr. *ćš*, *j́ž*, *kš*, *gʰž* > Ir. *š*, *ž*, *xš*, *gž* (all Ind. *kṣ*).

1.2.1.4 IIr. The laryngeals

The IE. laryngeal H_2 aspirated the (voiceless) stops before vowels (*pH₂* > *pʰ*, *tH₂* > *tʰ*, *kH₂* > *kʰ*).

Between vowels, laryngeals left a hiatus (or some kind of glide) and, between consonants, it is thought, a *schwa*-like central vowel *ə*. They were lost after vowel before consonant with lengthening of the vowel (e.g. *eH* > *ē*).

1.2.1.5 IIr. Liquids and nasals

r and *l* (and syllabic *ḷ* and *ṛ*) merged, though *l* was preserved sporadically in dialects, both Iranian and Indic.

The syllabic nasals *ṇ* and *ṃ* merged with *a* and *ṇH* and *ṃH* before consonants with *ā*.

1.2.2 Vowels

o in open syllable became *ā* (Brugmann's Law). IIr. forms with *a* instead of *ā* are often caused by a laryngeal following the syllable-closing consonant, e.g. *sauu-aiia-* 'revitalize' < *ćauHaia-* vs. *srāuu-aiia-* 'recite, sing' < *ćrāu̯ai̯a-*.

ē ā ō and the corresponding diphthongs *ēi*, etc. merged into *ă* and *ăi*, etc.

The IE. qualitative ablaut *e ~ o* was lost by this merger and only partly replaced by the quantitative ablaut *a ~ ā*. See also de Vaan 2003, §§30.2–3.

1.2.3 Proto-Indo-Iranian phoneme inventory

In overview, the reconstructed phoneme inventory of proto-Indo-Iranian was as set out in Table 3.1.2:

1.2.4 Ablaut

A distinctive feature of IE. inflection was the qualitative and quantitative ablaut, correlated with stress patterns. While in Indo-Iranian the qualitative ablaut was lost after the merger of *ā ē ō*, the quantitative ablaut was retained albeit modified by these various developments, and ensuing analogies. The basic vocalic ablaut grades were thus as in Table 3.1.3, but other forms are found, as well, especially in connection with lost laryngeals (examples below).

TABLE 3.1.2: PROTO-INDO-IRANIAN PHONEMES

Vowels and diphthongs   Syllabic liquids
i   *ə*   *u*   *r̥ r̥̄*
           a ā
           ai āi
           au āu

Consonants
Labials	*p*	.	*b*	*bʰ*	*u̯*	*m*	
Dentals	*t*		*d*	*dʰ*	*r (l)*	*n*	*s (z)*
Palatals	*ć* [tś]		*j̇* [dź]	*j̇ʰ*			
Palato-Alveolars	*č* [tš]		*ǰ* [dž]	*ǰʰ*	*i̯*		*š (ž)*
Velars	*k*		*g*	*gʰ*			
Laryngeal	*H*						

TABLE 3.1.3: PROTO-INDO-IRANIAN ABLAUT

long:	*ā*	*āi*	*āu*	*ār*	*ān*	*ām*
full:	*a*	*ai*	*au*	*ar*	*an*	*am*
zero:		*i̯ / i*	*i̯ / u*	*r / r̥*	*n / a*	*m / a*

1.3 The phonology of Proto-Iranian

Proto-Iranian shows the following typical changes separating it from proto-Indic:

- IIr. interconsonantal *ə* was lost in Iranian in all positions (with sporadic development, helped by analogy, of anaptyctic vowels in initial consonant groups; see Beekes 1981, Ravnæs 1981, Mayrhofer 1981, Pirart 1988);
- IIr. *r̥H* became Ir. *ar* in most contexts, but sometimes *r̥* (Av. *ər*) (acc. to Cantera 2001, in labial context when unstressed);
- The voiced and aspirated voiced consonants merged: *b, bʰ > b; ǰ, ǰʰ > ǰ*, etc;
- The new aspirated stops *pʰ tʰ kʰ* and unaspirated stops *p t k* before consonants were spirantised to *f θ x* (e.g. *kt > xt*);
- A sibilant developed in the clusters dental + dental: *t-t, d-d, d-dh > tˢt, dᶻd*;
- Dentals were lost before *s/z, ś/ź, š/ž*, including in the sequences T₁^{S/Ś}T₂ > S/ŠT₂: *tˢt, dᶻd > st, zd*, and *ćt, j̇d* [tśt, dźd] > *št, žd*. This rule also affected voiced aspirated clusters that resulted from 'Bartholomae's Law' (see section 2.3.2.1b);
- Geminates were simplified, including those resulting from assimilation (*s-s > s, z-z > z, s-ć > s, j̇ž > ž, d-n > n, p-b > b*, etc.);
- Most significantly, also for later vocalic modifications and changes, *s > h* except before stops and *n* (see section 2.1.2.2).

1.4 Early Iranian dialects

Proto-Iranian split into at least four distinct proto-Iranian dialect groups, characterised, among other things, by the developments of the palatal affricates *ć, j̇* and the groups *ć, j̇* and the groups *ćᵘ, j̇ᵘ* (see Schmitt 1989: 27–28).

The two dialect groups unattested by texts are:

- *Old Northwest Iranian*, represented by the later Alanic dialects and modern Ossetic, in which initial *p* > *f* and internal *ri̯* > *l*;
- *Old Northeast Iranian*, represented by Middle Iranian Khotanese and modern Wakhi, in which *ć^u̯* and *j́^u̯* were assimilated to *ś* and *ź*.

The two attested groups are:

- *Old Central Iranian*, represented by most of the remaining dialects, including Avestan and Median, in which *ć* and *j́* merged with Ir. *s* and *z*, respectively, but *ć^u̯* and *j́^u̯* became *sp* and *zb*;
- *Old South-West (Perside) Iranian*, represented in historical times by the dialects of Pārsa/Fārs, including Old Persian, in which *ć* and *j́* merged with Ir. *θ* and *d*, but *ć^u̯* and *j́^u̯* with *s* and *z*. Other Perside developments: Ir. *θ* > *š* before *i̯* and *n* (Av. *haᵈθiia-*, OPers. *hašiya-* 'real, true'; Av. *araθni-*, OPers. *arašni-* 'ell');
- Ir. *θr* and *ćr* > a sibilant <ç> of uncertain nature that later merged with *s* (Av. *puθra-*, OPers. *puça-*, MPers. *pus* 'son'; Av. *sraiia-* 'to lean', OPers. *niçāraya-* 'give back').

There are numerous 'Median' forms in OPers., e.g. *asan-* 'stone' vs. OPers. *aθaᵘga* 'stone', *aspa-* 'horse' vs. OPers. *asa-*. In some instances, the Elamite transcriptions reflect Perside forms not found in the inscriptions (see, e.g. Hinz 1973; cf. section 3.6.3.3). As a rule, the Elamite transcriptions of Old Persian names show the Perside form, while the Akkadian ones show the Median forms, e.g. *ciçaᵘtaxma-*, but Elam. *ti-iš-šá-an-tam-ma* = *tiçantama*, wi̯th *č – ç* > *t- ç* (cf. Greek *Tissaphernēs* < OPers. *čiça-farnah-*).

At this stage, the consonant phonemes of the four groups were presumably identical except for the palatal sibilants in proto-North-East Iranian, see Table 3.1.4..

TABLE 3.1.4: EARLY IRANIAN CONSONANT PHONEMES

Consonants						
Labials	*p*	*b*	*f*	*u̯*	*m*	
Dentals	*t*	*d*	*θ*	*r (l)*	*n*	*s z*
Palatals				*i̯*		[*ś ź* NE-Ir.]
Palato-Alveolars	*č*	*j́*				*š ž*
Velars	*k*	*g*	*x*			
Pharyng.-Glott.		*ʾ*	*h*			

1.5 Writing systems

1.5.1 The Avestan script

The Avestan alphabet contains ca. 55 letters (Table 3.1.5), some being, apperently, only scribal and/or local and chronological variants. Each letter is usually written separately, although ligatures like those of Pahlavi are also found. There are fairly distinct differences in ductus between older and later manuscripts and from scribe to scribe, but no paleographic study has yet been made to investigate chronological and geographical trends. See, for instance, the three different handwritings in manuscript L4 in the British Library, London, the original manuscript from 1323 and the fairly recent additions (L4a, b) currently available online at *avesta.ana.usal.es/cataloges.htm*.

TABLE 3.1.5: THE AVESTAN ALPHABET

a	ā	Å (å̇)	å (å̇)	i	ī	u	ū	e	ē	o	ō	ə	ə̄	ą (ą̄), *ə̨ (ə̨̄)

p	b	β		f			m	m̨ (hm)

t	d	δ	δ2	θ	ṱ	ṱ2	n	ṇ

k	g	g2	γ	x	xᵛ	x̌	ŋ	ŋᵛ	ŋ́

c	j						ń

y	Y	ii	v	uu	l	h

s	z	š	ž	ś	ṣ̌

Words are separated by a dot (with or without spaces) and sentences often by more elaborate punctuation, e.g. multicoloured floral designs. Individual words and components of compounds are not distinguished. In Western academia, the dot is kept in compounds, but usually replaced by a space between words. The common practice of asterisking words reinterpreted as compounds (or compounds reinterpreted as individual words) is based on unfamiliarity with the script.

Not infrequently, especially in the *Old Avesta*, punctuation is used, incorrectly from our point of view, to delimit morphemes (e.g. plural endings in *b-*), in which case sandhi forms are applied (e.g. *-aṱ.biš* beside *-aδbiš*), and even to split up consonants that the priests pronounced as double, e.g. *aēšəm.mahiiā* for *aēš°mahiiā* 'of Wrath' (the Pahlavi translation has the correct interpretation) and *həm.miiāsa-* for *həm.miiāsa-* (beside *həm°miiāsa-*) 'harness' < *ham-iasa-*.

For notes on individual letters, see section 2.1.

1.5.2 The Old Persian script

The Old Persian script has 3 vowel signs < a, i, u>, 33 consonant signs <C(V)>, 8 ideograms/logograms, numerals, and a word separator (Table 3.1.6). There are minor differences in ductus throughout the corpus.

The consonant signs are consonantic or syllabic with inherent *-a, -i, -u*. There are only four <Ci> signs and seven <Cu> signs; the <Ca> signs are used for the missing <Ci> and <Cu> signs. Consonants not followed by vowels are written with <Ca> signs.

Short and long *ĭ, ŭ* are spelled <i, u>, preceded by <Ci> and <Cu> signs when they

TABLE 3.1.6: THE OLD PERSIAN SYLLABARY

Ca	Ci	Cu		Ca	Ci	Cu
<a>	<i>	<u>		<na>		<nu>
<ā>				<pa>		
<ba>				<ra>		<ru>
<ca>				<sa>		
<ça>				<ša>		
<da>	<di>	<du>		<ta>		<tu>
<fa>				<θa>		
<ga>		<gu>		<va>	<vi>	
<ha>				<xa>		
<ja>	<ji>			<ya>		
<ka>		<ku>		<za>		
<la>				< : >		
<ma>	<mi>	<mu>				

<AM₁> = Auramazdā	<DH₁> = dahạyāuš	<BG> = baga
<AM₂> = Auramazdā	<DH₂> = dahạyāuš	<BU> = būmiš
<AMha> = Auramazdāha	<XŠ> = xšāyaθiya	

exist: <Ca-i, Ci-i> and <Ca-u, Cu-u> (exceptionally <Ci> = Ci). Frequently, we find <-u-va> for ŭ (<pa-ru-u->, <pa-ru-u-va-> = parŭ- 'much'), <i-ya> beside <i> before consonant in niyašādayam <na-i-ya-ša°> 'I set down' beside nīšādayam <na-i-ša°>, presumably reflecting the development of -iya- > -ī-.

Final ĭ, -ai and -ŭ, -au were written <-i-ya> and <-u-va>, but the final -v or -y could be omitted when followed by an enclitic word (hau-maiy, beside hauv-maiy 'he ... me', tayai-šaiy 'who ... his', etc.). Beside -ava- and -aya-, we also find -auva (bava- and bauva- 'become') and -aiya (dāraya- and dāraiya- 'hold').

After h, an i was usually not written (transcribed as hạ-).

The syllabic r (transcribed as ạr) was also spelled <ra>, e.g. vazạrka- 'big' > Mod. Pers. bozorg, vs. martiya- > Mod. Pers. mard.

Logograms can take case endings (e.g. < XŠ-ha-ya-a> = xšāyaθiya-hạyā 'the king's', <DH₁-na-a-ma> = dahạyū-nām 'of the lands', <BU-ya-a> = būmĭ-yā 'of the earth'). See also section 2.2.

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 The phonology of Avestan

The Avestan languages share some important features that give them their characteristic look, different from Old Indic and Old Persian: raising, lowering, rounding, and nasalisation of vowels, anaptyxis; spirants, palatalisation and labialisation of consonants, nasalisation of intervocalic h.

Thus, Avestan phonology is very complex. The exact inventory of phonemes is unclear, as the number of phonetic realisations and morphophonological variants is very large, though all part of an internally consistent phonological system, in many respects similar to those of later East Iranian languages (Morgenstierne 1942).

In the following, the phonologies of Old and Young Avestan are described as they had evolved through many layers of historical and redactory processes down to the end of the Sasanian period, when at least some of the texts were first written down, and beyond, during the written transmission. They are therefore the artifacts of a learned tradition, and can not be assumed to reflect the actual phonological systems of the languages when they were spoken.

In view of the uncertainties regarding the shaping of the Avestan phonology, I have refrained from providing a reconstruction of their phonemic systems. For a recent attempt, see de Vaan 2003: 615–29. Instead, Tables 3.2.1–2 contain the basic vowels and consonants, some of which are conditioned variants, differing in Old and Young Avestan.

2.1.1 Vowel systems

The letters $\dot{a}$ $\dot{\bar{a}}$, ∂ $\bar{\partial}$, o $\bar{o}$, e $\bar{e}$, and nasalised $ą$, reflect the development and partial phonemisation of allophonic variants mainly from the basic low pair a $\bar{a}$, the diphthongs ai, $\bar{a}i$ and au, $\bar{a}u$, and r. See Table 3.2.1.

TABLE 3.2.1: AVESTAN VOWELS

	Front	Central		Back, rounded	Nasal
High	i $\bar{\imath}$			u $\bar{u}$	$į$ <iią, ī> $ų$ <uuą>
Mid	e $\bar{e}$	∂ $\bar{\partial}$		o $\bar{o}$	$\bar{\partial}$ <ə̄ą>
Low		a $\bar{a}$		$\dot{\bar{a}}$	$ą$, $\bar{ą}$ <ą>
Syllabic r		r <ərə>			r <ərą>
Diphthongs:					
	$a\bar{e}$	$\bar{a}i$	$\bar{o}i$		
	ao, $a\bar{o}$	$\bar{a}u$	$\bar{o}u$		

2.1.1.1 Notes on the vowels

For details on the Avestan vowels, see now de Vaan 2003.

All Avestan vowels except e and $\bar{e}$ are found in initial position, but o and $\bar{o}$ only in YAv. $o\bar{\imath}m$, $\bar{o}iium$, etc. <$aiuam$ 'one' and in a few words where $\bar{o}i$- is from ui- (e.g. $\bar{o}ifra$- for $vifra$-?).

All vowels are also found in anaptyxis and epenthesis, particularly ∂, i, and u, and may form secondary diphthongs.

2.1.1.2 Vocalic length

Old Avestan probably maintained the length opposition longest in the high row, at least in part: -$i\check{s}$, -$u\check{s}$ vs. -$\bar{\imath}\check{s}$, -$\bar{u}\check{s}$ (see de Vaan 2003: §§9, 13).

In Young Avestan (and to some extent in OAv.), the distribution of short and long $i/\bar{\imath}$ and $u/\bar{u}$ may be conditioned by phonetic context (not etymology); it may also be a matter of scribal preferences and local practice at different times. There is therefore no distinction between proto-Iranian short and long i and u and Avestan contraction products, -im, -$\bar{\imath}m$, and -$iiam$ all > -$im/-\bar{\imath}m$ and -um, -$\bar{u}m$, and -$uuam$ all > -$um/-\bar{u}m$ (ibid., §§8, 12).

The exchange of vowel length, $a/\bar{a}$, $i/\bar{\imath}$, $u/\bar{u}$ is common and may, at least in some instances, be caused by shifts of accent (ibid., §30.1.1).

In final position, length opposition is neutralised in all three Old Iranian languages. Old Avestan final vowels are long; Young Avestan final vowels in monosyllables are long; in polysyllabic words, we have *-a*, *-i*, *-u*, *-e* and *-ə* (epenthetic), but *-ō*, *-å*, and *-ə̄* (= OAv. *-ə̄ṇg*) and, rarely, *-ū* (< *-uu̯ə*).

Short *ə* (in OAv. also written *ə̄*) is an allophone of *a* before nasals (*həṇti* 'they are') and before *uu* followed by *i/ī*. Long *ə̄* is a phoneme in Young Avestan, since it is a distinctive ending: *-ə̄* with allomorph *-q*.

It is not known whether the length in *å̊* was originally phonemic. The short < å> is used in only one known manuscript to spell *a* before *ŋ* (see Hoffmann and Narten 1989: 31; de Vaan 2003, § 18). Here *å̊* will be used for *å̊*.

2.1.1.3 Diphthongs

ai. The diphthongs *aē* and *ōi* are partly in complementary distribution. YAv. *ōi* is preferred before consonant clusters, except *s* or *š* plus one consonant (Fortson 1996), whereas OAv. *ōi* is apparently also found before *s* and *š* < *ss* and *šš*: *dōišī* 'you show' < *daič-ši* (strongly doubted by de Vaan 2003: 352 n. 436). For Ir. *ai̯*, OAv. has *ōii* (*ōi.*) and *aii*; YAv. *aii* (e.g. OAv. *xᵛāθrōi.ā*, YAv. *xᵛāθraiia* 'in comfort'). Final *ai* in monosyllables became OAv. *ōi*, YAv. *-ē* (but *yōi*); in polysyllables, it became OAv. *ōi* and *-ⁱē* (= *-ē* with preceding palatalisation), YAv. *-ʲe*. Before enclitics, both OAv. and YAv. have *-aē°*.

au-. OAv. prefers *ə̄u*, YAv. *ao* (many mss. *aō*), but also *ə̄u* in imitation(?) of OAv. (de Vaan 2003, § 16.1). In final position, *-au* became **-aō̆*, YAv. *-uuō* (also OAv.) but *-ao°* before enclitic (e.g. YAv. *drao-ca* 'and in tree'; see Skjærvø, 2005a). The apparent diphthongs *au*, *ou*, and *aou* are the result of labialisation of *a* (see section 2.3.2.4a).

The IIr. and Av. diphthongs *āi*, *āu* are indistinguishable in the script from Av. *ā* + epenthetic *i*, *u*.

2.1.1.4 Hiatus

In Old Avestan, long vowels and diphthongs resulting from laryngeal loss remain disyllabic: *ā*, *å̊* < *a'a*; *å̊* < *a'ə̄*, *a'ō*; *-qm* < *-a'am* (e.g. plur. gen., opt. 1s); *aē*, *ōi* < *a'i̯*; *āi* < *a'ai*.

2.1.1.5 IIr. *r̥*

The IIr. syllabic *r̥* shows up in the later Ir. languages as *r* preceded by a vowel that varies according to the phonetic contexts, e.g. *ir*, *ur* (de Vaan 2003, §24). Avestan usually has *ər* followed by an anaptyctic *ə*, but *rə̄* after *t* (OAv. *ātrə̄m*), and sporadically elsewhere. Young Avestan has *arš* for OAv. *ər'š*.

2.1.1.6 Nasalised vowels

All vowels could at some stage be nasalised. Thus, *q* is a realisation of *an* and *ān* before spirants: *zqθβa-*, and sibilants: *vqs* < *vāns-t*, and of long *ā* before *n* or *m*: *nqma*, *nāma*.

The two signs for nasalised *q* may originally have denoted nasalised *å̃* vs. nasalised *ə̃*; thus final *-ə̄* < *-aŋh* may originally have alternated with *-ə̃* rather than with *-q*.

In Old Avestan, the spellings *iiq(n)* and *uuq* before *m* may represent nasalised *ĩ*: *friiq(n)mahī* 'we make (you) friendly'[?] < *fri-n-mahi*; and *ũ*: *huuqmahi°* 'we press' < *hu-n-mahi*. Similarly, the nasalised *ə̃* is written *ə̄q* in OAv. *mə̄q* (Y. 28.4). Nasalised *ĩ* and *q* are written (or became) *ī* and *ū* before sibilant. In Old and Young Avestan, nasalised *r* is written *ərq* before *š* and *ž*.

2.1.2 Consonant systems

Old and Young Avestan, judging from the orthography, had the consonants set out in Table 3.2.2, which include phonemes and allophones with differing distribution in Old and Young Avestan. Note also that the convention 'X became Old Avestan/Young Avestan Y' is subject to the above caveats.

TABLE 3.2.2: AVESTAN CONSONANTS

	Stops/Affr.	Fricatives	Contin.	Nasals	Sibilants
Bi-labials	p b	β	u̯	(ʰm) m	
Labio-dentals		f v			
Dentals	t d	θ δ		n	s z
Alveolar			(ʰr) r		
Alveo-pal.	č ǰ				š ž
Retroflex (?)					ṣ̌
Palatals		y(?)	i̯	(ń)	ṣ́
Velars	k g	x γ		ŋʰ ŋ	
Palato-velars		x́		ń̊ʰ ń̊	
Labio-velars		xʷ		ŋʷʰ ŋʷ	
Glottals	(ʾ)	h			

2.1.2.1 Notes on the consonants

t̰. The letter *t̰* probably represented an unreleased stop and was an allophone of /t/ and /d/ in final and pre-consonantal position: YAv. *janat̰* 'he killed', OYAv. *t̰kaēša-* '*guidance', YAv. *t̰baēšah-* 'hostility'. In the manuscripts, *t̰* alternates with *δ*: *at̰ka-* and *aδka-* 'coat', *druuat̰biiō* and *druuaδbiiō* < *druuant-* 'possessed by the Lie'. – The rare final *-gʾt̰* is etymological in OAv. *paitiiaogʾ-t̰* 'answering', *yaogʾ-t̰* < *yuj-* 'to harness', but may be a graphic representation of an unreleased final *-g* in YAv. *-hāgʾt̰* 'following'; *paragʾt̰* 'away from' (Hoffmann and Forssman 1996: 99).

r had a (pre)aspirated/unvoiced(?) allophone before *p, k, t*, apparently limited to stressed syllables in proto-Avestan (see section 2.3.4). Before *k, p*, it is written *hr*, while proto-Av. **ʰrt* became *ṣ̌* (see section 2.1.2.3). In final position *-r* takes a supporting vowel (*-rᵊ̆*).

n was realised as a nasal of uncertain nature written *n̊* or *n* before consonants (in editions, usually normalised as *n̊*), except *i̯* and *u̯*. Before *i̯*, possibly also *i*, *n* was palatalised to *ń* (*ñ*), but the letter <*ń*> is not consistently used in the manuscripts, e.g. *ańiiō* 'other', *aniiō*, or *ainiiō*, *nitəmō* 'nethermost' or *ńitəmō*; in this description I am adopting the convention *anii-* but *ainī-*.

h > ŋ(h). Intervocalic *h* and its palatalised and labialised allophones are usually preceded by their class nasal: *-ăhă̆-* > *-ăŋhă̆-*, *-ăhi̯ă-* > *-ăńhă-*, and *-ăhu̯ă-* > *-ăŋʷhă-*; similarly, *-hr* > *-aŋ(h)r-* (usually normalised as *-aŋr-*, but mss. often *-aŋhr-*). These clusters are indistinguishable from IIr. *ns* clusters: OAv. *mə̄ŋhī* < *mansi* 'I have thought'. The nasalisation is omitted in a not well-defined subset of words with internal *h*, often before *i*: loc. sing. *manahi* 'in thought', less often before *u*: neut. *vohu* (see section 2.3.1.2). – A similar nasalisation in Old Persian is suggested by Elam. < pat-ti-ya-man-ya-a> for OPers. *patiyāvahayaiy* (DB 1.55), but other explanations of the Elamite form are possible, and, if the nasalisation is genuine, the form may be 'Avestan' (cf. Av. *auuaŋhe* 'to (my) aid'; see Skjærvø 1999a: 18–19.

x^v vs. *huu* and *-ŋ^vh-*. The Avestan labialised velar fricative *x^v* is also an allophone of *hu̯*, alternating with *huu* and the labialised velar aspirated nasal *ŋ^vh*.

Initial *hu̯-* and *hu̯u̯-* both became *x^i-* or *huu-*: Av. *x^vafna-* 'sleep' (*<hu̯a-*) and Av. *x^vāθra-* 'good breathing space, comfort' (*<hu-ā°*), but *huuaršta-* 'well-done' (*<hu-u̯a°*); OAv. *huuar^ə* 'sun', gen. *x^və̄ng*, YAv. *hū* (all disyllabic).

Medial *-h(u)u̯-* became OAv. *-x^v-*, but YAv. *-ŋ^vh-*: OAv. *nəmax^va^itī-* 'containing homage', YAv. *baoδaŋ^vha^itī-* 'conscious'; remained: OAv. dat. sing. *ahuiiē* 'for the (new) existence' (*<ahu̯ai*), YAv. *aŋ^vhe*; or became OAv. *-ŋhuu-*, YAv. *-ŋ^vh-*: OAv. *aojōŋhuuaṇt-*, YAv. *aojaŋ^vhaṇt-* 'strong'. – In Young Avestan, the only examples of intervocalic *x^v* are *kax^varəδa-* 'sorcerer' (cf. OInd. *kākhorda*), fem. *kax^var^iδī-*, and the country name *harax^va^itī-* 'Arachosia'.

x́ vs. *hii* and *ŋ́h*. The Avestan palatalised velar fricative *x́* is an allophone of *hi̯*, alternating with *hii* and the palatalised velar aspirated nasal *ŋ́h*: initially and medially, *x́* is common in Old Avestan, but rare in Young Avestan: OAv. 3s opt. *x́iiāṯ*, YAv. *hiiāṯ* 'may he be', OAv. gen. sing. fem. *ax́iiå*, YAv. *aŋ́hå* 'her'; OAv. *vax́iiå*, YAv. *vaŋ́hå* 'better things'; YAv. *x́iiaona-* (ethnic); *dax́iiunąm*, gen. plur. of *daŋ́hu-* 'land'. OAv. *-x́ii-* alternates with *-hii-* (perhaps a pre-stress variants, see below): OAv. gen. sing. *ašahiiā* vs. *ašax́iiā-cā* (cf. YAv. *ašaŋ́hā-cā*).

2.1.2.2 Sibilants

The sibilants *s* and *z* are common before stops: *spaiia-* 'throw', *zbaiia-* 'invoke' (*<ć^u, j́^u*), *daste* 'is given', *dazde* 'is placed', and nasals: *snaēža-* 'to snow', *vasna-* 'exchange value, price', *asman-* 'sky, stone'; *s* is occasionally found before other consonants and in final position (Tremblay 1999), where it is the result of dental assimilation: OAv. *dasuuā* < *dad-su̯a*, nom. of *t*-stems: *°tās* < *°-tāt-s*, OAv. *stavas* 'praising' < *staṇt-s*; OYAv. *ǎs* 'was' *<ǎs-t*.

2.1.2.3 'Shibilants'

The three sibilants *š* *śs* *ṣ̌* had merged into one sound [š] by the time of our earliest manuscripts, but must originally have been separate:

- *š* = [š] with the voiced allophone *ž* (*duš-* vs. *duž-*);
- *śs*, written *śs*, *śsii* must have been a palatal(ised) sibilant resulting from the palatalisation of *č* [tš] before *i̯*: *čii̯āti-* > Av. *ś(ii)ā^iti-* 'joy', OPers. *šiyāti-* (cf. Sogd. *šāt*, but Khot. *tsāta-* [ts^hāda-] 'rich'). The corresponding voiced sound has no letter in the alphabet and probably merged with *ž*: YAv. *druža-* (OAv. *drujiia-* 'to lie'); *aži-* 'dragon' for *aji-* (OInd. *ahi-*);
- *ṣ̌* (*< ^hrt*, see section 2.1.2.1) may originally have been a rhotacised alveolar sibilant, e.g. Av. *maṣ̌iia-* '(mortal) man' (rendered in Pahl. as *maš́ī*) or, perhaps, a retroflex or lateral affricate or flap (cf. Pahl. *mahlī*), but later a retroflex sibilant.

2.1.2.4 Distribution

Most consonants are found in initial position before vowel; exceptions include the voiced fricatives (and probably *j*), the velar nasals (*ŋ ŋ́ ŋ^v*), and *ṣ̌*.

In final position, we find *m* and *n*, *r*, the dental *ṯ*, and the sibilants *s* and *š*. Final *-s* is also found in sandhi (see section 2.3.3). The consonants *r* and *s* (in *sandhi*) take *ə* as a supporting vowel as finals (e.g. *dātar^ə* 'O creator!', *kas^ə tē* 'who for you?').

2.2 The phonology of Old Persian

The Old Persian orthography does not express all the phonemic features of the language, as evidenced by transcriptions into other languages of the time and by comparison with Avestan and Middle and Modern Persian.

2.2.1 The vowels ă, ĭ, ŭ

In Old Persian, vowel length is expressed explicitly only in the case of non-initial $\bar{a}$ < Ca-a>; in initial position, <a> spells a- and $\bar{a}$-. In final position, the distribution of -a and -$\bar{a}$ is historically based; OPers. -a < Ir. -aC (-ah, -at, -an); OPers. -$\bar{a}$ < Ir. -a, -$\bar{a}$, -$\bar{a}$C. The quantity of final -ĭ and -ŭ cannot be determined (see section 1.1.6).

The Iranian diphthongs *ai* and *au* were probably monophthongised to $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{o}$ sometime during the Achaemenid period. Thus, the Akkadian, Elamite, and Greek transcriptions show little if any trace of diphthongs (e.g. *haumavarga-*, Elam. <u-mu-mar-ka>, Akk. < ú-mu-ur-ga-'>, Greek *amúrgioi*, a tribe of Sakas/Scythians).

2.2.2 Consonants

The OPers. consonant system is set out in Table 3.2.3.

TABLE 3.2.3: OLD PERSIAN CONSONANTS

	Stops/Affric.	Fricat.	Contin.	Nasals	Sibilants
Labials	p b	f	v(u̯)	m	
Dentals	t d	θ	r, l	n	s, ç z
Palatals	č ǰ	y	(i̯)		š (ž?)
Velars	k g	x			
Pharyngeal	h				

2.2.2.1 Notes on the consonants

On ç < Ir. θr, čr, see section 1.4.

Old Persian may have had a phoneme ž, judging from *nijāyam* [nižāyam?] < *niš-āyam* 'I went out', though it may be simpler to assign [ž] to the phoneme /ǰ/ and assume that it was pronounced [dž] as written. Alternatively, OPers. <j> was actually pronounced [ž], and there may have been no phoneme /ǰ/.

Elamite, Akkadian, and other transcriptions attest to etymological, but unwritten sounds, e.g. preconsonantic *n*: < ba-da-ka-> for *baⁿdaka* 'bondsman', cf. MPers. *bandag*; *ciçaⁿtaxma-*, proper name, Elam. <zi-iš-šá-an-tak-ma>, Akk. <ši-it-ra-an-tah-ma> (for Median *ciθrantaxma*); sequence ʰu: ʰuvaipašiya 'self', Av. xᵛaēpaⁱθiia-, MPers. *xwēbaš*. In some cases, the various transcriptions are inconclusive, e.g. aʰuramazdā, Av. *ahura-mazdā-* (*YH.*), Elam. <u-ra-maš-da>, Akk. <ú-ra-ma-az-da, a-hu-ru-ma-az-da-'>, Greek *ōromasdēs*), MPers. *Ohrmazd, Hormezd*. Before *m*, *h* could be written or omitted (e.g. aʰmiy and *ahmiy* 'I am'). Note also morphophonological variation such as pres. *haⁿ-taxša-* 'be diligent', imperf. *ham-a-taxša-*.

In final position, the only allowed (written) consonants (other than *y* and *v*) are *m* and *š*, perhaps also *s*. The spread of -š as the ending of the 3s and 3p in *akunau-š* 'he

did/made' (Av. *akərʾnao-ṭ*) and similar forms, however, indicates that the corresponding forms of *a*-stems in fact had no consonantal ending (see Allegri and Panaino 1995).

There appear to be the same kind of restrictions on initial and internal consonants as in Avestan, and the same kind of groups are found (e.g. *xšn*: initial and intervocalic). There are no examples of two-consonant groups in final position, and forms such as Av. *āfš* 'water' nom. sing. may have been transferred to the *ī*-declension (*āpī̆[š]-šim* (?) 'the water . . . him', beside athematic inst.-abl. plur. *abiš* < *ap-biš*).

2.2.3 Late Old Persian

The inscriptions from Artaxerxes II (404–359) on are written in what is clearly a post-Old Persian/proto-Middle-Persian stage of the language (see Schmitt 1999: 59–118; Skjærvø 1999b [2002]: 158–61). Those from Artaxerxes I and Darius II are less clear; they are written in a late-Old Persian form, as seen from the thematic forms such as *dārayavaušahayā* and some grammatical constructions, but they are too short and formulaic to tell us much.

Among the (orthographic-)phonetic peculiarities of the post-Old Persian stage note (see Schmitt 1999): <Cy> for <Ciy>: *nayāka-, abayapara*; use of *y* or *iy* to write long *ē*: *paradaydām* for *pardēdᵘ*(?) (MPers. *pālēz*); contraction of *iya* > *ī* in *martīhayā* (A³?); *st* for *št* in *nistāya*; loss of final consonants and their preceding vowels in edings, as evidenced by the indiscriminate use of short and long vowels and omission of final *m*.

2.3 The morphophonology of Avestan and Old Persian

There are several kinds of synchronic alternations in Old Iranian: those inherited from earlier stages of the languages; those due to historical developments; those due to analogy; and, for Old Persian, those due to the existence of Median beside Old Persian forms.

2.3.1 Vowels

Most of the alternations in the vowels derive from the conditioned variants of *a* and *ā* before *h* and nasals and *i̯/i* and *u̯/u*. For details, see de Vaan 2003, Chapter 6.

2.3.1.1 Centralising of *a, ā* > *ə (ə̄)*

ah > *ə (ə̄)*. Ir. *h* caused centralising of a preceding *a*: OAv. *amə̄hmaidī* 'we have thought'; *vacə̄* 'speech' (but mostly -*ō* reintroduced from YAv.?).

In Young Avestan, the *a* remained in initial and medial position (reintroduced into the OAv. text: *ahmaṭ* 'us'), and final -*ah* became -*ō* (occasionally *ə̄*: *nəmə̄* 'homage'); in sandhi, the *a* reappears: -*a-s°*.

aN > *əN*. Short *a* was centralised before nasal, in more positions in Old than in Young Avestan; – initial: OAv. *ə̄nə̄ⁱtī* 'no going', *ə̄mauuaṇt-* 'powerful' (YAv., *aⁱniti, amauuaṇt-*); in final: OYAv. -*ə̃m*, -*ə̃n*.

Final -*an-h* > Ir. -*aŋh*: In Old Avestan, this became -*ə̄ŋg*, notably in the thematic acc. plur. *daēuu-ə̄ŋg* 'old gods' and the *n*-stem gen. sing. *xᵛ-ə̄ŋg* 'sun' (< *huu̯-aŋh*). In Young Avestan, it probably became nasalised -*ə̄̃* which developed variously to -*ə̄* and -*q̇*: acc. pl. *yazat-ə̄* 'gods', *aēsm-q̇* 'firewood', gen. sing. *barʾsm-q̇* 'barsom'; final -*u̯ə̄* in turn

became (*uu*)*ū*; acc. plur. *daēuu-ū* (*daēū*), gen. sing. *hū* (<*huu̯-ū*), etc. (see also Hoffmann 1970; de Vaan 2003: 492–93).

Final -*āh* > *å̊*. Long *ā* became rounded long *å̊* before *h* in final: -*āh* > -*å̊*; the *å̊* remains in sandhi: -*å̊-s°*.

āN > *ə̄N*. Long *ā* was centralised to *ə̄* before nasal in a few Old Avestan words: *x̌iiə̄m* 'may I be' and *strə̄m*, gen. pl. of *star-* 'star' (both disyllabic < -*a'am*). In both Old and Young Avestan, *āN* alternates with -*ąN* in the manuscripts.

au̯- > *əuu-*. Ir. *au̯* became *ə̊uu* sporadically in initial position: OAv. *ə̊.vaocat̰* 'he has said', YAv. *əuu̯ərᵊz°* 'not producing'; and when followed by *il̄*, OAv. *kəuuitāt-* 'the word/ title of *kauui*', YAv. *səuuišta-* 'richest in life-giving strength', *huuaŋhəuuīm* '*comfort' (<*huu̯a ŋhau̯ii̯am*).

2.3.1.2 Rounding of *a, ā* > *ə̆̄* or *ŏ*

a + u. YAv. *a* became *o* before (primary or secondary) (*u/ū* (*uu*) in the following syllable, regularly before *r*: *pou̯ru-* 'much' <*paru*, *pou̯ruu̯a-* 'earlier' <*paruu̯a-*, also when the *u* was the result of contraction: *pou̯rum* < *paruu̯am* (see Kellens 1986), sporadically elswhere: OYAv. *vohū̆* 'good' (but *vaŋhu-*), *vohunī-* 'blood', YAv. *moyu°* '*Magian'.

a in labial context. Change of *a* > *ə̄̆* or *ŏ* (also *ə̄̆* > *ŏ*) is found in Old Avestan, sporadically in Young Avestan, when *a* is in multiple labial context: *apō mā* vs. *apā*; YAv. dat. plur. *u̯ruu̯ȯ¹biiō* < *uruuan-* 'soul'; dat. sing. *māu̯u̯ᵒiia* 'for me' (OAv *ma¹biiā*); note also *dəbᵊnao-* 'deceive' (2 syllables; OInd. *dabhno-*), *duž̌u̯zᵊbå̊* 'making bad invocations' <*duž-zbāh-* (<-*ju̯u̯ā-*). In Young Avestan, final -*uu̯ō* for -*uu̯a* is found in a few cases, e.g. instr. sing. *bāzuu̯ō* 'arm'. OAv. *hōiθōi* < *haēθa-* '*cordwork', with *ōi* for *aē*, may be the result of assimilation.

ā + u. Labial umlaut of *ā* is found especially in Old Avestan when followed by *ū̆* (*u̯*) in the next syllable: *u-* stems: *jii̯ōtūm* < *jii̯ātu-* '*livelihood'.

a + r̥. The sequence -*a + r̥*- (-*a + ər^ʳ*) in derivatives of *fra-ar^ʳ*- 'move forth' gave OYAv. -*ə̄r^ʳ*: *frə̄r^ʳtōit̰* 'moving forth', *frə̄r^ʳnao-* 'send on its way'; the OAv. abl. sing. *frōr^ʳtōiš* 'from moving forth' may show assimilation.

2.3.1.2a Old Avestan initial *ə̄ᵊā-* < a-/ā-

In several words with initial *ə̄*- caused by one of the above processes, the original *a-/ā*- were reintroduced: *ə̄ᵊādū* for *ə̄dū* < *ə̆̄du* '?' by *u*-umlaut; *ə̄ᵊⁿū* for *anu* 'along', centralised before nasal or by *u*-umlaut; *ə̄ᵘᵊŋhā* < *āhā* instr. sing. of *āh-* 'mouth', centralised before nasal or before *h*; *ə̄ᵊⁿā̆*- <*auu̯ua* 'down', by labial assimilation.

2.3.1.3 Raising of *a, ā* > *e*

a and *ā* can be raised (fronted) when preceded by *i̯* and followed by palatal or palatalised sounds.

i̯a became *ye-, -iie-, ^ʲ˘e* (<-*ai*):

- before palatal consonant: OYAv. *iθii̯ejah-* < *θi̯ajah-* 'danger';
- before palatalised consonant: OYAv. *yezī̆* < *i̯az¹i* 'for if'; – OAv. fem. sing. *yezuuī* 'young' <*i̯az¹u̯ī-*; – YAv. inf. ending -*iie¹δii̯ā̆i* < -*i̯a-dii̯āi*; – *frāiieze* < -*i̯az¹ē* < -*i̯azai* 'I sacrifice'; – OAv. loc. sing. *yesnē* < *i̯asn¹e* (<*i̯asnᵊi*), Av. *yesnii̯a-* < *yasn¹ii̯a-* 'worthy of sacrifices (*yasna-*)'; – comp. fem. sing. -*iiehī* < -*ii̯ah¹ī-*; – 2nd and 3d sing. pres. ind. act./ mid. -*iiehile* < -*i̯ahil¹ē* and -*iie¹til-iiete* < -*i̯atil̯i̯ĕ̆*, – -*i̯eŋhĕ̆* < *i̯ahi̯a* and *i̯ahai*: Av. gen. sing. *yeŋhĕ̆* < *i̯ahi̯a* 'whose', OAv. inf. -*iieŋhē* < -*i̯ahai*;

- in final after *h, r, s* in some words: *ahe* 'his' < *ahịa* (also gen. sing. ending *-ahe*); *aˊre* 'Aryans' < *arịa*; *nase* 'perish!' < *nasịa*;
- *ịāN* became *ịeN* when followed by *i, ī,* or *-ịẽ*: 1s pres. ind. act. *-iiemi* < *ịāni* subj. *-iieni* < *-ịāni*, mid. *-iiene* < *-ịānˡẽ* (< *-ịānai*).

2.3.1.4 Combined centralising and raising and rounding of *a*

a > *ə* > *i*. After palatals, *ə* before nasal further became *i* in Young Avestan, sporadically in Old Avestan:

- after the palatals *c j* (but *a* was sometimes restored): OAv. *hacə̄nā* 'company' (instr. sing.), beside OYAv. *haciṇtẽ* 'they follow', YAv. *raocana-* 'window' vs. *raocinauuaṇt-* '*bright';
- *ịaN* and *ụaN* regularly became OAv. *ịə̄N, ụə̄N* or *ịiN, ụ̃uN* (the *a* occasionally remains), YAv. *ịaN* or *ịiN, ụuN*: OAv. *yə̄m*, YAv. *yim* 'whom'; OAv. nom.-acc. dual *yə̄mā* 'twins', YAv. *yima-* 'Yima' (but OAv. *yimas-cīṭ* 'also Yima'); OAv. *aˊriiə̄mā*, YAv. *aˊriiaman-* 'Airiiaman'; YAv. *poˡˡrum* < *parụịam* 'before, in front'; – in final syllable, Old Avestan often preserves the *ə̄* (*yə̄m, -iiə̄m*; always *-iiə̄n, yə̄ng, -iiə̄ng; -uuə̄ng*), but contraction of *ịəm* > *īm* is frequent: OAv. *aniiə̄m* 'other', YAv. *aˡnim*; YAv. *haxāim* (< *-āịam*) 'companion'; OAv. *haˡθiiə̄m* and *haˡθīm* 'true, real', YAv. *haˡθim*. Contraction to *-ūm* is found only in the 2nd plur. mid. ending *-dūm*.

ịaN and *ụaN* after vowels: Young Avestan regularly has contraction, Old Avestan sporadically: *aịịN* > *aēN, āịịN* > *āiN, iịịN* > *īN* (*iN*): OAv. *aiiə̄m* 'this one', YAv. *aēm*, 3rd plur. pres. inj. *-aēn* < *-aịan*. In the 3p opt. of *aiia*-stems, *-aịaịan* became *-aiiaēn*, occasionally preserved in the manuscripts, but most often replaced by *-aiiən* (Skjærvø 1998: 191).

aụụN > *aoN* (*āuN*), *āụụN* > *āuN, uụụN* > *ūN* (*uN*): OAv. *kərˀnaon* (< *-aụan*) 'they shall make', YAv. *kərənāun*; YAv. *baon* 'they became'; YAv. *adāuṇta* (< *dauua-*) 'they spoke deceiving words'; OAv. *tuuə̄m* < *tuụam* 'you', YAv. *tum*; YAv. *bun* < *buụan* 'they shall become'; YAv. *aū* < *aụaŋh* 'them'.

The sequences *-aịum, -aiụam,* and *-auịam* were simplified to YAv. *-aēum, -ōiium* (*-aoiium*), or *-aēm*: *vaiiu-* 'Vaiiu': acc. *vaēm*; *daēuua-*: acc. *daēum, vīdaēuua-* 'discarding the old gods': acc. *vīdōiium*; *haoiia-* 'left': *haoiium, hōiium, hōim*.

Combined labialisation and palatalisation is seen in YAv. *paoˡrim* 'first' < *parụịịam* (OAv. *paˡˡruuīm*, trisyllabic).

The forms with *a* are frequently restored, especially in certain morphological categories; thus, YAv. 3p *-aiiən* is more frequent than *-aēn*. OAv. *ịant* before *ī, ē* (< *-ai*) remained or became *iieṇt, uuaṇt* remained. In Young Avestan, *ịant* became *-iṇt-* (usually after *c, j*, sibilants, and *θ*), but was often retained, and its *a* could then be raised to *e*: *-iieˡṇti, -iieṇte*. YAv. *ụant* became *-uṇt-*, but adjectives in *-ŋˠhaṇt-* have analogical *-ŋˠhaṇt-* beside regular *-ŋhuṇt-*.

In both Old and Young Avestan, diphthongs resulting from contraction of two syllables remain metrically disyllabic.

2.3.1.5 Shortening of *ā* and lengthening of *a*

Ir. *ā* is shortened in Old Avestan under phonetic conditions, for rhythmic reasons, or as a result of stress movements: before *ii* or *uu*, in the gen. plur. ending *-anąm*; in the preverb *ā-*, in initial syllable when an enclitic was attached to the word, in antepenultimate or

earlier syllables or when the word was unaccented (?): *a-iiaŋhā* 'you shall request' < *ā-yā-*; *a-xštaṯ* 'he will stand by' < *ā-°*; *abiias-cā* 'and to them' < *ābiias°*; *uštanəm* vs. *uštānāi* < *uštāna-* 'life breath'. It is shortened in Young Avestan in similar environments.

Ir. *a* is frequently lengthened in Old Avestan in initial syllables, occasionally in non-initial syllables: nom. plur. *kāuuaiias-cā* < *kauui-* 'poet'; – after *ii*: 3rd sing. inj. mid. *maniiātā* 'he thinks' < *-iata*; – after *uu*: instr. sing. *x'ə̄nuuātā* < *x'ə̄nuuaṇt-* 'containing the sun'); – sporadically elsewhere: gen. plur. *hātą̄m* < *haṇt-* 'being'.

Ir. *a* is lengthened in Young Avestan in initial syllables: *āiia* < *aia*: *xštāuuaiiō* vs. *xštəuuiβiiō* < *xštauui-* (ethnic name) and sporadically elsewhere.

For details, see de Vaan 2003, Chapter 2.

2.3.2 Consonants

2.3.2.1 Assimilation and dissimilation

2.3.2.1a Voice assimilation

The results of voice assimilation (voicing and devoicing) seen in Iranian occurred at various times and in various situations.

Devoicing affected unaspirated voiced stops before unvoiced sounds, mainly *t* and *s*, *š*: Av. *baxta-* 'shared' (< IIr. *bʰak-ta* < *bʰag-*); Av. *vista-* 'found' (< IIr. *uitˢ-ta-* < *vid-*), *baxša-* 'distribute' (< IIr. *bʰakš-a* < *bʰag-*). On the analogical replacement of *bd*, etc. with *pt*, see section 2.3.2.1b.

Voicing was more common, unvoiced stops, affricates, and sibilants being assimilated to a following voiced stop or sibilant:

- stops: YAv. *upa-bdi* 'on the foot-hill (of)' (< *upa-* + *pad-*); YAv. dat.-abl. plur. *aⁱβiiō*, OPers. instr.-abl. plur. *abiš* < *ắp-* 'water' + *-biah, -biš*; OAv. dat.-abl. plur. *drəguuō.dⁱbiiō* YAv. *druuaṯbiiō* < *druguat-* 'possessed by the lie' + *-biah*; instr. plur. Av. *azdⁱbī̆š* < *ast-* 'bone' + *-biš*;
- affricates: OAv. 2p inj. *θβarⁱž-dūm* < *θβarⁱs-* 'to fashion' (< IIr. *θuarć-*);
- sibilants: OAv. *zdī* 'be!' < *ah-/s-*; *mazdā-* 'all-knowing < placing (all) in (his) mind' < *mas-dā-* (< *mṇs-*); – *niž-barⁱta-* 'removed' (< *niš-* + *barⁱta-*); *duž-zaotar-* 'evil libator' (< *duš-* + *zaotar-*).

Final *š* was voiced before vowels and voiced consonants in compounds and before suffixes (see also section 1.2.1.3: OAv. *ərⁱž-uxδa-* 'straight utterance' (but YAv. *arš-uxδa-*); *duž-āθra-* 'with bad (constricted) breathing space'; *aβⁱž-dāna-* 'water container' (< *ắfš-* + *dāna-*).

2.3.2.1b 'Bartholomae's law'

A special case of assimilation is 'Bartholomae's law', according to which an IIr. final voiced aspirate of the stem passed both its aspiration and voice on to an initial *t* or *s* of an ending, so as to produce clusters of the type, e.g., *-bʰ-t-* > *-bdʰ-*, *gʰ-z* > *gžʰ* (with *ruki*, see section 1.2.1.3). The resulting clusters remain in Old Avestan: IIr. *augʰ-* 'to present oneself (as), say' had 3s *augʰ-ta* > *aog-dʰa* > OAv. *aogⁱdā* and 2s *augžʰ-sa* > *aug-žʰa* > OAv. *aoγžā*; from IIr. *uajʰ-* 'to convey' we have *uajʰ-tra-* 'conveyor, draught animal' > *uaj-dʰra-* > OAv. *važdra-*; IIr. *dadʰā-* 'place' had 3s mid. *dadʰ-tai* > *dad⁼-dʰai* (see section 1.3 > OAv. *dazdē* 'it is placed' (vs. IIr. *dad-tai* 'it is given' > *datˢtai* > OAv. *dastē*, YAv. *daste*);

IIr. d^hab^h- (> dab^h-) 'deceive' had the desiderative stem di-db^h-sa- > $di(d)b\check{z}^ha$- > OYAv. $di\beta\check{z}a$- 'seek to deceive' (but OInd. $dipsa$- with elimination of $\check{z}$).

In Young Avestan and Old Persian, these groups remain only in isolated words: YAv. $ubda$- 'woven' < ub^h-ta- (< μab^h-); OAv., OPers. $azd\bar{a}$ 'known' (OInd. $addh\mathring{a}$), but most often they are analogically replaced by unvoiced groups: YAv. $aoxta$, $va\check{s}tar$- 'draught animal', $dapta$- 'deceived' (for $dabda$-), $g\partial r^\partial f\check{s}a$- 'grasp' (for $g\underset{.}{r}b$-$\check{z}^ha$- < $g\underset{.}{r}b^h$- 'seize'); YAv., OPers. $basta$- 'bound' (OInd. $baddh\acute{a}$-).

2.3.2.1c Geminates

Geminates resulting from internal sandhi and assimilation were simplified: YAv. $usn\bar{a}$- 'wash (up)' < us-$sn\bar{a}$-; $vi\check{s}\bar{a}n$- < $vi\check{s}$-$\check{s}\bar{a}n$- (< vis- + $h\bar{a}n$- 'who gains a village', with $\acute{c}$-$\check{s}$ > $\check{s}\check{s}$ > $\check{s}$).

Analogically restored forms are frequent, e.g. YAv. $vi\check{s}.har^\partial zana$- 'abandonment of the villages' for $vi\check{s}arz^\circ$ (< vis- + $harz^\circ$).

