Selected Features of Bactrian Grammar

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Agent		OInd	Old Indian
ABL	Ablative		OM	Object marker
ADJ	Adjective		OP	Old Persian
ADV	Adverb(ial)		OPT	Optative
AR	Armenian		p	Person
ART	Article		PA	Pronominal adjective
AV	Avestan		PAR	Particle
BD I	Sims-Williams 2000a		PASS	Passive
BD II	Sims-Williams 2007a		PF	Perfect
COJ	Conjunction		PL	Plural
CP	Enclitic pronoun		PLP	Pluperfect
DB	Darius, Behistan document		PN	Personal name
DEM	Demonstrative		POSA	Possessive adjective
DIR	Direct		POSP	Possessive pronoun
EZ	Ezafe		POST	Postposition
F	Feminine		pp	Past participle
FUP	Future participle		PRE	Preposition
GEN	Genitive		PROH	Prohibitive
INA	Indefinite adjective		PRON	Pronoun
IND	Indicative		PRS	Present
INDIR	Indirect		PST	Past
INF	Infinitive		RA	Reflexive adjective
INP	Indefinite pronoun		RP	Reflexive pronoun
IMP	Imperative		RTP	Relative pronoun
IMPF	Imperfect		RUS	Russian
KHOT	Khotan Saka		S	Subject
LAT	Latin		SBJV	Subjunctive
M	Masculine		SG	Singular
MP	Middle Persian		SPD	Second person demonstrative
N	Noun		UFL	Uninflected
NE	Neuter		V	Verb
NEG	Negative		XPa	Xerxes, Persepolis document a
NOM	Nominative		1s/2s/3s	First person singular/second…/third
NP	New Persian			
O	Object		1p/2p/3p	First person plural/second…/third
OBL	Oblique			

   The following table shows the Greek letters used for writing Bactrian (in bold) and their probable phonetic values in Bactrian.[1]

α	**β**	**γ**	**δ**	**ε**	**ζ**	**η**	
a, ā, ə	b, β	g, γ, γγ-ŋg	d	e, ει-ī	z, ž, dz	ē, final -ηιο - ē	
θ	**ι**	**κ**	**λ**	**μ**	**ν**	**o**	**π**
θ	y, i, ī	k	l	m	n	w, u, ū, o, ə, ø	p
ρ	**þ**	**σ**	**τ**	**υ**	**φ**	**χ**	**ω**
r	š	s,ts,dz	t	h	f	x	ō

[1] Following Sims-Williams 1989: 233.

1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Bactria

Bactria played an important role in the history of Central Asia. Originally, Bactria consisted of the plain between the Hindu Kush and the Āmū Daryā, with its string of agricultural oases dependent on water taken from the rivers of Balkh (Bactra), Tashkurgan, Kondūz, Sar-e Pol, and Šīrīn Tagāō.[2]

The name *Bactria* is first mentioned in the list of Darius's conquests in the Behistan inscription and in a fragment of the work of Ctesias of Cnidos.[3] According to historical sources, *Bactra* occupied a commanding position on the royal road to India, and the Bactrians also played an important role in the Persian army. For example, at *Salamis* they were under the great king's direct command.[4]

Alexander invaded Bactria, and Greek rulers maintained a rule informed by Hellenist culture for some 200 years after his death (323 B.C.). The Greek kings divided *Bactria-Sogdiana* into a number of satrapies, as this was a more manageable arrangement. This region was described as "Mother of cities" and as "Paradise on earth".[5]

In the Avesta, *Bactria* is mentioned only in the list of countries in the first chapter of the *Vendīdād* and in the Pahlavi books in the *Bundahišn* and *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērān.*

In the *Bundahišn*, the Oxus, together with the Indus, is identified with the *wehrōd,* the "Good river", which forms the boundary of *Ērānšahr* and is conceptually linked with the Avestan *Vaŋhvī Dāityā*, which is near the place where the first upholders of faith performed their sacrifices.[6]

The *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērān* associates Bactria with the Kayanid prince Spandyād (Esfandīyār) and his victory in the holy war against Arjāsp.[7]

Soon after the middle of the second century B.C., Greek rule ended with invasions of nomads, notably the *Yüeh-chih* or *Tokharoi* from the North, who settled in Northern Afghanistan.[8] The archaeological discoveries relating to this period point to a continuation of agricultural and urban development.[9]

Under the Kushans, Bactria lost its political importance, but it became a major commercial center on the Silk Road. In the Kushan period (68 B.C.-240 A.D.), people were able to travel there; among them were Indian monks who brought the religion of the Buddha to Bactria.[10]

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[2] Leriche 1989: 339.

[3] Leriche 1989: 339 and Kent 1953: 117.

[4] Leriche 1989: 340.

[5] Tarn 1951: 113.

[6] Cf. Grenet 1989: 344.

[7] Grenet 1989: 344.

[8] Sims-Williams 1989c: 344.

[9] Leriche 1989: 341.

[10] Leriche 1989: 343.

1.2 Bactrian language and script

Although Bactrian is geographically close to Eastern Iranian languages, from a linguistic point of view, it can be classified as an Eastern-Western Iranian language, because it possesses many characteristics of Western Iranian languages, particularly in the area of morphological and phonological features. Table 1 shows an overview of the Iranian languages:

Table 1. Overview of the Iranian languages

Old Iranian	Old Persian, Avesta		
Middle Iranian	**Western**	**Western-Eastern**	**Eastern**
	Middle Persian, Parthian	Bactrian	Sogdian, Khotanese, Chwaresmian
New Iranian	Persian, Kurdish, Balochi, etc.		Pashto, Pamir languages, Ossetic, etc.

Some scholars have used other terms instead of Bactrian, such as "Greco-Bactrian", "Kushan", or "Kushano-Bactrian". The name "Eteo-Tocharian", proposed by A. Maricq, can hardly be justified.[11]

In Achaemenian times, in the fifth century B.C., correspondence between Iranians as well as between Iranians and non-Iranians was conducted in Aramaic. There is no reason to doubt that in Achaemenian times, Aramaic was also used in Bactria. In post-Achaemenian times, this probably led to Middle Bactrian being written with Aramaic ideograms in Aramaic script, as was the case with Middle Persian, Parthian, and Chorasmian.[12]

The practice of writing Bactrian in Greek script must have begun in the first century B.C., when literacy in Greek was still sufficiently widespread among the Bactrians.[13] It seems that at first, the Kushans continued the traditional use of Greek. In the reign of Kanishka I (ca. 127-151 A.D.),[14] Bactrian replaced Greek on the Kushan coins. After this period, Greek ceased to be used as an official language in Bactria.[15]

After the collapse of the Kushan empire, Bactrian continued to be used for at least six centuries, as is shown by the ninth century inscriptions from the Tochi valley in Pakistan and the remnants of Buddhist and Manichean manuscripts as far away as the Turfan oasis in western China.[16]

1.3 Bactrian sources

1.3.1 Coins

The coins of the first Bactrian kings give their names and titles in Greek.[17] Kanishka's coins from the beginning of his reign were written in the Greek language and script, and depict Greek divinities. But later coins were written in the Bactrian language and a modified Greek script.[18] With the eclipse of the Kushan dynasty, their lands west of the Indus fell into the hands of the Sasanians. In addition to coinage inscribed in Pahlavi and (occasionally) in Brāhmī, the Kušān-šāhs issued coins with legends in cursive Greco-Bactrian script.[19] The Bactrian coin-legends of

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[11] Sims-Williams 1989c: 344, Henning 1960: 47 and Gershevitch 1979: 55.

[12] Gershevitch 1983: 1254.

[13] Gershevitch 1983: 1255.

[14] See Falk 2001: 121-136.

[15] Sims-Williams 1989c: 345.

[16] Sims-Williams 1997a.

[17] Sims-Williams 1989c: 345.

[18] See Bopearachchi 1991 and Humbach 1967a.

[19] Sims-Williams 1989c: 345

the Hunnish[20] period display a rich linguistic diversity, with loan titles from Indian, Turkish and Latin, as well as from Bactrian and Middle Persian.[21]

1.3.2 Seals

The number of Kushan seals bearing Bactrian inscriptions is small. Bactrian inscriptions on seals during the Kushano-Sasanian and subsequent periods were written in an extremely cursive variety of the Greek script. There is some difficulty in dividing Kushano-Sasanian seals from those of the preceding Kushan period (68 B.C.-240 A.D.).[22] Many of the earlier Kushan seals can be distinguished because their Bactrian inscriptions are written in a less cursive form of the Greek alphabet.[23] These seals are inscribed with names and titles of their owner[24] in Greco-Bactrian script.

1.3.3 Inscriptions

Surkh Kotal[25]

This inscription was carved in the second century A.D. into a large monolith in the ruins of the acropolis of Surkh Kotal in northern Afghanistan.[26] It was discovered in May 1957 by the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan.[27] According to Henning, the purpose of this inscription was to record the construction work carried out by Nokonzoko. It was "the first substantial document of the Middle Iranian dialect of Bactria, which was previously only known from the coins…"[28] The text of the Surkh Kotal inscription was published first by André Maricq, who identified some important words and phrases including the name of Kanishka, and then by Henning, Gershevitch, Harmatta, and Livšic. The last version was published by Lazard, Grenet, and de la Lamberterie.

Rabatak

The stone bearing this inscription, together with fragments of a sculpture of a lion and agricultural elements, was found in March 1993 on a hill locally known as "the Kafirs' Castle", in a region called Rabatak, 25 miles north of Pul-i Khumri.[29] The inscription relates to the rule of the Kushan emperor Kanishka and speaks of a sanctuary being built by Shafar, the local Kushan officer. This inscription was published for the first time by Cribb and Sims-Williams,[30] and for the second time by Sims-Williams.[31]

This inscription provides an important list of gods, and according to Cribb, "it makes the role of the divine images on Kushan coins abundantly clear."[32] The Rabatak Inscription also shows

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[20] See Göbl 1964, Humbach 1967a and 1967b.

[21] Sims-Williams 1989c: 345.

[22] Falk 2001: 131.

[23] Bivar 1968: 1-2.

[24] Titles such as "chief of cavalry"(see Henning 1962: 335) or "great commander" and "satrap" (see Sims-Williams 1989c: 345).

[25] For interpretation of this inscription, see Benveniste 1961: 113-152, Humbach 1962a: 40-43, 1960, 1963a: 13-19 , Henning 1960: 47-55 and 1956: 366-367, Gershevitch 1979: 55-73, Harmatta 1964: 373-471.

[26] Gershevitch 1979: 55.

[27] Henning 1960: 47.

[28] Humbach 2003: 157.

[29] Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 75.

[30] See Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 75-96.

[31] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 53-68.

[32] Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 110.

that Kanishka issued a Greek edict and then put it into Aryan and described some of the events of his first regal year. As Sims-Williams and Cribb note: "The most startling revelation is the identification of a new king, Vima Tak[to] (line 13), whose position among Kushan kings is clearly indicated."[33]

The other inscriptions

The trilingual inscription of Dašt-e Nāvūr (in Bactrian, Kharoṣṭī and an undeciphered script),[34] the inscription of Ayrtam,[35] the inscription of Delbarjīn,[36] two inscriptions from Jaghatu, inscriptions from Uruzgan and the Tochi valley, and two very short rock inscriptions were also written in Bactrian. Several graffiti in cursive Bactrian script of the Kushano-Sasanian period have been found in the Buddhist cave-monastery of Kara-Tepe.[37] Tang-i Safedak is another Bactrian inscription, which has been published by Lee and Sims-Williams.[38]

1.3.4 Manuscripts

Seven of eight known fragments in Greco-Bactrian script were found at Toyoq and one at Lou-lan.[39] Certain words suggest that the Lou-lan manuscript may contain a Buddhist text.[40]

1.3.5 Documents

Our knowledge of the Bactrian language depends largely on a hundred documents in Bactrian cursive script, which appeared in the bazaar of Peshawar and on the international art market in recent years. Many of these are now in the collection of Dr. Nasser David Khalili in London.[41] These documents were written on leather, cloth and even on wooden sticks. They span the whole period between Sasanian rule in the fourth century A.D. and Arab supremacy in the eighth century.[42] Many of these documents are published by Sims-Williams (2000a and 2007a), and some of the other texts were published in separate articles in different magazines.[43] The new Bactrian documents may be divided into five groups:

1. Legal documents

Twenty-six legal documents, including contracts and receipts dated from 342-781 A.D., and five documents of unknown date have been published.[44] Most of the dated documents are legal contracts dealing with sales, leases, gifts, the manumission of a slave and the settlement of disputes. There is a marriage contract, which happens to be the earliest dated document in Bactrian.[45]

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[33] Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 97.

[34] For this inscription, see Davary 1976, Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 95 (Appendix).

[35] It is dated early in the reign of Huvishka and resembles the almost contemporary Surkh Kotal monolith in vocabulary and phraseology (Sims-Williams 1989c: 346); for this inscription see Harmatta 1986: 131-146.

[36] These inscriptions include substantial fragments of a monumental inscription of the early Kushan period (Sims-Williams 1989c: 346).

[37] Sims-Williams 1989c: 346, and for Kara Tepe, see Humbach 1970: 43-50 and Davary 1982: 40.

[38] Lee and Sims-Williams 2003: 159-174.

[39] For these manuscripts, see Humbach 1967a: 28-32.

[40] Sims-Williams 1989c: 346.

[41] For other possessors of the Bactrian documents, see Yoshida 2003: 156.

[42] Sims Williams 2002b: 12.

[43] For a list of these documents and magazines, see Yoshida 2003: 156.

[44] See Sims-Williams 2000a: 31-153.

[45] Sims-Williams 2002b: 12.

2. Lists and accounts

Seven leather documents and 29 wooden slips or tallies have been published.[46] These are generally undated, but one of them may present the date 379 A.D.[47]

3. Letters

Seventy letters are published in *Bactrian Documents* II,[48] three of which show the dates of 430, 431, and 463 A.D.[49]

4. Buddhist texts

Only two Buddhist texts are published in *Bactrian Documents* II, which are undated.[50] Sims-Williams published another Buddhist text belonging to the Schøyen.[51]

5. Fragments of documents of uncertain type

These three fragments of documents are published in *Bactrian Documents* II,[52] which present only a few words. They are not complete documents, and many words are missing.

1.4 Aims and assumptions

In Section 1.3, I have presented a list of Bactrian sources and the names of people who have worked on this language. During recent years, many works have been published, especially articles. Many of these are corrections, reviews and notices of older studies. Most researchers have concentrated more on philology and etymology, and only a few grammatical points can be found in their works.

J. Harmatta gives some grammatical information in his articles such as "The great Bactrian inscription" (1964), "Minor Bactrian inscriptions" (1965) and "Late Bactrian inscriptions" (1969). For example, he discusses the function of conjunctions in the Surkh Kotal inscription.

G. Djelani Davary was the first person to write about the morphology of Bactrian. His dictionary of Bactrian includes a very short sketch of Bactrian morphology.[53] This chapter consists of seven sections: Substantives, adjectives, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, preverbs, and verbal endings. In four pages, he introduces only a few examples of these categories and gives their etymologies.

In 1984, Gilbert Lazard, Franz Grenet and Charles de Lamberterie wrote "Notes bactriennes". This article is a new review of the Surkh Kotal inscription and includes a short section on nominal flection in Bactrian.

In 1985, Sims-Williams published "a note on Bactrian phonology"[54] and, in 1989, the articles "Bactrian" in *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum* and "Bactrian language" in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* III. In the last two articles, he describes some important grammatical

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[46] See Sims-Williams 2000b: 10-12 and 2000a.

[47] See Sims-Williams 2002a: 226.

[48] See Sims-Williams 2007a: 53-167.

[49] See Sims-Williams 2002a: 226.

[50] See Sims-Williams 2007a: 174-177.

[51] See Sims-Williams 2000, in *Buddhist Manuscripts*, ed. J. Braarvig, vol. 1, Oslo, pp. 275-77. In Internet: http://schoyencollection.com/greekdocscr.html.

[52] See Sims-Williams 2007a: 170-171.

[53] Davary 1982: 140-144.

[54] Sims-Williams 1985: 111-116.

points of Bactrian. These articles provided the most detailed description of Bactrian and its morphology.

Sims-Williams has also published *Bactrian Documents* I (2000) and II (2007), which includes notes on the orthography and grammar of Bactrian.[55] The glossary of these books also includes some grammatical points.

Other articles of Sims-Williams also contain information on Bactrian grammar.

In 2003, Tremblay investigated the function of the past participle with the copula in his article "La résurrection du Bactrien".

In the same year, Yoshida wrote a review of Sims-Williams' *Bactrian Documents* I and mentions some grammatical points. In "The great Surkh Kotal inscription", he reviewed the old readings and interpretations of this inscription and also briefly discussed several grammatical features.

The most recent works on Bactrian grammar are two articles by Sims-Williams, "Differential object marking in Bactrian",[56] and "Remarks on the phonology of the Manichaean Bactrian fragment (M 1224)";[57] and three articles by Gholami on ergativity,[58] demonstrative determiners and pronouns,[59] and definite articles.[60]

As the above information shows, no study has been specifically devoted to Bactrian grammar and especially to its syntax. The only article on the subject of syntax was authored by Sims-Williams in 1973. In this short article, he analyses three examples of syntactic features of the Nokonzok inscription.

It was mainly for this reason that I decided to work on some important grammatical points in Bactrian. I selected a limited set of topics which were relatively unknown or which could show the unique character of this language. In this study, I aim to investigate various phonological, morphological, and syntactical features in Bactrian.

The text corpus used for this investigation is comprised of the texts edited by Sims-Williams as *Bactrian Documents* (henceforth abbreviated as *BD*) I (legal and economic documents) and *BD* II (letters), the Rabatak inscription edited by Sims-Williams 2004 (2008), and the Kanishka inscription of Surkh Kotal (Lazard, Grenet and de Lamberterie 1984). The data for the linguistic investigation come from a selection of published articles, books and Internet sites. Details on these sources are provided in the footnotes and in the list of references.

This study includes the following parts: After Chapter One, that is, the introduction, in Chapter Two, "Historical phonology of Bactrian", I discuss the historical phonology of Bactrian, that is, the development of Old Iranian consonants and vowels in the Bactrian language.

In Chapter Three, I focus on noun phrases. The major aim of this chapter is to investigate the syntactical position of different kinds of nouns and their relationship in a sentence. The other topic to be addressed in this chapter is that of nominal sentences.

In Chapter Four, the different types of pronouns are discussed. The focus here is on their syntactical properties.

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[55] Sims-Williams 2007a: 38-49.

[56] Sims-Williams 2011a: 23-38.

[57] Sims-Williams 2011b: 244-251

[58] Gholami 2009b: 132-141

[59] Gholami 2009a: 19-26

[60] Gholami 2011: 11-22.

In Chapter Five, the function and syntactical position of prepositions and postpositions are discussed. In Chapter Six, adverbs are described in terms of their formation. I also focus on the proximate and remote deixis adverbs as well as their different syntactic positions.

The main aim of Chapter Seven is to introduce the various kinds of conjunctions and their functions in Bactrian.

In Chapter Eight, the previously unresearched aspects of the Bactrian verb are discussed. This chapter contains discussion of the syntactical position of the verb and its agreement with subject, and also of the passive and ergative constructions in Bactrian. The last part of this chapter treats the auxiliary verb.

In Chapter Nine, I examine word order in clauses with transitive or intransitive verbs, and also provide an investigation of double object constructions. Finally in Chapter Ten, I present a study of the different types of compounds in Bactrian. I describe first the grammatical features of compound elements, and then I describe their semantic relationship to each other.

2. CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY OF BACTRIAN[61]

The purpose of this chapter is to update the research on the historical phonology of Bactrian according to the new findings of Bactrian materials, which were published 2000 and 2007 by Sims-Williams. He described Bactrian phonology in two articles,[62] with his investigation based on the materials which had come to light up to that time. A question that arises here is whether the new findings will cause revision of the results of the older studies.

For this purpose, the development of the Proto Indo-Iranian phonemes[63] to Bactrian will first be discussed in detail. As Bactrian is a transitional Iranian language, it will be also important to identify the Eastern and Western phonological characteristics in this language.

The study of phonology of Bactrian is faced with several problems. As this language is written in a variety of the Greek script, it is sometimes difficult to determine the exact characteristics of orthographic symbols, especially in the case of the long vowels and the consonants σ and ζ. In this respect, an unique Bactrian text in Manichean script could be very helpful.[64] In many cases we observe more than one unexpected outcome of an Old Iranian consonant or vowel in Bactrian. This may introduce either a loanword or an archaism. It is not really clear whether we have more than one Bactrian dialect. Some material also show a different variety from what we regularly find.

The first part of this chapter focuses on simple consonants and then on consonant clusters. The second part focuses on the vowel system as well as the combination of vowels and consonants, and it also outlines the special phonological characteristics of Bactrian.

2.1 Consonants

2.2 Simple Consonants

In this section, the development of PIr. simple consonants in different positions is analysed.

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[61] I would like to take this opportunity to express my special gratitude to Agnes Korn for her very helpful comments and suggestions on the present chapter.

[62] Cf. Sims-Williams 1989a and 1989b.

[63] The analysis is accompanied by an assessment of the etymology of the Bactrian forms mentioned in Sims-Williams's Lexicon in the glossary of *BD II*.

[64] This fragment is published by Sims-Williams. See Sims-Williams 2009: 245-268, for the phonology of this fragment see Sims-Williams 2011: 244-251.

2.2.1 PIr. plosives

2.2.1.1 PIr. *p, *t, *k

Table 2. Proto-Iranian plosives

PIr.	Initial position		Internal position	
	Bac. script	Phonetic value	Bac. script	Phonetic value
p	π-	p-	-β-, -ββ- (only in αββο)	-v-, -b-
t	τ-	t-	-δ-, -δδ-	-đ-, -d-
k	κ-	k-	-γ-	-g-
č	σ-	ts-	-σ-	-ts-
b	β-	v	-β-	-v-
d	λ-	l-	-λ-	-l-
g	γ-	γ	-γ-	-γ-
ǰ	ζ-	z-, dz- (?), ž- (?)	-ζ-	-z-, -dz- (?), -ž- (?)

The development of PIr. plosives is not uniform in Bactrian. In general, the word-initial plosives *# p, *t, *k seem to have been preserved without any change. The inter-vocalic *-p-, *-t-, *-k- have progressed to <β>, <δ>, <γ>. In the following, the details of this development and some of the special characteristics are presented.

p

PIr. *#p is preserved in Bactrian:

*# p> p

Examples: πανζο "five" < *panča-, παρασαρλο "last year" < *parā-sardV-, παλο "family" < *pada-, πουρο "son" <*puθra-

In general, the internal *-p- between two vowels is changed to <β>:

*-p- > v and b

It is not clear exactly in which position the letter β represents the sound *b* and in which position it represents *v*. The Bactrian fragment in Manichean script has two different letters *b* and *β*, representing the sounds [b] and [v], respectively. In this fragment, only three words possess *b*. These are b'gyg [65] "having a share" (also b'gy(g) ynd), bwt "Buddha" and źmbwd'ng "worldly, earthly". It seems that in Manichaen Bactrian, only *β* is used, and it represents *v*, whereas *b* can be seen only in loanwords. The Manichaen form (y)'β "water" shows, at least at this stage of the language, that OIr. postvocalic *p developed to [v]. It is also important to know how Graeco-Bactrian <β> should be pronounced. The question is whether it always stands for [v], or whether in certain cases it stands for [b]. The double -ββ- in the Graeco-Bactrian form αββο "water" <*āp- may represent [b], which distinguishes this word from the preposition αβο [av] "to". As δδ represents [d], and not fricative [đ], -ββ- may represent [b], and not fricative [v]. Unfortunately, there is no other example of the occurrence of -ββ-.

In some compounds in which the second element begins with *p, *p seems to be preserved, for example, in υαλοπισαγο "mutual agreement" <*hada-pati-sākā. In υαμοπαλο "accordingly"(?) < *hama-pada-, *p is preserved, but in another variant of this word, namely, αμβαλο, *p has developed to <β>. The variant υαμοπαλο is attested in documents from 379/380 A.D., whereas αμβαλο occurs in documents from 417/418 A.D.. The question is whether the variant υαμοπαλο is older and whether *p is changed to <β>, namely [v], in such a context in

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[65] According to Sims-Williams "the writing with *b-* and *g-* for expected β and γ suggests a loanword from Western Iranian…, possibly from Parthian." cf. Sims-Williams 2009: 258.

later texts. Here, we look at other examples in order to find an answer to our question. In λαþνοβωστογο < *dāšinV-pawasta-ka-"deed of gift" (in document C from 379/380 A.D.), *p has developed to [v]. In λαþνοπαλαþνοβωστιγο <*dāšinV-pati-dāšin (in document W from 747 A.D.), the first *p is preserved. The document W represents the preservation of two varieties, namely, the preservation and changing of *p.

t

*# t > t

Initial * *t* is preserved in Bactrian:

Examples: τα "then" < *tā, ταβ- "to impress"< *tāpa-.

*t > d, đ

Post vocalic *t* has developed to <δδ> and <δ>. The question is whether <δδ> actually represents a double consonant or if it is here an attempt to distinguish [d] and [δ].

The letter δ is always doubled before palatal vowels <η> and <ι> in the later texts,[66] for example, εζδδηβιδο "with the cognizance of", αγαδδηιο"you brought" (?) ,κιρδδιμο "I did", πιδδι "in this". According to Sims-Williams, the writing δδ indicates [dd] resulting from the assimilation of [dy] from palatalized [d]. He mentions the sequence of forms ταδηια/ταδηιο [tādē(i)] (Rabatak, Surkh Kotal, etc.) > ταδοιηιο [tādyē(i)] (in unpublished documents, including two dated in the years 157 and 195=389 and 427 A.D.), > ταδδηιο [tāddē(i)] (in documents from years 446-527=678-759 A.D.).[67] Regarding the above examples and information, we can conclude that <δδ> represents [d], and <δ> shows fricative [đ], which we expect in Eastern Middle Iranian Languages.

In the following examples, post vocalic *t has developed to <δ> namely [đ]:

Examples: οδο "and" < *uta-, πιδο "to, on, by, at" <*pati-

In ραμοσητο "the spirit Ram" < *rāmācaita-, postvocalic t is preserved. This word is probably a loanword from Sogdian r'mcytk[68].

In απισοδαρο <*pasča-tara-, *t has developed to [đ], but in another variant of this word, namely, απισταρο is preserved. απισταρο occurs two times, once in xp (uncertain date) and twice in Q (c. 671 A.D.). απισοδαρο is attested in documents cc, ci (c. 379/380 A:D.) and xe (uncertain date). It is difficult to believe that [đ] is older than [t]. This is only one occurrence of απισταρο in newer documents, and we can not conclude with certainty that it is an old variant. It is possible that both of these variants were known around 671 A.D., even though the variant with [t] must be the older one.

The following examples with initial δ- seem to be native Bactrian words:

Examples: δαγογγο "such, in this way" < *aităt-gauna-ka, δανομανο "such-and-such" < *aităt-nmān-a-, δαφρηλο "so much" < *aităt-frāyah-.[69]

k

*k in initial position is preserved:

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[66] Sims-Williams 2007a: 38

[67] Sims-Williams 1998a: 197

[68] Suggested to me by Sims-Williams.

[69] In these examples, *ai- has disappeared. The shortening or ultimate disappearance of Old Iranian long vowels or diphthongs in certain circumstances is one of the Eastern Middle Iranian charachteristics, for example, *aizma > Sogdian zm-, Chwaresmian (')zm. Cf. Sims-Williams 1989b: 168.

 # k- > k

Examples: καδαμο "whatever" < *katāma-, καδγο "house" < *kataka-, καλδο "when, if" < *kadā + -δο

-k- > g[70]

In the postvocalic position, *k is changed to <γ>. The question is whether <γ> represents [g] or [γ], or both of them. In the Manichaen Bactrian fragment, there are separate letters for [g] or [γ], but they are very similar. According to Sims-Williams, "Old Iranian postvocalic *k had developed only as far as the plosive [g], as exemplified by βrg and many other words with suffixal *-k-."[71]Other examples of this development are ιωγο (Manich. ywg) "one, a, a certain" <*aiwaka-, ζαμιγο "ground" < *zamīkā-.

There are also some examples of the preservation of *k under special conditions. It seems that *k in the initial position of the second element in a compound could be preserved, and in this environment, it functions as an initial *k:

Examples: νακανδο "to dig" < *ni-kanta-, πιδοκαρδο "retention" <*pati-karda-

2.2.1.2 PIr. *b, *d, *g

PIr *b, *d, *g are represented by Bactrian [v], [l], [γ]. As mentioned in (2.2.1.1), *b is preserved only in loanwords and after nasals in the Manichaen Bactrian fragment.[72]

b > <β>=[v]

Examples: αβαρ- "to bring" < *ābara-, ασβαρο "horseman" < *aspa-bāra-, βαγο "god" < *baga-

The *d is changed to *l:*[73]

d > l

Examples: λαρζο "subject to restrictions" < *dărzV-, λαυ- "to give" < *daθa-, λιστο "hand" < *dasta-, *αλο, αλα- "with" < * hada-, αρλο "side" < *arda-, καρλ- "to detain" < *karda-, μαλαχο "locust" < *madaxa, μολο "wine" < *madu-

The PIr. *d is only preserved in loanwords in the form of <δ> and <δδ>, for example, δινο/δδινο "name of the twenty-fourth day of the month" < *dayanā- (MP dēn), δοδαγο "family" (MP dūdag), and in the form <Δ> (in documents from the seventh and eighth centuries), for example, in Δραχμο[74] "dirham" (Gk. δραχμή).[75] The question is how δ, δδ and Δ must be pronounced. According to Sims-Williams, in some cases, Δ seems to have the same function as δδ. Possibly δδ and Δ indicate [d], and δ represents fricative [đ].[76] It is interesting to note that in some cases, all of these three variants are attested, for example, διναρο/δδιναρο/Διναρο "dinar". The issue to be addressed here then, is this: Why do we have three variants of "dinar" and what is the difference between them? As this form is a Greek loanword in Bactrian, we must look at the Greek language and the kind of <δ>. It seems that the plosive d is changed to đ by the

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[70] In the following examples, it is not clear whether the outcome is *g* or *γ*:
αγιρο "ineffective" < *a-karya-, αγισινδο "dissatisfied" < *aka-sandV-, οιγαλφο "witness" <*wi-kāθwan(?). According to Tremblay 2003: 132-3, the Bactrian form οιγαλφο is in origin an abstract *wi-kawya-θwa- Sims-Williams 2007a: 246.

[71] Sims-Williams 2011: 246

[72] Cf. Sims-Williams 2011: 246

[73] According to Sims-Williams, *d has developed via *δ to l Sims-Williams 1989a: 233.

[74] δδραχμο is also attested.

[75] For the circumstances of Δ, see Sims-Williams 2007a: 38-39.

[76] Sims-Williams 2007a: 39

second century A.D.[77] It means that a plosive is older than a fricative in a language like Greek. The first occurrence of διναρο (with a fricative đ) appears by the fourth century in Bactrian documens. It seems that at the time of the entrance of διναρο into Bactrian, the new Greek form, namely, with a fricative δ, is accepted, and then within Bactrian, it developed to a plosive. We can observe that δδιναρο (with a plosive d) occurs after 517 A.D., and Δδιναρο around 771 A.D.

*g has developed to γ:

*g > γ**[78]**

Examples: αγαδο (past stem) "to come" < *ā-gata-, ωγοτο(past stem) "to conceal"(?) (Manich. 'wγwt) <*awa-gušta-, βαγο "god" < *baga-

It must be added that <γγ> represents [ŋg].

2.2.1.3 PIr. *č, *ǰ

It seems that Bactrian, as other Eastern Middle Iranian languages, though with the exception of Sogdian, participates in the depalatalization of *č to ʦ and *ǰ to ʣ.

*č

*č is changed to <σ> in Bactrian. The Greek and Manichean script does not reflect the exact phonetic value of this consonant. We can only say that it is not a simple *s*, but it is not absolutely clear whether it is actually an affricate ʦ. It probably has two different phonological values, namely [ʦ] and [s]. When it derives from *č, it represents [ʦ] and if it derives from *s, it indicates [s]. The only exception is ασο "from", in Manichaen, 's. Even though this preposition derives from *hača, it is pronounced according to the Manichaen form as [as]. According to Sims-Williams, it was probably a proclitic and may attest a simplification of final [ʦ] to [s] in sandhi before certain consonants.[79]

*č > ʦ

Examples: σαζαμανο "as soon as" < *čiyāt-ǰamǎn-, σανο "pleasure" < *čanah-, σηρο "use" (?) < *čārya-, (α)σιδο[80] "what, which" < *čim + -δο, πισο (Manichaen: pyc) "in the presence of".<*patīčā

The last example, namely, πισο, shows that [ʦ] may also occur after palatal vowels.[81]

*ǰ

According to Sims-Williams, the Manichaen script distinguishes between at least two, and perhaps three different sounds, namely, <z>, <ǰ>,[82] and <j>,[83] which are all written with the letter <ζ> in the Graeco-Bactrian script. It is impotant to know which of these would be the outcome of *ǰ. In the Manichaen fragment, we have two outcomes, namely, <ǰ> and <j> for *ǰ, as shown in the following examples:

Examples: ǰyn'g "body" < ǰīnā-kā-/ǰayanā-kā-, 'wjyd "to kill" <*awa-ǰata-

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[77] Browning 1983: 26-27

[78] It is not clear where this letter represents *g* and in which position it is used for γ. In the Manichaean fragment, it is also difficult to recognize these very similar letters, cf. Sims-Williams 2011: 244.

[79] Sims-Williams 2011: 247

[80] According to Sims-Williams, (ə) ʦid, Sims-Williams 2011: 247.

[81] This is also mentioned by Sims-Williams 2011: 247

[82] Sims-Williams transliterated this sound as z′ in Sims-Williams 2009.

[83] For further discussion on these three sounds, see Sims-Williams 2011: 247-249.

It is not clear whether it is really a difference between <j> and <ǰ>. According to Sims-Williams, <ǰ> represents [dz] (and [ʤ]?), and <j> may show [ʒ] (and [ʤ]?).

2.2.2 PIr. fricatives and affricates

2.2.2.1 PIr. *f, *θ, *x

Table 3. Proto-Iranian fricatives and affricates

PIr.	Both initial and internal position	
	Bac. script	**Phonetic value**
f	φ	f
θ	υ	h
x	χ	x
s	σ	s, ś (after a palatal vowel)
z	ζ	z
š	þ	š
h	υ	h

PIr. *f and *x are preserved in Bactrian, and *θ has developed to *h*:

*f > f

Examples: φαρδαρο "more" < *faru-tara-, φαρο "glory" <*farnah, παδοφρασο "punishment" < *pāti-frāsā-, μιυροναφρανο "west" < *miθra-nifrāna-

*θ > h [84]

Examples: υαγγο "load" < *θanga-, αναυαγδο "without deduction" (?) < *an-ā-θaxta-[85]

In one instance, θ is preserved in ιθαο "thus" < *iθā. This word could be a loanword or it may be an archaism.

*x > x

Examples: χαλ- "to prick" < *xada-, χανο "house" < *xānā-, χαρο "donkey" < *xara-, αχασ- "to quarell" < *ā-xasa-, πορογηζ- "to serve" < *pari-xaiza-

2.2.2.2 PIr. *s, *z

*s

As mentioned above, σ has different phonological values, for example, it may represent [ts], when it derives from Old Iranian *č. Another function of σ can be a development of *s. In Manichean script, there are two different forms as the output of *s, that is, s and ś.

*s > s

Examples: σαβολο "jar" < *sapauda-, σαγδο "level" < *sātaka-, σαδο "hundred" < *sata-, ασαδαγο "accrued" < *ā-sāta-ka-, κασοκο "little" < *kasu-ka- , αχασ- < *ā-xasa- "to quarrel"

*s > ś

According to Sims-Williams, we find ś after a palatal vowel , e.g., hβyśznng "of many kinds" (υαβισο "much, many" <*ha-bai-sah + ζαγγο "manner, way" <*zanaka-)

---

[84] The development of *θ to *h* in Bactrian, is also mentioned by Wendtland 2009:176-177.
[85] In one instance, θ is changed to *x* in the consonant cluster in ζαχμο "wound" <*ǰa(n)θma(n)- . This word may be a loanword.

*z

Without any doubt, we can claim that *z has developed only to z:

*z > z

Examples: ζαμιγο "ground" < *zamīkā-, ζαν- "to know" < *zāna-, αζαδο "free" < *āzāta-, αζο "I" < *azam

2.2.2.3 PIr. *š

It seems that there are two different outcomes for *š in Bactrian, namely, š and *h*:

*-š- > š

Examples: αζγαþ- "to dissent" (?) < *uz-gaša- (?), λαþνο "gift" < *dāšinV-, νιþαλμο "seat" < *ni-šadman-, παχþιιο "relation by marriage" < pagVšaka-, φριχηþ "to seduce" (?) < *fra-xrāšaya-, χαþιγο "clothing" < *xāša-ka-

*-š- > h

Examples: ασνωυο "daughter in law" < *snušā, ειμουανο "these" < *imaišanām, ναγαυ-/νιγαυ "to hear" < *ni-gauša-, ναυαþτο "to settle" < *ni-šašta-

2.2.2.4 PIr. *h

Generally **h* is preserved in both initial and internal position:

*h > h

Examples: υαβισο "much, many" < *habi-sah-, υαζαρο "thousand" < *hazahra-, υαμγο "same" < *hama-ka-, παδουαμονδο "boundary" < *pāti-ham-ant-iya-, πιδοοαυανο "request" < *pati-wahana-

It seems that **h* could have disappeared in some cases. In the case of the word "month", we observe both developments, that is, it can be preserved, such as in μαυο "month" < māhV-, or it can disappear, as in μαο "month" < māhV-. A word-initial *h is lost very often, for example, **αλο, αλα-* "with" < *hada-, αλωγδο "fully privileged"< *hada-uxta- "possessing (the right of) speech", αγγαργο "property" < *ham-kāraka-, αγγιτι "to receive" < *ham-kašta-, αμβαγδο "to give away" < *ham-baxta-

There are also other examples of the omission of h. It seems that *h can have disappeared before a long vowel:

Examples: ναμαγγο "dowry" < *namah-āna-ka-, οασαρο "market" < *wahā-čarana-

2.2.3 PIr. Sonorants

Table 4. Proto Iranian Sonorants

PIr.	Both initial and internal position	
	Bac. script	**Phonetic value**
m	μ	m
n	ν	n
r	ρ	r
w	ο	w
y	ι	y

2.2.3.1 PIr. *m, *n

The OIr. nasals are preserved in Bactrian.