2.3.2.1d Dissimilation

Dissimilation in point of articulation is perhaps to be seen before m in $vahma$- 'hymn' if from vaf- (pres. $u\mathring{f}ia$-) 'weave', and $daxma$- 'burial mound', if from $dafma$- < d^hab^h- 'construct' (cf. Gk. $taphos$, Hoffmann 1975: 338; Skjærvø 2005b).

Voice dissimilation is found in the groups $f\theta r$ > $f\delta r$ and $x\theta(r)$ > $x\delta(r)$ (no examples of $f\theta V$): $naf^\partial\delta r\bar{o}$ < $naptar$- 'grandson, scion'; $ux\delta a$- 'utterance', $ap\bar{a}x^\partial\delta ra$- vs. $ap\bar{a}xtar$- 'northern'.

2.3.2.2 Spirantisation

2.3.2.2a Unvoiced stops and the unvoiced fricatives f θ x

The unvoiced fricatives f θ x are independent phonemes before vowels (see section 1.2.1.4), but allophones of p t k before consonants, e.g. IIr. $k\mu$ > Ir. $x\mu$ in YAv. perf. part. $vaox^vah$- 'having spoken' < μa-μk-μah- (see Skjærvø 1997a). The stops remain after sibilant: OAv. $\bar{a}sk^{\cdot i}ti$- 'following' (< sak- 'follow'), gen. plur. $str\bar{\partial}m$ 'stars', $v\bar{a}striia$- 'forager'.

In Avestan, Ir. ft appears to have reverted to pt: OAv. sing. nom. $pt\bar{a}$ 'father' vs. dat. $f^\partial\delta r\bar{o}i$ < $f\theta rai$, YAv. $dapta$- 'deceived'.

2.3.2.2b Voiced stops b d g and voiced spirants β δ γ

The voiced stops b d g and the voiced fricatives β δ γ are in complementary distribution in both Old and Young Avestan.

In Old Avestan, the Iranian voiced stops β and γ are allophones of b and d before $\check{z}$: $di\beta\check{z}a$-, $ay\check{z}aonuuamna$- '?'; otherwise the voiced stops remain unchanged; β replaces μ after θ, and δ replaces θ after x and f ($x\delta$, $x^\partial\delta$; $f\delta$, $f^\partial\delta$).

In Young Avestan, the Iranian voiced stops remain regularly only initially and after nasals and sibilants (z $\check{z}$), sporadically also in other words. Elsewhere they become the voiced fricatives β δ γ: $a^i\beta i$ preverb (OAv. $a^ib\bar{i}$), $du\gamma\delta a$ 'daughter' (OAv. $dug^\partial d\bar{a}$), $dri\gamma u$- 'poor' (OAv. $drigu$-); γ is also found initially before nasals and sibilants: $\gamma^\partial n\bar{a}$- 'woman' (OAv. $g^\partial n\bar{a}$-), $\gamma^\partial mata$- 'gone', $\gamma\check{z}ar^\partial.\gamma\check{z}ar$- 'flow'. Finally, f and x are voiced before $\check{z}$: $a\beta^\partial\check{z}d\bar{a}na$- 'water container', $v\bar{a}\gamma\check{z}(\partial/i)bii\bar{o}$, and δ is an allophone of θ in the groups $f\delta r$ and $x\delta$, see section 2.3.2.1d.

Later changes. The resulting Young Avestan voiced fricatives are all subject to further

contextual and chronological, possibly also dialectal, changes and variations: β tends to become u > uu: *viiāuuaᶦtī-* 'shining' < *vi-ā-βā-* < *bā-* 'to shine', *auuara-* 'to bring' (< *ā-βara-*). In turn, u may combine with preceding *a* to form the diphthong *ao*: *aᶦβi* 'to' > *auui* > *aoi* (mss. *aōi, aōui,* etc.; *aδaᶦβiia-* 'not to be deceived': sing. nom. masc. *aδaoiiō,* but acc. *aδauuim.*

δ vs. *0*: Sporadically, δ alternates with *0,* notably in forms of *vaē0-* (*vaēδ-*) 'to know' and in pres. *daδā̃-* (*da0ā̃-*) < *dā̃-* 'to give, place', sporadically elsewhere.

γ is lost before u and sporadically before *u*: YAv. *druuaṇt-* < *druyuaṇt- drəguuaṇt-*); *rəuuī-* 'fast' < *rayuī-* (fem. of *rắyu-*); *raom* < *rayum; mo"rum* < *maryum* 'Merv', but *driyum, moyu°* (see Skjærvø 1997b).

2.3.2.3 Consonant groups and anaptyxis

Most Indo-Iranian consonant groups survived in Avestan, and anaptyxis does not create additional syllables as shown by the meter. The anaptyctic vowels is typically *ə,* but also *a, i, u* (often as conditioned variants of *ə*). Anaptyxis is found in more contexts in Old than in Young Avestan and varies among the manuscripts. Following are some of the more unusual groups (others are common and trivial):

Stop + stop:
- initial: OAv. *pt-* in *ptar-* 'father' (nom. *ptā, pᵘtā;* acc. *pᵘtarə̄m, ptarə̄m*); *db-* in *dᵃⁱbitā* '?' (< *duitā*); *ṭk-* in *ṭkaēša-* '*guidance'; YAv. *p⁽ᵃ⁾tarᵓta-* 'winged'; – in Young Avestan, *pt-* in *ptar-* has been replaced by *pit-* and *db-* by *ṭb-;* – other groups have been simplified: *db-* > *b-*: *bitīm* 'second(ly)' (< *dbitijam,* but *ā-ṭbitim/ā-δbitim* 'a second time'); IIr. *pt-, kt-* > *t-*: YAv.: *tū̃ᶦriia-* < *ptruia-* 'uncle', *kturia-* (< *ktruia-,* cf. *ca0 rušī̃* 'fourth'; but *ā-xtū̃ᶦrīm* 'a fourth time');
- medial: OAv. *āskᵓⁱti-* 'following'* (< *ā-skti-*); gen. plur. *dugᵓdrąm* < *dugᵓdar-* 'daughter'; YAv. *hapta* 'seven', *aṭka-* (*aδka-*) 'coat'; *ubda-* 'woven'; YAv. *ā-ṭbitim/ā-δbitim* 'a second time'.

Stop + non-stop:
- initial, common: + continuants: OYAv. *br-,* etc.; + glides: *dii-, duu-;* OAv. also + fricative: *dᶽj-;* + nasal: OAv. *gᵓn, gᵓm-, dᵓm-;* – in Young Avestan less common: *dj-* > *j-, gn, gm-* > *γᵓn, γᵓm-, dm-* > *nm-*.

Fricative/sibilant + continuant, common:
- initial and medial: *fr-, fii-, fš-, sr, zr-, γž-, fᵓδr* (< *f0r*) and medial *xᵓδr* (< *x0r*: OAv. *fᵓraša-,* YAv. *fraša-* 'filled with (life-giving) juices'; YAv. *fiiaŋᵛha-* 'to hail', OYAv. *fšuiiaṇt-* 'cattle tender'; OAv. *sᵓraoša-,* YAv. *sraoša-* 'readiness to listen, Sraoša'; OYAv. *z⁽ᵃ⁾razdāiti-* 'reliance'; YAv. *yžara-* 'flow';
- medial: OYAv. *vaxᵓδra-* 'speech organ', OAv. *rafᵓδra-* 'support'; YAv. gen. sing. *nafᵓδrō* < *naptar* 'grandchild, scion'.

Two fricatives + consonant. Initial groups of two fricatives (fricative + sibilant) + consonant are found occasionally: OAv. dat. sing. *fᵓδrōi* < *ptar-* 'father', *fsᵓratū-* '?'; YAv. *fštāna-* '(woman's) breast', *xštuua-* 'sixth', *xšnūman-* 'favour', *xšmākəm* 'your (plur.)'.

Final groups with *š* or *t*: *kərᵓfš* 'body', *vắxš* 'word'; *vaxšt* 'he has grown'.
Final *-t* is, from a synchronic perspective, sometimes dropped after a sibilant.
Historically, we must distinguish between two cases: 1. *-t-t* > *-tˢ-t* > Av. *-s-t*: OAv. *"rūraost* 'howled' < *°raud-t;* YAv. *nāist* 'scorned' < *nắid-;* 2. *-s/š-t* > Av. *-s/š*: OAv. *ās*

'was', *vą̄s* 'he has overcome' < *vān-s-t*; *xšnāuš* 'he has favoured' < *-š-t*. The *-t* was then reintroduced by analogy: OAv. *cōiš-t* 'he has pointed out', *vaxš-t*, YAv. *tāš-t* 'he fashioned' (Tremblay 1999).

2.3.2.3a Groups at morpheme boundary

Groups found only at the morpheme boundary include in principle all combinations of any final group + *C* or any initial group: dat.-abl. *vāyž˒ⁱⁱbiiō* < *vak-/vac-* 'word', *frādat.fšau-* 'cattle-furthering', *θrafš-ca* 'and satisfaction', *afš-tacin-* 'flowing with waters', *afš-ciθra-* 'containing the seed of water', *kər˒fš-x*ᵛ*ar-* 'body-eater'; *fraor˒t-fraxšnin-* '(a mind) with foreknowledge of and turned toward the reward)(?)'.

2.3.2.3b Anaptyxis in Old Persian

Anaptyxis is found in OPers. only in groups containing *d* in the vicinity of *u*: *dᵘruva-* 'healthy, whole', *sugᵘda-* vs. *sugda-* 'Sogdian'.

2.3.2.4 Palatalisation and labialisation of consonants

In the Avestan text, palatalised and labialised consonants are indicated either by special letters (*ń*, *ŋ́*, *x́*, *ś* and *ŋᵛ*, *xᵛ*) or by writing *i* and *u* before the consonants (*i-* and *u-* epenthesis). The exact phonetic nature (and age) of the phenomenon is not known. The sibilants are not marked for palatalisation (*s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*), but permitted palatalisation of preceding *a* (see section 2.3.1.3), and *m* was not affected. Labialisation affected only *r* and proto-Ir. *h*. For details, see de Vaan 2003, Chapter 7.

Palatals + *i̯.* The alveo-palatal consonants *c*, *j* usually remained before *i*, e.g. *ci-* 'who, what?', but were palatalized before vowel:

- *ci̯* > *ś(ii)*: YAv. *ś(ii)āiti-* 'happiness' < *ci̯āti-* (also OPers. *šiyāti-*); fem. *apaśi* 'backwards' < *apācī*;
- *ji̯*, *ji* > *ž*, *ži* (rare): YAv. *druža-*: OAv. *drujiia-* 'to lie'; *aži-* 'dragon' < *aji-* (OInd. *ahi-*).

2.3.2.4a i- *and* u-*epenthesis in Avestan*

i-epenthesis occurs regularly before *r*, dentals, and labials and in consonant groups: Av. *ⁱrixta-* 'left', OAv. *gaⁱdī* 'come!', 1p mid. ending °*maⁱdē*; YAv. *staoⁱti* 'praises', *vanaⁱṇtī-* 'victorious' (fem.); *ⁱθiiejah-* 'danger'; *aⁱpī̆*, *aⁱbī̆*, *aēⁱbiiō*; – between compounds: *tarōⁱdīti-* for *tarō.dīti-* 'scorn'; – in consonant groups: dat.-abl. plur. *vāyžⁱbiiō* (< *vāk-* 'word'); *aⁱrime* 'in peace and quiet' (< *ar˒ṃⁱe*, cf. *armaē°*); – vocalic *ər˒*: *miriia-* 'die' < *mr̥-i̯a-*;

u-epenthesis. This occurs regularly before *r*: YAv. *ᵘrūraod-* 'howl', *aᵘruša-* 'rosy white', *poᵘru-* 'much'; OAv. *paᵘruuiia-* 'first'.

Combined *i-* and *u*-epenthesis. This occurs before *r*: YAv. *paoⁱriia-* < *parui̯a-* 'first'; *paoⁱrī-* < *parui̯-*, fem. of *poᵘru-* 'much'; – vocalic *ər˒*: *tūⁱriia-* 'father's brother; fourth' (< *(p/k)trui̯a-*), dat.-abl. plur. *nəruiiō*, *nuruiiō* 'for the men' (< *nr̥-ui̯ō* < *nr̥-bi̯ah*).

2.3.2.4b Dissimilation of *ii̯ and* uu̯ *to* əi̯, ai̯ *and* əu̯

In a further development, the sequences *ii* (*ii̯*) and *uu* (*uu̯*) resulting from epenthesis were dissimilated to *əi*, *ai* (*əi̯*, *ai̯*) and *əu* (*əu̯*): OAv. *anəⁱti-* 'non-going' (< *an-i̯ti-*; cf. *xᵛīticā* 'and good going'); *daⁱdiiat̰* 'shall she see' (< *dī̆di̯at̰*?).

On absence of epenthesis due to stress, see section 2.3.4.

2.3.2.4c Epenthesis in Old Persian

Possible examples of epenthesis include *paⁱšiyā* 'before' (M Pers. *pēš* if from *paθiā(k)*) and *yāu^hmani-* and *yāu^hmaⁱni-* 'in control(?)' if from *yau^v-man-* 'harnessing' (*<yaug-*; several other interpretations have been proposed, see, e.g. Hoffmann 1975: 56–57, 1976: 633 n. 20).

2.3.2.5 Glides

The glides—initial *y-*, *v-* and intervocalic *i̯*, *u̯*—are in complementary distribution.

i̯, u̯ > i̯i̯, u̯u̯. Both postconsonantic and postvocalic *i̯* and *u̯* were apparently realised (by the time of our mss.) as *i̯i̯* and *u̯u̯* (including *u̯u̯ < uβ*), written *ii* and *uu*, note OAv. *ōi-i* = YAv. *ai-i* for *ai-i̯*. In Old Persian, *< iy, uv >* is written for postconsonantic (*ĭ*)*i̯*, (*ŭ*)*u̯*.

a-u̯C > aoC or *āuC* at the morpheme boundary (reduplication, prefixes): Av. perf. stem *vaon- < u̯a-u̯n- < van-* 'to win', OAv. *vāunu-* '*winner'; YAv. *vaox^vah-* 'having spoken' < *u̯a-u̯k-u̯ah- < vak-* 'speak'.

Initial *ĭ̯- > ii* and *u̯u̯- (< *uβ-) > uu*. These are rare and are often written *y- (ī-), v-* in the manuscripts: *iieii̯an* (*īeii-*, Y. 42.6), subj. of the perf. stem *ii-āii- < ai-* 'go' (cf. OInd. *iyāy-*), *uua* (*úu̯a*) *< uβa* 'both'.

i̯u̯ and *u̯i̯*. These groups (also with *u̯ < β* and *u̯*) survive occasionally in the manuscripts (only *iiuu*; no examples of *uuii*?), but sometimes were resolved by anaptyxis (or dissimilation?): initial, *viiemi* and *v^uiiemi < vi̯a-* 'pursue', *y^auua = yuua* (*yúu̯a < yuu̯an-* 'youth'); – medial, *hāuu^əiia*, *hāuu^əiia-ca* 'left (hand)' (cf. fem. *haoii̯ā-*); *driuu^əiiås-ca* (*<driuuī-* fem. of *driu̯u-* 'poor'; see Skjærvø 1997b). Often they were simplified to *i̯u̯ < iuu>*. Final *-i̯u̯ō* (*<-i̯au*) appears as *-iiō*: voc. *maniiō- < maniiu-* 'spirit'; loc. *dańhō < dańhu-* 'land'; see de Vaan 2003, §25.10; Skjærvø 2005a: 202–3).

du̯. The initial cluster *du̯-* shows up variously (see section 2.3.2.3): OAv. *duu̯aēšah-* 'hostility', *d^{ai}bišiia-* 'be hostile', YAv. *ṯbaēšah-*, *ṯbišiia-*, but perf. *diduu̯aēša* 'I have been hostile'; OAv. *d^{ai}bitiia-* 'second', YAv. *bitiia-*, but *āṯbitīm* 'a second time', OPers. *duvitīya-*. Intervocalic *du̯*: 2nd plur. mid. *-du̯am > OAv. -dūm*, YAv. *-δβəm*; YAv. *ər^əδβa-* 'upright', beside *ər^əduu̯a-*.

θu̯. The cluster *θu̯* became Av. *θβ*: *ratuš* 'model' vs. gen. *raθβō*, but loc. *gātuu̯ō < gātau < gātu-* 'place'.

In Old Persian, the *θ* also spread to the rest of the paradigm: *xratu-* 'intelligence' (MPers. *xrad*) and *xraθu-*, but only *gāθu-* attested (MPers. *gāh*).

2.3.2.6 Simplification of consonant groups

Certain consonant groups lose one consonant. The loss may have been early (e.g. earlier than the IIr. *ru(p)ki* rule) or late: OYAv. *diβža-* 'seek to deceive' *< di-dbža-* (OInd. *dipsa-*); OAv. loc. plur. *nafšū < nap(t)-šu < napāt-* 'grandson'; YAv. *°fšnī-* 'with . . . breasts' (cf. *fštāna-* 'breast'); YAv. *sāθr-* vs. *sāstar-* '(false) teacher' (see also section 2.3.2.1a).

Final *-ant-s* regularly became Av. *-ąs* (*cuu̯ąs* 'how great?'), but appears to have been simplified to *-an-s* early enough to develop like IIr. *-an-s* in the nom. sing. of active present participles > proto-Ir. *-ąŋh* (OInd. *-ąṁ* before vowels): YAv. *jaⁱδii̯ą* and *framrū* (*<°mruu̯anh*); the YAv. nom. sing. ending *-ō* may then have been substituted for *-ą*. (Schindler 1982 proposed dialect influence in these forms.)

2.3.3 Sandhi

Stem-initial or -final consonants or vowels are regulary modified by preceding or following sounds after prefixes or before suffixes (derivational or inflectional), as well as, more generally, between members of compounds, according to the rules discussed above.

Changes to a word-final consonant or vowel are usually caused by enclitics, mostly Ir. *-ca*, *-cit*, occasionally pronouns with initial *t-*, and, exceptionally, before nouns with initial *t-*. This sandhi principally affects final vowels and final Ir. *-as/-ah*:

- before enclitic Ir. *-ca*, *-cit*: OAv. *manas-cā* 'and thought', *gaēθās-cā* 'and living beings', *yimas-cīṯ* 'even/also Yima'; YAv. *miθras-ciṯ* 'even/also Miθra', *haomqs-ca* 'and the haomas', *vīspās-ca* 'and all'; OPers. (with *-s-c-* > *-š-c-*): *manaš-cā* 'and thought', *kaš-ciy* 'anybody';
- before enclitic pronouns and nouns: OAv. *yə̄ṇgs-tū* 'whom you', YAv. *ōiy°matas tūrahe* (proper name).

In compounds: OAv. *rāniiō.skər°tī-* 'joy-making' (< *-as-k-*); YAv. *drujas-kanā-* 'den of the Lie'; OPers. *vahạyaz-dāta-*, proper name: 'given as the better (of the two)'.

Final *-t* was probably assimilated to following sibilants and affricates, but in Avestan it was restored as *-ṯ*; in Old Persian, it was also analogically replaced by *-š-c*: YAv. *aṯ-cīṯ*, *yaṯ-cīṯ*; OPers. *aciy*, *yaciy*, but *aniyaš-ciy*, *avaš-ciy*, *ciš-ciy*.

2.3.3.1 Anaptyxis in sandhi

Anaptyxis in sandhi occurs after OAv. final *-m* before fricative or sibilant: *yə̄m° spašuθā* 'whom you *regard', *hə̄m°.frastā* 'he consulted with'; – after final *-s/-š* before consonant: OAv. *vasas°.xšaθra-* 'having command at will', YAv. *us°.hištən* 'they stood up', *nəmas° tē* 'homage to you!'; *yas° θβąm* ('half' -sandhi: < *yas + θβąm* for **yas tuuąm*), *aŋhās° tanuuō* 'of this body'.

2.3.3.2 Final vowels and diphthongs in sandhi

Before enclitic *-cā̆*, vowel quantities may change and, at least in Old Persian, original quantities reappear: OAv. *sauua-cā* vs. *sauuā* 'life-giving strengths', *x°īti-cā* 'and good going' vs. *anạ'tī* 'non-going'; – YAv. *mašiiā-ca* vs. *mašiia* 'mortal men', etc.; – OPers. *mana-cā* vs. *manā* 'of/to me'; *avahạya-rādiy* 'on account of that' vs. *avahạyā*.

In Avestan, monophthongised final dipthongs reappear: *taē-cīṯ* 'they too' vs. OAv. *tōi*, YAv. *tē*; YAv. *drao-ca* 'and in tree' vs. **druuō*.

2.3.4 Stress-related alternations

Changes in vowel length are found frequently throughout the Avestan corpus (see section 2.1.1.7e). At least some of these changes seem to be due to stress, which is sometimes termed 'rhythmical shortening/lengthening'. Other cases of lengthening and shortening of vowels includes final *ă̄*, *ī̆* and *ū̆* before enclitics.

We do not know what the actual stress patterns of Avestan and Old Persian were, although stress must have been responsible for several morphophonological alterations, both in the case of vowels and of consonants. Vowel quantities often change when words receive an enclitic particle or in the course of declension or conjugation. Enclisis also

seems to have affected the palatalisation and labialisation of consonants and the use of anaptyxis, as well as the distribution of alternate consonants.

Epenthesis appears to be omitted in words with enclitics: OAv. *ən-əⁱti-* (<*aniⁱti-*) vs. *xᵛ-īti-cā*; *buuaⁱntī* 'they shall become' vs. *buuaṇti-cā*; *maⁱni-madi-cā* 'and we think' vs. *vāⁱrōⁱ-maⁱdī* 'may we *classify'; YAv. *frāδati-ca* 'and he furthers', *vīsati-ca* vs. *vīsaⁱti* 'twenty' (see de Vaan 2003: Chapter, 7).

Absence or presence of anaptyxis in Old Avestan may depend on stress patterns: *ušəⁱrū* (<*ušuⁱru-*) vs. *ušuruiiē*; *aⁱriiamnā* vs. *aⁱriiamᵃnas-cā*; *ərᵊž-jīš* vs. *ərᵊžᵊ-jiiōi*.

The (pre)aspirated/unvoiced allophone of *r* before *p, k, t* (ʰ*rp,* ʰ*rk,* ʰ*rt* > *š̨*) is apparently limited to syllables which bore the stress in proto-Avestan: acc. *kəhrpəm* 'body' vs. *hukərᵊpta-* 'having a good body'; *mahrka-* 'destruction' vs. *amərᵊxti-* 'absence of destruction'; *aša-* 'Order' vs. *astuuaṯ.ərᵊta-* 'he through whom Order will have bones', acc. *ašim* 'reward' vs. *ārᵊⁱtim-ca* < *artim-ca* (P. 39) beside *ašim-ca*; *bāšⱥr-* 'rider' <*bar-tar-* vs. *barᵊtar-* 'carrier' (corresponding to *bara-* mid. 'ride' vs. act. 'carry'). For details, see de Vaan 2003, §29.

2.3.5 Metro-phonology

Certain (morpho-)phonological phenomena expected from the history of the language are illuminated by the Avestan meters.

The Old Avestan meters are syllable-counting and based on rhythmical units of (more or less) identical numbers of syllables. Stanzas contain three to four rhythmical units ('lines') composed of two smaller units ('half-lines') divided by a cesura.

The Young Avestan meter is based on regular rhythmical units of eight syllables. Next in frequency are probably units of seven and nine syllables. Set formulas tend *not* to be adjusted to the meter and frequently causes the number of syllables to differ from the standard eight (see Lazard 1984, 1990, 2002).

The principal phonological features revealed by the Old Avestan meter are disyllabic long vowels and diphthongs and 'Siever's Law' (section 2.3.5.2). In the Young Avestan octosyllabic meter, contracted vowels and Siever's Law apparently provided the poets with flexibility of syllable count, and often, apparently, they scanned these words according to the needs of the meter. Whether they actually did this cannot, of course, be verified.

2.3.5.1 Disyllabic long vowels and diphthongs

Disyllabic long vowels and diphthongs are found in laryngeal-stem nouns and verbs, in compounds, and between preverb and verb, as well as in certain morphemes which may or may not have contained laryngeals. Examples:

Nouns: neut. *h*-stem *dā̊* = *da'ō* 'gift'; *Han*-stem *mąθrā* = *mąθra'ā* 'keeper of the *mąθra*' (<*manθra-Han-*, but obl. *mąθrān-* < *manθra-Hn-*); gen. plur. *-ąm* (*-ə̄m*) (always disyllabic); – *ārmaⁱti-* 'humility' has a disyllabic initial *ā-* (cf. OInd. *arámati-*).

Verbs: subj.: *dāⁱtī* = *da'aⁱtī* 'he shall give/place' (<*daH-ati*; but *dadaⁱtī* 'they give/place' <*da-dH-ati* < *da-dH-ṇti*).

Compounds: *fᵊrašaoštrāi* = *fraša'uštrāi*, *vīštāspa-* = *višta'aspa-*, *dᵊjāmāspa-* = *djāma'aspa-*, all proper names, but *spitāma-* 'Spitamid' < *spita-Hma-* 'having fattened strength (*Hama-*)', *darəgāiiu-* < *darga-H̨ᵢu-* 'giving a long life span (*āiiu-*)'.

Between preverb and verb: *āiiaṯ = ā-aiaṯ* 'he shall come', *āitē = ā-itē* 'to come', *āiiōi = ā-iiōi* 'I request'.

Optional disyllabic scansion: the thematic dat. sing. ending *-āi* is most often disyllabic; – the thematic subj. endings 1s *-ā, āi*, 3s *-āṯ*, 3p *-ąn* are mono- or disyllabic.

2.3.5.2 Siever's law

IIr. *i̯* and *u̯* after consonant were realised as *i̯* and *u̯* or *ii̯* and *uu̯* according to whether the preceding syllable was light or heavy: if *i̯* and *u̯* were preceded by short vowel plus one consonant (light syllable), the phonetic realisation was *i̯* and *u̯*; if *i̯* and *u̯* were preceded by a syllable with a long vowel or diphthong plus one or more consonants or by short vowel plus more than one consonant (heavy syllable), it was *ii̯* and *uu̯*.

In Iranian, stops before consonantal [i̯] and [u̯] were then spirantised, but remained before [ii̯] and [uu̯]. This is still the situation in Old Avestan:

- after light syllable, disyllabic: *ufiia-* 'weave' < *uf-i̯a-, mər̕θiiu-* 'death' < *mr̥t-i̯u-*;
- after heavy syllable, trisyllabic: *vaēpiia-* 'a *trembler' < *u̯aip-ii̯a-, mašiia-* 'mortal man' (<*mart-ii̯a-*).

The endings in *-du̯-*, however, apparently do not cause Siever's Law: OAv. *vīduiiē* '(in order) to know' (< *u̯idu̯ai*, light) *mər̕ṇgduiiē* '(in order) to be destroyed' (<*mr̥ng-du̯ai*, heavy; there are no examples of the 2p ending *-dūm < -du̯am* after consonant in metrically unambiguous positions).

In Young Avestan, there are many exceptions: suffix *-tuua-, -θβa-* (see section 4.6.2): *mąθβa-* 'that ought to be thought' <*man-θu̯a* and *frāiiaš̕θβa-* 'that ought to be sent forth in sacrifice' (for °*i̯aš̕-tuu̯a-*); – suffix *-u̯ant-* (see section 9.1.1.1): *āfəṇt- < āfuu̯aṇt-* 'rich in water' (for *āp-u̯ant-*); – *tu*-stems: gen. plur. *yāθβąm < yātu-* 'sorcerer' (for *i̯āt-uu̯a' am-*).

2.3.6 Phonological changes associated with inflection and endings

(Morpho)phonological changes associated with inflection and nominal and verbal endings affect vowels and consonants, among them the following.

Important vowel changes include *a, ā > e* (see section 2.3.1.3); *-an- > -ən-* and *-in-* and *-ai̯aN- > -aēn, -ai̯ai̯aN- > -ai̯aēN*, and *-au̯aN- > -aon* (see section 2.3.1.4).

Consonant changes are found in stems (caused by the IE.-IIr. ablaut) and include spirantisation (see section 2.3.2.2); palatalisation (see section 1.2.1.2); dental assibilation (see section 1.3); assimilation (see sections 1.3, 2.1.2.2., 2.3.2.1); voice dissimilation (see section 2.3.2.1); and the modifications of IIr. *ć* and *j́* and IIr. *s(z)*.

Spirantisation of voiceless stops (*p/b, k/g*); nom. sing. *āf-š < ap-* 'water', *vāx-š < u̯ak-* 'word' *drux-š < drug-* '(cosmic) Lie'; loc. plur. *af-šu < ap-*; aor. 1p *i̯aux-madi*, past part. *i̯ux-ta- < i̯aug-* 'harness'; weak perf. stem *ča-xr- < kar-* 'do', *čā-xn- < kan-* 'love'; *ci-cit- < kait-* 'distinguish'.

Palatalisation of velars before IIr. *e, i*; acc. sing. *u̯āc-am < u̯ak-*; pres. *jan-/gn-* 'strike down', aor. *jam-*, past part. *gmata- < gam-* 'come'.

Dental assibilation: pres. act. 3s *das-tai < da-d-t°, daz-dai < da-dʰ-t°*, imp. act. 2s *daz-di*, mid. 2p *daz-du̯am < da-d-d° <dā-* 'give', *dʰā-* 'place'; inj. 3s *nāis-t*, imp. 2p *nis-ta < naid-* 'scorn' (but *nāis-mi* analogical for **nāin-mi*); past. part. *u̯is-ta- < u̯aid-* 'find', *bas-ta-* (analogical for **baz-da-*), *bandʰ-* 'bind'.

Assimilation of voiceless stops before (IIr. aspirated) voiced stops: instr. plur. *abiš* < *ap-biš*; *azd-biš* < *ast-* 'bone'; – before *ž*: *aug-ža* < *aug-*.

Assimilation of sibilants: nom. sing. *haruatās-* < *haruatāt-* 'wholeness'; pres. 2s *vaši* < *vać-ši* (*vaš-ši*) < *vać-* 'wish'; imp. mid. 2s *frać-šua* < *frašua* < *parć-/frać-* 'ask'.

Voice dissimilation of *xθ* > *xδ* is found, e.g. in *tar*-stems: *f-θr-ai* > *faδrōi* < *ptar-* 'father'; perfect 2s: *ua-uax-θa* > *vauuax'δa* < *wak-* 'speak'; and in the suffixes *-θa-*, *-θra-*: *vax'δra-* 'speech organ'.

Modifications of IIr. *ć* and *j̇*: plur. acc. *ašn-ah* < *asan-* 'stone, heaven'; pres. 3s *vaš-ti*, 2p *uš-ta* < *vać-*; OAv. *ər'š* 'straight' (adv.) < *Hrj̇-š* (cf. *ər'zu-* 'straight' adj.); sing. instr. *baršn-ā* < *barj^han-* 'height'.

Modifications of IIr. *s* (*z*): nom. sing. *vāx-š* < *uak-*, loc. plur. *af-šu* < *ap-*; loc. plur. *anj^hahu* < *anj^hah-hu* 'in constrictions'; pres. 1s *ah-mi*, 2s *ahi*, 3s *as-ti*, 3p *h-anti*, imp. 2s *z-di* < *ah-* 'be'; pres. inj. 2s *bar-a-h* < 'you carry', opt. 2s *bar-ai-š*; imp. mid. 2s *-Sua*: pres. Av. *yāsa-ŋ'ha* < *yā-sa-* 'request', *dasua* < *da-d-sua* < *dā-* 'give'; aor. *kr-šua*, pres. *kr-nu-šua* < *kar-* 'do'; s-aor. inj. mid. 1s *maŋ-h-i*, 3s *man-s-ta* < *man-* 'think'; imp. 2p *θrā-z-duam*; 3s act. 3p *stā-h-at* < *stā-* 'stand'; subj. 3s *nai-š-a-t* < *nai-* 'lead'; perf. stem *hu-šuaf-* < *huap-* 'sleep'.

3 MORPHOLOGY I: NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

The morphological categories of nouns, verbs, etc. are the same in all three Old Iranian languages and are largely identical with the inherited Indo-Iranian system. They are much less well known than the Old Indic system, however, because of the limited material.

There are some modifications: in Young Avestan and Old Persian, the abl. sing. is marked in all declensions. In Old Persian, the genitive merged with the dative and the instrumental with the ablative into two cases: gen.-dat. and instr.-abl. In Young Avestan and Old Persian, a 'preterital optative' developed.

Note also that Old Persian shares morphological (also lexical) isoglosses with Middle and Modern Iranian languages remaining in Central Asia, so-called 'Randsprachen' phenomena.

Typically, the morphological categories are defined by the type and morphology of the inflection and derivation. Both nominal and verbal stems may consist of a root or root + formant, to which inflectional endings are attached: R-(f)-E.

Both nominal declension and verbal conjugation are characterised by complex patterns of quantitative ablaut in the so-called athematic classes, affecting the root, and/ or the formant, and/or the ending, as opposed to the absence of ablaut in the nominal and verbal so-called thematic classes, both marked by a thematic vowel *-a* (< ablauting IE. *-o/-e*). The various ablaut patterns result in the extremely complex inflectional morphophonology described above and below.

It is useful to classify nominal and verbal stems as strong and weak (occasionally also middle). The strong stem, if possible, takes the lengthened grade of the root or stem formant, the weak one the full or zero grade. Strong cases are the nom., acc. sing., nom.-voc.-acc. dual, and the nom. plur.

Pronouns have several endings not found in nouns.

3.1 Nouns

Iranian, on the whole, maintains the inherited the system of vocalic and consonantic declensions in nouns and adjectives; the triple gender (masc., fem., neut.) and number (sing., dual, plur.) systems; and the eight cases.

3.1.1 Gender

The distribution of the genders in nouns, adjectives, pronouns, nominal forms of the verb, and numerals is that of Indo-Iranian, with some individual Iranian features, e.g. *vak-/vac-* is feminine in Old Indic (Latin *vox* fem.), but masculine in Avestan.

A few words have both feminine and neuter forms (not in complementary distribution), e.g.:

- fem.-neut.: YAv. *zaoθrā̆-* 'libation'; *pašanā̆-* 'battle'; OP. *hunarā̆-* 'skill';
- YAv. neut. *a*-stems frequently have fem. plur., e.g. sing. *nmānəm* 'house', plur. *nmānā̊*; masc.-fem.: OAv. *mąθrā̆-* 'poem' (fem. *Yasna* 43.14).

See also section 3.1.3.1 Derived feminines.

3.1.2 Number and case

There are three numbers: singular, dual and plural. The few dual forms found suffice to show that this category was of the old Indo-Iranian type, but with distinct genitive and locative forms in Old Avestan. See Tables 3.3.1–2

Proto-Iranian had eight cases: nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, instrumental, and locative. All are preserved in Avestan, while in Old Persian they were reduced to six, the genitive being also used for the dative and the ablative having merged with the instrumental.

Case syncretism is common: vocative = nominative in dual and plural; genitive = ablative except in the *a*-stems (in YAv. and, partly, OPers., the abl. was distinguished from the gen.); nominative = accusative in the feminine plural; nominative = accusative (no voc.) in the neuter singular, dual, and plural; dative = ablative in the plural; dative = ablative = instrumental in the dual; Old Persian (and Young Avestan?), genitive = locative in the dual.

3.1.3 Stem classes and declensions

Synchronically, stems can be classified as vowel stems (ending in *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *ai*, and *au*) and consonant stems (most commonly ending in *n*, *r*, *h*, but also *p*, *t*, *nt*, *d*, etc.). The main difference is between *a*-stems and all the others: only *a*-stems had distinct forms for the gen. and abl. sing. in Indo-Iranian and proto-Iranian (elsewhere, gen. = abl.) and a gen. sing. not ending in *-h/-š*. Another useful classification is declensions with and without *-h/-š/-s* (*-S* in the following) in the nom. sing.

Diachronically, several of the 'vowel' stems are laryngeal stems, with *ā* < *ā* or *aH*, *ī* < *iH*, and *ū* < *uH* and are still declined as consonant stems. The feminine *ī*-stems fall into two groups, the so-called *vr̥kī*-type, with the invariant formant *-i-H-* (> *-īC*, *-iiV*), and the so-called *devī*-type, with ablauting formant *-ī-/-i̯ā̆-* < *-iH-/-i̯aH-*. The feminine

ā-declension apparently acquired several features from this type, including the voc. sing. in *-ai* and the element *-iā-*.

Iranian declensions are on the whole inherited from Indo-Iranian, sharing both regular paradigms and archaic singularities with Old Indic, from which they differ mainly because of the phonological developments described above.

Special Iranian features include the protero-, hystero-, and holo-kinetic declensions (see section 3.1.1.6b).

The principal innovations are the extension of the abl. sing. ending *-t* in Young Avestan and Old Persian and the syncretism of cases in Old Persian.

3.1.3.1 Derived feminine adjectives and nouns

Feminine forms of most *a*-stem adjectives are declined according to the *ā*-declension: Av. *sūr-a-* 'rich in life-giving strength', fem. *sūr-ā-*.

Some *a*-stem adjectives, notably those denoting material, have '*vr̥kī*-type' feminine forms: YAv. *maniiauu-a-* 'belonging to the world of thought', fem. *maniiauu-ī-*; *zarənaēn-a-* 'of gold', fem. *zarənaēn-ī-*, OPers. *aθaⁿgain-a-* 'of stone', fem. *aθaⁿgain-ī-*; female patronymics in Av. *-fᵊδr-ī-* 'daughter of'.

The *u*-stems and consonant stems have '*devī*-type' feminines with zero grade of ablauting suffixes: YAv. *pour-u-* 'much', fem. *pao'r-ī-* (<*par-u- paru̯-ī-*). In this type, the final *-ī-* probably palatalised a preceding *k > č* and further to *ṣ̌*: *apaṣ̌-i* 'backwards' < **apāč-ī* < *apānk-* (only example).

Non-ablauting suffixes: present participles of thematic verbs in *-a'nt-ī-, -ənt-ī-*: *van-a'nt-ī-* 'winning', *bar-ənt-ī* 'carrying'; comparatives in *-iiah-*, fem. *-iieh-ī-*: *maz-iiah-* 'greater', fem. *maz-iieh-ī-*;

ablauting suffixes: adjectives and present participles of athematic verbs in *-ant-*, fem. *-a'ṭ-ī-*: *bər°z-ant-* 'high', fem. *bər°z-a'tī-*; perf. part. *-uuah-*, fem. *-uš-ī-*: *daδ-uuah-* 'creator', fem. *daδ-uš-ī-*; agent nouns in *-tar-*, fem. *-θr-ī-*: *bar°-tar-* 'carrier', fem. *bar°- θr-ī-* 'womb'.

Fem. (and neut.) forms of *i*-stem adjectives are declined as *i*-stem nouns: masc., fem., neut. *āhu'r-i-* 'belonging to Ahura Mazdā'.

Neut. adjectives are declined like neut. nouns: nom.-acc. sing. Av. *sūr-əm, āhu'r-i, voh-u* 'good', OPers. *fraš-am* 'perfect', *par-uv* 'much'.

Pronouns and the numerals '3' and '4' have some special masc. and fem. morphemes (see section 3.6.1).

3.1.4 Protero-, hystero- and holo-kinetic declensions

In these declensions, full and zero grades in formants and endings alternate. Protero-kinetic forms have stem formant in the full grade and the ending in the zero grade; hysterokinetic forms have stem formant in the zero grade and ending in the full grade; and holokinetic forms have two full grades or two zero grades.

Avestan has a greater incidence than Old Indic of the proterokinetic as opposed to hysterokinetic, including from *n*-stems (*r/n*-stems), e.g. hysterokinetic gen. sing. *-i-ah, -u̯-ah, -n-ah*, but proterokinetic *-ai-š̌, -au-š̌, -aŋ-h*.

3.1.5 Case endings

The basic case endings as reconstructed for proto-Iranian are set out in Tables 3.3.1–2. Note, again, the convention *-S = -h/-š̌/-s*. Laryngeals are not always noted.

For actual Avestan and Old Persian endings, see on vowel and consonant changes (see sections 2.3.1–2). Note in particular assimilations between final consonants of stems and initial *S-* and *b-* of endings.

Note also that the new YAv. abl. forms are formed by replacing the proto-Av. gen. ending -*S* by -*t*: *ga͡ri-* 'mountain': Ir. gen. *garai-š* → *garai-t* > *garōi-t̤*; *nar-* 'man': Ir. gen. *nr̥-š* → *nr̥-t* > *nər³-t̤*); *bar³sman-* 'barsom': Ir. gen. *barsman-h* → abl. *barsman-t* > *bar³smən* (the ending reappears before the postposition -*a*: *vaēsmənd-a* 'up to the entrance hall').

TABLE 3.3.1: CASE ENDINGS: CONSONANT STEMS

	Basic	Consonant stems
Sing.		
V	-*Ø*	-*Ø*
N	-*S*, -*Ø*	-*h/-s/-š*, -*Ø*
A	-*m*, -*am*	-*am*
NAn	-*am*, -*Ø*	-*Ø*
G	-*ah*, -*S*	-*ah*, -*h/-š*
Ab	-*t*	-*at/-t*
D	-*ai*	-*ai*
I	-*ā*, -*H*	-*ā*
L	-*i*, -*Ø*	-*i*
Plur.		
NV	-*ah*	-*ah*
A	-*ah*, -*nS*	
NAn	-*i*, -*H*, -*Ø*	-*i*, -*H*, -*Ø*
G	-*a'ăm*	-*a'ăm*
DAb	-*b̤iah*	-*b̤iah*
I	-*biš*	-*biš*
L	-*Su*	-*hu/-su/-šu*
Dual		
NAV	-*ā*	-*ā*
NAn	-*ai*, -*ī*	-*ai*
G	-*āh*	-*āh*
DIAb	-*b̤iā*	-*b̤iă̄*
L	-*ah*	-*ah*

3.1.5.1 The *zero* ending

No ending is typical of several cases and declensions, sometimes accompanied by ablaut of the stem formant. Among the noteworthy instances are the following:

- nom. sing. masc. *h-*, *r-*, *n-*, and *ai*-stems, which also drop the final consonant: YAv. *na͡re.man-å* (<-*āh*) 'having manly thoughts', OAv. *p-tā* < *p-tar-* 'father', *a͡riiə̄-mā* < *d͡riia-man-* 'A͡riiaman', *kauu-ā* '*kauui*, poet';
- nom.-acc. sing. neut. *n-* and *r-*stems have zero grade of the formant: *nā-mă̄* 'name' < *nā-mn̥*, *aii-ar³* 'day' < *a͡i-r̥*;
- nom.-acc. plur. neut. *h-*, *n-*, and *r-*stems have lengthened grade: YAv. *nā-mą̊n* 'names', OAv. *aii-ār³* (YAv. *aii-ą̊n*), *vaxii-å* < *u̯ahi̯-āh* 'better things';
- loc. sing. neut. *n/m*-stems also have (apparently) lengthened grade beside -*i*: OAv. *caš-mą̊n* 'in the eye' (also *caš-ma͡n-ī*), OYAv. *dą̊m* 'in the house' (YAv. also *dą̊m-i*).

TABLE 3.3.2: CASE ENDINGS: VOWEL STEMS

Vowel stems

	a-stems	*ā*-stems	*ī*-stems	*i-/ai*-stems	*u-/au*-stems
Sing.					
V	-a-Ø	-ai-Ø	-i-Ø	-ai-Ø	-au-Ø
N	-a-h	-ā-Ø	-ī-Ø	-i-š, -ā-Ø	-u-š, -āu-š
A	-a-m	-ā-m	-īm	-i-m, -āi-am	-u-m, -āu-am
NAn	-a-m	'		-i-Ø	-u-Ø
G	-a-hia	-ā-iā-h	-iāh	-ai-š, -i-ah	-au-š, -u-ah
Ab	-āt	[-ā-iā-t	-iāt	-ai-t	-au-t, -u-at]
D	-āi (-a' ai)	-āii (-ā-iā-i)	-iāi	-ai-ai, -i-ai	-au-ai, -u-ai
I	-ā	-ā (-ai-ā)	-ī	-ī	-ū, -uiā
L	-a-i	-ā-i-ă		-ă-Ø	-au, -Ø
Plur.					
NV	-ā (-āhah)	-ā-h	-īš	-ai-ah, -āi-ah	-au-ah, -āu-ah
A	-a-ŋh	= N	= N	-i-nš	-u-nš
NAn	-ā			-ī	-ŭ
G	-ān-a'ăm	-ān-a'ăm	-ī-n-a'ăm	-i-n-a'ăm	-u-n-a'ăm, -u-a'ăm
DAb	-ai-biah	-ā-biah	-ī-biah	-i-biah	-u-biah
I	-āiš	-ā-biš	-ī-biš	-i-biš	-u-biš
L	-ai-šu	-ā-hu	-ī-šu	-i-šu	-u-šu
Dual					
NAV	-ā	-ai	-ī	-ī	-ūī
NAn	-ai				
G	-ai-āh	-ai-āh		-i-āh	-u-āh
DIAb	-ābiă	-ābiă	-ī-biă	-ī-biă	-u-biă
L	-ai-ah				-u-ah

Note that the endingless instr. sing. and the nom.-acc. plur. neut. probably had an original final laryngeal -*H*.

3.1.5.2 Endings in *b-*

Several endings have an original initial *b-* (see Tables 3.3.1–2; pronominal forms, see Table 3.3.5). In Young Avestan, the forms with *b* are common in all positions, but must be due to analogyg, as the forms with -*b*- are phonetically expected only after consonant (-*n̥biš*, -*t̬.biš*, etc.). After vowels, *b* became *β* > *u̯* (*uu*), which is still frequently preserved (see Skjærvø 2007a): dat.-abl. plur. *xštəuui-βiiō* (<*xštauui-*, a mythological people), *vōiуnā-uiiō* < *vōiуnā-* (a kind of natural disaster, flood?), *rasma-oiiō* (<*rasman-* 'battle line'); note also the pronominal dat. sing./plurs. *māuuōiia* (<*maβịa* 'for me'), etc.; – dat.-abl.-instr. dual *bāzu-βe* < -*biạ* < *bāzu-* 'arm'; – instr. plur. -*βiš* > -*u̯iš* (*-aoiš*): *vaŋuhiš* < *vaŋhu-* 'good'. The forms *vāγž'l'biiō*, instr. *vaγžibiš* < *vak-* 'word' must have replaced forms such as *vaγ-βịō* and **vaγ-βiš* > **vaoiiō* and **vauuiš*.

The *n*-stem forms such as *nāmə̄niš* < *nāman-* 'name', *ašaonīš* < *ašauuan-* 'Orderly' I believe are analogical replacements for *nāməuiš*, *ašauəuiš* (see Skjærvø 2007a).

The expected forms of the *ah*-stems, **-az-biš* and **-az-biah*, were replaced by -*ə̄biš*, -*ə̄biiō*, as if -*ah* + *biš*.

3.1.5.3 Added -ă

In Young Avestan, a final -ă can be added to the acc. sing. (*vārəm-a* '*according to pleasure') and the abl. sing. (-āδ-a, -mənd-a), with the specific meaning 'all the way to, up to and including, throughout' (see section 5.4.6.3). Old Avestan also has dat. sing. -āi and -āi.ā.

In the loc. sing./plur. we find the particle in all three languages: OAv. (only sing.) *x^vāθrōii-ā* 'in good breathing space'; YAv. *gātauu-a*, OP. *gāθav-ā* 'in place'; – YAv. *gātušuu-a*, OP. *dahyušuv-ā* 'among the lands'.

This particle may be identical with OAv. *ā*, used to emphasise 'here and now/there and then'(?), which is combined with a variety of local (temporal) cases.

3.1.6 Individual declensions

Following are some notes on special features of individual declensions. For further details, see Hoffmann and Forssman 1996, Skjærvø 2007b.

3.1.6.1 The *i*- and *u*-stems

Most *i*- and *u*-stems have ablauting (proterokinetic) stem formants *-i-/-ai-* and *-u-/-au-*, except a small set with hysterokinetic ablaut *-i-/-ia-* and *-u-/-ua-* (see section 3.1.1.4, Table 3.3.3).

The forms are distributed somewhat differently in Old and Young Avestan; thus, some masc. *u*-stems have gen. sing. from -*auš* in Old Avestan, but from -*uah* in Young Avestan: OAv. *xrat-ə̄uš̌*, *pas-ə̄uš*; YAv. *xraθβ-ō*, *pas-uuō* < *xratu-* 'wisdom', *pasu-* 'sheep'; OAv. instr. sing. *xratū*, OYAv. *xraθβ-ā̆*. The masc. *pasu-* 'sheep' also has the irregular nom.-acc. plur. *pas-uuō* (OInd. acc. plur. *paśvas*).

On various aspects of *u*-stems see also Pirart 1993; Tremblay 1998; de Vaan 2003, §§16.3.1–2; Skjærvø 2005a.

A special hysterokinetic *i*-stem is *raï-* 'wealth' < *raHi-*, which has the two stems *raē-* < *raHi-* and *rāii-* (shortened *raii-*) < *raHi̯-*.

3.1.6.2 Monosyllabic and polysyllabic *ai*- and *au*-stems

Monosyllabic *au*-stems include the well-attested *gau-* 'cow' and *di̯au-* 'heaven' (only gen. sing. *diiaoš̌*); *nau-* 'ship' is absent from the OIr. corpus; *gau-* is inflected as consonant stem, with standard strong and weak case forms, but acc. sing. *gąm*, plur. *gå* (OInd. *gām*, *gās*).

Old Iranian has a few polysyllabic *ai*- and *au*-stems (traditionally classified as subsets of *i*- and *u*-stems), which take the long grade of the stem formant in strong cases and protero- or hysterokinetic forms in the weak cases (the distribution of lengthened and full grade in Avestan is obscured by shortening and lengthening of *a* and *ā*), among them the proterokinetic *hax-ai-* 'companion' with strong stem < *sakH-ai̯-*, weak stem *haš̌-* < *hač-i̯-* < *sakH-i-*, and *kau̯-ai-* 'poet'; and the hysterokinetic *dahi̯-au-* 'land'. See Table 3.3.3 (only attested forms).

Old Avestan also has *hiθ-au-* '*cord-master' with nom. sing. *hiθ-āu-š*, acc. sing. *hiθ-ą-m*, and proterokinetic YAv. abl. sing. *hiθ-uua-i̯t* (?).

TABLE 3.3.3: *ai-* AND *au-* STEMS, PROTEROKINETIC *i-* AND *u-* STEMS

	ai- stems endings	*kau̯-ai-*	*hax-ai-*	*au-*stems endings	*dahi̯-au-* Avestan	Old Persian
Sing.						
V						
N	-ā	kauuā	haxā	-āu-š	daṅhuš	dahạyāuš
A	-ā̆i̯-am	kauuaēm	haxāim	-ā̆u̯-am	daṅhaom	dahạyāum, dahạyāvam
					(OAv. dax̌iium)	(°dahạyum)
G				-au-š	daṅhaoš	dahạyauš
Ab				-au-t	daṅhaoṯ	
D	-i̯-ai		haše	-au̯-ai	daṅhaoe	
L				-au	daṅhō	dahạyauv-ā
Plur.						
NV	-ā̆i̯-ah	kāuuaiiō	haxaiiō	-āu̯-ah		dahạyāva
A				-ū-š		dahạyāva
G	-i̯-a'ā̆m	kaoii̯ąm	haš̌ąm	-ū-na'ā̆m	dax̌iiunąm	dahạyūnām
L				-u-šu		dahạyušuv-ā
Dual						
NAV				*-ā-u̯-ā	daṅhu	

	Proterokinetic *i-*stems endings	*pati-, kauu̯i-*	*ra'i-*	Proterokinetic *u-* stems endings	*xratu-, pasu-*
Sing.					
N			raēš		
A			raēm		
G	-i̯-ah		rāiiō	-u̯-ah	xraθβō
D	-i̯-ai	pa'θe		-u̯-ai	xraθβe
I	-i̯-ā		raiia	-u̯-ā	xraθβā
Plur.					
NA			rāiiō	-u̯-ah	pasuuō
A			raēš		
G	-i̯-a'ā̆m	kaoii̯ąm	raiiąm	-u̯-a'am	xraθβąm

3.1.6.3 Holo-kinetic stems

These include the following stems:

- the laryngeal stem *paṇtā-/paθ0-* 'path' (<*pant-aH-*, *pṇt-H-*): nom. sing. *paṇt-å* (<*pant-ā-h* < *pant-aH-s*) acc. sing. *paṇt-ąm*, instr. sing. *paθ0-ā* (<*pṇt-H-ā*);
- a few nouns with stem formant *-Han-*: *marta-Han-* 'accompanied by death(?)': nom. plur. *marʰt-ān-ō* (<*marta-Hā̆n-as*), gen. sing. *marʰθ0-n-ō* (<*mart-Hn-as*);
- a few neut. *u-*stems: *dāʰr-u-* 'tree, wood', *āii-u-* 'life span', *zān-u-* 'knee' (sing. nom.-acc. YAv. *dāʰr-u*, *āii-u*, gen. *drao-š*, *yao-š*; dat. *yauu-e/yao-e*, instr. *yauu-a*, loc. *drao°*; plur. dat.-abl. *žnu-biias°*; cf. Gk. *doru* 'wood', *gonu* 'knee').

3.1.6.4 *r-*stems

The masc. *r-*stems have nom. sing. with lengthened grade of the formant and zero ending. The *r-*stems comprise the following (relatively few forms attested):

- words denoting kinship: OAv. $p^{(ilu)}tar$-, YAv. *pitar*-, *mātar*-, OAv. *dug^ədar*-/YAv. *duɣðar*-, *x^vaŋhar*-, *brātar*-, *naptar*- 'grandson', as well as *nar*- 'man'; these have full grade -*ar*- in strong cases and zero grade -*r*/*ṛ*- in weak cases;
- agent nouns in -*tar*-: *pātar*- 'protector', *dātar*- 'maker, creator', as well as *star*- 'star' have lengthened grade -*ār*- in strong cases.

Both types behave partly like vowel and partly like consonant stems: nom. sing. -*ā*; hysterokinetic sing. gen. -*rah*, -*rai* (YAv. *piθrō*, OAv. *f^əðrōi*, YAv. *dāθrō*, *dāθre*); acc. plur. -*aḥ*; – acc. plur. -*ṛnš* (OAv. *nərą̄š*); proterokinetic gen., dat. sing. -*ṛš*: OAv. *nər^əš*, YAv. *narš*; *sāstarš* < *sāstar*- 'false teacher' (weak stem *sāθr*-).

ātar- 'fire' was probably originally a neuter *r*-stem, with nom.-acc. sing. **ātṛ*, to which masc. endings were added: nom. *ātṛ-š*, acc. *ātr-am* > Av. *ātarš*, *ātrəm* (Hoffmann and Narten 1989: 73 n.126).

3.1.6.5 Stem-formants containing *n*

These comprise the stem formants -*an*-; -*i̯an*-; -*u̯an*-, -*man*-; -*ant*-, -*u̯ant*-, -*mant*-; -*ank*, -*i̯ank*-.

In the zero grade of the formant, the *n* when between consonants is vocalised to *n̥* > *a*, producing the alternations -*ān*-/-*an*-/-*n̥*-/-*a*-; -*ānt*-/-*ant*-/-*at*-; -*ānk*-/-*ānc*-/-*āk*-/-*āc*- (-*ac*-), -*i̯ănk*-/-*i̯ănc*-/-*īk*-/-*īc*-.

3.1.6.5a Stems in -an-

YAv. f. *xšapan*- 'night' and m. *asan*- 'stone, sky': sing. nom. *xšapa*, acc. *xšapanəm*, *asānəm*, gen. = plur. acc. *xšafnō*, *ašnō*, plur. loc. *xšapōhuua* (< *xšapahu* + -*a*).

3.1.6.5b Stems in -i̯an-

The masc. and fem. *i̯an*-stems have nom. sing. in -*i̯ā* > Av. -*i̯e*: m. *fraŋrasiiān*- (proper name): sing. nom. *fraŋrase*, acc. *fraŋrasiiānəm* (only forms); – f. *kaniian*- 'young woman': sing. nom. *kaⁱne*, acc. *kaⁱnīnəm*, gen. = plur. nom. *kaⁱnīnō* (sing. gen. also *kaniiå*).

3.1.6.5c Stems in -u̯an-, -man-, -Han-

Example: *ašāuuan*- m. 'righteous': sing. nom. *ašauuā*, acc. *ašauuanəm*, sing. gen. = plur. acc. *ašaonō* and *ašāunō* (< -*u̯n*-), plur; dat.-abl. *ašauuabiiō* (< -*n̥b*-); *manθraHan*- 'keeper of the *manθra*': sing. nom. *mąθrā* = *mąθra'å* (< *manθra-Hā*), dat. *mąθrāne* (< *manθra-Hn-ai*).

The neuter stems have sing. loc. and plur. nom-acc. with lengthened grade and zero ending, beside forms with ending -*i* (see section 3.1.5.1).

Because of the morphophonological vagaries of Ir. *u̯*, the *u̯an*-stems are sometimes no longer recognizable as such, e.g. Av. *span*-/*spa*-/*sǔn*- 'dog' (< *ću̯an*-/*ćun*-/*ćun*-; ^u*ruθβan*- 'entrails' < *ruθu̯an*-; – YAv. *aθaru̯an*-, a kind of priest: strong stem *āθrauuan*-, week stem *aθa^urun*-.

The voc. sing. of *u̯an*-stems ends in -*um* (-*əm*), with the final -*n* apparently assimilated to the preceding *u̯(ə)*: *ašāum* < *ašau̯an* 'Orderly', *yum* < *yuu̯an* 'youth', *āθraom* < *āθrau̯an*, *θrizafəm* < *θri-zaf-u̯an* 'three-mouthed'.

3.1.6.5d Stems in -ant-

These differ from the *n*-stems in having nom. sing. in *-S*, but are otherwise similar to the *u̯an*-stems. The *ant*-stems include adjectives and present and aorist participles (these have no ablaut when from thematic verbs).

The nom. sing. varies: adjectives have YAv. *-ō* and forms from *-anh*, pronouns and present participles *-q̄s* (see section 2.3.2.6). Acrostatic presents have the weak stem throughout (OAv. *stauuas* < *stáu̯-ṇt-s* < *stcu̯-* 'praise').

3.1.6.5e Stems in -u̯ant-, -mant-, -Hant-

Stems in *-u̯ant-*, *-mant-* have sing. nom. and voc. from stems in *-u̯ah-/-mah-*: YAv. sing. nom. *druuå* < *-u̯āh*, voc. *druuō* < *-u̯ah*, acc. *druu̯antəm*, gen. *druuatō* < *drug-u̯ant-* 'possessed by the lie'; *maza-Hằnt-* 'big': YAv. sing. masc. acc. *mazāṇtəm* (*mazāṇtəm*), neut. nom.-acc. *mazāt̯* (<*maza-Hṇt*).

3.1.6.5f Stems in -Hank, -iHank-

Most of these are derived from preverbs denoting direction, but also from other words. They have various unusual features: sing. nom. in *-š* with loss of the velar (cf. *ant*-stems): neut. sing. nom.-acc. in *-g⁾t̯*; palatalisation in sing. acc., plur. nom.: sing. nom. *parq̄š* 'away *<parān(k)-š*, neut. *parāg⁾t̯* (see section 2.1.2.1); sing. acc. *niiằncim* (<*-cam*) 'downwards', plur. nom. *niiằncō*.

3.1.6.6 Stems in -ah-, -iah-, -u̯ah-

Most of the *ah*-stems are neuter (cf. Gk. *genos*, etc.) and masculine only in compounds. They take the full grade throughout, except in the plur. nom.-acc. (*manå* < *-āh* 'thoughts') and masc. sing. nom. *naʲre.manå* 'with manly thoughts'.

The *iah*-stems are comparatives (see section 3.2) and the *u̯ah*-stems perfect participles (see section 4.6.1.2). They both take the lengthend grade in the strong cases, but only *u̯ah*-stems have zero grade *-uš-*.

3.1.6.7 Neuter r/n-stems

The archaic heteroclitic neut. *r/n*-stems have *r*-stem nom.-acc. sing. and *r*- or *n*-stem nom.-acc.plur.: *aiiar⁾* 'day', gen. sing. *aiiq̄* (<*-aŋh*), nom.-acc. plur. OAv. *aiiār⁾*, YAv. *aiiq̄n*; OAv. *huuar⁾* 'sun', gen. *x⁵ə̄ŋg*, YAv. *hū* (disyllabic <*huʲ-ar*, *huʲ-aŋh*). Note OAv. *rāzar-* '*straightness', sing. instr. *rašnā*; Old Persian **vazar-* 'greatness' (in *vazar-ka-* 'great'), sing. instr.-abl. *vašnā* 'by the greatness (of Ahuramazdā)'.

3.1.6.8 Stems in laryngeals

Indo-Iranian laryngeal stems ending in vowels plus laryngeal became long vowel-stems in the attested corpuses: $aH > ā, iH > ī, uH > ū$.

Before endings in vowels, the lost laryngeal left a hiatus, e.g. *mazdaH-* 'omniscient': acc. sing. *mazdaH-am* > OAv. *mazdq̄m* (3 syllables); gen. sing. *mazdaH-as* > *mazda'ah*, OAv. *mazdå* (3 syllables) > YAv. *mazdå* (2 syllables); – OPers. nom.-acc. plur. *aθa⁾gainĩya*ʰ < *-iHah* 'of stone'; – *tanuH-* 'body': gen. sing. *tanuH-ah*, OAv. *tanuuas°*. See also on *pantaH* in section 3.1.6.3.

TABLE 3.3.4: EXAMPLES OF STEMS IN STOPS

ap- 'water', *u̯ak-* 'voice, word', *drug-* '(the cosmic) deception', *xšnut-* '*satisfaction', n. *ast-* 'bone', *stut-* 'praise', °*br̥t-* 'carrying, riding', fem. derivatives in *-tāt-*:

Sing.				
NV	*āf-š*	*u̯āx-š*	*drux-š*	*xšnu-s*
A	*āp-am*	*u̯āč-am*	*druǰ-am*	*xšnut-am*
NAn				*as*
G	*ap-ah*	*u̯ač-ah*	*druǰ-ah*	*stut-ah*
Ab	*ap-at*		*druǰ-at*	°*br̥t-at*
D	*ap-ai*			
I	*ap-ā*	*u̯ač-ā*		
L	*ap-i*			
Plur.				
NV	*āp-ah*	*u̯āč-ah*	*druǰ-ah*	*stut-ah*
A	*ap-ah*	*u̯āč-ah*		*stut-ah*
NAn				*ast-i*
G	*ap-aʾam*	*u̯āč-aʾam*	°*druǰ-aʾam*	*stut-aʾam*
DAb	*a(p)-biah*	*u̯ag-biah*		°*br̥d-biah*
I	*a(p)-biš*	*u̯ag-biš*		*azd-biš*
L	*af-šu*			
Dual				
NAV	*āp-ā*			°*tātā*
G				°*tād-ātāh*
DIAb		*u̯ag-biā*		°*tad-biā*

3.1.6.9 Other consonant stems

The stems in other stops are fairly regular. Examples are seen in Table 3.3.4 (reconstructed proto-Iranian).

In Old Persian, where final groups were apparently not allowed, some words may have been transferred to other declensions (see Section 2.2.2.1).

The two *m*-stems *zam-* 'earth' and *ziiam-* 'winter' have sing. nom. *zå* and *ziiå* and weak stems *zʾm-* (monosyllabic, *-sm-* in compounds) and *zim-* (often confused in the mss.); – *dam-* 'house' has gen. sing. OAv. *də̄ng* (<*daŋh* < *dam-s*), YAv. loc. sing. *dąm, dąmi*.

3.1.6.10 Suppletive stem-systems

There are various kinds of suppletive stem-systems, e.g.:

- alternating vowel and consonant stems: Av. *zā-/zam-* 'earth, ground', *ziiā-/ziiam-* 'winter'; OAv. *sauu̯a-/sauu̯ah-* (in complementary distribution) 'life-giving strength', *ušā-/ušah-* 'dawn', YAv. *kaniiā-/kaⁱnīn-* 'young woman'; OPers. *āpī-/āp-*(?) 'water';
- alternating consonant stems: *nt/s*-stems, *t/s-*, and *t/n-* (*napah-/napat-/naptar-* 'grandchild, scion'; °*carat-/°caran-*); neut. *r/n*-stems.

3.2 Adjectives: comparative and superlative

The comparative and superlative of adjectives (including participles) and adverbs is made either with the suffixes *-ii̯ah-* and *-išta-* or with the productive type *-tara-* and *-təma-*. The

suppletive type Eng. *good* vs. *better*, is attested in OPers. *vazạrka-* 'great', *ma0-išta-* 'greatest'.

The comparative/superlative in *-tara-/-təma-* is made from the (weak) stem of adjectives or adverbs and with appropriate sandhi before the ending: YAv. *ama-uuas-tara-/ -təma-* 'more/most powerful' (*-uuast-* < *-ụnt-t-*); *huδās-təma-* < *huδāh-* 'giving good gifts'; *yāskərᵊs-tara-/°təma-* < *yās-kərᵊt-t-* 'performing (well) at the audition'; YAv. *tauruuaiiạs-təma-* < *°iiaṇt-t-* 'overcoming, victorious', YAv. *hubaoⁱδi-tara-/°təma-* 'more/most fragrant'; OPers. *apa-tara-* 'farther'; YAv., OPers. *fra-tara-* 'ahead (of)', Av. *fra-təma-*, OPers. *fra-tama-* 'foremost'. ·

The comparative/superlative in *-iiah-/-išta-* is made from the root in the full grade. Adjectives with suffixes lose these: Av. *ak-a-*: *aš-iiah-* (<*ačı̨ah-*), *ac-išta-* 'more/most evil'; *būⁱ-ri-* 'plentiful': *bao-iiah-*, *dbō-išta-* < *dụ-*); *driγ-u-* 'poor': *draēj-išta-*; *spəṇ-ta-* 'life-giving': *span-iiah-*, *spān-išta-*; *drug-ụant-* 'possessed by the Lie': *draoj-iiah-*, *draoj-išta.* Forms from pres. parts. (or verbal nouns) include *baⁱr-išta-* 'who carries most often' <*bar-əṇt-* 'carrying', OPers. *tauv-ı̄yah-* 'mightier' < *tu-nu-vaⁿt-* 'who has power'.

From roots with laryngeals we have forms such as the following: Av. *darᵊγa-* 'long' (<*dṛH-ga-*): *drāj-iiah-*, *drāj-išta* (<*draHg-*); *ād-ra-* 'needy' (<*ṇHd-ra-*): *nāⁱd-iiah-* (<*naHd-*); *poⁿru-* 'much' (<*pṛH-u-*): *frā-iiah-*, *fraēšta-* (<*praH-iah-*, *praHišta-*).

A few adjectives have both kinds of superlative, but with different meanings: OAv. *poⁿru-təma-* 'in highest numbers'; *spəṇtō.təma-* 'having the name *spəṇta-* in the highest degree(?)'; YAv. *aka-tara-* 'worse (for sb.)'.

Double superlative: YAv. *draēj-ištō-təma-* 'the poorest of the poor'.

3.3 Adverbs

Adverbs can be invariable particles or forms of adjectives (also comparative and superlative) or other words:

- underived: Av. *mošū́* 'soon, quickly'; OAv. *nū*, OYAv. *nūrəm*, OPers. *nūram* 'now';
- nom.-acc. neut. sing. of a noun or adjective: OYAv. *vasō* 'at will' (< *vasah-* 'will'); YAv. *daršaṭ*, OPers. *dạršam* 'vigourously'; YAv. *poⁿrum* 'in front', OPers. *paruvam* 'before';
- abl. and loc. sing.: Av. *dūrāṭ*, OPers. *dūradaš* 'from afar'; Av. *dūⁱrḗ* 'in the distance', OPers. *dūraiy (apiy)* 'far (and wide)';
- ending *-S* (Schindler 1987): OAv. *ərᵊš*, YAv. *arš* 'straight' (<*Hṛj-š*);
- compounds: YAv. *ya0ā.kərᵊtəm* 'as it is done', OPers. *pasāva* (<*pasā-ava*) 'afterward'.

Adverbs of place and manner are made from adjectives, pronouns and preverbs with suffixes: *-0ra, -0a, -da, -dāt* (OPers. *-daš*), and *-tah*, e.g.: Av. *ya-0rǎ* 'where'; *ka-0ǎ* 'how?'; OAv. *a-dā* 'then', OPers. *ava-dā* 'there'; YAv. *a-δāṭ* 'from there', OPers. *dūra-daš* 'from afar'; Av. *aiβi-tō* 'all around', OPers. *aʰma-taʰ* 'from that (place)'.

Comparative and superlative: *bāδa* '*sometimes, *again and again', sup. *bāⁱδ-ištəm*; *fra-* 'forward': comp. *fratarəm*, sup. *fratəməm*.

See also section 9.1.2.2 Adverbial *āmreḍita* compounds.

3.4 Pronouns

There are personal, possessive, demonstrative, reflexive-reciprocal, relative, interrogative and indefinite (indefinite relative) pronouns, most of them of the Indo-Iranian type.

3.4.1 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns distinguish three persons; the 3rd person distinguishes three genders. All persons have tonic and non-tonic enclitic forms (see Tables 3.3.5–6).

TABLE 3.3.5: 1ST AND 2ND PERSON PERSONAL PRONOUN

	1st pers.		2nd pers.	
Sing.				
		encl.		encl.
V			tū	
N	ajam		tŭu̯am	
A	mām	mā	θu̯ām	θu̯ā
G	ma-na	mai	tau̯a	tai
Ab	ma-t		θu̯a-t	
D	ma-bi̯a(h)	mai	ta-bi̯ah	tai
L			θu̯a(i̯)i	
Plur.				
N	vai̯am		i̯ūž-am	i̯ūš
A	ahmā	nāh		u̯āh
G	ahmākam	nah	i̯ūšmākam	u̯ah
D	ahma-bi̯a	nah	i̯ūšma-bi̯a, šma-bi̯a	u̯ah
Ab	ahma-t		i̯ūšma-t, šma-t	
I	ahmā		šmā	
Dual				
NAV	āu̯ā(?)			
G			i̯uu̯ākam	

TABLE 3.3.6: 3RD PERSON PRONOUNS

	Tonic:			Enclitic		
	m.	n.	f.	m.	n.	f.
Sing.						
N	*ha, *ha-h	ta-t	hā	–	it	hī
A	ta-m	ta-t	tām			
G	a-hi̯a		a-hi̯-āh	hai/šai	hai/šai	hai/šai
Ab	a-hm-āt		a-hi̯-āt			
D	a-hm-āi		a-hi̯-āi	hai/šai	hai/šai	hai/šai
I	a-nā		a-i̯ā			
L	a-hm-i		a-hi̯ā			
Plur.						
N	tai	tā	tā-h			
A	ta-ŋh	tā	tā-h	inš (dinš)	ī	hīš/*šīš
G	ai-š-aʾam		ā-h-aʾam			
DAb	ai-bi̯ah		ā-bi̯ah			
I	tāiš		ā-biš			
L	ai-šu		ā-hu			
Dual						
NAV	tā	tai	–	–	hī	hī

There are three 3rd-person demonstrative pronouns: *ha-* (*ša-*)/*ta-*, *i-* (*hi-*/*ši-*, *di-*), and *a-*. Some forms are poorly attested and difficult to classify.

ha-/ta- serves as 3rd-person personal pronoun and weakly deictic 'that', but is often difficult to distinguish from the far-deictic demonstrative pronouns; *i-* is only enclitic; and *a-* is identical with the near-deictic demonstrative pronoun.

In Old Persian, the far-deictic pronoun is used as emphatic personal pronoun.

3.4.2 Possessive pronouns (adjectives)

Only Old Avestan has genuine possessive pronouns; these are derived from the oblique stems of the 1st and 2nd sing. personal pronouns by thematisation: *ma-* 'my', *θβa-* (< *θua-*> 'thy', and from *aka-*-extensions of the oblique stems of the 1st and 2nd plur. personal pronouns: *ahmāka-* 'our', *xšmāka-* 'your'. For the 3rd person, the genitive of the personal pronoun is used or the possessive reflexive pronoun *hua-* 'his, her, its, their'.

In Young Avestan and Old Persian, the genitive of the personal pronoun is used.

3.4.3 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns have a three-way deixis of varying emphasis, corresponding to 1st, 2nd and 3rd person:

- 1st-person deixis (near-deixis): *ima-/a-* and *aēša-/aēta-* 'this' (Latin *hic*, Spanish *este*);
- 2nd-person deixis (unclear): OAv. *huuō/ana-* 'that near you', also 'derogatory' (cf. Latin *iste*, Spanish *ese*);
- 3rd-person deixis (far-deixis): *hāu/auua-* 'that (over there)' (Latin *ille*, Spanish *aquel*).

All three have two (or more) stems, one reserved for the nom. masc. and fem., the other for the other cases, or a more complex distribution. See Table 3.3.7.

3.4.4 Relative pronoun

The relative stem is *ia-*, with nom.-acc. neut. OAv. *hiiat* (with *h-* of unclear origin), YAv. *yat* (rarely *hiiat*). In Old Persian, *ia-* was univerbated with the demonstrative pronoun *ha-/ta-*: *haya-/taya-* (cf. Adiego Lajara 2000). See Table 3.3.8.

3.4.5 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

The stems *ka-/ca-* and *ci-* serve as interrogative pronouns (see Table 3.3.8) and, with enclitic *-ca* and *-cit*, repeated, or negation, as indefinite pronouns: Av. *kas-cii̯* 'whoever', OPers. *kaš-ciy*, *ciš-ciy* 'anything'; *kataras-cit* 'each (of two)'; *ka- ka-* 'each and every'; – negative and preventive: *nōit kas-cit*, *naē-ci-* 'not any', *mā-ci-* 'let not any'.

Indefinite relative: OAv. *yō . . . ciš-ca* (sing. m.), *yōi . . . caiias-ca* (plur. m.) 'whoever', *yā . . . cī-ca* (plur. n.) 'whichever', *yahmāi . . . kahmāicii̯* 'to whom-so-ever'.

3.4.6 Reflexive pronouns and reciprocity

These are OYAv. *x'a-* and YAv. *hauua-* 'own'; YAv. *x'' aēpa'θiia-* 'own'; OPers. *ʰuvaipašiya-* 'self', *ʰuvāipašiya-* 'own'. The meaning of *tanū-* 'body' sometimes comes close to 'own body, self'.

TABLE 3.3.7: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

	Near-deictic (1st pers.) dem. pron *ima-la-:*			Far-deictic (3rd pers.) dem. pron *hau/aua-:*		
	m.	n.	f.	m.	n.	f.
Sing.						
N	*aiam*	*im-at*	*iiam*	*hāu*	*au̯-a-t*	*hcu, hāu*
A	*im-am*	*im-at*	*im-ām*	*au̯-a-m*	*au̯-a-t*	*au̯-ā-m*
G	*a-hia*		*a-h-iāh*	*au̯-a-hia*		*au̯-ah-iāh*
Ab	*a-hm-āt*		*a-h-iāt*			*au̯-ah-iāt*
D	*a-hm-āi*		*a-h-iāi*			*au̯-ah-iāi*
I	*a-nā*		*aiā*	*au̯-ā, au̯-a-nā*		
L	*a-hm-i*		*a-h-iā*			
Plur.						
N	*im-ai*	*im-ā*	*im-āh*	*au̯ai*	*au̯-ā*	*au̯-ā-h*
A	*im-aṇh*	*im-ā*	*im-āh*	*au̯a-ṇh*	*au̯-ā*	*au̯ā-h*
G	*ai-š-a`am*		*ā-ha`am*	*au̯-aiš-a`am*		*au̯-ā-biah*
DAb	*ai-biah*		*ā-biah*			
I	*āiš*		*ā-biš*	*au̯-āiš*		
L	*ai-šu*		*ā-hu*			
Dual						
NAV	*im-ā*			*au̯-ā*		
G	*āh, aiāh*			*au̯-āh*		
DIAb			*ābiā*			

Far-deictic (2rd pers.) dem. pron *hcu/ana-*
m.

	Sing.	Plur.
N	*hcu*	
I	*anā(?)*	*anāiš*

Reciprocity is usually expressed by *aniia- ... aniia-*, OPers. *aniya- ... aniya-* 'one ... another, each other' (see Jamison 1997).

3.4.7 Pronominal case endings

Pronouns have some case endings that differ from those of nouns, including the dat. sing./plur. ending *-bia(h)* in the pers. prons. 1st and 2nd (see also sections 2.3.1.2, 3.1.5.2); – neut. nom.-acc. sing. *-at* in poss. and dem. prons. (and pronominal adjs.); – masc. nom. plur *-ai*; – masc.-neut. dat., abl. sing. formant *-hm-*; – fem. gen., dat., abl., loc. formant *-hi-*; – gen. plur. masc. formants *-š-*, fem. *-h-*. See Tables 3.3.5–8.

There is at least one OAv. fem. sing. form in *-aē*: *xᵛaē°* 'own' (cf. latin *hae-c*).

3.5 Adpositions

Old Iranian has pre- and postpositions. Some of these are only prepositions, some are also preverbs, and some are derived from nouns, adjectives, or adverbs or particles. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish between adverbs, preverbs and adpositions. For examples, see section 5.4 Uses of Cases.

TABLE 3.3.8: RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Relative pronouns:

	m.	n.	f.	m.	n.	f.
Sing.						
N	i̯-ah	i̯-a-t	i̯ā	k-ah, či-š	k-at, či-t	kā
A	i̯-am	i̯-a-t	i̯ā-m	k-am, či-m	k-at, či-t	kā-m
G	i̯a-hi̯a		i̯a-h-i̯āh	ka-hi̯a, č-ahi̯a		ka-h-i̯āh
Ab	i̯a-hm-āt		i̯a-h-i̯āt	ka-hm-āt		
D	i̯a-hm-āi		i̯a-h-i̯āi	ka-hm-āi		ka-h-i̯āi
I	i̯ā			kā, ka-nā		
L	i̯a-hm-i		i̯a-h-i̯ā	ka-hm-i, č-ahmi		ka-h-i̯ā
Plur.						
N	i̯-ai	i̯ā	i̯ā-h	k-ai, čai̯ah	kā, čī	
A	i̯-aŋh	i̯ā	i̯ā-h	k-aŋh	kā	
G	i̯-ai-š-aʾam		i̯ā-h-aʾam	k-ai-šaʾam		kā-h-aʾam
DAb	i̯-ai-bi̯ah		i̯ā-bi̯ah	k-ai-bi̯ah		
I	i̯āiš			kāiš		
L	i̯-ai-šu		i̯ā-hu			
Dual						
NAV	i̯ā		i̯ai			
G	i̯a-i̯āh					

Old Persian

	m.	n.	f.
Sing.			
N	haya	taya	hayā
A	tayam	taya	tayām
IAb	tayanā		
Plur.			
N	tayaiy		tayā, tayaiy
A		tayā	tayā
GD	tayaišām		tayaišām

3.6 Numerals and measure

A relatively large number of cardinals, ordinals and other number words are attested in Young Avestan, while Old Avestan has hardly any. Of the Old Persian number words, only *aiva* 'one', is spelled out, but several Old Persian number words are found in Elamite texts.

3.6.1 'One' to 'four'

'One' is expressed by the stems *aii̯a-* and *ha-* < *sṃm-* (see section 3.6.3.1):

• cardinal: Av. *aēui̯a-*, OPers. *aiva-*;
• ordinal: Av. *fra-təma-* 'foremost, first', OAv. *paᵘruii̯a-*, YAv. *paoⁱrii̯a-*, OPers. *paruvii̯a-*.

   'Two' and 'both': The number 'two' is expressed by the stems *d(u)i̯a-* and *dui̯i-* (OAv. *dᵃⁱbi-*, YAv. *bi-*):

- cardinal: YAv. *duua*, fem., neut. *duiie, duuaē°* (i.e. *dúu̯a, dúu̯ai*);
- ordinal: OAv. *d^{u̯i}bitiia-*, YAv. *bitiia-*, OPers. *duvitīya-*;

For 'both', OAv. has nom.-acc. masc. *ubā*, fem., neut. *ubē*; YAv. nom.-acc. masc. *uua*, fem., neut. *uiie* < *úu̯a, úu̯ai*); OPers. nom.-acc. masc. *ubā*.

YAv. also has the indecl. *uuaēm* 'both' (OInd. *ubhayam*).

'Three': The stem is *θri-*:

- cardinal: nom. masc. *θrāiiō*, fem. *tišrō*, neut. *θrī*;
- ordinal: Av. *θritiia-*, OPers. *çitīya-* 'for the third time'.

'Four': The stem is *čaθβar-/catur-* (YAv. *caθru°* in compounds):

- cardinal: nom. masc. *caθβārō*, fem. *cataŋrō*, neut. *catura*;
- ordinal: YAv. *tūⁱriia-* (< *ktr̥u̯ia-*, cf. *ā-xtūⁱrim* 'a fourth time').

'One' has proniminal declension; 'two' and 'both are declined as dual *a*-stems (but OPers. plur. gen.-dat. *ubānām*); 'three' and 'four' have fem. forms with *-hr-/-šr-* (see Table 3.3.9).

TABLE 3.3.9: DECLENSION OF NUMERALS

'One'

	m.	n.	f.
N	*aēuuō*	*ōiium, ōim*	*aēuua*
A	*ōiium, ōim*	*ōiium, ōim*	*aēuuąm*
G	*aēuuahe*		*aēuuaŋhȧ*
Ab	*aēuuahmāṯ*		
I	*aēuua*		*aēuuaiia*
L	*aēuuahmi*		–

'Two'

	m.	n.	f.
NA	*duua*	*duiie, duuaē°*	*duiie, duuaē°*
DAbI	*duuaēibiia*		
L	*duuaiiȧ*		

'Three'

	m.	n.	f.
N	*θrāiiō*	*θrī*	*tišrō*
A	*θriš*	*θrī*	*tišrō*
G	*θraiiąm*		*tišrąm, tišranąm*
DAb	*θribiiō*		–

'Four'

	m.	n.	f.
N	*caθβārō*	*catura*	*cataŋrō*
A	*caturā*	*catura*	*cataŋrō*
G	*caturąm*		

3.6.2 The remaining numerals

The cardinals 'five' to 'ten': *paṇca, xšuuaš, hapta, ašta, nauua, dasa*; these have thematic gen. forms (*paṇcanąm, nauuanąm, dasanąm*).

The ordinals (only YAv.) of '5' and '6' are characterised by the root vowel *u*: *puxδa-*, *xštuua-*. 'Seventh' has the formant *-θa-*: *hapta-θa-*; 'eighth' to 'tenth' the formant *-ma-*: *aštə-ma-*, *nao-ma-*, *dasə-ma-*.

Most of the numerals '11' to '19' are known only from the ordinals, which were identical with the cardinals: *aēuuan-dasa-*, *duua-dasa-*, *θri-dasa-*, *caθru-dasa-*, *paṇca-dasa-*, *xšuuaš-dasa-*, *hapta-dasa-*, *ašta-dasa-*, *nauua-dasa-*.

'20' is *vīsaiti*. '30' to '50' are compounds with °*satəm*: *θri-satəm*, *caθßar°-satəm*, *paṇcā-satəm*. '60' to '90' are fem. *ti*-stems: *xšuuaš-ti-*, *haptā-ⁱti-*, *aštā-ⁱti-*, *nauua-ⁱti-*.

'100' and '1,000' are neut. *a*-stems: *sata-*, *hazaŋra-*, with mixed plur. forms: *tišrō sata*, *caθßārō sata*, *nauua hazaŋra*, etc. '10,000' is neut. *baēuuar/n-*.

Compounded numerals are represented by *paṇcā-ca vīsaⁱti* '25', *θraiias-ca θrisqs-ca* '33', *paṇcā-ca haptāⁱti-* '75', *nauua-ca nauuaⁱti* '99'.

Higher numerals include *duiie nauuaⁱti* '180' (two 90) and *nauua-ca ... nauuaitiš-ca nauua-ca sata nauua-ca hazaŋra nauuasōs-ca baēuuąn* '99,9999', which is the highest Av. number, there being no word for '100,000'.

3.6.3 Derived numerals

3.6.3.1 Multiplicatives

Multiplicatives ('times, -fold') have simple and extended forms:

- 'once': YAv. *ha-kər°ṯ*, OPers. *ha-karam*; cf. Av., OPers. *hama-* 'one and the same';
- 'twice': YAv. *biš*, *biž-uuaṯ*; – 'thrice': YAv. *θriš*, *θriž-uuaṯ*; – 'four times': YAv. *caθruš*;
- 'six/nine times': *xšuuaž-aiia*, *naom-aiia*;
- the tens: *vīsaiti-uuå*, *θrisaθ-ßå*, etc.

3.6.3.2 '-th time'

The '2nd–4th time' are formed from the ordinals with the prefix *ā-*: *ā-ṯbitūm/ā-δbitūm*, *ā-θritīm*, *ā-xtūⁱrūm*.

3.6.3.3 Fractions

Fractions are made with the formant *-Sua-*: *θri-šuua-*, *caθru-šuua-*, *paṇta-ŋʰha-*, *hapta-huua-*, *ašta-huua-*. The same formation is attested for Old Persian by Elamite texts: < ši-iš-maš> = *çi-šuva-*, <ṣa-iš-šu-iš-ma> = *čaçušuva-*, <aš-du-maš> = *aštaʰuva-*, etc. (Hoffmann 1965).

4 MORPHOLOGY II: VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

The Iranian verb inherited from Indo-Iranian the categories of aspect, tense, mood, voice, number, and person expressed by 'finite' forms of the verb, and non-finite forms, which behave like nouns (infinitives) or adjectives (participles).

Tenses and moods are expressed by endings and augment, while aspect is expressed lexically by different stems of the verb (see section 7.1).

Verb stems are classified as 'thematic', ending in *-a,* and 'athematic', ending in other vowels and diphthongs or in consonants. Athematic verbs are frequently thematised.

Most personal endings are the same in the two classes (the 2nd sing. act. is a noteworthy exception), with morphophonological changes in athematic verbs in clusters resulting from contact between the final consonant of the stem and the initial consonant of the ending.

The augment *a-*, which characterises an event as having taken place in the past, is found occasionally in Old Avestan (imperfect and aorist) and Young Avestan (imperfect), but regularly with the imperfect in Old Persian. In Young Avestan and Old Persian, it is also found with optative forms (see below).

4.1 Stem classes

Each conjugation contains a miscellany of stem formations, most of which are no longer productive in Iranian.

Athematic verbs show ablaut in the root syllable, e.g. *jan-/gn-* 'smash', or in the stem formant, e.g. *-nau-/-nu-*, distributed as follows (with exceptions):

- lengthened grade is found in the acrostatic 'Narten' presents (but see de Vaan 2004), the *s*-aor. ind. sing., and in some 3s perf. forms;
- full grade is found in the singular in the pres., aor., and perf. ind., throughout the paradigms in the subj., and in the 2p pres. ind. and 3s and 2p imper.;
- zero grade is found in the dual and plur. of the pres., aor., and perf., in the 2s and 3p imper., and throughout the opt.

Ambikinetic ablaut, apparently conditioned by (proto-Av.) stress patterns, is found in the 3p pres. and in the 2s and 3s opt. endings:

- zero grade of the root + full grade of the ending: Av. plur. *-ənti, -ən*, opt. *-iiā̊, -iiāt̰*, etc. (e.g. *h-ənti, h-iiāt̰ < ah-* 'be');
- full grade of the root (or reduplication) + zero grade of the ending: *-aⁱti, -at̰; -īš, -īt̰*, etc. (e.g. *dad-aⁱtī < dad-at̰ < -nti, -nt, daⁱd-īt̰*).

4.1.1 Present stems

4.1.1.1 Athematic present stems

Athematic present stems include the following:

1. root stems: Av. *ah-/as-/h-* 'be', *ai-/i-* 'go', *jan-/ja-/gn-* 'smash, strike'; *stau-/stu-* 'to praise'; OPers. *ah-/as-, ai-, jan-*;
2. reduplicated stems:

   - stems with 'light' reduplication *CV-*: Av. *da-δā-/da-δ-* 'give, place', *hišhak-/hišc-* 'follow' (with *hišhak-* for *hi-šak- < Sak-*); OPers. *da-dā-*;
   - 'intensive' stems with 'heavy' reduplication *CVC-*: Av. *zao-zao-/zao-zu-* 'keep calling', *carᵊ-kar-/carᵊ-kərᵊ-* 'keep praising';

3. stems with *n*-infixes:

   - *na-C-/-n-C-* stems: Av. *ci-na-h-/cīš-* (*< ci-n-š-*) '*assign' (*< kaiš-/ciš-*);
   - *nā/n*-stems (*< -na-H-/-n-H-*): YAv. *zi-nā-/zi-n-* 'take away', OP. *di-nā-/-* (*< ji-na-H-/ ji-n-H-*);

- *nau/nu*-stems: Av. *s"ru-nao/nu-* 'hear' (< *sr̥-na-u-/n-u-* [or *sru-nau-*] < *sru-*); Av. *kər̯ᵊ-nau/nu-* 'do, make', OPers. *kunau-* (< *kr̥-nau-/nu-* < *kar-*).

4.1.1.2 Thematic present stems

Thematic present stems include the following:

1. stems in *a*:

    - root in zero grade: Av. *mər̯ᵊza-* 'wipe', Opers. °*mr̥da-* (or *marda-*, MPers. *māl-*);
    - root in full grade: Av. *bara-* 'carry', *bauua-* 'become', OPers. *bara-*, *bava-*;
    - root in long grade: Av. *frāda-* 'to further';

2. stems in *i̯a* (see also section 4.1.1.4):

    - root in zero grade: Av. *miriia-*, Opers. *mr̥iia-* 'die' (< *mr̥-i̯a-*);
    - root in full grade: Av. *spasiia-* 'spy on', OPers. *jadiya-* 'ask for';

3. stems in *ai̯a* (see also section 4.1.1.5):

    - root in zero grade: Av. *saδ-aiia-* 'appear', OPers. *θad-aya-* (< *ćn̥d-aya-* < *(s)ćand-*);
    - root in full grade: Av. *daēs-aiia-* 'show', OPers. °*tar-aya-* 'cross (river)';

4. stems in *-āi̯a-* with root in zero grade: *gə"ruu-ā̆iia-* 'seize', OPers. *gr̥b-āya-* (cf. YAv. *gər̯ᵊβ-nā-*);

5. stems in *-sa-* (OInd. *-cha-*, IE. *-sḱe-/-sḱo-*)

    - root in zero grade: Av. *ja-sa-* 'go' (for **gasa-* < *gm̥-sa-* < *gam-*), *tər̯ᵊ-sa-* 'to become afraid'; OPers. *ā-ya-sa-* 'take' (< *i̯am-*), *tar-sa-*;
    - roots in long *ā*: Av. *yā-sa-* 'request', OPers. *xšnā-sa-* 'know' (< *jnā-*, cf. Latin, Greek *gnō-sk-*);

6. stems with *n* infix: Av. *kər̯ᵊ-n-ta-* 'cut' (< *kart-*); YAv. *vinda-* (< *vaid-*, athematic OAv. *vi-na-d-*);

7. reduplicated stems:

    - with 'light' reduplication: Av. *hi-šta-* 'stand', OPers. *(h)i-šta-* (< *Si-St-a-*, *stā-*); OAv. °*iia-* 'implore' (< *i-y-a-* < *yā-*);
    - with 'heavy' reduplication (intensive): Av. *ja-γna-* 'smash to smithereens' (< *gan-/jan-*);

8. desiderative stems in *-Sa-* with reduplication: OAv. *dī-dra̯y-ža-* 'to wish to hold firmly' (< *drang-/dr̥ng-*), OYAv. *diβža-* 'seek to deceive' < *di-(d)b-žʰa-* < *di-dbʰ-ša-* (< *dʰabʰ-*); YAv. *zi-xšnå-ŋha-* 'wish to know' (< *jnā-*); *mi-mar̯ᵊx-ša-* 'wish to destroy' (< *mark-*).

4.1.1.3 The future stem

A future stem is formed with *-Si̯a-* added to the root in the full grade. Old Avestan has only two forms: *vax-šiia-* < *vak-* 'speak' and *sao-šiia-nt-* < *sau-* 'revitalise'. Young Avestan has a few, including: *sao-šiia-* and the irregular *bū-šiia-* < *bau-* 'become'. There are no Old Persian forms attested.

4.1.1.4 Passive stem

A passive stem is formed with the suffix *-i̯a-*, with the root in the zero or full grade: YAv. *kir-iia-* 'be done, be made', OPers. *kạr-iya-* (<*kri̯a-*), YAv. *baⁱr-iia-* 'be carried' (<*bar-*). See also section 4.3.1.

On the 3rd sing. passive in *-i*, see section 4.3.2.

4.1.1.5 Causative stem

A causative is formed with the suffix *-ai̯a-* to the root in the lengthened (or full) grade. It usually corresponds to a passive or intransitive present: *s^uru-nau-* 'hear' vs. *sru-iia-* 'be heard' vs. *srāuu-aiia-* 'make heard' > 'recite, sing'; *su-iia-* 'be revitalized' vs. *sauu-aiia-* 'revitalize'.

4.1.1.6 Denominative stem

This group contains stems in *-i̯a-* and *-ai̯a-* and *-ani̯a-* (cf. Oettinger 1992): *bišaz-iia-* and *baēšaz-iia-* 'to heal' (<*bišaz-* 'doctor', *baēšaza-* 'medicine'), Av. *ar^əza-iia-* 'to do battle (*ar^əza*)', *pər^əs-aniia-* 'to discuss', OPers. *pati y-avah-ạya-* 'to pray for help' (cf. Av. *auuah-* 'help'). See also Tucker 2004.

4.1.2 Aorist stems

There are the following principal types of aorist stems:

- the root aorist: Av. *jam-/ga-/gm-* 'go, come' (pres. *jasa-*), Av., OPers. *dā-/d-* 'give, place' (pres. *da-dā-*);
- the thematic aorist: Av. *taš-a-* 'fashion' (pres. *tāš-*);
- the *s*-aorist: Av. *stā-h-* < *stā-* 'stand, place', *nai-š-* < *nai-/nī-* 'lead' (pres. *naiia-*), *varš-* < *var^əz-* 'produce' (pres. *vər^əziia-*), OPers. *dar-š-* < *dar-* 'to hold' (pres. *dāraya-*);
- the reduplicated thematic aorist: Av. *va-oca-* < *u̯a-uc-a* < *vac-* 'to speak' (pres. *mrao-*);
- suppletive systems: Av. *va-oca-* (pres. *mrao-*); *dars-* 'see' (pres. *vaēna-*).

Some verbs have both root- and *s*-aorist forms, e.g. Av. *man-* ~ *mạh-* 'think' (pres. *maniia-*).

4.1.3 Perfect stems

The perfect stem is formed by reduplication, with the exception of *ād-/āδ-* (invariable) 'say' and *vaēd-/vaēδ-* (*vaēθ-*) 'know'. The vowel of the reduplication syllable varies:

- *a*, *i*, or *u*, in harmony with the vowel of the root (velars are palatalized before *a* and *i*): *ca-kan-* 'love', *ci-kaēθ-* '*point out', "*ru-raoδ-* 'howl', OPers. *ca-xr-*, weak stem of *ca-kắr-* < *kar-* 'do';
- rarely *ā*: *dā-dar^əs-* < *vaēn-/dars-* 'see';
- roots in initial *ằ-* have long *ā-*: *āp-* 'reach', *åŋh-* < *ah-* 'be' (<*a-ah-*);
- the root *ai-/i-* has perf. stem *i̯-ai-*: YAv. *ii-aē-* (*ī-aē-*) <*aē-* 'go'.

4.1.4 Suppletive stem systems

There are a few suppletive verb systems, e.g. Av. pres. *mrau-*, aor., perf. *vac-* 'speak'; pres. *vaēna-*, aor., perf. *dars-*, OPers. pres. *vaina-*, imper. *dī-* 'see'.

4.1.5 Periphrastic formations

On the use of past participle + 'to be' in YAv. and OPers., see section 6.4.2.2; on the pres. part. + modal forms of 'to be' see section 7.2.3.7ce.

4.2 Moods

The subjunctive and optative take special formants added to the stem (present, aorist, perfect), while the imperative is characterised by a special set of endings.

4.2.1 The subjunctive

The subjunctive is formed from the present, aorist, or perfect stems by the formant *-a-*. This means that athematic verbs are thematised, while thematic verbs take the combined formant *-ā-*. The endings are primary or secondary. The primary 1s is *-ni* (vs. indicative *-mi*).

4.2.2 The optative

The optative is formed from the present, aorist, or perfect stems by the ablauting formant *-i̯aH-/-iH-* > *-i̯ā-/-ī-*. In thematic verbs, the thematic vowel combines with *-ī-* to yield the characteristic thematic optative formant *-ai-*.

   In Old Persian and, sometimes, in Young Avestan, the optative can take the augment to produce the preterital optative: YAv. *a-uu̯aēn-ōiš* '(whenever) you saw', *nišāδaii-ōiš* 'you would seat (me)'; OPers. *avājan-iyā* 'he would kill', *a-kunav-aya^ntā* 'they would do' (see section 7.2.2.2).

4.3 Voice

There are two 'voices': active and middle. Verbs can have active and/or middle forms. Some verbs have only active forms, some only middle forms, and some both active and middle forms. Only in the third group can the middle forms have a special function, different from that of the active forms. Intransitive verbs typically have only active (e.g. YAv. *aē^iti* 'he goes') or only middle forms (YAv. *āste* 'he sits'), while transitive verbs can take both active and middle forms. If they do, then most often the distinction between the two forms is active vs. passive (see further section 7.3.2).

4.3.1 The passive in -i̯a-

More commonly, the passive ('it is done, he is killed') is expressed by the special present stem in *-i̯a-* (YAv. *-iia-*, OPers. *-iya-*). In Avestan, this form normally takes the middle endings; in Young Avestan, active endings are also well attested (in Old Persian 3rd person *-tiy* and *-taiy* are indistinguishable <*-t-i-y*>).

4.3.2 The 3rd singular passive in -i

A special Indo-Iranian 3s passive form was made from the aorist stem with the ending -*i* (OAv. -*ī*, YAv. -*i*): OAv. *srāuu-ī* 'has become renowned'. In Young Avestan, this rare form was made from the present stem (*ja^in-i* 'was smashed', *ər°nāuu-i* 'was sent on its way') and from the perfect stem (*ā^iδ-i* 'is/was said').

4.4 Person marking (endings)

The endings are of the Indo-Iranian (and late Indo-European) type, those of the present and aorist indicative differing from those of the perfect indicative, and with distinct sets of 'primary' in the pres. and perf. ind. and 'secondary' endings elsewhere. The subjunctive takes endings from either set. See Tables 3.4.1-4.

In the 1s, Avestan still has the pres. ind. act. primary ending OAv. -*ā*, YAv. -*a*, beside the more common -*āmi*; the subj. has -*ă* and -*āni*.

The 1st person endings of the dual and plural are parallel: act. primary -*u̯ahi*, -*mahi*, secondary -*u̯a*, -*ma*; middle secondary -*u̯adi*, -*madi*, YAv. -*ma ^iδel-ma^ide*.

On the 3s pass, ending -*i*, see above.

TABLE 3.4.1: VERBAL ENDINGS 1. PRESENT INDICATIVE; PRESENT AND AORIST INJUNCTIVE AND IMPERATIVE

	Present indicative		Present/aorist injunctive		Present/aorist imperative	
	Athematic	Thematic	Athematic	Thematic	Athematic	Thematic
Active						
1s	-mi	-ā, -ā-mi	-am	-a-m		
2s	-Si	-a-hi	-S	-a-h	-di	-a
3s	-ti	-a-ti	-t	-a-t	-tu	-a-tu
1p	-mahi	-ā-mahi	-ma	-ā-ma		
2p	-θa	-a-θa	-ta	-a-ta	-ta	-a-ta
3p	-anti, -ati	-a-nti	-an / aor. -an, -at	-a-n	-a-ntu	-a-ntu
1d	-u̯ahi		-u̯a	-āu̯a		
3d	-tah	-a-tah	-tam	-ā-tam		
Middle						
1s	-ai	-ai	-i	-ai		
2s	-Sai	-a-hai	-Sa	-a-ha	-Su̯a	-a-hu̯a
3s	-tai, -ai	-a-tai	-ta / aor. -ātam	-a-ta	aor. -ām	-a-tām
1p	-madai	-ā-madai	-madi			
2p	-du̯ai	-a-du̯ai		-a-du̯am	-du̯am	-a-du̯am
3p	-ntai, -atai -rai-, -ārai	-a-ntai	-ata	-a-nta	pres. -rām	-a-ntām
1d			-u̯adi			
3d	-aitai, -aiθai	-aitai, -aiθai		-aitam		

TABLE 3.4.2: VERBAL ENDINGS 2. PERFECT, PLUPERFECT

	Perfect		Pluperfect
	Active	Middle	
Sing.			
1	*-a*	*-ai*	
2	*-θa*		
3	*-a*	*-ai*	*-a-t*
Plur.			
1	*-ma*		
3	*-r*		*-rš*
Dual			
3	*-ātr*	*-ātai*	

TABLE 3.4.3: VERBAL ENDINGS 3. SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE

	Subjunctive		Optative	
	Athematic	Thematic	Athematic	Thematic
Active				
1s	*-ā*	*-ā, -ā-ni*	*-iā-m*	
2s	*-a-h, -a-hi*	*-ā-h, -ā-hi*	*-iā-h*	*-ai-š*
3s	*-a-t, -a-ti*	*-ā-t, -ā-ti*	*-iā-t, -ī-t*	*-ai-t*
1p	*-ā-ma*	*-ā-ma*	*-iā-ma, -ī-ma*	*-ai-ma*
2p	*-a-θa, -a-ta*	*-ā-θa, -ā-ta*	*-duai*	
3p	*-a-n, -a-nti*	*-ā-n, -ā-nti*	*-iā-n*	
			-iā-r, -iā-rš	*-ai-an*
3d			*-ī-tam*	
Middle				
1s	*-āi, -ānai*	*-āi, -ā-nai*	*-(ī)i-a*	*-ai-a*
2s	*-a-hai*	*-ā-hai*	*-ī-ša*	*-ai-ša*
3s	*-a-tai*	*-ā-tai*	*-ī-ta*	*-ai-ta*
1p	*-ā-madai*	*-ā-madai*		*-ai-madai*
2p				*-ai-duam*
3p	*-a-ntai*	*-ā-ntai*		*-ai-anta*

TABLE 3.4.4: 'TO BE'

	Pres.	Inj.-Ipf.	Subj.	Opt.	Imp.
1s	*ah-mi*		*ah-ā*	*h-iā-m*	
2s	*ah-i*		*ah-a-h*	*h-iā-h*	*z-di*
3s	*as-ti*	*ās*	*ah-a-t(i)*	*h-iā-t*	*as-tu*
3d	*s-tah*				
1p	*mahi*		*ah-ā-ma*	*h-iā-ma*	
2p	*s-ta*			*h-iā-ta*	
3p	*h-anti*	*āh-an*	*ah-an*	*h-iā-r*	*h-antu*
1d		*ah-ua(?)*			
2d	*s-tah*				

In the athematic 3rd person pres. and aor. mid., a few forms lack the *t* in the sing. and have forms with *r* in the plur.: OAv. pres. ind. sing. *is-ē* 'desires', aor. imper. sing. *d-ąm, uc-ąm* 'let it be given, spoken', pres. imper. plur. *jə̄n⁀-rąm* 'let them be smashed!', *xrūn⁀-rąm* 'let them be bled!'; YAv. pres. ind. 3rd sing. and plur. *mruii-e* 'is said' (< *mruu̯-ⁱē*), *mruu-ä̆ʲre* 'they are said' (< *mrao-/mru-*); *niγn-e, niγn-ä̆ʲre* 'is/are smashed down (upon)' (< *jan-/γn-*, see Hintze 2005); *åŋh-ä̆ʲre* 'they sit' (but 3s *āste* < *āh-*), *sōi-re/saē-re* 'they lie' (but 3s *saē-te*).