*m > m

Examples: μαλαχο "locust" < *madaxa, μιργο "chicken" < *mr̥ga-, μανο "mind" < *māna-, αζγαμο "produce" < *uz-gāma-, καδαμο "whatever" < *katāma-, κιμ- "to want" < *kāmaya-

*-n- > n

Examples: νακανδο "to dig" < *ni-kanta-, ναμαγο "list" < *nāmaka-, ναμο "name" < *nāman-, κινο "revenge" < *kainā-, καρανο "direction, side" < *karān-a-

2.2.3.2 PIr.*r

r is preserved in Bactrian:

*-r- > -r-

Examples: ραγο "plain" < *rāgā-, ραζ- "to call" < *rāza-, ρωσο "day" < *raučah-, αβαρ- "to bring" < *ā-bara-, ανδαρο "other" < *antara-, ασβαρο "horseman" < *aspa-bāra-

2.2.3.3 PIr. *w

Bactrian preserves the *w in both initial and internal positions:

*w > w

Examples: οαζ- "to use" < *waza-, οασαρο "market" < *wahā-čarana-, ταοανο "fine" < *tāwāna

2.2.3.4 PIr. *y

*y

y is consistently preserved in Bactrian:

*y > y

Examples: ιαοηδανο "eternal" < *yāwai-tāna-, ιαοι, ιαο, ιαοο "grain, corn" < *yawa-, ιογδιγο "pair" < *yuxta-ka-, ιονο "apprentice" < *yuwan-a- or yūn-a-

2.2.4 Summary of the system of consonants

According to the above discussion and examples, we can summarize the consonant system in Bactrian as follows:

Table 5. The basic consonantal system

		bilabial/ labiodental	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar/ glottal
plosive/affricate	voiceless	p	t	ts	č	k
	voiced	b	d	dz	ǰ	g
fricative	voiceless	f	θ	s	š	x
	voiced	β	δ	z	ž	γ
nasal		m		n		η
glide		w	l	r	y	h

2.3 Consonant clusters

Table 6. Consonant clusters

PIr.	Bac. script	Phonetic value	Details in Chapter
Plosive + Plosive			
gd	γδ	γd	2.3.1.1
Plosive + Africate			
tč	σ and once ζζ	ts	2.3.1.2
Plosive + Nasal			
gn	γν	γn	2.3.1.3
Plosive + Approximant			
dy	λ	l	2.3.1.4
Plosive + Trill			
dr	λρ, δρ	lr, dr	2.3.1.5
Nasal + Plosive			
nt	νδ	nd	2.3.2.1
ntč	νζ	nz (?)	2.3.2.1
nd	νδ	nd	2.3.2.1
nk	γγ	ŋg	2.3.2.1
mb	μβ	mv	2.3.2.1
mk	γγ	ŋg	2.3.2.1
Nasal + fricative			
nθ	υ	h	2.3.2.2
ns	σ	s (?)	2.3.2.2
Nasal + Africates			
nč	νζ	ndz	2.3.2.3
nǰ	νζ	ndz	2.3.2.3

Continuation of Table 6. Consonant clusters

PIr.	Bac. script	Phonetic value	Details in Chapter
Fricative + Plosives			
ft	βδ	vd	2.3.3.1
xt	γδ	γd	2.3.3.1
st	στ	st	2.3.3.1
sp	σπ	sp	2.3.3.1
št	þτ, τ	št, t	2.3.3.1
zd	ζδ, ζ	zd, z	2.3.3.1
šk	þκ	šk	2.3.3.1
sk	σκ	sk	2.3.3.1
Fricative + Fricative			
xs	χσ	xs	2.3.3.2
#fš	φ, χ	f, x	2.3.3.2
-fš-	φþ, φ	fš, f	2.3.3.2
#xš	þ, χ	š, x	2.3.3.2
-xš-	χþ, χ	xš,x	2.3.3.2
#xšn	χν	xn	2.3.3.2
xšt	χτ, χþ	xt, xš	2.3.3.2
štk	þκ	šk	2.3.3.2
Fricative + Africative			
sč	σ	t͡s	2.3.3.3
Fricative + Nasal			
xm	χμ	xm	2.3.3.4
šm	υμ, μ	hm, m	2.3.3.4
hm	υμ	hm	2.3.3.4
sn	σν	sn	2.3.3.4
šn	þν	šn	2.3.3.4
zn	ζν	zn	2.3.3.4
Fricative + Trill			
fr	φρ	fr	2.3.3.5
fra	φρο	fr(ə)	2.3.3.5
#sr	þ	š	2.3.3.5
-str-	þ	š	2.3.3.5
θr	υρ, ρ	hr, r	2.3.3.5
hr	ρ	r	2.3.3.5
xr	χρ	xr	2.3.3.5
Fricative + Approximant			
θw	λφ	lf	2.3.3.6
#dw	λβ, β	lβ, β	2.3.3.6
xw	χο	xo	2.3.3.6
hw	χο	xo	2.3.3.6
θy	ι	i	2.3.3.6
zy	ζ	z	2.3.3.6
sy#	σ	s	2.3.3.6
Africates + Approximant			
čy	þ, σ	š, ś	2.3.4.1
ǰy	ζ	ž (?)	2.3.4.1

Continuation of Table 6. Consonant clusters

PIr.	Bac. script	Phonetic value	Details in Chapter
Trill + Plosives			
rt	ρδ	rd	2.3.5.1
rd	ρδ, once ρλ	rd, once rl	2.3.5.1
Trill + Fricative			
rš	þ	š	2.3.5.2
rž	ζ	z	2.3.5.2
rz	ρζ	rz	2.3.5.2
rs	ρσ	rs	2.3.5.2
rst	þτ	št	2.3.5.2
Trill + Nasal			
rn	ρ	r	2.3.5.3
rm	ρμ	rm	2.3.5.3
Approximant + r			
wr	ρ	r	2.3.6.1

2.3.1 Combination with plosives

Some typical cases of the development of consonant clusters are listed here:

2.3.1.1 Plosive + Plosive

*gd

*gd > γd

Example: λογδο "daughter" < *dugdā

2.3.1.2 Plosive + Affricate

*-tč-

*-tč- > ts <σ> and once <ζζ>

Examples: γασικο "concubine" < *gāta-čī-, λοχσο "pail" < *duxta-čī, παρσο "back, afterwards" < *paršti-čī-, λαρσο "illness" < *darta-čiya-, ποζζο "debt" < *partu-čī- or *partu-čiya-

2.3.1.3 Plosive + Nasal

*-gn-

*-gn- > γn

Example: οιγνο "famine" < *waignā-

2.3.1.4 Plosives + Approximant

*-dy-

*-dy > l

Example: μιλανο "middle" < *madyāna(ka)-

2.3.1.5 Plosives + Trill

*dr

*dr > lr > dr

Old Iranian *dr had developed to <λρ>=[lr], <δδρ>=[dr] and <δρ>=[đr]. It seems that [lr] is older than [dr] and [đr]. A good example showing this development is the word λρογο/δδρογο <

*druwa-ka- "in good health". λρογο occurs very often in old texts between 359 and 472 A.D., whereas δδρογο is attested in a document from 700 A.D. (document T).[86] Another example is λρωγο/δδρωγο "falsehood" < *drauga-. λρωγο is attested in document cg (379/380 A.D.), whereas the form δδρωγο occurs between the seventh and eighth centuries.[87] We can find the same development for internal *dr as initial *dr. μαλρο as the name of a city and district is used in document J (about 517 A.D.) and μαδδρο in document U (about 712 A.D.). It must be added that both <δδρ> and <Δρ> in δραχμο/Δραχμο are used between the seventh and eighth centuries.

2.3.2 Combination with nasals

2.3.2.1 Nasal + Plosive

*-nt-

*-nt- > nd

Examples: αχανδ- "to control" (?) < *xšayant-a-, ζοοινδογο "living" < *jīwantaka-, νακανδο "to dig" < *ni-kanta-, οαρσοχοανδο "wonderful" < *warčahwant-

*ntč

*ntč > nζ

Example: φινζο "lady" < *fšuyant-ī-čī

   PIr. *nd is preserved as such:

*-nd-

*-nd- > nd

Examples: βανδαγο "servant" < *bandaka-, κανδογοληρο "keeper of the granary" < *kandu-kā + ληρο, γανδομο "wheat" < *ganduma-, ναβανδο "beside" < *ni-band V, νοβανδανο "established custom" (?) < *ni-band-anā-, πησινδ- "to approve" < *pati-sandaya-, σινδ- "to wish" < *sandaya-, υοσινδο "pleased" < *hu-sanda-, υονοσινδο "content" < *hu-ni-sandV-

*-nk-

*-nk- > ng <γγ>

Examples: -λαγγο "containing" <*dāna-ka, ζαγγο "manner" < *zanaka-, -ηγγο, -ιγγο (suffix) < *aina-ka-, ναμαγγο "dowry" < * namah-āna-ka-, πιζαγγο "knowledge" < *pati-zāna-ka-,-σαγγο (suffix) < *čāna-ka-

*-mb-

*-mb- > mv

αμβαγδο "to give away" < *ham-baxta-, σταμβο "to injury" < *stambV-

*-mp-

*-mp- > mv

Example: αμβαρο "store" < *ham-pārV-

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[86] δδρογο is also attested in another document (jh). The time of this document is not clear, but according to Sims-Williams, jc-ji are all shown to be late by the doubling of δ before palatal vowels and the use of the letter transliterated Δ. Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 26.

[87] This form occurs in documents W, Q, T, U, and X.

*-mk-

*-mk- > ng

Examples: αγγαργο "property" < *ham-kāraka-, πιδαγγηρ- "to agree" < *pati-ham-kāraya-, αγγιτι (past stem) "to receive" < *ham-kašta-

2.3.2.2 Nasal + fricative

*nθ

*nθ > h

Examples: ζαουοζαδγο "natural" < *zanθa- "birth" (?) or *zanθu- "family" + *zātaka- or *hu-zātaka- (may be because of nθ), ζαυρο "killing" < *janθra-

*-ns-

*-ns- > s

Example: ναβισ- "to write" < *ni-pinsa-

2.3.2.3 Nasal + Affricates

*nč

After a nasal č is changed to z:

*nč > ndz

Examples: πανζασο "fifty" < *pančāsat-, πανζο "five" < *panča-,

*nǰ

*nǰ > ndz

Examples: ρανζο "quickly" < *ranǰyah-, αλφανζ- "to acquire"< *θwanǰa-

2.3.3 Combination with fricatives

2.3.3.1 Fricative + Plosives

*ft [88] is developed to *vd* in Bactrian:

*ft > vd

Examples: γαβδδιγο "exerting oneself" < *gaf-ta-ka-, ταβδο (past stem to ταβ- "impress") < *tafta-, πιδοροβδο "received" < *pati-gr̥fta-

*xt[89]

*-xt- > γd

Examples: αλωγδο "fully privileged"< *hada-uxta- "possessing (the right of) speech", αμβαγδο (past stem)"to give away" < *ham-baxta-, αναυαγδο "without deduction" (?) < *an-ā-θaxta-

*-xt- > γ(ə)d

Examples: αβαυαγαδο "to charge" < *apa- θaxta "deducted", οισαγαδο "accounted" (?) < *wi-saxta-, σαγαδο (?) (past stem to σαχσ-) "to be assessed" < saxta-

There is one example in which **xt* is preserved. This word is probably a loanword from MMP/Pth. *sxt*: σαχτο "elapsed" <*saxta-

---

[88] Fort the development of **ft* in Pamir languages, see Wendtland 2009: 176.

[89] See also Wendtland 2009: 175.

*st

st is always preserved:

*st > st

Examples: στοργο "great" < *stūraka-, σταμβο "to injury" < *stambV-, αστο "be present" < *asti-, αβαστανο "support" < *upa-stāna-, βαστο "to bind"<*basta-.

*sp

The initial and internal *sp is preserved in Bactrian:

*sp > sp

Examples: σπαδοζαγγο "on bended knee" < *spāta-zānu-ka, σπαλιγο "jar" < *spādaka-, σπασο "service" < *spāsV-, ασπασο "service" < *spāsV-, ασπισ "to serve" < *spasya-, ασπασιγο "groom" < *spāsiyaka-, ασπο "horse" < *aspa-, οισπο "all" < *wispa-, βαιιασπανο "messenger" < *dwayaspāna-

Only once *sp* is changed to *sv* in a loanword:

ασβαρο "horseman" < *aspa-bāra-. This word might have been borrowed from MP aswār, MMP 'sw'r.

*št

*št > t

Examples: αταο "eight" < *aštā, νιτι "to send" < *ni-štāya-

*št > št

Examples: παþτο "agreement" < *pašti-, ραþτο "true, loyal" <*rašta-, ναυαþτο "to settle" < *ni-šāšta-

*zd

*zd seems to have two outcomes. It is possible that *d* will be shown to disappear in new material:

*-zd- > zd

Examples: βιζδανο "evil" < *bazdya- + suffix -δανο, νοζδο "near"< *nazdīyah-

*-zd- > z

Examples: βιζαγο "evil"[90] < *bazdya-kā-

*šk

*šk > šk

Example: αþκαρ- "to follow" < *škara-

*sk

*sk > sk

Examples: ασκαδαρο "more" <*uskād+suffix -δαρο, ασκανο "note" < *us-kānV

---

[90] This is the only attested example of the development of *zd to *z.

2.3.3.2 Fricative + Fricative

*xs

*-xs- > xs

Example: σαχσ- "to be assessed" < *saxsa-

*fš

It seems that in Bactrian, we have more than one outcome for the consonant cluster *fš:

*# fš-> f

Example: φινζο "lady" < *fšuyant-ī-čī

*# fš-> x

Example: χοβανο "shepherd" < *fšu-pāna-

*-fš-> fš

Example: καφþο "shoe" < *kafši-

*-fš-> f

Example: πιδοφαρο "honour" < *pati-fšarV-

The following table shows the frequency of different developments of **fš* in Bactrian:

Table 7. Development of PIr. *fš

phonological change	number of examples in our corpora
*#fš-> f	1
*#fš-> x	1
*-fš- > fš	1
*-fš- > f	1

*xš

In the case of this consonant cluster, we observe two different outcomes in both initial and internal position, which may reflect a dialectal difference (?):

*# xš- > š

Example: þυι "to be able" < *xšāya-[91]

*# xš- > x

Examples: χαβρωσο "(by) night and (by) day" < *xšapā- + ρωσο, χαρο "ruler" < xšāθriya-, (α)χανδ- "to control" < *xšayant-a-

*-xš- > xš

Example: παδαχþανο "having authority" < *pāti-xšāna-

*-xš- > x

Examples: οαχο "interest" < *waxša-, παδαχνωρο "recompense" < *pāti-xšnauθra-, χοατο "sixty" < *xšwašti-

---

[91] There are also other examples of the development of **xš* to *š*, but these words are probably Middle Persian loanwords: þαο "king" < *xšāwā, þαραβο "satrap" < *xšaθra-pā, þαρο "city" < *xšaθra-. In the case of þιζγο "good" < *xšiǰa-ka-, the etymology is unclear. For that reason, the best example of this development in Bactrian is the word þυι, which is mentioned above.

In the following table, the frequency is shown of different developments of *xš in our Bactrian corpora:

*Table 8. Development of PIr. *xš*

phonological change	number of examples
*# xš- > š	4
*# xš- > x	3
*-xš- > xš	2
*-xš- > x	2

*xšn

*#xšn > xn

Example: (α)χνωρο "satisfaction" < *xšnauθra-

*xšt

The consonant cluster *xšt has two different outcomes, which may show a dialectal difference:

*-xšt- > xt

Examples: αλοσιχτογο "inclined" < αλο + *čixšta-ka-, νιβιχτο (Past stem) "to write"< *ni-pixšta-

*-xšt- > xš

Example: λαχþατανιγο "place of cremation" < *λαχþατανο (< *daxštana) + suffix -ιγο

*štk

*-štk- > -šk-

Example: υαþκο "pupil" < *hāwišta-ka-

2.3.3.3 Fricative + affricative

*sč

*sč > ts

Example: πισο "before, in the presence of" < *pasča

As Greek σ is used both for *ts* and *s* in Bactrian, the question is whether σ represents [ts] or [s] in the above-mentioned context. It seems that **sč* developed to *ts* in Bactrian. πισο is attested in the Manichaen fragment in the form of ρyc [pits].

2.3.3.4 Fricative + Nasal

*xm

*-xm- > xm

Examples: λαχμιγο "place of burial" < *daxma-ka-, τοχμανο "seed" < *tauxman-a-, ταχμο "stream" < *taxman-

*šm

*šm could be changed to *hm* and *m*:

šm > hm > m

-šm- > hm

Example: λρουμινο "enemy" < *duš-manyu-, οαυμαρ "to account" < *wi-(hi)šmāra-

-šm- > m

Example: παμανο "wool" < *pašman-

*hm

hm > hm

Example: αυμαρο "account" < *ā-hmāra-

*sn (non-Persian)

 # sn > sn

Example: ασνωυο "daughter in law" < *snušā[92]

*šn

-šn- > šn

Example: βαμοþνο "queen" < *bāmušn-

*zn

-zn- > zn

Example: γαζνο "treasury" < *gazna-

2.3.3.5 Fricative + Trill

*fr

#fr- > fr

Example: φριαχοδαρο "more" < *frāyah-aka- + suffix -δαρο, φριο "dear" < *friya-

In the word-internal position, *fr* is also preserved:

Examples: δαφρηλο "so much" < *aitāt + frāyah- + suffix -ηλο, μιυροναφρανο "west" < *miθra-nifrāna-, παδοφρασο "punishment" < *pāti-frāsa-

*fra-

 # fra- > fr(ə)

Examples: φρητογο "messenger" < *fra-išta-ka-, φροβαζαχο "prostrate" < *fra-pāzah-wāh, φρομανο "command" < *fra-māna-, φρογαοο "profit" < *fra-gāwa-, φρογιþτιγο "part" < *fra-kṛsta-ka-, φρομανζο "commanding" < *fra-mānaka-, φρομανο "command" < *fra-māna-, φρομιγγο "hope" < *fra-manyu-kā, φρομι- "to order" < *fra-māya-, φροοησ- "to speak" <*fra-wāčaya-

*sr

As in other Eastern Iranian languages *sr is changed to š in Bactrian:

#sr > š

Example: þουο "fingernail" < *srū(-kā)

---

[92] This word is discussed in Korn 2005: 128.

*str

*-str- > š

Example: οαþο "hay" < *wāstra-

*θr

The development of the *θr- could be introduced as in the following:

*θr- > hr > r

*θr- > hr

Examples: πουρο "son" < *puθra-, μιυροασανο "west" < *miθrāsāna- "sunrise" (MP. xwarāsān), μιυροναφρανο "sunset" < *miθra-nifrāna-

*θr > r

Examples: αχνωρο "satisfaction" < *xšnauθra-, ασκωρο "serious" < *skauθra-

*hr

*-hr- > r

Example: υαζαρο "thousand" < *hazahra-

*xr

Bactrian preserves **xr*:

*# xr- > xr

Example: αχρινο "purchase" < *xray-anā-

*-xr- > xr[93]

Example: οιχρινο "hire" < *wi-xray-anā-

*# xr- > xir[94]

Example: χιρηγο "purchase" < *xraya-ka-

In both of following examples, we find metathesis:

χιρδο (past stem) "to buy" < *xrīta-, χιρσο "purchase" < *xrīti-čī

2.3.3.6 Fricative + Approximant

*θw

PIr. *θw is developed to *lf* in Bactrian:

*θw> lf

Examples: αλφανζ- "acquire" <*θwanǰa-, οιγαλφο "witness" <*wi-kāθwan, -ιλφο (suffix) < *-iya-θwa- (Pth. īf(t), MP īh)

*dw

The occurrence of *l* in αλβαρο proves that this is an original Bactrian word, and on these grounds, we can observe an original Bactrian development of PIr. * *dw* in this word.

It can therefore be concluded that the development of *#*dw* must be *lβ* in Bactrian:

---

[93] In one instance, it seems that **xr* is changed to *x*, which we do not expect in Bactrian: φριχηþ- "to seduce" (?) < fra-xrāšaya-

[94] It is possible that ι represents an omicron here.

*# dw- > lβ

Example: αλβαρο "court" < *dwar-a

There are two other examples in the extant materials which show the change of *dw to β.

As this development is not expected in Bactrian, these words could be regarded as either loanwords or representatives of another dialect of Bactrian:

*# dw> β

Examples: βαιιασπανο "messenger" < *dwayaspāna-, βιδδιγο "second" < *dwitīyaka-

*xw

　　*xw is generally changed to *xo*:

*xw > xo

Examples: χοζο "good" < *xwŗžu-, οοχορτο "to quarrel" < *wi-xwaršta-, οοχωþ "quarrel" < *wi-xwarša-

*hw

　　As *xw, *hw is changed also to xo:

*hw- > xo

Examples: χοβο "(one's) own" < *hwa-paθya-, χωζ- "to ask" < *hwaza(ya)- (?),φροβαζαχο "prostrate" < *fra-pāzah-wāh

*θy

* θy > i

　　It seems that* θ is omitted in the following examples:

Examples: χοβο "(one's) own" < *hwa-paθya-, χοβιγο "own" < *hwa-paθya-ka-, χοαβαοανδο "owner" < *hwapaθyāwant-

*zy

*zy > z

Examples: ριζ- (passive to ραζ-) "be named" < *rāzya-, οιζανδο "injury" < *wi-zyanta-

*sy

*sy > s

Example: σπισ- "to serve" < *spasya-

2.3.4 Combinations with affricates

2.3.4.1 Affricates + Approximant

*čy

*čy > š

Examples: þαο- "to go" < *čyawa-, þαδο "satisfied" < *čyāta-, αβαþο "back, in return"< *apāčyā

*čy-> ś (σ)

Examples: σαγωνδο "as, like" < *čiyāt-gauna-+-δο, σαζαμανο "as soon as" < *čiyāt- ǰamān-

*ǰy

*ǰy > ž (ζ)

Examples: ζαοο , ζαοι, ζαοο "life" < * ǰyāwa-, αζανο "worthy" < *arǰyāna-

2.3.5 Combination with Trill

2.3.5.1 Trill + Plosives

*rt

PIr. *rt is changed to *rd-* in Bactrian:

*-rt- > rd

Examples: βwrd past stem "to bear, bring" (βορδο) < *br̥ta-, μαρδανο "valiant" < *martāna-, μαρδο "man" < *martiya-,

*rd

PIr. *rd is preserved in Bactrian:

*-rd- > rd

Examples: prdyjg or prdyźg "orchard" < *pari-daiza-ka-, πιδοκαρδο "retention" < *pati-karda-, srd'nyg adj. "pertaining to years" (σαρδο "year" <*sardV-), πορδανιγο "saddle" (?) < *pari-dāna- + suffix ιγο

In the case of παδαρλογο/παδαρδδιγο "opposing side" < *pāti-arda-ka-, we observe two different developments, namely, [rd] and [rl]. παδαρλογο is used both in old documents such as A, C, F (between 332-472 A.D.), and also in the later documents, for example, in J, L, U (between 517-712 A.D.), whereas the variant with [rd] is attested only in later documents S, V and W (692-747 A.D.). Regarding this example, we can conclude that [rd] is a newer development. But the older form, namely, [rl], is also preserved along with [rd] in later Bactrian.

*-rd- > -rl-

Examples: γιρλ- "to call" < *gr̥da, παδαρλογο "opposite party"<*pati "against"+*arda "side"

2.3.5.2 Trill + Fricative

*rš

*-rš- > š

Example: οοχωþ "quarrel" < *wi-xwarša-

*rž

*rž > z

Example: χοζο "good" < *xwr̥žu-

*rz

PIr. *rz is preserved in Bactrian:

*-rz- > rz

Examples: hyrz- "to release" (υιρζ-) < *hr̥za-, ανδαρζο "instruction" < *han-darza-, λαρζο "subject to restrictions"< dārzV-, οαρζο "farming" < *warza-

*rs

*rs > rs

Example: πορσ- "to ask" < *pr̥sa-

*rst

*-rst- > -št-

Examples: παþοιþτο (past stem) "to block"<*pari-wr̥sta-, φþογιþτιγο "part" <*fra-kr̥sta-ka-

2.3.5.3 Trill + Nasal

*rn

*-rn- > r

Examples: φαρο "glory" < *farnah-, ασπορο "complete" < *us-pr̥na-, χιρ- "to buy" < *xrīnā-

*-rn- > rn

Examples: οοαρνο a place name < *Warnu-

*rm

*rm > rm

Examples: αρμαυ- "to be present" < *arma- "still"+*āh-/āsta- "to sit, remain"

2.3.6 Combination with approximant

2.3.6.1 Approximant + r

*wr

#*wr > r

Example: ροτιγο "rope" < *wrišta-ka-

2.4 Phonological processes: Metathesis

In the following, some examples of metathesis are given:

Examples: ραγαζο "cloak (?)" < *razgV-, αργαγγο "extreme" < *agra- + suffix -αγγο, οργιγο "lucerne" < *ugarakā- (?), χιρδο (past stem) "to buy" < *xrīta-, χιρσο "purchase" < *xrīti-čī

2.5 Vowels

*# i > i

Examples: ιθαο "thus" < iθā, ειμουανο "these" < *imaišanām

2.6 Simple vowels

The following table represents the vowel system in Bactrian:[95]

---

[95] Cf. Sims-Williams 1989a: 233.

Table 9. Bactrian vowel system

α	a, ā, initial ə-
ε	e
η	ē
ι	i, ī
ο	u, ū, o, ə, Ø
ω	ō

The Greek alphabet of Bactrian does not distinguish a, i, and u from ā, ī, and ū. The letter η is used to represent the long vowel ē, while the letter ω represents the long vowel ō. In the case of o, it is not easy to identify its exact phonetic value. According to Sims-Williams, all these vowels are attested in both initial and internal positions. Three of them (o, e and ū) occur less often. Vocalic ṛ is lost and results in ar, ir, ur, according to the phonetic context.[96]

In this section we attempt to show the details of development of PIr. vowels in Bactrian and its characteristics.

*a

Generally *a is preserved in both internal and initial positions:

 # a > a

Examples: ασπο "horse" < *aspa-, αβοιασ- "to remember" < *abi-yāsa-, αδοριγδο (probably past stem) "to deny" <*ati-rixta-

-a- > a

Examples: ρανζο "quickly" < *ranǰyah-, ανδαρζο "instruction" < *han-darza-, σταμβο "to injury" < *stambV-

*ā

*ā is preserved generally in both initial and internal positions:

#ā > ā

Example: αββο (Manich. *y'β*) "water" <*āpa-

ā > ā[97]

Examples: ταδο (Manich. *ṭ''d*) "then" < *tā + -δo, μαυο, μαο (Manich. **m'h* in *m'h'nyg*) "month" < *māhV-

*i

 # i > Ø

Examples: μαλο "here" < *imada-, μαρο "here" < *imaθra-, μο "the, this" < *ima-

i > i

Examples: οιστao "promise" < *wi-stāwa-, αριστο "joined" < *ā-rista-, ασιδο, σιδο, ασιδα-, ασιδ- "what, which"< *čim + -δo

i > a/ə (in Greek script α)

It seems that *i in the prefix *ni is changed to ə:

---

[96] Cf. Sims-Williams 2011: 234.
[97] It must be added that in composites, a free form of the word is sometimes used. For example in παροβαρ- "to bring forth" < *parā̱-bara- , we observe παρο, not παρα.

Examples: μιυροναφρανο "west" < *miθra-nifrāna-, ναβαγο "pawn" < *ni-pāka-[98], ναβανδο "beside" < *ni-band V, ναβισ- "to write" < *ni-pinsa-

*u

*# u > ə (in Greek script α)

In all the next examples, following the omission of u in the initial position, we have the #CC- environment, which then is changed to əCC:

Examples: αζγαþ- "to dissent" (?) < *uz-gaša- (?), αζγαμο "produce" < *uz-gāma-, αζβαρ- "to bring forth" < *uz-bara-, ασπορο "complete" < *us-pṛna-, ασκανο "note" < *us-kānV-, ασκαδαρο "more" < *uskād + suffix -δαρο

In the following example, we observe its occurrence in another environment, that is, #CV:

αβαστανο "support" < *upa-stāna-

*# u > u (or o)

Examples: οδο "and" < *uta-, οργιγο "lucerne" < *ugarakā- (?)

*u > u (or o ?)

It is not clear whether o represents o or u in Bactrian. In this case, an investigation of the Bactrian loanwords in other languages could be very helpful. In the following, examples of the development of *u are listed:

Examples: ιογδιγο "pair" < *yuxta-ka-, βαμοþνο "queen" < *bāmušn-, καβογγο "old" < *kapuna-ka-, κασοκο "little" < *kasu-ka-, κοδο "dog" < *kuta-/kutī-

*ṛ[99]

In the case of *ṛ, we can observe the same development in Bactrian as in Parthian and Persian. In all these languages, in the natural and palatal context, the outcome will be *ir*:

*-ṛ- > -ir- (ιρ)

Examples: ιειρο, ιερο, ερο "matter, thing" < *ṛya- or *īra-, κιþαγο "plough-ox"(?) < *kṛšāka-, κιρ- "to do" <*kṛnu-, κιρδο, -γιρδο (past stem) "to do"<*kṛta-, καμιρδο, name or title of a god < *kamṛda- "head", κιþτο "to detain" < *kṛsta- (via kiršta), γιρζ- "to complain" < *gṛza-, γιρτο (past stem) "to complain" < *gṛšta-, γιρλ- "to call" < *gṛda, λριγδο (past stem) "to have" < *dṛxta- (via lirgdo), λιρδο (past stem of unknown meaning) < *dṛta-, λιστηγιρδο "estate" < *dastay(ā)-kṛta-, μιργο "chicken, bird" < *mṛga-, μιρ- "to die" < *mṛya-, οιλιρδο (past stem) "to construct" < *wi-dṛta-, παροιþτο (past stem) "to block" < *pari-wṛsta- (via parwirst), υιρζ "to leave" < *hṛza-, υιρτο (past stem) "to leave" < *hṛšta-

Generally PIr.*ṛ has the outcome as Bactrian *ur* in the environment of a labial:

*-ṛ- > -ur- (ορ)

Examples: αβορδο (past stem) "to bring" < *abi- ṛta-, αβοραδανο "repayment" < *āpṛtana-, αδοραστο "fire-place" (?) < *ātṛ-stā-, ασπορο "complete" < *us-pṛna-, βορδο (past stem) "to bring" < *bṛta-, μορλο "death" < *mṛθra-, μορδο (past stem) "to die" < *mṛta-, πιδοριþτο "ancestral estate" < *pitṛ-šti-, πιδοροβ- "to receive" < *pati-gṛbăya-, πορσ- "to ask" < *pṛsa-,

---

[98] PIr. *ni- is often changed to *na-* in the first position in Bactrian, but there are also some exceptions in which PIr. *ni can be preserved, e.g., νιζαδαγο "born" < *ni-zāta-ka-, νιττι- "to send (a message)" < *ni-štăya-, νιþαλμο "seat" < *ni-šadman-; or it can be changed to *no*, e.g., νοβανδανο "established custom" (?) < *ni-band-ană-.

[99] We can find the same development of PIr.*ṛ in Balochi, see Korn 2005: 143-148. For the development of *ṛ in other Iranian languages and also in Bactrian, see Korn 2011:4-8.

πορδο "proper" < *pṛta-, χοζο "good" < *xwṛžu-[100]

2.7 Loss of vowels

2.7.1 Loss of #V-

 # a > Ø

Examples: βαμδδιγο "loan" < *apāmitaka-, οαλο "then" < *awada-, οαρο "there" < *awaθra

2.7.2 Loss of -V- (Syncope):

Syncope can occur in various environments, as in the following:

-Between plosive and sonorant:

Examples: οιδρο "so long" < *witarā(d)-, πιδαργανο "paternal relatives" < *pitarakāna-, φαρδαρο "more" < *faru-tara-

-Between plosive and plosive:

Example: αδβηγο "disrespect" < *ati-baya-ka-

-Between fricative and plosive:

Examples: οιστο "twenty" < *wīsatī-, αβυαγγο "deduction" < *apa-θanga-, αβζανο "descendant" (?) < *abi-zanV-, ροζγο "vineyard" < *razu-ka-

-Between fricative and nasal:

Example: λαþνο "gift" < *dāšinV-

In the following example, we can observe the relative chronology of changes. The question arises of whether the syncobe happened before the development of *d* to *l*:

αβλιγγο "way, manner" < *abi-dayana-ka

2.7.3 The treatment of final vowels

In new Bactrian materials, the PIr. vowels are generally lost. But there are some remnants of them in the old Bactrian texts, for example, in some words such as λιζα / λιζο "citadel" < *dizā-, ιθα / ιθο "thus" , βαγε / βαγο "gods" , ταδι / ταδο "then".

As a general rule, *ā is lost in the final position:

ā # > Ø

Examples: αβδδινο "custom" < *abi-dayanā-, αζδο "knowledge" < *azdā, κινο "revenge" < *kainā-, μαδο "mother" < *mātā

In the following examples, we observe an unexpected development:

Examples: αταο "eight" < *aštā, ιθαο "thus" < *iθā, τα "then" < *tā

In the first case, it is not clear why *ā ie preserved. The second example ιθαο represents an achaism by preserving both θ and ā. In the case of τα, we cannot expect another development, as it is a one syllable word.

2.8 Diphthongs:

In the following section, the most common diphthongs in Bactrian are presented:

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[100] According to our above results, the etymology suggested by Tremblay in βαρτ "to be necessary"(?) < *ā-pṛšt- Tremblay 2003: 131 is problematic.

*au > o [101]

Examples: δρωγομιγο "false" < *draug-mā or drug-mā + ιγο (Pth. drwgmyg), γωνζο "bag" < *gaunī-čiya-, σαβολο "jar" < *sapauda-, αχνωρο "satisfaction" < *xšnauθra-, κωσοβο "blanket" < *kaučapa-

*ai > ē

Examples: βηοαρο "ten thousand" < *baiwara-, ιαοηδανο "eternal" < *yāwai-tāna-, κηδο "priest" < *kaita-, οην- "see" < *waina-, αβαρηγο "other" < *apāra-+suffix -ιγο, φρητογο "messenger" < *fra-išta-ka-

There are two examples in which it appears that *ai has been changed to i rather than to ē. It seems that ē must be the older form, and that it is changed to i in new materials. In the following examples, either these forms are loanwords from probably Persian, or they are new versions of the old forms: κινο "revenge" < *kainā-, οιγνο "famine" < *waignā-

In some cases, as in the following example, both new and old forms are attested in the extant materials: οην-/οιν- "to see"<*waina-. It seems that in both κινο and οην-/οιν-, ē is changed to i before a nasal, but in οιγνο, the same environment is not observed.

*aya > ē (> ī)

Examples: αβαχρηγο "fee" < apa-xraya-ka-, αυρηζνο name of a month < *ahura-yazniya-, οιχρηγανο "hire" < *wi-xraya-+suffix -γανο

It seems that *aya is changed to ī before a nasal. In all the following examples, it occurs before *n*:

αβδδινο "custom" < abi-dayanā, αβλιγγο "way, manner" < *abi-dayana-ka, αχρινο "purchase" < *xray-anā

It seems that * āyā in the internal position can be changed to ā:

*āyā > ā

Example: σαγο "shade, shadow" < *sāyā-kā-

*-āya# > ī (or sometimes yi)

It seems that in all verbal forms, āya in a word-final position is changed to ī or *yi*.

Examples: φοþτιι- "to send" < *fra-stāya-, φρομιι- "order" < *fra-māya-, þιι- "to be able" < *xšāya-, ωστιι- "to place" < *awa-stāya-, αζζι- "to be born" < *ā-zāya-, ωζι- "to be a liability" < *awa-zāya-

*iya > ē or ī

*iya > i

Examples: ασπασιγο "groom" < *spāsiya-ka-, οιζινδδιγο "current" < *waz-antiya-ka-[102], ζιγο "damage" < *ziyakā-[103]

*iya > ē

Example: μαρηγο "servant" < *mar(i)yaka-

*iyā is preserved in all the following examples, which in reality are Persian loanwords:

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[101] There is an unclear example in which it seems that *au is changed to a not to o: ναγαυ-, νιγαυ- "to hear" < *ni-gauša-.

[102] In both of these examples, *-iyaka- is changed to -ιγο.

[103] According to Sims-Williams, *z(i)yakā- Sims-Williams 2007a: 212. In my opinion, it must be *ziyakā-.

Examples: ζιιανο "penlty" < *z(i)yāni-, νιιαγο "grandfather" < *niyāka-, νιιαζο "need" < *niy-āza-

In the following example, it seems that *iyā is changed to ā. This word is probably a Persian loanword in Bactrian:

πηδαγο "revealed" <*patiyāka-

awa-> ō

*awa is changed to ō:

Examples: oo "that" < *awam, ωζαμο "liability" < *awa-zāmV-, βοδο[104] "be, becomes" < *bawa-, βονδο "completely" <*bawant-a-, νωγο "new" < *nawa-ka-, πωστογο "document" < *pawasta-ka-

In the final position, *awa is changed to *aw*:

Examples: þαοιδο[105] "goes" <*čyawa-, γαοοιδο[106] "is necessary" < *gawa-, ταοο, ταο "you" <*tawa

-awā- > awā

It seems that Bactrian preserves *awā*:

Example: γαοανο "fault" <*gawāna-

*-āwa- and *-āwā- are also preserved in Bactrian:

-āwa- > āwa

Examples: οαοαρο "faith" < *wāwar-a-, χοαβαοανδο "owner" < *hwapaθyāwant-

-āwā- > āwā

Example: ταοανο "fine" < *tāwāna

It seems that in the following example, *āwi is changed to ō:

Example: νωιο "channel" < *nāwiyā[107]

In the following example, āwi is changed to ā:

-āwi- > ā

Example: υαþκο "pupil" < *hāwišta-ka-

2.9 Combination of Vowel and Consonant

2.9.1 Combination of *w* with vowels

2.9.1.1 In initial position

*w+a

*# wa- > wa > o

In these examples *#wa is preserved:

οαζ- "to use" < *waza-, οασαρο "market" < *wahā-čarana-, οαυαγο "price" < *wahā-kā-

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[104] This form is third person present.

[105] This form is third person present.

[106] This form is third person present.

[107] For this word in Iranian languages, see Widmer 2007: 215–228.

In both of these examples, wa is changed to o:

ολο "wife" < *wadū-, ορβαγγο "armour" < *wara-pāna-ka-

*#w+ā

*# wā- > wā

Examples: οαδο "wind" < *wāta-, οαοαρο "faith" < *wāwar-a-, οαþο "hay" < *wāstra-

*#w+i

*# wi-> wi

Examples: οισπο "all" < *wispa-, οιλημρ "to construct" < *wi-dāraya-

2.9.2 Combination of *y* with vowels

2.9.2.1 In final position

*arya # > ēr (ηρ)

Examples: πηρ- "to believe" < *parya-, σηρο "use" (?) < *čārya-

2.9.3 The combination of other consonants with vowels

2.9.3.1 In final position

*-an # > Ø

Examples: ναμο "name" < *nāman-, λαμο "land" (?) < *dāman, νιþαλμο "seat" < *ni-šadman-

*-an # > an

Example: παμανο "wool" < *pašman-

*am # > Ø

Examples: οο "that" < *awam, πιδοβαλο "in train, in transit" (?) < *pati-padam, υαμο "also" < *hamam-

*Vh # > Ø

*h after a vowel in final position is lost in Iranian languages including in Bactrian.

Examples: αβιωγο "payable" < *abi-aogah-, μιυγαρο "damage" < *miθah-kāra-, οαρο "oath" < *warah-, μισο "even, more" < *masyah-, οισλογδο "princess" < *wisah duxtā

2.10 Palatalization

There are two kinds of palatalization of vowels in Bactrian:

a to *i* and *ā* to *ē* before *-ya* and *-i*

* a > i /-.ya, -.i

Examples: αγιρο "ineffective" < *a-karya-, κινο "canal" < *kanyā-, κισατο "youngest" < *kasišta-

*ā > ē /-.ya

Examples: λημρ- "to have" < *dāraya-, οηζο "ability" < *wājaya-, οηλ "to lead" < *wādaya-, οισημρ "to argue" < *wi-čāraya-

a to *i* before *s* and *z*

* a > i /-.s,-.z

Examples: λιστο "hand" < *dasta-, αγισινδο "dissatisfied" < *aka-sandV-, οιζινδδιγο "current" < *waz-antiya-ka-

a to *i* before nasals:

* a > -.i /-.n

Example: οανινδο "victorious" < *wananta-

2.11 Vowel assimilation

In some cases, the quality of a vowel can be assimilated to that of a neighbouring vowel:

*a > o /-.u

Examples: κωσοβο "blanket" < *kaučapa-, μολο "wine" < *madu-, ποσο "sheep" < *pasu-

In the following example, we observe assimilation of voicing:

*i > ə

In all the following examples, it seems that *i* is changed to *ə*, which occurs in the form *o* in Greek script:

Examples: υονοσινδο "content" < *hu-ni-sandV-, οοχορτο "to quarrel" < *wi-xwaršta-, οοχωþ "quarrel" < *wi-xwarša-

2.12 Dissimilation

In the following example we can observe a process of dissimilation:

*# wi- > ya

Example: ιαοαρο "terms, conditions" < *wi-wāra-

2.13 Lowering (?)

The following example is an unclear case; it may be a Middle Persian loanword or it may be an archaism. This word is attested only once in the document X, which is a new text. It is not yet clear whether *η* is pronounced as *i*.

*ī > ē (?)

Example: ναβηγο "text, writing" < *dipīka-

2.14 Reduced vowel (ə):

The reduced vowel ə (in script *α* or *o*) occurs very often in initial position, especially before a consonant cluster:

Ø > ə/ #-CC

The different examples of this development are shown in the following table:

Table 10. Examples of initial vowel

PIr.	Bactrian	Examples
*# šk-	əšk	αþκαρ- "to follow" < *škara-
*#sp-	əsp	ασπασο "service" < *spāsV-, ασπισ "to serve" < *spasya-, ασπασιγο "groom" < *spāsiyaka-
*# sn-	əsn	ασνωυο "daughter in law" < *snušā
*# xš-	əx	αχανδ- "to control" < *xšayant-a-, αχνωρο "satisfaction" < *xšnauθra-
*# xr-	əxr	αχρινο "purchase" < *xray-anā-
*# xw-	əxw	αχοαþvo "unpleasantness" < negation prefix*a- + *xwaš(a)nā-
#*θw-	əlf	αλφανζ- "acquire" <*θwanǰa-
*# dw-	əlβ	αλβαρο "court" < *dwar-a-

*a, i > ə

Examples: φροβαζαχο[108] "prostrate" < *fra-pāzah-wāh, φρομανο "command" < *fra-māna, ποροχηζ- "to serve" < *pari-xaiza-

In the following examples, *omicron* occurs in a consonant cluster:

*-xm- > xəm

Example: τοχαμηιο "relationship" < *tauxma-yắ- (?)

2.14.1 Suffixal k

I describe the suffixal *k in three different categories: A, B, and C. In the first group (A), we observe the following developments:

A.1. *-aka- > -γo

Examples: αγαλγο "wish" < *ā-gādaka-, αγγαργο "property" < *ham-kāraka-, βαργο "animal for riding" <*bāraka-, καδγο "house" < *kataka-

A.2. *-aka- after a voiceless consonant > -ko

Example: υαþκο "pupil" < *hāwišta-ka-

A.3. *-aka- after h >-αxo[109]

Examples: φριαχοδαρο "more" < *frāyah-aka- + suffix -δαρο, χοιιαχο "elder" < *hwāyah-aka-

In the second group (B), we observe the following development:

B. *-aka- > -αγo and *-uka- < -oγo

Examples: ανδαγο "borough" < *anta-ka- (?), κασοκο "little" < *kasu-ka-

In the group, C, the following development is observed:

C. *-iyaka- > ιγo < ιιo

Examples: ρωσιγο < *raučah- + iya-ka-, αζαζαδδιιο < *uz (intensive prefix) + *āzāta- + iya-ka-

According to Sims-Williams, the development of *(i)yaka- to -ηγo seems to occur only after ρ.[110]

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[108] According to Sims-Williams, o in unstressed syllables, for example, in the preverbs φρο- and πορο, often represents the reduced vowel ə cf. Sims-Williams 1989a: 234.

[109] This development is mentioned by Sims-Williams in Sims-Williams and Tucker 2005: 594.

[110] Sims-Williams 2007a: 217.

According to the Manichean document, it is clear that *-āna-ka- is changed to -'ng (Greek script -αγγο). This suffix is used to derive adjectives mostly from nouns and pronouns.

Examples: *lyn'ng* "Glory of the Religion", *ml'm'ng* "this-worldly, mundane"[111]

Another example, which proves the development of suffixal *k to *g*, is -ηγγο, -ιγγο (Manich.-yng) <*-aina-ka-, e.g., pwnyng "consisting of merits".[112]

2.14.2 Summary

In the case of its historical phonology, Bactrian shares some similarities with other Eastern Iranian languages. For example, the conservative feature of Eastern Iranian languages, retention of the sound θ, can be observed in the Bactrian word ιθαο "thus, also". The voicing of the fricative in the Old Iranian clusters *ft and *xt is also attested in Bactrian. In general, *b, *d*, *g* develop into fricatives in both initial and internal positions, as in other Eastern Middle Iranian languages.