4.5 Preverbs

Common preverbs include *us-* 'up, out' – *ni-* 'down'; *fra-* 'forward, forth' – *apa-* 'away, off'; *ati-* 'up to' – *niš-* 'out, away, separate, beyond'; *ham-* 'together' – *u̯i-* 'out of, apart'. In addition, a subset of adpositions also has a preverbial function (see section 3.5). For examples see sections 5.1.2–3.

4.6 Nominal forms of the verb

4.6.1 Participles

Active and middle participles are derived from the present, aorist, perfect, and future stems of the verb (see sections 4.6.1–3). The 'past participle' with the suffix *-ta-* is derived from the root, usually in the zero grade (see section 4.6.1.4), and the verbal adjectives expressing necessity from the root, usually in the full grade, with various suffixes (see section 4.6.2).

4.6.1.1 Present, future and aorist active participles

The active participles of the pres., fut., and aor. stems take the formant *-ṇt-*:

- thematic verbs with fixed stems in *-ant*: pres. OAv. fem. *maēk-aⁱṇt-ī-* 'sparkling'; YAv. them. *bar-ənt-* 'carrying', *bū-šii-aṇt-* 'who will be'; future: OAv. *sao-šii-aṇt-* 'he who will revitalize', fem. *bū-šii-eⁱṇt-ī-*; – aor.: OAv. *han-aṇt-* 'gaining';
- athematic forms with strong stems in *-ant-* and weak stems in *-at-*: pres. OAv. *h-əṇt-* 'being', fem. OAv. *šii-eⁱt-ī-* 'inhabiting'; YAv. *h-aⁱtī-* 'being'; – aor. YAv. °*buu-aṇt-* 'becoming'; – acrostatic present stems with fixed weak stems: OAv. *stauu-at-* 'praising'.

4.6.1.2 Perfect active participles

The perf. part. act. is made with the formant *-u̯ah-/-uš-*: OAv. *vīd-uuah-/vīd-uš-* 'knowing', YAv. *vīδ-uuah-/vīδ-uš-* 'knowing' (see section 2.3.2.2b) *ja-γm-uš-* 'having gone/come' (< *gam-*). Note the conditioned changes (Skjærvø 1997a): *vaox-ʸah- ~ vaokuš-* 'having spoken' (< *u̯a-uk-u̯ah-* < *vak-*), *vauuan-uuah- ~ vaonuš-* 'having won' (< *van-*), *yōiθ-βah- ~ yaētuš-* 'having taken up one's position' (< *yat-*), *tarš-uuah-* 'having fashioned' (< *ta-t̰š-u̯ah-* < *taš-*).
   Two types of adjectives resemble the perfect participle and have similar functions, with *-u-* and *-u̯an-*: OAv. *vīd-u-* 'knowing one', *vā-un-u-* 'winner', YAv. *za-z-u-* 'winner'; OAv. *ci-ciθ-βan-* 'who understands', YAv. *yōiθ-βan-* 'standing ready'.

4.6.1.3 Middle participles

The middle participles of thematic verbs end in Av. *-əmna-* (*aiia*-stems: *-aiiamna-*), OPers. *-amna-*, those of athematic verbs, including the perfect, regularly end in Av. *-ăna-*.

4.6.1.4 Past participles in *-ta-*

The past participle (Eng. 'gone, killed') has the ending *-ta-* with the root in the zero grade if possible and with the regular sound changes: *šuta-* 'set in motion' (<*šau-*); *ux-ta-* 'spoken' (<*vak-*), *bas-ta-* 'bound' (<*band-*); full grade: *dā-ta-* 'given, placed' (<*dā-*); *aox-ta-* 'spoken' (<*aog-*; in *aoxtō.nāman* 'whose name is spoken').

On the 'periphrastic' perfect, see sections 7.4.2.2 and 7.4.3.

4.6.2 Verbal adjectives in -θa-, -θβa-, -iia-

The 'participles of necessity', expressing 'that which ought to *or* can be done', are formed with the suffixes *-θa-* (*-δa-* by internal sandhi): *ux-δa-* 'that ought to be spoken'; *-θβa-* (*-tuua-* by internal sandhi): *vax-δβa-* 'that ought to be spoken; or *-iia-*: *karš-iia-* 'that ought to be ploughed'. The suffix *-iia-* could also be attached to nouns: *yesn-iia-* 'deserving of sacrifices' < *yasna-*.

4.6.3 Infinitives

There are two sets of infinitives, which may be formed from the root or the present stem (see also Kellens 1994): those ending in *-diāi* have medial function (cf. Lühr 1994), the others are neutral with respect to voice.

The infinitives in *-diiāi* can be made either from the pres. stem: athem. (root in zero grade) OAv. *ja-ᶦdiiāi* 'to strike' (<*jan-*), YAv. *da-z-diiāi* (<*da-d⁻-diāi*) 'give, establish', them. YAv. *vaza-ᶦδiiāi* 'drive'; or from the aorist stem: aor. stem. athem. OAv. *dər⁻-ᶦdiiāi* 'hold (up)'.

The neutral (active/middle) infinitives are the following:

- exclusively OAv.: *-ai*: *p-ōi* 'protect' (<*pā-*); – *-uai*: *vīd-uiiē* 'know' (< *uid-uai*); – *-uuanai*, *-manai*: *vīd-uuanōi* 'know'; – *-Sai*: athem. *nāšē* 'to obtain' (<*nās-šai*); them. *srāuuaiie-ńhē* 'recite';
- both OAv. and YAv. (rare) are infinitives in *-tai*: OAv. *gaṭ.tōi* 'go' (for *ga-tōi* < *gam-*), *i-tē* 'go', OYAv. *mrū-ᶦtē* 'speak', *s-tōi* 'be' (<*ah-*);
- only YAv., the infinitive in *-taiai* (identical with the dative of an action noun in *-ti*): *ux-δe* 'to speak';
- only OPers., the infinitive in *-tanaiy*, made from the root in the full grade: *bar-tanaiy* 'to carry', *car-tanaiy* 'to do' (<*kar-*).

5 SYNTAX I: WORD ORDER AND CLAUSE STRUCTURE

5.1 Word order

The basic word order is verb-final: SOV. Preverbs in tmesis are always, adverbs often, clause-initial; the indirect object usually follows the direct object. The second position in the clause is reserved for enclitics (see section 6.5.1.3).

5.1.1 Adpositions

Adpositions can precede or follow their government. The position is freer in Old Avestan than in Young Avestan and Old Persian.

Adpositions follow enclitic pronouns they govern:

YAv. *kaδa [nō auui] ājasāṯ nmānō.paⁱtiš*
'when will our home-lord come [to us]?' (Yt. 17.10).

Enclitic postpositions will seek the second place in the clause:

[asmanəm auui] frašusāni
'shall I go forth [to heaven]?' (Yt. 17.57),
vs.
mā [auui asmanəm] frašusa
'do not go forth [to heaven]!' (Yt. 17.60).

Adpositions (and preverbs) are frequently placed between a noun and its modifier:

YAv. *[aēuuąm] vā [auui xšapanəm]*
'or [for one night]' (Yt. 8.11).

5.1.2 Preverbs

In Avestan, but not in Old Persian, the preverbs may be detached from the main verb, usually preceding it, sometimes fronted to the beginning of the clause, sometimes separated by one word only (frequently the conjunction *-ca*; Hale 1993). Coordination of separated preverbs with (*-ca . . .*) *-ca* is frequent.

In Old Avestan, they are then often repeated directly before the verb, see section 5.1.3.

They may also be lowered to the end of the clause (or metrical half-line). When a verb with preverb is repeated, only the preverb may be repeated.

In Young Avestan, a verb can, apparently, have two preverbs, e.g. *paiti auua.jasa-* 'to come down *in return'.

Examples:

• joined to the verb in main and subordinate clauses:

OAv. *aiiå nōiṯ ər°š [vī-šiiātā] . . .*
hiiaṯ īš d°baomā . . . [upā.jasaṯ]
'they did not [discriminate] correctly between these two,
because deception [came over] them' (Y. 30.6);

• separated and fronted:

YAv. *[paⁱti] mąm ər°zuuō [pər°saŋ^vha]*
yezi mąm [paⁱti.pər°såŋhe]
'[consult] me [in turn], O upright (Zarathustra)! . . .
if you [consult] me [in turn]' (V. 18.7);

OAv. *[ā]-zī d°mānəm . . . [°dāṯ] / dušitā-cā*
'for he [has placed] the home [in] . . . and difficulty' (Y. 31.18);

YAv. *yezi-ca hē [hąm] tafnō [jasāṯ]*
'and if fever [comes (and joins) with] her' (V. 7.70);

- post-verbal:

  OAv. *xraosəṇtąm upā*
  'let them be howled upon!' (Y. 53.8);

- one preverb for two forms of the same verb:

  OAv. *yā zī [āitī jə̄nghati]-cā*
  'namely, (those things) that [are (now) coming] (*āiti < ā aē̆'ti*)
  and (those) that [shall come] (*ā . . . jə̄ngha'ti*)' (Y. 31.14);

- two preverbs for one verb:

  YAv. *ā tē aṅhe fra-ca stuiie*-pres. ind.
  'for this I am assigning myself by my praise (*ā-stuiie*?) to you and utter your praise
  (*fra-stuiie*)' (Y. 1.21);

- preverb minus verb:

  OAv. *[apānō] darəgō.jiiā'tīm*
  [ā] xša0rəm vaŋhōuš manaŋhō
  '[having obtained] (*ā-apānō*) long life,
  having (obtained) (*ā*) the command of good thought' (Y. 33.5);

- with change of preverb (and verb?):

  ka0ā drujəm [nīš] ahmaṯ ā [°nāšāmā] /
  tə̄ng ā̆ [auuā] yōi asruštōiš pər'nåŋhō
  'how we shall [take away] here from us the Lie,
  (and) [(bring it) down] upon those who (are) full of refusal to listen' (Y. 44.13).

5.1.3 Repetition of preverb in tmesis

In Old Avestan (exceptionally in YAv.), preverbs separated from the verb are often repeated directly before the verb (observing sandhi rules). This phenomenon was early on recognized as ancient interference with the text, as the repeated preverbs obey sandhi rules, but are shown by the meter to be additions to the text:

OAv. *[frō] spəṇtā ārma'tē / ašā daēnå [fra-daxšaiiā]*
'[launch forth], O Humility, (our) vison-souls through life-giving Order!' (Y. 33.13);

YAv. *[auua] mē āziš . . . aŋhuuąm [auua-dər°ną] sadaiie'ti*
'that *āzi* (= ?) appears (to be) [ripping off] my life thread' (V. 18.19).

5.2 Topicalisation: 'raising' and 'lowering'

Departures from the basic word order are frequent, most often for metrical reasons, but also for emphasis of various kinds (see also section 10 Stylistic features).

'Raising/fronting' and 'lowering/backing' of the main constituents are quite common.

In addition, in the Old Avestan and Young Avestan metrical texts, word order to a large extent depends on the exigencies of the metrical units, although similar tendencies in Old Persian show that it is also a feature of elevated style (cf. Hale 1988).

In general, verbs tend to be raised to initial position, and other parts of the sentence tend to be lowered. In Old Avestan, this often happens when the sentence goes over more than one 'half-line'. In Young Avestan and Old Persian, it frequently happens with complex direct objects. Raising is often combined with other effects, such as parallelism and chiasmus.

5.2.1   Raising of verb

OAv. *[ahmī] mazdā anaēšō . . . kamnānā ahmī*
'[I am], O Mazdā, weak . . . of few men I am' (Y. 46.2) [chiasmus];

YAv. *[jamiiāṱ] vō vaŋhaoṱ vaŋhō*
'[may there come] to you (what is) better than good! (Y. 59.31);

OPers. *[θātiy] dārayavauš xšāyaθiya*
'King Darius [announces]'.

5.2.2   Raising of direct object

OAv. *yaθā [ratūm] ahurō vaēdā*
'how the Lord knows [the model] (to be)' (Y. 31.2);

YAv. *mā yauue [imaṱ nmānəm] xᵛāθrauuaṱ xᵛarᵊnō frazahīṱ*
'may not ever Fortune providing comfort leave [this house]!' (Y. 60.7);

OPers. *[xšaçam] hauv agarbāyatā*
'[the royal command] *he* took for himself' (DB 1.41–42).

5.2.3   Lowering of subject

OAv. *āuuiš . . . həṇtū . . . [rātaiiō]*
'let there appear . . . [gifts]!' (Y. 33.7);

YAv. *ā dim pərᵊsaṱ [zaraθuštrō]* 'Zarathustra asked him' (Y. 9.1).

5.2.4   Lowering of direct/indirect object

Lowering, often for metrical reasons, is frequently found with phrases (dir. obj., double dir. objs., indir. obj.) consisting of noun + determinative or sequences of nouns:

OAv. *iθā āṱ yazamaᵢdē [ahurəm mazdąm]*
'thus, in this manner we are sacrificing [to Ahura Mazdā]' (Y. 37.1);

YAv. *yaṱ kərᵊnaoṱ aŋhe xšaθrāδa / a-marśaṇta [pasu vira]* [8 + 8 syllables]
'. . . that he (= Yima) made during his reign / imperishable [cattle and men]' (Y. 9.4);

OPers. *yadiy imam dipim vaināhay [imai]-vā [patikarā]*
'if you see this inscription or [these pictures] . . .' (DB 4.72–73).

5.2.5 Lowering of adverbial complements

YAv. *mā ząm vaēnōiṯ [ašibiia]*
'may he not see the earth [with (his evil) eyes]!' (Y. 9.29);

OPers. *avam kāram . . . adam a-janam [vasiy]*
'I smashed that army [greatly]' (DB 1.88–89).

5.3 Special types of clauses

Regular positive statements are of the common Indo-Iranian type. Following are remarks on special clauses.

5.3.1 Questions

Explicit questions are introduced by interrogative pronouns or particles. When they are not, they are, obviously, sometimes difficult to identify. The mood in questions is often the deliberative subjunctive (see section 7.2.1.1):

- without interrogative particle:

  OAv. *vīdušē zī nā mruiiāṯ*
  'for may a man tell the knowing one?' (Y. 51.8);

- with interrogative pronouns:

  OAv. *[kə̄] vā ašā āfraštā [kā] spəṇtā ārma'tiš*
  '[who] has either consulted with Order, (and) [with whom] (has) life-giving Humility (consulted)? (Y. 51.11);
  YAv. *[kuua] hē aošō viṇdāma*
  '[where] shall we find death for him?' (V. 19.46);

- with interrogative particle, including *kaṯ* and *-nā*, approximately 'I wonder':

  OAv. *[kaṯ] mōi uruuā isē cahiiā auuaŋhō*
  'does my soul, I wonder, control anybody's help (at all)?' (Y. 50.1);

  kə̄m[-nā] mazdā mauua'tē pāiiūm dadå
  'whom, [I wonder], do you, O Mazdā, give as protector to one like me?' (Y. 46.7);

- disjunctive questions:

  OAv. *[katārəm] ašauuå [vā] drəguuå [vā]*
  vərənauua'tē maziiō I
  vīduuå vīdušē mraotū
  '[whether] the sustainer of Order [or] the one possessed by the Lie
  will *retain for himself the greater (reward),
  let him who knows say to the one who knows!' (Y. 31.17);

  YAv. *[katārəm] āθrauua aθa"runəm [vā] paraiiāṯ*
  gaēθanąm [vā] aspərᵊnō auuōiṯ
  'should the priest go away to (do) priestly studies,
  [or] should he help as *overseer of the livestock?' (Her. 3).

5.3.2 Exhortations and commands

Exhortations (commands, suggestions, wishes) to 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person are expressed in various ways. Simple commands are expressed by the imperative. Negated commands or exhortations (also to 1st pers.) are expressed by *mā* + inj. (pres. or aor.) or *mā* + opt. (YAv., OPers.).

Wishes are expressed by the optative, negated by OAv. *nōiṯ*, YAv., OPers. *mā*. The difference between negated commands and negated wishes is sometimes minimal.

5.3.3 Parenthetical clauses in the nominative

Parenthetical clauses in the nominative are found in Avestan:

OAv. *nū īm vīspā [ciθrə̄ zī] mazdåŋhō.dūm*
'now, (you) all, – [for it (is) brilliant!] – pay attention to it (the announcement?) . . .'
(Y. 45.1).

In Young Avestan, we occasionally find descriptive parenthetical phrases in the nominative such as the following:

upa.tacaṯ arᵊduuī sūra anāhita ka⁞ninō kəhrpa srīraiiå . . .
[raēuuaṯ ciθrəm] āzātaiiå
'Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā came running in the body of a beautiful young woman
– [(her) seed (being) wealthy (= of wealthy seed)] – high-born' (Yt.5.64).

On the Old Persian 'naming phrase', see section 6.4.1.1.

5.3.4 Reported speech

Reported speech is identical with direct speech and may be recognizable by context only: in Avestan as the object of verbs of speaking, thinking, etc., or accompanied by the particle *u⁞tī̆*; in Old Persian introduced by the conjunction *taya* (cf. Schmitt 1995). It is found in the following cases:

object of verbs of speaking, thinking, etc.:
OAv. *ōiiā cistī [huuō ptā aṣahiiā mazdå]*
'by this insight: [He is the father of Order, the all-knowing one]' (Y. 47.2);

YAv. *yaṯ *aēšō yō apərᵊnāiiukō . . .*
*aoxtō vā hē aoxte [*θβaṯ pairi *aŋha]*
'when this child . . .
or having been spoken to says to him: [I shall stay with you]!' (Her. 7);

OPers. *yadi-maniyāʰiy [šiyāta ahaniy jīva utā mərta ərtāvā ahaniy]*
'If you shall think: [Let me be happy both (while) alive, and (after I am) dead let me be blessed!] . . .' (XPh 46–50).

In Old Persian the verb of speaking, thinking, etc., can be embedded in the reported speech:

[taya] amaniyaiy [kunavāniy] ava-maiy visam ucāram āha
'[whatever] I thought [I shall do] that all was easy for me' (DSI).

The Avestan particle *uᶤtī* precedes or follows reported speech:

OAv. *yaiiå spaniiå* **uᶤtī** *mrauuaţ yə̄m ạngrəm /*
[nōiţ nā manå . . . nōiţ daēnå noiţ uruuąnō hacintē]
'of which two the life-giving one **thus** shall say (to him) whom (you know to be) the Evil one:
[Neither our thoughts . . . nor vision-souls, nor souls go together]' (Y. 45.2);

YAv. *[ā̆ᵘţ vō kas-ciţ mašiiānąm]*
uᶤti *mraoţ ahurō mazdå* ᐧ
[āi ašāum zaraθuštra xᵛarᵊnō axᵛarᵊtəm isaēta]
'[therefore may each of you men]
– **thus** said Ahura Mazdā –
[O Orderly Zarathustra, seek the unseizable Fortune!]' (Yt. 19.53).

In Young Avestan, *uᶤti* is often found with *aojana-: uᶤti aojana-, uᶤtiiaojana-* 'thus saying':

yō aoxta ahurāi mazdāi uᶤtiiaojanō
[ahura mazda mainiiō spə̄ništa . . .]
'who said to Ahura Mazdā thus saying:
[O Ahura Mazdā, most Life-giving Spirit . . .]' (Yt. 8.10).

The OAv. particle *uitī*, apparently, also serves to abbreviate statements:

yōi vaŋhə̄uš ā manaŋhō šiiéntī
yås-cā [uᶤtī]
'the male (deities) who dwell with good thought,
as well as the female ones who ["dwell with good thought"]' (Y. 39.3).

6 SYNTAX II: NOMINALS

6.1 Specificity and reference

There are no articles, but relative clauses and, especially, constructions with relative particles are used to express specificity, and demonstrative pronouns are used for reference to elements of the discourse (the former/latter, the aforementioned/following).

6.1.1 The Young Avestan and Old Persian connecting relative and the relative particle

In Young Avestan and Old Persian, the relative pronoun is frequently used to connect a noun with a nominal (adjective, genitive, etc.). Its function must originally have been 'specifying' or 'delimiting', cf. OPers. *hayā manā taumā* vs. *manā taumā* = 'my family' vs. 'my *family*'.

In these constructions, when the antecedent is in the nominative or accusative, the relative pronoun is usually in the same case.

In Young Avestan, the relative pronoun takes the invariable from nom.-acc. sing. neut. *yaţ* when the antecedent is in a case other than the nominative or accusative, occasionally also when it is in the nominative or accusative. In such clauses, the case of the relative pronoun and the predicate noun or adjective is the same as that of the antecedent.

6.1.1.1 Antecedent outside the relative phrase

Nominative-accusative:

YAv. *[vīspəm imaṯ yaṯ juiiō aŋhuš]*-**nom.**
'[all this, the living existence]' = 'this entire living existence' (H. 2.2);

[Oβąm] raṯūm āiiese yešti [yim zaraθuštrəm]-**acc.**
'[you, Zarathustra], I harness by my sacrificing as model' (Vr. 2.4);

yō pao'riiō [gāθå] frasrāuuaiiaṯ
[yå panca]-**acc.** *spitāmahe . . . zaraθuštrahe*
'(Sraoša) who (as) the first made heard [the *Gāθā*s],
[the five] of Spitāma Zarathustra' (Y. 57.8);

haomō [təm-ciṯ yim kərəsānīm]-**acc.** *apa.xšaθrəm nišāδaiiaṯ*
'the haoma set [that Kərəsāni, too], down away from his command' (Y. 9.24);

OPers. *[kāra haya manā]*-**nom.** *avam [kāram tayam hamiçiyam]*-**acc.** *ajāⁿ vasiy*
'[my army] crushed that [conspiratorial army]' (DB 2.25–26).

6.1.1.1a With invariable yaṯ
YAv.

[puθrəm yaṯ pourušaspahe]-**acc.**
'[the son of Pourušaspa]' (Yt. 5.18);

cuuaṯ [aētaŋhå apō yaṯ armaēštaiiå]-**gen.**
'how much [of this standing water]?' (V. 6.30).

6.1.1.2 Antecedent inside the relative phrase

YAv. *yaṯ upaŋhacaṯ [yim yiməm xšaētəm huuąθβəm]*-**acc.**
'that he followed [splendid Yima of good herds]' (Yt. 19.31);

OPers. *imā dahạyāva [tayanā manā dātā]*-**abl.-inst.** *apariyāya*
'these lands behaved [according to *my* law]' (DB 1.20)

6.2 Number

Singular, plural, and dual are used in the usual ways, with a few noteworthy special features.

6.2.1 Neuter plural

The neuter plural of adjectives and pronouns is commonly used in the sense of 'things':

OAv. *[yā] . . . [acištā]*-**p/nt.** *daṇtō / vaxšəṇtē*
'giving [(those) which] (are) [the worst (things)] / to the blazing (fire)' (Y. 32.4);

YAv. *[vaŋhu]*-**p/nt.**-*ca [vaŋhås]*-**p/nt.**-*ca āfrīnāmi*
'I invite as (guest-)friends [good] and [better (things)]' (Y.52.1).

6.2.2 Dual

The dual is used with the numeral *dųa-* 'two' and the pronoun *uba-* 'both' or alone to indicate a pair of equal items (natural pairs or arbitrary items). Some words have only dual forms (OPers. *uší* 'hearing, consciousness'). See also section 6.3.2.

Two singular items:

> OAv. *at̲* . . . *[ahuuā . . frīnəmnā]* . . .
> *mə̄ uruuā gə̄uš-cā aziiå*
> 'thus, [we two were there presenting ourselves as guest friends]:
> *my* soul and that of the fertile cow' (Y. 29.5).

A special form of the dual is the 'elliptical dual':

> YAv. *[hāųuanaiiås]-***du/gen.**-*ca ašaiia [frašūtaiiå]*
> 'and [of the mortar (and pestle) moved forth] in Orderly fashion' (Y. 27.7);

> *[duuaē̆biia haca nər̲biia duua nara] us.zaiie̲n̲te* [plur. for dual] . . .
> *stri-ca na̲riias-ca*
> '[from two men (= a man and woman) two men] are born:
> female and male' (V. 2.41).

6.3 Grammatical concord

Grammatical concord is of the usual Indo-European/Indo-Iranian type: between nouns and adjectives, pronouns, and numerals; between nouns and appositions and in comparisons introduced by *yaθa* 'like, than'; and between subject and verb. There are some archaic and novel features:

6.3.1 Gender

Adjectives (including participles), pronouns, and verbs modifying several nouns tend to agree with the nearest one:

> OAv. *vī.nə̄nāsā [yā-***s/f.** *kar̲pō.tås- cā-***s/f.** *kəuuītås-cā]*
> 'ruined are [what (are) the words *karapan* and *kauuī*]' (Y. 32.15);

> *[yąm] då* . . . *[xšnūtəm* **hiiat̲** *"ruuatəm* . . .*]* *tat̲ nə̄ vaocā*
> '[the *favour-***s/f. which** you (first) established . . . the deal-**nt. which** (you have)] . . .
> speak **that-nt.** to us' (Y. 31.3).

6.3.2 Dual determinants

Dual forms of determinants and verbs may agree with two singular nouns forming a pair:

> YAv. *staomi [maē̆yəm]-***s/m.**-*ca [vārəm]-***s/m.**-*ca*
> *[yā]-***du/m.** *tē kəhrpəm [vaxšaiiatō]-***3du**
> 'I praise [the fog and the rain,
> which make] your body [grow]' (Y. 10.3).

To express 'both X and Y', Avestan uses the construction 'both: (namely) X and Y', where 'both' is OAv., OPers. *ubā*, YAv. *uua* or the invariable pronoun *uuaēm* (<*ub^haiam*):

OAv. *ubē-**du/f.** hā^druuås-**s/f.-***cā* . . . *amər^>tatås-**s/f.-***cā*
'both wholeness and immortality' (Y. 34.11);

YAv. *uuaēm x^var^>θəm-**s/nt.-***ca vastrəm* -**s/nt.-***ca*
'both food and clothing' (Y. 55.2);

OPers. *utā vištāspa-**s/m.** utā ạršāma-**s/m.** ubā ajīvatam-**3du**
'Hystaspes and Arsames were both alive' (XPf 19–21).

6.3.3 Plural subject and singular verb

A neuter plural subject takes a singular verb both in Old and Young Avestan (where we also find plural agreement):

OAv. *[sax^var^3]-**p/nt.** . . . [yā]-**p/nt.** zī [vā-uuər^>zōi]-**3s** . . . [yā]-**p/nt.-***cā [var^>ša^ite]-**3s**
'[the *verses], namely (those) [which have been produced] and (those) [which will be produced]' (Y. 29.4);

YAv. *[vər^>ziiatạm]-**3s-***ca iδa [vohu vāstriia]-**p/nt.**
'and [let good pastures be produced] here!' (Vr. 15.1),
but
*kuua [tā dāθra]-**p** pa^iti [haṇjasəṇte]-**3p**
'where [are those gifts *totalled] in turn?' (V. 19.27).

6.4 Uses of the cases

Cases fall into the generic, but not always clearcut, categories of 'grammatical' and 'other' cases. The former, nominative, accusative (DO), genitive, dative, are those required by the syntactical structure of the noun phrase and sentence, while the latter include the vocative (address, invocation) and the 'local' cases: (local) accusative, ablative, instrumental, locative, which are 'free/independent' verb- or sentence-modifying cases and are often accompanied by adpositions.

6.4.1 Nominative

The nominative is used for the subject of any verb and the predicate of 'to be, become' and verbs such as 'to seem; be called, declare (oneself as); be announced, renowned, made/established (as)', as well as appositions to such nominatives:

with copula:
OAv. *yūžəm zəuuištiiåŋhō īšō*
'you (all are) the fastest invigorants' (Y. 28.9);

YAv. *hapta həṇti . . . ratauuō*
'seven are the models' (N. 84);

OPers. *hamaranakara a^hmiy ^hušhamaranakara*
'(as) a fighter, I am a good fighter' (DNb 34);

with verbs of thinking, declaration, etc.:

OAv. *aṭ hōi [aojī zaraϑuštrō]*
'thus, [I declare myself to him (as) Zarathustra]' (Y. 43.8);

YAv. *nmānəm hō [maniiaēta para.daϑō]*
'[he may think] (of himself as) [giving] a house' (V. 18.28);

OPers. *[fratara maniyaiy] aϑuvāyā*
'[I consider myself superior] to fear' (DNb 38).

6.4.1.1 The Old Persian nominative naming phrase

In Old Persian, the names of persons and places in narrative passages may be introduced by a name in the nominative + *nāmă* 'by name', which agrees in gender with the following noun: name-**nom.** + *nāma* + masc., neut./*nāmā* + fem. and may be regarded as an adjectival compound. The entire phrase may have any syntactic function and even be governed by a preposition; its function may then be made explicit by an anaphoric pronoun or adverb:

*I martiya-***s/m.** *[martiya nāma]-***s/m.** *cin̄caxraiš puça-***s/m.**
*[kuganakā nāma]-***s/nt.** *vardanam-***s/nt.** *pārsaiy* **avadā** *adāraya*
hauv *udapatatā ūvjaiy*
'one man [Martiya by name] son of Cincaxri,
[Kuganakā by name] a town in Persia, **there** he was staying,
he rose up in Elam'
= 'one man called Martiya, son of Cincaxri, who was staying in the town of Kuganakā in Persia, rose up in Elam' (DB 2.8–9);

*[kāpišakāniš nāmā]-***s/f** *didā-***s/f** **avadā** *hamaranam akunava*
'Kāpišakāni by name, a fortress, **there** they fought the battle'
= 'they fought the battle at a fortress called Kāpišakāni' (DB 3.60–61);

*hacā [pirāva nāma rauta]-***s/nt.**
'from: [Nile by name, a river]' = 'from the river Nile' (DZc 9).

The construction may be found in Young Avestan, but the examples are too few to be certain:

saošiiąs [vərᵊϑraja nąma]
'the Revitaliser [Obstruction-smasher by name]' (Yt. 13.129).

6.4.2 Vocative

The vocative is used for address and is often used together with an imperative or in questions:

OAv. *[fᵊrašaoštrā] aϑrā tū . . . idī*
'[O Frašaoštra], you, **go** there!' (Y. 46.16);

YAv. *kō [narᵊ] ahī . . .
azəm ahmi [zaraϑuštra] haomō*

'who, [O man], are you? . . .
I am, [O Zarathustra], the *haoma*' (Y. 9.1–2);

OPers. *[martiyā] hayā auramazdāhā framānā hauv-taiy gastā* **mā θadaya**
'[O man], **do not let** Ahuramazdā's command **seem** evil to you!' (DNa 56–58).

In Young Avestan, a vocative may be introduced by the particle *āi*:

[āi miθra vo"ru.gaoiiao'te]
'[O Miθra, who provide wide grazing grounds], . . .' (Yt. 10.42).

A 2nd pers. pronoun in the nominative may be followed by a vocative:

tūm [miθra vo"ru.gaoiiao'te]
'you, [O Miθra, who provide wide grazing grounds], . . .' (Yt. 10.94);

but one in the acc. by another acc.:

ā [θβā ātrəm] gāraiiemi
'I sing (of) [you, the fire = O fire], a song of praise' (*Ātaš Niyāyišn* 2).

6.4.3 Accusative

The accusative is used for the direct object and the predicate of the direct object, as well as appositions to these. Two accusatives are found with verbs of calling, asking, taking away, etc. The accusative is used with several prepositions, most of them local with the sense of direction.

6.4.3.1 Direct object and predicate of direct object

OAv. *[ratūš] səṇgha'tī ārma'tiš*
'Humility is announcing [the models]' (Y. 43.6);

[spəṇtəm] aṭ [θβā] . . . məṇhī
'thus, I (now) think of [you (as) life-giving]' (Y. 43.5);

YAv. *ā'ṭ yimō [imąm ząm] vī.śauuaiiaṭ*
'then Yima made [this earth] go to the sides' (V. 2.11);

[xšaiiamnəm ašauuanəm] dāiiataʿ
place [in command the sustainer of Order]!' (Y. 8.5);

OPers. *dārayavauš imam duuarθim . . . akunauš*
'Darius made [this gate]' (XPa 11–13);

[aniyam ušabārim] akunavam
'[another] I made [camel-riding]' = 'I made another (cross the river) riding a camel' (DB 1.86–87).

6.4.3.2 Direct objects with nouns and adjectives expressing actions

Nouns and adjectives expressing actions frequently take accusative objects:

OAv. *vohū xšaθrəm [va'rīm bāgəm] a'bī.ba'rištəm*
'the good command (is) **the best bringer of** [a well-deserved portion]' (Y. 51.1);

YAv. *sraošō . . . [driɣum] θrātō.təmō*
'Sraoša, **the greatest protector of** [a poor (man)]' (Yt. 11.3);

OPers. *auramazdā [θuvām] daušta biyā*
'may Ahuramazdā be **the one who favours** [you]!' (DB 4.54–55).

6.4.3.3 Double accusative

Two accusative objects, one personal and one thing, is found with verbs meaning 'ask for, take away from':

YAv. *[yānəm vō] yāsāmi*
'I request [from you a request]' (Y. 65.11);

OAv. *duš.sastiš . . . apō [mā īštīm] °iiaṇtā*
'the one of bad announcing . . . **robs** [me of (my) wish]' (Y. 32.9);

OPers. *[xšaçam taya] gaumāta . . adīnā [kaᵐbūjiyam]*
'[the royal command (of) which] Gaumāta . . . **robbed** [Cambyses]' (DB 1.43–48).

The second direct object can be an 'inner object', which may etymologically related to the verb or not:

vīδāraēm zaraθuštra aom asmanəm . . .
[yim] mazdå **vaste** *[vaŋhanəm]*
'I held out yonder sky, O Zarathustra,
[which] Mazdā **wears** (as) [(his) garment]' (Yt. 13.2–3);

yō [aēšmǝm] . . . [xᵛarǝm] jaⁱṇti
'(Sraoša), who **strikes** [Wrath a wound]' (Y. 57.10).

6.4.3.4 Accusative with impersonal verbs

The construction of an impersonal verb (or noun + copula) + personal accusative (also known from Latin) is found in Old Persian (cf. MPers. Chapter 4, section 4.3.9.1).

with *vạrnav-* 'believe':

mām/θuvām naiy vạrnavataiy
'me/you it does not believe' = 'I/you do not believe';

with *kāma ah-* 'wish':

[auramazdām] avaθā [kāma āha]
'[to Ahuramazdā] thus [the wish was]' = 'Ahuramazdā wished it thus' (XPf 21–22).

6.4.3.5 Adverbial accusative

The accusative is used to express direction with verbs of motion and calling. In Old Avestan, it can be personal or impersonal. In Old Persian, it is used about place whither, alternating with *abiy*, while persons take the preposition *abiy*:

OAv. *[aēšᵒmǝm] hǝṇduuarǝ̄ṇtā*
'they would scramble together [to Wrath]' (Y. 30.6);

YAv. (few certain examples):

> *aᵘrⁱme [gātūm] hē **nišhiδaēta***
> '**he should sit down** quietly [in] his [place]' (V. 9.33);

> OPers. *avam adam frāišayam [arminam]*
> 'him **I sent** [to Armenia]' (DB 2.30)
> but
> *adam frāišayam . . . [abiy avam]*
> 'I sent . . . [to (= against) him]' (DB 3.12–14).

6.4.3.6 Accusative of length of time, space and measure

> OAv. *vīspā aiiārⁱ-p/nt.*
> 'for all (his) days' (Y. 43.2);

> YAv. *haminəm-ca zaiianəm-ca*
> 'throughout both summer and winter' (Y. 65.5 = Yt. 5.5);

> *[varcⁱθim paṇtąm] azaⁱte*
> '(she = the cow) is driven [along the road of captivity]' (Yt. 10.38);

> OPers. *[XL arašnīš] baršnā*
> '[forty cubits] in depth' (DSf 26).

6.4.3.7 Accusative 'of respect'

This accusative (like the instrumental) expresses 'with respect to' and is often used with superlatives and in *figura etymologica* (see section 6.4.7.1c).

> OAv. *voⁱhū uxšiiā manaŋhā . . . [tanūm]*
> 'grow [in body] by good thought!' (Y. 33.10);

> YAv. *yaṱ as [ašəm] ašauuastəməm*
> 'as he was [in Order] the most Orderly' (Yt. 19.79).

6.4.3.8 Accusative with adposition

Numerous adpositions govern the accusative. When they govern more than one case, the function of the accusative is similar to that of the accusative in general (e.g. motion toward):

Av. *aδaⁱri* 'beneath'; – *aṇtarᵊ*, *aṇtarᵊ-ca*, OPers. *aⁿtar* 'between'; – Av. *aⁱbī*, *auui*, *aoi*; OPers. *abiy* 'to', etc.; – Av. *aⁱpī* 'after, throughout'; – OPers. *pariy* 'about'; – *paišiyā* 'before'; – Av. *paⁱti*, OPers. *patiy* (*patiš*) 'on, at, against' etc.; – Av. *para* 'before'; – OPers. *paraʰ* 'beyond'; – Av. *pasca*, OPers. *pasā* 'behind, after'; – Av. *tarō*, *tarasca* 'across, over'; – Av. *upa*, OPers. *upā* 'in, at, under (during the reign of)'; – Av. *upaⁱri*, OPers. *upariy* 'over, on, above, compared to'.

6.4.3.9 Young Avestan nominative for accusative

In Young Avestan, whole phrases in the nominative, especially plural, often occupy positions in the sentence which would require them to be in the accusative. This is no doubt an effect of the oral transmission:

ya̜t bauuāni a'βi.vaniiå
[vispe daēuua mašiiā-ca vispe yātauuō pa'rikås-ca]
for:
*[vispə̄ daēuuū mašiiᶏs-ca vispə̄ yātūš pa'rikås-ca]
'that I may be an overcomer of = overcome
[all old gods and men, all sorcerers and witches]' (Yt. 15.12).

6.4.4 Genitive

The main function of the genitive is 'adnominal'. The main adnominal functions are 'possessive' and 'partitive'. The genitive is also used with verbs and adjectives.

6.4.4.1 Possessive genitive

Possession is expressed by the genitive (also in noun clauses, where gen. + 'to be' = 'to have', see section 7.1.6.3). The use of the possessive genitive ranges from material possession to genitive of definition. A possessive genitive can be coordinated with a possessive pronoun. Series of two or three dependent genitives are common:

OAv. *[vaŋhə̄uš] dazdā [manaŋhō]*
[šiiaoθ'nanᶏm] [aŋhə̄uš] mazdāi
'(the Model) [of good thought] is established –
(and) [of the actions] [of the (new) existence] – for the All-knowing one' (Y. 27.13;
other parsing possible);

YAv. *tum zaraθuštrō [nmānahe] [po"rušaspahe]*
'you (are) Zarathustra [of (= belonging to) the house] [of Pourušāspa]' (Y. 9.13);

OPers. *[dārᶏyavahauš XŠhᶏyā] viθiyā*
'in the house [of king Darius]' (DPi).

The genitive can be governed by the prior member of a compound:

YAv. *[kamarəδō].janō [daēuuanᶏm]*
'the [head]-smasher [of the old gods]' (Y. 57.33).

See also section 10.5 Figura etymologica.

6.4.4.2 Subjective and objective genitive

Subjective and objective genitives represents 'transformations' of sentences of the structure SV or OV > N$_{gen}$ N:

OAv. *aēšē [ašahiiā]*
'in search [of Order]' < 'he seeks order-**DO**' (Y. 28.4);

YAv. *[ahe] yasna [yazatanᶏm]*
'by [his]-**S/gen.** sacrifice [of = to the gods- **DO/gen.**]' < 'he-**S** sacrifices to the gods-**DO**' (Y. 57.3);

OPers. *xšāyaθiya [dahᶏyūnām]*
'king [of/over lands]' < 'king rules the lands' (DNa 8–11).

6.4.4.3 Defining or descriptive genitive

This genitive is used to define or delimit the scope of a noun. Its most common use is to define a crime of which one is guilty or accused, that for which one must pay penalty, or that which one confesses (the 'forensic/legal' gen.), but genitive phrases describing persons or objects are also found:

Descriptive genitive:

YAv.
[vīsō sūraiiå] θraētaonō
'Thraetaona [of a vigorous house]' (Y.9.7);

vazrəm . . . [zarōiš aiiaŋhō] frahixtəm
'a cudgel . . . cast [in tawny bronze]' (Yt. 10.96).

'Forensic' genitive:

OAv. *yadā [aēšąm]* **kaēnā** *jamaⁱtī [aēnaŋhąm]*
'when the **retribution** comes [for these sins]' (Y. 30.8);

YAv. *hāuuaņta [aētahe šiiaoθnahe] vər^əziiąn*
'they should perform equal (penalties) [for this action]' (V. 15.14).

6.4.4.5 Partitive genitive

The partitive genitive expresses that something is part of a totality or an example of group and is found with nouns (one among, etc.), superlatives or adjectives with implicit superlative meaning (often with *hātąm* 'among/of (all) those that are'), pronouns, adverbs of place and time, numerals (from 'twenty' and up), and other words expressing quantity. It is often used in expressions of time ('sometime during'), sometimes of place ('somewhere in'):

OAv. *[hātąm] huuō* **aojištō**
'he (is) **strongest** [of/among (all) those who are]' (Y. 29.3);

YAv. *yātauuō [mašiiānąm]*
'sorcerers [among men]' (Yt. 8.44);

OPers. *VIII manā [taumāyā] tayaiy paruvam xšāyaθiyā āha*
'(there were) eight [of my family] who had been kings before' (DB 1.8–10).

A 'free' partitive genitive (French *du*, etc.) is found with verbs of giving, bringing, partaking, etc.:

YAv. *yaṯ vā mašiiō [mašiianąm xšudranąm] para.gə^uruuaiieⁱti*
'or when a man receives [(some) men's semen]' (V. 8.32).

6.4.4.6 Genitive with adjectives and verbs

The genitive with adjectives meaning 'full of, satisfied with' and with verbs meaning 'rule (over), be in command of' is probably a variant of the partitive genitive:

OAv. *yōi [a-sruštōiš]* **pər^ənåŋhō**
'who, **full** [of refusal to listen]' (Y. 44.13);

YAv. *īm zå bauuaṯ* **pər°na** *[pasuuąm]-ca*
'this earth became **full** [of sheep] and . . .' (V. 2.8);

OPers. *adam[-šām]* **patiyaxšayaiy**
'**I ruled** [over them]' (DNa 6).

OAv. *kaṯ mōi uruuā* **isē** *cahiiā [auuaŋhō]*
'does my soul, I wonder, **command** anyone's [help]?' (Y. 50.1);

YAv. *naēδa-ca pascaēta hāu nā . . .* **isaēta** *[frašūtōiš]*
'not **may** that man thereafter **be capable** [of going forth]' (P. 22).

6.4.4.7 Genitive with adpositions

A few adpositions govern the genitive, some of them also other cases:
   OPers. *anuv* 'according to'; – Av. *pa⁴ti* 'on, with, in return for'; – *parō* 'before, in front of'; – *pasca*, OPers. *pasā*; – OPers. *rādiy* 'on account of'.

6.4.5 Dative

The dative (OPers. gen.-dat.) expresses the indirect object (usually animate or personified inanimate) with transitive verbs, most often accompanying a direct object, in the sense of 'giving sth. to sb.', 'doing sth. for sb.' (*dativus commodi*), but also with intransitive verbs.

6.4.5.1 Indirect object

When accompanied by a direct object, the dative is usually (but not exclusively) a personal dative of the indirect object:

OAv. *[kahmāi]* **mā** *θβar°ždūm*
'[for whom] have you carved **me**?' (Y. 29.1);

aṯ **mā** *. . [mazōi magāi.ā] pa⁴tī.zānᵈtā*
'so . . . acknowledge **me** [for the great gift exchange]' (Y. 29.11);

YAv. *yā aom puθrəm bara⁴ti [aniiahmāi aršānāi]* **varštəm**
[pa⁴θe] upa.bara⁴ti
'(the evil woman) who bears that son **produced** [for another male]
(and then) presents (**him**) [to (her) husband] (as his)' (Yt. 17.58);

OPers. *[aniyahҫyā]* **asam frānayam**
'[for another] I brought **a horse**' (DB 1.87).

   This dative can be governed by a compound:

YAv. *vāstrō.bər°taheca [gauue huδå**ŋ**he]*
'and of the one by whom **grass** is brought [to the cow giving good gifts]' (Vr. 1.9).

6.4.5.2 Final dative

The dative of inanimate nouns can express purpose (final dative), often in connection with a verb of movement and together with a dative of the person for whose benefit it happens, the *dativus commodi*:

OAv. *kuθrā [mər°ždikāi] axštaṯ*
'where will (someone) stand by [for (= to show) mercy]?' (Y. 51.4);

ā mōi [raf°δrāi] zauuə̄ṇg jasatā
'come to (my) calls (acc. of goal of motion) [for support] **for me!**' (Y. 28.3);

YAv. *ahmāi jasaᶦti [auuaŋhe]*
'he comes [for help] **for him**' = 'he comes in order to help him' (Yt. 10.87).

6.4.5.3 Dativus commodi

This dative is found especially with intransitive verbs and is often accompanied by an impersonal dative of purpose:

YAv. *āᵃṯ [yimāi] [xšaθrāi] θrisatō.z°ma həṇjasəṇta*
'then [for Yima] [for (his) command] three hundred winters came together' (V. 2.8);

[aᶦβiiō vaŋᵛhibiiō] imā̊ zaoθrā̊
'[for the good waters (are)] these libations' (Y. 22.2);

OPers. *imā dahạyāva tayā [manā] *patiyāišaᵈ*
'these (are) the lands which came [to me]' (DB 1.13).

This dative is also used to refer to future time:

parō. asnāi aŋᵛhe
'for (the duration of his) future existence' (Āfr. 3.7).

6.4.5.4 Dative with nouns and adjectives

The same dative is found with nouns and adjectives ('good for', etc.) and interjections (*ušta* 'wished-for-things, good luck', *nəmō* 'reverence/homage to, hail!', *sādrəm* 'bad luck for!', OAv. *auuōi*, YAv. *āuuōiia* 'woe to!'):

OAv. *huuō [ᵘrušaēᶦbiiō] spəṇtō*
'he is **life-giving** [for the meager ones]' (Y. 29.7);

YAv. *ušta buiiāṯ [ahmāi naᶦre]*
'may there be **wished-for things/good luck** [for this man]!' (Y. 62.1).

6.4.5.5 Dative of agent

The dative is found with verbal adjectives in *-iia-*, *-θa-*, or *-θβa-* (*-tuua-*), meaning 'which should be done **by** somebody':

OAv. *aṯ tā vaxšiiā išəṇtō*
yā mazdāθā hiiaṯcīṯ [vīdušē]
'thus, I shall speak, O (you) who wish to come,
those (words) which **should be paid attention to,**
even when [by someone who knows] (them)' (Y. 30.1);

YAv. *miθrō yō nōiṯ [kahmāi] aiβi.draoxδō*
'Miθra, who (is) not **to be deceived** [by anybody]' (Yt. 10.17).

6.4.6 Ablative

The ablative expresses separation – movement away from; distance from or point of origin seen from nearby (usually with *ā*) – and comparison ('than'). In Old Persian, these functions of the instrumental-ablative require the preposition *hacā*.

6.4.6.1 Ablative of separation

> OAv. *yə̄ īš **pāṯ** [darᵊsāṯ] aṣ̌ahiiā*
> 'which shall **keep** them [from the sight] of Order' (Y. 32.13);

> *aṇtarᵊ vīspə̄ṇg drəguuatō [haxmə̄ṇg] °mruiiē*
> '**I am banning** [from (their) following] all those possessed by the Lie' (Y. 49.3).

Note the special uses of the ablative in the following instances:

> YAv. *[aētahmāṯ puθrāṯ] mimarᵊxšaṇᵛha*
> 'rid yourself [of this child] by destroying it!' (V. 15.14);

ablative of separation plus *parō* 'before, away from':

> YAv. *hō nōiṯ . . . frānāmāᶦte [θβaēšāṯ {parō daēuuaēᶦbiiō}]*
> 'he does not **yield** [{before the old gods} to (their) hostility]' (Y. 57.18).

6.4.6.2 Ablative of comparison, difference and preference

This ablative is found with comparatives, with *aniia-* 'other' (tends to become a mere particle 'other than'), and with verbs:

comparison:

> YAv. *vātō . . . hubaoᶦδiš **hubaoᶦ δitarō** [aniiaēᶦbiiō vātaēᶦbiiō]*
> 'a fragrant wind **more fragrant** [than other winds]' (H. 2.7);

> OPers. ***fratara** maniyaiy [afuvāyā]*
> 'I consider myself **superior** [to fear]' (DNb 38);

with *aniia-*:

> OAv. *aniiə̄m [θβahmāṯ āθras-cā manaṇhas-cā]*
> 'other [than your fire and thought]' (Y. 46.7);

> YAv. *aniiō [θβaṯ yaṯ zaraθuštrāt]*
> '(to anybody) other [than you, Zarathustra]' (V. 2.2).

The ablative may be governed by the first member of a compound:

> YAv. ***uγra**.zaošå [ṯbišiiaṇbiiō]*
> 'those with **strong**(er) desires [than those hostile (to us)]' (Yt. 13.31).

6.4.6.3 Ablative of time or place throughout which

In Young Avestan, the ablative can express time or place throughout which or all the way up to, often with the particle *-a* (see section 3.1.5.3):

[asnā'ṯ -ca xšafnā'ṯ-ca] . . . *āpō auua.barənte*
'[day and night] . . . the waters pour down' (Yt. 5.15);

drujō [vaēsmənd-a] azəmnąm
'being led [(all the way) to the entrance hall] of the Lie' (Yt. 10.86; see de Vaan 2001).

6.4.6.4 Ablative with adpositions

Several adpositions govern the ablative, some of them also other cases; the function of the ablative is then similar to that of the ablative in general (e.g. motion away):

OAv. *a'bī* 'as far as . . . is concerned, to the extent one can'; – YAv. *aδa'ri* '(just) under'; – OPers. *anuv* 'along, on (river)'; – Av. *ā*, YAv. *-a* 'all the way to, at (*chez*), out of, throughout'; – *haca* 'from, in accordance with, on the part of' (also with 'fear'); – OAv. *hanar'* 'without'; – YAv. *maṯ* 'with'; – *pa'ri* 'from, away from, without'; – *pa'ti* 'from on the top of', at, beside, without'; – Av. *parā̆* 'before'; – YAv. *parag°ṯ* 'aside from': – Av. *parō, parə̄* 'before, in front of, from, because of'; – YAv. *pasca* 'after'; – *upa'ri* 'in, throughout'.

6.4.6.5 Young Avestan ablative = genitive

There are few examples in Young Avestan of genitives used as ablatives (other than of *a*-stems). Whether these are survivals of the old ablative forms or errors cannot be verified:

haca [hauuaiiås° tanuuō]
'away from [one's own body]' (V. 10.5) [cf. *auui x°aēpai0iiås° tanuuō*-**p/acc.** in section. 6.5.4.1]; '

frąš [aiiaŋhō] frasparaṯ
'he jumped forth (away) [from the metal (pot)]' (Y.9.11).