In Bactrian, we have an additional development of *d to *l via δ in both initial and internal positions. This development can also be found in some Modern Eastern Iranian languages, such as Pashto, Munji, and Yidgha. According to the Manichaen fragment and other materials, we can conclude that there is a phonemic distinction between voiced plosives and voiced fricatives in Bactrian. ββ probably represented in a special period [b], whereas β was used for [v]. It seems that intervocalic *b is changed to [v], as in many Middle and Modern Eastern languages. In new texts, it seems that β represents both [b] and [v]. In the same way, it seems that <δδ> represents [d], and that <δ> shows fricative [đ]. γ may represent both [g] and [γ]. [g] would be a development of *k and [γ] can be a development of *g. It is not clear where intervocalic *p has developed to [b] or [v]. Generally sonorants, affricates, and fricatives are preserved with the exception of θ, *č*, and *ǰ*. *θ has developed to *h in Bactrian. The only exception is ιθαο "also", which may show an archaism. Among the modern Eastern Iranian languages, Pashto, Munji, and Yidgha also do not preserve *θ. But the outcome is not as in Bactrian. *č is depalatalized and probably results in *ts*. It is not clear exactly what the outcome of *ǰ is, whether it is [dz], [dʒ] or [ʒ]. *s after *a palatal vowel is changed to *ś*.

In the case of consonant clusters, the Eastern Iranian languages are treated variously. Some characteristics of Bactrian cannot be observed in other Middle Iranian languages, for example the preservation of *fr and *rd and the development of *rt to *rd*. These phonological features are attested in few New Eastern languages. The retention of *fr is found in Yaghnobi. In Ossetic and Wakhi, we find the preservation of *rd. The change of *rt to *rd is attested in Yaghnobi and Wakhi. In the following table, some of phonological developments in Bactrian are selected and compared to developments in other Middle and New Iranian languages. According to the following table, we can conclude that Bactrian is more connected with Choresmian and Sogdian than with Saka. Among the New Eastern languages, it is closer to Wakhi and Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī and further from the Shughni group and Parāčī:

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[111] Sims-Williams 2009: 263.
[112] Sims-Williams 2009: 264.

Table 11 Comparable phonological developments in Middle and New Eastern Iranian languages

Bactrian	The same development in other Eastern languages	
	Middle Eastern languages	New Eastern Languages
*b > v	Sogdian, Choresmain, Khotanese	Yaghnobi, Wakhi, Yazghulami, Shughni group, Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī, Yidgha, Munǰī, Pashto
*d > l	-	Yidgha, Munǰī, Pashto
*g > γ	Sogdian, Choresmain, Khotanese	Ossetic, Yaghnobi, Wakhi, Yazghulami, Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī, Yidgha, Munǰī, Pashto
*-p- > v and b	>b in Choresmian, > w in Khotanese	Ossetic (b > v)
*-t- > d, đ	-	Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī
*-k- > g	Sogdian, Choresmain, Khotanese (g > γ)	Ossetic, Yazghulami, Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī, Pashto, Parāčī
*f > f	Sogdian, Choresmian	Yaghnobi, Wakhi, Yazghulami, Shughni group, Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī, Yidgha, Munǰī, Parāčī, Ōrmuṛī
*-θ- > h	Khotanese (?)	-
*x > x	Sogdian, Choresmian	Ossetic, Yaghnobi, Wakhi, Yazghulami, Shughni group š(x), Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī, Yidgha, Munǰī, Parāčī (> kh), Ōrmuṛī
*č- > ts	Choresmian, Khotanese	Ossetic, Wakhi (both č and ts), Yazghulami, Shughni group š(x), Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī, Pashto, Ōrmuṛī
*-č- > ts	Choresmian	Wakhi, Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī
*-š- > -š-	Sogdian	Yaghnobi, Wakhi
*ft > vd	Sogdian, Choresmian, Khotanese	Ossetic, Wakhi (both vd and b), Yazghulami, Shughni group š(x), Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī, Yidgha, Munǰī, Pashto (wd)
*xt > γd	Sogdian, Choresmian	Ossetic, Wakhi, Yazghulami, Yidgha, Munǰī
*-fr- > -fr-	-	Yaghnobi
*θr- > hr/r	Choresmisn (> š/hr)	Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī (> r)
*-θr-> hr/r	Khotanese (> r)	Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī, Yidgha, Munǰī, Pashto (in all these languages > r)
*rt > rd	-	Yaghnobi, Wakhi
*rd > rd, once rl	-	Ossetic, Wakhi
*rs > rs	Sogdian	Ossetic, Yaghnobi, Wakhi, Yidgha, Munǰī
*rz > rz	Sogdian, Khotanese	Wakhi, Yidgha, Munǰī, Parāčī
*ršt >		
*št > št, t	Sogdian (> št), Choresmian (> š), Khotanese (ṣṭ)	> št in Yaghnobi, Parāčī and Ōrmuṛī, > t in Pashto and Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī
*sr > š	Sogdian, Choresmian, Khotanese (> ṣ)	> š in Yaghnobi, Parāčī and Ōrmuṛī, > ṣ in Wakhi, Iškāšmī-Sanglīčī, Yidgha, Munǰī, Pashto
*str		

In the case of vowels (except for *a* and *ā*), the Greek alphabet helps us more than the Manichaen script. α is used for *a*, *ā* and initial ə-. In this case, Manichaen script is more informative than Greek, as it distinguishes between short *a* and long *ā*.

The letter ε represents *e* and η shows *ē*. The letter ι may represent both *i* and *ī*. The Greek letter ω represents *ō*, but the phonetic range of the phoneme *o* is extremely wide. It may show *u*, *ū*, *o*, ə, or Ø.

In Bactrian, we find the other common Middle Iranian processes of contraction, syncope, monophthongization and palatalization, as well as assimilation and dissimilation. The internal Old Iranian short vowels *a*, *i*, *u* generally preserve their identities in Bactrian. The initial **i-* can disappear. The initial **u-* can be preserved or changed to ə. The internal **i* in prefixes, for example, in **ni*, has developed probably also to ə. The treatment of **r̥* is complex in Eastern languages such as Sogdian, Choresmian, and Khotanese. In this case, we can observe the same development in Bactrian as in Parthian and Persian. In all these languages, in the natural and palatal context, the outcome will be *ir* and in the environment of a labial *ur*.

A vowel in the initial position and **ā* in the final position can be lost. Generally, the final *an*, *am*, and **h* after a vowel can also be omitted.

Syncope can occur in various environments, for example, between plosive and sonorant, between plosive and plosive, between fricative and plosive, and between fricative and nasal.

As we know, one of the characteristics of Eastern Midddle Iranian languages is a tendency to shorten or lose Old Iranian long vowels in certain circumstances. The most common examples of monophthongization in Bactrian are **au > o*, **ai > ē*, **aya > ē (> ī)*, *āyā > ā*, **-āya > ī*, **iya > ē/ī*, **iya > i*, **iya < ē*, **awa- > ō* and **-āwi- > ā*. In this case, it seems that Bactrian is closer to Sogdian than to other Eastern Middle Iranian languages.

The development of **a* to *i* before *ya*, *i*, *s*, *z*, and *n* and the development of **ā* to *ē* before *ya* are the most common examples of vowel palatalization in Bactrian.

As examples of vowel assimilation, we can mention here the development of **a >* to *o* before *u* and **i* to ə.

*wi- can be dissimilated to *ya*. The development of **ī* to *ē* (?) is probably an example of lowering in Bactrian.

It seems that in Bactrian there is a reduced vowel (ə), which may occur in different positions, for example, in the initial position before a consonant cluster. It is the most common occurrence of that in Bactrian. **a* and **i* can develop to ə. The reduced vowel may also occur in a consonant cluster, for example, in **xm > xəm*.

In the case of suffixal **-aka-*, we can observe three different developments. It can be changed to *-γo*, and after a voiceless consonant, it can develop to *-ko* or after *h* to *-αxo*. Suffixal **-aka-* can be changed to *-αγo* and the suffix **-uka-* to *-oγo*. The development of **-iyaka-* would be *ιγo* or *ιιo* in Bactrian.

3. CHAPTER THREE: NOUN PHRASES

This chapter begins with an overview of the substantive, the nominal system, and the definition of the substantive. It also introduces noun phrases in Bactrian. Here, the discussion centers on the features of head and dependent nouns.

3.1 The substantive

3.1.1 Number and case

Sims-Williams points out that "The Bactrian of the Kushan period displays a system of two numbers and two cases".[113] It can be added that a difference can be perceived between this system in material from the inscriptions and the economic and legal documents, letters, and Buddhist texts.[114]

The following table shows the case endings most commonly found in the researched texts:

Table 12. Case morphology in Inscriptions (Kushan period)

	SG	**PL**
DIR	-ο	-ε
OBL	-ι or -ε	-ανο

The distinction between direct and oblique case with singular number can still be seen in the inscriptions, "only in traditional expressions",[115] such as þαι "king", þαορε "city" and the names of kings. In the documents, however, there is no remnant of the oblique ending. In only one instance, a form with a morphological ending that could be explained as oblique seems to have been preserved beside the direct: ιαοι beside ιαο "grain". Both forms are used, however, as direct.[116] In the inscriptions, plural nouns are found both in the direct and in the oblique case. For example, βαγε "gods" is used as a direct case, plural noun. There are also oblique singulars in the Surkh Kotal inscription, such as ασαγγε "stone (?)", νοκονζικι PN, καραλραγγε "margrave" and κανηþκι PN.

In the Rabatak inscription, the oblique forms of some words are found. For example, þαφαρε is the oblique form of þαφαρο PN; þατριαγγε the oblique form of þατριαγγο "of (-belonging to) the *kṣatriyas*"?;[117] þαορε the oblique form of þαορο "city"; þαοδανι the oblique form of þαοδανο "kingdom"; þαι the oblique form of þαο "king"; καραλραγγε the oblique form of καραλραγγο "margrave"; κανηþκε the oblique form of κανηþκο; and ζορριγι the oblique form of ζορριγο "time".

In the economic texts, legal documents, letters, and Buddhist texts, plural nouns are found almost exclusively in the oblique. In this instance, the morpheme -ανο indicates the plural. The plural oblique case has been generalized.

The examples of case distinction in Bactrian are extremely rare, and we can therefore conclude that a real case distinction is no longer found in nouns.

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[113] Sims-Williams 2007a: 40.

[114] It must be added here that only two Buddhist texts are published in *Bactrian Documents* II by Sims-Williams.

[115] Humbach 2003: 160.

[116] Sims-Williams 1997b: 7.

[117] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 60.

From the above information, we can conclude that two changes have taken place in the nominal system of Bactrian, as in other Middle Iranian languages:[118]

1- Generalization of the plural oblique ending -ανο.

2- The loss of the singular oblique, generalization of the direct case.

The next table shows case distinctions in Bactrian after the above changes:

Table 13. Case endings in new Bactrian material

	SG	PL
DIR/OBL	-ο	-ανο

3.1.2 Gender

According to Sims-Williams, in Bactrian, "feminine stems are no longer distinguishable from masculines".[119] But he refers to a few remnants of the original feminine ending -α in older texts, such as the Rabatak and Surkh Kotal inscriptions. For example, the α-ending of some nouns and adjectives, such as λιζα/λιζο "citadel"<*dizā-,[120] αγιτα "the whole(?)", αμγα "same, above-mentioned",[121] ραγα "plain",[122] φρομανα "command"[123], ομμα "name of a goddess"[124] and νανα "name of a goddess"[125] distinguishes them from masculine forms.

Similarly, the articles ι and μο have the feminine forms ια and μα, but these are not used consistently. The feminin ια is also attested in ιαμαργο "meadow"[126] and ιαρωσο "day".[127]

The feminine article μα is consistently used with the feminine noun λιζο "citadel" <*dizā-, ap. didā in the Surkh Kotal inscription.[128]

> (Surkh Kotal 1)

(1) ειδο **μα** λιζο   μο κανηþκο οανινδο βαγολαγγο
    DEM ART fortress ART Kaniška victor   sanctuary
    "this fortress is the sanctuary of Wanind (named) of Kaniška"[129]

There are some suffixes such as -σο, -νζο, -γο and -γγο in Bactrian, forming feminine adjectives from names of persons and places, for example: τοροσανζο "Turkish", ασκισαγγο "of Askin" and νοβιχτισο "written".

3.1.3 Noun phrases

In Bactrian, the noun phrase is generally head-final, and most modifiers occur before the head noun:

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[118] Haig mentions these two changes for Western Middle Iranian languages; see Haig 2008: 137.

[119] Sims-Williams 2007a: 40.

[120] Sims-Williams 2007a: 40.

[121] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 64.

[122] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 63.

[123] Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 81.

[124] Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 79.

[125] Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 78.

[126] Sims-Williams 2007a: 231.

[127] Sims-Williams 2007a: 261.

[128] See Surkh Kotal 1, 2, 3, 6, 11, 13, 16, 19.

[129] Cf. Lazard, Grenet and de Lamberterie 1984: 227.

(F3)

(2) αβο **καδαγοβιδο** αλβαρο
PRE governor court
"in the court of governor"[130]

(dd 4)

(3) **σαγο** πορο
PN son
"son of Sag"[131]

(bg 10)

(4) ιοχþοοιρλο **αβοδαχμο**
Yukhsh-wirl [132] stream
"stream of Yukhsh-wirl"[133]

(eh 4)

(5) τοχοαροστανο οδο γαρσιγοστανο **λαδοβαρο**
Tukharistan and Gharchistan judge
"the judge of Tukharistan and Gharchistan"[134]

The construction in which the dependent noun follows the head noun is much less common:

(C 3)

(6) χοηοι κοσιρδαχμιγο
lord Kusirdakhm
"the lord of Kusirdakhm"[135]

(F 1-2)

(7) μολρογο αβησαχοανιγο
sealed-document renunciation
"sealed-document of renunciation"[136]

In some Iranian languages, such as Middle and New Persian, the dependent noun may follow the head noun with a connecting ezafe particle.[137] In Bactrian, the ezafe may link the different elements, for example, a noun, a name, or one or more adjectives to a head noun. There are also cases in which no ezafe particle is used.[138]

3.1.4 Appositional modifiers

As in other languages, sometimes two nouns are placed side by side, and one defines or modifies the other. In Bactrian, the same syntax that is used to express such a relationship as possession can also be used for expressing apposition. That is, apposition could include the particle ι, which is usually employed for the ezafe construction. The appositive element can be a short or long combination of words. The following elements can be used as appositional modifiers in the Bactrian language:

---

[130] Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.

[131] Sims-Williams 2007a: 105.

[132] According to Sims-Williams, the name of a place, including a meadow and stream see Sims-Williams 2007a: 218.

[133] Sims-Williams 2007a: 65.

[134] Sims-Williams 2007a: 123.

[135] Sims-Williams 2000a: 39.

[136] Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.

[137] Heston 1976: 19.

[138] For more details on the ezafe in Bactrian, see Gholami 2011: 17.

A) Titles, patronymics and family names can appear with or without the ezafe particle in Bactrian.

In the following example, the first name and family name appear with an ezafe particle. This construction is very rare in the extant material:

With Particle i:

> (xd 6)

(8) νατο ι **χαραγανο**
Nat ezafe family name/patronymic "Kharagan"
"Nat Kharagan"[139]

The first and family name can also appear without an ezafe particle. This construction is much more common. For example:

> (cf 1)

(9) αβο ναοαζο **χαυρογανο**
PRE Nawaz family name/patronymic "Khahrugan"
"to Nawaz Khahrugan"[140]

> (bg 11)

(10) χοαδηοβανδαγο **þαυραβο**
PN title "satrap"
"Khwadew-bandag the satrap"[141]

In the case of the recipient of letters and names of witnesses, both the last and first name are used, and there is usually no ezafe particle between them. When the first person mentions his name, he occasionally introduces himself with his first name and the name of his father, for example, Lad-guzg the son of Yol-guzg.

In constructions with the name of a king and the word þαο "king" in apposition, the name of the king occurs more often before the word þαο.(see Table 14) than after it. In light of the results in the following table, we can conclude that Bactrian seems to have the same structure as in Middle Persian.

Table 14. Nominal phrases consisting of the name of king in Rabatak inscription

structure	number of examples
the name of king + þαο	5
þαο + the name of king	1

It must be added that this construction is attested only in inscriptions. In the Rabatak inscription, there are five examples of occurrence of þαο after the name of the king, while there is only one example of the other type:

The name of the king + þαο

> (Rabatak 14)

(11) κανηþκε **þαο**
Kanishka.OBL king
"king Kanishka"[142]

---

[139] Sims-Williams 2007a: 145.

[140] Sims-Williams 2007a: 79.

[141] Sims-Williams 2007a: 65.

[142] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 56.

þαο + the name of the king

      (Rabatak 7)

(12)   **þαι**   κανηþκε
        king.OBL   Kanishka.OBL
        "king Kanishka"[143]

In Surkh Kotal. there is only one example of such a construction and the name of a king, i.e., the name Kanishka occurs after þαο:

      (Surkh Kotal 1)

(13)   **þαο**   κανηþκι
        king.DIR   Kanishka.OBL
        "king Kanishka"[144]

In the case of names of gods, the word βαγο "god" generally occurs before the name of the god:

      (O 3ʹ)

(14)   πισο   βαγο   οαχþο βαγανο   þαυο   **ακιδο**
        PRE   god   PN   god.PL   king   whom
        αβο   στωφ   σπισ-ινδο
        PRE   PN   worship.PRS.3p
        "in the presence of the god Wakhsh, the king of gods, whom they worship in Stof"[145]

In document T (from 700/701 A.D.), there are many examples of the occurrence of βαγο after the name of the god. This document belongs to the new texts and probably may show a development in the syntax of Bactrian during this period:

      (T 12-13)

(15)   **ταοι**   καμιρδο   βαγο οηζο   οδο   οαρσοχοδανο
        you.OBL.   PN   god   power   and   miraculous ability
        "The power and miraculous ability of you, the god Kamird"[146]

    B) Names of places

The names of places occur as the second member of a phrase. For example:

      (bg 11)

(16)   αβο   ιλιζο   **παλαγο**
        PRE   ART-fortress   Palag
        "in the fortress Palag"

    C) Names of days and months

There are some differences between the use of the month names in old and new texts. The names of the days always occur after ρωσο "day", both in old and new texts. The following example is from a text of the year 247 of the Bactrian era. The name of the day occurs after ρωσο "day":

---

[143] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 56.

[144] Lazard, Grenet and de Lamberterie 1984: 226.

[145] Sims-Williams 2000a: 81.

[146] Sims-Williams 2000a: 101.

(F 1)

(17) ρωσο   **ωρομοζδο**
      day   Ormuzd
      "the day Ormuzd"[147]

In the new texts, as the following example from the year 470 of the Bactrian era shows, the name of the day also occurs after ρωσο "day":

(S 1)

(18) ρωσο   **ριþτο**
      day   Risht
      "the day Risht"[148]

The only exception is found in the document A, from the year 110, in which the name of the day appears before ρωσο "day". From my point of view, the change of word order is probably influenced by the use of "elapsed":[149]

(A 1)

(19) σαχτο   **αβαμοχοινο**   ρωσο
      elapsed   Abmukhwin   day
      "the elapsed day Abmukhwin"[150]

In the case of the month names, in the Bactrian era 195-527 (Documents D-X),[151] the name of the month occurs after μαυο or μαο "month".

The following example is from the year 247 in the Bactrian era:

(F 1)

(20) μαυο   **σπανδαρομιδο**
      month   Spandarmid
      "the month Spandarmid"[152]

The next example is from the year 507 in the Bactrian era:

(V 1)

(21) μαυο   **νωγοσαρδο**
      month   New-year
      "the month New-year"[153]

In the three old documents A, B, and C (110-157), the name of the month occurs before μαυο or μαο "month". According to Sims-Williams, the placement "of the word μαο "month" after the name of the month seems to be an archaic feature":[154]

(A 1)

(22) **αυρηζνο**   μαο
      Ahrezhn   month
      "the month Ahrezhn"[155]

---

[147] Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.

[148] Sims-Williams 2000a: 95.

[149] For the use of σαχτο "elapsed" with a day-name, see Sims-Williams 1998b: 150-151.

[150] According to Sims-Williams, "the day Abmukhwin, having elapsed"; Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

[151] In the document Y, the month is not mentioned.

[152] Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.

[153] Sims-Williams 2000a: 115.

[154] Sims-Williams 1998b: 150.

[155] Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

(C 1)

(23) **δρηματιγανο**   μαο
      Drematigan   month
      "the month Drematigan"[156]

Apposition with particle ι:

In many Iranian languges, such as Middle Persian, Kurdish, Gilaki, and New Persian, the particle "i" is used in genitive/possessive constructions. In Bactrian, in some cases, it has the same function. This particle can also be used for expressing apposition, as in the following examples:

(al 18)

(24) φαρο   οιριþτομιþο   ι   χοηοι
      for   PN   EZ   lord
      "for Wirishtmish the lord"[157]

(G 2-3)

(25) μοζδο   ι   χαραγανο   ι   κανδογοληρο
      Muzd   EZ   Kharagan   EZ   keeper of the granary
      "Muzd Kharagan, the keeper of the granary"[158]

(H 3)

(26) μανο   μοζδο   ι   χαραγανο   ι   κανδογοληρο
      I.OBL   PN   EZ   PN   EZ   keeper of the granary
      "by me, Muzd Kharagan, the keeper of granary"

(ba 4)

(27) κοαδο δαθþομαρηγο   ι   þαβαστανο   αβα-μαγο   πιδοοαυαδο
      that PN   EZ   eunuch   PRE-I.CP   appeal.PST.3s
      "that Dathsh-mareg the eunuch has appealed to me".[159]

(ck 1)

(28) αβο   ναοαζο   ι   φριιο   βραδο
      to   PN   EZ   dear   brother
      "to Nawaz, (my) dear brother"

According to the above mentioned examples, word order in apposition constructions is: *PN ι Title*. The following example is clearly an exception, because the particle ι occurs before the name of a god, i.e., οαχþο:

(L 2)

(29) βαγο ι   οαχþο
      god   EZ   Wakhsh
      "the god Wakhsh"[160]

Apposition containing a group of words

The appositional phrase can be a noun phrase containing a group of words, as shown in the following example:

---

[156] Sims-Williams 2000a: 39.

[157] Sims-Williams 2000a: 163.

[158] Sims-Williams 2000a: 49.

[159] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

[160] Sims-Williams 2000a: 65.

(ea 1-2)

(30)

ασο	μηιαμο	ναμοοινδαδο	αβζοδο	πιρωζο	þαυανοþαο
PRE	PN	famous	prosperous	PN	king of kings

καδαγοβιδο
governor

"from Meyam, the governor of the famous (and) prosperous king of kings, Piruz"[161]

In this case, the adjectives ναμοοινδαδο "famous" and αβζοδο "prosperous" modify the proper noun πιρωζο "Piruz". The word þαυανοþαο "king of kings" is an appositional phrase for πιρωζο "Piruz". The phrase ναμοοινδαδο αβζοδο πιρωζο þαυανοþαο is a dependent noun for καδαγοβιδο "governor", which is the head noun, and these two phrases are an appositional phrase for the proper name μηιαμο.

Summary

According to the above information and examples, it can be concluded that in appositional constructions, the names of persons, places, gods, days, and months generally occur after the nouns themselves. There is an exception in the case of the names of kings. In the Rabatak inscription, þαο occurs more frequently after the name of the king, which we do not expect in Bactrian. As in Middle Persian and Pathian, e.g., frēdōn šāh, wištāsp šāh, zarwān šāh, tūrānšāh the names of the kings occur before the words for king. We can interpret this syntactical feature as a Middle Persian or Parthian influence on Bactrian. In the case of the name of gods, we can find the common syntactical pattern, which is expected in Bactrian. The only exception is document T, in which the name of the god occurs very often before the word βαγο "god". It may show a development in the late Bactrian language.

3.1.5 Numerals

In this chapter, I first analyse the position of the number in a noun phrase. In Bactrian, numerals can be expressed in a variety of ways: by ciphers, words, by both ciphers as well as words, or partially by words and partially by ciphers. The question arises here of whether or not there is a connection between the position of the number and the type of expression of the numeral (i.e., as a word or as alphabet letter). As a second focus in this chapter, I investigate the relationship between numbers (as a modifier) and nouns to show whether the noun tends to occur more frequently in the singular or plural. It also is a question whether a number may appear in the plural, that is, with plural marking or as plural lexical item.

3.1.5.1 Cardinal numbers

As the cardinal numbers are expressed in English by the figures 1 to 10, so in a similar way are Bactrian's numerals also expressed very frequently as figures (such as numerals 1 to 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, 200, 300, 400, 500, and 1000). In Bactrian Greek, letters of the alphabet are used to introduce these types of numerals in figures (e.g., ά instead of 1, and β̓ instead of 2). There are also some examples of alphabetical numbers.

The following table shows the occurrences of numbers when written alphabetically in BD I and II:

---

[161] Sims-Williams 2007a: 109.

Table 15. The occurrences of alphabetical numbers in BD I and II

numbers in alphabet	translation	the total of occurrences in BD I and II
ιωγο	one	21
λοι, λοοι,λοο	two	7
σοφαρο	four	4
πανζο	five	2
αταο	eight	1
λασο	ten	6
οιστο	twenty	4
πανζασο	fifty	3
χοατο	sixty	1
σαδο	hundred	10
πανζοσαδο	five hundered	1

Two numerical adjectives, i.e., βιδδιγο "second"[162], υιρδδιγο, υιρδδιιο "third",[163] are attested in BD I and II.

There are two main groups. Each group has three subtypes based on the position and the kind of numeral. In the first main group, the number occurs before the noun. In the second main group, the number appears after the noun. For each main group, there are three variations. Table 16 shows these variations:

Table 16. The relationship between numbers and nouns

Types		first position	second position
I	1	number (alphabetically)	noun (ex.31)
	2	number (in figures)	noun (ex.32)
	3	number (both alphabetically and in figure)	noun (ex.33)
	4	Number (partly alphabetically and partly in figure)	noun (ex. 34)
II	1	noun	number (alphabetically) (ex.35)
	2	noun	number (in figure) (ex. 36)
	3	noun	number (both alphabetically and in figure) (ex.37)

In the following examples, the numeral is written alphabetically and occurs before the noun:

(K 8)

(31) **λασο** γωρο ιαοο
ten bushel grain
"ten bushels of grain"[164]

In the following example, the numeral occurs as a figure, and it is positioned before the noun:

---

[162] Sims-Williams 2007a: 203.

[163] Sims-Williams 2007a: 272.

[164] Sims-Williams 2000a: 63.

(Jf 8-9)

(32) οδαβαχρηγο   ά   Δραχμο   τωζο
and-fee   1   dirham   pay.IMP,2s
"and pay one dirham (as) a fee" [165]

In example (33), the numeral is written both alphabetically and as a figure, with both types appearing before the noun:

(df 8)

(33) λασο   ί   βρακο   παμανο
ten   10   ?   wool
"10…of wool"[166]

In the following example, the numeral 100 is written as a figure, whereas the numeral eight is written alphabetically:

(H 7-8)

(34) ρ′   οδο   αταο   αργηοι ιαοι
100   and   eight   peck   grain
" one hundred and eight pecks of grain"[167]

In example (35), the numeral is written alphabetically and is positioned after the substantive:

(aj 9)

(35) διναρο λασο
dinar   ten
"ten dinar"[168]

In the following example, the numeral 3 occurs as a figure and it is positioned after the substantive:

(M 3)

(36) δδραχμο   κοαδαγο   γ´
dirham   kawad   3
"the three dirhams of (king) Kawad"[169]

In example (37), the numeral is written as both as a figure and an alphabet letter, with both forms positioned after the substantive:

(C 20′)

(37) διναρο   κ′   **οιστο**
dinar   20   twenty
"twenty dinars"[170]

Another interesting aspect relating to this topic of numerals is the discovery of the most common type in the extant material. To this end, I have chosen to investigate the relationship of numerals and the word διναρο "dinar", which is often attested in use with numbers in the Bactrian texts. Table 17 shows the results of this investigation:

[165] Sims-Williams 2007a: 133.

[166] Sims-Williams 2007a: 107.

[167] Sims-Williams 2000a: 49.

[168] Sims-Williams 2000a: 161.

[169] Sims-Williams 2000a: 73.

[170] Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.

Table 17. The relationship between numbers and διναρο

types		first position	second position	sum
I	1	number (alphabetically)	διναρο	1
	2	number (in figures)	διναρο	6
	3	number (both alphabetically and in figure)	διναρο	2
II	1	διναρο	number (alphabetically)	1
	2	διναρο	number (as a figure)	18
	3	διναρο	number (both alphabetically and as a figure)	1

Sum: the number of examples of each type in our corpora

According to Table 17, the numbers appear more often as figures than as alphabetically.The most common variety is II.2, i.e., noun-number (in figures). This shows when the number is expressed by ciphers, it tends to occur after the substantive.

The use of both alphabetical numbers and numbers in figures can also be found in other Middle Iranian languages, e.g., Middle Persian. It must be added that there are some differences too, however. For example, types I.3, II.3 are not attested in Middle Persian.[171]

3.1.5.2 Two digit numbers

In the case of two digit numbers, the number based on ten occurs first:

(K 8-9)

(38) **οιστο**   οτο   σοφαρο   σπαλιγο   μολο
     twenty   and   four   jar   wine
     "twenty-four jars of wine"[172]

In the Surkh Kotal inscription, we find another system for two digit numbers. In this example, the decimal appears in the second position. It seems to be an archaic form:

(Surkh Kotal 5)

(39) ιωγο   οδο   **υιρσο**   **χþονο**
     one   and   thirty   year (instead of thirty and one)
     "in the 31th era-year, (lit.) in the year 31"[173]

Plural or no plural ending

In Bactrian, a noun qualified by a cardinal number does not take usually the plural ending

-ανο, but instead, it occurs in the singular. For example:

(K 8)

(40) λασο   γωρο   **ιαοο**
     ten   bushel   grain
     "ten bushels of grain"[174]

---

[171] For the system of numerals in Middle Persian, see West 1978: 334-337 and Brunner 1977: 45-51.

[172] Sims-Williams 2000a: 63.

[173] Lazard, Grenet and de Lamberterie 1984: 226.

[174] Sims-Williams 2000a: 63.

      (ci 11-12)

(41x59)   αλδο-μο   ναοαζο   ασο   χοηοι   πωστογο
      if-I.CP   PN   PRE   lord   document
      αβαραδο   πιδο   λοοι   **μολρο**
      bring.SBJV.3s   PRE   two   seal
      "if Nawaz brings me a document with two seals from the lord"[175]

Only once in the document ef does the substantive occur in the plural:

      (ef 17)

(42)   λοι   ποσανο
      two   sheep
      "the two sheep"[176]

The word πσσο "sheep" occurs very often in the singular form in the Bactrian materials. In Middle Persian and Parthian, unlike Bactrian, the modified substantive may occur in both singular and plural forms.

Also in Middle Persian and Parthian, the cardinal numbers tend to appear in the singular, though in some cases they are also pluralized.[177] In Bactrian, there are no examples of plural numerals.

The singular head noun with a numeral can be used with a plural dependent noun:

      (A35)

(43x30)   καφþινο   ιογδιγο   γ´
      shoe.PL   pair.SG   3
      "three pairs of shoes"[178]

Ordinal numbers

Clear examples of ordinal numbers have not been attested in Bactrian so far. There is only a case in which an interpretation of an ordinal number is suspected. According to Sims-Williams, "if the reading αρημσσο is correct, this may be analysed as *αρημσο "third" (a formation similar to φορδαμσο "(at) first"… plus enclitic -σο "also").[179]

      (Rabatak 20)

(44)   αβο   ι   **αρημσσο**   χþονο
      PRE   ART   third   year
      "in the third year"[180]

The other word for "third", i.e., υιρδδιγο, is used five times in the extant Bactrian material:

      (eg 5-6)

(45)   οτο   **υιρδδιγο**   βαγο   φαρο   ιοþολιζιγαν[ο]   λ[αυο]
      and   third   part   PRE   people of Yush-liz   give.IMPV.2s
      "and [give] a third part to the people of Yush-liz"[181]

---

[175] Sims-Williams 2007a: 85.

[176] Sims-Williams 2007a: 119.

[177] For examples of plural numerals in Middle Persian, see Brunner 1977: 47, and in Parthian, e.g., pnj'n rwšn'n, see Sundermann 1973: 51, lines 942 and 1206; or hft'n, see Durkhin-Meisterernst 2004: 176.

[178] Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

[179] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 66.

[180] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 57.

It seems that there is no difference between αρημσσο and υιρδδιγο in the extant material.

3.2 Adjectives

3.2.1 Modification

3.2.1.1 Suffixes

In Bactrian, adjectives may possess especial elements. Various prefixes and suffixes are used to form adjectives from nouns. In this chapter, first, adjectival prefixes and suffixes are listed. They can help us distinguish adjectives from other word classes. The first group of suffixes are those forming only adjectives:

-ηγγο, -ιγγο forming adjectives from nouns, especially those nouns denoting substances,[182] e.g., λαρσιγγο "ill".

-σαγγο (f.), -σανζο forming adjectives from words referring to persons or places,[183] e.g., ασκισαγγο "belonging to (the place) Askin" [184]

-σιγο, -σιιο, -σινο (after-ν-), -ζιγο forming adjectives from nouns, especially ethnica from names of places and peoples, e.g., χαγοσιγο "(inhabitant) of Khag", sometimes substantivized.[185]

-αγγο forming adjectives, mostly from nouns and pronouns referring to persons or places,[186] e.g., βαγαγγο "godly".

-ανο, -γανο, -κανο forming adjectives (often substantivized), especially from proper names,[187] e.g. καδαγανο "of Kadag".

-δαρο, -ταρο, -αταρο forming comparatives from adjectives, adverbs and nouns,[188] e.g., καμβοδαρο "less".

The second group of these suffixes may form adjectives as well as adverbs:

-ιγο, -ηγο, -ιιο, -ιο, -ινο, also abbreviated -ι forming adjectives (sometimes substantivized) and adverbs from nouns or adverbs. Without noticeable difference in the meaning, it is added to adjectives, e.g., αβανδαρονιγο "interior".

-γωγγο, -γογγο, -ογγο forming adjectives and adverbs expressing likeness from nouns, pronouns and numerals,[189] e.g., ασνωυογωγγο "like a daughter-in-law".

-ηλο, -ιλο forming adverbs and adjectives, especially adverbs of place and adjectives of appurtenance. Often added to adverbs and inflected forms of pronouns without appreciable change of meaning,[190] e.g., αμβηροσιγηλο "(inhabitant) of Amber".

3.2.1.2 Prefixes

There are four prefixes in Bactrian usually forming adjectives from nouns. The following prefixes help us to distinguish adjectives from other types of words:

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[181] Sims-Williams 2007a: 121.

[182] Sims-Williams 2007a: 213.

[183] Sims-Williams 2007a: 261.

[184] Sims-Williams 2007a: 195.

[185] Sims-Williams 2007a: 263.

[186] Sims-Williams 2007a: 187.

[187] Sims-Williams 2007a: 193.

[188] Sims-Williams 2007a: 208.

[189] Sims-Williams 2007a: 207.

[190] Sims-Williams 2007a: 213-214.

I. ανα-, να- are the privative prefix "without",[191] e.g., αναυαγδο "without restriction".

II. αβη-, αβηα-, αβηιο-, αβηο-, αβηυο-, αβυη-, βη-, βηγο-, βηυο- are also the privative prefix "without"[192], e.g., αβηιοαβφαγγο "without deduction".

III. ω-, ο- "the same"[193], e.g., ωραυο "companion".

IV. χοα-, χο- "own, self"[194], e.g., χοακαμο "willingly".

3.2.2 Ordering of adjectives

In some languages, "adjectives seem to be ordered according to semantic criteria",[195] and special kinds of adjectives occur first. According to Hetzron:

> the general cross-linguistic tendency is that adjectives that usually appear closest to the noun are those denoting purpose or destination. In pronominal position, for instance, these are preceded by adjectives denoting composition, origin, colour, physical defect, shape and finally, age.[196]

It must be added that the ordering of adjectives may be different from language to language. Valois mentions the following groups for the ordering of adjectives:[197]

I. A-N Languages (English)	Evaluating	Size	Colour	N
II. N-A Languages (Persian)	N	Colour	Size	Evaluating
III. A-N-A Languages (Italian)	Evaluating	Size	N	Colour

In Bactrian, there are both types I and II. Examples of constructions with more than one adjective are rare in Bactrian, and for this reason, the study of the ordering of adjectives is difficult and complex. At first, we look at the extant examples and then move on to discuss the ordering factors.

In both of the following examples, we have an A-N construction. The adjectives are of the same class, i.e., "(human propensity)",[198] and therefore, their order must be interchangeable:[199]

(ea 1)

(46) **ναμοοινδαδο**   **αβζοδο**   πιρωζο
famous   prosperous   PN
"the famous and prosperous Piruz"[200]

(jh 1-2)

(47) **οαρσοχοανδο**   **λαδοαγαλγο**   **υοναμγο**   βαγανο   þαυο
wonderful   granter of favours   renowned   god.PL   king
"the wonderful, the granter of favours, the renowned king of the gods"[201]

---

[191] Sims-Williams 2007a: 191.

[192] Sims-Williams 2007a: 182.

[193] Sims-Williams 2007a: 281.

[194] Sims-Williams 2007a: 278.

[195] Valois 2006: 62.

[196] Valois 2006: 62-63.

[197] Valois 2006: 63.

[198] Valois 2006: 64.

[199] For this theory, see Valois 2006: 63.

[200] Sims-Williams 2007a: 109.

[201] Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.

In the following examples, we have an N-A construction, and the different classes of adjectives are used together:

(V 10-11)

(48) πιδο   δδραχμο   **ταζαυο**   **σιμιγγο**   **þιζγο**   **ωδαγο**
     PRE   dirhams   Arab   silver   good   district

οιζινδδιγο   σαδο   ρ΄   οδο   πανζασο   ν΄
current   hundred   100   and   fifty   50

"for one hundred and fifty good, locally current Arab dirhams of silver"[202]

We can show the above construction as follows:

PRE	N	A 1	A 2	A 3	A 4	Number
		Arab	silver	good	locally current	
		proper	proper	quality	proper	

As we saw above, four adjectives occur between noun and number, and these are from different categories of adjectives. All of these adjectives modify the noun "dirhams". The adjective of origin ταζαυο "Arab" occurs first in the line of adjectives.

In the following example, the two adjectives occur before the noun; therefore we have an A-N construction. The adjective τοροσανζο "Turkish", of the same category, appears second in the line of adjectives. Both adjectives of origin occur nearest to the substantive in examples (48) and (49):

(T 20)

(49) **στορογο**   **τοροσανζο**   οισλογδο
     great   Turkish   princess

"the great Turkish princess"[203]

In Bactrian, according to the extant examples, it seems that there are some rules for the ordering of adjectives. For example, the adjective of origin appears closest to the substantive, but a conclusive statement about this order is impossible, since supporting evidence is limited to only a few constructions with more than one adjective.

3.2.3 Nominal phrases consisting of an adjective

As mentioned, in some languages, adjectives occur before the noun, such as in English. In other languages, adjectives appear after the noun, such as in Persian. Bactrian belongs to the latter group of languages. There are various positions of adjectives within noun phrases, to be described here.

3.2.3.1 Adjectives may precede the noun they modify

For example:

(cd 11-14)

(50) ταδο-μο   πισο   το   χοηο   ιαυαμγο   φοþταδηιο
     then-I.CP   PRE   SPD   lordship   ART-same   send.PST.OPT.3s

σαγωνδο   πισο   **χοιιαχο**   βραδο
as   PRE   elder   brother

"I would have sent the same to your lordship as to an elder brother"[204]

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[202] Sims-Williams 2000a: 117.

[203] Sims-Williams 2000a: 103.

In the following example, the adjective does not occur close to the substantive; and there are other words between the adjective and the substantive:

(Q 20-21)

(51) ασαμαχο πιδοοασινδανο χολιστο **αβηπαροδωγο** καδαγο
PRE-we.CP declarant.PL. personally non-refundable house
αβανδαρονιγο βηνιγο ζιιανο κιρδο
inside outside penalty do.INF
"to fix a non-refundable penalty of (property) inside (or) outside the house, (payable) by us, the declarants personally"[205]

3.2.3.2 Adjectives may follow the noun

(cc 12-14)

(52) ταδο-μο πιδο χοβο φαρο κοδο **þιζγο** φοþτιιο
then-I.CP PRE SPD majesty dog good send.IMPV.2s
"so in your majesty send me a good dog"[206]

(J 9-10)

(53) ασιδο-μηνο αστο μαληλο αβο μαλρο αγγαργο
but-we.CP be.PRS.3s here PRE PN property
παροιαβιγο
disposable
"But we have a disposable property here in Malr."[207]

The first type is more frequent in Bactrian. It seems that in the majority of examples, there may be a semantic difference between the A-N and N-A constructions. The N-A construction may show an indefinite property. For instance, in example (52), κοδο þιζγο means "a good dog", and in example (53), αγγαργο παροιαβιγο has a meaning of "a disposable property", which seems to be indefinite. Another reason for using the N-A construction may be an emphasis on the adjective.

3.2.4 Case marking of adjectives

We can say that adjectives are sometimes inflected only for number in Bactrian texts. Gender and case inflection is absent, but there are a few exceptions. In general, adjectives modifying plural nouns have a plural ending. This characteristic can be seen in examples from both old and new documents:

(J 3)

(54) πισο μανδαρου**ανι**σο αζαδοβοργανο οιγαλφανο
PRE ART-other.PL-ADV freeman.PL witness.PL
"also in the presence of the other freemen (and) witnesses"[208]

(S 22-23)

(55) ασο οισπου**ανο** οισηρινδανο
PRE all.PL claimant.PL
"from all claimants".[209]

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[204] Sims-Williams 2007a: 75.

[205] Sims-Williams 2000a: 91.

[206] Sims-Williams 2007a: 73.

[207] Sims-Williams 2000a: 55, 57.

[208] Sims-Williams 2000a: 55.

[209] Sims-Williams 2000a: 95, 97.

(Rabatak 2)

(56) ασο   οισπο**ανο**   μι   βαγανο
      PRE   all.PL   ART.PL   god.PL
      "from all the gods".[210]

But there are also some exceptions. In the following example, οισπο, which is singular, is used with a plural noun. Neither of the adjectives are inflected:

(xe 14-15)

(57) οδο   **οισπο** **þιζγο**   ιερανο   ναγαυανο
      and   all   good   thing.PL   hear.SBJV.1s
      "and I should hear all good thing."

In the following case, the adjective φριιο is singular, whereas the noun is plural. Such an adjective is not inflected in the extant Bactrian texts:

(cj 1)

(58) αβο   κολοοαρδαγο οδαβο   ναοαζο   **φριιο**   βραδρανο
      PRE PN   and-PRE   PN   dear.SG   brother.PL
      "to Kulu-ardag and to Nawaz,(my) dear brothers".[211]

In the following example, a plural adjective is used with the singular substantive αζαδοκαρο "freeman":

(Q 8)

(59) πισο   **μανδαρουανισο**   αζαδοκαρο
      PRE   ART-other.PL-ADV   freeman
      "also in the presence of the other freemen"[212]

The plural form of αζαδοκαρο is attested in the extant Bactrian material. In the following example, a singular adjective is used with the plural noun:

(X 3)

(60) **ωδασιιο**   αζαδοκαρνο
      local   freeman.PL
      "local freemen"[213]

3.2.5 Comparison

3.2.5.1 The comparative

The suffixes -δαρο, -ταρο and -αταρο form comparatives from adjectives, for example, ανδαροζαγγοδαρο ADV. "otherwise"< ανδαροζαγγο "of another kind"+ -δαρο.[214] The suffix

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[210] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 55.

[211] Sims-Williams 2007a: 87.

[212] Sims-Williams 2000a: 89.

[213] Sims-Williams 2000a: 137.

[214] Sims-Williams 2007a: 192.

-δαρο is also attested in the adverb ασκαδαρο. According to Sims-Williams, ασποδαρο[215] "mule"<¹ασπο+ -δαρο, OInd. aśva-tará, is also a comparative from ασπο. But the suffix -tará can also be described as ""die Annäherung an den Begriff de[s] grundw[o]rt[es]" AiGr II 2,603"[216]

3.2.5.2 The superlative

Only one example of the superlative form is attested in extant material. This example is **βαγανοδαμο** "most divine", which is the superlative form of **βαγανο**:

(jh 3-4)

(61) καλδανο   αβο   το   βαγανοδαμο χοαδο   λρογο
     when-PAR   PRE   SPD   most divine RP   health
     οιναvο[217]
     see.SBJV.1s
     "when I myself might see your most divine healthy"[218]

3.3 Nominal sentences

3.3.1 The presence of a copula

A simple sentence in Bactrian may be placed in one of two general categories, as a nominal or verbal sentence. In this chapter, we will focus on nominal sentences.

The predicate is a constant element in nominal sentences. The following table shows the present indicative forms of the verb "to be" in Bactrian.

Table 18. Copula, present indicative

	full form	enclitic form	full form, NEG
1s		-ημο, -ιμο (in late Bactrian) [219]	
2s		-ηιο	
3s	αστο	-ιστο	νιστο
1p		-αμο	ναμο
2p		-ηδο (only as suxiliary)[220]	
3p	αστινδο	-ινδο	νινδο

The present optative and subjunctive forms of the verb "to be" are attested in the Bactrian texts[221]. They are tabulated in the following table:

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[215] Khot. khaḍara<*xara-tara Mayrhofer 1992: 140, NP. astar "mule".

[216] Mayrhofer 1992: 140.

[217] Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.

[218] Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.

[219] Sims-Williams 2007a: 42.

[220] Sims-Williams 2007a: 42.

[221] See Sims-Williams 2007a: 197-198 under **αστο.**

Table 19. Copula, optative

	full form	**enclitic form**	**NEG**
1s			
2s		-ηιο (?)[222]	
3s	αστηιο, αστιιο	-ηιο, -αιο (?)[223]	
1p			
2p			
3p		-ινδηιο (only as auxiliary)[224]	

Table 20. Copula, subjunctive

	full form	**enclitic form**	**full form, NEG**
1s		-ανο	
2s			
3s	ασταδο	-αδο, -δο (the latter only as auxiliary)[225]	ναδο
1p			
2p			
3p			

The following table shows the past forms of the verb "to be":

Table 21. Copula, PST

	Past "to be"	**NEG**
1s		
2s		
3s	ασταδο, σταδο	νιστο ασταδο, νιστο σταδο
1p	σταδαμο, ασταδαμο	
2p		
3p	σταδινδο, σταδδινδο, ασταδδινδο	

σταδηιο, ασταδηιο PST.OPT.3s and -αυηιο Pf.OPT.3s (?) are the only forms of past optative attested. The past subjunctive of the verb "to be" is not attested in extant texts.

3.3.1.1 The position of the copula

In the following example, there are two adjectives connected without a conjunction. The copula is added as an enclitic to the second adjective:

(C 21)
(62)   ατο   χοζο   οαοαραδο
       that   good   valid-be.SBJV.3sg
       "that it might be good and valid"[226]

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[222] See Sims-Williams 2007a: 42.

[223] See Sims-Williams 2007a: 42.

[224] See Sims-Williams 2007a: 42.

[225] See Sims-Williams 2007a: 42.

[226] Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.

In the following examples, negative and prohibitive particles are not added to the copula, but added directly to the adjective:

(ab 15-16)

(63)   ταδ-ιιο   ι   χοανδο   οδο   οισαρο
       then-he.CP   ART   claim   and   argument
       ναοα(οα)ραδο
       NEG.PAR.-valid-be.SBJV.3s
       "then his claim and argument shall be invalid"[227]

(C 17-18)

(64x96)   ταδο-ιηιο   ιχοανδο   οδο   οισαρο   μαοαοαρηιο
          then-he.CP   ART-claim and   argument   PROH.PAR.-valid-be.OPT.3s
          "then his claim and argument shall not be valid"[228]

In the following example, νιστο, the negative form of the third person present tense of the verb "to be", is used instead of the negative particle να:[229]

(W 7-8)

(65x97)   ταδο-μο   αβο   χανο   υαρσο ανδαρο   ιαοοανο   νιστο   σταδο
          then-I..CP   PRE   house   just   other   means   NEG.be.PST.3s
          "and I had no other means in (my) house"[230]

The absence of the copula

In Bactrian, the copula can be omitted in different situations. In the following examples, it does not occur in the subordinate clause:

(W 14-15)

(66)   **οαλο**   ασιδαβο   ιασκινο
       there   which-PRE   PN
       "there, which (is) in Askin"

(T 6-7)

(67)   οδο-μο   λαδδ-ηι   μισο   μασκονδο   ιωγο   ζινο
       and-I.CP   give-PST.OPT.3s   also   person   one   woman
       κιδο   οαραγο   ναμο   σιδομο   ασο   βρηδαγο…   αγγιτο
       whose   PN   name   who-I.CP   PRE   PN   receive.PST.3s
       "and also there was given by me, a person, a woman whose name (is) Warag who was received by me from the *bredag*"[231]

The copula can also be omitted in a relationship of apposition:

(V 12-13)

(68)   ασο   μιροσανο   κινο...
       PRE   east   canal
       "to the east (is) a ditch"[232]

[227] Sims-Williams 2000a: 151.

[228] Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.

[229] See also Sims-Williams 2007a: 47, 2.2.6.

[230] Sims-Williams 2000a: 127.

[231] Sims-Williams 2000a: 99.

[232] Sims-Williams 2000a: 117.

(aa 18-19)

(69) φρωδοκο   ναμο   **ι-**φρωδαγο   πορο
      PN   name   EZ-PN   son
      "(whose) name (is) Froduk, the son of Frodag"[233]

In the following example, the demonstrative is used in a copular function. (see 4.2)

(E 4'-5')

(70) ταδο   ειο   ταοι   σιργο
      then   DEM   you.OBL   proof
      "so this (is) your proof"[234]

3.3.2 Copula with infinitive

A copula verb may occur with an infinitive. In the following example, the copula verb "to be" is attached directly to an infinitive:

(bc 7-8)

(71) ταδο-μο   ταλο   αβο   þαρο   ταρο   νιιαβογο   χοζο
      then-I.CP   thus   PRE   city   thither   fitting   good
      αþκαρδ**αδο**
      follow.INF-be.SBJV.3s
      "so it would be very fitting for me to follow (him) thither to the city."[235]

3.3.3 The nominal sentence of possession

There are two different possibilities to indicate possession in Bactrian: either the verb χοαρ- "to have" or the copula is used. Indication of possession with the use of the copula is much more common than the use of the verb χοαρ-, however. For example:

(J 9)

(72) ταδο-μο   αβο   καδγο   ανδαρο   σαγισο   ταοι
      then-I.CP   PRE   house   other   any   assets
      νιστο
      NEG.be.PRS. 3s
      "and I have no other assets in the house"[236]

Very rarely the verb χοαρ- "to have" indicates possession, as the next example shows:

(A 26)

(73) ταδανο   πιδο   χοβο   χοαρηιο
      then-PAR   PRE   own   have.OPT.3s
      "then she may have (him) for her own"[237]

A clear difference between the two types of indication of possession is not found in the extant Bactrian material.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have seen some properties of case morphology and nominal phrases. First, we can conclude that there is really no case distinction between direct and oblique. Only a

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[233] Sims-Williams 2000a: 149.

[234] Sims-Williams 2000a: 43.

[235] Sims-Williams 2007a: 57.

[236] Sims-Williams 2000a: 55

[237] Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

few words in the old texts, such as the inscriptions, have preserved their old oblique endings. In the new texts, the endings -o for the singular and -αvo for the plural have been generalized.

Second, there are only a few words with the feminine ending -α in old texts. On this limited basis, therefore, we cannot argue that one can distinguish feminine stems from masculine in Bactrian.

In this chapter, I have also described the properties of nominal phrases, such as descriptive adjectives, appositional modifiers, the relationship between head noun and dependent noun and numerical substantives. Furthermore, this chapter has focused on the syntactical properties of the described elements. It has also been shown that the positions of adjectives, head nouns and dependent nouns or numerals are very flexible and interchangeable in Bactrian.

Finally, I have reviewed nominal sentences with the presence, absence, and position of the copula. The different functions of the copula have been presented as well.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: PRONOUNS

The purpose of this chapter is, in the first place, to show the function of pronouns in Bactrian. I first present the common types of pronouns and their case system. Thereafter I will focus on each set of pronouns and examine their specific properties. Several items relating to the pronouns are investigated, including full and enclitic forms of pronouns, direct and oblique case forms and their functions, the syntactic position of pronouns and their ordering. However, due to the limited amount of texts, some of the above mentioned items cannot be satisfactorily examined.

4.1 Personal pronouns

There are two kinds of personal pronouns in Bactrian: full and enclitic pronouns. As in other Iranian languages, an enclitic pronoun is in the oblique case. The full pronouns may occur in direct or oblique case in the singular. There is no distinction between direct and oblique in plural. As in many Iranian languages for third person full pronouns, demonstratives are used. Full and enclitic personal pronouns have different functions in the texts. The direct full pronoun can be used as the subject of a transitive verb in the present, as the object of a transitive verb in the past, as the subject of an intransitive verb in all tenses and as the subject of a copula. Both full and enclitic oblique pronouns can express the role of the subject of a transitive verb in the past, the object of a transitive verb in the present, show possessive relations with nouns and express a recipient/indirect object. The personal pronouns occur in different syntactic positions. For example, the oblique form of a personal pronoun can appear before or after a nominal phrase. It can appear after prepositions, after conjunctions, or in rare cases, it can be attached to another enclitic pronoun or to a verb.

4.1.1 Full pronouns

As mentioned above, personal pronouns only distinguish a direct and oblique form in the singular. For the third person, demonstrative pronouns are used (see 3.2). The next table shows the most common forms of personal pronouns found in the researched documents.

Table 22. Personal pronouns

Person	direct	oblique
1s	αζο	μανο
2s	το (τοι,τοο,τογο,τοουο)	ταο (ταοι,ταοο)
1p	αμαχο, μαχο (in old texts), ιαμαχο (only in possessive function)[238]	
2p	τωμαχο, τομαχο, ταμαχο	

4.1.1.1 The direct full pronouns

The full personal pronouns have different functions. In this section, I will concentrate on the direct function of full pronouns.

A full pronoun can function as the subject of transitive verbs in the present tense:

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[238] Sims-Williams 2007a: 216.

(A 12-13)

(74) ιθαυατανο   ληρηιο   **αζο**   βαγοφαρνο   αβο   μασκο
      so that   treat.PRS.OPT.1s I.DIR.   PN   PRE   herein
      νοβιχτισο   ζινο
      described   woman
      "so that, I, Bag-farn, may treat the woman described herein"[239]

It can also be used in the role of the object of transitive verbs in the past tense (ergative construction):

(F 7-8)

(75) οτο-μο   **το**   ζηρο   αζαδο …   υιρτηιο
      and-I.CP   you.DIR   PN   free …   set.PST.2s
      "I released you, Zer"[240]

It can occur as the subject of intransitive verbs in all tenses:

(O 16)

(76) καλδο   αχασανο   **αζο**   ιωβιγο   χοαδο
      if   dispute.PRS.SBJV.1s I.DIR   PN   RP
      "If I should quarrel, I, Yobig myself …"[241]

In the following example, it is used as the subject of a copula verb:

(bh 7)

(77) οτο   **αζο**   μαρο   λρογημο
      and   I.DIR   here   healthy-be.PRS.1s
      "And I am healthy here."[242]

The form αζο is a full pronoun, not an enclitic pronoun, but once it is directly attached to a conjunction, it becomes like an enclitic pronoun:

(eh 6)

(78) ταδαζο   λρογο   αγαδιμο
      then-I.DIR   health   arrive.PST.1s
      "Then I arrived in good health."[243]

4.1.1.2 The oblique full pronouns

The oblique personal pronouns have different functions in the extant texts. In the following examples, these functions are presented:

The ergative construction shows the agent in the oblique case, when the agent is a pronoun. It is only in the inscriptions that the oblique form of a substantive is attested:

(ba 9)

(79) **μανο**   ναγατο
      I.OBL   hear.PST.3s
      "I have heard"[244]

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[239] Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

[240] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.

[241] Sims-Williams 2007b: 10.

[242] Sims-Williams 2007a: 67.

[243] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 123.

[244] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

It may be used as a recipient/indirect object, such as in the following example:

(cf 8-9)
(80) ταδο **μανο** ασποδαρο λαυο
 then I.OBL. mule give.IMP.2s
 "Then give me a mule"[245]

With a preposition, an enclitic pronoun usually occurs. In the following example, we expect ασαφαγο, but a full pronoun in oblique case, i.e., τωμαχο is used after the preposition ασο:

(L 28´-29´)
(81) οτακαλδο ανδαρισο κισο ασταδο κιδαβο ι
 and-if other person be.SBJV.3s who-to ART
 μασκο ναβιχτιγο αγγαργο ασο **τωμαχο** πιδοκαρλαδο
 herein pp property PRE you.OBL withhold.SBJV.3s
 "and if should be anyone else, who might withhold from you the property written herein"

Possessive function

An oblique full personal pronoun is used occasionally with a noun to indicate possession. In this case, it functions as a possessive adjective and generally occurs before the substantive:

(cl 3-4)
(82) μισιδο ναοαζο**μανο** μαρηγο αβα-μαγο
 moreover PN I.OBL. servant to-I.CP
 πιδοοαυαδο
 appeal.PST.3s
 "Moreover, Nawaz my servant has appealed to me"[246]

(S 10)
(83) ταδο **μαχο** σαχοανο ματο οδο **μαχο**
 then we.UFL claim give up.PST.3s and we.UFL
 ιαχασο αβσιστηιο
 dispute conclude.PST.OPT.3s
 "then our claim was given up and dispute was brought to an end"[247]

In the following example, it appears before καμιρδο βαγο " the god Kamird ", which is in apposition to the nominal phrase οηζο οδο οαρσοχοδανο "power and miraculous ability":

(T 12-13)
(84) **ταοι** καμιρδο βαγο οηζο οδο οαρσοχοδανο
 you.OBL. PN god power and miraculous ability
 "The power and miraculous ability of you, the god Kamird"[248]

In the following example, a demonstrative and a personal pronoun are used. The demonstrative appears before the nominal phrase, whereas the personal pronoun occurs after it, which happens very rarely in Bactrian:

(T 10)
(85) εμο πωστιιο **μανο**
 DEM contract I.OBL
 "this contract of mine"[249]

[245] Sims-Williams 2007a: 79.
[246] Sims-Williams 2007a: 89.
[247] Sims-Williams 2000a: 95.
[248] Sims-Williams 2000a: 101.

4.1.2 Enclitic pronouns

As in other Iranian languages, the case of the enclitic pronouns is exclusively oblique. There are two forms for the first and second singular enclitic pronouns in Bactrian. The suffixed forms, 1s -μαγο (<encl.acc./abl. *-mā/-mad+ particle *kā[250]) and 2s -φαγο (<encl.acc./abl. *θwā/-θwad+ particle *kā[251]), are used only with prepositions, as can be seen in the next table below (??). Members of the second group are also attached to other kinds of words:

Table 23. Enclitic pronouns

1s	-μο
	-μαγο with PRE
2s	-δηιο, -τηιο, *-δο
	-φαγο with PRE
3s	-ηιο, -ιηιο, -ιιο, -ηο, -ιι-, -ιιο, -ι-
1p	-μηνο
2p	-δηνο
3p	-ηνο, -ιηνο, -ινο

4.1.2.1 The function of enclitic pronouns

An enclitic pronoun has the following functions in the extant Bactrian material.

It may be used as the subject of transitive verbs in the past:

(L 21-22)

(86) οτο-**μηνο**   αγγιτινδο   ι   οαυαγο   οισπο ασποριγο
     and-we.CP   receive.PST.3p   ART price   all   complete
     "And we received the price all complete"[252]

The object of transitive verbs in the present may also be expressed as the form of an enclitic pronoun.

In the following examples, a preposition governs the enclitic pronoun:

(F 12-13)

(87) κιδ-ανο   αβα-**φαγο**   ζηρο   ...   αθκαρ-αδο
     who   PRE-you.OBL.   Zer   …   pursue-SBJV.3s
     "who might pursue you, Zer" [253]

(cl 3-4)

(88) μισιδο   ναοαζομανο   μαρηγο   αβα-**μαγο**
     moreover   PN   I.OBL.   servant   to-I.CP
     πιδοοαυαδο
     appeal.PST.3s
     "Moreover, Nawaz my servant has appealed to me"[254]

Like a full pronoun, an enclitic pronoun may be used to indicate possession. In this case, it functions as a possessive adjective:

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[249] Sims-Williams 2000a: 103.

[250] Sims-Williams 2007a: 229.

[251] Sims-Williams 2007a: 273.

[252] Sims-Williams 2000a: 67.

[253] Sims-Williams 2000a: 46.

[254] Sims-Williams 2007a: 89.

(C 7)

(89) χοβο-**μο**   πιριϸτο
RA-I.OBL.   inheritance
"my own inheritance"[255]

An enclitic pronoun may to be used as a recipient/ indirect object. In the following example, an enclitic pronoun is attached directly to a verb:

(Y 6-7)

(90) ωσο   μιρο   δογγο   πιδοοαυανο   πιδοοαυαδο-**μο**
now   PN   thus   request   request.PST.3s-I.CP
"Now Mir has thus made a request to me."[256]

4.1.2.2 The position of enclitic pronouns

After a conjunction

An enclitic pronoun may be attached to the conjunction:

(J 8)

(91) οτο-**μηνο**   ηβοδαλοχοηοοανο   τωγο   αστοργο
and-we.CP   Hephthalite lord.PL   tax   large
ασταδο   αβοκαδγο
be.PST.3s   PRE-house
"and the Hephthalite lords tax on our house was large"[257]

(R 10-11)

(92) οδο-**μηνο**   σαχοανο   οδο   ιαχασο   αματο
and-we.CP   claim   and   dispute give up.PST.3s
"and our claim and dispute was given up"[258]

This type (conjunction with an enclitic) is more common than the other type (conjunction with a full pronoun) in Bactrian.

After a preposition

The oblique full pronoun can be attached directly to a preposition:

(cq 7-8)

(93) σιδο   το   χοηοι   ασα-**μαγο**   þαδο   βοοηιο
that   SPD   lordship   PRE-I.OBL.   pleased   be.OPT.3s?
"that your lordship may be pleased with me"[259]

Attached to a verb

Examples of the personal pronoun attached to a verb are rarely found in the Bactrian material (see example 90).

Attached to another enclitic pronoun

In the following example, an enclitic pronoun is attached to another enclitic pronoun already attached to a conjunction. The first enclitic personal pronoun expresses the subject of a transitive past verb, and the second personal pronoun expresses the object of the sentence:

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[255] Sims-Williams 2000a: 39.

[256] Sims-Williams 2000a: 145.

[257] Sims-Williams 2000a: 55.

[258] Sims-Williams 2000a: 93.

[259] Sims-Williams 2007a: 97.

(jh 12-13)

(94)	ταδο-**μ-ηιο**	φρογιϸτιγο	πιδο	ταοοανο	ταρο
	then-I.CP-he.CP	contribution	PRE	fine	thither

φοþταδο
send.PST.3s

"I have sent it thither (to you as) his contribution in respect of the fine"[260]

In view of the function of personal pronouns, a few differences can be observed between the full pronouns and enclitic pronouns. After a conjunction and a preposition both the enclitic and full pronouns may occur, but the first form is found much more often.

4.1.3 Ordering of enclitic and full pronouns

Examples of a sentence with more than one personal pronoun are rare in the extant Bactrian material. In example (95), the full pronoun occurs first, while the enclitic pronoun, which is attached to a preposition, appears after it. It must be added here that very often, other words may stand between them. In example (75), an enclitic pronoun, which functions to express the subject, is attached directly to the conjunction, while the direct full pronoun, which expresses object, occurs after it. In example (94), two enclitic pronouns are attached to a conjunction. The first is the subject and the second a possessive adjective. When a sentence contains a full pronoun and a pronoun which is governed by a preposition, it seems that the full pronoun must occur first:

(G 1)

(95)	μισιδο	πιδοροβδο	**μανο**	μοζδο	ι	χαραγανο	...
	now	receive.PST.3s	I.OBL	PN	EZ	PN	…

ασο-φαγο	ωρομοζδο	ι	βορνικανο
PRE-you.CP	PN	EZ	PN

"Now, I received, Muzd Kharagan … from you Ormuzd Burnikan"

4.1.4 Summary

There are two kinds of personal pronouns in Bactrian: full and enclitic pronouns. As in other Iranian languages, an enclitic pronoun is in the oblique case. The full pronouns may occur in direct or oblique case in the singular. There is no distinction between direct and oblique in the plural. As in many Iranian languages, for third person full pronouns, demonstratives are used. Full and enclitic personal pronouns have different functions in the texts. The direct full pronoun can be used as the subject of a transitive verb in the present, as the object of a transitive verb in the past, as the subject of an intransitive verb in all tenses and as the subject of a copula. Both full and enclitic oblique pronouns can express the role of the subject of a transitive verb in the past, the object of a transitive verb in the present, show possessive relations with nouns and express a recipient/indirect object. The personal pronouns occur in different syntactic positions. For example, the oblique form of a personal pronoun can appear before or after a nominal phrase. In this context, it very often plays the role of a possessive pronoun. It can suffixed to a preposition, a conjunction, or in rare cases, it can be attached to another enclitic pronoun or to a verb.

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[260] Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.

4.2 Demonstratives

In my article on "demonstratives and determiners in Bactrian" (2009a), I discussed the different types of demonstratives and their function.[261] Here in this chapter, I would like to concentrate on the function of demonstratives and other pronouns as a copula.

The conversion of pronominals to copula forms and the use of pronouns as copula forms is already pointed out and discussed by Li and Thompson (1977) and Korn (2011). Korn shows that pronouns can be used as the copula and the copula as pronouns in some Iranian languages.[262] Her article also argues that some Iranian pronominal clitics might derive from copula or verbal ending forms.[263] In this chapter, we discuss the conversion of pronouns to copula in Bactrian, if it exists. We also show whether pronouns are derived from the copula and verbal ending forms in Bactrian.

Copula sentences are common in Bactrian, as in other Iranian languages (see 3.3).

But in some cases, the copula can be omitted. These examples might prove that the copula is optional in Bactrian (see 3.3.1). It is a question here whether in such sentences without the copula, the pronouns are used in a copular function.

In discussing this topic, we first concentrate on clitic pronouns and demonstratives in Bactrian.

In some Iranian languages, for example, New Persian, the singular pronominal clitics can be traced back to the OIr. genitive/dative clitics. In certain other Iranian languages, for example, from the Western group, there is a group of clitics which might derive from copula forms or verbal endings.[264] In Bactrian, enclitics have not derived from copula or verbal ending forms, but rather from OIr. genitive/dative enclitics:

1s.-μο < *mai

2s.-δηιο, -τηιο,[265] *-δο <*tai

3s.-ηιο, -ιηιο, -ιιο, -ηο, -ιι-, -ι-<*-V-hai

The plural clitic forms are a secondary formation from singular forms:

1p.-μηνο "formed from -μο on the analogy of -δηνο, -ηνο"[266]

2p.-δηνο "a secondary formation from -δηιο"[267]

3p.-ηνο, -ιηνο, -ινο "a secondary formation from -ηιο"[268]

To judge from the limited material available, we conclude that enclitic personal pronouns are not used in the copular function. [269] But the question of this development must also be asked of the demonstratives.

In the glossary of the *Bactrian Documents* II, we find the following words classified as demonstratives:

[261] See Gholami 2009a: 19-26.

[262] Cf. Korn 2011: 53-70.

[263] Cf. Korn 2011: 53.

[264] Cf. Korn 2011: 63.

[265] <*tai+with the final vowel oft he 3sg. equivalent -ηιο cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 209.

[266] Sims-Williams 2007a: 232.

[267] Sims-Williams 2007a: 209.

[268] Sims-Williams 2007a: 214.

[269] For demonstrative determiners and pronouns in Bactrian, see Gholami 2009: 19-26.

1. ειο, ιειο, -ιιο, -ιγο, -ι, older form ειιο, ειο (in the Surkh Kotal inscription) <*ayam

2. ειμο, ιειμο, εμο, ιμο <*ima-, PL.ειμουανο, εμουανο, -ιμουανο<*imaišanām-

3. ειδο, εδο, -ιδο<*aita-,PL.εδουανο,-ιδουανο <*aitaišanām

4. οο<*awam

5. μο, μ-<*ima-

The first three demonstratives are the most common forms in Bactrian. In the following table, the demonstratives, copula forms, and verbal endings are listed.

Table 24. Demonstratives, copula forms, and verbal endings

Demonstratives	PIr.	Copula forms		Verbal endings
ειμο, ιειμο, εμο, ιμο	<*ima-	1s	-ημο, -ιμο	-ημο, -ιμο
ειο, ιειο, -ιιο, -ιγο, -ι, older form ειιο, ειο	<*ayam-	2s	-ηιο	-ηιο
ειδο, εδο, -ιδο	<*aita-	3s	-ιστο	-ιδο, -δο

According to Table 24 above, we can conclude that in Bactrian copula forms and verbal endings are likely to derive from demonstrative pronouns. In the case of ειδο, there is no derivation from *aita, but the enclitic form -ιστο is used as a copular form. The 3s. verbal endings are derived from demonstratives.

In some languages such as Sogdian, demonstratives show a deixis (or personal) distinction.[270] In Bactrian such a distinction is not observed.[271]

The other question arises here is whether the demonstrative could be used in the copular function. For answering this question, some examples are given and analysed in the following section.

In some constructions, both the copula and the demonstrative are used:

(X 31)
(96) **οδδι** πωστιγο χοζο ... βοοαδο
and-DEM contract good be.OPT.3s
"And may this contract be good."[272]

(V 12-13)
(97x130) ιειο παδουαμονδδιγινδο
DEM boundary-be.PRS.3p
"these are the boundaries"[273]

But in some cases, there is no copula and the demonstrative may play the role of a copula:

(E 4´-5´)
(98) ταδο ειο ταοι σιργο
then DEM you.OBL proof
"so this (is) your proof"[274]

In above ειο seems to be used as a copula. According to Korn, "most of the pronominal copula forms are only used in the 3rd person, and in the present tense."[275] In Bactrian, as far as

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[270] See Wendtland 2006: 241-259 and Wendtland 2004: 17-39.

[271] Cf. Gholami 2009: 19-26.

[272] Sims-Williams 2000a: 143.

[273] Sims-Williams 2000a: 117.

[274] Sims-Williams 2000a: 43.

we can tell from the material available, the pronominal copula forms can be also used for second person. In the preceding example, it seems that the use of ειο has a connection with ταοι "you", although in Bactrian, these three demonstratives do not show more of a deixis distinction.

If the statements suggested above are correct, we can conclude that demonstratives are also used in a copular function in Bactrian.

4.3 Reflexive forms

4.3.1 Reflexive pronouns

There is more than one reflexive pronoun in Bactrian:

(i) χοαδο

The form **χοαδο** is the most common reflexive pronoun in Bactrian. It occurs frequently in the role of a reflexive pronoun, but not as a reflexive adjective. It is preceded by the noun or pronoun to which it refers. In the following examples, it occurs after a noun and pronoun, which expresses the subject of the sentence:

(ab 11)

(99) αλο   αζο   οηþολαδο   **χοαδο**
     or   I.DIR   PN   RP
     "Whether I, Wesh-lad myself"276

(ba 14)

(100) ταδο   αζο   **χοαδο**   φρομιιανο
      then   I.DIR RP   order.SBJV.1s
      "then I myself shall order"277

The reflexive pronoun may occur directly after its antecedent or some distance from it. In the following example, the verbal ending indicates the person and number of the subject. The reflexive pronoun appears after the object of the sentence, though it does not refer to that object:

(bb 4)

(101) καλδανο   αβο   το   χοηο   **χοαδο** λρογο   οηνανο
      when-PAR   PRE   SPD   lordship   RP   healthy   see.SBJV.1s
      "When I myself might see your lordship healthy"278

In the following example, the reflexive pronoun occurs after the verb. The verbal ending indicates the person and number of the reflexive pronoun:

(jf 13-14)

(102) μισιδο   σογγο πιδο   δροστανο   **αρμαυηδο**   χοαδο
      moreover   as   PRE   health   remain.PRS or OPT.2p   RP
      "Moreover in as much as you (PL.) yourself remain in (good) health"279

The reflexive pronoun χοαδο is very often used to refer to the first person singular pronoun (examples (99)-(101)). It may also used to refer to second person plural (example (102)) , third person singular (example (103)) and first person plural pronouns (example (104)):

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275 Korn 2011: 60.

276 Sims-Williams 2007a: 151.

277 Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

278 Sims-Williams 2007a: 55.

279 Sims-Williams 2007a: 133.

(ea 10-11)

(103) υαρσο κισο   υαργο οδο   σαχοανο   νιστο   αφαρσιδο
      no one   right and   business   NEG.be.PRS.3s   except
      þαβορο   **χοαδο**
      PN   himself
      "no-one has (any) right or (other) business except Shabur himself"[280]

(A 23-24)

(104) κοοαδο   αμαχο   αβο   ραλικο   **χοαδο**   ζιþτο
      that   we.UFL   PRE   PN   RP   request.PST.3s
      "that we ourselves have requested Ralik"[281]

Other words as prepositions or adverbs may be directly attached to χοαδο, e.g., χοαδαλο (χοαδο+αλο "with") and χοαδασο (χοαδο+ασο "from"), χοαδισο (χοαδο+ισο "also"):

(ji 7-9)

(105) οτιιο   οαλο   þαταρο   κιδο   **χοαδασο**   νοζδο
      and-he.CP   then   more happy who   RP-PRE   nearby
      δδρογο   þιζγο   οινανο
      healthy   well   see.SBJV.1s
      "And then [it would be] more happy for him who might see (you) himself from nearby, healthy (and) well"[282]

(ii) χοβοσαρο

The form χοβοσαρο[283] (older χοβισαρο in the Rabatak inscription[284]) is used two times in our corpora. It functions as a reflexive pronoun. In the following example, it refers to a second person plural antecedent. The verbal ending indicates the number and person of its antecedent:

(bc 12-13)

(106) οτο   ιωγο   μαρδο   **χοβοσαρο**   εδρηδο
      and   one   man   RP   (?).IMPV.2p
      "And you shall … one man yourselves"[285]

In the following example, it is used to refer to a third person singular antecedent:

(Rabatak 13-14)

(107) αβο   (ι)   πιδα   οδο   αβο   ι   **χοβισαρο**   κανηþκε
      PRE   ART   father and   PRE   ART RP   PN
      þαο
      king
      "(his) father, and himself, king Kanishka"[286]

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[280] Sims-Williams 2007a: 109.

[281] Sims-Williams 2000: 35.

[282] Sims-Williams 2007a: 139.

[283] We can compare this word with „xpasar in Pashto" Sims-Williams 2007a: 279 <*xpəl-sar "self" Morgenstierne 2003: 96, according to Bellew khpul "self, own", khpul.sar "obstinate, self-opinionated" Bellew 1867: 63.

[284] Sims-Williams 2007a: 279.

[285] Sims-Williams 2007a: 57.

[286] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 57.

4.3.2 Reflexive adjectives

(i) χοβο

The form χοβο very often plays the role of a reflexive possessive adjective. It can also be used as a noun or rarely as a pronoun. The reflexive possessive adjective usually occurs before the noun to which it refers:

(I 5´)
(108) πιδο μο **χοβο** σινδο
PRE ART RA wish
"at (our) own wish"[287]

In some cases, it is more common to use a reflexive adjective instead of a possessive adjective, i.e., χοβο καδγο instead of τωμαχο καδγο :

(ca 7-8)
(109) τασιτηνο(τα-+ασιδο+-δηνο) ασο **χοβο** καδγο ασβαρο ασταδο
then-whatever-you.CP.2p PRE RA house horsemen be.SBJV.3s
"Whatever horsemen you may have (available) from your house"[288]

Only in the following example does it play the role of a reflexive pronoun, like χοαδο:

(W 28´-29´)
(110) οδαλο μαχο **χοβο** πιδοοασινδδιγανο αχασαμο
and-or we.UFL RP declarant.PL dispute.SBJV.1p
"or (if) we ourselves, the declarants, should dispute"[289]

In the following example, χοβο is used as a noun:

(dd 5-6)
(111) ι-**μανο** χοβο
ART-I.OBL property
"my property"[290]

It can be observed that other words, such as an enclitic pronoun, are often attached to χοβο:

(V 8)
(112) **χοβομηνο** βονο πιδαργανο
RA-we.CP land ancestral
"our own ancestral estate"[291]

(ii) χοβιγο

The distinction between χοβο and χοβιγο is not clear. Both may function as reflexive possessive adjectives. As the suffix -ιγο may form adjectives and adverbs, it must function as an adjective, not as a noun. We can compare this word with wēbē(h), (wxybyh) in Parthian. According to Sundermann, it functions predominantly as an adjective in the meaning of "own" and it is also rarely used as a substantive.[292]

[287] Sims-Williams 2000a: 51.
[288] Sims-Williams 2007a: 69.
[289] Sims-Williams 2000a: 133.
[290] Sims-Williams 2007a: 105.
[291] Sims-Williams 2000a: 115.
[292] See Sundermann 1989a: 132.

χοβιγο is used only six times in the texts in BD I and II. This word can be used with a possessive pronoun. In this case, the word χοβιγο occurs between the possessive pronoun and noun:

> (O 13')
>
> (113) οδο ναυο μαναγγο **χοβιγο** τοχμιγο
>   and nor POSA RA family
>   "and nor my own (household) family"[293]

χοβιγο may be also used independently, as in the following, where it is repeated and used with the meaning of "all our own":

> (N 30-31)
>
> (114) οτο δρουμινο δρουμινο ερκαραμο οδο **χοβιγο**
>   and enemy enemy chase off.SBJV.1p and own
>   **χοβιγο** ληραμο
>   own keep.SBJV.1p
>   "And may chase off all enemies and keep all our own (household)".[294]

4.3.3 Summary

According to the given examples and information, we can conclude that there are four words in Bactrian which function as the reflexive pronoun or reflexive adjective. The most common reflexive pronoun is χοαδο. It is used very often in the extant material. The form χοβο is a reflexive possessive adjective and also occurs very often in the texts. Sometimes it plays the role of a possessive adjective. The word χοβιγο, like χοβο, functions as a reflexive adjective, but it is not attested very often in the extant material. Both χοβιγο and χοβο may occur in the role of a noun. The word χοβοσαρο occurs only twice as a reflexive pronoun in the extant texts. There is no distinction in the case, number, or person of reflexive pronouns or of reflexive adjectives in Bactrian.

4.4 Indefinite Pronouns

The following indefinite pronouns or adjectives usually refer to one or more unspecified beings, objects or places, though they can sometimes function as other words, depending on context. There is only one form for indefinite pronouns. A case, gender, or number distinction is not attested.

4.4.1 With animates

(i) κισο, κικο(?)

The first group of indefinite pronouns are used for animate referents. κισο means "someone, anyone, any person"; with ανδαρο, it means "someone else, anyone else, other people", and with a negative, it means "no-one, not…anyone".[295] κικο "anyone"[296] is used only in Y9:

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[293] Sims-Williams 2007a: 11.

[294] Sims-Williams 2000a: 79.

[295] Sims-Williams 2007a: 224.

[296] Sims-Williams 2007a: 223.

(Y 9-10)

(115) κικο   πιδο   βαβαγγο   παρο οδο   παδδιστο   αχασο
      INP   PRE   of Bab   debt and   promise   dispute
      μαγο αχασαδο
      PROH.dispute.SBJV.3s
      "no-one may dispute … on account of a debt and promise or dispute of Bab's"[297]

According to Sims-Williams, κικο here may have another interpretation: "If not merely a mistake for κισο perhaps from reduplicated *kah kah, cf. AV. kaи́he kaи́he "of which""".[298]

The pronoun κισο can occur with an adjective such as οισο "every, all", and thus convey the meaning of "everyone":

(Q 33)

(116) φαρο   οισο   **κισο**
      PRE   every INP
      "for everyone"[299]

κισο may occur with a plural verb as the example (120) or with a singular verb as in the following example. In both of these constructions, it expresses the role of subject:

(jh 7-8)

(117) ωσο   ...   **κισο**   αγαδο   ταρο
      now   INP   come.PST.3s   thither
      "now someone has come thither"[300]

κισο may also express the role of object. As mentioned before, there is no case distinction in the form of indefinite pronouns. These pronouns usually refer to animate entities. Therefore, in either role, whether subject or object, the same form, i.e., κισο, is used:

(xl 13)

(118) οτο   **κισο**   μαυιρζο
      and   INP   PROH.permit.IMPV.2s
      "and you should not permit anyone"[301]

(ii) ανδαρο κισο

In the following example, κισο is used together with another indefinite pronoun, ανδαρο "other". The occurrence of an indefinite pronoun with another indefinite pronoun is common in the extant Bactrian material:

(F 10-11)

(119) οδασο   ανδαρο   **κισο**
      and-PRE   INP   INP
      "and from anyone else"[302]

(ce 4-5)

(120) οδο   μισο   ανδαρο   **κισο**   ταδο   ταρο   χοβο   ληρινδο
      and   also   INP   INP   that   there   own   have.PRS.3p
      "and the others too have their own (people) there"[303]

---

[297] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 145.

[298] Sims-Williams 2007a: 223.

[299] Sims-Williams 2000a: 91.

[300] Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.

[301] Sims-Williams 2007a: 157.

[302] Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.

(iii) δανομανο

δανομανο "such and such" is an indefinite adjective which is used only in X22. Here this word modifies a singular noun with animate referents, "person":

(X 22-23)

(121)	κιδο	**δανομανο**	μαρδο	ζιγο	βηλαδδιγινδο
	so that	INA	person	damage	unlawful-be.PRS.3p

"so that, the damage and unlawful are for such-and-such persons"[304]

4.4.2 With inanimates

(i) σαγισο, σαγγισο, σιγισο[305]

The words σαγισο, σαγγισο, σιγισο are indefinite pronouns and adjectives, conveying the meaning of "something, anything, some, any", with negation as "nothing, not…any", and with ασιδο, as "whatever".[306] These words are typically used to refer to inanimate beings.

σαγισο may function as a pronoun:

(eb 10-11)

(122)	ταδο-μο	ταρο	**σαγγισο**	ασταδο
	then-I.CP	there	INP	be.SBJV.3s

"so I should have anything there"[307]

It can also function as an adjective. In this case, it usually occurs before the noun that it modifies:

(J 21-22)

(123)	**σαγισο**	σαχοανο	οδο	οισαρο	νιστο
	INA	claim	and	argument	NEG.be.PRS.3s

"(we) do not have any claim and argument"[308]

In the following example, it is used as an adjective preceding a noun, after another adjective, i.e., ανδαρο "another":

(L 10-11)

(124)	ταδο-μηνο	αβο	καδγο	ανδαρο	**σαγισο**	ταοι
	then-we.CP	PRE	house	other	INA	assets

νιστο ασταδο
NEG.be.PST.3s

"And we had no other assets (left) in the house."[309]

(ii) σισο

Equivalent to κισο, which refers to animate beings, σισο refers to inanimate entities. This indefinite pronoun is only used twice in the Bactrian materials, and only in the document X with ανδαρο "other" and οοσπο "all":

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[303] Sims-Williams 2007a: 77.

[304] Sims-Williams 2000a: 141.

[305] There are different forms of one word.

[306] Sims-Williams 2007a: 261.

[307] Sims-Williams 2007a: 111.

[308] Sims-Williams 2000a: 59.

[309] Sims-Williams 2000a: 65.