6.4.7 Instrumental

The instrumental expresses means/instrument and accompaniment.

6.4.7.1 Instrumental of means

This is one of the most common cases in the Avestan texts, and, especially in Old Avestan, it is often difficult to decide which nuance is intended. In Old Avestan, the instrumental of means can also be used of (divine) persons.

This instrumental is also used of space through which (the road along which) on travels; to express reason or cause; measure and price; and as the instrumental of respect:

OAv. *kə̄ [yā] må uxšiie'tī nər°fsa'tī 0βaṯ*
'who (is he) [through whom] the moon is (now) first waxing then waning' (Y. 44.3);

YAv. *yō aēšməm [stər°0βata sna'0iša]* . . . *ja'nti*
'he who smites Wrath [with a stunning weapon]' (Y. 57.10);

OPers. *imā dahạyāva [tayanā] manā [dātā] apariyāya*
'these lands behaved [by/according to (that) which (is)] my [law]' (DB 1.23).

6.4.7.1a Instrumental of space through which

OAv. *tə̄m aduuānəm . . . daēnå . . . [yā hū.kərᵊtā] . . . ᵐruuāxšaṯ*
'that road . . . [along which, well made], the vision-souls have walked' (Y. 34.13);

YAv. *huuarᵊ [auua paθa] aēⁱti*
'the sun goes [along yonder path]' (Yt. 13.16);

OPers. *[viθbiš-cā] tayā-dīš gaumāta haya maguš adīnā*
adam kāram gāθavā avāṣṭāyam
'and [throughout the houses/towns] which Gaumāta the Magian had taken from them,
I settled the people (back) in its place' (DB 1.65–66).

6.4.7.1b Instrumental of reason and cause

OAv. *vaŋhə̄uš [əuuistī] manaŋhō*
'[on account of not finding] a good thought' (Y. 34.9);

YAv. *yō gāθå asrāuuaiiō [q̇sta vā tarō.maⁱti vā] tanum piriieⁱti*
'he who (goes) without reciting the Gāθās [out of evilness or scorn] forfeits his body'
(N. 41).

6.4.7.1c Instrumental of respect

This instrumental (like the accusative) expresses 'with respect to' and is often used with superlatives and in *figura etymologica* (cf. section 6.4.3.7):

OAv. *ārmaⁱtiš vaxšt / [utaiiūⁱtī təuuīšī]*
'Humility (the earth) has grown [with respect to *texture (and) *tension]' (Y. 34.11);

YAv. *[ama] ahmi amauuastəmō*
'[in force] I am the most forceful' (Yt. 14.3);

OPers. *utā [abiš] nāviyā āha*
'and it (= the Tigris) was *deep [with waters] (= in spate)' (DB 1.85–86).

6.4.7.1d Measure and price

OAv. *fᵊrašə̄m [vasnā] haⁱθiiə̄m då ahūm*
'you have (now) made the existence "juicy" (filled it with vitalising juices) [in (exchange) value]' (Y. 34.15);

YAv. *imq̇m zq̇m vī.šāuuaiiaṯ [aēuua θrišuua] ahmāṯ masiiehīm*
'he made this earth go apart (to make it) [by one-third] larger' (V. 2.11);

OPers. *XL arašnīš [baršnā]*
'forty cubits [in depth]' (DSf 26).

Here may also belong the use of the instr.-abl. *raucabiš* 'days' in the Old Persian dating formula:

month name (X) in gen.-dat. + *māhạyā* 'of the month' + numeral (Y) + *raucabiš*
θakatā āha
'of the month of X, **by Y days**, (the days) had passed' = 'on the Yth of X',

but
month name (X) in gen.-dat. + *māhạyā 1 rauca^h 0akatam āha*
'of the month of X, one day had passed' = 'on the first of X'.

6.4.7.2 Instrumental of accompaniment and dissociation/deprivation

This instrumental is used with verbs of motion, notably *haca-* (mid.) in the sense of 'be accompanied by, be together with, unite/mingle with', as well as with other verbs and expressions for 'togetherness, union', etc. In Old Persian, this function requires the preposition *hadā*:

6.4.7.2a Accompaniment

OAv. *a0rā tū [ar°drāiš] idī*
'you, go there [with the (heavenly) arbiters]!' (Y. 46.16);

YAv. *[x^var°0aē^ibiiō] pascaēta āstaiianṭa*
'afterward they should approach [with foods]' (V. 3.18).

6.4.7.2b Dissociation/deprivation

OAv. *parə̄ vå [vīspāiš] °vaox°mā [daēuuāiš]-cā*
'we have (always) said you (are) beyond [others], both [old gods] and . . .' (Y. 34.5);

YAv. *vī [daēuuāiš] . . . sarəm mruiiē*
'I forswear the company [with the old gods]' (Y. 12.4).

6.4.7.3 Instrumental with adpositions

A few adpositions govern the instrumental, some of them also other cases: Av., OPers. *hadā/haδa* '(together) with'; – Av. *ha0rā̆* 'in the same place as, together with'; – *maṯ* '(together) with'; – *pa^iti*, OPers. °*patiy* 'at, close to, in, throughout'; – *pasca* 'after'.

6.4.7.4 Case replacements

In Young Avestan, the instrumental plural commonly takes the dat.-abl. ending *-biiō*:

yō yu^iδiie^iti . . . [haδa daēuuaē^ibiiō]
'who fights . . . [with the old gods]' (Y. 57.17).

In Young Avestan, the nominative-accusative plural forms of neutre *(r/)n*-stems commonly take attributes in the instrumental plural (a still unexplained peculiarity of YAv.):

yim [vispāiš]-p/**instr.** *pa^itišmarəṇte [yāiš] spəṇtahe mainiiəuš [dāmạn]*-p/**nom.**
'whom [all the creatures] of the Life-giving Spirit recall' (Yt. 8.48).

6.4.8 Locative

The locative indicates time and place in/at which (when?, where?). It also indicates motion into or inside (also 'wishing sth. upon sb.'). A special use of the loc. is the 'loc. of emotion' ('to my sorrow'; see Kellens and Pirart 1990, 43).

6.4.8.1 Locative of place and time

> OAv. *[θβahmī] ā [dąm] nipåŋhē*
> 'you are (now) guarding (it) there [in your abode]' (Y. 49.10);

> YAv. *xᵛahmi dąm xᵛahmi ciθre*
> 'in his own house, in his own lineage' (Vr. 14.2);

> *[fraiiaʲre aiiąn] bauuaʲti hubaδrō*
> '[On a future day] he becomes lucky' (Aog. 53);

> OPers. *pasāva-diš auramazdā manā [dastayā] akunauš*
> 'then Ahuramazdā placed them [in] my [hand]' (DB 4.35).

6.4.8.2 Locative of prize won

The locative is used to indicate things to be won in competition, especially with the verbs *zā-* 'to leave (the competitor behind) *at = in* (the race for) X' and *yuʲδiia-* 'to fight (for)':

> OAv. *yōi zazəṇti [vaŋhāu srauuahī]*
> 'who shall be leaving (the others) behind = win [in (the race for) good renown]'
> (Y. 30.10);

> YAv. *zazuš [vīspaēšu vaŋhušu]*
> 'having won [in (the race for) all good things]' (P. 26);

> *tå yuʲδiieʲṇti pəšanāhu [hauue asahi šōiθraēca]*
> '(the fravashis) fight in battles (each) [for (her) own place and settlement]' (Yt.13.67).

6.4.8.3 Locative with adpositions

A few adpositions govern the locative, some of them also other cases:
  OAv. *aʲbī* 'in, on, regarding'; – OAv. *ā* 'in, on'; – Av. *åkå* 'in the presence of, in view of' (Skjærvø 2005a: 203–5); – OAv. *paʲrī* 'among'; – Av. *paʲtī* 'on; at, in return for'; – YAv. *upa* 'in'.

6.5 Uses of pronouns and pronominal forms

6.5.1 Personal pronouns

6.5.1.1 1st and 2nd persons, tonic forms

The tonic (independent, stressed) forms of the personal pronouns are used in Old Avestan for emphasis and contrast; in Young Avestan, they are used more liberally; in Old Persian, personal pronouns are rarely omitted, and only in sequences of clauses at least one of which contains the pronoun.

> OAv. *[azəm] -cīṯ . . . [θβąm] mə̄ŋhī . . .*
> '[I] for my part (now) consider [*you*] . . .' (Y. 29.10);

> YAv. *[tūm] nō āθraom zaota-ste . . . [azəm] . . .*
> '[you], O priest, (are ordered) to be our libator . . . (while) [I] . . .' (Vr. 3.7);

OPers. *[adam] dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vaz*̣*rka*
'[I] (am) Darius, the great king' (DB 1).

6.5.1.2 3rd person

Of the three 3rd-person pronouns *ha-/ta-*, *i-*, and *a-*, the first two have only nom. and acc. forms, the third supplies the other oblique forms. *ha-/ta-* is often difficult to distinguish from the far-deictic demonstrative pronouns. The classification of the pronoun *huuō* is often unclear.

6.5.2.2a ha-, ta-

The forms of *ha-/ta-* are usually emphatic and are often found in initial position followed by the emphatic *zī*, as antecedent to a relative pronoun, and as emphatic anaphoric. They are found in second position mainly in questions and after sentence-initial particles:

> OAv. *[huuō] [tə̄ng] frō.g*̣*... carat*̣
> '[he] shall make [them] the lead bulls' (Y. 46.4).

When used as antecedents for relative pronouns, they may be separated from the relative or precede it immediately (see section 8.2.2):

> YAv. *[hō] zī asti ... yō ahurō mazd*̣
> 'for [he] is ..., (he) **who** (is) Ahura Mazdā' (Vr. 2.7);
>
> *kō [hō] aŋhat̲ ... yō ... [hō] bā aŋhat̲ ... yō*
> 'who may *[he]* be ... **who** ... will be [he] ... **who**' (V. 7.78–79).

On OPers. *hauv/ava-*, see section 6.5.3.4.

6.5.2.2b The oblique pronominal stem a-

This pronoun is commonly used as a simple enclitic anaphoric, also reflexive, but it also refers emphatically to an object in contrast to another. In the latter usage it may be difficult to distinguish it from its use as the oblique stem of the near-deictic demonstrative pronoun *ima-*:

> OAv. *[ahmāi]-cā xšaθrā jasat̲*
> 'and [to him/this one] he shall come with command' (Y. 30.7);
>
> YAv. *sruuaēna [aēšą̄m] saf*̣*ŋhō zaraniia*
> 'benailed are [their] hooves, golden' (Y. 57.27).

6.5.2.2c i-, hi-/ši-, di-

This pronoun can be used proleptically for a noun (pronoun) or for direct speech or anaphorically; the noun may be gapped:

OAv.,
* proleptic:

> *yōi [īm] fˀrašə̄m kərˀnaon ahūm*
> '(those) who shall make [it] perfect, (this) existence' (Y. 30.9);

- anaphoric:

  aṯ [hī] [aiiå] frauuarˀtā
  'but [she] chose among [those two]' (Y. 29.7);

- both proleptic and anaphoric:

  nōiṯ tā [īm] xšnāuš vaēpiiō . . . zaraθuštrəm . . .
  hiiaṯ [hōi] [īm] . . zōiš°nū vāzā
  'the *trembler did, for (all) that, not favour [him], Zarathustra,
  when [his] two draught animals (were) *angry at [him]' (Y. 51.12);

  YAv. *pascaēta [diš] fraspaiieⁱti miθrō*
  'then Miθra casts [them (masc.)] away' (Yt. 10.43);

  OPers. *xšaçam . . . adam[-šim] gāθavā avāstāyam*
  'the royal command . . . I set [it] down in its place' (DB 1.61–63);

  abicarīš . . . tayā[-dīš] gaumāta . . . adīnā
  'the pastures that Gaumāta had taken [from them]' (DB 1.64–66).

OPers. sing. *-šim* is also used as instr. -abl.:

  kāra[-šim] hacā daršam atạrsa
  'the army/people feared [him] strongly' (DB 1.43–53).

6.5.1.3 Enclitic pronouns 1st, 2nd and 3rd person

Enclitics commonly follow the first word in a clause or metrical unit ('verse line, half-line'), less commonly they are placed at the end of a metrical unit. In clauses with elements raised into the first position, the enclitic may remain in its place. Several enclitics may follow one another. In Old Persian, the position of enclitics is relatively free.

6.5.1.3a Nominative

  OAv. *mīždəm mazdā yehiiā [tū] daθrəm*
  'the fee whose depository [you] are, O Mazdā' (Y. 34.13);

  aṯ [yūš] daēuuā vīspåŋhō akāṯ manaŋhō stā ciθrəm
  'but [you], O old gods, are all the *seed (issued) from an evil thought' (Y. 32.3);

  YAv. *ā [tū] mē aētaiiå zaoθraiiå fraŋᵛharōiš*
  'then may [you] partake of this my libation' (Yt. 5.91).

6.5.1.3b Accusative

Accusative forms are distinct from genitive-dative forms in Old Avestan, but Young Avestan uses the genitive-dative forms of the 1p and 2p, occasionally also the 3s, pronouns as accusative. In Young Avestan and Old Persian, the tonic forms of the 1st and 2nd pers. forms are also used as enclitics:

  OAv. *aṣ̌ā kaṯ [θβā] darˀsānī*
  'shall I see [you] through Order, I wonder' (Y. 28.5) [*aṣ̌ā* raised];

  āuuiš [nå] aṇtarˀ həṇtū . . . rātaiiō
  'let gifts appear among [us]!' (Y. 33.7)

YAv. *aoi [mąm] . . . stūⁱ δi yaθa [mā] . . . stauuąn*
'praise [me] . . . like they will praise [me]!' (Y. 9.2);

mā ciš pa"ruuō buⁱδiiaēta [nō]
'may no one notice [us] first!' (Y. 9.21) [octosyllabic verse];

OPers. *mā-taya[-mām] xšnāsātiy*
'lest he recognise [me]' (DB 1.52).

6.5.1.3c Genitive-dative

OAv. *sraotā [mōi] mər°ždātā [mōi]*
'listen to [my] . . .! be merciful for [my] . . .!' (Y. 33.11);

YAv. *ašaiia [nō] paⁱtī.jamiiāṭ*
'may he in (re)turn come [to us] in Orderly fashion!' (Y. 7.24);

OPers. *vašnā auramazdāha utā[-maiy]*
'by the greatness of Ahuramazdā and [me]' (DB 4.46).

6.5.1.3d Ablative

OAv. *yə̄ [θβaṭ] . . asruštīm . . . yazāi apā*
'I who shall sacrifice away [from you] lack of listening' (Y. 33.4);

OPers. *tayā hacā[-maⁱ] atạrsa*
'. . . which feared [me]' (DPe 9).

6.5.2 Possessive pronouns

Only Old Avestan has genuine possessive pronouns; in Young Avestan and Old Persian, the genitive of the personal pronouns is used:

OAv. *[mə̄ "ruuā] gə̄uš-cā aziiā̊*
'[my breath-soul] and that of the fertile cow' (Y. 29.5);

nōiṭ [nā manā̊] . . . haciṇtē
'[our (= your and my) thoughts] are not in agreement' (Y. 45.2);

tə̄m [ahmākāiš azdəbīš]-cā uštānāiš-cā yazamaidē
'to *him* we are sending our sacrifice together with [our bones] and life breaths'
(Y. 37.3);

YAv. *[yūšmākəm yasnāi]-ca . . . [ahmākəm hauuaŋ`hāi]-ca*
'for [your sacrifice], for [our] *well-being]' (Y. 14.1).

6.5.3 Demonstrative pronouns

The two demonstrative pronouns *ima-* and *aṷa-* denote near and far deixis, respectively, that is, what is near the speaker in space and time, both in his immediate surroundings, as opposed to farther away, and to his cosmic place on earth, as opposed to in heaven; the waters and fires on earth, as opposed to those in heaven, etc. The two are often contrasted in the texts:

OAv. *[imā] raocå barˀzištəm . . . barˀzimanąm [auuaṭ]*
'[these] lights (= the ritual fire) . . . [yonder] highest of heights (the sun)' (Y. 36.6);

YAv. *[imąm]-ca ząm yazamaᶦde [aom]-ca asmanəm yazamaᶦde*
'and we sacrifice to [this] earth, and we sacrifice to [yonder] sky' (Yt. 13.153);

OPers. *haya [imām] būmim adā haya [avam] asmānam adā*
'who set in place [this] earth, who set in place [yonder] heaven' (DE 2–4).

6.5.3.1 The near-deictic *ima-/a-*

In addition to its local-temporal deixis referring to objects in the world, this pronoun can refer to on-going, present events, for instance, those taking place in the sacrifice; it is often accompanied by 1st person references. It also refers to the just-mentioned or to the following:

YAv. *[iməm] haoməm . . . āiiese yešti*
'by my sacrificing I harness [this] haoma' (Y. 22.1–2);

ušta buiiāṭ [ahmāi] naᶦre
'may there be wished-for things [for this man]' (Y. 62.1);

aṇtarˀ-ca druuaṇtəm āmrūta [aiia] aṇtar ˀ.uxti
'he forswore the Lieful One with [this] forswearing: . . .' (Y. 19.15);

paᶦti tē . . . [imå] sruuå vaēδaiiemi
'to you I exhibit [these] nails' (V. 17.9);

OPers. *mām auramazdā pātuv hacā gastā*
utā-maiy viθam utā [imām] dahạyāum
'may Ahuramazdā protect me from evil,
both my house and [this] (my) land!' (DNa 51–55);

ava [ahạyāyā] dipiyā naiy nipištam
'that is not written in [this] inscription' (DB 4. 47–52).

6.5.3.2 The near deictic *aēša-/aēta-*

In its general use in the ritual and narrative texts, this pronoun overlaps to some degree with *ima-/a-*:

YAv. *[aētahmi] aŋhuuō yaṭ astuuaᶦṇti*
'in [this] bony existence' [the existence of living beings with bones];

*[aēta] vaca maδaiiaŋ*ha*
'intoxicate yourself with [this] word!' (Vr. 8.1).

It is frequently used with 2nd-person deixis:

YAv. *[aēša] zaoθra paᶦti.jamiiāṭ **tauua** ahurāne ahurahe*
'may [this] libation (of yours) arrive, **yours,** O lady of the Lord' (Y. 68.1);

[aētaē]-ca tē vacō
'and [these] words **of yours**' (Yt. 14.46).

The majority of occurrences of this pronoun is in the legal texts. Most of the contexts are of the type 'how should this/these X(s) behave in the case of this Y? The meaning of the pronoun is therefore very often 'the X in question, this X we are discussing, the aforementioned X'. The pronoun seems sometimes to be close to *ha-* in function, cf. *hō zī asti* and *aēšō zī asti*, probably with just a slight difference in deixis:

YAv. *caiiō ā'ṯ [aēte] raocå aŋhən . . .*
yōi auuaθa ā.raocaiie'ṇte [aētaēšuua] var°fšuua
yō yimō kər°naoṯ
'but which were [these] lights
that shine hither in that way in [these] *enclosures
that Yima made?' (V. 2.39);

OPers. *mām auramazdā pātuv . . .*
[aita] adam auramazdām jadiyāmiy [aita]-maiy auramazdā dadātuv
'may Ahuramazdā protect me . . .
[this] I ask Ahuramazdā for; may Ahuramazdā give me [this]!' (DNa 51–55);

contrasting *aēta-* vs. *auua-*:

YAv. *mā mē [aētaiiå] zaoθraiiå fraŋ'harəṇtu . . .*
nōiṯ [auuå] zaoθrå pa'ti.vīse yå māuuōiia fraŋ'harəṇti
'let them not partake of [this] libation of mine . . .
I do not accept [those] libations of which they partake for my sake' (Yt. 5.92–93).

6.5.3.3 The demonstrative pronoun *huuō, ana-*

The pronoun *huuō* can have 2nd-person deixis (cf. Jamison 1992, Watkins 2000):

OAv. *"ruuāzištō [huuō] nå . . . pa'tī.jamiiå*
'[you there], who gladden (us) the most, may you *in return come to us' (Y. 36.2).

The pronominal stem *ana-* may have 2nd-person and 3rd-person deixis, with contextually derogatory reference:

OAv. *[anāiš] vå nōiṯ . . . aš̌əm-cā yānāiš zar°naēmā*
'may we not anger you, as well as Order and (your) thought, the best, with [those] requests (to you)' (Y. 28.9);

[anāiš] ā manahīm ahūm mər°ṇgduiiē
'by [those] actions/utterances [(of yours)] you are destroying (here and now) the existence of thought' (Y. 53.6);

YAv. *aθā azə̄m-cīṯ . . . daēuuāiš sarəm vīmruiiē*
yaθā [anāiš] viiāmruuītā
'and thus do I too renounce union with the old gods,
like (Zarathustra) used to renounce (union) [with them]' (Y. 12.6).

6.5.3.4 The far-deictic *auua-*

In addition to its local-temporal deixis (see on *ima-* and *aēta-*, above), this pronoun can refer to well-known facts in the other world. In Old Persian, it also serves as emphatic or anaphoric 3rd-person pronoun (see also section 6.4.1.1):

OAv. *vīduuå [auuąm] yā īm aŋhaṯ apə̄mā*
'knowing [yonder] (requital) that shall be the last (to reach?) him' (Y. 44.19);

YAv. *[hāu] . . . huraoδajasā̊ti*
'(then) [she] shall come, well-shaped' (V. 19.30);

[aom] ga⟨rīm yazamaide yim ušadąm ušidar"nəm
'we sacrifice to [yonder] mountain: the ridge Crack of Dawn' (Yt. 1.28).

OPers. *hauv/ava-* is both faṛ-deictic and anaphoric, possibly with emphasis:

utā pārsam utā mādam . . . [hauv] āyasatā
'(it was) [he] (who) took both Persia and Media' (DB 1.46.–47);

tayaiy paruvā xšāyaθiyā yātā āha
[avaišām] avā naiy astiy kṛtam yaθā manā . . . kṛtam
'the former kings, for as long as they were –
[they] have not done as much as *I* have done' (DB 4.50–52).

6.5.4 Reflexive pronouns

Examples:

OAv. *yə̄ŋg [xᵛə̄] ⁿruuā [xᵛaē]-cā xraodaṯ daēnā*
'whom [their own] breath-soul and [their own] vision soul will make *shudder'
(Y. 46.11);

YAv. *[xᵛā] daēna nis⟨rinuiiāṯ acištāi aŋᵛhe*
'may [his own] vision soul give him over to the worst existence!' (V. 5.62);

aoi nmānəm yim [xᵛaēpa⟨θim]
'to [(my) own] house' (Yt. 5.63);

OPers. *[uvaipašiyahạyā] dṛšam xšayamna aʰmiy*
'I am firmly in command [of myself]' (DNb 14–15);

utā pārsam utā mādam . . . [uvāipašiyam] akṳʰtā
'he made both Persia and Media [his own]' (DB 1.46–47).

6.5.4.1 Use of *tanū-* 'body' as 'self'

In all three languages, *tanī-* 'body' is used in the sense of 'own body, self':

OAv. *auuaēnatā . . . āuuar"nå vīciθahiiā narə̄m narəm*
[xᵛaxiiāi tanuiiē]
'observe . . . the *preferences of discrimination (made) man-by-man
[for his own body]!';

YAv. *auui [xᵛaēpa⟨θiiåⁱs" tanuuō]*
'upon [(their) own bodies]' (Yt. 10.23);

OPers. *dārayavauš haya manā pitā pasā [tanūm] mām maθištam akunauš*
'my father, Darius, made me the greatest after [(him)self]' (XPf 30–32).

6.5.5 Reciprocal expressions and 'other'

Reciprocity is usually expressed by repeating *aniia-* 'one . . . (an-/the) other' (cf. Jamison 1997; see also section 4.6.10):

OAv. *aṣ̌ā vā [aniiō a'nim] vīuuəŋghatū*
'(travelling) through Order, let [one] of you *illuminate/overcome [the other]!= [one another]!' (Y. 53.5);

YAv. *yaēšąm [aniiō aniiehe] uruuānəm aiβi.vaēna'ti*
'of whom [one] looks at the soul [of the other]' (Yt. 13.84);

OPers. *[aniya aniyam] naiy ja"tiy*
'[the one] does not kill [the other]' = 'they do not kill one another' (DSe 35–36);

[aniyam] ušabārim akunavam [aniyahçıyā] asam frānayam
'[the one = some] I mounted on camels, [for the other = for some] I brought a horse' (DB 1.85–87).

6.5.6 Interrogative pronouns

Examples:

OAv. *[ciš] ahī [kahiiā] ahī*
'[who] are you? [whose] are you?' (Y. 43.7);

YAv. *[kō] mąm yazā'te . . . [kahmāi] tanuuō druuatātəm azəm baxšāni*
'[who] will sacrifice to me? [to whom] shall I give health of (his) body?' (Yt. 10.108).

6.5.7 Indefinite pronouns

Examples:

OAv. *at huuō . . . [kas-cīṯ] aṣ̌ā huzə̄ntuš*
'thus, he there . . . [whoever] by (his) Order (is) of good lineage' (Y. 49.5);

YAv. *[kąm-ciṯ] vā hubao'δitəmanąm "ruuaranąm*
'or [whichever] of most fragrant plants' (V. 8.2);

[kaŋhe kaŋhe] apaɣžā're
'in [each and every] outlet' (Yt. 5.101–2);

[kahe kahiiā-cīṯ] druuatąm
'[of each and everyone] of the ones possessed by the Lie' (Y. 61.4);

pita puθras-ca . . . [kataras-ciṯ]
'father and son [each]' = 'both father and son' (Y. 9.5).

With relatives:

OAv. *tācā . . .' aṣ̌āunē cōiš*
[yā] zī [cīcā] vahištā
'and **those** (things) you assigned to the sustainer of Order,
namely, [whichever] are the best ones' (Y. 47.5);

*uštā **ahmāi***
[yahmāi] uštā [kahmāicīt̰] . . . mazdå dāiiāt̰ ahurō
'wished-for (things are) in the wish **for him**,
[to whomever] Mazdā Ahura shall give (them)' (Y. 43.1).

Negated:

OAv. *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm [naē-cīt̰] vīduuå aojōi*
'of these sins I declare I know [none] (at all)' (Y. 32.7);

[mā ciš] at̰ və̄ . . . guštā
'but let [no one] among you keep listening to' (Y. 31.18);

OP. *[naiy] āha martiya . . . [naiy] amāxam taumāyā [kaš-ciy] haya . . .*
[kaš-ciy naiy] adạršnauš [ciš-ciy] θaᵘstanaiy
'there was no man . . . nor anybody of our family, who . . .
nobody dared say anything' (DB 1.48–49, 53).

Without particle:

OAv. *kadā vaēdā yezī [cahiiā] xšaiiaθā*
'when shall I know whether you are in command [of anything/anybody]' (Y. 48.9).

6.6 Uses of the numerals

The numerals '100' and higher take the genitive plural of a following noun:

YAv. *[cataŋrō parənå] vīδāraiiōiš auui paθąm kataras-cit̰*
'you should hold out [four feathers] toward each of the (four) roads' (Yt. 14.44);

nauuaitīm [upāzananąm] upāzōit̰ aspahe aštraiia
'he shall administer ninety [strokes] with the horse-whip!' (V. passim).

The nom.-acc. sing. of ordinals (in OPers. with *patiy*) is used in the meaning of 'for the -th time':

OAv. *nōit̰ [dᵃⁱbitīm] . . . ahūm marᵃśiiāt̰*
'not [a second time] should he destroy the existence' (Y. 45.1);

YAv. *[paoⁱrīm/bitīm/θritīm] xᵛarənō apanəmata*
'[a first/second/third time] the Fortune turned away' (Yt. 19.35–37);

OPers. *[patiy çitīyam/duvitīyam] hamiçiyā haᵘgmatā*
'the conspirators having gathered [for the third/second time]' (DB 2.43, 57–58).

6.7 Uses of comparative and superlative

6.7.1 Comparative

Comparison ('than') is expressed by comparative + ablative (see section 6.4.6.2) or comparative + *yaθa* (see section 8.2.3.6).

6.7.1.1 Comparative + positive in contrasting pairs

The comparative is used together with the positive of another adjective to form a con-
trasting pair, in which the first member in the comparative is depicted as superior to the
second member in the positive: 'X'er and Y' = 'X and, on the other hand/in contrast,
(the poorer) Y' (Humbach 1991, I § 15.2.1):

> OAv. *yaiiå [spaniiå]* **-comp.** **u'tī mrauuaṯ yə̄m [aŋgrəm]*-**pos.**
> 'of which two, [the life-giving one] shall tell (him),
> whom (you know as) [the Evil one]' (Y. 45.2);

> OPers. *haya [tauvīyā]*-**comp.** *tayam [skauθim]*-**pos.** *naiy jaⁿtiy*
> '[the mighty one] does not kill [the poor one]' (DSe 37-44).

6.7.1.2 Comparative in compounds

The comparative is found in an elliptic type of compounds: '. . . -er than (those of) X':

> YAv. *bāzauua *aurušaʹ aspō.[staoiiehīš]*
> 'arms, white (and) [thicker] (than those) of a horse' (Yt. 5.7).

As the first member of a compound, a comparative may be replaced by the positive,
but maintain its rection:

> YAv. *[uγra].zaošåʹ [ṯbišiiaδbiiō]*-**abl.**
> '(the fravashis) with [strong(er)] desires [than those hostile] (to us)' (Yt. 13.31);

> *auuåʹ dāmąn . . . yåʹ həṇti [pao'riiō].dāta [pao'riiō].fraθβaršta*
> *ašnāaṯ-ca apāaṯ-ca*
> 'those creations that (were) those established [first], fashioned forth [first]
> (= earlier) than the sky, the water . . .' (Vr. 7.4) [cf. *para, parō* 'before' + abl., see
> section 6.4.6.4].

6.7.2 Superlative

The superlative is most commonly used to present something as possessing a quality in
the highest degree, 'the most A', or to single out one thing/person from others of the
same class: 'A is the biggest of all A's' (see section 6.4.4.5).

The superlative is also used in contrast to an adjective in the positive or to depict
something (in the superlative) as vastly superior to another thing (in the positive;
Humbach 1991, I § 15.2.2):

> OAv. *yə̄ drəguuåʹ*-**pos.** *acištā vərəziiō /*
> *aṣ̌əm maniiuš [spəništō]*-**sup.**
> 'you, [who are possessed by the Lie], would perform the worst (words/actions);
> [the most life-giving] spirit . . .' (Y. 30.5);

> *yə̄ vā [kasə̄uš]*-**pos.** *aēnaŋhō ā [mazištąm]*-**sup.** *°iiamaitē būjim*
> 'or (someone) who for a [small] sin shall incur the [greatest] expiation' (Y. 31.13).

7 SYNTAX III: THE VERB

The Iranian verb has the categories of tense and aspect, mood, and voice. Finite forms have the categories of number and person, while non-finite forms behave like nouns (infinitives) or adjectives (participles).

The negations, Av. *nōiṯ*, OAv. *naēdā*, YAv. *naēδa*, *nauua*, OPers. *naiy*, mainly negate statements and *mā* (*māδa*) commands and exhortations.

7.1 Tenses

The main difference in syntax between Old Avestan, on the one hand, and Young Avestan and Old Persian, on the other, is in the use of the tenses, while that of the moods is largely the same.

The Old Avestan verbal system is based upon the opposition of the present (imperfective) aspect, which is indefinite (durative, repetitive), vs. the aorist (perfective) aspect, which is definite (punctual, ingressive, terminated); that of Young Avestan and Old Persian is based mainly upon the opposition present vs. past.

The common past narrative tense is the present injunctive (augment-less) in Young Avestan and the augmented imperfect in Old Persian.

In Avestan, an action can be characterised as definitely having taken place in the past(?) by the optional use of the augment. In Old Persian, the augment is an intrinsic part of past tenses.

The state reached after a past event is expressed in Avestan by the perfect in its old function of resultative-stative.

In Old Avestan, the aorist expresses, on the one hand, anteriority in relation to the present or preterite, on the other punctual or 'immediate', both incipient and concluding, action vs. ongoing or unfinished action, expressed by the present.

In both Young Avestan and Old Persian, repeated or habitual past action (cf. English 'he would go') can be expressed by the optative. It then takes the augment, regularly in Old Persian and occasionally in Young Avestan (see section 7.2.2.2).

Thus, all three Old Iranian languages possess the following basic tenses:

- *present*: 'he does, he is doing';
- *preterite*: 'he did, he was doing';
- *perfect*: 'he has (always, never) done' or 'he did/it was done/it happened and now is' (*present perfect*);
- *pluperfect* in the function of preterite of the *present perfect* 'he had done and now was,' etc.

The future is usually expressed by the subjunctive (in Old Avestan by the subjunctive of the present or aorist depending on the aspect), but also by the special future stem in *-hiia-/-šiia-*.

7.1.1 Present indicative

The present indicative is the tense used to describe events that are currently taking place, whether they always take place or only now. It is also the 'performative' tense (especially in the 1s and 1p), used, notably, in ritual contexts to describe the actions in the process of being performed by the speaker or someone referred to by the speaker.

It is used in main (declarative, interrogative) clauses and subordinate clauses of actions or situations that obtain in general (also eternal truths), but with focus on their current or incipient validity; actions or situations that obtain at the moment of utterance, e.g. during the performance of the ritual; and other actions or situations that are concurrently taking place:

OAv. *kə̄ yā må [uxšiie'tī nər'fsa'tī] Oβat*
'who (is he) through whom the moon [is (now)] first [waxing] then [waning]' (Y. 44.3);

aē'biiō yōi "ruuātāiš drūjō ašahiiā gaēθå [vīmər'ṇca'tē]
'. . . to those who by (their) deals with the Lie [are (now) destroying] the living beings of Order' (Y. 31.1);

ahiiā [yāsā] nəmaŋhā . . . vaŋhə̄uš xratūm manaŋhō
'in homage to him, I [am (here and now) asking] for the wisdom of good thought' (Y. 28.1);

YAv. *vasō.xšaθrō [ahi] haoma . . .*
ər'žuxδəm [pər'sahi] vācim
'[you are] in command at will, O Haoma . . .
[you are asking] a word correctly spoken' (Y. 9.25);

apąm napås' tå āpō . . . šōiθrō.baxtå [vī.baxša'ti]
'Apąm Napāt [distributes] those waters distributed by settlements' (Yt. 8.34);

[nāismī] daēuuō (for *daēuuū*)
'I (herewith, by my utterance) [blame/scorn] the old gods' (Y. 12.1);

aiiaoždiia pascaēta bauua'ṇti
'after that they become ritually impure' (V. 3.14);

OPers. *sakā tayaiy xaudām tigrām [bara"tiy]*
'the Scythians who wear a pointed hat' (DB 5.22);

martiya taya patiy martiyam θātiy ava mām [naiy vąrnavataiy]
yātā ubānām hadugām [āxšnauvaiy]
'I [do not believe] what a man says against (another) man
until I [hear] (= have heard) the testimony of both (of them)' (DNb 21–24) [cf. section 6.4.3.4];

aita adam yānam [jadiyāmiy] auramazdām
'this I [am requesting] of Ahuramazdā (as) a request' (DPd 20–21).

7.1.1.1 Av. present indicative with 'before' = past

OAv. *parā* 'before' and YAv. *pa"ruua-* 'former, earlier' sometimes transfer the action of the present indicative into the past:

OAv. *drūjō āiiesē [hōiš.piθā] tamuiō [parā]*
'in the *harness of the Lie [you (plur.) *very much fattened] (your) bodies [before = of old]' (Y. 53.6) (*hōiš.piθā*: intensive *hai-špī-* < *spī-* 'fatten'?);

YAv. *yōi [pa"ruua] miθrəm [družiṇti]*
'who [betrayed] Miθra [before]' (Yt. 10.45).

7.1.1.2 Young Avestan, Old Persian present *asti* for imperfect

In both Young Avestan and Old Persian, *asti* is occasionally used instead of the (rare) imperfect:

> YAv. *kauuaēm xᵛarənō . . . yazama'de . . .*
> *yaṯ [asti] ahurahe mazdā̊ yaθa dāmąn daθaṯ*
> 'we sacrifice to the Fortune of the poets . . .
> which [was] Ahura Mazdā's when he set in place the creations (Yt. 19.9–10);

> OPers. *yaθā taya adam xšāyaθiya abavam*
> *[astiy] aᵈtar aitā dahᵃyāva . . . ayauda*
> 'when I became king
> there [were] among these lands (some that) were in turmoil' (XPh 29–32).

7.1.1.3 Old Persian present for continuing state

In Old Persian, the present is found with adverbs denoting time in the past to express states that still obtain in the present:

> *hacā paruviyataʰ āmātā [aʰmahᵃy]*
> 'from the beginning [we have been] distinguished' (DB 1.7–8).

7.1.2 Present injunctive and imperfect

7.1.2.1 Present injunctive

In Old Avestan, the present injunctive is used for general (durative or iterative) actions or states typically taking place either in the divine or the human sphere, mostly without specific time reference ('does' or 'would do, used to do'):

> *mazdā̊ [dadāṯ] ahurō hauruuatō amərᵊtātas-cā / būrōiš ā . . .*
> 'Ahura Mazdā [(always) gives] out of (his) plenty of wholeness and immortality'
> (Y. 31.21);

> *adā tašā gə̄uš [pərᵊsaṯ] ašəm*
> 'then the fashioner of the cow [will (usually) ask] (or: asked?) Order' (Y. 29.2);

> *tā [dəbᵊnaotā] mašīm hujiiātōiš*
> 'thereby [you (plur.) deceive] mortal man of good living' (Y. 32.5).

7.1.2.2 Narrative past

The common past narrative tense is the present injunctive (augment-less imperfect) in Young Avestan and the augmented imperfect in Old Persian. It also provides the background description for actions in the present injunctive. The Old Avestan texts contain too few examples of the augmented imperfect to give a precise idea of its use, but it may simply transpose descriptive and repetitive present indicative actions and states into the past. Evidence in Old Avestan for the use of the present injunctive as past narrative tense is uncertain:

> OAv. *kadā [ajə̄n] mūθrəm ahiiā madahiiā*
> 'when [did] the urine of *his* intoxication [(use to) smash] . . .?' (Y. 48.10);

θβōi [as] ārma'tiš
'Humility [was] with you' (Y. 31.9);

YAv. *yō [as] vərᵊθrają̄stəmō*
'who [was] the most obstruction-smashing' (Y. 9.15);

ā't [mraoṯ] ahurō mazdå̄
'then Ahura Mazdā [said]'.

In Old Persian, the (augmented) imperfect is a narrative tense referring to actions and events in the past, both successive actions and events and actions and events anterior to other actions and events in the past:

iyam gaumāta haya maguš [a-durujiya] avaθā [a-θaʰha]
'this (picture represents) Gaumāta the Magian; he lied (and) said thus' (DBb);

yaθā kaᵐbūjiya mudrāyam [a-šiyava] pasāva . . .
'when Cambyses [had gone] to Egypt, then . . .' (DB 1.33);

auramazdā-maiy upastām [a-bara] yātā ima xšaçam [ham-a-dārayaiy]
'Ahuramazdā [bore] me aid until [I (had) consolidated] this empire' (DB 1.24–26).

7.1.2.3 Negation and prohibition

The negated present injunctive expresses commands and exhortations to all persons, sometimes coordinated with the imperative:

- 1st person:

  OPers. *hacā aniyanā [mā tạrsam]*
  '[let me not fear] another!' (DPe 20–21);

- 2nd person:

  YAv. *[mā] dim [pərᵊsō] yim pərəsahi*
  '[don't ask] him whom you are asking!' (H. 2.17);

  OPers. *paθim tayām rāstām [mā avạʰⁱrda]*
  '[do not leave] the straight path!' (DNa 58–60).

- 3rd person:

  OAv. *[mā] ciš aṯ və̄ drəguuatō mą̄θrą̄s-cā [gūštā]*
  'but [let no] one among you [keep listening] to the poems of the one possessed by the Lie!' (Y. 31.18);

  [mā] əuuīduuå̄ a'pī [dᵊbāuuaiiaṯ]
  '[may no] one who does not know [keep deceiving] (us) hereafter!' (Y. 31.17);

  YAv. *[mā] ciš [baraṯ] aēuuō yaṯ'ristəm*
  '[let no] one [carry] alone what is dead' (V. 3.14).

7.1.3 Future in -S*ii̯a*-

The functions of the future are similar to those of the prospective subjunctive, indicating imminent future, intention, or obligation. In Old Avestan, the rare future is found in strophe-initial statements only:

> *aṯ [frauuaxšiiā]*
> 'and so [I shall proclaim]' (Y. 45.6);

> YAv. *nōiṯ huškō huškāi [sraēšiiete]*
> 'dry (matter) [shall] not [be mixed] into dry (matter)' (V. 8.34);

The future is often contrasted with the past and present:

> YAv. *aēšąm uxδanąm . . . yāiš yauua fra-ca **vaoce***
> *fra-ca **mruiie** [fra]-ca [vaxšiiete]*
> 'of these utterances which (instr. for nom.) **have ever been uttered,**
> **are being uttered**, and [will be uttered]' (Y. 19.10).

Here, Old Avestan uses the aorist subjunctive (see Y. 29.4 in section 6.3.3).

7.1.4 Aorist

7.1.4.1 Aorist indicative

The augmented aorist denotes the immediate, completed, past (Hoffmann 1967, 153–55). The few Old Avestan forms are used about divine utterances, ritual acts and oral tradition, in statements and in questions:

> *ahurahiiā zī aṯ və̄ mazdå*
> *yasnəm-cā vahməm-cā vahištəm [a-mə̄hma'dī]*
> 'for, thus, [we have thought] (= made up our minds about)
> the sacrifice and hymn (as) the best (thing) for you (all)' (Y. 35.7);

> *nū zīṯ cašma'nī [vii-ā-dar³səm]*
> 'for [I] just now [caught sight] of it in (my) eye' (Y. 45.8);

> *aṯ tā maniiū pa"ruiie*
> *yā yə̄mā x᳝afnā [a-sruuātəm]*
> 'thus, those two spirits/inspirations in the beginning,
> who [have been heard of] (as) "the twin sleeps" (= sleeping twin foetuses)' (Y. 30.3).

7.1.4.2 Aorist injunctive

While the temporal reference of the Old Avestan present injunctive is relatively clear, that of the unaugmented aorist injunctive is more difficult to determine. The main problem is whether a given form refers to action already completed at the time of the 'now' or whether it is just starting. The aorist injunctive probably does not refer to an action that took place at a specific moment in the past, but, at most, to an action that took place at an unspecified time in the past, e.g. for the first time, 'aorist of creation'.

It is often accompanied by present indicative or present injunctive or even periphrastic constructions with the present participle, which give the context in which the aorist injunctive took or has taken place.

7.1.4.2a Aorist injunctive expressing anteriority

The function of anteriority (to the main verb) is seen clearly in a few instances in subordiante clauses:

> *aṯ θβā mə̄ŋhī pa"ruuīm mazdā yazūm stōi . . .*
> *vaŋhə̄uš p"tarə̄m manaŋhō*
> *hiiaṯ θβā [hə̄m] cašma'nī [°grabəm]*
> 'thus, I (now have begun to) think-**aor.inj.** of you as being the first, O Mazdā, . . .
> (yet) youthful, father of the good thought –
> since [I have (just now) grasped] -**aor.inj.** you in (my) eye' (Y. 31.8);

> *hiiaṯ mīždəm zaraθuštrō magauuabiiō [cōišt] parā*
> *garō d'mānē ahuŕō mazdå jasaṯ pauruiiō*
> 'the fee which Zarathustra [had assigned]-**aor. inj.** before to the participants in the gift exchange,
> in the House of Song, Ahura Mazdā (always) comes-**pres. inj.** (forward for/with it as) the first (in line)' (Y. 51.15).

7.1.4.2b Aorist injunctive expressing future

There is one (apparent) instance of an aorist injunctive being accompanied by a future time reference (future perfect):

> *yastā daēuuə̄ŋg aparō . . . [tarə̄.mą̄st]*
> '(he) who, on account of that, in the future [shall have despised] the old gods'
> (Y. 45.11).

7.1.4.2c Contrasting aspects of present and aorist injunctive

In Old Avestan, present injunctive and aorist injunctive forms are often contrasted, with clear aspectual difference:

> *aiiå nōiṯ ərəš [vīšiiātā] daēuuā-cinā*
> *hiiaṯ īš d'baomā . . . upā.jasaṯ*
> *hiiaṯ vər'nātā acištəm manō*
> 'especially the old gods [did] not (then) [discriminate]-**aor.inj.** correctly between these two,
> because deception kept coming over-**pres. inj.** them,
> so that they would prefer-**pres.inj.** the worst thought' (Y. 30.6);

> *aṯ-cā hōi [scaṇtū] . . . yasną̄s-cā*
> *. . . då ŋhō ər'zūš paθō /*
> *yą̄m daēną̄m ahurō saošiiaṇtō dadāṯ*
> 'and so [let *them* (now) start pursuing]-**aor. imp.** . . . the sacrifices (to him), (Mazdā,)
> . . . (which are) the straight paths of the gift
> (awaiting) the vision-soul which Ahura (always) establishes-**pres. inj.** (as) that of the revitaliser' (Y. 53.2).

7.1.4.2d Mythical events

The aorist injunctive is used to describe mythical events, as well as human actions in the past. This use of the aorist injunctive is found in cosmological contexts, often to denote the first occurrence of an act, later repeated in the sacrifice:

kas-nā xᵛə̄ŋg strə̄m-cā [dāt̪] aduuānəm
'who, I wonder, (first) [established]-**aor.inj.** the road of the sun and of the stars?'
(Y. 44.3);

yaθā tū ī ahura.mazdā [mə̄ŋghā]-cā
[vaocas]-cā [dǻs]-cā [varəš]-cā yā vohū /
aθā tōi dadᵊmahī-**pres. ind.**
'in the same way that you, O Ahura Mazdā, (for the first time?) [thought] them
[spoke], [established], and [produced]-**aor.inj.** (those) which (are) good (thoughts,
etc.), in that way we are (here and now) establishing-**pres. ind.** them for you' (Y. 39.4).

7.1.4.3 Negated aorist injunctive to express prohibition

The aorist injunctive is used with the prohibitive negation *mā* to express 'do not (start)!',
often coordinated with the imperative:

OAv. *huxšaθrā xšə̄ntąm*
[mā] nə̄ dušᵊ.xšaθrā [xšə̄ntā]
'let (now)] those of good command command-**aor. imp.** (us)!
[let not] those of bad command [(now) command]-**aor. inj.** us!' (Y. 48.5).

7.1.4.4 Young Avestan and Old Persian aorist

The Young Avestan and Old Persian examples of aorist indicative and aorist injunctive
may be imitations of Old Avestan:

YAv. *ā̆t̪ [mąsta] yimō*
'then Yima [thought]-**aor.inj.**' (V. 2.31);

OPers. *baga vazạrka auramazdā haya imām būmim [a-dā]*
haya avam asmānam [a-dā]
'Ahuramazdā is a great god, (he) who [set in place]-**aor.ind.** this earth,
who [set in place] yonder heaven' (DE 1–11);

imā dahạyāva tayā adam [a-dạršiy]-**aor.inj.**
'these lands that I [got hold of]' (DPe 5–10).

7.1.5 *Perfect*

The function of the perfect in the oldest Indo-European languages was to express the
state obtaining from a past action or event. In Avestan, this function is found with verbs
of perception and verbs of state, as well as of transitive verbs.
    The perfect has a few subjunctive forms, as well as a pluperfect. The optative forms are
commonly used in conditions contrary to fact (see sections 8.2.2.6, 8.2.4.2c).

7.1.5.1 Perfects without present

The two perfects *ād-* 'say' (OInd. *āh-*) and *vaēd-* have no corresponding presents:

OAv. *at̪ tōi vīspə̄ŋg aŋgrə̄ŋg ašāunō [ādarᵊ]*
'thus, [they say/claim] (that) all the evil ones (are) followers of Order' (Y. 43.15);

YAv. *naēciš iδa zaraθuštra sūš*
yaθā hīm [ādar°] mašiiāka
'there is no "vitalisation" here, O Zarathustra,
(such) as humans [say] it (= refer to it)' (FrD. 3, see Hoffmann 1968);

*[vaēθā]-ca taṯ *cikaēθa-ca*
āi ašāum zaraθuštra mana xraθβā-ca cisti-ca
'I [know] and am aware of that,
O Orderly Zarathustra, by my wisdom and insight' (Yt. 1.26).

7.1.5.2 Perfect expressing resulting state

The perfect indicative is used to indicate the result of a preceding action or state and is often used in 'ever/never' statements.
Perfect of intransitive and medio-passive verbs:

OAv. *yōi . . . [nōiṯ] frasaiiā vaŋhōuš [cāxnar°³ (<kan-)] manaŋhō*
'those who . . . [have never taken pleasure] in the questioning of (their) good thought?' (Y. 44.13);

YAv. **frə̄na åŋhąm nasunąm*
yå pa'ti āiia z°mā ['rīriθar° (<raiθ-)]
'on account of the great quantity of the corpses
that [have (ever) died (and now lie dead) all over this earth' (V. 5.4).

Perfect of transitive verbs:

OAv. *ā mā aēš°mō hazas-cā rəmō [°hišāiiā (<hai-)]*
'wrath and violence, restraint [have bound] me (and now keep me bound)' (Y. 29.1);

YAv. *yō nō [daδa] yō [tataša] yō [tuθruiie]*
'(he) who [has made] us, who [has fashioned] us, who [has *compiled] us' (Y. 1.1);

yō [nōiṯ] pascaēta [hušx°afa (for **hu-šµafa < hµap)]*
yaṯ maniiū dāmąn da'δītəm
'(Sraoša . . .) who [has never slept]
(ever) since the two spirits would set in place (their) creations' (Y. 57.17).

7.1.5.4 The past perfect/pluperfect

OAv. *taēcīṯ . . . yōi drəguuatō mazbīš [ci-kōit-ər°š (<kait-)]*
'those too . . . who [had (always) distinguished] those possessed by the Lie with great (brilliant gifts?)' (Y. 32.11) [see Jasanoff 1997];

YAv. *niš taṯ pa'ti druxš nāšā'te yaδāṯ a'βiciṯ [ja-ɣm-aṯ (<gam-)]*
'the lie will be dispelled and destroyed there to the very place whence [it had come]' (Yt. 19.12).

7.1.6 The verb 'to be' and noun clauses

Both the subject and predicate of 'to be' are typically in the nominative:

YAv. *mošu taṱ [ās] nōiṱ darᵛyəm*
'quickly that [was], not long' (Yt. 5.65);

Occasionally, adverbs can be used as predicates with 'to be' (see Hoffmann 1952):

OPers. *kāra pārsa . . . [kamnam āha]*
'the Persian army . . . [was] (just) a few] (men)' (DB 2.18–19).

7.1.6.1 The copula

A 3rd singular copula is often gapped, sometimes also the 3rd plural or infinitive, occasionally other persons when the subject is an expressed pronoun:

OAv. *huuō zī drəguuå*
'for that one (is) possessed by the Lie' (Y. 46.6);

kaṱ vā xšaθrəm
'what (is) your command?' (Y. 34.5);

YAv. *kaiia aŋhå ratauuō*
'which (are) *its* models?' (Y. 19.18);

OPers. *tayaiy paruvam xšāyaθiyā āha*
'who had been kings before' (DB 1.9–10).

7.1.6.2 The existential verb

This present indicative *asti* usually expresses existence, but is also used in contexts where it could not easily be omitted or is emphatic. In Young Avestan, it is found in the following instances: fronted, in relative-subordinate and interrogative clauses, in some expressions with superlatives, after fronted demonstrative pronoun or adverb (many of these after *zī*), and occasionally elsewhere. The use of the 3p *həṇti* is similar.