(X 14-15)

(125)   ασιδο   μαχο   αβο   χανο   αστο   οδο   ωσταμο
           whatever   we.UFL   PRE   house home   and   estate
           ασταδο   βανζο   οδο   μαρηιο   στωρο   οδο
           be.SBJV.3s slave-girl and   slave   cattle   and
           ανδαρο   **σισο**
           other   INP
           "whatever we may have in (our) houses, homes and estates–slave-girls and slaves (and) cattle and anything else…"[310]

(X 15-16)

(126)   ασιδο   πιδο   οοσπο   **σισο**   παδαχþανηδο
           but   PRE   all   INP   have authority.PRS.2p
           "but you have authority (jointly) over everything"[311]

(iii) καδαμο

καδαμο is also an indefinite adjective used only in the phrase καδαμο υαρσο "whatever" in the document N. It has inanimate reference:[312]

(N 21-22)

(127)   πιδο   **καδαμο**   υαρσο   ζαγγο   αζο   σαμοσιτο
           PRE   INA   ADV.all   way   I.DIR PN
           ...   οιζιιανο
           …   injury.SBJV.1s
           "In whatever way I, Samsit … cause injury"[313]

Like the word kadām in Middle Persian, which is only used to refer to inanimate entities, it is probable that καδαμο in Bactrian may also only be used with such inanimate reference.

4.4.3 With both animates and inanimates

ανδαρο[314]

ανδαρο "other" is an example of an indefinite pronoun which frequently refers to animate beings. There are also a few examples of it with reference to inanimate beings. As an adjective, it usually appears before a noun, nominal phrase, or such words as σαγισο "thing", υαρσο κισο "someone", or κισο υαρσο "someone". It always agrees with its noun in number. There is no distinction between the oblique and direct case of ανδαρο, as the next examples show:

(A 18)

(128)   οτανο   μαπαδοαþχανηιο   αζο   βαβο   οδαζο
           and-PAR   PROH.have the right.OPT.1s   I.DIR PN   and-I.DIR.
           πιδοκο   **ανδαρο**   ολο   αβο   κιρδο
           PN   INA   wife PRE   do.PST.INF
           "And I, Bab and I, Piduk shall not have the right to make another wife."[315]

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[310] Sims-Williams 2000a: 139.

[311] Sims-Williams 2000a: 139.

[312] Sims-Williams 2007a: 220.

[313] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 77.

[314] According to Sims-Williams ανδαρο is a pronominal adjective cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 191.

[315] Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

(cg 7-8)

(129) ασο   τανο   αβο   **ανδαρο**   τανο
      PRE   person   PRE   INA   person
      "from person to other person"[316]

This word can also occur with a plural verb, as in the following example:

(X 30-31)

(130) οδασο   ι   αβηιο **ανδαρο**   πωστιγο   καβογγο   οδο
      and-PRE   ART(?)   away   INA   contract   old   and
      νωγο   αβηιοπαρμανο   βοοινδαδο
      new   without authority be.SBJV.3p
      "and apart from this (?), may (all) other contracts, old or new, be (considered) without
      authority"[317]

The plural form of this pronominal adjective is attested in the extant texts. In the following
example, it agrees with its noun, στηβιγανο αζαβοργανο "freemen of Steb", which is plural:

(A 7)

(131) οδο   πισο   **μανδαρουανισο**   στηβιγανο   αζαβοργανο
      and   PRE   ART-INA.PL-ADV   of the Steb.PL   freemen.PL
      "and in the presence of the other freemen of Steb"[318]

It may function as an indefinite pronoun, as shown in the following example:

(ef 15-16)

(132) ασο   χοβο   οδασο   **ανδαρουανο**
      PRE   RP   and-PRE   INP.PL
      "from their own and from (that of) the others"[319]

Adverbs may be prefixed or suffixed to ανδαρο, as seen in ανδαρισο "also other" (ανδαρο +
-ισο "also") and υαρησανδαρο "anyone"[320](υαρσο "all" + ανδαρο):

(cp 7-8)

(133) οδο   πιδο   **ανδαρισο**   ιερο
      and   PRE   INA.ADV   matter
      "and concerning the other matters"[321]

(xe 22-23)

(134) **υαρησανδαρο**   κισο   ιαπισοδαρο   ηρσαδο
      ADV-INP   INP   ART-formerly   come.SBJV.3s
      "whoever else may come first"[322]

4.4.4 Summary

There are two groups of indefinite pronouns in Bactrian. The first group refers to animate
beings, e.g., κισο "someone, anyone", δανομανο "such and such", while the second group refers
to inanimate entities, e.g., σαγισο "something", σισο "something", καδαμο "which". The form
ανδαρο "other" is used very often to refer to animate beings, and, in a few cases, to inanimate

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[316] Sims-Williams 2007a: 81.

[317] Sims-Williams 2000a: 143.

[318] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

[319] Sims-Williams 2007a: 119.

[320] Sims-Williams 2007a: 272.

[321] Sims-Williams 2007a: 95.

[322] Sims-Williams 2007a: 147.

entities. It must be added that δανομανο and καδαμο are used only once in the extant material, and their function is not very clear. There is no distinction between oblique and direct case of pronominal adjectives, but the plural form of ανδαρο, i.e., ανδαρουανο, is attested in the extant texts. In this case, the plural form of this indefinite pronoun agrees with its antecedent. It has been observed that an indefinite article, e.g., κισο, is used with both singular and plural verbs. As an indefinite adjective, it usually occurs before the noun that it modifies. As an indefinite pronoun, it appears in various positions.

4.5 Possessive Pronouns

The suffix **-αγγο** combines with the personal pronouns and forms an adjective, which usually functions as a possessive pronoun. This group of possessive pronouns is used much more often with animate beings:

μανο PRON.1s +-**αγγο**=**μαναγγο** "my"

ταο PRON. 2s +-**αγγο**=**ταοαγγο** "your" or **ταοι**+-**ηλο**=**ταοιηλο** "your"

ταμαχο PRON.2p +-**αγγο**=**ταμαχαγγο** "your"

αμαχο PRON.1p +-**αγγο**=**μαχαγγο** "our"

In the role of a possessive adjective it usually appears before a noun:

μαναγγο

(jf 3-4)

(135)	μισιδο	ι	οϸβιγγο	ι	**μαναγγο**	βαγο	μαρο
	moreover	ART	?	ART	my	share	hither

φοϸτιηδο
send.IMPV.2p
"moreover, you (PL.) should send hither my share of…"[323]

In the following examples, possessive pronouns are used with nouns referring to animate beings:

ταοαγγο

(M 6)

(136)	οδαλαβο	**ταοαγγο**	καδγιγανο	αχασαδο
	or-PRE	your	members of household. PL	dispute.SBJV.3s

"or should dispute with the members of your household"[324]

ταμαχαγγο

(Q 13)

(137)	οδασο	**ταμαχαγγο**	βραδο
	and-PRE	your.PL	brother

"and from your brothers"[325]

μαχαγγο

(Q 11-12)

(138)	οδο	**μαχαγγο**	βραδο
	and	our	brother

"and our brothers"[326]

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[323] Sims-Williams 2007a: 133.

[324] Sims-Williams 2000a: 73.

[325] Sims-Williams 2000a: 89.

They can also be used with nouns referring to inanimates, as in the following examples:

(U 27΄)
(139) **μαναγγο**   πιδοοαυανο
       my   request
       "my request"[327]

(Y 9)
(140) **μαναγγο**   ζαμιιο
       my   land
       "my land"[328]

The possession can also be expressed by an oblique pronoun, which can be enclitic or in independent form. In this case, the pronoun may refer to both animates and inanimates, but it is more often used with nouns with inanimate referents:

With inanimates

In the following example, an enclitic pronoun is used with a noun with an inanimate referent:

(ba 4)
(141) κοαδο-**μο**   ιαοαρδαοι
       that-I.CP   corn
       "that my corn…"[329]

In the following example, an independent pronoun is also used with a noun with an inanimate referent:

(dd 5-6)
(142) ι-**μανο**   χοβο
       ART-I.OBL   property
       "my property"[330]

With animates

In the following example, an independent oblique pronoun is used with a noun with an animate referent:

(ba 16)
(143) ι   ταοι   χοβανανο
       ART you.OBL   shepherd.PL
       "your shepherds"[331]

4.5.1 Summary

There are two different ways to indicate possession in Bactrian: first, by the use of the possessive pronouns, and second, by the use of personal pronouns in the oblique case. The oblique pronoun can be an enclitic or an independent form. The possessive pronoun is used much more often with animates, while the oblique pronoun is used more with inanimates. In

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[326] Sims-Williams 2000a: 89.

[327] Sims-Williams 2000a: 113.

[328] Sims-Williams 2000a: 145.

[329] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

[330] Sims-Williams 2007a: 105.

[331] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

both of these groups, the pronoun occurs before the noun and functions as a possessive adjective.

4.6 Relative pronouns

4.6.1 Main relative pronouns

Two relative pronouns are often distinguished for their use in standing for an antecedent which is human and for an antecedent which is non-human.. The first relative pronoun occurs in the following autographic forms:

1. κιδο, ακιδο, κιδ-, ακιδ-, ακιδα- "who, whom, whose, which, whoever, etc."[332]

This relative pronoun is usually reserved for human antecedents:

(O 4ʹ-5ʹ)

(144)	οδο	πισο	μανδαρουανισο	αζαδοβοργανο	**ακιδο**
	and	PRE	other	freemen	who

χοησαοοβωστιγο   ταβδο
contract of undertaking   seal.PST.3s
"and also in the presence of the other freemen who have sealed (this) contract of undertaking"[333]

This relative pronoun is not inflected, but it can express various grammatical roles, for example, the role of subject, object, and possessive. In the following example, it expresses the role of subject:

(J 22-24)

(145)	αζο	οιημο	οδο	ν-αζο	βαγορημαρηγο…		**κιδο**	πιδο
	I.DIR	PN	and	nor-I	PN		who	PRE

μασκο   ναβιχτιγο   αγγαργο   σαγισο   χοανδο   οδο
hereupon   pp.written   property   something   claim   and
οισαρδο   αβζιι-αμο
argue   continue-SBJV.1p
"I, Wyem, nor I, Bag-re-mareg … who might continue to claim or argue (over) anything in respect of the property described herein"[334]

It can also express the role of object, such as in the following example:

(O 3ʹ)

(146)	πισο	βαγο	οαχβο	βαγανο	þαυο	**ακιδο**
	PRE	god	PN	god.PL	king	whom

αβο   στωφ   σπισ-ινδο
PRE   PN   worship-PRS.3p
"in the presence of the god Wakhsh, the king of gods, whom they worship in Stof"[335]

In the following example, it occurs in the role of a possessive:

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[332] Sims-Williams 2007a: 222.

[333] Sims-Williams 2000a: 81.

[334] Sims-Williams 2000a: 59.

[335] Sims-Williams 2000a: 81.

(O 5´-6´)

(147) μισιδο …   μανο   ιωβιγο   αστωφσιγο   ακιδο-μο   καδαγο
      now   …   I.OBL   PN   inhabitant of Astof   whose-ART   house
      ιωγανο   ραζ-ινδο
      PN   call-PRS.3p
      "now, I, Yobig, inhabitant of Astof, whose house they call Yogan"[336]

It may rarely denote a non-human antecedent:

(W 7-8)

(148) ταδο-μο   αβο   χανο υαρσο ανδαρο   ιαοοανο   νιστο σταδο
      then-I.CP   PRE   house at all other   means   NEG.be. PST.3s
      ακιδο γαζιτο   οδο   βαριτο   λαδο   þιιαδδ-ηιο
      which poll-tax   and   harvest-tax   give.INF   to be able-PST.OPT.3s
      "And I had no other means in (my) house which could have been given (as) poll-tax and harvest-tax"[337]

Another example is given here:

(T 6)

(149) τιδο   αγγαραγο   **κιδο** βαþονανο   παρογανο   ναμ-ινδο
      that   property   which PN   PN   name-PRS.3p
      "that property which they name Bashunan Pargan"[338]

κιδι

The form κιδι is used four times in the Rabatak inscription. In two instances, it refers to a singular and direct noun:

(Rabatak 1-3)

(150) βαγο   ηζνογο   **κιδι**   ασο   νανα   οδο   ασο   οισποανο
      god   worthy of worship   who   PRE   Nana and   PRE   all
      μι   βαγανο   ι   þαοδανι   αβορδο   **κιδι**
      ART   god.PL   ART   kingdom.OBL   obtain.PST.3s   who
      ιωγο   χþονο   νοβαστο
      one   year   inaugurate.PST?.3s
      "the god worthy of worship, who has obtained the kingship from Nana and from all the gods, who has inaugurated the year one"[339]

In the following example, it refers to a plural and an oblique noun:

(Rabatak 8-9)

(151) φαρ-ειμοανο   βαγανο   **κιδι**   μαρο κιρδι
      PRE-DEM.PL.OBL   god.PL.OBL who.PL   here   make. PRS. 3s
      ανδιμανι   οφαρρο   ομμα
      presence   glorious   Umma
      "for these gods, who have come hither into the presence of the glorious Umma"[340]

It can also refer to a plural and direct noun, as in the following example:

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[336] Sims-Williams 2000a: 81.

[337] Sims-Williams 2000a: 127.

[338] Sims-Williams 2000a: 99.

[339] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 55.

[340] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 56.

(Rabatak 17)

(152) ειμιδβα[341]   βαγε   **κιδι**   μαρο   νιβιχτιγενδι
        DEM   god.PL.DIR who   here   write.PF.3p
        "(may) these gods who are written here…"[342]

2. ασιδο, σιδο, ασιδα-, ασιδ-, σιδ- "what, whatever, which, who"

This relative pronoun is used to refer to inanimate objects, but it rarely occurs with reference to persons.[343]

In the following example, it refers to an inanimate object and plays an accusative role:

(xn 6-7)

(153) ταλδο   το   χοηο   οο   ναγανο   οδο   ναμιλγο
        if   SPD   lordship DEM bread   and   salt
        αβοιασ-αδο   **σιτο**   αλα-μαγο   ταρο   αβο
        remember.SBJV.3s (ασιδο+-δο) which-you.CP PRE-I.CP   there   PRE
        ρωβο   χοαρδο
        PN   eat.PST.3s
        "then, if your lordship should remember that bread and salt which you ate with me there in Rob"[344]

In the following example, it refers to an inanimate object and plays a nominative role:

(L 12)

(154) ειο   αγγαργο   **ασιδο**   σαγαδαγο   ριζδο
        DEM property   which   PN   call.PST.3s
        "this property which is called Sagadag"[345]

In the following example, it is used to refer to a person:

(T 6-7)

(155) οδο-μο   λαδδ-ηι   μισο   μασκονδο   ιωγο   ζινο
        and-I.CP   give-PST.OPT.3s also   person   one   woman
        κιδο   οαραγο   ναμο **σιδο**μο   ασο   βρηδαγο…   αγγιτο
        whose PN   name who-I.CP   PRE PN   receive.PST.3s
        "and also there was given by me, a person, a woman whose name (is) Warag who was received by me from the *bredag*"[346]

In the following example, the reference occurs after the relative pronoun, which is very rare:

(G 2-4)

(156) μισιδο   πιδοροβδο   μανο ...   ασο-φαγο...   **σιδ**-αβο
        now   receive.PST.3s   I.OBL   PRE-you.CP which-PRE
        καναραγγανο ιαοι... ασο   ι   χοβο   οαρζιαο
        kanarang.PL grain   PRE ART RA   farming
        "Now, I … received from you the grain … which was assessed (to be given) to the

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[341] According to Sims-Williams, ειμι+-δ-+-βα(?).ειμι: DEM, -δ-: Particle marking the first word of a clause, -βα(?): Particle giving hortative value to the present indicative? see Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 91.

[342] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 57.

[343] Sims-Williams 2007a: 194 adds that it is a nominative and accusative relative pronoun.

[344] Sims-Williams 2007a: 159.

[345] Sims-Williams 2000a: 65.

[346] Sims-Williams 2000a: 99.

kanarangs from the farming of (their) own (land)"[347]

4.6.2 Special case

κοαδο "where, which" can be also used as a relative pronoun. But its function as an adverb or a conjunction is much more common in Bactrian. It may be used "with preposition ασο "whence, whereby, from which", also used as oblique form of ασιδο ("in respect of which", etc.) and of κιδο (with φαρο "to whomsoever, to (anyone) who")".[348] But it is used very rarely in the extant Bactrian documents. There seems to be no difference between the meanings and functions of κοαδο and κιδο.

In the following example, κοαδο is used with the preposition ασο:

(J 11-12)

(157) μασκο   ναβιχτιγο   αγγαργο   πιδο   ιαοι   παραγανο   λοχσο ζ´...
      hereupon   pp.written   property   PRE   grain   sowing   lukhs 7

      ασο **κοαδο**   εμο   παδουαμονδδιγινδο
      PRE RTP   DEM   boundary.PL

"(This) is the property described herein, (of a size requiring) seven *lukhs*…, for sowing with grain, in respect of which these are the boundaries"[349]

In the following example, it refers to a person and is used with the preposition φαρο "to":

(ci 10)

(158) οδο να-ιωγο   σαγο   μολο   φαρο   **κοαδο**   μολραγο
      and nor-one   gallon wine   PRE   RTP   document

      ταβδογο   να-βαρ-ηιο
      pp.sealed   NEG-bring-PRS.3s

"nor one gallon of wine, to (anyone) who does not bring a sealed document"[350]

4.6.3 Summary

There are two main relative pronouns in Bactrian, κιδο and σιδο. κιδο is often used with human antecedents. This relative pronoun may express the role of a subject, an object, or a possessive. It may also denote a non-human antecedent. The form κιδι is used only in the Rabatak inscription. It may refer to a singular and direct noun, a plural and oblique noun, or a plural and direct noun.

ασιδο is primarily used to refer to inanimate objects, but it can also occur with reference to persons, though this is rare.

κοαδο often functions as an adverb or a conjunction, but it may also used as a relative pronoun. In this case, it usually appears with a preposition.

The following table shows the most common forms of relative pronouns and their functions in Bactrian:

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[347] Sims-Williams 2000a: 49.

[348] Sims-Williams 2007a: 224.

[349] Sims-Williams 2000a: 57.

[350] Sims-Williams 2007a: 85.

Table 25. Relative pronouns

	Human	**Nonhuman**
Subject	κιδο	σιδο (rarely κιδο)
Object	κιδο	σιδο
After preposition	κοαδο	κοαδο
Possessive	κιδο	σιδο

5. CHAPTER FIVE: PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS

5.1 The functions of prepositions and postpositions

5.1.1 αβο, αβα-, αβ- "to, for, in, etc."

This preposition plays an important role in Bactrian and has the following functions:

-αβο can be used as a preposition of location, with the meaning "in":

(Surkh Kotal 6)
(159) ατανο   **αβο**   μα   λιζο
       also-PAR   PRE   ART   fortress
       "also in the fortress"[351]

Another example:

(J 1-2)
(160) μαλο **αβο** μαλραγγο   þαυρο
       here   PRE   (of) PN   city
       "here in the city of Malr"[352]

-It can be used as a temporal preposition. In this case, it means "until":

(W 18-19)
(161) οδασο   μωσο **αβο**   ιαοηδανο   ζοραγο
       and-PRE   now   PRE   eternal   time
       "and from now until eternity"[353]

-αβο occasionally governs a past infinitive:

(A 18)
(162) οτανο   μαπαδοαþχανηιο   αζο   βαβο οδαζο
       and-PAR   PROH.have the right.OPT.1s   I.DIR   PN   and-I.DIR
       πιδοκο   ανδαρο   ολο **αβο** κιρδο
       PN   INA   wife PRE   do.PST.INF
       "And I, Bab and I, Piduk shall not have the right to make another wife."[354]

-This preposition plays an important role in marking the object. [355]

In the role of an object marker, it can be used both in ergative and non-ergative constructions.

In an ergative construction:

In the following example αβο marks the direct object, which is both human and definite.

[351] Cf. Lazard, Grenet and de Lamberterie 1984: 226.

[352] Sims-Williams 2000a: 55.

[353] Sims-Williams 2000a: 131.

[354] Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

[355] For differential object marking in Bactrian, see Sims-Williams 2011: 23-38.

(cp 19-21)
(163) οτο-μο   **αβο**   οηþοφαρδαρο   φρητογο   φοþταδο
       and-I.CP   PRE   PN   messenger   send.PST.3s
       "And I sent Wesh-fardar (as) a messenger."[356]

In a non-ergative construction:

In the following examples it also marks objects, which are both human and definite:

(bc 15-17)
(164) ωσιδο το   χοηο   πιδο   μανο ρωδο **αβο** μιρογοζγο
       now   SPD   lordship   PRE   I.OBL sake PRE   PN
       παροβαλο
       look after.IMPV.2s
       "Now, your lordship for my sake should look after Mihr-guzg"[357]

(cp 13-14)
(165) τακαλδανο   το   χοηο   **αβο**   ικαραοι   ναληρηιο
       then-if-PAR   SPD   lordship   PRE   ART-staff   NEG.have.PRS.OPT.2s?
       "so if your lordship should not have the staff".[358]

It seems that the use of the preposition αβο as an object marker is not obligatory in Bactrian and it can be omitted in special cases. In the next example, the direct object is attached to a conjunction without αβο:

(bc 14-15)
(166) κοαδο-ιηνο   παροβαλο
       that-they.OBL   look after.IMPV.2s
       "Look after them."[359]

At first view, it seems that αβο may be omitted when the object is a pronoun. But the other examples counter this theory. In the following examples, the preposition αβο marks the direct objects, which are pronouns:

(J 24)
(167) οδαλδο   **αβο**   τωμαχο   αβο   λαδο οδαβο   ραζογολο
       and-if   PRE   you.OBL   PRE   court and-PRE   royal tribunal
       οιηλαμο
       take.SBJV.PRS.1p
       "if we should take you to court and to the royal tribunal"[360]

In the following example, this preposition marks the definite and human direct object, which is the second person demonstrative το + noun:

(bb 4)
(168) καλδανο   **αβο**   το   χοηο   χοαδο   λρογο   οηνανο
       when-PAR   PRE   SPD   lordship   RP   healthy   see.SBJV.1s
       "when I myself might see your lordship healthy"[361]

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[356] Sims-Williams 2007a: 95.

[357] Sims-Williams 2007a: 57.

[358] Sims-Williams 2007a: 95.

[359] Sims-Williams 2007a: 57.

[360] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 59.

[361] Sims-Williams 2007a: 55.

In light of the above examples, we can conclude that there are two different possibilities when the object is a pronoun. In the first case, a full pronoun may occur with αβο as an object marker (examples 166, 167). In the second case, an enclitic pronoun without αβο may be used (example 165). The first case is more common in the extant material.

A special case

The preposition αβο also marks a non-personal indirect object. In the following example, φρομανο "order" is a direct object and σαγο (PN) is an indirect object. In this context, we would have expected φαρο, which usually marks a personal indirect object, but instead, we find the preposition αβο (compare with the example 162):

> (bb 10-11)
> (169) οτο **αβο** σαγο φρομανο φοϸτιο
>   and PRE PN order send.IMPV.2s
>   "And you should send an order to Sag."[362]

αβο as object marker or directive?

In some cases, it is not very clear whether αβο is an object marker or a directive. In the following example, it is used with an inanimate. Here the question arises whether this noun is a direct object:

> (C 20-21)
> (170) οτο **αβο** μο λαϸνοβωστογο μανο ϸαροοανινδο…
>   and PRE DEM deed of gift I.OBL PN
>   μολϸο ταβδο
>   seal impress.PST.3s
>   "and I, Sharwanind sealed this deed of gift"[363]

The verb ταβδο "impress" is a transitive verb. When we accept that μολϸο "seal" is a direct object, then we can interpret μο λαϸνοβωστογο "this deed of gift" as an indirect object, and αβο can be used with an indirect object which is not human.

In the following example, the verb ταβδο is used without μολϸο "seal" and a direct object, i.e., χοησαοοβωστιγο "contract of undertaking", occurs with it:

> (O 4'-5')
> (171) οδο πισο μανδαρουανισο αζαδοβοργανο ακιδο
>   and PRE other freemen who
>   χοησαοοβωστιγο **ταβδο**
>   contract of undertaking seal.Pst.3s
>   "and also in the presence of the other freemen who have sealed (this) contract of undertaking"[364]

In New Persian, there is a parallel construction to the Bactrian verb μολϸο ταβδο, i.e., New Persian *mohr zadan* "seal". This verb is usually used with a direct object. In this case, it functions as a transitive compound verb and requires a direct object. In Bactrian, it is not absolutely clear whether μολϸο ταβδο "seal" functions like *mohr zadan* "seal" in New Persian. When it functions as a compound verb, it requires a direct object, and therefore in example (170), μο λαϸνοβωστογο "this deed of gift" can be identified as its direct object. In this case, the preposition αβο marks a non-human direct object.

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[362] Sims-Williams 2007a: 55.
[363] Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.
[364] Sims-Williams 2000a: 81.

The only possible alternative to the above interpretation would be a directive function of αβο.

-In one case, αβο may also be used as a postposition:[365]

(jc 6-7)
(172) καλδδαβο   ιαζαριγο
(καλδο+-δο?+αβο)if-you.CP-POST   ART-penalty?
πορδδιγαιο
(πορδογο+-αιο)owing- be.OPT?.3s
"if the penalty may have been owing to you"[366]

5.1.2 φαρο, φαρα-, φαρ- "to, for"

1. This preposition is used only with animates in the meaning of "to, for":

(dd 5-6)
(173) τασιδασο   ιμανο   χοβο   **φαροουανο**   οαþο
whatever-PRE   ART-I.CP   property   PRE-DEM.PL   hay
αζγαμο   κιραδο
allocation   make.SBJV.3s
"Whatever allocation of hay he may make for them out of my property"[367]

2. It is occasionally used with an indirect object. For example:

(bg 13-14)
(174) **φαρο** χοαδηοοανινδο   λαηιο
PRE   PN   give.OPT.1s or 3s
"I (?) should give (it) to Khwadew-wanind"[368]

In the following example, φαρο is used with the indirect object λαδοβαρο "judge", which is human, and αβο with the inanimate indirect object γαζνο "treasury":

(Q 29-30)
(175) ταδο   ταοοανο   τωζαμο   **φαρο** λαδοβαρο   **αβο**   γαζνο
then   fine   pay.SBJV.1p PRE   judge   PRE   treasury
"Then we shall pay a fine to the judge to the treasury."[369]

There is an example which can be discussed relating to the use of φαρο. As mentioned above, this preposition occurs only with indirect objects. There is only one example in which it is not clear whether it marks an indirect or direct object:

(co 8-9)
(176) ασιδο **φαρο** αδοριγο[370]   οαταρο   þιιο   κιρδο
but   PRE PN   less   can.INJ.2s   do.INF
"but (if) you can discipline Adurig…"[371]

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[365] Sims-Williams 2007a: 185.

[366] Sims-Williams 2007a: 129.

[367] Sims-Williams 2007a: 105.

[368] Sims-Williams 2007a: 65.

[369] Sims-Williams 2000a: 91.

[370] According to Sims-Williams (2007a: 242), οαταρο "less, worse", only in the phrase οαταρο κιρ- approximately "to discipline".

[371] Sims-Williams 2007a: 93.

οαταρο κιρ- is a complex verb and occurs only once in the Bactrian material. We do not know exactly whether αδοριγο PN is a direct or an indirect object marked by φαρο.

5.1.3 ασο "from, (out) of, by, against, concerning, according to, in respect of, as a result of, than, etc."

This preposition has the following functions:

1. It can be used with the agent in a passive clause with the meaning of "by":

(ch 20-21)
(177) κοαδο το χοηο **ασα-**μαγο μαρηγο μαρδο αζαρο
that SPD lordship PRE-I.CP serving man vexation
ναζανηιο
NEG.know.OPT.3 or 2s
"That your lordship should not feel aggrieved by me, (your) serving man."[372]

2. In the following example, it is used with the meaning "for":

(K 12)
(178) οτο αζο τητο **ασο** πιιο πιταδιμο
and I.DIR PN PRE PN guarantee.PST.1s
"And I Tet, have guaranteed for Piy."[373]

3. It is can also be used to specify direction or location:

(C9)
(179) οδο **ασο** αβαχρανο
and PRE north
"and to north"[374]

4. It sometimes forms temporal phrases:

(A 14)
(180) **ασο** μαβρισο(μο+αβαρο+-ισο)
PRE ART-future-also
"also in the future"[375]

It is occasionally used with the preposition αβο to indicate temporal distance:

(J 20)
(181) **ασο** μωσο αβο ιαοηδανο
PRE now PRE eternity
"from now to eternity"[376]

Another example follows:

(U 14)
(182) **ασο** σαρδο αβο σαρδο
PRE year PRE year
"from year to year"[377]

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[372] Sims-Williams 2007a: 83.
[373] Sims-Williams 2000a: 63.
[374] Sims-Williams 2000a: 39.
[375] Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.
[376] Sims-Williams 2000a: 59.
[377] Sims-Williams 2000a: 109.

ασο with the preposition αβο can also indicate local distance:

(V 19)

(183)   οδ**ασο**   υαμονδο   αβο   υαμονδο
          and-PRE   boundary   PRE   boundary
          "from boundary to boundary"[378]

ασο with the preposition αβο can also indicate personal distance:

(cg 7-8)

(184)   **ασο**   τανο   αβο   ανδαρο   τανο
          PRE   person   PRE   INA   person
          "from (one) person to another person."[379]

   5. It may indicate the source or origin:

(A 25-26)

(185)   οδο   μασιδανο   **ασο**   ραλικο   αζιμιο
          and   PROH.PAR-REL.PRON-PAR   PRE   PN   be born.OPT.3s
          "nor (to) whatever (child) may be born from Ralik."[380]

   6. It frequently indicates the parts of a whole:

(K 13-14)

(186)   ταδαζο   τητο   **ασο**   χοβο   τωζανο
          then-I.DIR   PN   PRE   own   pay.SBJV.1s
          "Then I, Tet shall pay from (my) own (property)."[381]

   7. It can also show geographical origin:

(S 5)

(187)   φαρνοαγαδο   πορανο   **ασο**   βονοσογολιγο
          PN   son.PL   PRE   PN
          "the sons of Farn-agad from Bonchuqlïgh"[382]

5.1.4 πιδο, πιδ-, πιδδ- "in, on, by, with,…"

   1. This preposition can be used to specify a location, for example, in the expression πιδο μιλαγγο "in the midst, amongst".[383]

   2. It may be used in time expressions such as: πιδο ά μαυο "for one month".

   3. It may be used with the meaning "in respect of":

(ba 11)

(188)   **πιδο**   ιαοαρδαοι   χοαραοι   οδο   ναþταοι
          PRE   corn   eating   and   spoiling
          "in respect of the eating and spoiling of the corn"[384]

It is used with the verb πορσ-"ask" in jb 8, with the meaning "about":

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[378] Sims-Williams 2000a: 119.

[379] Sims-Williams 2007a: 81.

[380] Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

[381] Sims-Williams 2000a: 63.

[382] Sims-Williams 2000a: 95.

[383] Sims-Williams 2007a: 232.

[384] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

(jb 7-8)

(189) μισιδο<μο>   **πιδο**   σπιιαγγο   σαχοανο   πορσαδο
      Moreover-I.CP   PRE   PN   matter   ask.PST.3s
      "Moreover, I asked about the matter of Spiy."[385]

4. It may be used with the meaning "because":

(cm 9-10)

(190) ταδο-μο   **πιδο**   ταμαχο   σαχοανο   αβο   ρωβιγο…   βαστινδο
      then-I.OBL   PRE   you.OBL   statement   PRE   men of Rob bind.PST.3p
      "Because of your statement, I bound the men of Rob."[386]

It is also used in the expression πιδο ι σαγο κοαδο or πιδο ι κοαδο "because":

(ba 8-9)

(191) ταδο   αζο   ειο   σαχοανο   οαροαροι   νακιρημο
      then   I.DIR   DEM   statement   belief   NEG.do.PRS.1s
      πιδο   ι   σαγο   κοαδο   μανο   ναγατο
      PRE   ART   shade?   that   I.OBL   hear.PST.3s
      "I do not believe this statement, because I have heard…"[387]

5. It is also used in other expressions like πιδο χοβο φαρο "in your majesty" or πιδο χοβο þιζγο "in your goodness" with the meaning "in":

(cc 12-14)

(192) ταδο-μο   **πιδο**   χοβο   φαρο   κοδο   þιζγο   φοþτιιο
      then-I.CP   PRE   SPD   majesty   dog   good   send.IMPV.2s
      "so in your majesty send me a good dog"[388]

6. Sometimes, it qualifies a substantive descriptively and has the meaning of "with":

(ci 11-12)

(193) αλδο-μο   ναοαζο...   πωστογο   αβαραδο   **πιδο**   λοοι   μολρο
      if-I.CP   PN   document   bring.PRS.3s PRE   two   seal
      "If Nawaz brings me a document with two seals"[389]

7. In the following example, it is used with the meaning "as":

(je 5-6)

(194) σιδασο...   παρασο   ζιδο   **πιδο**   τωγο
      which-PRE   away   take away.PST.3s PRE   tax
      "which were taken away… as tax."[390]

8. It is also frequently used in adverbial phrases, as πιδο μαβαρο "in the future".[391]

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[385] Sims-Williams 2007a: 127.

[386] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 91.

[387] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

[388] Sims-Williams 2007a: 73.

[389] Sims-Williams 2000a: 85.

[390] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 131.

[391] This expression is a parallel to ασο μαβρισο "in the future".

(za 1-2)

(195) ναμωο   σαρβοβοδδανο   κιδο   τριϸτ[...]νδαγινδο
       homage   all the buddhas.PL   who   ?-be.PRS.3p
       πιδο   μαβαρο   [...]ριζινδο
       PRE   ART-future   ?-call.PRS.3p
       "Homage to all buddhas who are …(and) will … in the future"[392]

9. It may express a relationship between two numerals, such as ιωγο πιδο λοο "two to one".

(K 10-11)

(196) ταδο   πορδογο   βοοανο   αζο   τητο   οτο   αζο   πιιο
       then   owing   be.SBJV.1s   I.DIR   PN   and   I.DIR   PN
       ιωγο   **πιδο**   πανζο
       one   PRE   five
       "then, I, Tet, and I, Piy shall be owing (at the rate of) five to one"[393]

This preposition can be directly added to other nouns or adjectives and it can form adverbs, e.g., πιδολαδιγο, πιδολαδδιγο (πιδο+λαδο+suffix –ιγο) "legally, formally" or πιδονωγαρο (πιδο+*νωγαρο "new") "again".

It may be added to the demonstrative pronoun such as οο, ειο and forms πιδοο and πιδδιιο:

(je 7-8)

(197) πιδοο   σιδδ-ηιο   ι   χαρο   αβο   μολο
       PRE-DEM   RTP-he.CP   ART   donkey   PRE   wine
       þοδο   **σαχσιδο**
       pay out.INF   to be assessed.PRS.3s
       "Because his donkey is assessed to be paid out (in return) for wine."[394]

5.1.5 *πισο, πισα-, πισοα-* "to, in the presence of"

It usually indicates a location. It is used very often with the meaning of "in the presence of". In this case, a nominal phrase or personal name usually occurs after πισο:

(A 5)

(198) **πισο**   οινδοωρομοζδο   κολαγανο
       PRE   PN   PN
       "in the presence of Wind-ormuzd Kulagan"[395]

(A 7)

(199) **πισο**   μανδαρουανισο   στηβιγανο   αζαβοργανο
       PRE   ART-INA-ADV   of the Steb.PL   freemen.PL
       "in the presence of the other freemen of Steb"[396]

In the following example, it seems that πισο plays the role of an object marker, which marks an indirect and animate object. According to the extant material, in such a situation, we expect the occurrence of φαρο (see ex. 174). It must be added that this is the only example with this function of πισο. As this document is an a relatively old one, it is difficult to show the development of a preposition to object marker. In this case, πισο may again play the role of a preposition:

[392] Sims-Williams 2007a: 175.

[393] Sims-Williams 2000a: 63.

[394] Sims-Williams 2007a: 131.

[395] Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

[396] Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

(cd 11-12)

(200) ταδο-μο   **πισο**   το   χοηο   ιαυαμγο   φορταδηιο
then-I.CP   PRE   you.OBL   lordship   same   send.PST.OPT

"Then I would have sent the same to your lordship."[397]

5.1.6 αλο

This preposition is used very often with the meaning of "with, together with":

(bc 10)

(201) αλο   **ιωγο**   μαρδο
PRE   one   man

"with one man"[398]

This preposition can be prefixed to other nouns to form an adjective, e.g., αλογαμο (αλο+καμο "desire") "possessing (one's) desire, successful", αλοιαοαρο "dutiful" (αλο+ιαοαρο "conditions"), αλοσιχτογο (αλο+*σιχτογο "inclination")"inclined, desirous".**[399]**

5.1.7 ναβανδο, νοβανδο

This preposition means "beside, with" and is rarely used as a postposition.

As a preposition:

(A 9-10)

(202) κιδο   ωσο   **νοβανδο**   νινδοκο   ι   ωχροβαδογανο   πιδο
who   now   PRE   PN   ART   PN   PRE
αζαδο ασπασο   ποροχηζαμο
free   service   serve.PRS.1p

"who now serve with Ninduk Okhshbadugan in free service".[400]

As a postposition it is used only in two letters. In the following example, it occurs after a full pronoun:

(xk 4-5)

(203) ωσιδο   ταο   **ναβανδο**   σαυσο παρο   ασταδο
now   you.OBL   POST   PN   debt   be.SBJV.3s

"Now (if) Sahs's debt should be with you"[401]

In the next example, it occurs after an enclitic personal pronoun:

(dd 4-5)

(204) τασιδο-ιηιο   **ναβανδο**   ασπο   ασταδο
so-whatever-he.CP   POST   horse be.SBJV.3s

"so whatever horses there may be with him"[402]

5.1.8 πιδοραλο "because of, by the agency of"[403]

This postposition is only used in ba, after a nominal phrase:

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[397] Sims-Williams 2007a: 75.

[398] Sims-Williams 2007a: 57.

[399] Sims-Williams 2007a: 190.

[400] Sims Williams 2000a: 33.

[401] Sims-Williams 2007a: 155.

[402] Sims-Williams 2007a: 105.

[403] Sims-Williams 2007a: 255.

(ba 5-6)

(205) ταδανο   ι   ταοι   χοβανανο   **πιδοραλο**   ι   ποσο
      then-PAR   ART   you.OBL   shepherd.PL POST   ART   sheep
      αβο   ιαοαρδαοι   υιρτηιο
      PRE   corn   let.PST.OPT.
      "Because of your shepherds, sheep were let into the corn."[404]

5.1.9 Prepositions as preverbs

So far as we can tell from the material available, two prepositions are used as preverbs. The preposition πιδο "in, on, by, with,…" occurs often as a preverb, as illustrated in Table 26:

Table 26. Verbs with the preverb πιδο "in, on, by, with,…"

πιδοαζιν-	referring to some hostile act[405]
πιδοκαρλ-	"to withhold, prevent, retain, detain, arrest"[406]
πιδοοασ-, πιδοοησ-, πιδοοιησ-	"to declare"[407]
πιδοοαυ-	"to request"[408]
πιδοροβ-, πιδορβ- (?)	"to receive, to accept"[409]
πιδοσησ-	"to fix, determine, agree"[410]

The other preposition used as a preverb is αβο, e.g., αβοιασ- "remember"[411].

5.2 Summary

In this chapter, we first investigated the semantic functions of prepositions and postpositions. Thereafter we showed the special functions of certain prepositions.

Among the prepositions in Bactrian, some play a special and important role, such as αβο "to", φαρο "for", and ασο "from". The preposition αβο is used occasionally to mark a direct object that is both definite and human, and also to mark an indirect object, which can also be inanimate. This preposition also occurs with infinitives. The preposition φαρο marks an animate indirect object. In one instance, it appears that the preposition πιδο plays the role of φαρο, which is not expected. The form ασο is rarely used in passive constructions with the agent, with the meaning of "by". Some of prepositions like αλο, πιδο can be prefixed to other substantives and form a compound, namely, an adjective or adverb. πιδο is used very commonly as a preverb. The preposition αβο can also be used as a preverb.

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[404] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

[405] Sims-Williams 2007a: 254.

[406] Sims-Williams 2007a: 255.

[407] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 255.

[408] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 255.

[409] Sims-Williams 2007a: 256.

[410] Sims-Williams 2007a: 256.

[411] Sims-Williams 2007a: 186.

6. CHAPTER SIX: ADVERBS

6.1 Formation of adverbs by suffixes

Some suffixes help us to distinguish adverbs from other word classes in Bactrian. Some adverbs are formed from nouns and adjectives by adding a suffix. We should not forget that many adverbs do not have any adverbial suffix and are not indicated morphologically at all. The following forms are suffixes that may form adverbs:

1. -ηλο, -ιλο

Many adverbs of place are formed by this suffix, i.e., ταληλο "there", οαρηλο "thither", μαληλο "here", μιροσανηλο "eastwards".

2. -γωγγο, -γογγο, -ογγο

A word with this suffix can be an adjective. In many cases, it means "like…", for example, ασνωυογωγγο means "like a daughter-in-law" or ολογωγγο, which means "like a wife".

3. -δαρο, -ταρο, -αταρο

Some words formed by the comparative suffix may be adverbs, i.e., οιζαγγοδαρο, "otherwise", ανδαροζαγγοδαρο "otherwise", ασκαδαρο "more", απισοδαρο "previously".

4. -δο, -ιδο

Some words formed by the suffix -δο may be adverbs, e.g., ταλιδο "in this matter" or ωσιδο "now". In both of these cases, the suffix -δο is added to another adverb, but it has not changed the meaning of the original adverbs.

5. -ιγο, -ηγο, -ιιο, -ιο, -ιυο

This suffix may form adjectives or adverbs, e.g., φρομανιγο "at the command (of)", πιδολαδιγο "legally".

6. -ισο, -σο

It is an enclitic adverb with the meaning of "also, too". This adverb can be suffixed to other words and forms a new adverb, i.e., υαρσο "absolutely"<*harwa-[412] "all" +-ισο. It is rarely attested in the extant material.

6.2 Types of adverbs

There are three kinds of adverbs in Bactrian:

1. The words which only play the role of an adverb, i.e., ωσο "now", οαλο "then, there", ταλο "there".

2. The adverbs which are also used as preverbs and prepositions, i.e., αβηγο, αβηιο. As an adverb, it means "away, out"; as a preverb, it is used with some verbs such as βαρ- "bear" in the meaning of "to take away", and λαυ- "give" in the meaning of "to give away".

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[412] The Bactrian form of this word is not attested in the extant material.

(X 15)

(206) μαρηιο   στωρο   οδο   ανδαρο   σισο   ακιδδηνο   ασο
       slave   cattle   and   INP   INP   who-they.OBL   PRE

       ταμαχο   **αβηιο**   βαραμο
       you.OBL   preverb   bear.SBJV.1p

       "cattle and anything else–that we should take them away from you"[413]

(A 28)

(207) οδο   γωυριγο   υοσινδηιο   **αβηγο**   αβο   λαδο
       and   family   agree.OPT.3s preverb   PRE   give.INF

       "and the family may agree to give (her) away"[414]

In the following example, this adverb appears once after the preposition ασο "from" and once it is attached to παρμανο "authority":

(X 30-31)

(208) οδασο   ι   **αβηιο** ανδαρο   πωστιγο   καβογγο   οδο
       and-PRE   ART(?)   away INA   contract   old   and

       νωγο   **αβηιο**παρμανο   βοοινδαδο
       new   without authority   be.SBJV.3p

       "and apart from this (?) (one), other contracts, old or new, may be without authority"[415]

3. Some words are nouns or adjectives, but they can also be used as adverbs, i.e., ασποριγο "complete" which is used as adverb with the meaning of "completely" or χαβ "night" ρωσο "day" which are joined together and form an adverb with the meaning of "(by) night and (by) day".

In the following example, σποριγο is used as an adjective before a noun:

(U 7)

(209) πιδο   **σποριγο**   οαυαγο
       PRE   complete   price

       "in complete price"[416]

In the following example, it plays the role of an adverb:

(G 5-7)

(210) μισιδο   μανο   μοζδο   πιδοροβδο   ιαοι   αγρηαοι
       now   I.OBL PN   receive.PST.3s grain   peck

       ρ´   οδο   κ´   **ασποριγο**
       100   and   20   completely

       "Now, I Muzd received one hundred and twenty pecks of grain completely."[417]

6.3 Deictic adverbs

In many languages, deixis can be expressed by some elements as demonstratives, adverbs and particles. In my 2009a article[418] on demonstratives, I emphasized the distinction between various demonstratives and showed that there is no clear contrast between proximate and remote deixis. In this section, I will focus on the adverbs which may show local deixis in Bactrian. In

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[413] Sims-Williams 2000a: 139.

[414] Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

[415] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 143.

[416] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 107.

[417] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 49.

[418] See Gholami 2009a: 19-26.

some languages as Sogdian, there are different adverbs with the meaning of "here", which show proximate deixis, and "there", which show remote deixis. These adverbs are developed from three demonstrative stems, i.e., -m-, -t- and -w-. The adverbs from the stem -m- are translated as "here" and the adverbs from the stem -t- and -w- as "there". According to Wendtland, these adverbs can be classified according to their semantic attributes expressed by suffixes. She distinguishes two groups of adverbs. Adverbs of the first group indicate a definite explicit point or the localization of a single person or object by the speaker. When it is a matter of the localization by a third person or an item that is located at a remote distance from the speaker, an adverb of the second group is used. Furthermore, the adverbs of the second group may show whether the speaker shares in an action or is aware of it.[419] In this section, I first introduce the different adverbs in Bactrian which indicate local deixis. Then I examine whether there is a clear contrast between these adverbs, as in Sogdian.

In Bactrian, there are two main groups of adverbs which indicate local deixis. Each group contains three adverbs. The first group marks proximate deixis, whereas the second group marks remote deixis.

Both μαρο "here" and μαλο "here" are used 42 times in the documents in BD I and II. The form μαληλο "here" is only used three times in these documents. The remote deixis ταρο "there" is used 39 times and ταλο 7 times in BD I and II. The form ταληλο are attested only once in BD I and II. The form oαλo is the most common remote deixis adverb found in the mentioned material. The following table shows the place adverbs and their frequency in the texts in BD I and II:

Table 27. Place adverbs

proximate deixis	frequency in BD I, II	remote deixis	frequency in BD I, II	remote deixis	frequency in BD I, II
μαρο	42	ταρο	39	oαλo	46
μαλο	42	ταλο	7	oαρo	8
μαληλο	3	ταληλο	1	-	-

6.3.1 Proximate deixic adverbs

μαρο

This adverb usually occurs in one of the following cases:

1. When someone or something is located at a proximate distance from the speaker or writer of the letter:

(cd 3-4)
(211) μισιδο αγαδο **μαρο** ασο το χοηο πωστογο
moreover arrive.PST.3s here PRE SPD lordship letter
"Moreover a letter has come hither from your lordship."[420]

Sometimes there is an emphasis on the speaker or writer of the letter or document. In this case, aside from "here", some expressions as "into my presence" or "to me" are mentioned:

(eb 14-15)
(212) ταδο-μο **μαρο** φοþτιιο
then-I.CP here send.OPT or INJ.2s
"Then you should send (them) hither to me."[421]

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[419] Wendtland 2006: 244, 257.
[420] Sims-Williams 2007a: 75.

(ba 13)
(213) ταδο   αβο   χοβανανο   **μαρο** πισοαμαγο   φοþτιιο
       then   PRE   shepherd.PL here   PRE-I.CP   send.IMP.2s
       "Then send the shepherds hither into my presence."[422]

The name of a place may be mentioned, to which someone or something has come or should be sent:

(cl 5-6)
(214) οτανο   **μαρο** αβο   ρωβο   αγαδινδηιο   οδασο
       and-they.CP here   PRE   PN   come.PST.OPT.3p   and-PRE
       μαρο   ασπο   οαστινδηιο
       here   horse   take.PST.OPT.3p
       "And they have come hither to Rob and taken (away) horses from here."[423]

2. When something happens or exists in the place of speaker or writer of the letter:

(ji 9-10)
(215) μισιδο ...   **μαρο** ζοιμο   πιδο   ταοαγγο   φαρο
       moreover   here   live.PRS.1s PRE   your   majesty
       "Moreover, I live here through your majesty."[424]

(jb 10)
(216) ταδασο   **μαρο**   þοδινδο
       then-PRE   here   go.PST.3p
       "Then they have gone from here."[425]

μαλο

This word is used as much as μαρο in the texts in BD I and II. μαλο has the same function as μαρο:

1. When someone or something is located at a proximate distance from the speaker or writer of the letter:

(ba 6-7)
(217) οτανο   ταοι   χοβανανο   αβο   δαθþομαρηγο   βραδο
       and-PAR   you.OBL   shepherd.PL   PRE   PN   brother
       οδαβο   βραυριγο   ζιδο   οτο... **μαλο** αγαδινδο
       and-PRE   nephew   strike. PST.3s   and   here   come.PST.3p
       "and your shepherds struck Dathsh-mareg's brother and nephew and they came here"[426]

In the following example, there is an emphasis on the presence of the speaker or writer of the letter:

(bd 7-8)
(218) ωσιδο   þαβορο   **μαλο**   πισαμαγο   αγαδο
       now   PN   here   PRE-I.CP   come.PST.3s
       "Now, Shabur has come here into my presence"[427]

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[421] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 111.

[422] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

[423] Sims-Williams 2007a: 89.

[424] Sims-Williams 2007a: 139.

[425] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 127.

[426] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

[427] Sims-Williams 2007a: 59.

In the following example, there is an emphasis on the name of a mentioned place:

(A 1-2)

(219) καλδο   νοβιχτο   μο   ολοβωστογο   **μαλο** αβο   μο
       when   write.PST.3s DEM   marriage contract here   PRE   ART
       ρωβαγγο   þαρο αβιιο ανδαγο
       of Rob   city in-DEM borough
       "When this marriage contract was written here in the city of Rob, in the borough…"[428]

2. When something happens or something or someone exists in the place of the speaker or the writer of the letter:

(cn 6-7)

(220) κοαδο-μο   **μαλο**   ασπο   νιστο ασταδο
       that-I.CP   here   horse NEG.be.PST.3s
       "That I did not have (any) horses here."[429]

μαληλο

This adverb is used only three times in similar phrases, in which the name of place is mentioned:

(L 11-12)

(221) ασιδο-μηνο   αστο   **μαληλο**   αβο   οαρνο αγγαργο
       but-we.CP   be.PRS.3s here   PRE   PN   property
       παροιαβιγο
       disposable
       "But we have a disposable property here in Warnu."[430]

6.3.2 Remote deixis adverbs

There are two groups of adverbs for remote deixis in Bactrian: 1-ταρο, ταλο, ταληλο 2-οαρο, οαλο:

ταρο

This adverb is used very often in the Bactrian letters and occurs in the following cases:

1. When something or someone has been sent or come to the location of the reader of the letter:

(jh 7-8)

(222) ωσο... κισο   αγαδο   ταρο
       now   INP   come.PST.3s there
       "now someone has come thither (to you)"[431]

In the following example, there is an emphasis on the presence of the reader of the letter:

(ba 10)

(223) οδαβο   βραυριγο   **ταρο**   πισοαφαγο   φοþταδο
       and-PRE   nephew   thither   PRE-you.CP   send.PST.3s
       "And I have sent Dathsh-mareg's brother and nephew thither into your presence."[432]

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[428] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 33 and Sims-Williams 2007a: 35.

[429] Sims-Williams 2007a: 93.

[430] Sims-Williams 2000a: 65.

[431] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.

[432] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

2. When something happens or exists in the same location as place of the reader of the letter:

(cf 4-5)

(224) ωσιδο το   χοηο   ζανο   κοοαδο   μανο **ταρο** μαρηγο
       now   SPD   lordship   know.IMP.2s that   I.DIR there   slave

αστο
be.PRS.3s

"now, your lordship should know, that I have slaves there (with you)"[433]

(xc 5-6)

(225) ασιδο   **ταρο** σαγισο   αχτοοαγο   ναγαυηιο
       whatever   there   INP   news   hear.OPT or PRS.2s

"whatever news you hear there"[434]

ταλο

This adverb is used in all the situations that ταρο occurs:

(xb 7-8)

(226) κοαδο   ιαοαρδο   **ταλαβο**   ασπανδαιο   αβαραδο
       that   grain   there-PRE   PN   bring.SBJV.3s

"So that he may bring the grain there to (you in) Aspanday."[435]

(bd 5-6)

(227) καλδο   αζο   **ταλο** αρμαστημο
       when   I.DIR there   stay.PST.1s

"When I was staying there (with you)."[436]

ταληλο

This adverb occurs only once in the extant Bactrian material:

(T 4-6)

(228) ταδο   ωσο   μανο   χινζωιο   καδαγοστανο φινζο πιδο
       then   now   I.OBL   queen   PN   lady   PRE

βανοζινιιαγγο   ζαοο   αβο   ταοο   καμιρδο   βαγο
royal infant?   life   PRE   you.OBL   PN   lord

οδαβο   ταοο   καμιρδοφαρο   κηδο   πιδοφαρο
and-PRE   you.OBL   PN   priest honour

κιρδο   αββο ζαμιιο   **ταληλο**   αβο   ασπο
make.PST.3s   water land   there   PRE   PN

"So now by me, the queen, the lady of Kadagstan, for the life of the royal infant, to you, the lord Kamird, and to you, Kamird-far the priest, the irrigated land there in Asp … has been made a honour"[437]

The Sogdian form of this adverb, i.e., tδ'yδ, is used without the cooperation or acknowledgement of the speaker, and when a second or third person is present in the place. In this case, the first person is usually in the place of addressee.[438] In the above example, it seems that the speaker is not in the mentioned place, but the second person exists there. In this case, the

[433] Sims-Williams 2007a: 79.

[434] Sims-Williams 2007a: 143.

[435] Sims-Williams 2007a: 141.

[436] Sims-Williams 2007a: 59.

[437] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 99 and Sims-Williams 2007a: 36.

[438] Cf. Wendtland 2006: 252-253.

adverb ταληλο "there" is used after αββο ζαμιιο "irrigated land", which indicates remote deixis. According to the above information and example, it appears that this adverb has the same function in Bactrian as it does in Sogdian.

οαλο

οαλο is used very often with the meaning of "then", and rarely with the meaning of "there". It seems that this adverb developed from a local adverb to a temporal adverb. In the following examples, this word is used with the meaning of "then":

(bh 2-3)

(229) οτανο   **οαλο** þαταρανο   καλδο αβο   το   χοηο
       and-PAR   then   more happy-be.SBJV.1s   when PRE SPD lordship
       χοαδο   λρογο   οηνανο
       RP   healthy   see.SBJV.3s
       "And then I would be more happy when I myself might see your lordship healthy."[439]

In the following examples, it is used as an local adverb and shows remote deixis. It has the same function as ταλο "there":

(J 3-4)

(230) οδο   πισο   μανδαρουανισο   αζαδοβοργανο   οιγαλφανο   κιδο
       and   PRE   other.PL-ADV   freemen.PL   witness.PL   who
       οαλο πιδο   μιλανο   αρμαστινδο
       there PRE   amongst   be present.PST.3p
       "and in the presence of the other freemen (and) witnesses, who were present there amongst (them)"[440]

οαρο

The form οαρο "there" is used only as a local adverb and shows remote deixis like οαλο. In the next set of examples given here, this adverb introduces an indefinite place:

(C 12-13)

(231) οδο   ιαβο   σιδο   **οαρο** ναυαγγο   ταοι   ιαμþοσπαλο
       and   water which thereto adjacent   you.OBL   PN
       χοβηιο   χοζηιο   χοαρηιο   ληρηιο
       good-be.OPT.3s   well-be.OPT.3s   have.OPT.2s   hold.OPT.2s
       "And the water which (is) adjacent thereto may belong properly and belong well to you, Yamsh-spal, you may have (and) hold (it)."[441]

(C 11-12)

(232) πισιδο   þαδο   υονασινδημο   ιθαο   ατανο   μαπορσο
       thereupon   satisfied   content-be.PRS.1s   so   that-PAR   afterwards
       ζοριγο   μασκο   ναβιχτογο   ζαμιγο   οδο   ιαβο   σιδο
       time   hereupon   write.pp   land   and   water which
       οαρο   ναυαγγο   ταοι   ιαμþοσπαλο   χοβηιο
       thereto   adjacent   you.OBL   PN   good-be.OPT.3s
       χοζηιο
       well-be.OPT.3s
       "Thereupon I am satisfied and content, so that in the future the land described herein and the water which (is) adjacent thereto may belong properly and belong well to you,

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[439] Sims-Williams 2007a: 67.
[440] Sims-Williams 2007a: 55.
[441] Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.

Yamsh-spal"

(cp 31-33)

(233)	οδο	σαγωνδο	το	χοηο	αβο	ικαραοι	**οαρο**
	and	as much as	SPD	lordship	PRE	ART-staff	there

ναληρηιο
NEG.have.PRS.2s

"and in as much as your lordship does not have the staff there"[442]

According to our material, οαρο can be only used as a local adverb, whereas οαλο is used much more as a temporal adverb, and rarely as a local adverb.

6.4 Syntactical positions of adverbs

Enclitic adverb -ισο, -σο

One of the characteristics of adverbs is their ability to move in a sentence. The enclitic adverb, -ισο or -σο, can be attached to different kinds of words and shows the emphasis on these words. In the following example, the enclitic adverb is suffixed to a personal pronoun:

(bf 11-12)

(234)	ταδο	**αζ-ισο**	κιρανο
	then	I.DIR-ADV	act.SBJV.1s

"then I shall act too"[443]

It can be suffixed to an article, as the following example shows:

(X 2-3)

(235)	οδο	πισο	**μισο**	þαριιο
	and	PRE	ART-ADV	citizens

"and also in the presence of the citizens"[444]

In the following example, -ισο is suffixed to a noun:

(bb 9-10)

(236)	ταδο	**βανοοισο**	αδβηγο	πιδοκαρλο
	then	queen-ADV	disrespect	prevent.IMP.2s

"then you should also prevent disrespect (towards) the queen"[445]

This word can be suffixed to another adverb:

(A 33)

(237)	οτο-μηνο	**ιθαησο**	χοανδο	οδο	οισαρο	ναοαοορο
	and-I.CP	ADV-ADV	claim	and	argument	invalid

αβουδηιο
be.OPT.3s

"and so too our claim and argument shall be invalid"[446]

In the following example, -ισο is attached to a plural indefinite pronoun:

---

[442] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 97.

[443] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 63.

[444] Sims-Williams 2000a: 137.

[445] Sims-Williams 2007a: 55.

[446] Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

(A 7)

(238) οδο   πισο   **μανδαρουανισο**   στηβιγανο
and   PRE   ART-other.PL-ADV   of the Steb.PL
αζαβοργανο
freemen.PL
"and in the presence of the other freemen of Steb"[447]

Independent forms

Like enclitic adverbs, independent forms may occur in different positions in a sentence. It appears that there is no rule for the position of independent adverbs in Bactrian. It is only in the case of local adverbs that they occur before the prepositional phrases and the name of places:

(A 1-2)

(239) καλδο   νοβιχτο   μο   ολοβωστογο   **μαλο** αβο   μο
when   write.PST.3s DEM   marriage contract   ADV   PRE   ART
ρωβαγγο   þαρο   αβιιοανδαγο
of Rob   city   borough
"when this marriage contract was written here in the city of Rob, in the borough"[448]

It can also occur before the predicate:

(bd 7-8)

(240) ωσιδο   þαβορο   **μαλο** πισαμαγο   αγαδο
now   PN   ADV   PRE-I.CP   come.PST.3s
"Now, Shabur has come here into my presence."[449]

In the case of the sequence of adverbs, it seems that a local adverb occurs after a time adverb:

(bh 6-7)

(241) οτο   αμαχο   οιδρο ρωσο ραμο **μαλο** αβο
and   we.UFL   PRE   day   Ram   ADV   PRE
αμαγγανο   αρμαυαμο
Amangan   stay.PRS.1p
"And we will stay here at Amangan until the day Ram."[450]

In the following example, the adverb appears directly after the verb:

(ed 4-5)

(242) μισιδο   þαβοροωρομοζδο   αγαδο   **μαλο**
moreover   PN   come.PST.3s ADV
"moreover, Shabur-ormuzd came here"[451]

An independent adverb may occur directly after a conjunction as the first element in a subordinate clause, as illustrated in the following example:

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[447] Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

[448] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 33 and Sims-Williams 2007a: 35.

[449]Sims-Williams 2007a: 59.

[450] Sims-Williams 2007a: 67.

[451] Sims-Williams 2007a: 115.

(ca 8-9)

(243) οδο   υαμο   σιδο   **ταρο** αβο   þαρο   ασβαρο
       and   likewise   whatever   ADV   PRE   city   horseman
       ασταδο
       be.SBJV.3s
       "and likewise whatever horseman may be there in the city"[452]

In the following example, an independent adverb appears between a pronoun and noun, which is not common. This pronoun, which is oblique, usually functions as a possessive pronoun:

(ce 3-4)

(244) ωσιδο το   χοηο   ζανο   κοοαδο   μανο **ταρο**
       now   SPD lordship   know.IMPV.2s   that   I.OBL ADV
       πιδιστοβαραγο   αστο   αφφαρδαρο
       surety   be.PRS.3s   PN
       "Now, your lordship should know that Ash-fardar is my surety there."[453]

The adverbs of time, ωσο, μισιδο,[454] ωσιδο "now", occasionally occur at the beginning of a clause. For example:

(A 10)

(245) **μισιδο**   ζιþτο   μανο
       now   request.PST.3s   I.OBL
       "now, I requested"

If the clause begins with a conjunction, the adverb of time usually appears after it:

(A 9-10)

(246) κιδο **ωσο** νοβανδο   νινδοκο   ι   ωχþοβαδογανο
       who   now   PRE   PN   EZ   PN
       πιδο αζαδο αspaσο   πoroχηζαμο
       PRE   free service   serve.PRS.1p
       "who now serve with Ninduk Okhshbadugan in free service"[455]

In the following example, an independent pronoun occurs after a conjunction and the adverb ωσο appears after it:

(U 6)

(247) ταδο μαχο   **ωσο** λαδο
       then we.UFL   now   give.PST.3s
       "so, now we gave"[456]

Manner adverbs as χοβο "well" and χοζο[457] "good" usually occur before the verb:

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[452] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 69.

[453] Sims-Williams 2007a: 77.

[454] μισιδο may also be used as a conjunction.

[455] Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

[456] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 107.

[457] It may also be used as an adjective.

(P 13´-14´)

(248)

ταδο	ωσο	αβο μασκο	ναβιχτιγο	βαλακο	ταοο
then	now	herein	written.pp	boy	you.OBL

φανζο	οδο	ταοο	οινδμαργο	**χοβο**	**χοζο**
PN	and	you.OBL	PN	properly	good

βοιηιο
be.OPT.3s

"So, now may the boy written herein belong properly and well to you Fanz and to you Wind-marg"[458]

Many adverbs are used with prepositions in different contexts, i.e., αβο μασκο or αβο ι μασκο "hereupon", ασο μαρο, ασο μαλο "from here", ασο ταρο "from there".

Some adverbs may be repeated and form a new adverb with a new meaning, i.e., -ισο "also", -ισο...-ισο "on the one side…on the other",[459] or υαμο "also", υαμο…υαμο... "both...and...".

There are some independent adverbs in Bactrian which can be prefixed to other words. For example, μαλο "here" can be prefixed to the preposition αβο "to, in", as in the following example:

(L 1-2)

(249)

καλδο	ναβιχτο	μολραγο	μαχιρσοβωστιγο
when	write.PST.3s	sealed document	ART-purchase contract

μαλαβο	οοαρνοοαγγο	þαρο
ADV-PRE	PN	city

"when (this) sealed document, this purchase contract, was written here in the city of Warnu"[460]

In the following example, οαλο "then, there" is prefixed to the pronoun αζο "I":

(W 25-27)

(250)

ταδο	**οαλαζο**	οορωλο	οδαζο	υιλιτοβηρο...
then	ADV-I.DIR	PN	and-I.DIR	PN

πιτιιαμο
guarantee.PRS.1p

"then I, Wurol, and I, Hilitber … guarantee thus"[461]

Another example is seen in that the adverb ιθαο can be prefixed to a conjunction as ιθαυατανο (ADV-COJ-PAR) "so that", to a preposition, e.g., ιθασο "so from", to a verb, e.g., ιθαχοανινδηιο (ADV-state.OPT.1p), or to an enclitic pronoun, e.g., ιθαοδηιο (ADV-you.2s).

6.5 Summary

There are three groups of adverbs in Bactrian. First, there is the group of some words which only play the role of adverbs. Second, there are adverbs which can also be used as preverbs or prepositions. Third, there is the group of nouns and adjectives which are used as adverbs.

We also focused on the proximate deixis adverbs in Bactrian, i.e., μαρο, μαλο, μαληλο "here", as well as the remote deixis adverbs, i.e., ταρο, ταλο, ταληλο, οαλο and οαρο "there". The adverbs μαληλο and ταληλο are rarely used in the extant material. There is no clear distinction between the function of μαρο and μαλο, or between ταρο and ταλο. The form οαλο is

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[458] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 85.

[459] Sims-Williams 2007a: 218.

[460] Sims-Williams 2000a: 65.

[461] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 133.

used much more as a temporal adverb with the meaning "then", whereas οαρο is only used as a local adverb. In some languages like Sogdian, we can find some distinctions between different adverbs of remote deixis or proximate deixis, but it seems that in Bactrian, such distinctions are not found.

Adverbs occur in different syntactic positions. For example, the enclitic adverb -ισο, -σο "thus" can be suffixed to personal pronouns, indefinite pronouns, nouns, and articles. We cannot find an exact position for independent adverbs in Bactrian. Some of these adverbs can be prefixed to other words as pronouns, prepositions, other adverbs, conjunctions, and verbs.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: CONJUNCTIONS

Subordinate clauses may be introduced by different types of conjunctions. In Bactrian, there are three types of conjunctions: coordinating, correlative and subordinating.

7.1 Coordinating conjunctions

This group of conjunctions as οτο "and", οδο "and", αλο "or", αλδο "or", ασιδο "but" can link similar elements, which can be single items or a group of words. The following list shows the coordinating conjunctions in Bactrian.

Some of these conjunctions can also be used as subordinating conjunctions. For example, **αλο** and **αλδο** with the meaning of "if" can be a subordinating conjunction.

An explanation follows of the environments and the functions of these conjunctions.

7.1.1 οδο, δο "and"; οτο, οτι, οτ-, ατ- "and"

Both of these conjunctions can be used as free forms or they can be prefixed to other words such as nouns, adjectives, other conjunctions, prepositions, enclitic pronouns, and enclitic and demonstrative pronouns. But in the Bactrian texts, the conjunctions are not attached to articles. **οδο** is attested more than **οτο** in the extant material.

οδο, δο

A coordinating conjunction can be prefixed to a noun:

(jf 8-9)

(251)	**οδ-**αβαχρηγο	α´	δραχμο	τωζο	οδο	α´	δραχμο
	and-fee	one	dirham	pay.IMPV.2s	and	one	dirham

καραφσο
surcharge

"And pay one dirham (as) a fee and one dirham (as) a surcharge(?)."[462]

A coordinating conjunction can be prefixed to an adjective:

(X18')

(252)	**οδ-**αβηιολαδδιιο	κιρδο	οδο	κινο	δδραγδο
	and-unlawful	do.INF	and	revenge	keep.INF

"…to cause unlawful or to take revenge"[463]

In the following example, the coordinating conjunction is prefixed to another conjunction:

(cl 8)

(253)	**οδ-**αλδο	γαλο	οδο	ιασπο	ναχωζ-ηιο
	and-if	thief	and	ART-horse	NEG.ask.OPT.2s

"and if you do not search out the thieves and the horses"[464]

A conjunction can be prefixed to a preposition:

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[462] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 133.

[463] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 139.

[464] Sims-Williams 2000a: 89.

(eb 1-2)

(254) **οδ-**αβο   γοραμβαδο   χοηοοανο   λροδο
      and-PRE   PN   PN   greeting
      "and to Gurambad Khwadewan greetings"[465]

A conjunction can be prefixed to an enclitic pronoun

(T 6)

(255) **οδο-**μο   λαδδηι   μισο   μασκονδο   ιωγο   ζινο
      and-I.CP   give.PST.OPT.3s   also   person   one   woman
      "and also I gave a certain person, a woman"[466]

A conjunction can be prefixed to a demonstrative pronoun:

(X 31)

(256) **οδ**δι   πωστιγο   χοζο   οοηζο   παρμανο   βοοαδο
      and-DEM   contract   good   potent   authoritative   be.SBJV.3s
      "And may this contract be (considered) good (and) potent (and) authoritative."[467]

It can also be prefixed to a hypothetical particle -**ανο**:

(S 22)

(257) **οδ-**ανο   χοηδαγο   οδο   βηβινδο   κιρ-ανο
      and-PAR   free   and   detached   do.SBJV.1s
      "and I would cause (the property to be) released and detached from all"[468]

The function of οδο

Harmatta writes in his article "The Great Bactrian Inscription":

"The conjunction **οδο** links always identical parts of the sentence…as a conjunction introducing a sentence it can be used only together with another conjunction",[469] as shown in example (258):

(Surkh Kotal 7)

(258) **οδο**   καλδανο   ασο   λρο   υομινανο   ιειρο
      and   when-PAR   PRE   ?   ?   ART-matter
      βοοηιο
      be.PRS.OPT.3s
      "and when it would be a matter of…"[470]

In the above example, it is used together with καλδο which is also a conjunction.

He adds:

"Since alone it never introduces a sentence, it is never linked with an enclitic pronoun".[471]

This conjunction is used only three times in the Surkh Kotal inscription. In the following example, it links two parts of a number:

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[465] Sims-Williams 2007a: 111.

[466] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 99.

[467] Sims-Williams 2000a: 143.

[468] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 95.

[469] Harmatta 1964: 445.

[470] Cf. Lazard, Grenet and de Lamberterie 1984: 226.

[471] Harmatta 1964: 445.

(Surkh Kotal 5)
(259) ιωγο   οδο   υιρσο
      one   and   thirty
      "thirty one"[472]

What is written by Harmatta about οδο is limited to the Surkh Kotal inscription. From the new Bactrian material, we can gain some new information about the function of οδο.

The conjunction οδο usually coordinates two nominal phrases, though it rarely links two clauses. In the following example, the first occurrence of οδο introduces the sentence, the second and third οδο coordinates two nouns, whereas the fourth coordinates two clauses.

      (jf 6-9)
(260) **οδ-**ασο   ι   χαρο   πορδανιγο   **οδο**   γονζο   **οδο**   ροτιγο
      and-PRE   ART   donkey   saddle(?)   and   bag   and   rope
      μαρο   φοþτιιο   **οδ**αβαχρηγο α´   δραχμο   τωζο
      hither send.IMPV.2s   and-fee   one   dirham   pay.IMPV.2s
      "And (apart) from this, send hither a donkey-saddle and a bag and a rope(?) and pay one dirham as (as) a fee."[473]

The function of οτο

According to Harmatta:

"… the conjunction οτο never links parts of the sentence, it always serves for the introduction of sentences, it stands always alone in the beginning of the sentence and it is frequently connected with forms of enclitic personal pronouns." [474]

This conjunction is used five times in the Surkh Kotal inscription. In three of these instances, it stands alone, as shown in the following example:

      (Surkh Kotal 4)
(261) **οτο**   μα   λιζο   πιδοριγδο
      and   ART   fortress   leave.pp
      "And the fortress became deserted."[475]

In one instance, the particle -ανο is added to this conjunction:

      (Surkh Kotal 7)
(262) **οτ-**ανο   μα   λιζο   μα πιδοριχσηιο
      and-PAR   ART   fortress   PROH.leave.PRS.OPT.PASS.3s
      "And fortress should not become deserted"[476]

And in another instance, an enclitic pronoun is attached to this conjunction:

      (Surkh Kotal 8)
(263) **οτ-**ηιο   ασασκο   μο   σαδο αχþτριγο   κιρδο
      and-he.CP   PRE-top   ART   well   ?   do.PST.3s
      "Then he made a …top of the well"[477]

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[472] Cf. Lazard, Grenet and de Lamberterie 1984: 226.

[473] Sims-Williams 2007a: 133.

[474] Harmatta 1964: 445.

[475] Cf. Lazard, Grenet and de Lamberterie 1984: 226.

[476] Cf. Lazard, Grenet and de Lamberterie 1984: 226.

[477] Cf. Lazard, Grenet and de Lamberterie 1984: 226.

In all these examples, the conjunction is used to coordinate two clauses. From the extant Bactrian texts, we can conclude that the conjunction οτο is usually used to coordinate two clauses, whereas the conjunction οδο coordinates two nominal phrases and rarely two clauses.

αλο "or"

αλο is used very often in the role of a conjunction. In the following example, it coordinates two pronouns and nouns which express the subject of the clause:

(A 19-20)

(264) οδο   καλδ-ανο   αζο   βαβο   **αλ-**αζο   πιδοκο   ανδαρο   ολο
      and   if-PAR   I.DIR PN   or-I.DIR   PN   another   wife
      κιρ-ινδηιοο
      make.OPT-1p
      "and if I, Bab or I, Piduk should make another wife"[478]

In the following example, it coordinates two nouns which express the object of a clause:

(A 30)

(265) αλδ-ανο   φαρο   ραλικο   ιαοαργο   **αλο**   ταραζο   λαυ-ινδηιο
      or-PAR   PRE   PN   duty   or   task   give.OPT-1p
      "or if (we) should assign duties or tasks to Ralik"[479]

In the following example, the second αλο coordinates two clauses:

(A 19-20)

(266) οδο   καλδ-ανο   αζο   βαβο   αλ-αζο   πιδοκο   ανδαρο   ολο
      and   if-PAR   I.DIR PN   or-I.DIR PN   another   wife
      κιρ-ινδηιο   **αλο**   αζαδο   πιδορωφσο   ληρ-ινδηιο
      make.OPT-1p   or   free   concubine   have.OPT-1p
      "and if I, Bab or I, Piduk should make another wife, or have a free concubine"[480]

αλδο "or"

There is no visible semantic and syntactic distinction in the function of αλο and αλδο:[481]

In the following example, it coordinates two clauses:

(A 29-30)

(267) οδο   καλδ-ανο   αζο   νινδοκο   αλ-αζο   ...   οιζαγγοδαρο
      and   if-PAR   I.DIR PN   or-I.DIR   otherwise
      κιρ-ηιο   **αλδ-**ανο   φαρο   ραλικο   ιαοαργο   αλο   ταραζο
      do.OPT-1s or-PAR   PRE   PN   duty   or   task
      λαυινδ-ηιο
      give.OPT-1p
      "if (we) should assign duties or tasks to Ralik"[482]

In the following example, another conjunction, i.e., οδο "and", is attached to αλδο and coordinates two clauses:

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[478] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 33-35.

[479] Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

[480] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 33-35.

[481] Here I mean αλδο as a coordinating conjunction. It can be also used with the meaning "if" in subordinate clauses.

[482] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

(A 30-31)

(268)

αλδ-ανο	φαρο	ραλικο	ιαοαργο	αλο	ταραζο	λαυ-ινδηιο
or-PAR	PRE	PN	duty	or	task	give.OPT-1p

οδ-αλδο	ιθαχοαν-ινδηιο
and-or	claim.OPT-1p

"and if I, Ninduk and I … should do otherwise, or (if we) should assign duties or tasks to Ralik or (if we) should claim"[483]

It can also coordinate two nouns, as shown in the following example:

(F 14)

(269)

ανδαρο	μολρογο	**οδ-αλδο**	πωσταγο	παροβαραδο
another	sealed document	and-or	contract	produce.SBJV.3s

"(and) might produce another sealed document or contract"[484]

ασιδο, σιδο, ασιδα-, ασιδ-, σιδ- "but, on the other hand"

It is often used as a relative pronoun, but it can also play the role of a conjunction. The general meaning of **ασιδο** as a conjunction is "but, on the other hand". According to Sims-Williams, it marks a contrast between what precedes and what follows.[485]

As a conjunction, it coordinates only two clauses, such as in the following example:

(ba 2-3)

(270)

ταδο	þαδ-ημο	**ασιδ-**ανο	οαλο	þαταρ-ανο
then	happy-be.PRS.1s	but-PAR	then	more happy-be.SBJV.1s

"therefore I am happy, but then I would be more happy…"[486]

7.1.2 Rarely attested coordinating conjunctions

ατο

ατο "that, so that" is rarely used in the extant Bactrian texts. It coordinates two clauses, as shown in the following example:

(C 11-13)

(271)

πισιδο	þαδο	υονασινδ-ημο	ιθαο	**ατ-**ανο	μαπορσο
thereupon	satisfied	content-be.PRS-1s	so	that-PAR	afterwards
ζοριγο	μασκο	ναβιχτογο	ζαμιγο	οδο	ιαβο	σιδο
time	hereupon	write.pp	land	and	water	which
οαρο	ναυαγγο	ταοι	ιαμþοσπαλο	χοβ-ηιο
thereto	adjacent	you.SG.OBL	PN	good-be.OPT.3s

χοζ-ηιο
well-be.OPT.3s

"Thereupon I am satisfied and content, so that in the future the land described herein and the water which (is) adjacent thereto may belong properly and belong well to you, Yamsh-spal."[487]

In the following example, ατο (ατ) is attached to an adverb, and a particle is attached to ατο (ατ):

[483] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

[484] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 47.

[485] Sims-Williams 2007a: 195.

[486] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

[487] Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.

(A 12-13)

(272) ιθαυ-**ατ-**ανο   ληρ-ηιο   αζο   βαγοφαρνο   αβο μασκο
       so-that-PAR   treat.OPT-1s   I.DIR PN   herein

       νοβιχτισο   ζινο
       write.pp.f   wife

       "so that I, Bag-farn, may treat the woman described herein…"[488]

φαρσο **"but"**

The function of this conjunction is not clear. It is used only once in the extant Bactrian material:

(Y 23-24)

(273) οδο   γαμανο   κιραδο   **φαρσο**   κιδ-αβο   μιρο
       and   trouble   cause.SBJV.3s   but   who-PRE   PN

       σταμβο   οδο   γαμανο   κιραδο   πιδο   βαβαγγο
       injury   and   trouble   cause.SBJV.3s   PRE   Bab's

       αχασο
       dispute

       "…and may do trouble, but whoever may commit injury and violence toward Mir on account of a dispute of Bab's"[489]

In the above example, it links two clauses.

αφαρσιδο **"except"**

Like φαρσο, this conjunction is rarely attested in Bactrian texts. It is used only in two documents (In: ea 11 and ef 18-19). In the following example, it links a sentence to a nominal phrase[490]:

(ea 10-11)

(274) υαρσο κισο   υαργο οδο   σαχοανο   νιστο   **αφαρσιδο**
       no one   right   and   business   NEG.be.PRS.3s   except

       þαβορο   χοαδο
       PN   RP

       "no-one has (any) right or (other) business … except Shabur himself"[491]

In the following example, it appears that αφαρσιδο links two clauses:

(ef 16-20)

(275) ταδο   πιδο   λοι   ποσανο   φαρο   ωρομοζδο   οισταο
       then   PRE   two   sheep   PRE   PN   promise

       κιρδο   **αφαρσιδο**   χα[ ]ογ-ινδο
       do.PST.3s   but   ?-be.PRS-3p

       "so, regarding the two sheep, a promise was made to Ormuzd, but…were…"[492]

ασο

The form ασο is a preposition with the meaning "from". It is also classified by Sims-Williams as a conjunction.

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[488] Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

[489] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 145 and Sims-Williams 2007a: 37.

[490] In these examples, it is possible that it plays the role of a preposition, rather than that of a conjunction.

[491] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 109.

[492] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 119.

According to Sims-Williams, it is used as a conjunction only in two documents, cd, ci. In both cases, it is used with another conjunction. The use of a preposition with a conjunction is very common in other Iranian languages. For example, in Sogdian, the preposition c- "from" is used occasionally with other conjunctions. Here, in Bactrian, the question is whether ασο is a preposition or a conjunction. In the following example, it is shown to be used with another conjunction, and it joins two sentences:

(ci 11-12)

(276)
υιρζ-ανο	ζαμιγο	**ασο**	αλδομο	ναοαζο	ασο	χοηοι
let.SBJV-1s	land	but(?)	if-I.CP	PN	from	lord

πωστογο	αβαραδο
document	bring.SBJV.3s

"let alone a (piece of) land! But if Nawaz brings me a document from the lord…"[493]

Another example is presented here:

(cd 8-13)

(277)
κοαδο-ιηνο	ασο	βαχλο	οιþοηγγο	κορατιγο	τ[.]ν-ημο
that-they.CP	PRE	Balkh	linen	shirt	?.PRS-1s

αγαδο	**ασο**	καλδο-ιηνο	αγαδηιο	ταδο-μο	πισο
bring.INF	but(?)	if-they.CP	bring.PST.OPT.3s	then-I.CP	PRE

το	χοηο	ιαυαμγο	φοþταδηιο
SPD	lordship	ART-same	send.PST.OPT.3s

"I am [urging?] them to bring linen shirts from Balkh. If they had in fact brought (them), I would have sent the same to your lordship"[494]

In both of these examples, ασο is used with other conjunctions, i.e., αλδο, καλδο "if", and it links two sentences. According to the above examples, it has a function which may be compared with the preposition c- in Sogdian and plays the role of a preposition rather than a conjunction. Because of the limited number of examples, it is not easy to make an exact judgment.

μισιδο "moreover"

In many constructions, it is used in the meaning of "moreover" and introduces a new topic or sentence:

(jf 12-15)

(278)
οδ-αβο	ζολαδο	οδ-αβο	ζαδοσμαρο	λροδο	ναμωσο	ασο
and-PRE	PN	and-to	PN	greetings	homage	PRE

ζολαδο	**μισιδο**	σογγο	πιδο	δροστανο
PN	moreover	in as much as	PRE	health

αρμαυ-ηδο
remain.PRS or OPT-2p

"and to Zhulad and to Zhad-smar greetings (and) homage from Zhulad. Moreover, in as much as you (pl.) remain in (good) health"[495]

Another example is given here:

(bg 3-5)

(279)
καλδ-ανο	αβο	το	χοηο	χοαδο	λρογο	οην-ανο
when-PAR	PRE	SPD	lordship	RP	healthy	see.SBJV-1s

ναμωσο	βαρανο	**μισιδο**	αγαδο	μαρο	ασο	το

---

[493] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 85.

[494] Sims-Williams 2007a: 75.

[495] Sims-Williams 2007a: 133.

homage   pay.SBJV.3s moreover   arrive.PST.3s hither PRE   SPD

χοηο   πωστογο

lordship   letter

"…when I myself might see your lordship healthy (and) pay homage. Moreover a letter has come hither from your lordship"[496]

7.1.3 Summary

The following table shows the coordinating conjunctions in the extant Bactrian texts and their functions:

Table 28. Coordinating conjunctions

ατο "that"	Sentence + Sentence
οτο "and"	Sentence + Sentence
οδο "and"	Nominal phrase + Nominal phrase
	Sentence + Sentence (rarely)
αλο "or"	Nominal phrase + Nominal phrase
	Sentence + Sentence
αλδο "or"	Nominal phrase + Nominal phrase
	Sentence + Sentence
ασιδο "but"	Sentence + Sentence
αφαρσιδο "but, except"	Sentence + Nominal phrase
(only in two documents)	Sentence + Sentence
φαρσο "but" (only in one document)	Sentence + Sentence
μισιδο "moreover"	Sentence + Sentence

7.2 Correlative conjunctions

These conjunctions are always used in pairs, and they link similar elements. Here are the correlative conjunctions found in the extant Bactrian texts:

αλο...αλο "either…or", "both…and"[497]

αλο...οδο "either…or", "both…and"[498]

αλο...οδαλο "either…or"

αλο...οτο "both…and"

δαλδο...οδαλο "either…or"[499]

δαλδο...οδαλδο "either…or"[500]

αλδο...αλο/αλδο "whether…or", "both…and",[501] or αλδο…οδαλδο "whether…or"

In the following example, the correlative conjunction αλο...αλο joins two adjectives:

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[496] Sims-Williams 2007a: 65.