7.1.6.3 Possession

The existential verb can take a genitive to express possession:

OAv. *ciš ahī [kahiiā] ahī*
'Who are you? [Whose] are you?' (Y. 43.7);

YAv. *[yeŋhe] vaēm mahi*
'[whose] we are' = 'to whom we belong' (Vr. 11.13);

OP. *manā auramazdā* [COP.] *auramazdāha adam* [COP.]
'mine (is) Ahuramazdā, Ahuramazdā's (am) I' (DSk);

[dārayavahauš] puçā aniyai-ciy [āhaⁿtā]
'[Darius's were] other sons, too' = 'Darius had other sons, too' (XPf 28–29).

7.2 Moods

The Old Iranian moods were used much as in other ancient Indo-European languages. The principal innovation was the use of the optative to denote habitual past action in

Young Avestan and Old Persian. In both Young Avestan and Old Persian, 'irrealis' is expressed by the perfect optative.

7.2.1 Subjunctive present and aorist

The subjunctive is the tense used to refer to the future, and so denotes intention, prospective action and exhortation. In general, the deliberative subjunctive is used in questions and in a variety of subordinate clauses. The aorist subjunctive has the same functions as the present subjunctive, but with the difference in aspect. The negations are *nōit* and *mā* (negative instructions). On the use of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses, see section 8.2.2.1 (relative clauses) and section 8.2.3 (adverbial clauses).

7.2.1.1 The subjunctive in main clauses

7.2.1.1a 1st person

The 1st person subjunctive usually means 'I/we want to do, may I/we do, let me/us do', indicating intention or impending action:
present:

> OAv. *yauuōi vīspāi fraēštåŋhō [åŋhāmā]*
> 'for an entire lifespan [let us be] (your) dearest friends!' (Y. 49.8).

aorist:

> *tat̰ nə̄ nūcīt̰ [varᵊšānē]*
> 'that [I am about to produce] for us' (Y. 51.1);

> *ašā kat̰ θβā [darᵊsānī]*
> '[shall I see] you through Order, I wonder?' (Y. 28.5);

YAv.
> present:

> *azəm tē gaēθå [frāδaiieni] azəm tē gaēθå [varᵊδaiieni]*
> 'I [shall further] your herds, I [shall make] your herds [grow]' (V. 2.5);

aorist:

> *aša sraēšta [darᵊsāma] θβā haxma*
> '[shall we (now get to) see] company with you, O haoma, through most beautiful Order?' (Y. 60.12).

OPers.
> present:

> *šiyāta [ahaniy] jīva utā mạrta ạrtāvā [ahaniy]*
> '[let me] be happy (while) alive and blessed (after I am) dead!' (XPh 47–48).

7.2.1.1b 2nd and 3rd persons

The 2nd and 3rd person subjunctive refer to the future in various modes:
present:

OAv. *hā̆ nə̄ [aŋhaṯ]*
'she [shall be = belong] to us' (Y. 32.2);

kadā yauuā huuō [aŋhaṯ]
'when [shall he ever be] (there)?' (Y. 29.9);

YAv. *auuaθa tē [aŋhaṯ] vaŋhō*
'thus for you [shall be] the better (reward)' (V. 18.7);

aorist:

OAv. *kōi ... rāmqm [dā̊ntē < da'antai)]*
kə̄ng ā vaŋhə̄uš [jimaṯ < jam-/gam-] manaŋhō cistiš
'who [will obtain] peace?
to whom [will come] the insight of good thought?' (Y. 48.11);

YAv. *[bun (<bu'an)] gaēθā̊ amarš̌aṇtiš*
'the creatures [shall become] indestructible' (Yt. 19.12);

mā̆ ciš mē ā̊ŋhqm zaoθranqm [fraŋ'harāṯ] yō nōiṯ ...
'[let] **not** anyone [consume] these libations of mine who is not ...' (Yt. 10.122).

7.2.2 Optative present and aorist

The optative is the mood of the imaginary and thus mainly expresses wishes, prescriptions, imaginary comparisons or examples, and irreal conditions and comparisons. The optative of the aorist is used like that of the present, but with the difference in aspect. For the use of the optative perfect, see 8.2.2.4, 8.2.4.2c.

On the use of the optative in subordinate clauses, see sections 8.2.1 (*that*-clauses), 8.2.2.1 (relative clauses) and 8.2.3 (adverbial clauses).

7.2.2.1 Optative in main clauses

The optative in main clauses expresses wishes and exhortations. These are distinguished when negated: *nōiṯ* negates wishes and *mā* exhortations. In questions, the optative expresses ability, potentiality, and permission:
present:

OAv. *aθā tū nə̄ gaiias-cā astəṇtā̊s-cā [x̌iiā̊]*
'and so [may you be] our life and boniness!' (Y. 41.3);

***nōiṯ** d^{ai}bitīm duš.sastiš ahūm [mər^{i}šiiāṯ]*
'[may] the one of bad announcing **not** [destroy] a second time (this) existence!'
(Y. 45.1).

OAv. *kaθā mazdā rāniiō.skər^{əi}tīm gqm [iš^{u}sōiṯ]*
'how [might] he, O Mazdā, [try to obtain] (by prayer?) a joy-bringing cow?'
(Y. 50.2);

YAv. *vasō.xšaθrō [hiiāṯ] aš̌auua*
'[may] the Orderly [have] command at will!' (Y. 8.6);

mā-ca pascaēta mazdaiiasna tąm ząm [kāraiiən] (for *-aiiaēn*) *mā āpō [hərᵊzaiiən]*
'afterward the Mazdayasnians [shall **not** plough] that earth **nor** [release] water (upon
it)' (V. 6.2);

OPers. *auramazdām [yadaišā]*
'[you should sacrifice] to Ahuramazdā!' (XPh 50–51);

daivā mā [yadiyaiša]
'the *daivas* [shall **not** be sacrificed to]!' (XPh 38–39);

aorist:

OAv. *ᵘruuāzištō huuō nå . . . [pa'tī.jamiiå]*
'(you) there, who gladden (us) the most, [may you] *in return [come] to us'
(Y. 36.2);

kaθā ašāi drujə̄m [diiąm] zastaiiō
'how [might I deliver] the Lie into the hands of Order?' (Y. 44.14);

YAv. *vasas-ca tū . . . [xšaēša] hauuanąm dāmanąm*
'and at will [may] you [rule over] your own creations' (Y. 8.5);

[buiiama] tē šōiθrō.pānō
mā [buiiama] šōiθrō.'ricō
'[let us be] for you those who stay in the settlements!
[let us **not** be] those who leave the settlements!' (Yt. 10.75);

OPers. *auramazdā-taiy ja'tā [biyā']*
utā-taiy taumā mā [biyā']
'[may] Ahuramazdā [be] your striker (= strike you),
and [may] there **not** [be] family to you (= may you have no family)!' (DB 4.55–59).

7.2.2.2 Optative of past action in Young Avestan and Old Persian

The optative is used in Young Avestan (with or without augment) and Old Persian to
express habitual or repeated action in the past (see Hoffmann 1976: 605–19):

YAv. *zaraθuštrō ahunəm va'rim [frasrāuuaiiōiṯ] . . .*
āpō vaŋ'hiš [fṛāiiazaēta] . . .
daēnąm māzdaiiasnim [fraorᵊnaēta]
'Zarathustra [would (= used to) recite] the Ahuna Vairiia . . .
He [would sacrifice] to the good waters . . .
He [would choose] the vision-soul of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdā'
(V. 19.2);

yō bāδa . . . [a-uuarōiṯ] vācim (< a-barait)
'who at times [would lift up] his voice' (Yt. 10.73);

OPers. *yaθā-šām hacā-ma aθahạya avaθā [a-kunavaya'tā]* (thematic optative)
'as was said to them by me, thus they would do' (DB 1.17–24);

kāram vasiy [avājaniyā'] (< ava-a-)
'he [would kill] the people in large numbers' (DB 1.50–53).

7.2.3 Imperative

The imperative is used only in positive statements to express a command or an exhortation. The person the command or exhortation is addressed to is frequently in the vocative. In Old Avestan, a distinction is made between the present imperative: 'keep doing!' and aorist imperative: 'stop/start doing!'.

Negative commands or wishes are expressed with the injunctive (see section 7.1.2.1) and the optative (see section 7.2.2.1).

aorist:

> OAv. *vohū [ga͜idī] manaŋhā*
> *[dā͜dī] ašā dằ* (< *da'ah*) *darᵊgāiiū*
> '[come (now)] with good thought!
> [give (now)] with Order the gift of a long lifespan!' (Y. 28.6);

present:

> OAv. *ā ī̭ [°uuaēnā] ahurā*
> '[keep looking] hither at it, O Ahura!' (Y. 46.2);

> *dužuuarᵊšnaŋhō . . . [hə̄ṇtū] . . . [xraosəṇtąm upā] . . .*
> *[īratū] īš duuafšō . . . mošucā [astū]*
> '[let them be] (men) of bad virility! [let them be *howled upon]! . . .
> [let] *torment [huddle] them off, and [let it be] soon!' (Y. 53.8);

> YAv. *[apa] druxš [nase]* (< *nasiia*)
> *[apa] druxš [duuara] [apa] druxš [vīnase]*
> '[disappear], O Lie!
> [run away], O Lie! [lose yourself], O Lie!' (V. 8.21);

> *[xᵛarata] narō aētəm miiazdəm*
> '[eat], O men, this *myazda*!' (Y. 8.2);

> *xᵛarᵊθanąm hē [*barəṇtąm]*
> '[let] (some) of the (best) foods [be brought] to him!' (H. 2.18);

> *mā hē auui pāδəm [auua.hišta]*
> *mā gātūm [nipa͜iδiiaŋᵛha]*
> '[do not direct] (your) foot in her direction!
> [do not lie down] on (her) bed!' (Yt. 17.57);

> *mā cim gərᵊzānằ [pāra-iiaṇtu] haca ahmā̭ṯ nmānā̭ṯ*
> '[let them not leave] this house complaining about anybody' (Yt. 13.157);

> OPers. *[para-idiy/para-itā] avam kāram [jadiy/jatā]*
> 'go forth! crush that army!' (2s/2p imp.) (DB 2.20–21, 3.14–15);

> *ava-taiy auramazdā ʰucāram [kunautuv] . . .*
> *ava-taiy auramazdā [nikaⁿtuv]*
> '[let] Ahuramazdā [make] that easy for you! . . .
> [let] Ahuramazdā [destroy] that for you!' (DB 4.76, 79–80).

7.3 Middle, passive, causative

7.3.1 Middle

The middle of transitive verbs most often has passive meaning: YAv. *aza-*, act. 'leads, takes (away)', mid.: 'is led, taken away'; *vaēna-* act. 'sees' vs. mid. 'is seen', etc.).

More rarely, the middle denotes that the action is being performed in the interest of the subject (e.g. *paca-*, act. 'cook (for someone else)', mid.: 'cook for oneself'; *var°δaiia-* act.: 'increase (trans.), enlarge', mid.: 'increase (intrans.), grow'.

Note the intrans. *hišta-*, act. 'go and stand', mid. 'stand, be standing'.

Middle with passive function:

OAv. *at̰ tā maniiū pa°ruiiē*
yā yə̄mā x°afnā [asruuātəm]
'thus, those two spirits/inspirations in the beginning,
which [have been heard of (aor. du. 3p)] (as) "the twin sleeps"' (Y. 30.3);

YAv. *iməm tanum yā mē [vaēna'te] huraoδa*
'this body, which [is seen] to me (to be) beautiful' (Y. 11.10);

[vər°ziiatəm]-ca iδa vohu vāstriia
'and [let] good pastures [be produced]-**pres. imp. 3s** here!' (Vr. 15.1) [cf. section 5.3.3];

OPers. *ima frašam taya [vainataiy]*
'this perfection that [is seen]' (DNb 1–2);

middle with reflexive, etc., function:

YAv. *aiβi vastra [yå ŋhaiiaŋ°ha] frā zasta [snaiiaŋ°ha]*
'[put on your (sing.)] clothes! [wash your (sing.)] hands!' (V. 18.19);

zəm caxrəm [kər°nauuāne]
'[I shall make] the earth [my] wheel' (Yt. 19.43);

ā't̰ azəm tanūm [aguze]
'then [I hid]-**aor. 1s mid.** [my] body' (Yt. 17.55)';

OPers. *avaθā xšaçam [agərbāyatā]*
'thus [he took] the royal command [for himself]' (DB 1.42–43).

7.3.2 Passive

The passive, including passive middle forms, passives in *-iia-*, and 3s aor. in *-i*, is almost exclusively used when the sentence has no agent or the agent of the sentence is not expressed:

YAv. *yaθa aniie yazatåŋhō [yaziṇte]*
'the way (the) other deities [are sacrificed to]' (Yt. 8.11);

kahe nō iδa nəma [āya'riiāt̰]
'whose name among us [will be welcomed] here in song?' (Yt. 13.50);

OPers. *vayam haxāmanišiyā [θahyāmahay]*
'we [are called] Achaemenids' (DB 1.7);

yakā hacā ga'dārā [ābariya] (or: *a-bariya*)
'the sisso wood [was brought (or: carried)] from Gandhara and Carmania'
(DSf 34–35).

3s passive in *-i*:

OAv. *vahištā īštiš [srāuuī] zaraθuštrahē / spitāmahiiā*
'the best *ritual [has been heard of] (= become renowned) (as that) of Zarathustra / Spitama' (Y. 53.1);

YAv. *yaṯ turō ja'ni fraŋrase*
'when the Turian Frangrasiian was struck (down)' (Yt. 19.93).

7.3.2.1 Passive with agent

Very occasionally, passives are construed with agents (see also section 7.4.2.2 on the past participle).
OAv. passive with agent in the instrumental or with preposition *hacā*:

yā zī [vāuuər'zōi . . . daēuuāiš-cā mašiiāiš-cā]
'yes, those that [have been produced . . . by old gods and men]' (Y. 29.4);

yå išudō [dadəṇtē] dāθranąm [hacā ašāunō] /
'the *dues in gifts that [shall be given] [on the part of (= by?) the sustainer of Order]'
(Y. 31.14).

In Old Persian, the agent is expressed by (one repeated example of each) the genitive-dative, by the preposition *hacā*, or (possibly) by the postposition *rādiy* (see Skjærvø 1985: 215):

utā-[šām] auramazdā naiy [ayadiya]
'and Ahuramazdā [was not sacrificed to by them]' (DB 5.15–16);

taya-šām [hacā-ma aθahiya] ava akunava"
'what [was announced] to them [from (= by) me]; that they did' (XPh 17–18), cf.
**taya-šām adam aθaham ava akunava"*
'what I said to them, that they did' (DNa 36–37);

nai-mā kāma taya skauθiš [tunuva"tahyā rādiy miθa kariyaiš]
'it is not my desire that a weak (man) [should be done wrong on account of/by a mighty (one)]' (DNb 8–9).

7.3.2.2 Old Persian alternatives to passive with agent

In Old Persian, passive with agent is avoided by using impersonal 3rd person plural constructions (cf. Middle Persian, Ch. 4, section 4.3.5.3):

OPers. *utā ciça"taxmam [agᵃrbāya" ānaya"] abiy mām*
'and [they seized] Ciçantaxma (and) [brought] him to me' (DB 2.87–88), cf.
hauv āçina basta [ānayatā] abiy mām
'that Āçina [was brought] bound to me' (DB 1.82–83).

Alternatively, the agent can be circumscribed:

taya ištiš [ajaniya] kāra haya bābiruviya hauv akunauš
'that the brick [was pounded] (into shape): the Babylonian contingent, it did (it)'
(DSf 29–30).

7.4 Participles

Participles are construed as adjectives, usually attributive or in apposition, sometimes as predicates.

7.4.1 Present, future, aorist, and perfect participles

The present and aorist participles differ only in aspect.

7.4.1.1 Present participles

OAv. *yə̄ vā [xšaiiąs] a-dąs drītā [aiiaṇtəm] . . . vīcīrō [hąs]*
'or (he) who (because) [being in command], (by) having placed (him) there (in his home)
would keep (someone) [coming] to (him) . . . [being] discriminating . . .' (Y. 46.5);

fraēšiiāmahī . . .
[sᵘrunuuatas]-cā [a-sᵘrunuuatas]-cā
[xšaiiaṇtas]-cā [a-xšaiiaṇtas]-cā
'we send (our *presentations) forth,
both toward [those who listen] and toward [those who do not listen],
toward [those being in command] and toward [those not being in command]'
(Y. 35.4);

YAv. *ātarəm; . . . yazamaᶦde taxməm [həṇtəm] raθaēštārəm*
'we sacrifice to the fire, [being] a firm charioteer' (Y. 62.8);

OPers. *X māhạyā [jiyamnam] patiy*
'of the month of X at [the waning] (= on the last day)' (DB 2.62).

The present participles can be used with 'to be(come)' (see also section 8.2.4.2e):

OAv. *aṯ . . . **ahuuā** . . . [frīnəmnā] ahurāi ā*
'thus, **we two were** there [presenting ourselves as guest-friends] to the Ahura'
(Y. 29.5);

YAv. *nōiṯ dim yauua azəm . . . bitim vācim [paiti.pərᵊsəmnō] **bauua***
'**I shall** never **be** [asking] him another word' (V. 18.29);

OPers. *manahā uvaipašiyahạyā dạršam [xšayamna] **dᶦmiy***
'by (my) mind **I am** strongly [controlling] myself' (DNb 14–15).

In Young Avestan, present participles in apposition with the subject are used with *maniia-, sᵃδaiia-*:

nmānəm hō maniiaēta [para.daθō]
'he may think (of himself) [(as) having given] a house' (V. 18.28);

ā dim vātō [upa.vāuuō] saδaiieⁱti
'then a wind seems (to be) [blowing toward] him' (H. 2.7).

7.4.1.2 Other participles

Aorist:

OAv. *acištā [dantō]*
'(even) [giving] what are the worst (things)' (Y. 32.4);

YAv. *fraša hąm.rāzaiiata ātarš ... uⁱti auuaθa [maŋhānō]*
'he stretched himself forward, the fire, (suddenly) [thinking] as follows' (Yt. 19.47);

future:

YAv. *haomanąm-ca [harᵊšiiamnanąm] yōi harᵊšiieṇte*
'and of the haoma (plants) [being about to be filtered], which are being filtered'
(Vr. 12.1);

perfect:

OAv. *[vīduuå] [vīdušē] mraotū*
mā [ə-uuīduuå] aⁱpī dᵇbāuuaiiaṯ
'let him [who knows] say [to the one who knows]!
may no one [who does not know] keep deceiving (us) hereafter!' (Y. 31.17);

yehiiā ᵘruuā xraodaitī ... aṣahiiā [nąsuuå] (< na-ns-) paθō
'whose soul will *shudder, [having lost] the paths of Order' (Y. 51.13);

yas-tē ... zbaiiā ... [apānō] (< āp-) darᵊgō.jiiāⁱtīm
'(I), who shall be invoking you ... [having obtained] long life' (Y. 33.5);

YAv. *vispaēⁱbiiō haca arᵊzaēⁱbiiō [vauuanuuå] paⁱti jasaⁱti*
'he returns, [having won], from all battles' (Y. 57.11–12);

*aṅhe haxaiiō frāiieṇte ... naēδa.ciṯ *miθō [vaoxᵛåŋhō] (< uak-luac-)*
'his companions will go forth, [having] never [said] anything wrong' (Yt. 19.95);

šātəm daθāⁱti ᵘruuānəm aṣaonō [ⁱrīriθānahe] (< raiθ-)
'he makes happy the soul of the Orderly one [who has died]' (P. 23);

narəm aṣauuanəm [daδrānəm] (< dar-) humatəmca ...
'the Orderly man, [who has held up] his well-thought (thought) and ...' (Vr. 2.5);

perfect participle contrasting with the present and past participles:

OAv. *.... hu-uarᵊštanąm ... vərᵊziiamnanąm- cā vāuuərᵊzanąm-cā*
'of (deeds) well done, both those being performed and [those having been
performed]' (Y. 35.2).

7.4.2 Past participles in -ta-

The past participle in *-ta-* is commonly used in Young Avestan as apposition, in which
case it refers to an action that was completed before the action or state indicated by the

main verb of the clause or by present participles. Also when used as an adjective, it sometimes retains this temporal function:

YAv. *[fra-stər°tāṯ] pa'ti bar°smən*
[uz-dātāṯ] pa'ti haomāṯ
raociṇtāṯ pa'ti āθraṯ
srāuuaiiamnāṯ pa'ti ahunāṯ va'riiāṯ
'beside the barsom [spread out],
beside the haoma [set up],
beside the blazing fire,
beside the Ahuna Vairiia being recited' (Yt. 10.91, Āfr. 4.5);

auuaṯ . . . haṇjamanəm . . . bar°šnuuō auuaŋhe ašnō [y°matəm]
. . . yazamaide
'to yonder gathering [having come (together)] upon the height of yonder sky
. . . we sacrifice' (G. 2.8);

OPers. *duvarayā-maiy [basta] adāriya*
'he was held [bound] at my gate' (DB 2.75, 89–90);

hamiçiyā [ha'-gmatā] [para-itā] . . .
hamaranam akunava
'the conspirators, [having come together] and [gone off] . . .
fought the battle' (DB 2.37–39).

7.4.2.1 Medial-reflexive function of the participle in -*ta*-

The past participle sometimes has medial-reflexive function and can take a direct (inner) object:

YAv. *[ā-stūtas]-cā [fra-uuar°tas]-cā*
āstuiiē humatəm manō
'[having assigned myself by my praise] and [having made my choice]
(having spoken the *āstuiiē* and the *frauuarānē*)
I assign myself by my praise to well-thought thought' (Y. 12.8) [< *ā-stau-* and *fra-u̯ar-*, both middle];

upa. tacaṯ . . . aoθra [paiti.šmuxta]
'she came running, [shod] in shoes' (Yt. 5.64).

A past participle is frequently combined with a verb from the same root, see section 10.5 Figura etymologica.

7.4.2.2 Past participle with copula

In Young Avestan, the past participles are occasionally used with the copula and sometimes with a personal pronoun (rarely a noun) in the genitive indicating the agent:

YAv. *kaδa nō iδa ašāum [agatō (< ā-gam-)]*
a'θiiajaŋhəm ahum ā
'how [have you come], O Orderly one, to us,
to (this) existence without danger?' (V. 19.31);

cuuaṇtəm zruuānəm maniiauua stiš [dāta as]
'for how long [had] the existence in the world of thought [been established]?'
(FrV. 2.19);

mānaiiən ahe yaθa nā satəm-ca . . . paršanąm [ni-jatəm hiiāṯ]
'just as if a hundred and . . . ears of grain [were to be (lying) smashed down]'
(Yt. 13.71);

with agent:

YAv. *yaṯ [mē] auuauuaṯ daēuuaiiasnanąm [ni-jatəm]*
yaθa sārəm-a varsanąm barāmi
'that [by me is smashed down = I have smashed down]
as many sacrificers to the old gods as I carry hairs on the head' (Yt. 5.77);

yezica [hē] aniia aya šiiaoθna [fra-uuaršta]
pa'tita hē ciθa
'if [for/by him are performed = he has performed] other evil deeds,
(then) the penalty for it (is) absolved' (V. 3.21);

agent with attributive past participle:

yōi ka'nina (for *ka'ninō*) *[an-upaēta* (<*upa-i-*) *mašiiānąm]*
'the girls [not yet approached by men]' (Yt. 17.55).

7.4.3 The Old Persian perfect

In Old Persian, the old perfect indicative appears to have been lost and been replaced by constructions of past participle and copula with agents. This new perfect, like the old perfect, expresses the result seen in the present of a past action or event. It is often used to 'sum up' past events told in the imperfect (see Lazard 1976: 184–86, Skjærvø 1985).

There are forms of both transitive and intransitive verbs. As the past participle of transitive verbs has a passive meaning ('done, killed'), the perfect construction in these instances is formally passive.

There is no *active* perfect *construction* corresponding to the *passive* one, so the construction corresponds to both active and passive constructions in the present and imperfect.

7.4.3.1 Without agent

When the past participle is from an intransitive verb, the perfect corresponds to an active imperfect; when it is from a transitive verb and the agent is not expressed, it corresponds to a passive imperfect:
intransitive verb:

pārsahạyā martiyahạyā dūraiy ạrštiš [parā-gmatā]
'the Persian man's spear has gone far away' (DNa 43–45);

transitive verb:

ava ahạyāyā dipiyā naiy [ni-pištam]
'that [has] not [been written (is not written)] in this inscription' (DB 4.47);

paruv frašam [fra-mātam] paruv frašam [kartam]
'much perfect work [had been ordered], much [has been made]' (DSf 56–57);

aniyaš-ciy vasiy [astiy kartam]
'much else too [has been done]' (DB 4. 46–47);

pluperfect:

xšaçam taya . . . [parā-bartam āha] ava adam patipadam akunavam
'I redressed the command that [had been taken away]' (DB 1.61–62).

7.4.3.2 With agent

If an agent (noun or pronoun) is expressed, it is in the genitive-dative, and the perfect corresponds to an active imperfect. The only examples are with *karta* 'done, made', and the construction is formally identical with possessive constructions in which *karta* means 'work, achievement' (there may have been a difference in word order):

taya[-maiy kartam] utā taya-maiy [piça dārayavahauš XŠhayā kartam]
'what [I have done] and what my [father King Darius has done]' = 'what [has been done by me] and what [has been done by my father King Darius]' (XPc 13–14);

[avaišām] avā [naiy astiy kartam]
ya0ā [manā] . . . hamahayāyā 0arda [kartam]
'[they have not done] as much
as [I have done] in one and the same year' ('their achievement is not as much as what I achieved in one and the same year') (DB 4. 51–52).

7.4.4 The Old Persian potential construction

There are a few verbal constructions in Old Persian involving a past participle + forms of *kar-* 'do' and *bau-* 'become' that express either completion of a past event or the feasability of a past event. These constructions are commonly referred to as 'potential' constructions (see also section 8.2.2.6 Conditional relative clauses):
active:

yātā [kartam akunavam]
'until [I had finished (doing)]' (DNa 51, XPf 45–46);

passive:

ya0ā [ka"tam abava]
'when it had finished being dug (DSf 25).

7.5 Infinitives

7.5.1 Infinitive with intentional verbs

Infinitives either depend upon a verb or are used independently to express the purpose of an utterance or an action. They are used with *vas-* 'wish', *vīsa-* 'be ready', *hācaiia-* 'induce', verbs meaning 'order', etc.:

OAv. *huuō nə̄ . . . vaštī . . carʸkərʸθrā [srāuuaiieŋhē]*
'he wishes [to make heard] for us poems of praise' (Y. 29.8);

YAv. *yaθa azəm hācaiiene . . .*
zaraθuštrəm [anu-matǝe] daēnaiiāi
'that I shall induce . . .
Zarathustra [to help] the vision-soul [along with his thought]' (Yt. 5.18);

OPers. *utā-diš atāvayam [bartanaiy]*
'and I was able [to bear] them' (DNb 46–47);

ima stānam hauv niyaštāya [kaʸtanaiy] . . .
pasāva adam niyaštāyam imām dipim [ni-paištanaiy]
'and he gave the order [to dig] this niche.
then I gave the order [to write] this inscription' (XV 20–25).

7.5.2 *Infinite with verbs of speaking and thinking*

Verbs meaning 'think, speak, see' can take a direct object plus infinitive ('accusative with infinitive') as the transformation of a S + V clause; the infinitive of 'to be' can then also take an accusative predicate (see also Gippert 1985):

OAv. *at̰ θβā mə̄ŋhī . . . yazŭm [stōi]*
'thus, I think of *you* [to be = as being] youthful' (Y. 31.8) [< 'I think: you are young'];

YAv. *aṣ̌auuanəm tē [āfiieʸδiiāi] mraomi*
'I tell you a sustainer of Order [(is) to be obtained] (from a sustainer of Order)'
(Y. 71.13) [< 'I tell you: a sustainer of Order is obtained'].

7.5.3 *Independent use*

Infinitives are used independently to express purpose, in which case the subject/direct object of such an infinitive may be in the dative:

OAv. *tat̰ mōi [vī-cidiiāi] vaocā . . .*
[vīduiiē] . . . [mə̄ŋ]-cā [daʸdiiāi]
'speak that to me [for (it) to be discriminated],
[for (me) to know] (it), . . . and [for (it) to be kept in (my) mind]' (Y. 31.5);

YAv. *frā gauue-*dat. *[vərʸndiiāi] . . . ā hŭm vaēδaiiamahī*
'in order for the cow [to be chosen], we make her known to (you)' (Vr. 4.2);

OPers. *āiš hadā kārā . . . hamaranam [cartanaiy]*
'he came with an army [in order to do] battle' (DB 2.67).

7.6 Verbal adjectives of necessity/gerundives

See Dative of agent (section 6.4.5.5).

8 SYNTAX IV: COMPLEX SENTENCES

8.1 Coordination

The usual method of coordination is by way of conjunctions. The most common exceptions are various kinds of parataxis and repetition.

8.1.1 Parataxis

Both coordination and, in Old Persian, subordination can be expressed by parataxis:

> YAv. *vīsaⁱti dim frayrāraiiō – nōit̲ *frayrāraiieⁱti*
> 'he declares himself ready to wake him (and then, but) does not wake him' (N. 1);

> OPers. *avaiy mā dauštā biyā – ʰufraštā-dī̆š parsā*
> 'you should not favour them (and = but) punish them well!' (DB 4.69).

With existential verb:

> *utā aniyaš-ca āha – duškạrtam akạriya*
> 'and there was other matter as well (and it = that) had been made badly' (XPh 41–42);

> *astiy aⁿtar aitā dahạyāva . . . – ayauda*
> 'there were among these lands (and they = some that) were in turmoil' (XPh 29–32).

In Old Persian and 'post-Old Persian', the verbs 'to send' and 'to command, order to do' can be construed with an unmarked clause:

> *pasāva adam frāišayam ūvjam – hauv āçina basta ānayatā abiy mām*
> 'then I sent (an order) to Elam (and) that Āçina was brought bound to me' (DB 1.82–83);

> *niyaštāyam – hauv araxa utā martiyā . . . uzmayā-patiy akạriyaⁿtā*
> 'I issued (an order) (and) that Araxa and the men . . . were impaled' (DB 3.91–92).

8.1.2 Repetition

In Avestan, nominals, verbs, preverbs, prepositions and negations are often repeated instead of being coordinated by conjunctions (frequent in incantations):
  adjectives:

> YAv. **asista** *nū aŋhat̲ haca vīsat̲ gāuš buiiāt̲*
> **asistəm** *ašəm* **asistəm** *narš ašaonō aojō*
> **asistō** *āhūiriš t̲kaēšō*
> 'may the cow now be **not cut off** from this town,
> (**not cut off** =) **nor** the Order, **nor** the strength of the Orderly man,
> **nor** the *guidance of Ahura Mazdā!' (Y. 60.3);

  verbs:

> **nase** *daⁱuui druxš **nase** *daēuuō.ciθre*
> **nase** *daēuuō.frakaršte* **nase** *daēuuō.fradā̆ⁱte*
> *apa druxš* **nase** *apa druxš duuara*

apa druxš vī-nase apāxəδre apa-nasiiehe
Get lost, deceiving Lie! Get lost, you demon-spawn!
Get lost, you demon-dragged-forth! Get lost, you demon-made!
Disappear, O Lie! Run away, O Lie!
(Run) away and lose yourself, O Lie!
You disappear in the northern (direction).

pronouns:

OAv. **kaṯ** *tōi rāzar³*
kaṯ *vašī* **kaṯ** *vā stūtō* **kaṯ** *vā yasnahiiā*
'**what** (is) a *straight utterance for you?
what do you want: **what** of praise or sacrifice?' (Y. 34.12);

YAv. **imaṯ** *vō āpō jaᶦdiiemi*
imaṯ *z³mō* **imaṯ** *"ruuarå* **imaṯ** *aməšå spəṇta*
'**this** I request from you, O waters,
and from you, O earths, O plants, **and** O Life-giving Immortals' (Y. 65.12);

preverbs:

nī *tē zāᶦre maδəm mruiiē*
nī *aməm* **nī** *vər"θraγnəm* (etc.)
nī *taṯ yaθa . . . vasō.xšaθrō fracarāne . . .*
nī *taṯ yaθa ta"ruuaiieni . . .*
'I call **down** your intoxication, O tawny one,
your strength, **and** obstruction-smashing . . .
(I call it) **down** so that I may go forth commanding at will . . .
and so that I may overcome . . .' (Y. 9.17–18);

prepositions:

para *auuaṅhe ašnō dåṅhōiṯ*
para *āpō* **para** *z³mō* **para** *"ruuaraiiå* (etc.)
'**before** the establishment of yonder sky,
of the water, of the earth, **and** of the plant . . .' (Y. 19.8);

negations:

OAv. **nōiṯ** *nā manå /* **nōiṯ** *sōṇghå* **nōiṯ** *xratauuō /*
naēdā *var"nā /* **nōiṯ** *uxδā* **naēdā** *šⁱiaoθ"nā /*
nōiṯ *daēnå /* **nōiṯ** *"ruuaṇō . . . haciṇtē*
'**neither** our thoughts, announcements, guiding thoughts,
preferences, utterances, actions,
vision-souls, **nor** breath-souls go together' (Y. 45.2);

YAv. **mā** *buiiama šōiθrō.ᶦricō . . .*
māδa *yaṯ nō uγra.bāzāuš niuuānāṯ*
'may we **not** be those who leave the settlements . . .
nor indeed (may it happen) that a strong-armed one should *conquer us' (Yt. 10.75);

OPers. **naiy** *āha martiya* **naiy** *pārsa* **naiy** *māda*
naiy *amāxam taumāyā kaš-ciy*

'there was **no** man, **either** Persian **or** Mede
or indeed any of Our family' (DB 1.48–49);

*abiy imām dahạyāum **mā** ājamiyā*
***mā** hainā **mā** dušiyāram **mā** drauga*
'against this land may there **not** come
an enemy army, famine, **or** the lie!' (DPd 18–20).

8.1.3 Conjunctions

8.1.3.1 Coordination

The coordinating conjunctions are *utā̆* and enclitic *-cā̆* 'and, as well', which coordinate words (and their epithets), clauses or sentences. Common coordinations include the sequences A B-*ca* and its extension A B . . . C-*ca* and *uta* A *uta* B. Combinations include *uta . . . -ca, uta . . . uta . . . -ca, -ca . . . ca . . . uta* 'and also, as well'. For Old Persian, see Klein 1988.

Connecting sentences:

YAv. *vaŋhuš sraošō . . . hə̄-ca iδa yōiθβā astu*
'good Sraoša . . . **and** let him have taken up his position here' (Y. 27.6);

OPers. *manā auramazdā upastām baratuv . . . **utā** imām dahạyāum auramazdā pātuv*
'let Ahuramazdā bear me aid, **and** let Ahuramazdā protect this land!' (DPd 13–16).

In Old Avestan, the form *A Bcā # C* may be possible at the cesura:

ā mā [aēš°mō hazas-cā # rəmō] °hišāiiā
'[Wrath and violence, (as well as) restraint] keep me tied up' (Y. 29.1).

The sequence A-*ca* . . . B-*ca* can take an adjective or a pronoun, or it can itself be the subject or direct object of a verb or be governed by adpositions:

OAv. *aṭcā hōi **scantū** manaŋhā̆ uxδāiš šiaoθanāišcā . . .*
[kauuacā vīštāspō zaraθuštriš spitāmō f°rašaoštrascā]
'and so **let them follow** with thought, utterances, and actions . . .
[Kauui Vīštāspa, a Zarathustra-follower (and) Spitamid, and Fraša-uštra]!' (Y. 53.2);

YAv. ***imą** [haomąs-ca miiazdąs-ca zaoθrås-ca]*
'these [*haomas, myazdas*, libations]' (Y. 4.1);

aṇtar° [måŋhəm-ca huuar°-ca]
'**between** [the moon and the sun]' (Yt. 6.5);

OP. *aita-maiy aruvastam **upariy** [manaš-cā ušī-cā]*
'This is my ability **in** [thought and understanding]' (DNb 31–32).

Occasionally OPers. *utā* introduces a main clause after a subordinate clause with the function of accommodating an enclitic pronoun:

OPers. *imā uvnarā tayā . . . **utā-diš** atāvayam bartanaiy*
'these (are) talents which . . . **(and) I** was able to carry them' (DNb 45–47).

8.1.3.2 Disjunction

The disjunctive conjunctions are enclitic *vā* 'or' and tonic *aṱ vā* 'or else', negated YAv. *nauua* 'or not', 'nor'.

The sequence A B-*vā* (A B-*vā* C-*vā*) is most common with clauses, but relatively seldom found with single words. Other sequences include A *vā* B *vā* (C *vā*), X *vā* A B *vā*, A *vā* *aṱ* *vā* B (see also section 5.3.1 Questions):

> OAv. *vanaⁱntī **vā** vōŋghən **vā** vaonar^ʾ **vā***
> '(who) are winning, shall (now) win, **or** have (always) won' (Y. 39.2);

> *yō aṣaonē vahištō # x^vaētū **vā aṱ vā** vər^ʾzōniiō /*
> *aⁱriiamnā **vā***
> '(he) who is best for the sustainer of Order #
> **either** through (his) *family **or else** (as) a member of the *household
> **or** by (his) *community' (Y. 33.3);

> YAv. *us **vā** hištō nī **vā** paⁱðiiamnō*
> 'standing up **or** lying down' (Yt. 1.17);

> OPers. *yadiy imām dipim vaināhạy imai-**vā** patikarā*
> 'if you see this inscription **or** these images' (DB 4.72–73);

negated:

> *uzgər^ʾptāṱ paⁱti draonāṱ **nauua** uzgər^ʾptāṱ*
> 'at the *drōn* lifted up **or not** lifted up' (V. 5.26);

> *kā hē asti ciθa . . .*
> ***nauua** hē asti ciθa **nauua** hē asti āpər^ʾtiš*
> 'what is the penalty (etc.) for it? . . .
> there is **neither** penalty for it, **nor** is there expiation for it' (V. 3.38–39).

8.1.4 Coordinating particles

These are sentence-initial, -medial and -final.

8.1.4.1 Sentence-introductory *aṱ, āⁱṱ*

These are the two most common particles in Old and Young Avestan and, according to the context, may be rendered as 'and, then, but', and similar. They can be followed by a temporal clause introduced by OAv. *hiiaṱ, yadā,* YAv. *yaṱ* 'when'. Enclitic *aṱ* is typical of the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti* (Y. 35–41). They are also used as adversative particles:

> OAv. *sraotā gōuš. āiš . . .*
> ***aṱ** tā maniiū pa^uruiiē . . .*
> ***aṱ**-cā **hiiaṱ** tā hōm maniiū jasaētəm . . .*
> 'listen with your ears . . .
> **Then**, those two spirits in the beginning . . .
> and **then, when** those two spirits come together' (Y. 30.2–4);

aṱ-cā 'as well as', *aṱ vā* 'or else':

> *fʳδrōi . . . pa'θiiaē-cā vāstriiaē'biiō* **aṱ-cā** *xᵛaētaiuē*
> 'to (her) father **and** husband, to the foragers,
> **as well as** the *family' (Y. 53.4);

> *yasnəm . . . xšmāuuatō*
> **aṱ vā** *aṣā staomiiā vacå*
> 'the sacrifice to one like you (pl.),
> **or else**, by (my) Order, words of praise' (Y. 33.8);

enclitic *aṱ*:

> *apō* **aṱ** *yazama'dē*
> '**and so** we sacrifice (to) the waters' (Y. 38.3);

> *sraēštəm* **aṱ** *tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpəm āuuaēdaiiamahī*
> '**thus**, as your form, the most beautiful of forms, we are making known . . .' (Y. 36.6).

YAv. *āᵘṱ*:

> **āᵘṱ** *yaṱ miθrəm . . . frādaδəm . . .* **āᵘṱ** *dim daδəm*
> '**then**, when I brought forth Miθra . . . **then** I established him' (Yt. 10.1);

adversative *aṱ, āᵘṱ*:

In Old Avestan, all examples of *aṱ* introducing a second 'half-line' and several introducing 'verse lines' (exc. *aṱ vā, aṱ-cā*) appear to have adversative function, occasionally also when enclitic. YAv. *āᵘṱ* often has adversative function, notably in conditional clauses introduced by *āᵘṱ yezi* (Vid.), *yezi āᵘṱ* (Nir.):

> OAv. *acištō drəguuatəm* # **aṱ** *aṣāunē vahištəm manō*
> 'the worst (existence will be that) of those possessed by the Lie #
> **but** for the sustainer of Order (there will be) best thought' (Y. 30.4);

> YAv. *vispe zī aniie maδåŋhō aēšma hacinte . . .*
> **āᵘṱ** *hō yō haomahe maδō aṣa haca'te*
> 'for all other intoxications are followed by Wrath (i.e. darkness and night),
> **but** the intoxication of the *haoma* is followed by Order (i.e. light and day)' (Y. 10.8);

> *mā ciš baraṱ aēuuō yaṱ 'ristəm*
> **āᵘṱ** *yezi šē barāṱ*
> 'let no one carry alone what is dead;
> but *if* he carries alone something that is dead . . .' (V. 3.14);

> *yō gāθå srāuuaiie'ti . . .*
> *yezi hauuaē'biia ušibiia a'βi.sᵘrunuua'ti ratufriš*
> *yezi* **āᵘṱ** *nōiṱ hauuaē'biia ušibiia . . .*
> 'he who recites the Gāθās . . .
> if he can hear (them) with his own ears, (then) he satisfies the (ritual) models,
> but if he cannot hear (them) with his own ears . . .' (N. 8).

8.1.4.2 Emphatic particles

These include Av. *ī̆* (combines with various other particles for emphasis); Av. *-cī̆*, OPers. *-ciy* 'even, -self, just, exactly' (OAv., YAv. *aṯ-cīṯ, aṯ-ciṯ*, OPers. *aciy* 'even then, so'); Av. *-cinā̆* (<*-cana*) 'especially, even'; *tū* (used with imperative and optative); and *vōi* '*definitely':

> OAv. . . . *yazamaᶦdē vaŋhūš-cā ī̆ vaŋʳhīš-cā ī̆*
> '. . . we are sacrificing to **both** the good male ones **and** the good female ones'
> (Y. 39.3);

> YAv. *aθā aθā cōi̯ṯ* (< *ca-iṯ*) *zaraθuštrō . . . viiāmruuīta*
> 'and in that **very** manner, Zarathustra would renounce . . .' (Y. 12.6);

> *vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaδōi̯ṯ* (*yaδa-iṯ*) *upa.jasōi̯ṯ ᶦristəm tanūm*
> '**just** until **when** he might come upon the dead body' (V. 6.27);

> OAv. *azə̄m-cī̆*
> 'I for my part' (Y. 29.10);

> *taṯ nə̄ nū-cī̆ varᵊšānē*
> 'that best (action/command) I am **just** now about to produce for us' (Y. 51.1);

> OPers. *yaθā paruvam-ciy*
> '**just** like before' (DB 1.63);

> OAv. *aṯ-cī̆ aē̆ᶦbiiō vahištā yōi . . .*
> '**but also** as the best things to those who . . .' (Y. 31.1);

> YAv. *yaṯ-ciṯ tanūm apaiieᶦti aṯ-ciṯ dim nōi̯ṯ rāšaiiente*
> '**even when** it reaches the body, **even then** it does not harm him' (Yt. 10.2);

> *utā vištāspa utā aṛšāma ubā ajīvatam*
> *āciy . . . dārayavaum . . . xšāyaθiyam akunauš*
> 'both Vištāspa and Aršāma were (still) alive.
> but, ***even so**, he made Darius king' (XPf 19–24);

> OAv. *aiiå nōi̯ṯ ərᵊš vīšiiātā daēuuā-cinā*
> '**especially** the old gods did not discriminate rightly between these two' (Y. 30.6);

> YAv. *mā aδa kaθa-cina †paᶦti.jime*
> 'may *I **not** come up against any such **at all**!' (Vr. 22.2);

> OAv. *huxšaθrastū nə̄ nā vā nāᶦrī vā xšaētā*
> 'may a man or a woman of good command command us!' (Y. 41.2);

> *ātarš vōi mazdå ahurahiiā ahī*
> 'you are **definitely** "the fire of Mazdā Ahura"' (Y. 36.3).

8.1.4.3 *zī* 'for'

The enclitic particle *zī* is an explanatory particle used in main, subordinate, and parenthetical clauses with the general meaning of 'for, namely'. Av. *yezī*, which in Young Avestan is in complementary distribution with *yeiδi zī*, may be from **yaṯ zī* (see section 8.2.4 Conditional clauses):

OAv. *aṭ tōi aŋhən . . . tōi ǰ dātā hamaēstārō*
'and they shall be . . . **for** they (have been) made/established as opponents' (Y. 48.12);

nū zīṭ (*<zī īṭ*) . . . *viiādarəsəm*
'**for I just** now caught sight of' (Y. 45.8).

YAv. *nōiṭ ǰ ahmi pa'ti na'ri duua maniiu rəna auuaståŋhaṭ*
'**for** not shall over this man the two spirits take up a firm stance (of competition)' (V. 7.51–52).

See also section 5.3.3 Parenthetical clauses.

8.1.4.4 Responsive *bā*, *bōiṭ*

The particle is found once in the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*, but more frequently in Young Avestan, where it is often used in answers to questions or as emphasis:

OAv. *huxšaθrō.təmāi **bā** aṭ xšaθrəm . . . dad"mahi-cā*
'**yes**, for (you) having the greatest command,
we then establish the command' (Y. 35.5);

YAv. *ciθra vō buiiār"š masānå . . .*
*ciθrəm **bōiṭ** (<bā īṭ) yūžəm-ciṭ x"ar"nō . . .*
'may your *greatnesses be brilliant! . . .
yes, and may you, too, give brilliant munificence . . .!' (Ny.3.11).

8.1.4.5 OAv. *θβaṭ*, YAv. *bāδa* '*sometimes, *again and again'

OAv. *kə̄ yā må uxšiieitī nərəfsaitī **θβaṭ***
'who (is he) through whom the moon is (now) **first** waxing **then** waning (is again and again waxing and waning?)' (Y. 44.3);

YAv. *həṇti **bāδa** māuuaiiaciṭ caθβārō aršāna*
'even *I* have ***again and again/at times**(?) four males' (V. 18.31).

8.1.4.6 Interjections

The interjections are *uštå* 'hail! good luck!', *nəmō* 'hail!', OAv. *auuōi*, YAv. *āuuōiia*, *bāuuōiia*, and *sādrəm* 'woe!', which take the dative, and YAv. *āi* 'O!', which takes the vocative.

8.2 Subordination

Subordinate conjunctions are usually derived from the relative pronominal stems (OAv. *hiia-*, *ya-*; YAv. *ya-*; OP. *ya-*, *taya*).

8.2.1 *Substantival* that-*clauses*

These function typically as the subject or direct object or appositions to the subject or direct object. The mood is according to the meaning:

OAv. *aṯ zī tōi vaxšiiā . . . [hiiaṯ akōiiā drəguuā'tē]*
'for thus I shall tell you . . . [that for the one possessed by the Lie (it will end) in an evil (turn)]-**DO**' (Y. 51.8);

taṯ aṯ var''nd'dī . . . [hiiaṯ ī ma'nima'di-cā]
'thus, we (now) prefer **that**: [**that** we may think them and . . .]-**DO**' (Y. 35.3);

YAv. *taṯ aḥmāi jasaṯ āiiaptəm [yaṯ hē puθrō us.zaiiata]*
'**that** prize came to him [**that** a son was born to him]-**S**' (Y. 9.4);

OPers. *kārahaṛyā naiy azdā abava [taya bardiya avajata]*
'it did not become known to the army [**that** Smerdis had been killed]-**S**'
(DB 1.31–32);

ava adam akunavam . . . [yaθā aniya aniyam naiy ja''tiy]
'that I accomplished: [**that** they no longer kill one another]-**DO**' (DSe 34–36);

utā [taya būmiš akaniya fravata] . . . kāra haya bābiruviya hauv akunauš
'and [(the fact) **that** the earth was dug down]-**DO**, the Babylonian people did (it)'
(DSf 28–30) [or: *nominativus pendens*];

nai-mā kāma
[taya skauθiš tunuva''tahyā rādiy miθa' kariyaiš]
'it is not my desire
[**that** a weak (man) should be done wrong by a mighty (one)]-**S**' (DNb 8–9) [*kariyaiš*: optative of wish].

8.2.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are the most frequent subordinate clauses in Old Avestan and probably in Young Avestan and Old Persian. They are adjectival and are often coordinated with adjectives.

A relative clause can precede, follow, or include its antecedent, which can be overt (explicit) or gapped (omitted) or just implied by the verb. It can be next to the antecedent or separated from it. The antecedent can be a noun or a (personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite) pronoun. The antecedent and the relative pronoun can be in the same case or in different cases, the antecedent usually being in the case demanded by the syntax of the main clause and the relative pronoun in the case demanded by the syntax of the relative clause, but case 'attraction' (assimilation) also occurs.

Like adjectives, relative clauses can be 'substantivised' and take the place of a noun and so by themselves function as subject, direct object, etc. ('he who'-clauses). An antecedent or resumptive 'dummy' pronoun may be present, which, by its case, shows the syntactic function of the relative clause: 'I saw him who killed the dragon', '(the one) who killed the dragon, **him** I saw'. In Old Persian, the 'he who' clauses were standardised and produced a new relative pronoun *haya-, taya-* (cf. Adiego Lajara 2000).

As in other early Indo-European languages, the antecedent of the relative may be located inside the relative clause (included) and may be in the same case as the relative pronoun. Such relative clauses may originate from interrogative or indefinite clauses: 'which man killed the dragon?', 'whichever man killed the dragon' > 'which man killed the dragon went away' (see also Kellens and Pirart 1990, Chapter 2 on relative clauses).

See also section 6.1.1 The Young Avestan and Old Persian connecting relative and the relative particle.

8.2.2.1 The use of moods and tenses in relative clauses

All tenses and moods are used in relative clauses, but the functions of the moods can differ slightly from those in main clauses:

subjunctive present:

OAv. *[yə̄ vå mazdā ahurā paⁱrijasāi] vohū manaŋhā*
'(I) [who **shall circumambulate** you (pl.)], O Mazdā Ahura, with (my) good thought' (Y. 28.2);

YAv. *aṭ-cā tōi vaēm x̌iiāmā [yōi īm f^ərašə̄m kər^ənaon] ahūm*
'thus, also: may *we* be those [who **shall make** it perfect], (this) existence' (Y. 30.9);

subjunctive aorist:

OAv. *hātąm huuō aojištō*
[yahmāi zauuə̄ŋg jimā *kərəduš ā]
'he is strongest of (all) who are [for whom **I shall come** (< ā jam-) to (his) calls (even if they are) weak]' (Y. 29.3);

optative present:

OAv. *[yə̄ hīm ahmāi vāstrauuaⁱtīm stōi usiiāṭ]*
'(someone) [who **might wish** her and (her) pasture to be for him]' (Y. 50.2);

optative aorist:

taṭ ahiiā [yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā] tauua-cā haxəmā
'that of this (one) [by which **we may come** to that], (namely) your company and . . .' (Y. 40.2).

8.2.2.2 Old Avestan relative clauses

The Old Avestan realative clauses are particularly difficult to parse, partly because of the poetic word order and partly because of frequent ellipsis of antecedent, verb, etc.