[497] Sims-Williams 2007a: 190.

[498] Sims-Williams 2007a: 190.

[499] Sims-Williams 2007a: 190.

[500] Sims-Williams 2007a: 189.

[501] Sims-Williams 2007a: 189.

(W 15)

(280) οδο   οαζιδο   τοχμανο   ιαοο   πανζασο   ν´   καβσο
       and   employ.PRS.3s   seed   grain fifty   50   quart
       αλο κασοκο   φριαδαρο   **αλο** κασοκο   καμβαταρο
       either little   more   or   little   less

"and (one) employs fifty quarts of grain (as) seed, either a little more or a little less"[502]

It can also join two nominal phrases:

(C 14-15)

(281) οδο   καλδ-ανο   αστηιο   μα-πορσο   ζοριγο   **αλο** αζο
       and   if-PAR   be.OPT.3s   ART-future   time   either I.DIR
       þαροοανινδο   χοαδο   **αλο** μανο   βραδο
       PN   RP   or   I.OBL   brother

"and if in the future there should be (anyone)–whether I, Shar-wanind myself, or my brothers"[503]

αλο can also be used with οδαλο "or", as a correlative conjunction with the meaning of "either…or". In the following example, αλο...οδαλο joins two adjectives:

(J 10-11)

(282) αστο   μασκο   ναβιχτιγο   αγγαργο   πιδο   ιαοι   παραγανο
       be.PRS.3s herein   written.pp   property   PRE   grain sowing
       λοχσο ζ´   **αλο** κασοκο   φριαχοδαρο **οδαλο** κασοκο   καμβοδαρο
       lukhs seven either little   more   or   little   less

"(This) is the property described herein, (of a size requiring) seven *lukhs*–either a little more or a little less-for sowing with grain."[504]

It seems that there is no semantic or functional difference between αλο...οδαλο and αλο...αλο. In examples (406 and 404), both are used in a similar context with the meaning of "either…or".

In the next example, αλο is used with οτο "and". In my opinion, it is a correlative conjunction. It is shown here to link two clauses:

(al 6-7)

(283) οτο-μο   **αλο** ι   þαρο πιδισιδο   **οτο-μο**   τογδο
       and-I.CP both   ART city   give up.PST.3s   and-I.CP   pay.PST.3s
       φαρο   ι   ωκιδο
       PRE   ART   ?

"[and] I both handed over(?) the city and paid to the…"[505]

In the following example, δαλδο...οδαλο "either…or" is used to link two nominal phrases:

(xp 12-13)

(284) ταλδο το   χοηο   σινδηιο   **δαλδο**   το   χοηο
       if   SPD lordship please.OPT.3s   either   SPD   lordship
       οδαλο   χοασραο   πισο   ωυρομοζδο   ηρσαγι
       or   PN   PRE   PN   come.FUP

"If it please your lordship, either your lordship or Khwasraw should come into the

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[502] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 129.

[503] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.

[504] Sims-Williams 2000a: 57.

[505] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 163.

presence of Ohrmuzd"[506]

In the following example, αλδο…οδαλδο "whether…or" links two nominal phrases:

(F 11)

(285)	οτο	κιδ-ανο	ασταδο	παρσο	μα-βαρο	ζαμανο
	and	whoever-PAR	be.SBJV.3s	PRE	ART-future	time
	υαρασο κισο	**αλδαζο**	ασβιδο	χοαδο	**οδ-αλδο**	μανο
	anyone	whether-I.DIR	PN	RP	and-or	I.OBL
	βραδο					
	brother					

"and whoever there may be in the future –anyone at all, whether I, Asbid, myself, or my brothers"[507]

7.2.1 Summary

According to the above examples, we can conclude that no difference in meaning can be given for αλο...αλο, αλο...οδαλο, δαλδο...οδαλο, δαλδο...οδαλδο; all them mean "either…or". αλο...οτο can be also used in the meaning of "both…and". αλο...οτο means also "both…and". These correlative conjunctions very often link nominal phrases, while they rarely link two sentences.

Table 29 shows the correlative conjunctions and their functions in the extant Bactrian texts:

Table 29. Correlative conjunctions

Correlative conjunctions	Function in the extant Bactrian texts
αλο...αλο "either…or", "both…and"[508]	
αλο...οδαλο "either…or"	Nominal phrases+Nominal phrases
αλο...οτο "both…and"	Sentence+Sentence
δαλδο...οδαλο "either…or"[509]	
δαλδο...οδαλδο "either…or"[510]	
αλδο...αλο/αλδο "whether…or", "both…and"	
αλδο…οδαλδο "whether…or"	

7.3 Subordinating conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions are the largest group of conjunctions in Bactrian. They join subordinate clauses to main clauses. Most of them are used both as adverbs and conjunctions. According to their functions, they can be classified as *temporal*, *causal*, *effective,* and *conditional*.

7.3.1 Time

σαζαμανδο "as soon as"

It is used in two documents as an independent form and in two other documents suffixed to the conjunction τα "and". It is illustrated in the following example:

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[506] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 163.

[507] Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.

[508] Sims-Williams 2007a: 190.

[509] Sims-Williams 2007a: 190.

[510] Sims-Williams 2007a: 189.

(ca 6-7)

(286) ωσο **σαζαμανδο** ταμαχο μο πωστογο οιν-ηδο
now as soon as you.OBL.PL DEM letter see.PRS-2p
"now, as soon as you see this letter"[511]

In the following example, it is attached to the conjunction τα:

(cp 19-20)

(287) οτο-μο αβο οηþοφαρδαρο φρητογο φοþταδο
and-I.CP PRE PN messenger send.PST.3s
τα-σαζαμανδο ηρσιδο
then-as soon as come back.PRS.3s
"and I sent Wesh-fardar (as) a messenger. As soon as he comes (back)…"[512]

κιζαμνιδο "as soon as"

This subordinating conjunction is only used once in cf 13 with the meaning of "as soon as". It is suffixed to the conjunction τα and an enclitic pronoun, i.e., -ιηνο, is suffixed to it:

(cf 11-13)

(288) ταδο φρομιιο κιδο ι γασικο ασο ρωβο
then order.IMPV.2s someone ART concubine PRE PN
απαρσο αοηλαδο **τα-κιζαμνιδο-ιηνο** χωζ-ανο
back fetch.INF and-as soon as-they.CP.p ask.SBJV-1s
"then order (someone) to fetch the concubine back from Rob, and as soon as I ask for them"[513]

σαζαμανο "as soon as"

It is used three times in the extant Bactrian documents. In the following example, it occurs at the beginning of the clause with the meaning of "as soon as", together with another conjunction, i.e., μισιδο:

(jd 3-4)

(289) μισιδο **σαζαμανο** πωστιγο οιν-ηιο
moreover as soon as letter see.PRS-2s
"moreover, as soon as you see (this) letter"[514]

παρσο "back, afterwards"

The form παρσο may be used as an adverb and it can function in both a prepositional and postpositional role. As a conjunction, it is used at the beginning of a subordinate clause with the meaning of "after":

(N 26-27)

(290) οτο ιθασο **παρσο** τογδο ταοανο πιτανοβωστιγο
and so after pay.PST.3s fine guarantee contract
μολραγο χοζο οαοαρο αβοδηιο
sealed document good valid be.OPT.3s
"And so, after the fine has been paid, may (this) guarantee-contract, (this) sealed document, be (considered) good and valid."[515]

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[511] Sims-Williams 2007a: 69.

[512] Sims-Williams 2007a: 95.

[513] Sims-Williams 2007a: 79.

[514] Sims-Williams 2007a: 131.

[515] Sims-Williams 2000a: 77.

πισιδο "thereupon"

In the following example, it is used as a temporal conjunction at the beginning of a clause:

(C 11-12)

(291) οτο-μο   αγγιτο   ασαφαγο   ιαμþοσπαλο παλαþνο
       and-I.CP   receive.PST.3s   PRE-you.CP PN   reward
       πισιδο   þαδο   υονασινδ-ημο
       thereupon   satisfied   content-be.PRS.1s
       "and I received this gift from you, Yamsh-spal. Thereupon I am satisfied and content"[516]

7.3.2 Cause/Effect

τα "then"

It is used only as an independent form in the Surkh Kotal inscription. In other texts, it is prefixed to other words, e.g., **τακαλδασο** (**τα** COJ+**καλδο** "if" COJ+**ασο** PRE "if") or **τακοοαδανο** (**τα** COJ+**κοοαδο** ADV "where"+**ανο** PAR). It seems that in a clause beginning with this conjunction, the verb often stands at the end of the clause.

(A 28)

(292) **τα-κοοαδ-ανο**   πιδο   οδο   ι-μαδο   οδο   γωυριγο
       then-in as much as-PAR   father   and   ART-mother and   family
       υοσινδηιο[517]
       agree.OPT.3s
       "then in as much as the father and the mother and the family may agree to give (her) away"[518]

ταδο, ταδ- "then, and"

According to Sims-Williams, this conjunction often introduces the main clause after a subordinate clause:[519]

(A 26)

(293) οδο   σιδανο   ασο   ραλικο   πορο   αζιηιο   **ταδ-**ανο
       and   whatever   PRE   PN   son   bear.OPT.3s then-PAR
       πιδο   χοβο   χοαρηιο
       PRE   own   have.OPT.3s
       "And whatever son may be born from Ralik, then she may have (him) for her own."[520]

It can also coordinate two subordinates, as shown in the following example:

(A 3-4)

(294) κιδο ι   ωνδο   λιβο   ζαν-ινδο   **ταδο** αβο   μασκο
       who   ART   same   document   bear witness.PRS-3p then PRE   hereupon
       πιδοναμγο   νοβιχτιγ-ινδο
       signature   write.PST.PF-3p
       "who witness the present document and (whose) signatures are written hereupon"[521]

In the clause beginning with this conjunction, the verb often occurs directly after **ταδο**:

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[516] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 39-41.

[517] Or υοσινδ(ινδ)ηιο Sims-Williams 2007a: 35.

[518] Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

[519] Sims-Williams 2007a: 267.

[520] Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

[521] Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

(A 20-21)

(295) **ταδανο**   λαυ-ινδηιο   ταοανο   αβο   þαογανο   γαζνο
then-PAR   give.OPT-1p fine   PRE   royal   treasury
ζαροζιδγο   κ´   διναρο
stuck gold   20   dinar
"Then (we) shall give a fine to the royal treasury of twenty dinars of struck gold."[522]

The verb can also occur at the end of the clause beginning with this conjunction:

(A 28-29)

(296) **ταδο**   ιανο   λαυ-ινδηιο
then   wish   give.OPT-3p
"Then they may give her."[523]

Different kinds of words like prepositions (e.g., αβο "to"), personal pronouns (e.g., –ηιο "it, him, to him"), demonstratives (e.g., ειο "this"), and particles (e.g., -ανο, hypothetical particle) are suffixed to this conjunction in the extant material.

It can be used in a conditional sentence relating to **καλδο**:

(Q 19)

(297) καλδο   λαδο   ναþιαμο   **ταδο** παδοαχþαν-ηιο
if   give.INF   NEG.SBJV.1p   then have a right.PRS.2s
"if we cannot give (it to you), then you have the right…"[524]

σαγωνδο, σαγονδο "as, like, that"

This conjunction is attested very often in Bactrian texts. Other words like prepositions or pronouns are very often suffixed to this word, but only once is the conjunction itself suffixed:

(A 14-15)

(298) οδο   σιδ-ανο   ασο   μ-αβρ-ισο   αλφανζ-αμηιο
and   which-PAR   PRE ART-future-also   acquire.OPT-1p
ιθα-σαγωνδο ασνωυο   πορδο   αβο   λριγδο
thus-as   daughter in law   ought PRE   treat.PST.INF
σαγωνδο αβο μο λαμο νοβανδανο
as   PRE ART land established custom
"And also which we may acquire in the future, as (one) ought to treat a daughter-in-law, as (is) the established custom in the land."[525]

It very often coordinates two clauses, as illustrated in the following examples:

(eh 5-6)

(299) ταδο-μο   ναγατο   **σαγονδο** ναβιχτ-ημο πιδο μανο
then-I.CP   hear.PST.3s how   write.PST.1s PRE I.OBL
λρογοστανο
health
"So I have heard how you have written to me concerning my health."[526]
In above example, it is used with the meaning "how".

Another example is given here:

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[522] Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

[523] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 35 and Sims-Williams 2007a: 35.

[524] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 91.

[525]Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

[526] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 123.

(N 31)

(300) οδο   χοβιγο χοβιγο ληρ-αμο   **σαγονδο**   πιταδ-αμο
      and   all our own   keep.SBJV.1p   as   guarantee.PST.1p
      "And may we keep all our own (household) as we have guaranteed."[527]

In the following example, it coordinates a clause and a nominal phrase and is used with the meaning "than":

(ec 9-11)

(301) ταδ-ηνο   ασκαδαρο   παροβαλ-ανο   **σαγονδο**   ι-χοβο
      then-they.CP   more   to take care of.SBJV.1s   than   ART-own
      οδ-αλ-ινο   ναφοþτ-ιιο (?)
      and-if   NEG.send.OPT?.2s
      "then I would take care of them more than my own; and if you should not send them"[528]

In the following example, it coordinates two prepositional phrases:

(cd 11-14)

(302) ταδο-μο   πισο   το   χοηο   ιαυαμγο   φοþταδηιο
      then-I.CP   PRE   SPD   lordship   ART-same   send.PST.OPT.3s
      σαγωνδο   πισο   χοιιαχο   βραδο
      as   PRE   elder   brother
      "I would have sent the same to your lordship as to an elder brother."[529]

κιδο, ακιδο, κιδ-, ακιδ-, ακιδα- "that"

It is occasionally used as a relative pronoun, but it can also play the role of a conjunction with the meaning "that" in late texts and introduce a subordinate clause or direct speech[530]:

(X 5-6)

(303) ωσο   μαχο   δογγο πιδαγγηραδο **ακιδο** μαχο   οοχορτιο
      now   we.UFL   thus   agree.PST.3s that   we.UFL   quarrel.pp
      ναβαρτιδο
      NEG.be necessary.PRS.3s
      "Now it has been thus agreed by us, that it is not necessary for us to quarrel."[531]

κοαδο, κοοαδο "that"

κοαδο plays different roles. As a conjunction, it means "that, so that". It can also be used as a relative pronoun or adverb. In the following examples, it coordinates two clauses.

(ba 9)

(304) μανο ναγατο   **κοαδο**   τοο   μαρδο λαδιγ-ηιο
      I.OBL hear.PST.3s that   you.DIR   man   just-be.PRS.2s
      "I have heard that you are a just man."[532]

This conjunction can also be used to introduce direct speech, as in the following example:

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[527] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 79.

[528] Sims-Williams 2007a: 113.

[529] Sims-Williams 2007a: 75.

[530] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 222.

[531] Sims-Williams 2000a: 137.

[532] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53. In this example, κοαδο τοο μαρδο λαδιγηιο "that you are a just man" functions as the object of the verb ναγατο. In the first clause, the verb stands at the end of the sentence, and in the second clause, the enclitic form of the verb "to be" is attached to an adjective, which is very common.

(cc 9-11)

(305) ταδο   τι   χοηο   πιταδ-ηιο   **κοαδο** κοδο λαυ-ημο
      then   SPD   lordship   promise.PST.2s   that   dog   give.PRS.1s
      "Then your lordship promised: "I (shall) give (you) a dog.""[533]

σογγο "as"

This word is classified as an adverb by Sims-Williams. It can also be used as a conjunction coordinating two clauses:

(U 10-11)

(306) οδο   σιδ-αβο   εμο   ρο̆ζγο   υαργο κιρδο
      and   whatever-PRE   DEM   vineyard   dues make.INF
      γαοοιδο   **σογγο** αβο ρο̆ζγο   αβδδιν-ινδο
      ought.PRS.3s as   PRE vineyard   custom-be.PRS.3p
      "And whatever (payment of) dues ought to be made for this vineyard, as it is the custom for a vineyard."[534]

7.3.3 Condition

καλδο "when, if"

The form καλδο "if" is one of the most common conjunctions in Bactrian. It is used alone or attached to other words, such as prepositions, pronouns, conjunctions and particles. It can be suffixed to other words such as in τακαλδο (τα COJ "then"- καλδο "if, when") or prefixed, as in καλδασο (καλδο "if, when"- ασο PRE "from"). It can also be in the middle of an expression e.g.τακαλδασο (τα COJ "then"- καλδο "if, when"- ασο PRE "from"). It frequently introduces a subordinate clause.

In connection with the particle -ανο,[535] it has the meaning of "if", and it very often forms a conditional sentence:

(A 19-21)

(307) οδο   **καλδ-ανο**   αζο   βαβο αλ-αζο   πιδοκο   ανδαρο
      and   if-PAR   I-DIR PN   or-I.DIR   PN   another
      ολο   κιρ-ινδηιο   ...ταδ-ανο   λαυινδ-ηιο   ταοανο   αβο
      wife   have.OPT-1p ...then-PAR   give.OPT.1p   fine   PRE
      þαογανο   γαζνο   ζαροζιδγο   κ´   διναρο
      royal   treasury   stuck gold   20   dinar
      "And if, I, Bab or I, Piduk should make another wife…, then we shall give a fine to the royal treasury of twenty dinars of struck gold."[536]

In a construction beginning with καλδο, the verb usually occurs at the end:

(bh 2-3)

(308) οτ-ανο   οαλο þαταρ-ανο   **καλδο** αβο   το   χοηο
      and-PAR   then more happy-be.SBJV.1s when   PRE   SPD   lordship
      χοαδο   λρογο   οηνανο
      RP   healthy   see.SBJV.3s
      "And then I would be more happy when I myself might see your lordship healthy."[537]

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[533] Sims-Williams 2007a: 73.

[534] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 109 and Sims-Williams 2007a: 36.

[535] For the function of -ανο, see Sims-Williams 2007a: 48.

[536] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 33-35.

[537] Sims-Williams 2007a: 67.

Rarely, a verb can follow καλδο:

(A 1-2)
(309) **καλδο**   νοβιχτο   μο   ολοβωστογο   μαλο   αβο   μο
      when   write.PST.3s   DEM   marriage contract here   PRE   ART

      ρωβαγγο   þαρο   αβιιο   ανδαγο
      of Rob   city   PRE-DEM   borough

      "when this marriage contract was written here in the city of Rob, in the borough…"[538]

αλδο with the meaning of "if"

As mentioned before, this conjunction is used very often as a coordinating conjunction. It occurs also in conditional sentences with the meaning of "if" and plays the role of a subordinating conjunction:

(ba 16-17)
(310) ταδο-ιηνο   παδοφρασο   κιρ-ανο   οδο   **αλδο**   ασο   ι
      then-they.CP punishment   make.SBJV.1s   and   if   PRE   ART

      ταοι   χοβανανο   βιζδανο   κιρδδο   ταδο   αζο
      your.SG   shepherd   evil   make.PST.SBJV.3s   then   I.DIR

      αβα-φαγο   ναβιχτο   φρομιι-ανο
      PRE-you.CP   write.INF   order.SBJV-1s

      "and then I shall punish them; and if evil should have been committed by your shepherds, then I shall order (a letter) to be written to you"[539]

7.3.4 Summary

Most of the subordinate conjunctions are adverbs also used as conjunctions. The following table shows the subordinate conjunctions and their functions in the extant Bactrian texts:

Table 30. Subordinating conjunctions

Time	Cause/Effect	Condition
κιζαμνιδο "as soon as"	**τα** "then"	**καλδο** "when, if"
σαζαμανδο "as soon as"	**ταδο, ταδ-** "so, thus, then"	**αλδο** with the meaning of "if"
σαζαμανο "as soon as"	**σαγωνδο, σαγονδο** "as, like, in as much as, now, that, than"	
παρσο "after"	**κιδο, ακιδο** "that"	
πισιδο "thereupon"	**κοαδο, κοοαδο** "that, so that, in as much as"	
	σογγο "as"	

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[538] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 33 and Sims-Williams 2007a: 35.

[539] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

8. CHAPTER EIGHT: THE VERB

8.1 Position

The verb occurs in variant positions in the clause. It may have an initial or a final position, but most frequently it occurs in the final position. In the following example, the verb occurs at the end of the clause:

(ci 6)

(311) ταδο-ιηιο   φαραμαγο   **λαυ-ηιο**
then-it.CP   PRE-I.CP   give.OPT.2s
"And you should give it to me."[540]

In the following example, the verb occurs at the beginning of the sentence:

(Document 1, 1-4)

(312) **πιδοροβδο**   μανο   ασπαλοβιδο ασα-φαγο   ζοοανινδο
receive.PST.3s   I.OBL   PN   PRE-you.CP   PN
αμβαροβιρσαρλογο σιδ-ασο   ι   ναμαγο   νιβισιδο
store keeper   what-PRE ART list   write.PRS.PASS.3s
"I, Aspal-bid have received from you, Zuwanind the store keeper, what is written in this list."[541]

It may also occur directly after the subject, as in the following example:

(cq11-12)

(313) οτο-μο   **φοþταδο**   φαρο το   χοηο   διναρο   α´
and-I.CP   send.PST.3s PRE SPD   lordship   dinar   one
"And I have sent one dinar for your lordship."[542]

8.1.1 Two verbs in a construction

In the following section, variants of word order are shown, when more than one verb occurs in a construction:

1. Verb (inflected) + INF without αβο

In the following example, the infinitive occurs after the inflected verb, without the preposition αβο usually governing the past stems:

(Rabatak 11-12)

(314) οτ-ηια   **φρομαδο**   …   κιρδι
and-he.CP   order.PST.3s …   make.PST.INF
"and he gave orders to make…"[543]

2. Verb (inflected) + INF with αβο

In the following example, the preposition αβο governs the past infinitive:

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[540] Sims-Williams 2007a: 85.

[541] Sims-Williams 2000b: 5.

[542] Sims-Williams 2007a: 97.

[543] Sims-Williams 2004 (2008): 56.

(A 24-25)

(315) οτ-ανο   **μαπαδοαþχαν-ινδηιο**...   αβο   λαδο
       and-PAR   PROH.have right.OPT.1p   PRE   assign.PST.INF
       "and (we) shall not have the right …to assign"[544]

3. INF without αβo + Verb (inflected)

In the following example, two infinitives which are not coordinated by a conjunction occur before the inflected verb:

(C 17)

(316) χοανδο   οισαρδο   **αβζιηιο**
       claim.PST.INF   argue.PST.INF   continue.OPT.3s
       "(who) might continue to claim or argue"[545]

4. INF without αβo + Verb "to be" (inflected and suffixed)

In the following example, an infinitive is used with the verb "to be":

(bc 7-8)

(317) ταδο-μο   ταλο   αβο   þαρο   ταρο   νιαβογο   χοζο
       then-I.CP   thus   PRE   city   thither fitting   good
       αþκαρδαδο
       follow.PST.INF-be.SBJV.3s
       "So it would be very fitting for me to follow (him) thither to the city."[546]

In the following example, the infinitive is attached to a substantive, and the verb "to be" is attached to the infinitive:

(ck 7)

(318) **πορδο-γιρδ-ανο**
       proper-do.INF-be.SBJV.1s
       "I am obliged to do"[547]

5. Verbs used with the infinitive:

According to Sims-Williams, "the infinitive is identical with the past stem."[548] With some verbs or constructions, an infinitive without αβo is occasionally used.

The verb þιι- "can, to be able" is treated like a modal verb, and an infinitive is used with it:

(P 91)

(319) καλδο   λαδο   **ναþιι-αμο**
       if   give.PST.INF   NEG.can.SBJV.1p
       "if we cannot give"[549]

The verb παδαχþαν- "to have a right, have authority" may be used with an infinitive without αβo:

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[544] Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

[545] Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.

[546] Sims-Williams 2007a: 57.

[547] Sims-Williams 2007a: 89.

[548] Sims-Williams 2007a: 45.

[549] Sims-Williams 2000a: 235.

(Q 19-20)

(320) ταδο **παδοαχϸαν-ηιο**... ζιιανο κιρδο
      then have a right.PRS.2s penalty make.INF
      "then, you have the right to fix such a penalty of…"[550]

-πορδο "ought to" + copula is occasionally used with an infinitive without αβο:

(xn 7-8)

(321) τασιδο αβο χαρο πιδο ιαμβοοανινδο φαρδαρο
      whatever PRE ruler PRE PN more
      πορδο ναβιχτο οδο **πορδο** νιταδ-**ηιο**
      ought to write.PST.INF and ought to send.INF-be.PRS.2s
      "Whatever more you ought to write and ought to send to the ruler concerning Yamsh-wanind."[551]

The verb φρομιι- "to order" is occasionally used with an infinitive with αβο:

(xk 11)

(322) ασιδ-αζο υαμογηλο γαμανο **φρομι-ανο** αβο
      and-I.DIR likewise wrong order.SBJV.1s PRE
      κιρδο
      do.PST.INF
      "And I likewise should give orders to do wrong (to you)."[552]

The verb ριμ- "to order" is also used with an infinitive without αβο:

(P 16ʹ)

(323) υαρσο κιρδο **αριμαδο**
      whatever do.PST.INF suit.SBJV.3s
      "whatever it may suit to do"[553]

The verb αβζιι- "to continue" occasionally occurs with an infinitive without αβο:

(bd 7)

(324) **αβζαδ-ηιο** χιρδο
      continue.PST.2s do.INF
      "you continued to buy"[554]

The verb υιρζο "leave, release" usually occurs with an infinitive without αβο:

(jh 10-11)

(325) οτο πιδο ι τωγο υαρσο μισο αβιστανο κιρδο
      and PRE ART tax just also delay do.INF
      μα-υιρζο
      PROH.leave.IMPV.2s
      "And with regard to the tax do not allow any further delay to be made."[555]

The verb κιμ- "want" can also govern a following infinitive without αβο:

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[550] Sims-Williams 2000a: 91.

[551] Sims-Williams 2007a: 159.

[552] Sims-Williams 2007a: 155.

[553] Sims-Williams 2000a: 85.

[554] Sims-Williams 2007a: 59.

[555] Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.

(jh 9)

(326) οτ-ηιο   ποσο   **κιμ-ινδαδο**   λαδο
     and-he.CP   sheep   want.SBJV.3p   give.INF
     "and (if) they should want sheep to be given to him"[556]

The verb σαχσ- "to be assessed" usually occurs with an infinitive without αβο:

(je 7-8)

(327) πιδοο   σιδδ[557]-ηιο   ι   χαρο   αβο   μολο
     PRE-DEM   RTP-he.CP   ART   donkey   PRE   wine
     þοδο   **σαχσιδο**
     pay out.PST.INF   to be assessed.PRS.3s
     "Because his donkey is assessed to be paid out (in return) for wine."[558]

-Verb and past participle

In Bactrian, a few verbs such as βαρτ- "to be necessary (?)" and γαοο "to be necessary, ought" govern a preceding past participle instead of an infinitive:

(xj 4-6)

(328) ταδο   ωσο   δαγογγο   κιρο   κοαδο καρογαρο
     then   now   in such a way   do.IMPV.2s   that   worker
     ωζαδγο   **ναβαρταδο**
     liable.pp   NEG.to be necessary. SBJV.3s
     "So now you (sg.) should act in such a way that it should not be necessary for the workers to be (held) liable."[559]

Another example is given here:

(U 10)

(329) σιδαβο   εμο   ροζγο   υαργο κιρδο   **γαοοιδο**
     whatever   DEM   vineyard   rent   do.pp   ought.PRS.3s
     "whatever (payment of) rent ought to be made for this vineyard"[560]

8.1.2 Enclitic forms of the verb "to be"

The enclitic forms of the verb "to be" can be attached to a substantive, an adjective, adverb, infinitive, and negative particle.

In the following example, the enclitic form of the verb "to be" is attached to an adjective:

(A 24)

(330) οτο   πιδ-ιδο   ιειρο   υοσινδ-αμο
     and   PRE-DEM   matter   in agreement-be.PRS.1p
     "and in this matter we are in agreement"[561]

It may also be attached to a substantive:

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[556] Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.

[557] πιδοο σιδ-"because" (Sims-Williams 2007a: 248).

[558] Sims-Williams 2007a: 131.

[559] Sims-Williams 2007a: 153.

[560] Sims-Williams 2000a: 109.

[561] Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

(J 17)

(331) φρογαο-αμο
      profit-.be.PRS.1p
      "we are profited"[562]

In the following example, it is attached to an adverb:

(C 13)

(332) ταοι   ιαμþοσπαλο   χοβηιο
      you.OBL   PN   properly-be.OPT.3s
      "may belong properly to you, Yamsh-spal"[563]

It can also be attached to an infinitive:

(bc 7-8)

(333) ταδο-μο   ταλο   αβο   þαρο   ταρο   νιιαβογο   χοζο
      then-I.CP   thus   PRE   city   thither fitting   good
      αþκαρδαδο
      follow.PST.INF-be.SBJV.3s
      "So it would be very fitting for me to follow (him) thither to the city."[564]

In the following example, it is attached to the negative particle να-:

(J 25)

(334) οτο-μηνο   οαυαγο   οισπο ασποριγο   **νινδο** αγγιτο
      and-we.CP   price   all   complete   NEG.receive.PST.3p
      "And the price has not been received by us all complete."[565]

It seems that enclitic form of the verb "to be" occurs always as the last enclitic in constructions with more than two elements (see examples 320-325).

8.2 Agreement with subject

In non-ergative constructions, the verb agrees with the subject in number and person. When the subject is more than one substantive or pronoun which are coordinated by a conjunction, the verb tends to occur in the singular:

(A 17-18)

(335) οτανο   **μα-παδοαþχαν-ηιο**   αζο   βαβο οδαζο   πιδοκο
      and-PAR   PROH.have right. OPT.1s   I.DIR PN   and-I.DIR   PN
      ανδαρο   ολο   αβο   κιρδο
      other   wife   PRE   make.PST.INF
      "and I, Bab, and I, Piduk, shall not have the right to make another wife"[566]

The verb usually tends to be singular with δραχμο + Number. In the following ergative construction, the verb which agrees with the object is singular:

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[562] Sims-Williams 2000a: 57.

[563] Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.

[564] Sims-Williams 2007a: 57.

[565] Sims-Williams 2000a: 59, 61.

[566] Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

(al 14-15)

(336) ταδο-μο   **τογδο**   δραχμο   β´
      then-I.CP   pay.PST.3s   dirham   two
      "Then, I [again] paid two dirhams."[567]

But in the following example, the verb tends to occur in the plural with δραχμο + Number:

(M 3-4)

(337) δδραχμο   κοαδαγο   γ´...   ασιδ-ασο   μωιανο   παρο
      dirham   Kawad   three   which-PRE   PN   loan
      κιρδδιγο ασταδδινδο
      do.PLUP.3p
      "the three dirhams of (king) Kawad which had been loaned by Moyan"[568]

With few singular words, the verb is used in the plural. According to Sims-Williams, "the noun may perhaps be regarded as pl.Tantum."[569] With οαυαγο "price", the verb usually occurs in the plural:

(L 21)

(338) οτο-μηνο   **αγγιτ-ινδο**   ι   οαυαγο   οισπο   ασποριγο
      and-we.CP   receive.PST.3p   ART   price   all   complete
      "And we received the price all complete."[570]

But in two cases it is treated as singular:

(F14-15)

(339) κοοαδο   μανο   α[σ]βιδο   ασα-φαγο   ζηρο   πιδο   χοβο   σαρο
      that   I.OBL   PN   PRE-you.CP   PN   PRE   RA   head
      οαυαγο   σποριγο   **νιστο πιδιροβδο**
      price   complete   NEG.receive.PST.3s
      "that I, Asbid, did not receive the full price from you, Zer"[571]

Another example is given here:

(U 7)

(340) οδο   μαχο   **αγγιτο**   οαυαγο   ασο-φαγο
      and   we.UFL   receive.PST.3s   price   PRE-you.CP
      "And the price has been received by us from you."[572]

With ταοοανο "fine", the verb occurs in the plural:

(jh 11)

(341) κοαδ-αβο   στοργο   ταοοανο   **νηρσ-ινδαδο**
      so that-PRE   much   fine   NEG.come.SBJV.3p
      "so that the fine may not come to much"[573]

With αζδο "information", the verb may be in the singular or in the plural. In the following sentence, the first verb is in the singular, whereas the second verb is in the plural. Both constructions are ergative, and αζδο is the object.

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[567] Sims-Williams 2000a: 163.

[568] Sims-Williams 2000a: 73.

[569] Sims-Williams 2007a: 48.

[570] Sims-Williams 2000a: 66.

[571] Sims-Williams 2000a: 47.

[572] Sims-Williams 2000a: 107.

[573] Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.

(cp 23-25)

(342) οδο   σιδο-μο   μισο   παλαγο   ι-αζδο
      and   whatever-I.CP   further   PN   ART-information
      αβορδο   ταδο-μο   φαρο ι-μοζδαβανδαγο βραδο
      obtain.PST.3s   then-I.CP   PRE   ART-PN   brother
      λαδ-ινδο
      give.PST.3p
      "and whatever further information (about) Palag I obtained, I gave to Muzda-bandag's
      brother"[574]

It is not easy to determine the exact function of this word, because it is only used in three documents. In one instance, as in the above example, and two other instances, with the verb κιρ- "do", it has the meaning of "make notice, inform".

In the following example, the verb occurs in the plural with χοβαοανδο "owner":

(V 26)

(343) σαγονδο   χοβαοανδο... **παδαχþαν-ινδο**
      just as   owner   have authority.PRS.3p
      "just as owners have authority"[575]

With the word αγγαργο "property", the verb may occur in the plural. But this happens very rarely:

(V 14)

(344) αγγαραγο   ασιδο χοδδηοο   βαραδδικανο ρωβοχαρο   **λαδδιγ-ινδο**
      property   which lord   of Baradikan the *khar* of Rob give.PF.3p
      "the property which the khar of Rob has given to the lord of (the estate) Baradikan"[576]

With indefinite pronouns the verb maybe used in the plural or singular. In the following example, the verb occurs in the plural:

(V 27)

(345) ακιδο   **ναυο παδαχþαν-ινδο**   υαρσο κισο   ιειο
      so that   NEG.have authority.PRS.3p   any one   DEM
      αγγαραγο
      property
      "so that no-one has authority"[577]

In the following example, the indefinite pronoun κισο is used with a singular verb:

(jc 3-6)

(346) μισιδο   αβο   ι   λρουμιναγγο þαυρο κισο   ραυοβαναο
      moreover   PRE   ART   enemy   city no-one   highway   robbery
      ληρηιο
      have.OPT.3s
      "Moreover, no-one would commit highway robbery in the city of the enemy."[578]

With καρο "people", the verb occurs in the plural:

[574] Sims-Williams 2007a: 95.

[575] Sims-Williams 2000a: 121.

[576] Sims-Williams 2000a: 117.

[577] Sims-Williams 2000a: 121.

[578] Sims-Williams 2007a: 129.

(X 22)

(347) οδο   καρο   δογγο   ζαν-ινδο
      and   people   thus   bear witness.PRS.3p
      "and the people bear witness thus…"[579]

With αστωρδο "cattle", the verb tends to occur in the plural:

(cq 7)

(348) ταδο-μο   αστωρδο   ταρο   φοþταδ-ινδο
      then-I.CP   cattle   thither   send.PST.3p
      "So I have sent the cattle (?) thither (to you)."[580]

8.3 Summary

The position of the verb is flexible in Bactrian. It may occur in the beginning, middle, or at the end of the clause, but it most frequently occurs in final position. With some special verbs, an infinitive occasionally occurs. When there are two verbs in a construction, we observe one of the following variants:

Table 31. Constructions with two verbs

1- Verb (inflected) + INF without αβο
2- Verb (inflected) + INF with αβο
3- INF without αβο + Verb (inflected)
4- INF without αβο + Verb "to be" (inflected)

The enclitic form of the verb "to be" can be attached to different classes of words like substantives, adjectives, infinitives, adverbs, and negative particles. It occurs always as the last enclitic.

In non-ergative constructions, the verb usually agrees with its subject in number and person. With pluralia tantum and some special words, the verb exhibits no agreement. With indefinite pronouns, the verb may occur both in the singular and plural.

8.4 Passive and ergative constructions

Many linguists believe that either passive or ergative can be observed in a language. For example, according to Dixon:

> Passive in a syntactically accusative language and antipassive in a syntactically ergative language will coincide. This effectively assumes that all languages have either an S/O or an S/A pivot, and that passive occurs only if there is an S/A pivot and antipassive only if there is an S/O pivot.[581]

But there are some Iranian languages, such as Northern Kurdish, in which both constructions exist. The question arises here whether Bactrian possesses ergative, passive, or both. In my 2009b article on "Ergativity in Bactrian",[582] I discussed different ergative constructions. Here, in this chapter, I try to show whether passive can be found in Bactrian. First, I will look at the different opinions about the origin of ergativity and the relationship between Old Persian and Middle Persian in the case of passive and ergative constructions.

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[579] Sims-Williams 2000a: 141.

[580] Sims-Williams 2007a: 97.

[581] Dixon 1994: 233.

[582] See Gholami 2009b: 132-141.

Many scholars believe that the ergative construction in Iranian languages arises from a passive construction and the underlying structures in the ergative languages are passive. The following more recent statement of these views stems from Comrie:

> Diachronically, however, there is good evidence that some instances of morphological ergativity do arise from passive constructions, through loss of the corresponding actives. The best evidence comes from the development of ergativity in the Indo-Iranian languages (Pirejko 1968), especially in the Indic languages; these languages typically are ergative only in the past tense form or, more restrictedly still, in the perfective past forms. [583]

He also writes:

> … passive tends to be more frequent with the perfect aspect (in particular the perfect of result) than with other verbal forms (Comrie 1976a: 84-86); in the development of the ergative in Indo-Iranian, the ergative is first found only in the perfect, and the later wider range of ergativity follows from the extension of these forms to oust all other past perfective forms… [584]

To clarify this topic, we compare a Middle Iranian language which has ergativity, for example, Middle Persian, with an Old Iranian language, for example, Old Persian. In the following, some examples of both languages are given:

Old Persian   **Middle Persian**

(a)   (tya)   manā   kartam   (b)   man   kird
      (what) I.GEN done.pp.NOM.NE   I.OBL do.PST.3s
      "(what) was done by me"   "I did"

(c)   *(tya)*   *adam*   *akunavam*   (d)   *az*   *kunam*
      (what)   I.NOM   do.IMPF.1s   I.DIR do.PRS.1s
      "(what) I did"   "I do."

In sentence (a), a genitive personal pronoun with a perfect participle is used. This construction appears to be a passive. In sentence (b), the verb (which is in the third person singular) agrees with the object, i.e., "it", and not with the agent "I". On the other hand, the oblique form of *man* of the first person singular pronoun continues the old genitive, i.e., *manā*, whereas the direct case form *az* "I" in sentence (d) continues the old nominative. According to Bynon, "the middle Persian construction had become ergative, since morphologically it resembled a passive while distributionally it belonged within the paradigm of the active verb."[585]

While the accusative construction of the present tenses derives from the accusative construction of Old Iranian, the ergative construction of the past tenses must be derived from the Old Iranian perfect participle in -ta-. Cardona (1970) believes that Old Persian used three passive constructions:

1. R-ta+N-GEN (for the perfect)

In this construction, R designates a verb root, R-ta a participial form, and N-GEN a genitive form of a nominal expressing the agent of the action. Consider the following example:

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[583] Comrie 1978: 370-371.

[584] Comrie 1978: 373.

[585] Bynon 1980: 154.

(DB I, 26-28)

(349) | *Θātiy* | *dārayavauš* | *xšāyaθiya* | *ima* | *tya* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| say.PRS.3s | PN.NOM.M.s | king.NOM.M.s | DEM | what |

manā	*kartam*	*pasāva*	*yaθā*	*xšāyaθiya*
I.GEN	do.pp.NOM.NE	after	when	king.NOM.M.s

abavam
become.PST.1s

"Says king Darius: this is what I have done [according to Kent "what (was) done by me"] since I became king."

2. hacā+N-ABL+R-ya (for the present-imperfect)

In this second construction, R-ya is a passive verb stem, and the combination of hacā "from" and a nominal in the ablative case is used:

(DB I, 19-20)

(350) | *tya-šām* | *hacā-ma* | *aθahya* |
|---|---|---|
| which-CP.GEN.3p | PRE-I.ABL | say.IMPF.PASS |

"what I commanded them"[586]

3. N-GEN+R-ya (for the present-imperfect)

In the third construction, N-GEN denotes the agent:

(DB V, 15-16)

(351) | *utā-šām* | *Auramazdā* | *naiy* | *ayadiya* |
|---|---|---|---|
| and-CP.GEN.3p | Ahuramazda.NOM.M | NEG | worship.IMPF.PASS |

"and by them Ahuramazda was not worshipped"[587]

Kent (1953) notes that "there are two passive groups in Old Persian, those with the passive suffix -ya, which are always in passive in meaning and, those which are composed of the past participle with or without the verb "to be", which is usually omitted".[588] At first we will focus on the first passive group.

There are three different interpretations of the manā kṛtam construction: 1. the possessive interpretation, which was contested by Benveniste (1952) and Anderson (1977) 2. the passive interpretation put forward by others, Cardona (1970), Skjærvø (1985) and Statha-Halikas (1979) and 3. neither a passive nor a possessive, advocated by Haig (2008). Haig points out that the manā kṛtam construction is based on a passive, but this type of participial construction is not a passive of the same order as the synthetic passives and interprets the constructions such as in the following example as an intransitive sentence with an adjectival predicate.