8.2.2.2a Relative clause precedes the main clause

Antecedent implicit in verb with overt resumptive pronoun:

[yə̄ . . . ašəm nipåŋhē manas-cā vohū yauuaētāⁱtē] / tuuə̄m . . . frō mā sīšā
'[(you-sing.) **who** are guarding Order and good thought for the duration of a lifespan,] teach **you** me!' (Y. 28.11);

[yā frauuaxšiiā] yezī tā aθā haⁱθiiā
'(the words) [**which** I want to pronounce] – for if **they** (are) true in this manner' (Y. 44.6);

[yə̄ vå . . . paⁱrijasāi . . .] maⁱbiiō dāuuōi ahuuå . . . āiiaptā
'for (you) to give **to me**, [**who** shall circumambulate you], the spoils of both existences' (Y. 28.2).

Antecedent implicit in verb without overt resumptive pronoun:

*[yōi mōi ahmāi sərɑošəm dąn (daʾan-**3p***) caiias-cā]*-**S**
*upā.jimən-***3p** *hauruuātā amərətātā*
'[**whosoever** shall give readiness to listen to this one of mine],
they shall come to wholeness (and) immortality' (Y. 45.5);

[yehiiā mōi . . . vahištəm yesnē pɑⁱtī]-**DO** *vaēdā mazdₐ̊ ahurō*
'(**he**) [in return for **whose** sacrifice the best (accrues) to me], Mazdā Ahura knows
(**him**)' (Y. 51.22).

Antecedent included in relative clause with overt resumptive pronoun:

[yə̄ zaotā aṣ̌ā ərəzuš] huuō . . .
'[**the libator who** (is) straight by (his) Order], **he** . . .' (Y. 33.6);

[yā̊s-cā tōi gᵊnₐ̊ . . . vɑⁱriiₐ̊] tₐ̊ yazamɑⁱdē
'[and **the women who** (are) your well-deserved ones], **those** we are sacrificing (to)'
(Y. 38.1).

Antecedent included in relative clause without overt resumptive:

[yə̄ mąθrā vācəm . . . barɑⁱtī]-**S** *. . . zaraθuštrō*
'**the poet who** is lifting (his) voice], . . . (he is **I/he**) Zarathustra' (Y. 50.6);

[hiiaṯ mīždəm zaraθuštrō magauuabiiō cōišt parā]-**INSTR**
. . . ahurō mazdₐ̊ jasaṯ pauruiiō
'[**the fee which** Zarathustra assigned before to the masters of the gift-exchange],
(**with that**) Ahura Mazdā comes (forward as) the first (in line)' (Y. 51.15).

8.2.2.2b   Relative clause follows the main clause

Overt antecedent preceding the main clause:

kə̄ [yā mₐ̊ uxšiieitī nərəfsaitī θβaṯ]
'**who** (is he) [**through whom** the moon is (now) first waxing then waning]?' (Y. 44.3);

aēm mōi idā vistō [yə̄ nə̄ aēuuō sāsnₐ̊ gūšatā]
'**this one** (is the one) found by me [**who** alone has listened to our ordinances]'
(Y. 29.8);

srɑotū mazdₐ̊ ahurō [yehiiā vahmē vohū fraṣ̌ī manaŋhā]
'**let Ahura Mazdā** listen, [in **whose** hymn I have (now) asked my good thought]'
(Y. 45.6).

Antecedent overt *and* included:

xšaθrəm-cā . . . [yā xšaθrā grə̄hmō hīšᵃⁱsaṯ]
'and (their) **command** . . . [a **command by which** the *glutton *seeks a seat]'
(Y. 32.12–13).

Without overt antecedent:

hiiaṯ . . . uštā [yə̄ aṣ̌əm dādrē]-**DAT**
'that . . . wished-for (things **for him**) [**who** upholds Order]' (Y. 51.8);

hiiaṯ-cā gāuš jaⁱdiiāi mraoī [yə̄ dūraošə̄m saocaiiaṯ auuō]-**AG**
'and when the cow is mistreated to (the point of) being smashed (by **him**) [**who**
"purifies" (by burning) the *haoma*]' (Y. 32.14).

Antecedent implicit in the verbs:

*anāiš vå nōiṯ . . . yānāiš zarᵈnaēmā-***1p** *. . . [yōi . . yōiθᵃmā-***1p***]*
'may **we** not anger you with those requests (to you), [**we who** have taken our places]'
(Y. 28.9);

*dāidī-***2s** *mōi [yə̄ gąm tašō-***2s***]*
'**give** me (now), [**you who** fashioned the cow . . .!]' (Y. 51.7);

*varᵊštąm-***3s** *[hiiaṯ vasnā frašō.təmə̄m* (COP **3s**)*]*
'let (**that**) be produced [**which** is most perfect in exchange value]!' (Y. 50.11).

Antecedent included in relative clause:

aṯ yūš daēuuā vīspåŋhō akāṯ manaŋhō stā ciθrə̄m [yas-cā vå maš yazaⁱtē]
'but you, O old gods, are all (of you) the *seed (issued) from an evil thought,
and (so is) [**the great one who** is sacrificing to you]' (Y. 32.3);

tąm kauuā vīštāspō . . . nąsaṯ . . . [yąm cistīm . . . maṇtā]
'Kauui Vīštāspa *reached **that** (insight), [**the insight which** he thought]' (Y. 51.16).

Relative clause coordinated with noun or adjective:

OAv. *[vāstriiāṯ vā] āⁱtē [yə̄ vā nōiṯ aŋhaṯ vāstriiō]*
'to come [to the forager] or (to him) [**who** shall not be **a forager**]' (Y. 31.9);

ahuuå [astuuatas-cā hiiaṯ-cā manaŋhō]
'of both worlds, both the one with bones and (the one) **which** (is) **of thought**]'
(Y. 28.2).

8.2.2.2c Case attraction of relative pronoun

There are a few instances in Old Avestan in which the relative pronoun appears to have
been assimilated to the case of its antecedent, which may or not be present. We may
distinguish between two cases:

I.   The verb comes after the relative clause and may be considered as part of both the
     main and the relative clause:

     vahištəm θβā . . . [yə̄m ašā vahištā hazaošə̄m ahurə̄m] yāsā
     '**you the best-DO** (one), [**whom-DO** of the same pleasure as the best Order, (you) the
     Ahura-DO] **I ask for** . . .' (Y. 28.8).

2.   A verb may be supplied in the relative clause, e.g. 'whom (I know as)', 'whom (X said
     to be):

     *yaiiå spaniiå *uⁱtī mrauuaṯ [yə̄m aŋgrə̄m]*
     'of which two the life-giving one shall tell (**him**) [**whom** (you know/said to be) the Evil
     one]' (Y. 45.2),

cf.

[yə̄ṇg . . . vōistā . . . dā0ə̄ṇg]
'(those) [**whom you know** to follow the established rules]' (Y. 28.10);

tə̄m aduuānəm . . . [yə̄m mōi mraoš vaŋhə̄uš manaŋhō]
'(teach us) **that road [which you . . . tell** me (is that) of good thought]' (Y. 34.13).

8.2.2.3 Young Avestan relative clauses

The Young Avestan relative clauses show several of the general features of the Old Avestan ones, although, on the whole, they are less complex. They may precede or follow the main clause, and the antecedent and resumptive may be overt or not.

8.2.2.3a Relative clause precedes main clause

Antecedent included in relative clause:

[yą̄m ašauua vaŋ'him ašaiiąm vaē0a] tą̄m druuå əuuiδuuå
'[**the Orderly fashion which** the Orderly one knows to be good], (of) **that** the Lieful one is ignorant' (Vr. 22.2).

8.2.2.3b Relative clause follows the main clause

Overt antecedent outside relative clause:

cit̰ auuat̰ vacō ås ahura mazda [yat̰ mē frāuuaocō]
'which was **yonder word**, Ahura Mazdā, [**which** you said forth to me]?' (Y. 19.1).

Antecedent not overt:

tə̄m aoi ṯbaēšå īša pa'tiiaṇtu
'0iiejå īša [yō ī daδa]
'0iiejå yaṇtu [yō dī daδa]
'by (this) invigorant let the hostilities go back against **him |who** has established them]
(and), by (this) invigorant the dangers (against **him**) [**who** has established them]!
let the dangers go (to **him**) [**who** has established them]!' (Y. 65.8).

Antecedent included in relative clause:

rəṇja'ti haomahe maδō [yō . . . haomə̄m vaṇda'te mašiiō]
'the intoxication of the haoma energises [**the man who** honors the haoma]'
(Y. 10.8).

8.2.2.3c asti ya- 'here is/some of which'

Young Avestan relative clauses with *asti* (*asti yō*, etc.) express 'some . . . others' (cf. Middle Persian *ast ī*, Ch. 4, sections 5.2.2.8 and 5.3.4):

*hazaŋrə̄m *0anuuaninąm asti yō gauuasnahe snāuuiia jiia . . .*
*hazaŋrə̄m *išunąm . . . asti yā aŋhaēna spar"ya*
'a thousand *bows, well-made, **some of which** have strings made of sinews of gazelles . . .
a thousand arrows . . . **some of which** have stems made of bone' (Yt. 10.128–29).

8.2.2.4 Old Persian relative clauses

In Old Persian, the relative clause most often follows its antecedent and is often embedded in the main clause:

> *daraniyam hacā spardā utā hacā bāxtrīyā abariya [taya idā akạriya]*
> 'the gold [that was wrought here] was carried from Sardis and from Bactria' (DSf 35–37).

Resumptive not overt:

> *martiyā [tayai-šaiy fratamā anušiyā āhatā] avāja*
> 'the men [who were his foremost followers] (those) he killed' (DB 3.74–75).

Resumptive overt:

> *dārayavạum [haya manā pita] avam xšāyaθiyam akunauš*
> 'Darius, [who (was) my father], him he made king' (XPf 22–24).

Antecedent *nominativus pendens*:

> *imā dahạyāva [tayā adam agạrbāyam] . . . adam-šām patiyaxšayaiy*
> 'these countries [which I seized . . .] I ruled over them' (DNa 16–19).

See section 6.1.1 The Young Avestan and Old Persian connecting relative and the relative particle.

8.2.2.5 Indefinite relative clauses

Indefinite relative clauses are introduced by indefinite pronouns or a combination of relative and indefinite pronouns. The relationships between pronouns and antecedents are the same as for relative clauses:

> OAv. *maniiūm zaraθuštrō vərⁱⁿtē . . . [yastē ciš-cā spǝništō]*
> 'Zarathustra chooses the inspiration [whichever is your most life-giving]' = '. . . whichever inspiration . . .' (Y. 43.16);

> *[yōi mōi ahmāi sʳraošǝm dạn caiias-cā] upā.jimǝn . . .*
> '[whosoever shall give readiness to listen to this one of mine], they shall (now) come to . . .' (Y. 45.5);

> *aṯ huuō . . . [kas-āṯ ašā huzǝṇtuš]*
> 'thus, he there is . . . [whoever by (his) Order (is) of good lineage]' (Y. 49.5);

> *uštā ahmāi [yahmāi uštā kahmāicīṯ . . . mazdå dāiiāṯ ahurō]*
> 'wished-for (things are) in the wish for him, [to whomever Mazdā Ahura shall give (them)]' (Y. 43.1).

8.2.2.6 Conditional relative clauses

The only example (OPers.) has the perfect optative potential:

> OP. *naiy āha martiya . . . [kaš-ciy*
> *haya avam gaumātam . . . xšaçam dītam caxriyā-3s-perf. opt.]*

'there was **no man at all** . . .
[**who could have taken** the royal command from that Gaumāta]' (DB 1.48–49, 53).

See also section 8.2.4.2c Conditions contrary to fact.

8.2.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses typically function like adverbs, modifying a verb or a clause. Most of them are introduced by adverbial forms of the relative *ya-*: OAv. *hiiaṯ*, YAv. *yaṯ*, OPers. *taya* and *yaθā* 'as, how' (most common); local Av. *yaθrā* 'where', OPers. *yadā-taya*; temporal OAv. *yadā* 'when', YAv. *yaδa*, and others.

8.2.3.1 Clauses of time

The conjunctions are OAv. *hiiaṯ, parā hiiaṯ* 'before', YAv. *yaṯ, para . . . yaṯ, ā . . . yaṯ* 'till', *vīspəm ā ahmāṯ yaṯ* 'until', *yaδōiṯ*, OPers. *yadiy* and *yaθā* 'when'; OAv. *yadā* 'when', *hakaram* 'once', and others.

Tenses and moods are mostly as in main clauses:

8.2.3.1a Old Avestan

*aṯ-cā [hiiaṯ tā **həm maniiū jasaētəm**-pres. inj.] pa"ruuīm dazdē*
'thus, also: [whenever the two spirits **come together**], (then) one *receives for the first time' (Y. 30.4);

*[hiiaṯ **us** . . . naptiiaēšū nafšucā . . . °**jən**-aor.inj.] . . . (<gan-t < gam-t)*
'[when he **has come up** among the *great-grandchildren and grandchildren] . . .'
(Y. 46.12);

OAv. *[yadā aēšąm kaēnā **jamaitī**]* . . .
'when the retribution **has come** for these (sins)' (Y. 30.8).

Note the verb-less time clauses; whether the gapped verb is the copula cannot be verified:

yā mazdāθā [hiiaṯ-cīṯ vīdušē]
'(the words) to which attention should be paid, [even **when** (it is) by a knowing (man)]' (Y. 30.1);

yaθā tå aŋhən [həŋkər²tā hiiaṯ]
'how those shall be [when (they are) at the *accounting (<həŋkər²iti-)]' (Y. 31.14).

8.2.3.1b Young Avestan

*[yaṯ-ciṯ **ahi**-pres. ind. rašnuuō ašāum upa karšuuar² yaṯ ar²zahi]* . . .
'[O Orderly Rašnu, just when **you are** over the continent (of) Arəzahi] . . .' (Yt. 12.9);

*išauuas-ciṯ . . . ašəmnō.vīδō *bauuainti
[yaθa graṇtō . . . **miθnāiti** miθrō]*
'even the arrows will not find their targets
[when Miθra **dwells** angered]' (Yt. 10.39);

*yauuata gaiia juuāuua-***pres. ind.** 'as long as we two live' (Yt. 15.40).

*[yaṯ astuuaṯ. ər"tō fraxštā́te-***pres.subj.** *haca apaṯ kąsaoiiāṯ] . .*
'when *Astuuaṯ. ər"ta* **shall stand forth** from the Kąsaoiia Sea . . .' (Yt. 19.92);

nōiṯ vaŋhō ahmāṯ šiiaoθnəm vər"ziie'ti
*[yaδōiṯ puθrahe . . . frā naēzəm nasūm pacāṯ-***press.subj.***]*
'he performs a deed no better than
[when one **cooks** the corpse of one's son on a spit]' (V. 16.17);

tąm yazata pāuruuō . . .
*[yaṯ dim usca uzduuąnaiiaṯ-***inj.** *. . . θraētaonō]*
'to her Pāuruuō sacrificed
[when *Θraētaona* **tossed** him up in the air]' (Yt. 5.61).

Preterital optative:

[yaṯ tum a'nim auuaēnōiš] . . . ā'ṯ tum niš. hiδōiš
'[whenever **you would see** . . .] then you would sit down' (H. 2.13);

. . . [yauuata xšaiiōiṯ huuąθβō yimō]
'. . . [for as long as Yima **ruled**]' (Y. 9.5).

8.2.3.1c Old Persian

*[hakaram-maiy ušīyā gāθavā hištataiy-***pres. ind.***] . . .*
adakaiy fratara maniyaiy afuvāyā
*[yadiy vᴂināmiy-***pres.ind.** *hamiçiyam] yaθā [yadiy naiy vaināmiy-***pres.ind.***]*
'[once **it stands** (firmly) in place in my mind] . . .
then I feel more beyond fear
[when **I see** something conspiratorial than [when **I do not see** (it)]' (DNb 34–40);

*utā-[taiy yāvā taumā ahatiy-***pres. subj.***]*
auramazdā-taiy dauštā biyā
'and, [for as long as **there is** strength to you = you have strength],
may Ahuramazdā favour you' (DB 4.71–79);

*auramazdā [yaθā avaina-***impf.** *imām būmim] . . .*
'Ahuramazdā, [when **he saw** this earth] . . .' (DNa 31–32);

*[yaθā taya adam xšāyaθiya abavam-***impf.***] astiy . . .* [see section 7.1.1.3]
'[when **I became** king], there was . . .' (XPh 29–32);

*viyaxanahạyā māhạ[yā] XIV raucabiš θakatā āha [yadiy udapatatā-***impf.***]*
'it was on the 14th of the month of Viyaxana [when **he rose up**]' (DB 1.38);

*[yātā adam bābirauv āham-***impf.***] . . .*
'[while **I was** in Babylon] . . .' (DB 2.6);

*[yaθā ka"būjiya bạrdiyam avāja-***impf.** *(< ava-a-jᵃ").*
'[when Cambyses **had killed** Smerdis] . . .' (DB 1.31–32).

8.2.3.2 Clauses of place

The usual conjunction is Av. *yaθrā*; YAv. also *yaṱ ... paiti* 'where'; OPers. *yadā-taya* and *yadāyā* (for **yadāyadā* acc. to Schmitt 1994) 'where'. Indefinite clauses are introduced by YAv. *yaδōiṱ* 'wherever' (often indistinguishable from 'whenever'):

OAv. *hiiaṱ aˡbī.gˀmən [yaθrā cinuuatō pərˀtuš]*
'when they have come to [where the Ford of the Accountant (is)]' (Y. 46.11);

YAv. *nasiieˡti ... ahmaṱ haca nmānāṱ āhitiš ...*
[yaθra bāδa upastaoˡti haomahe ... baēšazəm]
'pollution disappears from this house
[where he ever and again praises ... the healing of the haoma]' (Y. 10.7);

*[yaδōiṱ dim bāˡδištəm aiuia. zanqn -subj. sūnō] (sūnō-*acc. for *spānō-*nom.)
'[wherever most often dogs will notice him]' (V. 6.45);

OPers. *utā aⁿtar aitā dahạyāva āha*
[yadā-taya ... daivā ayadiya-impf.] ...
[yadāyā paruvam daivā ayadiya-impf.] avadā ...
'and among these lands, there was (one)
[where old gods had been sacrificed to] ...
[wherever the old gods were sacrificed to], there ...' (XPh 35–41).

8.2.3.3 Clauses of purpose

The conjunctions are OAv. *hiiaṱ*, YAv. *yaṱ* and *yaθa*, OPers. negated *mā-taya* 'lest'. The mood is the subjunctive:

OAv. *vaxšiiā və ...*
[hiiaṱ dāθǝ̄ng vīcaiiaθā-2p-subj. adāθąs-cā]
'I shall tell you,
[so that you may sort out those according to the rules and those not]'
(Y. 46.15);

YAv. *[yaθa azəm taⁿruuaiieni- subj. vīspe yātauuō paˡrikås-ca]*
[yaṱ mąm naēciš taⁿruuaiiāṱ-subj.]
'[so that I shall overcome all sorcerers and witches],
[so that no one shall overcome me]' (Yt. 1.6);

OPers. *avahạya-rādiy kāram avājaniyā*
[mā-taya-mām xšnāsātiy-subj.] (xšnāsāⁿtiy?)
'therefore he would kill the people/army:
[so that it (they?) will not recognize-subj. me]' (DB 1.51–53).

8.2.3.4 Clauses of result

The conjunctions are OAv. *hiiaṱ*, YAv. *yaṱ*, OPers. *taya*. The mood is the indicative:

OAv. *hiiaṱ īš dˀbaomā pərˀsmanə̄ng upā.jasaṱ*
[hiiaṱ vərˀnātā-pres. ind. acištəm manō]
'because deception would come over them as they were discussing,
[so that they would prefer the worst thought]' (Y. 30.6);

YAv. *tā̊ hē ta"ruuaiiatəm ʈbaēšā̊ . . .*
*[yaʈ nōiʈ āpō takāiš staiiaʈ-***pres. inj.***]*
'those two overcame his hostilities,
[so that he did not stem the waters from (their) courses']' (Yt. 13.78);

OPers. *drauga-diš *hamiçiyā akunauš*
*[taya imai y kāram ad"rujiyaš-***impf.***]*
'the Lie made them conspiratorial
[so that they lied to the people/army]' (DB 4.34–35).

8.2.3.5 Clauses of cause

The conjunctions are OAv. *hiiaʈ*, YAv. *yaʈ* and *yaθa*, OPers. *taya* and *yaθā*. The mood is according to sense:

YAv. *[yaʈ asti-***pres. ind.*** baβriš sraēšta]*
'[because the female beaver is the most beautiful there is]' (Yt. 5.129);

*auuaθa saošiiąs [yaθa vīspəm ahūm astuuaṇtəm sāuuaiiāʈ-***pres.subj.***]*
'thus (he is called) 'Revitaliser,' [because he will revitalise the entire bony existence]' (Yt. 13.129);

OPers. *avahạya-rādi-maiy auramazdā upastām abara . . .*
*[yaθā naiy a"rīka āham-***impf.***]*
'for this reason Ahuramazdā . . .
because I was not on the Evil One's side' (DB 4.62–63).

In Old Avestan, a causal clause may be correlated with an instrumental of cause/reason:

OAv. *vaēdā taʈ yā ahmī mazdā anaēšō*
mā kamnafšuuā [hiiaʈ-cā kamnānā ahmī]
'I know that on account of which (= the reason why) I am weak, O Mazdā:
(it is) because of my lack of cattle [and because I have few men]' (Y. 46.2).

8.2.3.6 Clauses of manner, degree and comparison

The common conjunction is *yaθā̆* 'as, how, than'. Degree is expressed by Av. *yauuaʈ* 'to the extent that, as long as, until', *mānaiiən ahe yaθa* 'as if', etc.; OAv. *yāʈ* and *yā.tə̄* 'to the degree that, as far as'. The moods are as in main clauses.
    Manner:

OAv. *kā īštiš . . . [yaθā vā hahmī-***pres. ind.***]*
'what (is your) wish . . . [or (for how I sleep]?' (Y. 34.5);

*[yaθā tū ī . . . mə̄nghā-cā-***aor.inj.***]*
'[in the same way that you . . . and have thought them]' (Y. 39.4);

*tā θβā pərəsā . . . [yaθā tā̊ aŋhən-***pres. subj.***]*
'I ask you . . . [how those shall be]' (Y. 31.14);

YAv. *[yaθa vaši-***pres. ind.***] . . . iδa aŋhō ašauua*
'[as you desire] . . . here you shall be Orderly' (Y. 71.16);

*uzjamiiąn . . . [yaθa hīš fradaθaṯ-**pres. inj.***]*
'may they come up . . . as he brought them forth' (Y. 55.3);

OPers. *[yaθā-šām hacā-ma aθahạya-**impf.***] avaθā akunavaya^ʰtā*
'[as was said to them by me], thus they would do (preterital opt.)' (DB 1.123–24).

Indefinite manner:

YAv. *[yaθa kaθa-ca hē zaošō]*
'[howsoever his pleasuré (may be)]' (Yt. 4.7).

Comparison:

YAv. *yå yāskər^əstarå ahmāṯ [yaθa vaca framrauuāⁱre-**pres.ind.**|]*
'who are more effective at the audition [than they can be said forth with words
(to be)]' (Yt. 13.64).

'As if'-clauses take the optative:

*[mānaiiōn ahe yaθa hazaŋrəm narąm ōim narəm ādər^əzaiiōiṯ-**pres.opt.***]*
'[as if 1000 men were to fetter a single man]' (Yt. 8.55).

Degree:

*auuaṯ [yāṯ huuar^ə auuācī-**aor. pass.***]* 'as (high) [as the sun has been said (to be)]'
(Y. 36.6).

Indefinite degree clauses take the subjunctive:

OAv. *[yauuaṯ aṣā tauuā-**subj.**-cā isāi-**subj.**-cā]*
'[to the extent I by the Order (of my ritual) can and am able]' (Y. 50.11);

*[yauuaṯ cuuaṯ-ca hē zastaēⁱbiia haŋgə^ʰruuaiiąn-**subj.***] aētauuaṯ . . .*
'[however much of it they can grasp by the hands], this much . . .' (V. 6.29).

8.2.4 Conditional clauses

The conjunctions are OAv. *hiiaṯ, yezī,* YAv. *yaṯ, yezi (yeiδi* before *zī),* OPers. *yadiy.* Real
conditions are expressed by various combinations of indicative, subjunctive, optative and
imperative. The order of protasis (if-clause) and apodosis (then-clause) is irrelevant. See
also Panaino 1989–90.

8.2.4.1 Conditional clauses in Old Avestan

The Old Avestan *yezī* clauses seem to be 'truth-tests': 'if something is/was/will be true,
then . . .'. The apodosis either contains a statement about the current state of the world or
a request for knowledge, rewards or similar in the imperative:

yā frauuaxšiiā [yezī tā aθā haⁱθiiā (COP)]
*aṣəm šiiaoθ^ʰnāiš d^əbązaⁱtī-**pres. ind.** ārmaⁱtiš*
'(the words) which I want to pronounce, [if they (are) indeed true in this manner],
(then, clearly), by (her) actions, Ārmaiti is *thickening Order' (Y. 44.6);

*[yezī aθā stā-***pres. ind.** *haⁱ0īm] mazdā* . . .
*aṯ taṯ mōi daxštəm dātā-***imp.**
'[if you are (all) truly in that way], O Mazdā . . .
then make that a *(permanent?) mark for me!' (Y. 34.6);

*[yezī adāiš aṣ̌ā drujəm vṓnghaⁱtī-***aor.-subj.***]* . . .
*aṯ tōi sauuāiš vahməm vaxšaṯ-***aor.-subj.** *ahurā*
'[if he shall indeed overcome the Lie with (his) . . ., by his Order] . . .
then he will magnify (his) hymn with life-giving strengths for you, O Ahura'
(Y. 48.1).

8.2.4.2 Conditional clauses in Young Avestan

8.2.4.2a yezi-*clauses: simple conditions*

These take the present indicative or subjunctive and the perfect indicative in 'if ever'
conditions:

*[yezi vaši-***pres. ind.** . . . *auuå ṯbaēšå taᵘruuaiiō]* . . .
*aθa imå nāmə̄nīš . . . fra.mrauua-***pres. imp.** (thematic form)
'[if you wish to overcome yon hostilities] . . .
then say forth these names!' (Yt. 1.10–11);

*yå ahurahe *xšaiiaṇtō dašinąm upa yuⁱδiieⁱnti-***pres. ind.**
*[yezi aēm bauuaⁱti-***pres. ind.** *aṣ̌auua-xšnus]*
'. . . who fight at the right side of the ruling lord
[if (= whenever) he satisfies the Orderly ones]' (Yt. 13.63);

*hazaŋrəm azəm tē zaoθranąm . . . barāni-***pres. subj.**
*[yezi jum (<juṷam) frapaiieni-***pres. subj.** *aoi ząm]*
'I shall bring you a thousand libations . . .
[if I reach alive the earth]' (Yt. 5.63);

*[yezi θβā diduuaēša-***perf. ind.***]* . . .
*ā tē aṅhe fra-ca stuiie-***pres. ind.**
'if I have (ever) antagonised you,
for this I am assigning myself by my praise (*ā-stuiie?*) to you and utter your praise
(*fra-stuiie*)' (Y. 1.21).

Alternate conditions are expressed by *yezi . . . nauuāṯ* 'if . . . or if not':

*[yezi taṯ yaiiata-***perf. ind.** *nauuāṯ taṯ yaiiata-***perf. ind.***]*
'[if he has taken up his position or not taken up his position] . . .' (Āfr. 3.3).

8.2.4.2b yezi-*clauses: hypothetical conditions*

These take the optative in the protasis:

*[yezi-ca hō nā paⁱti.hiṇcōiṯ-***pres. opt.***] yō* . . .
*kuθa aētaṯ druxš pərᵒnāⁱte-***pres. subj.** (*aētaṯ druxš* for *aētąm drujim*)
'[and if that man were to pour] who is . . .
how shall he overcome this lie-demon?' (V. 9.47).

8.2.4.2c Conditions contrary to fact

Conditions contrary to fact (irrealis) take the perfect or present optative in the protasis and the perfect optative in the apodosis:

> *[ye'ði zī azəm nōiṯ da'ðiiąm-**perf. opt.** . . . aom stārəm] . . .*
> *hāu pa'rika . . . aŋhuuąm auua.hisiðiiāṯ-**perf. opt.***
> '[for if I had not set in place yonder star] . . .
> (then) . . . that witch would have cut off the *thread of life' (Yt. 8.52–54);

> *[ye'ði zī mā maṣiiāka . . . yazaiianta-**pres. opt.**] . . .*
> *frā *nuruiiō aṣauuaoiiō . . . šušuiiąm-**perf. opt.***
> '[for if men were to sacrifice to me],
> (then) I would have gone forth for the Orderly men' (Yt. 8.11).

See also section 8.2.2.6 Conditional relative clauses.

8.2.4.2d yaṯ-clauses

In Young Avestan, conditional *yaṯ*-clauses are sometimes difficult to distinguish from temporal clauses:

> *[yaṯ anusō vifiie'ti-**pres. ind.**] . . . kā hē asti ciθa*
> '[if/when someone is buggered unwillingly], what is the penalty for that?' (V. 8.26);

> *[yaṯ ahmi nmāne . . . nā'rika daxštauua'ti aŋhaṯ-**pres. subj.**]*
> '[if/when in this house a woman becomes menstruant]' (V. 5.59);

> *abda-ca iða . . . saðaiiāṯ-**pres. subj.***
> *[yaṯ iða pasōuš anumaiiehe paðəm vaēnā'te-**pres. subj.**]*
> 'and wondrous it will seem
> [if the footprint of a sheep should be seen here]' (V. 2.24).

8.2.4.2e Periphrasis with present participle

Presumably because not all verbs had perfect optative forms, a periphrasis was used consisting of a present participle feminine accusative [!] + perfect optative of 'to be':

> *[yezi-ca aēte nasāuuō . . . nasuš narəm āstāraiieintim åŋhāṯ-**perf opt.**]*
> *išarʳ.štā'tiia mē vīspō aŋhuš astuuå . . . (no verb)*
> 'and if these corpses . . . (if this) corpse would have rendered a man guilty,
> then, pronto, my entire bony existence (would be . . .)' (V. 5.4).

8.2.4.3 Conditional clauses in Old Persian

In Old Persian, only the future condition type is attested:

> *yadiy imām dipim vaināhay-**pres. subj.** imai-vā patikarā]*
> '[if you see this inscription or these images], (then) . . .' (DB 4.72–73).

See also section 8.2.2.6 Conditional relative clauses.

9 LEXIS

9.1 Word formation

Words can be derived in a variety of manners: by prefixes and suffixes and by composition, of which the following is a selection.

9.1.1 Derivation

9.1.1.1 Suffixes

Among the more common, even productive, Old Iranian suffixes are the following:

-a-: Among its many uses, this suffix makes adjectives from nouns (including derived nouns and compounds), often accompanied by full or lengthened grade of the first syllable (*vriddhi*); when the first syllable has a long vowel, the adjective will be identical with the noun from which it is derived: Av. *maniiauua-* 'belonging in the other world' <*maniiu-*; *haozą0βa-* 'being of good lineage' <*huzaṇtu-* 'of good lineage'; *āpa-* 'water-logged' <*āp-* 'water'; *upaʲri-zʲma-* 'who live upon the earth' <*zam-*; *hazaŋrō.zima-* 'a thousand-year period' <*ziiam-*; – OPers. *ʰuvāipašiya-* 'own' <*ʰuvaipašiya-* 'self'; *mārgava-* 'person from Margiana' <*margu-* 'Margiana'; *pārsa* 'Persian' <*pārsa* 'Persia'.

-i-, -ia-: The suffix *-i-* and its thematicised form *-ia-* are used to form adjectives denoting various kinds of appurtenance, notably geographical; they are often accompanied by lengthened grade in the first syllable (*vriddhi*): YAv. *āhūʲri-* 'pertaining to/belonging to Ahura (Mazdā); *hāuuani-* '(time of day) pertaining to the haoma pressing (*hauuana-*)'; *vąrʲθrayni-* 'victorious' <*varʲθrayna-* 'victory, god of victory'; – OPers. *bāgayādi-* month name <*baga-* 'god' + *yăda-*, cf. *yada-* 'to sacrifice'; – YAv. *raθβiia-* 'according to the *ratu*'; *tūʲriia-* 'Turian' <*tura-* 'id.'; *hupaθmaniia-* 'the fact of having good flights (*paθman-*)'; – OPers. *māniya-* '(servant?) belonging to one's house (*māna-*)'; *θanuvaniya-* 'connected with/using a bow (<*θanu̯ar/n-*); *aθuriya-* 'Assyrian' <*aθurā-* 'Assyria', *maciya-* 'Makranian' <*maka-* 'Makran'. – A special use of this suffix is to denote someone in charge of: YAv. *pasuš.hasti-*, sb. in charge of, owner of the sheep-pen (*pasuš.hasta-*)'. – The suffix *-i-* is also used to make patronymics: Av. *zaraθuštri-* 'son/follower of Zarathustra (*zaraθuštra-*)'; also *-ăna-, -āni-*: YAv. *jāmāspana-* 'son of Jāmāspa'; *āθβiiāni-* 'son of *Āθβiia*'.

-ka-, -aka-: This is the most productive suffix in Iranian, but is still relatively rare in Avestan and Old Persian: YAv. *jaʲnikā-* <*jaʲni-* 'woman'; *mašiiāka-* >*mašiia-* 'man, mortal'; *pasuka-* 'sheep and goats' <*pasu-*; *apərʲnāiiuka-* = *apərʲnāiiu-* 'minor child' (<*a-pərʲna-āiiu-* 'who has not filled his age'); – OPers. *vazarka-* <*vazar/n-* 'greatness'; *arštika-* (or *ārštika-*) 'spear-man' <* r̥šti-* 'spear'; *kạrnuvaka-* 'workman, artisan' <*kạrnau-* 'do, make'.

-na-, -ana-: These suffixes produce various kinds of nouns and adjectives from verb roots: Av. *yasna-* 'sacrifice' <*yaz-*; *xʲafna-* 'sleep' <*xʲap-*; *haṇjamana-* 'assembly, gathering' <*ham-gam-* 'come together'; *pacina-* 'cooked meal' <*pac-* 'cook'; – OPers. °*stāna-*, *stāna-* 'place (for ...)' <*stā-*; *āvahana-* 'settlement, town' <*ā-vah-*; *draujana-* 'liar, deceiver' <*drauj-*; *hamarana-* 'battle' <*ham-ar-* 'form ordered (battle) lines'.

-u̯ant- (-mant- after *u*): This is a very common suffix meaning 'full of, containing': OAv. *aojōŋhuuaṇt-* 'strong' (<*aojah-u̯ant-*); – YAv. *xratu-maṇt-* 'wise'.

-tāt-: This is a productive suffix making abstract nouns from adjectives. It is also used to 'quote' or refer to words: Av. *haʳruua-tāt-* 'wholeness' <*haʳruua-*; *upara-tāt-* 'superiority'; OAv. *kəuui-tāt-* 'being a *kauui*, the word *kauui*' (cf. abstract suffix MPers.

-*īh*, Ch. 4, section 6.1.2.1); YAv. *yauuaē-tāt-* 'that which is *yauuaē* "forever" '; *ˊriθiiqs-tāt-* 'fact of being *ˊriθiiaṇt-* "dying" (mortal)'. In Old Persian, this suffix may have been replaced by -*tā-* (OPers. *aṛš-tā-* vs. YAv. *arš-tāt-* 'rectitude').

9.1.1.2 Prefixation

Some prefixes are also preverbs, others are used with nominal forms only.

9.1.1.2a Preverbs used as prefixes

Preverbs used as prefixes typically have slightly different meanings from those of the preverbs, e.g.:

apa 'in the back, backward' (preverb: 'back, backward'): *apa-kauua-* 'with hump in the back, humpback';

fra 'in front' (preverb: 'forward, forth:): *fra-bāzu-* '(the length of) the arm held forward', *fra-xšnu-* 'with knees sticking out, knobbly-kneed';

vī 'to the side(s), away' (preverb: 'to the sides, far and wide:): *vī-bāzu-* '(the length of) the arms held to the sides', *vī-daēuua-* 'keeping the demons away, discarding the demons', *vī-xrūmaṇt-* '(a blow) that causes blood to flow out'.

9.1.1.2b Nominal prefixes

Exclusively nominal prefixes include:

a- (*an-* before vowel) 'not, non-, lacking', used to negate nouns and adjectives (including those made from verbs) and to make adjectives meaning 'lacking sth.': OAv. *a-drujiiaṇt-* 'non-deceiving', YAv. *an-ašauuan-* 'not Orderly', *ə-uuista-*, *ə-uuisti-* 'unfound; lack of finding' (*a-* + *vista-/visti-*), *a-ŋhaošəmna-* 'not drying out', *a-karana-* 'limitless';

hu- 'good' and *duš-*, *duž-* 'bad, evil': OAv. *hu-šiti-* 'good dwelling', *dušiti-* 'bad dwelling' (<*duš-šᵒ*), *xᵛ-īti-* 'good/easy going' (<*hu-iti-*), *duž-iti-* 'bad/difficult going'; *hu-mata-* 'well thought'; OPers. *ʰuv-asa-* 'having good horses' (<*hu-asa-*); *duš-ˊyāra-* 'bad season, famine'.

9.1.2 Compounding

Compounds, as well as their individual elements, can be all kinds of words (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, other compounds): YAv. *daŋhu-paˊti-* 'landlord', *vərᵊθra-jan-* 'obstruction-smasher'; – OPers. *daiva-dāna-* 'idol-repository'; *tigra-xauda-* 'pointed-hat = wearing pointed hat', *hamarana-kara-* 'battle-doer = battle-fighter'.

Possessive adjectival compounds (*bahuvrīhi*) are especially common: *barᵊsmō.zasta-* 'barsom-hand = with barsom in the hand', *hu-xšaθra-* 'having good command'.

If one member of the compound is a word that usually contains two parts, only one part can normally be used in the compound: *ahura-δāta-* 'Ahura-placed = set in place by Ahura Mazdā', *mazda-iiasna-* 'Mazdā-sacrifice = someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazdā; compounds consisting of more than two members are probably not of an inherited type: YAv. *[draoyō.vāxš].draojišta-* 'who lies [with lying words] the most'.

9.1.2.1 Form of first and second members of compounds

The final vowel of the first member usually becomes *ō*, whether it as an *a-*, *ā-*, or *an-*stem or an invariable in -*a*: *daēuuō.dāta-* 'demon-established' (<*daēuua-*), *zruuō.dāta-* 'time-

established (<*zruuan-*); *haptō.karšuuaᵢrī-* '(the earth) having seven continents (<*hapta* 'seven').

Some adjectives use an *i*-stem as the first member of a compound, e.g. *xšuuiβi.išu-* '(shooting) vibrating/fast arrows' (<*xšuuiβra-* 'vibrating'), *bərᵊzi.gāθra-* 'with loud singing' (<*bərᵊzaṇt-* 'high, loud').

Nouns as second members of compounds are sometimes in the zero grade, e.g. *frādaṯ.fšu-* 'cattle-furthering' (<*pasu-* 'sheep and goats'), *ərᵊduua-fšnī-* 'with high bosom' (<*fštāna-* 'breat'), *spitāma-* 'with fattened (increased) strength' < **spīta-Hma-* < *ama-*).

Sometimes, the first member of a compound is in a case form:

- nom.: YAv. *afš.tacin-* '(mountains) where water flows' (<*āfš* 'water' nom. sing.), *kərᵊfš.xᵛar-* 'body-eating, carrion (bird)' (<*kṛp-šuar-* < *huar-*?);
- acc.: OAv. *ahūm.biš-* 'world-healer', *vərᵊθrəm.jan-* 'obstruction-smasher'; YAv. *ašəm.stut-* 'praising Order';
- gen.: *zᵊmas.ciθra-* 'earth-seed, having the seed of the earth';
- dat.: *yauuaē-sū-* 'forever benefiting';
- loc.: YAv. *maᵢδiiōi.šad-* 'sitting in the middle'.

9.1.2.2 Adverbial *āmreḍita* compounds

The so-called *āmreḍita* compounds are adverbial phrases consisting of repeated words: OAv. *narə̄m narəm* 'man after man'; YAv. *nmāne nmāne* 'in house after house'.

9.1.2.3 'Dual' or 'open *dvandvas*'

These denote a pair consisting of two different objects, which may be singular, e.g. 'firewood and incense', 'Frašaoštra and Jāmāspa', or (generic) plural, e.g. 'cattle and men'. In these expressions both nouns are in the dual, so that the expression looks like '2 firewoods, 2 incenses', etc.: OAv. *gāuuā azī* 'a bull and a (fertile) cow'; YAv. *āpa uruuaᵢre* 'waters and plants', *saŋhauuāci arᵊnauuāci* 'the two (sisters) Saŋhauuācī and Arnauuācī'.

If one of the items consists of two words, one word is usually dropped: *miθra ahura* 'Miθra and Ahura (Mazdā)', *ahuna *aᵢriiamana* 'the (prayers) *Ahuna (Vairiia)* and *Airiiaman (Išiiō)*'.

10 STYLISTIC FEATURES

Both in the Old Avestan complex metres and in the Young Avestan octosyllabic metre, syntactic units are frequently confined within a metrical unit, but clauses commonly continue through several units.

10.1 Old Avestan poetic word order

The Gathic metre is characterised by strophes divided into 3–5 metrical units ('verse-lines' . . . / . . .) split into two smaller units ('half-lines') by a caesura (. . . # . . .).

The most common departure from 'normal' word order involves the splitting up of small syntactic units, for instance, the separation of determinants from their nouns:
   noun + adj.:

   [gə̄uš] vərᵊzə̄nē [aziiå]
   '[cow] in *household [fertile]' = 'in the *household of the fertile cow' (Y. 34.14);

[ahurō] vaēdā / [mazdå]
'[Ahura] knows [Mazdā]' = 'Ahura Mazdā knows' (Y. 31.2);

adj./pron. + noun:

[θβahmī] mazdā [vīciθōi]
'[your] Mazdā [in discrimination]' = 'in *your* discrimination, O Mazdā' (Y. 32.8);

noun + gen.:

[ratūm] ahurō vaēdā / mazdå [aiiå ąsaiiå]
'[model] Ahura knows Mazdā [of these two premiums]' = 'Ahura Mazdā knows the model of these two premiums' (Y. 31.2).

Often a small syntactic unit, such as noun + adjective/genitive, verb + direct object, or even preverb + verb, is split between two half-lines or lines, especially in *Gāθās* 2–3, which have first 'half-lines' of only four syllables. The split can take various forms: the terms can remain adjacent to one another, occupy parallel positions, be mirrored, or other; and they can be split between half-lines or verse-lines (enjambement).
Split between half-lines:

adā tašā gōuš [pərᵊsaṯ # ašəm]
'then the fashioner of the cow [asks # Order]' (Y. 29.2);

hiiaṯ dāθə̄ng vī # caiiaθā adāθąs-cā
'so that you can [dis # criminate] (between those) who are according to the rules and those who are not' (Y. 46.15).

Enjambement:

maibiiō dāuuōi [ahuuå # . . . / āiiaptā]
'for (you) to give to me [of the two existences # . . . / the spoils]' (Y. 28.2).

'Inverse enjambement' (new clause – or smaller syntactic unit – begins with a single word at the end of a verse-line):

xšiiō / darəgə̄m āiiū təmaŋhō
'lamentations, / a long lifespan of darkness' (Y. 31.20);

vahištā / gauuōi vərᵊziiātąm
'let the best (things/pastures) be produced for the cow!' (Y. 48.5).

10.2 Parallelism and chiasmus

Sequences of similar groups of words can be arranged in parallel (A_1, B_1, A_2 B_2) or chiastically (A_1, B_1, B_2 A_2).

10.2.1 Parallelism

Parallelism occurs within or between metrical units (A_1 . . . B_1 // A_2 . . . B_2, etc.) and is found in all three languages:

OAv. *[kaṯ] və̄ {xšaθrəm} [kā] {īštiš}* #
'what (is) your command? what (is) your wish?' (Y. 34.5);

yāsā . . . / [maniiə̄uš] . . . {pa^uruuīm} # [spəṇtahiiā] . . . {vīspə̄ṇg}
'I ask [of inspiration] . . . {the first} # [life-giving] . . . {all}' = 'I ask (you) all for the first (existence) of the life-giving inspiration' (Y. 28.1);

hiiaṯ [hə̄m] {vohū} # . . . [fraštā] {manaŋhā}
'when [con-] {with good} # [sulted] {thought}' 'when he has consulted with (his) good thought' (Y. 47.3);

YAv. *[xrūmīm] {gāuš yā caŋraŋhāxš} / [varaⁱθim paṇtąm] {azaⁱte}*
'[bloody] {cow the grazing} / [of captivity road] {is driven}' = 'the grazing cow is driven along the bloody road (the road which makes her bleed) of captivity' (Yt. 10.38);

OPers. *utā [avam vahayazdātam] {agạrbāya^u} utā [martiyā] . . . {agạrbāya^u}*
'and [Vahayazdāta] {they seized} and [the men] {they seized}' = 'and they seized that Vahayazdāta, and they seized the men' (DB 3.47–49).

10.2.2 Chiasmus

In this case, the elements of parallel phrases are arranged in opposite order, 'crossed', as it were.
Verb + predicate/direct object, predicate/direct object + verb:

OAv. *[ahmī] . . . {anaēšō / . . . kamnānā} [ahmī]*
'[I am] {weak . . . / few-menn'ed} [I am]' = 'I am weak and have few men' (Y. 46.2).

Adjective/genitive + noun vs. noun + adjective/genitive:

OAv. *kū [spəṇtā] {ārmaⁱtiš} / kuθrā {manō} [vahištəm]* 'where (is) [life-giving] {Humility}? / where (is) {thought} [the best]?' (Y. 51.4).

10.2.3 Combined parallelism and chiasmus

OAv. *{amər˚tātā ha^uruuātā} # [spə̄ništā <maniiū>] . . . /*
{təuuīšī utaiiūⁱtī} # [<manaŋhā> vohū]
'(give me) {immortality and wholeness} [by (your) most life-giving <inspiration>],
{*tension and *texture} [by (your?) <thought> the good]' (Y. 51.7).

10.3 Ellipsis in Old Avestan poetry

The omission of key words, mostly verbs, is one of the most intriguing, frustrating, and tantalising aspects of the Old Avestan poetry. The omitted words can sometimes be supplied from the context itself, but very often they must be supplied from the larger context of the poet-sacrificer's world, as manifested elsewhere in his poetry. If the omitted word is to be supplied from a still more general context, we cannot do it.

Repeated verb:

> *aṱ kəhrpə̄m utaiiū̆'tiš* **dadāṱ**
> *ārma'tiš q̄nmā*
> 'thus, *texture **gives** (him) form,
> Humility (the earth) (gives him) breathing' (Y. 30.7);

> *yas-tā* **maṇtā** *pa"ruiiō . . ./*
> *huuō xraθβā . . . ašəm*
> '(he) who **thought** those (thoughts) the first . . ./
> *he*, by (his) wisdom, (thought [= produced by his thought]) Order' (Y. 31.7), cf.
> *yə̄ maṇtā ašəm*
> '(he) who thought Order' (Y. 31.19).

Repeated noun and verb:

> *kaṱ tōi ašā* **zbaiieṇtē auuaŋhō** */*
> *. . . kaṱ tōi vohū manaŋhā*
> 'What **help** do you have for him **when he invokes** (you) with Order?
> What (help) do you have (for him when he invokes you?) with good thought?'
> (Y. 49.12).

Close context:

> *nū īm vīspā # ciθrə̄ zī mazdåŋhō.dūm /*
> *nōiṱ d"'bitīm # duš.sastiš ahūm mər"šiiāṱ*
> 'now, all, pay attention to *it* (*sə̄ngham* 'the (good) announcement'?), for it (is)
> brilliant!
> let not a second time the one of bad **announcements** destroy the existence!' (Y. 45.1),
> cf.
> *nī hīm mər"ždiiāi θβahiiā mąθrāiš sə̄nghahiiā*
> 'in order for it (the Lie) to be wiped out by the (poetic) thoughts of your
> **announcement**' (Y. 44.14).

10.4 Formulaic diction in Old Persian

Old Persian prose is characterised by several of the features described above for Avestan.
Word order variation:

> *avaθā-šaiy aθaham paraidiy [avam kāram jadiy] {haya manā naiy gaubataiy}*
> 'thus I said to him: "go forth! [crush that army] {which does not call itself mine}!"'
> (DB 3.14–15),
> vs.
> *avaθā-šaiy aθaham paraidiy [kāra] {haya hamiçiya manā naiy gaubataiy} [avam jadiy]*
> 'thus I said to him: 'go forth! {that conspiratorial [army] which does not call itself mine}, [crush it]!" (DB 2.30–31).

Same formula, different syntax:

> *ima taya adam akunavam [vašnā auramazdāha] {hamahạyāyā θarda}*
> *pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam*
> 'this (is) what I did [by the greatness of Ahuramazdā] {in one and the same year}
> after I became king' (DB 4.3–5),

vs.

ima taya adam akunavam [vašnā auramazdāha] {hamahạyāyā θarda} akunavam
'this which I did – [by the greatness of Ahuramazdā] – I did (it) {in one and the same year}' (DB 4.40–41).

10.5 Figura etymologica

This is one of the most common stylistic features especially of Young Avestan and Old Persian and is found in a large variety of forms.

Noun + noun:

YAv. *baēuuar° dōiθranạm vīdōiθre*
'ten thousand **eyes** for the one whose **eyes** see far and wide' (Yt. 10.82);

cīm haxa haše bara'ti
'what does the **friend** carry to the **friend**?' (Y. 62.8).

With one noun as first or last member of a compound:

daṅhǝuš daṅhu-pa'tiš
'the **land**lord of the **land**' (Yt. 10.83)';

ahmāi darǝyạm dar°yō.jītīm '(give) to him **long long**evity' (Y. 68.11);
šōiθrō.baxtå vī.baxša'ti
'he **distributes** (the waters) **distributed** by settlements' (Yt. 8.34).

Noun + adjective:

YAv. *ama ahmi amauuastǝmō*
'in **force** I am the most **force**ful' (Yt. 14.3).

Noun + verb:

YAv. *yānǝm vō yāsāmi*
'I am **requesting from** you a **request**' (Y. 65.11);

fšǝbīš . . . pa'ti auua.pašāṭ
'one shall ***nail** (him) with ***nails**' (V. 4.51).

With suppletive forms:

YAv. *cim aētaiia paiti. vaca paitiiāmraoṭ*
'***what** did he **answer** by this **answer**?' (Y. 21.4).

Verb + past participle:

YAv. *haθra.taršta θrāṅhaiiete*
'he **frightens** them (so that they are) **frightened** then and there' (Yt. 10.101);

yō hišta'te maniiu.stātō
'(the sky) which **stands stood** in the world of thought' (Yt. 13.2);

OPers. *haya vināθayatiy anu-dim vinastahạyā avaθā parsāmiy*
'he who **does harm**, according to **the harm done**, I punish him' (DNb 25–26).

Note expecially expressions for 'doing/treating well/badly', etc.:

YAv. *yaθa hu-bər°tō baraᶦte*
'when he is **carried** well-**carried** = well treated' (Yt. 10.112);

OPers. *avam ʰu-bạrtam abaram* . . .
avamʰu-frastam apạrsam
'him I **carried** well-**carried** (= treated well) . . .
him I **asked** well-**asked** (= punished well)' (DB1.20–22);
taya duš-kạrtam akạriya ˈ
'that which was **done** badly-**done** = had been done badly' (XPh 42–43).

11 SAMPLE TEXTS

11.1 Old Avestan

Yasna 28 is the first poem of the first *Gāθā* (the *Ahunauuaᶦtī Gāθā*) and follows the *Ahuna vairiia*, which is the introductory strophe to the entire collection. The metre of the *Ahunauuaᶦtī Gāθā* is relatively free compared to those of the other *Gāθā*s: strophes contain three 'verse-lines' divided into two 'half-lines', the first of which, with few exceptions, has seven syllables, while the second varies, mostly between 7 to 9 syllables, but some more or less.

Y. 28.6

vohū gaᶦdī mananhā dāᶦdī aṣā då (daʾō) dar°gāiiū	7 + 9
ər°šuuāiš tū uxδāiš mazdā zaraθuštrāi aojōŋhuuaṭ rafʾnō	7 + 9
ahmaᶦbiiā-cā ahurā yā dᵃᶦbišuuatō duuaēšå taʰruuaiiāma	7 + 10

Come with (your)/on account of (my) good thought! Give through (your)/on account of (my) Order the gift which bestows a long life span!
By (your) capacious utterances you, O Mazdā, (gave) support with strength to Zarathustra.
(So) give to us, too, O Ahura, (support) by which we shall overcome the hostilities of the one hostile (to us = the lord of darkness)!

Y. 28.6a

vohū < *ụah-ū* (< *ụahu-H*) 'good': *u*-stem adj., instr. sing. neut.

gaᶦdī < *ga-di* (<*gṃ-di*) 'come!': root aor. imper. 2s act.; pres. stem. *jasa-* < *jáca-* for *gaća-* < *gṃ-ća-* < *gam-/jam-* 'to go, come'.

mananhā < *man-ah-ā* 'thought': *ah*-stem neut., instr. sing.; <*man-* 'to think', cf. *manju-* (Y. 28.11c).

dāᶦdī < *dā-di* 'give!': root aor. imper. 2s act.; pres. stem. *dadā-* < *dā-* (<*daH-*) 'to give'.

aṣā < *art-ā* 'Order': *a*-stem neut. instr. sing.; <*r̥-* 'to fit (together)'; the Av. form *aṣa-* appears to be from <*árta-*, rather than *r̥tá-* (= OInd.); the meaning in the Avesta is 'cosmic/ritual order', never 'truth'.

då < *daʾō* < *da˙-ah* (<*daHah*) 'gift': *ah*-stem neut., acc. sing.; <*dā-* 'to give'.

dar°gāiiū < *dargāịu* (<*dr̥Hga* + *Hịu*) 'which bestows a long life span': *u*-stem adj., acc. neut. sing.; adjectival compound <*darga-* 'long' + *ịu-* < *u*-stem *āịu- Iịau-Iịu-* (*Hāịu-IHịau-IHịu-* 'time, life span, age'.

Y. 28.6b

ər"šuuāiš < *ŗšu̯-āiš*: 'capacious': *a*-stem adj., instr. plur. neut.

tū < *tǔ* 'you': pers. pron. 2s, nom. enclitic; tonic *tu̯am* (see Y. 28.11b).

uxδāiš < *ux0-āiš* 'utterance': *a*-stem neut., instr. plur.; < *vak-/ vač-* 'speak' (cf. Y. 28.11b).

mazdā (<*mazd^haH*): 'who places (all) in the mind, the all-knowing one': masc. *ā*-stem (*aH*-stem), voc. sing.; adjectival compound <*mas* (<*mņs*) 'mind' + *dā-* (<*d^haH-*) 'to place'.

zara0uštrāi < *jara0uštr̩-āi* 'to Zarathustra': *a*-stem proper name, dat. sing.; adjectival compound <*zarat-*(?) 'old(?)' + *uštra-* 'camel'; cf. *frašaoštra-* (see Y. 28.8b).

aojōŋhuua̯ṯ < *au̯jah-u̯aṯ* (<*au̯jah-u̯ņt*) 'strong': *u̯ant*-stem adj., acc. sing. neut.; < *au̯jah-* '(bodily) strength'.

raf"nō < *rafn-ah* 'support': *ah*-stem neut., acc. sing.; <*rap-* 'to support'.

Y. 28.6c

ahma^ibiiā° <*ahma-bi̯a* 'to us': pers. pron. 1p dat.-abl.; obl. stem *ah-ma-* < *ņh-*, cf. *nə̄* < *nah* 'us' (gen.-dat. enclitic).

-*ča* 'and, too': enclitic.

ahur-ā 'lord': *a*-stem, voc. sing.

yā < *i̯-ā*: rel. pron., instr. sing. neut.

d^aibišuuatō < *du̯iš-u̯at-ah* (<*-u̯ņt-ah*) 'hostile': *u̯ant*-stem adj., gen. sing. masc.; < root noun *du̯iš-* 'hostility'.

duuaēšå < *du̯aiš-āh* 'hostility': *ah*-stem neut., acc. plur.; <*du̯iš-* 'be hostile'; note *figura etymologica.*

ta^"ruuaii̯āma < *taru̯-ai̯ā-ma* (*tr̩Hu̯a°*) 'we shall overcome': *ai̯a*-stem pres. subj. 1p; <*tar-* (<*tarH-*) 'to pass over, cross', cf. OInd. *tūrva-* < *tr̩Hu̯a-*.

Y. 28.8

vahištəm 0βā vahištā yə̄m ašā vahištā hazaošəm	7 + 9
ahurəm yāsā vāunuš narōi f°rašaoštrāi (-ao- = -a-u-) ma^ibiiācā	7 + 9
yaē^ibiias-cā i̯ṯ råŋhaŋhōi vīspāi yaoē vaŋhə̄uš manaŋhō	7 + 9

You the best, (I ask) for the best (things), (the one) whom (I know) has the same taste as best Order,
(you), the Ahura, I ask, (once) having won, for the hero Fraša-uštra and for me,
and (for those) to whom you shall give it for the entire life span(?) of (someone of) good thought (or: time span of good thought?).

Y. 28.8a

vahištəm < *u̯ah-išt-am* < *u̯ah-u-*: superl. acc. sing. masc.

0βā < *0u̯-ā*: pers. pron. 2s, acc. enclitic.

vahištā < *u̯ah+išt-ā* 'best (things)': acc. plur. neut.

yə̄m < *i̯-am*: rel. pron. acc. sing. masc.

vahištā < *u̯ah+išt-ā*: instr. sing. neut.

hazaošəm < *ha-jauš-am* 'having the same taste (as)' + instr.: *a*-stem adj., acc. sing. masc.; adjectival compound < *ha-* (<*hņ-*) 'same' + *jauša-* 'taste'.

Y. 28.8b

ahurəm < *ahur-am*: acc. sing. masc.

yāsā < *i̯āć-ā* 'ask for, request': *a*-stem pres. ind. 1s; <*i̯ā-sća-* < *i̯ā-*.

vāunuš < *u̯ā̆-un-u-š* 'winner': *u*-stem adj., nom. sing. masc.; adjectival derivative of the perf. stem *u̯a-u̯n-* < *u̯an-* 'to win'.

narōi < *nar-ai* < *nar-* 'man': *r*-stem masc., dat. sing.

fᵊrašaoštrāi < *fraša-uštr-āi*: *a*-stem proper name, dat. sing. masc.; adjectival compound <*fraša-* 'fat' + *uštra-* 'camel'.

maⁱbiiā < *ma-bi̯a*: pers. pron. 1s dat.; cf. OInd. *mahya-m*.

Y. 28.8c

yaēⁱbiias° <*i̯-ai-bi̯as°*: rel. pron., dat.-abl. plur. masc.

ī̆ṯ < *i-t*: pers. pron. 3s acc. neut., referring to 'best things' neut. plur.

rå̄ŋhaŋhōi < *rāh-a-hai* 'you shall give': *s*-aor. subj. 2s mid.; <*rā-* 'to give'.

vīspāi < *u̯ićṷ-āi* 'all': *a*-stem pronominal adj., dat. sing. neut.

yaoē < *i̯au̯-ai* < *āi̯u-* (see Y. 28.6a) 'time, life span': *u*-stem neut., dat. sing.

vaŋhə̄uš < *u̯ah-au-š* < *u̯ahu-* (see Y. 28.6a): gen.-abl. sing.

manaŋhō < *man-ah-ah* (see Y. 28.6a): gen.-abl. sing.

The three times repeated *vahišta-* 'best' leads up to *vahu- manah-* 'good thought' (the divine inspiration, the new sunlit sky, . . .), as the desired result of the ritual; it alliterates with *vaunu-*, implying victory over the forces of darkness. The mention of *fraša-uštra-* alludes to Ahura Mazdā's reward: making the new existence *fraša-* 'filled with the juices of fertility and life'.

Y. 28.9

anāiš vå nōiṯ ahurā mazdā ašəm-cā yānāiš zarᵈnaēmā		7 + 10
manas-cā hii̯aṯ vahištəm yōi və̄ yōiθᵊmā dasᵊmē stutąm		7 + 9
yūžə̄m zəuuištii̯å̄ŋhō ī̆šō xšaθrəm-cā sauuaŋhąm		7 + 9

May we not anger you (pl.), O Ahura Mazdā, and Order with those requests (to you),
and (your) best thought, (we) who have taken up (our) positions at the *fulfillment of (our) obligations* (to you in the form) of praises!
You are the fastest offerings and the command over the life-giving strengths.

Y. 28.9a

anāiš < *an-āiš* < *ana-* 'those (adressed to you)': dem. pron., instr. plur. neut.

vå < *u̯āh*: pers. pron. 2p acc. enclitic, cf. *və̄* (Y. 28.9b).

nōiṯ < *na-it* 'not': negation.

ašəm < *art-am* (see Y. 28.6a): acc. sing.

yānāiš < *i̯ān-āiš* 'request': *a*-stem neut., instr. plur.; <*i̯ā-* (see Y. 28.8b).

zarᵈnaēmā < *jar-na-ī-ma* (<*jar-na-*) 'may we (not) anger': *a*-stem pres. opt. 1p; thematised from *jʰar-nā-/jʰar-n-* < *jʰar-na-H-/jʰar-n-H-* (<*jʰarH-*), cf. OInd. *hr̥-n̥(ī)-* mid.

Y. 28.9b

manas° < *man-ah-* (see Y. 28.6a): acc. sing.

hiiaṯ < *h-i̯-at*: rel. pron., nom. sing. neut.

vahištəm < *u̯ahišt-am* (see Y. 28.8a): nom. sing. neut.

yōi < *i̯-ai*: rel. pron. nom. plur. masc.

və̄ < *u̯ah*: pers. pron. 2p gen.-dat. enclitic, cf. *vå* (Y. 28.9a).

yōiθ²mā < *i̯a-i̯0-ma* 'we have taken up positions': perf. ind. 1p act.; < *i̯at-*.

das²mē < *daćmai* < *dać-ma-* 'at the fulfillment of obligations'(?): *a*-stem masc., loc. sing.; < *dać-* 'to fulfill one's obligations (to give gifts for gifts)', cf. OInd. *dā̆ś-*.

stutąm < *stut-a'am* < *stu-t-* 'praise': root noun masc., gen. plur.; < *stau-/stu-* 'to praise'.

Y. 28.9c

yūžə̄m < *i̯ūž-am*: pers. pron. 2p nom.

zəuuištiiåŋhō < *i̯au̯-ištii̯-āhah* < *i̯au̯-ištii̯a-* 'most enduring': *a*-stem superl., nom. plur. masc.; cf. *zāuuar²* (*zāu̯-r̥*) 'strength (of endurance)' (of horses, feet); cf. OInd. *yav-iṣṭh-ya-* 'youngest'.

īšō < *iš-ah* '(ritual) offering': root noun masc. nom. plur.

xšaθrəm < *xšaθr-am* 'command': *a*-stem neut., nom. sing.; < *xšā-* (pres. *xšai̯a-*) 'to be in command, rule'.

sauuaŋhąm < *ćau̯H-ah-a'am* 'life-giving strength': *ah*-stem neut., gen. plur.; ablauting *sau-/spā-* < *ćau̯H-/ću̯aH* 'swell (with life-giving juices)'; cf. *spə̄nta* (Y.8.3a below).

Y. 28.11

yə̄ āiš ašəm nipåŋhē manas-cā vohū yauuaētā'tē		7 + 9
tuuə̄m mazdā ahurā frō mā sīšā θβahmāṯ vaocaŋhē		7 + 9
maniiə̄uš hacā θβā ə̄³⁴ŋhā yāiš ā aŋhuš pa"ruiiō bauuaṯ		7 + 9

(You) who with/by these protect your Order and good thought for eternity,
you, O Ahura Mazdā, teach me to speak according to your
inspiration by your mouth (the words/announcements) by which the first existence
will be here (every time)!

Y. 28.11a

yə̄ < *i̯-ah*: rel. pron., nom. sing. masc.

āiš < *a-* 'with them/these': pers./dem. pron., instr. plur. masc.

nipåŋhē < *ni-pā-hai* 'you guard': root pres. ind. 2s mid.; < *pā-* 'to protect'.

vohū < *u̯ah-u*: acc. sing. neut.

yauuaētā'tē < *i̯au̯ai-tāt-ai* 'for that which is for a (full) time/life span, forever': *tāt*-stem fem., dat. sing.; secondary derivative < *i̯au̯ai*, dat. of *āi̯u-/i̯au-* 'time/life span' (see Y. 28.6a).

Y. 28.11b

tuuə̄m < *tu-u̯-am*: pers. pron. 2s nom., cf. *tū* (see Y. 28.6b).

frō sīšā < *fra ći-(ć)ša* '*teach': reduplicated *a*-stem pres. imper. 2s; < *ćāh-/ćś-* (< *ćaHs-/ćHs- /ćHš-*), cf. OInd. *śās-/śikṣa-*.

mā: pers. pron. 1s acc. enclitic.

θβahmāt̰ < *θua-hm-āt* < *θβa-* 'your': poss. pron. 2s abl. sing. masc.

vaocaŋhē < *ua-uč-a-hai* 'to speak': inf. of reduplicated *a*-stem aor. *ua-uča-* < *uakluač-* (cf. Y. 28.6b).

Y. 28.11c

maniiǝuš < *mani-au-š* 'spirit, inspiration': *u*-stem masc. abl. sing.; <*man-* 'to think', cf. *manah-* (Y. 28.6a); belongs to the other world, 'that of thought'.

hacā < *haca* 'from, according to': adpos. + abl.

θβā < *θu-ā* < *θua-* 'your': poss. pron. 2s, instr. sing. neut.

ǝ̄ᵘ nhā < *āh-ā* 'mouth': root noun neut., instr. sing. (see section 2.3.1.2a).

yāiš < *i-āiš* < *ia-*: rel. pron., instr. plur. masc./neut.; + gapped noun.

ā . . . bauuat̰ < *ā . . . baua-t* < *ā-bau-/bū-* 'to come about, come into existence(?)': *a*-stem pres. subj. 3s; <*bʰau-/bʰū-* 'become'.

aŋhuš < *ahu-š* '(new) life, (new) world': *u*-stem masc., nom. sing.

paᵘruiiō < *paru-iia-h* (<*prHu-ia-*) 'first, primordial': *a*-stem adj., nom. sing. masc., cf. *parō* 'before' <*prH-ah*, OInd. *puras*.

Y. 53.8

anāiš ā dužuuar°šnaŋhō dafšniiā hǝ̄ntū		7 + 5
zaẋiiā-cā vīspåŋhō xraosǝntqm upā		7 + 5
huxšaθrāiš jǝ̄n°rqm xrūm°rqm-cā rāmqm-cā āiš dadātū šiiᵉ'tibiiō vīž°biiō		8 + 7 + 5
īratū īš duuafšǝ̄ huuō dǝr°zā mǝr°θiiaoš mazištō mošu-cā astū		7 + 7 + 5

On account of those (actions/words of theirs) let them be there (at the judgement as men) of bad virility! (Let them) be duped
and laughable, all (of them)! Let them be booed!
By those of good command (= good rulers) let them be smashed and bled! And (but) let him give peace with these to the settled towns!
Let that greatest torment drive them off with the chain of death! And let it be soon!

Y. 53.8a

anāiš < *an-āiš* < *ana-*: dem. pron., instr. plur. masc. (see section 6.5.3.3).

ā . . . hǝ̄ntū < *ā . . . h-antu* < *ā-ah-* 'to be present': root present imper. 3p act.; <*ah-* 'to be'

dužuuar°šnaŋhō < *duž-uršn-āh-ah* < *°uršna-* or *°uršnah-* 'bad men, unmanned': *a-lah*-stem noun/adj., nom. plur. masc. (*-āhah*).

dafšniiā < *dafšn-ii-ā* '(easily) deceivable(?)': *a*-stem adj., nom. plur. masc.; verbal adj. of necessity < **daf-š-na-* < *dab-* 'to deceive' (cf. *yesniia-*, see section 4.6.2); cf. *diβža-* 'seek to deceive' (see section 4.1.1.1 no. 8).

Y. 53.8b

zaẋiiā < *jah-ii-ā* 'laughable': *a*-stem adj., nom. plur. masc.; verbal adj. of necessity < **jah-* 'laugh' (not in Avestan), cf. OInd. *has-*.

vīspåŋhō < *uicu-āhah* < *uicua-*: nom. plur. masc.

xraosəṇtąm upā < *xrausa-ntām upa* < *upa-xrausa-* 'cry at, boo': *a*-stem pres. imper. 3p mid.; < **xraut^s-sća-* < *xraud-* 'to cry'(?).

Y. 53.8c

huxšaθrāiš < *hu-xšaθr-āiš* 'who has good command': *a*-stem adj., instr. plur. masc.; possessive adjectival compound (*bahuvrīhi*) < *hu-* 'good' + *xšaθra-* '(royal) command' (see section 9.1.2).

jəṅ^trąm < *jan-rām* < *jan-* 'to smash, smite': root stem pres. imper. 3p mid.

xrūn[,]rąm < *xrun-rām* < *xrunā-/xrun-* (< *xrū̆-na-H-/xrū̆-n-H-*) 'to bleed' (trans.) < **xrū-*(*xruH-*): *nā*-stem pres. imper. 3p mid.; cf. *xrūra-* 'bloody'.

rāmąm < *rām-ām* 'peace': *ā*-stem fem., acc. sing.

dadātū < *da-dā-tu* < *dā-* 'to give': reduplicated athem. pres. imper. 3s act.

šiie[,]tibiiō < *šiat-ī-biah* < *šiant-/šiat-* (< *šiṇt-*) < *ćšai-/ćši-* 'to dwell, inhabit': pres. part. fem. dat.-abl. plur. with medio-passive meaning 'inhabited'.

vīžⁱbiiō < *vij-biah* < *vić-* 'house': root noun fem., dat.-abl. plur., dat. function.

Y. 53.8d

īratū < *īra-tu* < *īr-a-* 'to set in motion, send': *a*-stem pres. imper. 3s act.; reduplicated *ii̯-ar-lī-r-a* (< *Hi-Har-/Hi-Hr-a-*) < *Hr̥-* 'to move', cf. OInd. *iyar-*.

īš < *i-nš* 'them': pers. pron. 3p acc.

duuafšō < *duafša-h* '*torment': *a*-stem masc., nom. sing. *huuō* < *hau* 'that': dem. pron. nom. sing. masc. (see Section 6.5.3.3).

dərəzā < *d^(h)r̥j^h-ā* 'chain': root noun instr. sing.

mər[,]θiiaoš < *mr̥θi̯-au-š* < *mr̥θi̯u-* < *mr̥-t-i̯u-* 'death' < *mr̥-* 'die': *u*-stem masc. gen. sing.

mazištō < *maj-išta-h* < *maj^{i̯h}-* < *majH-* 'big, great': superl. nom. sing. masc.

mošu° < *mašu* 'soon' < *mać-š-*: adverb, cf. OInd. *makṣú*, Latin *mox*.

astū < *as-tu* < *ah-*: root present 3s imper. act.

11.2 Young Avestan

Y.8.2

> *x^varata narō aētəm miiazdəm*
> *yō dim haṇhāne aṣ̌ā-ca frār[,]ti-ca*

> Eat, men, this *myazd*,
> (he among you) who has gained it for himself by (his) Order and by (his) sending (it) forth(?)!

x^varata < *huara-ta* < *huar-a-* 'to eat': *a*-stem pres. imper. 2p.

narō < *nar-ah* < *nar-* 'man': voc. plur.

aētəm < *ait-am* < *aiša-/aita-* 'this': dem. pron., acc. sing. masc.

miiazdəm < *mii̯azd-am*, a kind of food offering: *a*-stem masc., acc. sing., cf. OInd. *miyédha-*.

dim < *di-m* 'it': pers. pron. 3rd pers., acc. sing. masc. (see section 3.4.1).

haṇhāne < *ha-hā̆n-ai* < *han-* 'to gain': perf. 3s mid.

frār[,]ti° < *fra-r̥t-ī* 'sending forth(?)': *i*-stem fem., instr. sing.; action noun in *-ti-* < *fra-r̥-* 'to set in forward motion'; see section 2.3.1.2.

Y.8.3

> *aməṣa spəṇta daēne māzdaiiasne*
> *vaŋhauuas-ca vaŋʸhīš-ca zaoθrås-ca*
> *yō aēšuua mazdaiiasnaēšuua mazdaiiasnō aojanō*
> *aṣ̌ahe rāθma jīštaiiamnō yāθβa aṣ̌ahe gaēθå mərᵊγᵊṇte*
> *auui tū dim disiiata yå apas-ca ⁿruuarås-ca zaoθrås-ca*

O life-giving immortals! O vision-soul of those who sacrifice to (Ahura) Mazdā!
O good (gods) and good˙ (goddesses)! O libations!
(He) who, among these who sacrifice to (Ahura) Mazdā, (while) representing
himself as someone who sacrifices to (Ahura) Mazdā,
(as someone) *seeking victory(?) by a *composition of Order
(yet) by sorcery destroys the living beings of Order,
do point him out, O waters, plants, and libations!

Y.8.3a

aməṣa < *a-mŕt-ā* 'non-dead, immortal': *a*-stem adj., voc. plur. masc.; adjectival compound < *a-*, privative prefix + *mrta-*, past part. of *mr-* 'die'.

spəṇta < *ćṷHantā* < *ćṷHan-ta-* 'life-giving': *a*-stem adj., voc. plur. masc.; < *ć(u)ṷHan* (OAv. *spə̄n-*) '*swelling' + suffix *-ta-* 'being provided with' < *ćṷaH-* (*spā-*) 'swell (with the juices of life)' (see Y. 28.9c, above). The *aməṣa spəṇta* 'life-giving immortals' are six beings brought forth by Ahura Mazdā during his cosmogonic sacrifice. When Ahura Mazdā is counted they become the Seven Life-giving Immortals.

daēne < *daịan-ai* 'vision-soul': *ā*-stem fem., voc. sing.; < *dā̆y-/dī-* (< *dʰaiH-/dʰiH-*) 'to see', specialised in the meaning of 'seeing' in the world of thought, in the beyond; the vision-soul is also the totality of a person's good or bad thoughts, words, and deeds and is represented as a woman, pretty or ugly, accordingly.

māzdaiiasne < *māzdaịasn-ai* 'pertaining to a *mazda-ịasna-*': *i*-stem adj., voc. sing. fem.; "vriddhi" derivative < *mazda-ịasna-* 'someone who sacrifices to (Ahura) Mazdā', adjectival compound < *(ahura-) mazdā-* + *ịasna-* 'sacrifice', cf. *yaza-* < *ịaj-a-* 'to sacrifice (to), offer up in sacrifice (to)'.

Y.8.3b

vaŋhauuas° < *ṷah-aṷ-as°* < *ṷah-u*: voc. plur. masc.

vaŋʸhīš < *ṷah-ṷ-ī-š* < *ṷah-u-*: derived fem. *ī*-stem adj., voc. plur.

zaoθrås < *ịauθr-ā-s°* 'libation': *ā*-stem fem. pl. of neut. sing. *zaoθra-*, voc. plur.; see section 3.1.1.

Y.8.3c

aēšuua < *ai-šu + ā* < *a-*: dem. pron., loc. plur. masc.

mazdaiiasnaēšuua < *mazda-ịasn-aišu + ā* < *mazda-ịasna-*: *a*-stem masc., loc. plur.

mazdaiiasnō < *mazda-ịasn-ah*: nom. sing.

aojanō < *auǰ-āna-h* < *aug-/auǰ-* 'to present oneself as, say': pres. part. mid., nom. sing. masc.

Y.8.3d

ašahe < *art-ahįa* < *art-a-*: gen. sing.

rāθma < *rāθmā* < *rāθ-ma-* '*composition': *a*-stem masc., instr. sing. (uncertain derivation and meaning).

jīštaiiamnō < *jīšt-aįa-mna-h* < *jīšt-aįa-* '*seek life/victory(?)': *aįa*-stem pres. part. mid., nom. sing. masc.; < *jī-* 'live' or *jĭ-* 'win'(?).

yāθβa < *įāθų-ā* < *įāθų-a-* 'sorcery': *a*-stem masc./neut.(?), instr. sing.; derivative of *įātu-* 'sorcerer'.

gaēθå < *gaiθ-åh* 'living beings': *ā*-stem fem., acc. plur.; derivative of *gai-/jĭ-* (*gaiH-/jĭH-*) 'live'.

mərᵊγᵊṇ-te < *mṛng-tai* (*mṛnx-tai?*) < *mṛ-n-k-* < *mṛk-* 'to destroy': *n*-infixed athem. pres. indic. 3s mid.; the form appears to be metathesised, but the exact phonetic processes involved are unclear; the OAv. form would have been **mərᵊ ng⁽ᵊ⁾-dē*.

Y.8.3e

auui . . . disiiata < *abi . . . dicįa-ta* < *abi . . . dic-įa-* 'to point at' < *daić-/dić-* 'point': *įa*-stem pres. imper. act.

tū < *tu*: emphatic enclitic particle; see section 8.1.4.

yå < *įā-h*: rel. pron., nom. plur. fem.

apas° < *ap-ah* < *ăp-* 'water': root-noun fem., voc. plur.

ⁿruuarås° < *ruųar-åh°* < *ruųar-ā-* 'plant': *ā*-stem fem., voc. plur.

Y.8.5

vasas-ca tū ahura mazda uštā-ca xšaēša hauuanąm dāmanąm
vasō āpō vasō ⁿruuarå vasō vīspa vohū ašaciθra
xšaiiamnəm ašauuanəm dāiiata axšaiiamnəm druuaṇtəm

May you, O Ahura Mazdā, rule at will and according to wish over your own creations!
(May you rule) at will, O waters, at will, O plants, at will, O all good things whose seed is from Order!
Place the Orderly one in command, the one possessed by the Lie out of command!

Y.8.5a

vasas° < *ųaćas°* < *ųać-ah* 'wish' < *ųać-/ućl-* 'to wish': *ah*-stem neut., acc. sing. used as adverb; see section 3.3.

tū < *tū*: pers. pron. 2s voc. enclitic.

ahura: voc. sing.

mazda < *mazdā*: voc. sing.

uštā° < *ušt-ā* < *ušt-i-* 'wish' < *ųać- /ućl-* 'to wish': *i*-stem fem., loc. sing., action noun in *-ti-*.

xšaēša < *xšai-ša* < *xšā-ĭ-ša*: aor. 2s opt., < *xšaįa-* to rule (over: + gen.)'; < *xšā-*.

hauuanąm < *haų-ānaᵊam* < *haų-a-* 'own': poss. refl. pron., gen. plur. neut.

dāmanąm < *dāman-aᵊam* < *dām-an-* 'creation': *n*-stem neut., gen. plur.; < *dʰā-* 'to place'.

Y.8.5b

āpō < *āp-ah*: voc. plur.
ⁿruuarå < *ruu̯ar-āh*: voc. plur.
vīspa < *u̯iću̯-ā*: acc. plur. neut.
vohū < *u̯ah-ū*: acc. plur. neut.
ašaciθra < *arta-čiθr-ā* 'whose seed is from(?) Order': *a*-stem adj., acc. plur. neut.;
adjectival compound < *arta-* + *čiθra-* 'seed'.

Y.8.5c

xšaiiamnəm < *xšai̯a-mn-am* < *xš-ai̯a-* 'to rule' < *xšā-*: *ai̯a*-stem pres. part. mid., acc.
sing. masc.

ašauuanəm < *artāu̯an-am* < *artā-u̯an-/art-āu̯n-* 'Orderly, who sustains Order': *u̯an*-stem
adj. acc. sing. masc.; < *arta* + *u̯an-*.

dāiiata < *dāi̯a-ta* < *dā-i̯a-* < *dʰā-* 'place': *i̯a*-stem pres. imper. 2p.

axšaiiamnəm < *a-xšai̯a-mn-am* 'not in command, not ruling': *a*-stem adj., acc. sing.
masc.; adjectival compound < *a-* + *xšai̯a-mna-*.

druuantəm < *druguant-am* < *drug-u̯ant-/drug-u̯at-* (*drug-u̯nt-*) 'possessed by the Lie':
u̯ant-stem adj., acc. sing. masc.; < *drug-/druĵ-* 'the (cosmic) Lie' (female principle of
deception), together with the Evil Spirit Ahura Mazdā's principal opponent. Originally
perhaps Chaos. She deceives gods and men as to the true nature of the ordered cosmos.

Y.8.8

rauuas-ca xᵛāθrəm-ca āfrīnāmi vīspaii̯å ašanonō stōiš
ązas-ca dužāθrəm-ca āfrīnāmi vīspaii̯å druuatō stōiš

I invite the open space and easy breathing of the entire (temporal) existence of the
Orderly one.
I invite the constriction and laboured breathing of the entire (temporal) existence of
the Orderly one.

Y.8.8a

rauuas° < *rau̯-ah* 'open space': *ah*-stem neut., acc. sing.

xᵛāθrəm < *hu-āθr-am* < *hu-āθr-a-* (< *HṇH-θra-*) 'good breathing (space), easy breath-
ing, comfort': *a*-stem neut., acc. sing.; nominal compound < *hu-* 'good' + *ā-θra-* < *anH-*
'to breathe'.

āfrīnāmi < *ā-frīnā-mi* < *ā-fr̄-nā-/ā-fr̄-n-* (< *fri-na-H-/fri-n-H-*) 'to invite as (guest)
friend(?)': *nā*-stem athem. pres. ind. 1s act. (performative).

vīspaii̯å < *u̯iću̯-āi̯-āh* < *u̯iću̯-a-*: fem. sing.

ašaonō < *artă-un-ah* < *artā-u̯an-/artā-u̯n-*: gen. sing. masc.

stōiš < *stai-š* < *s-ti-* '(duration of) being, (temporal) existence': *i*-stem fem., gen. sing.;
< *ah-* 'to be'.

Y.8.8b

ązas° < *anj́-ah* 'constriction': *ah*-stem neut., acc. sing.; cf. *angst*.

dužāθrəm < *duž-āθr-am* < *duž-āθra-* 'bad (constricted) breathing, discomfort': *a*-stem neut., acc. sing.; nominal compound, antonym of *hu-āθra-*.

druuatō < *druguat-ah* < *drug-uant-/drug-uat-*: gen. sing. masc.

Most of the *Young Avesta* is written in a basically octosyllabic metre, of which the following text from the hymn to Miθra is a sample. In Yt.10.12, the first line is hypermetric.

Yt.10.12

> *miθrəm vo"ru.gaoiiao'tīm yazama'de*
> *aṛš. vacaŋhəm viiāxanəm*
> *hazaŋra. gaošəm hutāšt əm*
> *baēuuar". cašmanəm bər"zaṇtəm*
> *pər"θu. vaēδaiianəm sūrəm*
> *ax'afnəm jayā"ruuåŋhəm*

We sacrifice to Miθra with wide grazing grounds, of truthful speech, *eloquent,
with a thousand ears, well-fashioned, with ten thousand eyes, tall,
with broad outlook, strong, sleepless, waking.

miθrəm < *miθr-am* 'Miθra': *a*-stem masc. acc. sing.

vo"ru.gaoiiao'tīm < *uaru-gau-iaut-im* 'having wide grazing grounds': *i*-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.; possessive adjectival compound < *uaru-* 'broad' and *gau-iaut-i-* of uncertain exact meaning, cf. OInd. *gav-yūti-*.

yazama'de < *yaza-*: pres. ind. 1s mid. (see Y.8.3a).

aṛš. vacaŋhəm < *ṛš-uacah-am* 'of truthful speech': *ah*-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.; possessive adjectival compound < *aṛš* 'straight, truthful(ly) < *Hṛj-š* (OAv. *ər 'š*).

viiāxanəm < *uiiāxan-am* (4 sylls.) word of uncertain meaning: *a*-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.

hazaŋra. gaošəm < *hajahra-gauš-am* 'having a thousand ears': *a*-stem adj., masc. acc. sing., possessive adjectival compound < *hajahra-* '1000' and *gauša-* 'ear'.

hutāštəm < **hu-tašt-am* 'well-fashioned': *a*-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.; the form with long vowel analogical with the present *tāš-ti* 'he fashions'.

baēuuar".cašmanəm < *baiuar-čašm-an-am* 'having ten thousand eyes': *man*-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.; possessive adjectival compound < *bai-uar-* '10,000' and *čaš-man-* 'eye' (neut.).

bər"zaṇtəm < *bṛjant-am* 'tall': *ant*-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.

pər"θu. vaēδaiianəm < *pṛθu-uaidāian-am* 'with broad outlook': *a*-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.; possessive adjectival compound < *pṛθu-* (<*pṛtH-u-*) 'broad' and *uai-dāi-ana-*, derivative of *ui-dāy-* 'see far and wide'.

sūrəm < *ćūr-am* (<*ćuH-ra-*) 'rich in life-giving strength': *a*- stem adj., masc. acc. sing. (see Y. 28.9c on *sauuaŋhąm*).

ax'afnəm, a-huafn-am 'sleepless': *a*-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.; from *a-* + *huaf-na-* 'sleep'.

jayā"ruuåŋhəm < *ja-gar-uāh-am* 'waking': pf. part. act. of *garH-/grā-* 'wake'; the diphthong *-ā"-* perhaps substituted for *-ao'"-* (de Vaan 2003, §17.4.2) but perhaps with vowel metathesis, cf. OInd. *jā-gar-*.

Yt. 10.13

    a   *yō pao^i riiō maniiauuō yazatō*
    b   *tarō harąm *āsənao^i ti*
    c   *pa^u ruua.naēmāṭ aməšahe*
    d   *hū yaṭ a^u ruuaṭ.aspahe*
    e   *yō pao^i riiō zaraniiō.pīsō*
    f   *srīrå *bar^ə šnauuō gər^ə βnā^i ti:*
    g   *aδāṭ vīspəm ādiδā^i ti*
    h   *a^i riiō.šaiianəm səuuištō*

Who as the first in the other world to be sacrificed to
rises over Harā,
in front of the immortal
sun with fleet horses,
who, as the first, seizes
the gold-adorned, beautiful heights.
From there, he surveys the entire
settlement of the Aryans, he most rich in life-giving strength.

a

pao^i riiō < *paru-ija-h* (see Y. 28.11c): *a*-stem adj. masc. nom. sing.

maniiauuō < *mani-au-ah* 'of the world of thought: *a*-stem adj., masc. nom.sing.; <-
maniu- (see Y. 28.11c).

yazatō < *jaj-at-ah* 'being worthy of sacrifices' <*jaja-* (cf. Y.8.3a): *a*-stem, masc. nom.
sing.

b

tarō < *tar-ah* 'over, beyond' <*tr̥H-* 'cross over': prep. + acc.

harąm < *har-ām* 'Harā' a mountain: *ā*-stem fem. acc. sing.

*āsənao^i ti (mss. *āsnaoiti*) < *ā-sa-nau-* 'rise' < *ā-sn̥-nau-*: *nau*-stem pres. ind. act. 3s.

c

pa^u ruua.naēmāṭ < *parua-naim-āt* 'from in front of': *a*-stem masc. abl. sing.; compound
<*pa^u ruua-* 'before' and *naēma-* 'half, side'.

d

hū < *huuaŋ-h* < *hū-uar/n-* 'sun': *uar/n*-stem neut. gen. sing.

yaṭ: relative particle (see section (6.1.1.1a).

a^u ruuaṭ.aspahe < *aruat-aću-ahia aruat-aću a-* 'having fleet horses: *a*-stem adj. masc. acc.
sing.; possessive adjectival compound < *aruant-* 'fleet' and *aću a-* 'horse'.

e

zaraniiō.pīsō < *j^h aranja-pić-ah* 'gold-adorned': cons.-stem adj., fem. nom. plur.;
adjectival compound <*j^h aranja-* 'gold' and root noun *pić-* 'paint, adorn', cf. OPers.
ni-pi0- 'write'.

f

srīrå < *ćrūr-āh* 'beautiful' < *ćraiH-/ćriH-*: *a*-stem adj., fem. nom.plur.

*barˀšnauuō (ms. F1 °auua) <*barjʰn-au̯-ah* 'height': *u*-stem fem. nom. plur.; this nom. phrase is used for expected acc.; for the gender and reading, cf. Yt. 18.6 *vīspå barˀšnauuō gaⁱrinąm* 'all the heights of the mountains'.

gərˀβnāⁱti < *grb-nā-ti* < *gʰṛbʰ-nā-/gʰṛbʰ-n-* 'take, seize': *nā*-stem pres. ind. act. 3s.; also *gəⁿruuaiia-* < *gṛbāya-*, cf. OPers. *gṛbāya-* (DNa 15–22b).

g

aδāt̰ < *adʰ-āt* 'from there';
ādiδāⁱti < *ā-di-dā-ti* 'surveys' < *dā̆y- /dī-* (see Y.8.3a): red. pres. ind. act. 3s.

h

aⁱriiō. šaiianəm < *aria-ćšaian-am* 'settlement of the Aryans': *a*-stem, masc. acc. sing.; compound of *arⁱa-* 'Aryan, Iranian' and *ćšai̯-ana-*, derivative of *ćšai̯-* 'dwell, be settled' (see Y.53.8c).

səuuištō < *ćau̯H-išt-ah* 'most endowed with life-giving strength' (see Y. 28.9c on *sauuaŋhąm*): *a*-stem superl., masc. nom. sing.

11.3 Old Persian

DNa 15–22

   a   *θātiy dārayavauš xšāyaθiya*
   b   *vašnā auramazdāha imā dahạyāva tayā adam agạrbāyam apataram hacā pārsā*
   c   *adam-šām patiyaxšayaiy manā bājim abaraha*
   d   *taya-šām hacā-ma aθahạya ava akunava*
   e   *dātam taya manā ava-dĭ̆[š] adāraiya*

King Darius announces:

> By the greatness of Ahuramazdā, these (are) the lands that I seized further away from Persia.
> I ruled over them. They brought me tribute.
> Whatever was announced to them from/by me, that they did.
> *My* law held them.'

a

θātiy < *ćaŋha-ti* < *ćaŋha-* 'to announce': *a*-stem pres. ind. (performative) 3s act.

dārayavauš < *dāraia-vahu-š*: *u*-stem proper name masc., nom. sing.; nominal compound <*dāraia-*, pres. stem. of *dar-* 'to (up)hold' and *u̯ahu-* 'good (things)'.

xšāyaθiya < *xšāia̯θ-ia-h* 'king': *a*-stem masc., nom. sing.; *i̯a*-stem 'vriddhi' derivative of **xšai̯-aθa-* 'rule' < pres. *xšai̯a-* 'to rule'.

b

vašnā < *u̯ajnā* < **u̯ajar/n-* 'greatness': *r/n*-stem neut., instr. sing.; cf. *u̯ajṛ-ka-* (*vazạrka-*) 'great'.

auramazdāha < *ahura-mazdāh* + *ah* < *ahura-mazdā-*: gen. sing.; the gen. sing. ending *-ah* has been added to the gen. *mazdāh* < *mazdaH-ah*.

imā < *im-āh* 'these': dem. pron., acc. plur. fem.

dahạyāva < *dahị-āụ-ah* < *dahị-au-* 'land': *au*-stem fem., nom. plur.

tayā < *ta* + *ị-āh*: rel. pron., acc. plur. fem.

adam < *ajam* 'I': pers. pron. 1s, nom.; Av. *azəm*.

agạrbāyam < *a-gṛb-āịa-m* < *gṛb-āịa-* < *gʰrabʰ-* 'to seize': *āịa*-stem pres., imperf. 1s act.; cf. Yt. 10.13 f.

apataram < *apa-tara-m* < *apa-* 'away': adverbial acc. sing. neut., comparative.

hacā < *haca* 'from' (+ instr.-abl.).

pārsā < *pārsāt* < *pārsa-* 'Persia': instr.-abl. sing., abl. function.

c

-šām 'them': pers. pron. 3rd pers. enclitic, gen.-dat. plur., gen. function.

patiyaxšayaiy < *pati-a-xšaị-ai* < *pati-xšaịa-* mid. 'to rule over': *aịa*-stem pres., imperf. 1s mid.

manā < *mana* 'me': pers. pron. 1s gen.-dat., gen. function.

bājim < *bāǰi-m* 'tribute': *i*-stem (masc./fem.?), acc. sing.

abaraha < *a-bara-n* (error?) < *bara-* 'to carry': *a*-stem pres., imperf. 3p; in principle, the form could be read as *ā-bara-* 'to bring'.

d

taya < *ta* + *ị-at* 'that which, what': rel. pron., nom. sing. neut.; see section 3.4.4. *-ma* < *-ma-t* 'me': pers. pron. 1s (instr.?)-abl. enclitic, abl. function.

aθahạya < *a-ćahịa-t* < *ćah-ịa-* < *ćṇhịa-* or < *ćaŋh-ịa-* 'to be announced': *ịa*-stem passive of *ćaŋha-*, imperf. 3s act.

ava < *aụ-at* 'that': dem. pron., acc. sing. neut.

akunava < *a-ku-naụ-an* < *kṛ-nau-/kṛ-nu-* 'to do': *nau*-pres. stem, imperf. 3p act.; commonly regarded as an 'allegro' form with *kun-* < *kṛn-*, cf. Av. *kərʾ-nau-*, but perhaps analogical (rhyming) with forms such as **sru-nau-* (Av. *sʰrunao-*).

e

dātam < *dāt-am* 'law': *a*-stem neut., nom. sing.; substantivised past part. *dāta-* 'placed, set down' from *dʰā-*

-dīš < *ᵈi-nš* 'them': pers. pron. 3rd pers., acc. plur. masc.; for **i-nš*.

adāraiya < *a-dāraịa-t* < *dāraịa-* 'to hold (firmly in place)': *aịa*-stem pres., imperf. 3s act.

DNa 31–38

    a   *auramazdā yaθā avaina imām būmim *yaudaⁿtīm pasāva-dim manā frābara*

    b   *mām xšāyaθiyam akunauš adam xšāyaθiya aʰmiy*

    c   *vašnā auramazdāhā adam-šim gāθavā niyašādayam*

    d   **taya-šām adam aθaham ava akunava *yaθā mām kāma āha*

When Ahuramazdā saw this earth being in turmoil, then he gave it to me.
He made me king. I am king.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdā, I set it down in its place.
Whatever I announced to them, that they did as was my wish.

a

auramazdā < *ahura-mazdā-h*: nom. sing.; Av. *ahurō mazdå* < *ahura-h mazdā-h*.

yaθā < *i̯a-θa* 'when': conjunction.

avaina < *a* + *u̯aina-t* < *u̯aina-* 'to see': *a*-stem pres., imperf. 3s act.

imām < *im-ā-m* 'this': dem. pron., acc. sing. fem.

būmim < *būm-im* 'earth': *i*-stem fem., acc. sing.; cf. Av. *būmī-*.

yaudaⁿtīm < *i̯auja-nt-ī-m* < *i̯auja-* 'to be in turmoil, be chaotic': pres. part., derived *ī*-stem fem., acc. sing.; cf. Av. *yaoza-*.

pasāva < *pasća* + *ai̯a-t* 'afterward, then': adverbial compound <*pasća* 'after' + *ai̯a-t* 'that'.

-dim < *dĭm* 'it': pers. pron. 3rd pers., acc. sing. fem. enclitic; it is not known whether the form had preserved the long *ī*, cf. OAv. *hīm*.

manā < *mana* 'me': pers. pron. 1s, gen.-dat., dat. function.

frābara < *fra-a-bara-t* < *fra-bara-* 'to proffer, give': *a*-stem pres., imperf. 3s act.

b

mām < *mām* 'me': pers. pron. 1s, acc.

xšāyaθiyam < *xšāi̯aθi̯-am*: acc. sing.

akunauš for *a-kunau* < *a-kunau-t* < *kunau-* 'to do, make': *nau*-pres. stem, imperf. 3s act.

a^hmiy < *ah-mi* < *ah-* 'to be': pres. ind. 1s act.

c

-šim < *-š-ĭm*: pers. pron. 3rd pers., acc. sing. fem. enclitic; cf. OAv. *hīm*.

gāθavā < *gāθau̯* + *ā* < *gātu-* (*gāθu-*) 'place, platform (throne)': *u*-stem loc. sing. + postpos. *-ā*.

niyašādayam < *ni-a-šādai̯a-m* < *ni-šādai̯a-*, caus. of *ni-šad-* < *had-* 'to sit': *ai̯a*-stem (caus.) pres., imperf. 1s; the form has been analogically remade from *ni-a-hādai̯a-*.

d

aθaham < *a-θaŋha-m*: imperf. 1s act.

kāma < *kāma-h* 'wish': *a*-stem masc., nom. sing.; this noun takes a personal dir. obj.: *mām kāma^h* 'I wish' see section 6.4.3.4.

āha < *āha-t* < *ah-* 'was': imperf. 3s act.; the form is a thematised replacement for *āş-(t)*, which would probably have been reduced to *ā* in OPers.; the long initial *āh-* is < *a-Hh-*.

DNa 38–47

  a   *yadi-patiy maniyāhay taya ciyakaram [āha] *avā dahạyāva tayā dārayavauš xšāyaθiya adāraya*

  b   *patikarā dīdiy tayaiy gāθum baraⁿtiy*

  c   *adā xšnāsāhạy ada-taiy azdā bavātiy pārsahạyā martiyahạyā dūraiy ạrštiš parāgmatā*

  d   *ada-taiy azdā bavātiy pārsa martiya dūray hacā pārsā parataram patiyajatā*

If, again, you think – 'How were those lands which King Darius held?' – then look at the pictures (of the men) who carry the throne.

Then you will know, then it will become clear to you that the Persian man's spear has gone far away.

Then it will become clear to you that the Persian man *defended himself far beyond Persia.

a

yadi- < *yadi* 'if': conj.

-patiy < *-pati* 'in addition'(?): enclitic particle.

maniyãhay < *man-ịã-hai* < *man-* 'to think': *ịa*-stem. pres. subj. mid.

taya < *ta + ịa-t* 'that': conj., here introducing dir. speech.

ciyakaram < *čịịa-kar-am* 'how?' (or: 'how many'?): adverbial compound < *čịịa-* 'how much(?)' + *kara-* 'work', i.e. 'of what kind of work is he capable?'.

ãha < *ãh-an* < *ah-* 'to be': imperf. 3p act.

b

patikarã < *pati-kar-ã* 'pictures': *a*-stem masc. acc. plur.; nominal compound < *pati* + *kara-* 'sth. made to reflect'.

dīdiy < *dī-di* 'look at!', pres. *vaina-*: imper. 2s act.; perhaps originally an aor. stem.

tayaiy < *ta+ịai* 'who': rel. pron. nom. plur. masc.

gãθum < *gãt-u-m* < *gãtu-*: acc. sing.; see section 2.3.2.5.

baraⁿtiy < *bara-nti* 'to carry': *a*-stem pres. ind. 3p act.

c

adã < *ada* 'then': temporal adv.

xšnãsãhay < *xšnãćã-hi* < *xšnã-sća-* 'to know': pres. subj. 2s act.; *xšnã-sća-* < *jnã-*, cf. *dãnã-* 'know' < *ịã-nã-* (for *jn̥-na-H-*).

-taiy < *-tai* 'you': pers. pron. 2s, gen.-dat., dat. function.

azdã < *azdã* 'known, clear' (< *adᶻdʰã*, OInd. *addhã*).

bavãtiy < *bau̯-ã-ti* < *bau-/bū-* 'to become': *a*-stem pres. subj. 3s act.

d

pãrsahạyã < *pãrsa-hịa* 'Persian': *a*-stem adj., gen.-dat. sing. masc., gen. function.

martiyahạyã < *martiịa-hịa* 'man': *a*-stem masc., gen.-dat. sing., gen. function.

dūraiy < *dūrai* < *dūra-* 'far': adverbial loc. sing.; see section 3.3.

ạrštiš < *r̥šti-š* 'spear': *i*-stem fem., nom. sing.

parãgmatã < *parã-gmatã* < *parã-gam-* 'to go away'(?): intrans. perf. nom. sing. fem. (see section 7.4.3.1); cf. YAv. *γᵛmata-*.

e

pãrsa < *pãrsa-h*: nom. sing. masc.

martiya < *martiịa-h*: nom. sing.

parataram < *para-tar-am* < *para-* 'beyond': adverbial acc. sing. neut., comparative.

patiyajatã < *pati-a-ja-ta* < *pati-jan-/jn̥-* (< *jn̥-*) 'to strike back', mid. 'defend onself (?)': imperf. 3s mid.

DNa 48–55

    a   *θātiy dārayavauš xšāyaθiya*
    b   *aita taya kạrtam ava visam vašnā auramazdāhā akunavam . . .*
    c   *mām auramazdā pātuv hacā gastā utā-maiy viθam utā imām dahạyāum*
    d   *aita adam auramazdām jadiyāmiy aita-maiy auramazdā dadātuv*

King Darius announces:
All this that has been done I did by the greatness of Ahuramazdā.
Let Ahuramazdā protect me from foulness, as well as my house and this land!
This I ask Ahuramazdā for. Let Ahuramazdā give me this!

b

    aita < *aita-t* 'this': dem. pron., nom.-acc. sing. neut.
    kạrtam < *kṛt-am* < *kar-* 'to do': intrans.-pass. perf., nom.-acc. sing. neut.
    visam < *u̯íću̯-am* 'all': nom.-acc. sing. neut.
    akunavam < *a-kunau̯-am*: imperf. 1s act.

c

    pātuv < *pā-tu* < *pā-* 'to protect': imper. 3s act.; there are no pres. forms attested of this verb, but cf. *pati-paya-ʰu̯ā* (DB 4.38) < *pati-pai̯a-hu̯a* pres. imper. 2s mid.
    gastā < *gast-āt* < *gasta-* 'foulness': *a*-stem neut.(?) instr.-abl. sing., abl. function; past part. *gas-ta-* 'foul-smelling' < *gṇtˢ-ta-*, replacing **gazda-* < **gṇdᶻ-dʰa-* < *gandʰ-* 'to smell foul'.
    utā- < *uta* 'and': conj.
    -maiy < *-mai* 'me': pers. pron. 1s, gen.-dat., gen. function.
    viθam < *u̯ić-am* 'house': root noun fem.(?), acc. sing.
    dahạyāum < *dahy-āu-m* < *dahi̯-au-*: acc. sing.

d

    auramazdām < *ahura-mazda-am*: acc. sing.; < *mazdaH-am*.
    jadiyāmiy < *jad-i̯ā-mi* < *jad-i̯-a-* 'to ask' (+ acc. of pers. + acc. of thing): *i̯a*-stem pres. (performative) ind. 1s act.
    dadātuv < *da-dā-tu* < *dā-* 'to give': reduplicated pres. imper. 3s act.

ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXTS

Avestan texts

Āfr.	Āfrīnagān
FrD.	text edited in Hoffmann 1968.
H.	Hādōxt nask
Her.	Hērbedistān
N.	Nīrangistān
V.	Videvdad
Vr.	Vispered
Y.	Yasna
Yt.	Yasht

Old Persian texts

DB   Darius at Behistun (Bisutun), large inscription
DBa . . . Darius at Behistun, smaller inscriptions
DE   Darius at Elvand
DNa, b Darius at Naqsh-e Rostam
DPa . . . Darius at Persepolis
DSa . . . Darius at Susa
DZa . . . Darius at Suez
XPa . . . Xerxes at Persepolis
XV   Xerxes at Lake Van

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