(XPa 13-14)

(352) | *vasiy* | *aniyašciy* | *naibam* | *kṛtam* | *anā* | *Pārsā* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| much | other | good.NOM.NE | do.pp.NOM.NE | PRE | PN |

"Much other good (construction) was built in Persepolis."

Haig also notes that the construction was not exclusively used to express possession, but it was one of the readings available, along with benefactive, experiencer, possessor, recipient and indirect object.[589] He adds:

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[586] Cardona 1970: 2.

[587] Kent 1953: 134.

[588] Kent 1953: 88.

[589] Haig 2008: 86.

the Middle Iranian 'ergative construction' does not demonstrably differ syntactically from the Old Persian m. k. construction. The differences are located primarily in the massively increased frequency of the construction, which by Middle Iranian had advanced to the sole means of expressing past transitive propositions.[590]

8.4.1 Passive in Bactrian

In comparison with other Middle Iranian languages like Middle Persian and Parthian, there are only a few examples that we can introduce as passive constructions in Bactrian. For example in Parthian and Middle Persian the past passive is formed by pp+(a)h- and present passive by pp+baw-.[591] Sims-Williams introduces only two verbs as passive. The first verb is ναβισιδο (write.PRS.PASS.3s) which is mentioned with a question mark:

(J 30-31)
(353) ταδο   δαραφηλο   ταοανο   τωζαμο   σαγονδαβο   μασκο
       then   same   fine   pay.SBJV.1p   as-PRE   here
       ναβισιδο
       write.PRS.PASS(?).3s
       "Then we shall pay the same fine as is written herein."[592]

Another verb indicated as passive by Sims-Williams is "ριζ-"to be called, be named", passive to ραζ-".[593] The third person and present form of this verb is used in different texts. In this case the present stem is changed, whereas in the case of ναβισιδο, the present stem is changeless:

(A 2)
(354) αβο   μο   ρωβανγγο   þαρο   αβιιο   ανδαγο   σιδο
       PRE   ART of(the city) Rob   city   PRE-DEM   borough   which
       στηβο   **ριζδο**
       Steb   call.PASS.3s
       "in the city of Rob, in the borough which is called Steb"[594]

It must be added that many constructions in which a past verb or a past participle as adjective with the verb "to be" are used have a passive meaning. The verb "to be" can be omitted in some cases and therefore we have only a past participle as adjective but with the meaning of passive:

(Surkh Kotal 4)
(355) **οτο**   μα   λιζο   πιδοριγδο
       and   ART   fortress   leave.pp
       "And the fortress became deserted."

In the following example the past and third person of this verb is used. But it functions as a passive verb:

[590] Haig 2008: 87.

[591] Sundermann 1989a: 128-129.

[592] Sims-Williams 2000a: 61.

[593] See Sims-Williams 2007a: 260.

[594] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 33 and Sims-Williams 2007a: 35.

(C 1)

(356) εδο   μο   λαþνοβωστογο   μαλο **νιβιχτο**   αβο   μο
     DEM   ART   deed of gift   here write.PST.3s PRE   ART

     ρωβαγγο   þαρο αβιιο ανδαγο
     of(the city) Rob   city   PRE-DEM   borough

     "This deed of gift was written here in the city of Rob, in the borough ...."[595]

From the verb ναβισιδο we can understand that the passive present is formed by present stem + verbal ending. The second possibility of the present passive verb is passive stem + verbal ending. In this case, the passive stem is formed from the passive Old Iranian form ending in -ya. The past passive form as other languages, is made with the past participle and the form of the verb "to be".

Generally, transitive verbs built from the past stem employ the ergative construction. But sometimes the agent is unclear or it is important that the patient is mentioned. As the agent-phrase is a core argument of an ergative construction, the following agentless examples can be interpreted more as passive:

(R 21)

(357) οτο   παρσο   **τογδο**   ταοανο
     and   PRE   pay.PST.3s   fine
     "and after the fine has been paid"[596]

Another example is presented here:

(V 7)

(358) μισιδο   **λαδο**   οδο   παραλαδο   χογαμο   οδο   χοριμο
     now   give.PST.3s   and   sell.PST.3s   freely   and   willingly

     αγγαραγο   ιωγο
     property   certain

     "Now, a certain property has been given and sold, freely and willingly."[597]

In ergative constructions, the agent is frequently attached to a conjunction, adverb, or relative pronoun as an enclitic, or it appears alone as an independent pronoun or a personal name.

In a passive construction, the agent can also be mentioned. In the following example, the preposition ασο "from" is used with the agent, which is a personal pronoun:

(ba 16-17)

(359) οδο   αλδο   **ασο**   ι   ταοι   χοβανανο   βιζδανο   κιρδδο
     and   if   PRE   ART you.OBL   shepherd.PL   evil   do.SBJV.3s
     "And if evil should have been committed by your shepherds"[598]

In the following example, the preposition ασο is used with the agent, which is a personal name:

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[595] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 39 and Sims-Williams 2007a: 35.

[596] Sims-Willims 2000a: 92.

[597] Sims-Williams 2000a: 114.

[598] Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.

(M 2-5)

(360) ποζζο αβοραδανο δδραχμο κοαδαγο γ´ ασποριγο ασιδ**ασο**
    debt repayment dirham   PN   three complete which-PRE
    μωιανο   παρο   κιρδδιγο ασταδδ-ινδο
    PN   debt   make.PLP-3p
    "(as) repayment of a debt, the three dirhams of (king) Kawad, which had been loaned by Moyan"[599]

There are also other constructions which could be interpreted as passive. In these constructions, it seems that βοο- "become" plays the role of an auxiliary verb and indicates a passive construction. In this case, it is used with a past participle:

(eb 16-17)

(361) οδο κιρο   κοοαδο   μαρο   βορδο   βοοινδδο
    and IMP.2s that   hither   pp. brought SBJV.3p
    "and you should act (in such a way) that they be brought hither"[600]

(dc 4-5)

(362) ταδο κιρηδο   κοαδο οισπο <αβο>   λαδοκανο   βορδο
    so   IMP.2sp that all PRE   PN   pp. brought
    βοοινδαδο
    SBJV.3p
    "so you should act (in such a way) that they are all taken to Ladkan"[601]

(dc 5-6)

(363) κοαδο   οαþο   ασιστο   βοοαδο
    that   hay   pp. stored (?)   SBJV.3s
    "…that the hay may be stored (?)…"[602]

8.5 Summary

In Bactrian, there are both passive and ergative constructions. We can therefore conclude that Bactrian is a language which has a mixture of passive and ergative.

There are three kinds of constructions in Bactrian which could be interpreted as passive. Because of the limited texts, it is not possible to formulate an exact statement. Two verbs, namely, ναβισιδο and ριζδο, have a passive formation, which are comparable to Old Iranian verbs with the passive suffix -ya. But it is not really clear whether constructions with these verbs are passive or not. In Bactrian, we can also find some constructions in which the past participle is used, though these have a passive meaning. In other constructions, the verb is past but the agent is not expressed. In this case, the verb occurs in the third person singular. As the agent is a core element in ergative constructions, it would be better to classify these constructions as passive. In both present and past constructions, we have examples of the use of the preposition ασο "with", which is used with an agent. These constructions could also be interpreted as passive. In Middle Persian, the present passive is expressed by the construction pp+baw-.[603] In Bactrian, we find the same construction in three examples. Finally, regarding the last point, we can conclude that in the case of passive constructions, Bactrian shares similarities with Western

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[599] Sims-Williams 2000a: 72.

[600] Sims-Williams 2007a: 111.

[601] Sims-Williams 2007a: 103.

[602] Sims-Williams 2007a: 103.

[603] Sundermann 1989a: 128-129.

Middle Iranian languages. The same characteristic can be also observed in the case of ergativity.[604]

8.6 Auxiliary verbs

The verbs βο- "to be, to become", αστο "to be", þι "can, must", can be used as or auxiliary verb in Bactrian. The verbs "to have" (λnρ- in Bactrian) however, can only function as full verbs in Bactrian, while in other languages, it can function as both full and auxiliary verbs.

An auxiliary verb can be commonly used in forming passive, progressive, or perfect constructions, or it may function as a modal.

In Bactrian the verb αστο "to be" as an auxiliary verb has the following functions:

1. Forming the forms from the past stems

The enclitic form of the verb "to be" is added occasionally to the past stems to form different verbal past forms, as in the following tenses:[605]

Perfect

The perfect is formed with past participle + -γο + verb "to be". In the following example, the third person, plural, present indicative form of the verb "to be" -ινδο, is added to a past participle, i.e., ναβιχτιγο:

(J 18)
(364) πιδο   παδουαμονδδιγανο   ναβιχτιγ-**ινδο**
       PRE   boundary   write.PF.3p
       "has been stated with reference to the boundary"[606]

Pluperfect

The full form of the verb "to be" can also be used with a past participle. In the following example, the third person plural past form of αστο, i.e., ασταδδινδο, is added to κιρδδιγο and forms a pluperfect:

(M 4-5)
(365) ασιδ-ασο   μωιανο   παρο κιρδδιγο **ασταδδινδο**
       which-PRE   PN   loan.PLUP.3p
       "which had been loaned by Moyan"[607]

Past Subjunctive

The negative form of -αδο is used to indicate the negative form of a past subjunctive verb, as shown in the following example:

(be 17)
(366) ταλο   ναδο.αγαδο
       here   NEG.PST.SBJV.3s
       "[if…] should not have come here"[608]

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[604] See Gholami 2009b: 49.

[605] Examples of perfect verbs are very rare in Bactrian. Sims-Williams classifies only the above verbs as perfect and pluperfect.

[606] Sims-Williams 2000a: 59.

[607] Sims-Williams 2000a: 73.

[608] Sims-Williams 2007a: 61.

2. Negation

The auxiliary verb "to be" is used very commonly to form the negative form of verbs. The following negative forms of the verb "to be" are used in the extant material:

Table 32. NEG Auxiliary

NEG. Auxiliary	Positive form/Tense	Function
νιστο	-ιστο/ PRS.IND.3s	3s.PST.IND
νινδο	-ινδο/ PRS.IND.3p	3p.PST.IND
ναδο	-αδο/ PRS.SBJV.3s	3s.PST.SBJV

Three negative forms of the verb "to be", i.e., νιστο, νινδο and ναδο, are attested in the extant material. The negative particle να- is added directly to the enclitic forms of the verb "to be" and constitutes the negative form. The form νιστο is the third person singular, present indicative, while the form νινδο is the third person plural, present indicative and ναδο is the third person, present subjunctive. It must be added that only in these tenses does the negative form of the verb "to be" occur. In other cases, only negative particles are used.[609]

The word νιστο is the negative form of the third singular past, while νινδο is the negative form of third plural past and ναδο is the negative form of third singular past subjunctive.

In the following example, νιστο is used in an ergative construction to form a negative past verb. In this case, the verb "to be" occurs in the present indicative form with a past main verb:

> (cp 29)
> (367) κοαδα-μο   **νιστο** φρομαδο
>   that-I.CP   NEG.order.PST.3s
>   "that I did not order"[610]

The negative form of the verb "to be" as an auxiliary may also occur with an intransitive verb, as in the following example:

> (U 9)
> (368) **νιστο** ωζαδο
>   NEG.to be a liability.PST.3s
>   "was no liability"[611]

In the following example, νινδο occurs with a past verb:

> (J 25)
> (369) οτο-μηνο   οαυαγο   οισπο ασποριγο   **νινδο** αγγιτο
>   and-we.CP   price   all   complete   NEG.receive.PST.3p
>   "and (that) the price has not been received by us all complete"[612]

In the following example, ναδο is used with the verb αγαδο, which is past and subjunctive:

> (be 17)
> (370) **ναδο** αγαδο
>   NEG.come.PST.SBJV.3s
>   "should not have come here"[613]

---

[609] For negation and prohibition in Bactrian, see Sims-Williams 2007a: 47.

[610] Sims-Williams 2007a: 29.

[611] Sims-Williams 2000a: 109.

[612] Sims-Williams 2000a: 59, 61.

[613] Sims-Williams 2007a: 61.

3. Forming passive

The verbs βο- "to be, to become" is used three times in our corpora to indicate a passive construction. (see the examples 359-363)

8.6.1 The syntactic position of the auxiliary verb

From the above examples we can understand that an enclitic form of the auxiliary verb is suffixed to a main verb (example (364)), and we see that the full form of auxiliary occurs after that (example (365)). But in the case of negation, the negative form of auxiliary occurs before the main verb (examples (369), (370)).

In the case of negative auxiliaries, the negative particle is attached directly to the enclitic forms of the auxiliary verbs. In the extant material, only the third singular present and subjunctive and third plural present tense of auxiliary verb "to be" are used. The other forms of the auxiliary verb "to be" are not found in the present texts.

8.6.2 Summary

The enclitic or full form of the verb αστο "to be" may be used as an auxiliary verb in Bactrian. It may occur in past forms as perfect and pluperfect.

Some verbal forms are negated by negative forms of the verb "to be". Only three negative forms of the verb "to be" are attested in the extant material. As an enclitic form, it is attached to main verbs and as a full form it occurs usually after main verbs. The negative form of the verb "to be" always occurs before the main verb. The verb βο- "to be, to become" is used with a past participle to indicate a passive mood. It occurs in all examples after past participle.

9. CHAPTER NINE: WORD ORDER

In this chapter, we focus on different varieties of word order in Bactrian and try to find a basic or a typical word order. First, we concentrate on word order in intransitive clauses and then on word order in transitive clauses and double oblique constructions.

9.1 Intransitive verbs

There are different varieties of word order in sentences with intransitive present tense verbs: S-V and V-S. They are shown here:

S-V

In the example here, the verb "to be" follows the subject:

(W 8-9)

(371)	ασιδο	μαχο	**αστο**	αββο	οδο	ζαμιγο	αγγαραγο	ιωγο
	which	we.UFL	be.PRS.3s	water	and	land	property	certain

"But we have a certain property (consisting of) water and land."[614]

V-S

In the next example, the verb occurs before the subject:

(cd 3-4)

(372)	μισιδο	**αγαδο**	μαρο	ασο	το	χοηο	πωστογο
	moreover	arrive.PST.3s	here	PRE	SPD	lordship	letter

"Moreover a letter has come hither from your lordship."[615]

In this example, the verb occurs after the conjunction μισιδο, and the subject is at the end of the sentence.

9.2 Transitive verbs

O-S-V

In the following example, the verb occurs in final position:

(eg 4-5)

(373)	ταδο	λοοι	ιαδο	τοοι	πιδο	ανδαρζο	**αοιηρσο**
	then	two	share	you.DIR	PRE	instruction	hand over. IMPV.2s

"You should hand over two shares according to instructions."[616]

O-V

In this case, the subject is omitted and the verbal ending indicates the number and person of the subject:

(T 11)

(374)	ζαμιγο	χοαρο	οδο	**ληρο**
	land	have.IMP	and	hold.IMP.2s

"And you (shall) have and hold the land."[617]

---

[614] Sims-Williams 2000a: 127.

[615] Sims-Williams 2007a: 75.

[616] Sims-Williams 2007a: 121.

[617] Sims-Williams 2000a: 101.

Another example follows:

(L25)

(375) χιρσο   αχριιανο   **χοαρηδο**   οδο   **ληρηδο**[618]
      purchase   purchasable   have.OPT.2p and   hold.OPT.2p
      "You may have and hold a purchase which may be purchased."

In the above examples, the sentences begin with an object and end with a verb.

In the following example, the object, which is a sentence, occurs before the verb χοαρηιο "have" and ληρηιο "hold":

(C 12-13)

(376) οδο   ιαβο   σιδο   οαρο   ναυαγγο   ταοι   ιαμβοσπαλο
      and   water which thereto adjacent   you.s.OBL   PN
      χοβ-**ηιο**   χοζ-**ηιο**   χοαρ-ηιο   ληρ-ηιο
      good-be.OPT.2s   well-be.OPT.3s   have.OPT.2s hold.OPT.2s
      "And the water which (is) adjacent thereto may belong properly and belong well to you, Yamsh-spal, you may have (and) hold (it)."[619]

V-S-O

In the following example, the sentence begins with a verb:

(Document No.1, 1-4)

(377) **πιδοροβδο**   μανο   ασπαλοβιδο   ασαφαγο   ζοοανινδο
      receive.PST.3s   I.OBL   PN   PRE-you.SG.CP   PN
      αμβαροβιρσαρλογο σιδ-ασο   ι   ναμαγο   νιβισιδο
      store keeper   what-PRE   ART list   write.PRS.PASS.3s
      "I, Aspal-bid, have received from you, Zuwanind the store keeper, what is written in this list."[620]

In the above example, the subject, i.e., μανο ασπαλοβιδο "I, Aspal-bid", follows the verb and the object, i.e., σιδασο ι ναμαγο νιβισιδο "what is written in this list", which is a relative sentence, occurs in the final position.

S-V-O

In the following examples, the subject is an enclitic pronoun suffixed to a conjunction and a verb follows it. The object occurs at the end of sentence. Here a prepositional phrase appears before the object:

(cq11-12)

(378) οτο-μο   **φοþταδο**   φαρο το   χοηο   διναρο α´
      and-I.CP   send.PST.3s PRE SPD lordship   dinar one
      "And I have sent one dinar for your lordship."[621]

Another example:

(xo 11)

(379) σιδο-μο   **λαδο**   παρο
      which-I.CP   give.PST.3s loan
      "which I gave a loan"[622]

[618] Sims-Williams 2000a: 69.

[619] Sims-Williams 2000a: 40.

[620] Sims-Williams 2000b: 5.

[621] Sims-Williams 2007a: 97.

S-O-V

This type of word order is not very common in Bactrian.

(ef 4-6)

(380) μισιδοιηνο   ασο   ωρομοζδο βορνικανο ποσο **ζιδ-ινδο**
       moreover-they.CP   PRE   PN   sheep took.PST-3p
       β´   παρασαρλο
       two   last year
       "Moreover, last year they took two sheep from Ormuzd Burnikan"[623]

This construction is very unusual, because the verb occurs between a noun and its number, i.e., ποσο β´"two sheep".

9.3 Double object constructions

Now let us point out some specific features of double object constructions in Bactrian. In languages with four cases, like German, the direct object occurs in accusative case and the indirect object in dative case. In another group of languages, which includes English, an indirect object "may appear either as the object of a preposition or as one of two noun phrase objects of the verb, the other being the direct object".[624] First, we try to discover the kind of double objects in Bactrian and then we move on to discuss the character of these constructions.

There are different categories of double oblique constructions in the extant Bactrian material. In the first group, the direct object occurs before the indirect object. The different varieties are summarized here:

(Ia)   DIR.O   INDIR.O   V   S (indicated by verbal
       CP   PRE-CP   ending)

In the following example, both the direct object which is an enclitic pronoun and the indirect object which is marked by a preposition are in oblique case. We can therefore conclude that this construction has a double oblique system:

(ci 6)

(381) ταδο-ιηιο   φαραμαγο   λαυ-ηιο
       then-it.CP   PRE-I.CP   give.OPT-2s
       "And you should give it to me."[625]

(Ib)   DIR.O   INDIR.O   V   S (indicated by verbal
       N   PRE-N   ending)

In the same group, the direct object may be a noun and the indirect object another noun which is marked by a preposition:

(xb 7-8)

(382) κοαδο   ιαοαρδο   **ταλαβο**   ασπανδαιο   αβαραδο
       that   grain   there-PRE   PN   bring.SBJV.3s
       "So that he may bring the grain there to Aspanday."[626]

(Ic)   DIR.O   INDIR.O indicated by verbal ending (in an ergative construction)
       N

---

[622] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 161.

[623] Sims-Williams 2007a: 119.

[624] Emonds and Whitney 2006: 74.

[625] Sims-Williams 2007a: 85.

[626] Sims-Williams 2007a: 141.

In the next case, there is no independent indirect object; rather, it is indicated by the verbal ending:

(Ii 6-7)

(383) ηβοδαλαγγο   τωγγο   ζαρο   οδο   ποσο   αβαυαγαδδ-ιμο
      Hephthalite   tax   gold   and   sheep   charge.PST-1s
      "[And they] have charged me gold and sheep for the Hephthalite tax."[627]

(Id) S   DIR.O   V-INDIR.O
      PN   N   V-CP

The indirect object in the form of an enclitic pronoun can be suffixed to the verb:

(Y 6-7)

(384) ωσο   μιρο   δογγο   πιδοοαυανο   πιδοοαυαδο-**μο**
      now   PN   thus   request   request.PST.3s-I.OBL
      "Now Mir has thus made a request to me"[628]

(Ie) DIR.O   V   S (indicated by verbal ending)   INDIR.O
      N   PRE+N

In (Ie), the direct object occurs before the indirect object, but the verb stands between them:

(Q 29-30)

(385) ταδο   ταοοανο   τωζ-αμο   φαρο   λαδοβαρο   αβο   γαζνο
      then   fine   pay.SBJV-1p   PRE   judge   PRE   treasury
      "Then we shall pay a fine to the judge, to the treasury"[629]

In the second group, the indirect object occurs before the direct object:

(IIa) INDIR.O   DIR.O   V   S (indicated by verbal ending)
      PRE-N   N

In this case, both the direct and indirect object are nouns, and the indirect object is marked by a preposition:

(bb 10-11)

(386) οτο   **αβο**   σαγο   φρομανο   φοþτιιο
      and   PRE   PN   order   send.IMPV.2s
      "And you should send an order to Sag"[630]

(IIb) INDIR.O   DIR.O   V   S (indicated by verbal ending)
      CP   N

In (IIb) the indirect object is an enclitic pronoun, and the direct object is a noun:

(ci 13-14)

(387) ασιδο-ιηιο   υαμοπαλο   ζαμιγο   λαυ-ανο
      then-he.CP   immediately   land   give.SBJV-1s
      "Then I will give him the land immediately"[631]

(IIc) INDIR.O   DIR.O   V   S (indicated by verbal ending)
      PRON.OBL   N

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[627] Sims-Williams 2000a: 53.

[628] Sims-Williams 2000a: 145.

[629] Sims-Williams 2000a: 91.

[630] Sims-Williams 2007a: 55.

[631] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 85.

In the following example, the indirect object is a full pronoun in the oblique case, and the direct object is a noun in the direct case:

(cf 8-9)

(388) ταδο   μανο   ασποδαρο   λαυο
      then   I.OBL.   mule   give.IMP.2s
      "Then give me a mule."[632]

(IId) S   V   INDIR.O   DIR.O
       PRON   PRE-CP   N

In (IId), the indirect object occurs before the direct object, but the verb stands before the indirect object. The indirect object is an enclitic pronoun, which is marked by a preposition. The direct object is a noun:

(U 6-7)

(389) ταδο   μαχο   ωσο   λαδο   αβο-φαγο   βηκο   βονο   οαρζιαο
      then   we.UFL now   give.PST.3s PRE-you.CP   PN   land   farming
      "So now we gave the farming of the state to you, Bek."[633]

(IIe) S   IND.O   DIR.O   V
       PRON   PRE-PN   N

In the following example, the sentence begins with the subject, and an indirect object follows it. The direct object is used after the indirect object, i.e., þαβορο πηþολαδανο, and the verb occurs in final position:

(ea 4-5)

(390) μανο   φαρο   þαβορο πηþολαδανο   μαρσκονδο   οδο
      I.OBL   PRE   PN   staff   and
      πιδοραστο   οδο   πιδοχοανο   **λαδο**
      ground   and   ?   give.PST.3s
      "I have given to Shabur Peshladan the staff and grounds and pidoxoano (?)."[634]

9.4 Summary

Because of the lack of material, we cannot make an in-depth investigation of the word order in Bactrian. In the extant Bactrian material, there is no strict word order. In some languages, there are some differences between the word order in main clauses and subordinate clauses. It seems that the same word order can be observed in both main and subordinate clauses. We can find different varieties of word order like O-S-V, V-S-O, S-V-O and S-O-V in Bactrian texts, but S-O-V is the most frequent.

The position of the direct and indirect object is interchangeable in double oblique constructions. The following table presents the different varieties of double object constructions in Bactrian. If the subject is indicated by the verbal ending, subject is not mentioned:

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[632] Sims-Williams 2007a: 79.

[633] Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 107.

[634] Sims-Williams 2007a: 109.

Table 33. Double object constructions

I	a	DIR.O: CP	INDIR.O:PRE-CP	V
	b	DIR.O: N	INDIR.O:PRE+N	V
	c	DIR.O: N		V, INDIR.O: Verbal ending
	d	S DIR.O: N		V- INDIR.O: CP
	e	DIR.O: N	V	INDIR.O: PRE+N
II	a	INDIR.O: PRE+N	DIR.O: N	V
	b	INDIR.O: CP	DIR.O: N	V
	c	INDIR.O:PRON.OBL	DIR.O: N	V
	d	S V	INDIR.O: PRE-CP	DIR.O: N
	e	S INDIR.O: PN	DIR.O: N	V

10. CHAPTER TEN: COMPOUNDS

In this chapter, I introduce the different types of compounds in Bactrian. In this regard, some points must be noted: first of all, the grammatical characteristics of the elements in the compound, and second, the syntactical connection of the members of compounds to each other and their meaning relationship in a sentence.

Compounds were researched by Brugmann in Indo-European languages[635] and by Wackernagel in Old Indian. [636] They introduced the types of the first and second elements of compounds, and they pointed out the different characteristics of components, such as case, gender, as well as special and rare stems, etc. In Bactrian, we do not find all these types and features.

10.1 I. Bactrian compounds according to the grammatical feautures of elements

Bactrian compounds consist almost exclusively of two elements. There are few examples of tripartite compounds. In Bactrian:

1. When the first element is a noun, the second element can be one of the following:

a. Noun

This group is the most common type

Examples:

χιρσοβωστιγο "purchase contract" <χιρσο "purchase"+πωστογο "contract"[637]

βαγοποορο "son of the gods"<*baga-puθra[638]

γαροαβχηζο "mountain-slope" <γαρο "mountain"+*αβχηζο "rise, slope"[639]

ιαμþοσπαλο "belonging to the army of Yamsh"<ιαμþο "Yamsh"+*σπαλο "army"[640]

κοþανοþαο "Kushan-shah" <κοþανο "Kushan"+þαο "king"[641]

αββοδαχμο "watercourse, stream"<αββο "water"+ταχμο "stream"[642]

b. Adjective

Examples:

ωρομοζδοφαραχο honorific title "glorious through Ormuzd"<ωρομοζδο "Ormuzd"+ φαραχο "glorious"643

αþφαρδαρο "best (through) Fire" or "best (gift) of Fire"<αþ- perhaps the name of a god "Fire"+φαρδαρο "more, better"644

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[635] Brugmann 1906: 52-120.

[636] Wackernagel 1957: 24-329.

[637] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 199.

[638] Cf. Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 91.

[639] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 207.

[640] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 68-69.

[641] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 225.

[642] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 183.

[643] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 282.

σιυραζαδο "noble in respect of (her) lineage" <*Čiθr-āzātā-645

c. Suffix

There are different types of suffixes in Bactrian relating to the compound:

1. The first group may form verbal governing compounds i.e.,:-βαρο, -βαργο, -βαραγο; -λαρο, -λαργο (?), -ληρο, -ληργο, -ηραγο

Examples:

ζιγαβαργο "destructive"<ζιγο "damage"+suffix -βαργο (from βαρ- "to bear, take, bring") forming nomina agentis from nouns646

ζιγαβαργο "destructive"<ζιγο "damage"+suffix -βαργο (from βαρ- "to bear, take, bring") forming nomina agentis from nouns647

λαδοβαρο "judge"<λαδο "law" 648+suffix -βαρο forming nomina agentis from nouns "bearing"649

λιστοβαρο "manuscript"<λιστο "hand"650+ suffix -βαρο forming nomina agentis from nouns "bearing"651

σιρολαρο "record-keeper"<*σιρο "evidence" 652+ suffix -λαρο forming nomina agentis from nouns653 (from ληρ- "to have")

δδραγγοληρο "official"<*dranga- "office"654+suffix -ληρο forming nomina agentis from nouns655 (from ληρ- "to have")

κανδογοληρο "keeper of granary"<*kandu-kǎ "storage jar for grain"656+suffix -ληρο forming nomina agentis from nouns657 (from ληρ- "to have")

λιστοληργο "(person) in authority"<λιστο "hand"658+ suffix -ληργο forming nomina agentis from nouns "keeping"659

2. The second group are quasi-suffixes:

-γαρο, -γαργο, -λανο"containing", -βιδο forming titles and personal names, originally "chief, lord"660, -στανο forming nouns, chiefly referring to places661

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[644] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 38.

[645] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 130.

[646] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 212.

[647] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 212.

[648] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 225.

[649] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 202.

[650] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 227.

[651] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 202.

[652] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 264.

[653] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 226.

[654] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 208.

[655] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 226.

[656] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 221.

[657] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 226.

[658] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 227.

[659] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 226.

[660] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 203.

[661] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 265.

καρογαρο "worker" <*καρο "work"662+suffix -γαρο forming nomina agentis from nouns663

αββολανο "reservoir"<αββο "water"+suffix–λανο, MP āb-dān664

λαβιροβιδο "chief scribe"<λαβιρο "scribe"+suffix -βιδο665

σπαλοβιδο "army-commander"<*spāda-"army"666+ suffix -βιδο667 (MP spāhbed)668

λρογοστανο "(state of) health, well-being"669<λρογο "healthy"+ suffix -στανο

These suffixes are not used in the Bactrian period as separate words and for this reason, I prefer to not classify this group as compound. But from the point of view of historical grammar, these suffixes were separate words at an earlier stage, and at that time, they could also be used to form compounds.

3. The third group of suffixes are ambiguous quasi-suffixes: -*γιρδο670; -δανο forming abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives671These forms appear to be Middle Persian:

λιστογιρδο perhaps "referring to a gift"672

χοζοδανο "request"<χοζο "request" (verbal noun to χωζ-)673+ suffix -δανο

d. Adverb

Example: οισβοροζινιιο "under the care of the prince"<*οισβορο "prince"+*ζινιιο "(in) trust"674

e. pp or past stem

Examples: ζαροζιδγο "struck gold, gold coin"<ζαρο "gold"+ζιδγο (pp from ζιν-) "struck" (<*jataka-)675

σαγγοχιρδο "bought for a stone"<*σαγγο "stone"+χιρδο PST "bought"676

2. When the first element is an adjective, the second element can be:

a. Noun

This type is common in the extant materials.

Examples: αβαβοδαχμο "dried-up stream"<*apāpa-"waterless"677+ταχμο "stream"678

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662 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 221.

663 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 206.

664 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 182.

665 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 225.

666 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 265.

667 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 203.

668 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 265.

669 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 228.

670 This suffix is used also in two other Middle Persian PN i.e. ιαζδογιρδο and ιειζδογιρδο.

671 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 208.

672 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 228.

673 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 280.

674 Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 109.

675 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 212.

676 Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 122.

677 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 181.

678 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 269.

αζαδοκαρο "freeman" <αζαδο "free"+καρο "people"[679]

αγγαδοσπαλο "belonging to the army of Fortunate (God)"<*han-gata- "fortunate, rich"+ *spāda- "army"[680]

The adjective can be comparative or supperlative, as in the following:

υασταμογαρο "aristocrat" <*hastama- "best"+καρο "poeple"[681]

βορζομιυρο <βορζο "high"+μιυρο "the god Mithra"[682]

b. Adjective

Example: αζαδοφαρδαρο "noble (and) best"<αζαδο "free"+φαρδαρο "more, better"[683]

c. pp or past stem

Example: þιζγοαρμαστο "well-being"<þιζγο "good"+αρμαστο (pp. of αρμαυ-) "being"[684]

3. When the first element is a number, the second element can be a noun:

Example: σαδαιωλο "having a hundred warriors"<*Satā-yauda-[685]

4. When the first element is a prefix, the second element can be a noun:

Examples: υαμογαδγο "sharing the same house" <*hama- "same"+καδγο "house"[686]

αβηβινδο "detached", lit. "without bond"<αβη- "without"+βανδο"bond" [687]

χοακαμο "acting willingly, acting freely in accordance with one's own wishes"<χοα "own, self"+*kāma- "wish, will" [688]

ωραυο "companion"<ω- "same"+ *ραυο"road"[689]

5. When the first element is a preposition, the second element can be:

a. Noun

Example: αλογαμο "possessing (one's) desire"<αλο "with"+καμο "wish"[690]

παδαρλογο "opposite party"<*pati "against"+*arda "side"[691]

b. Adjective

Example: πιδονωγαρο "anew" "< πιδο "in"+*νωγαρο "new"[692]

c. Adverb

[679] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 188.

[680] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 30.

[681] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 272.

[682] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 51.

[683] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 32.

[684] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 284.

[685] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 122.

[686] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 272.

[687] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 183.

[688] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 278.

[689] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 282.

[690] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 190.

[691] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 250.

[692] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 255

Examples: αβαχρανο "north"<αβο "to"+*αχρανο "north"[693]

αβανδαρο "within, inside"<αβο "to"+ανδαρο "inside"[694]

6. When the first element is a pp or past stem, the second part can be a noun:

αβζοδοφαραυο "prosperous in glory"<αβζοδο (pp as adjective) "prosperous"+*φαραυο "glory"[695]

λαδοαγαλγο "by whom wishes are granted"<λαδο "to give, to grant" [696]+αγαλγο "wish"[697]

λαδομοζδο "by whom the reward is given"<λαδο "given"+*μοζδο "reward"[698]

10.2 Classification of the two element compounds according to the syntactical connection of members to each other and their meaning relationship in a sentence

10.2.1 Exocentric

In this construction, the subject does not occur in the compound, but rather outside of it.

Example: longlegs. It does not mean "long leg", but rather "a person who has long-legs".[699]

10.2.1.1 Bahuvrihi (possessive compound)

Compounds with *υο-[700] and *υαμ- [701]as the first component belong to possessive compounds.

Examples: υοναμγο "renowned"<*hu- "good"+ ναμο "name"+suffix *-ka-[702]

υοζινο "well-armed"<*Hu-zaina-[703],

υαμογαδγο noun or adjective "sharing the same house" <*hama- "same"+καδγο "house"[704]

Compounds with -φαρο as the second element belongs to this group, too:

Example: καμιρδοφαρο "(he who possesses) the glory of the Chief (God)"<καμιρδο lit. "head, chief"+φαρο "glory"[705]

Other examples:

ιατοασπο "by whom horses are sacrificed"<*Yašta- "sacrificed"+*aspa- "horse"706

πορλαγγοζινο "he who wears the skin of a leopard"<*pṛdankV- "leopard/panther"+*izaina- "(garment) made of leather"707

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[693] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 181-182.

[694] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 181.

[695] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 182.

[696] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 225.

[697] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 187.

[698] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 82.

[699] Cf. Brugmann 1906: 72, Fleischer 1982: 106, Lewandowski 1994: 289 and Bußmann 1983: 133.

[700] su- in OI. cf. Wackernagel 1957: 81.

[701] sam- in OI. cf. Wackernagel 1957: 75.

[702] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 273.

[703] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 140.

[704] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 272.

[705] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 75.

[706] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 70.

10.2.1.2 Verbal governing

α. The second element can be a suffix derived from a verb:

All compounds with suffixes -βαρο, -βαργο, -βαραγο; -λαρο, -λαργο (?), -ληρο, -ληργο, -ληραγο as the second element belong to this group. (For examples see this chapter I.c.1.)

β. The second element may have a verbal stem:

*ιωλαβο "protecting warriors"<*Yauda-pā-[708]

σαδαιωλο "having a hundred warriors"<*Satā-yauda-[709]

ιωγοφραλο "promoting the One (?)"[710]

δ. The second element can be a verb. In this case, the first element is a substantive. In the following, the most common complex verbs are listed:

1. κηρ-"do, make".
This verb is attested very often in the compounds.

Examples:

οιλιστο κιρδο "to cause to disappear"[711], δδρογο κιρδο "make healthy"[712], ζονδιιο κιρδο "make living"[713], πιδοφαρο κιρδο "to make a honour"[714], οαροαροι κιρ- "to believe"[715]

2. βαρ- "bring"

Example: παροβαρ "to bring forward" (verbal prefix+verb)

3. λαυ- "give".

κηρ- is used very often to make a verbal compounds:

Example: απαρσο λαυ- "to give back"[716]

4. ωσταδο "to put"

Example: ναβαγο ωσταδο "to place (as a) pawn"[717]

5. ηρσ- "come, arrive"

Example: αβο παζο ηρσ- "to fall on one's face, come to grief"[718]

6. ζιν- "to strike"

Example: παρασο ζιν- "to take away" (παρασο:away) [719]

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[707] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 117.

[708] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 72.

[709] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 122.

[710] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 9.

[711] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 246.

[712] Cf. T5, Sims-Williams 2000a: 99.

[713] Cf. T5, Sims-Williams 2000a: 99.

[714] Cf. T 5, Sims-Williams 2000a: 99.

[715] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 242.

[716] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 253.

[717] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 236.

[718] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 250.

[719] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 251.

γ. The first element may have a verbal stem:

Example: οινδοσαναγο "obtaining pleasure"[720]

10.2.1.3 Prepositional governing

Examples: αβαχρανο "north".<αβο "to"+*αχρανο "north"[721]

αλογαμο "possessing (one's) desire"<αλο "with"+καμο "wish"[722]

πιδονωγαρο "anew" "< πιδο "in"+*νωγαρο "new"[723]

10.2.1.4 Derivative (Ableitung)[724]

Examples: οαχþοιαμþο "dedicated to the Oxus and Yamsh"[725]

ιαμþοσπαλο "belonging to the army of Yamsh"<ιαμþο "Yamsh"+*σπαλο "army"[726]

αγγαδοσπαλο "belonging to the army of Fortunate (God)"<*han-gata- "fortunate, rich"+ *spāda- "army"[727]

λαδοαγαλγο "by whom wishes are granted"<λαδο "to give, to grant"[728]+αγαλγο "wish"[729]

λαδομοζδο "by whom the reward is given"<λαδο "given"+*μοζδο "reward"[730]

χοακαμο "acting willingly, acting freely in accordance with one's own wishes"<χοα "own, self"+*kāma- "wish, will"[731]

10.2.2 Endocentric

In this construction, the subject occurs in the compound and the base word (determinate) can be used instead of the compound,[732] e.g., a verbal compound lat. prōferō[733] "to carry or move from one place to another"[734]

There are different kinds of endocentric compounds in Bactrian:

10.2.2.1 Determinative compound

This is the most common compound in Bactrian, as in other Iranian languages.

In this group, one element is defined more closely (in details) by the other element, generally the second one by the first, and regularly so by the old stem compound.

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[720] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 9.

[721] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 181-182.

[722] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 190.

[723] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 255.

[724] For the examples of this compound in Ṛgveda, see Korn 1998: 183-188. Risch does not offer an extra category for derivative compound and classify it as a sub group. Cf. Risch 1981: 115.

[725]Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 104.

[726] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 68-69.

[727] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 30.

[728] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 225.

[729] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 187.

[730] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 82.

[731] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 278.

[732] Cf. Brugmann 1906: 71-72, Lewandowski 1994: 259.

[733] In Brugmann 1906, prōfero.

[734] Glare 1976: 1474.

Attributive definiteness

α. Adjective (number)+ substantive or substantive+adjective

αβαβοδαχμο "dried-up stream"<*apāpa-"waterless"[735]+ταχμο "stream"[736]

αζαδοκαρο "freeman" <αζαδο "free"+καρο "people"[737]

βορζομιυρο <βορζο "high"+μιυρο "the god Mithra"[738]

β. Substantive +Substantive

αββοδαχμο "watercourse, stream"<αββο "water"+ταχμο "stream"[739]

λιστοβανδιγο "bracelet"<λιστο "hand"+ βανδο "bond"+ suffix *-ka- [740]

βαγοποορο "son of the gods"<*baga-puθra[741]

βαγοοαραζο "bore of (the) God"<βαγο "god"+*οαραζο "bore"[742]

γαροαβχηζο "mountain-slope" <γαρο "mountain"+*αβχηζο "rise, slope"[743]

κοþανοþαο "Kushan-shah" <κοþανο "Kushan"+þαο "king"[744]

Adverbal definiteness

Example: ναþιζγο "not good"<privative prefix ανα-+þιζγο "good"[745]

As in other Iranian languages, the modifier and head in a compound can be reversed. There are a few examples of this inversion in Bactrian:
Example: οαραζοοιηþο, inversion of *οιηþοοαραζο "boar of Wyesh"[746]

10.2.2.2 Copulative (Dvandva)

In this group, both items have the same syntactical relationship in the sentence, and it appears that the items can be connected by "and".
Example: αζαδοφαρδαρο "noble (and) best"<αζαδο "free"+φαρδαρο "more, better"

It is not clear whether the compound has a meaning (e.g., noble (and) best) or whether it is merely a mechanical combination of components taken from two other names.[747]

10.3 Tripartite compounds

Tripartite compounds are very rare in Bactrian:

ζαουοζαδγο "natural (as opposed to adopted)"[748] <ζαο "life"+ *hu- "good"+ ζαδγο "born"

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[735] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 181.

[736] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 269.

[737] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 188.

[738] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 51.

[739] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 183.

[740] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 227.

[741] Cf. Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 91.

[742] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 41.

[743] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 207.

[744] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 225.

[745] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 239.

[746] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 101.

[747] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 32.

[748] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 211.

λαþνοπαλαþνοβωστιγο "contract for the exchange of gifts"<λαþνο"gift"+παλαþνο "gift in exchange"+ πωστογο "contract"[749]

οινδοφρομανοιαμþο apparently meaning "(dedicated to) Yamsh who obtains command" Probably a mechanical juxtaposition of the short name ιαμþο "Yamsh" with a governing compound *οινδοφρομανο "obtaining command"[750]

βιδδιγονωγοσαρλο "second new-year" <βιδδιγο "second"+νωγο "new"+σαρδο "year"[751]

βονοοαρζοβωστιγο "contract concerning the farming of an estate, farming contract" < βονο "land"+οαρζο "farming"+πωστογο "contract"[752]

καβοοανδαρζοβιδο "councillor for the elderly"<*kapuna-"old"+ανδαρζο "instruction"+suffix

-βιδο[753] forming titles and personal names, originally "lord, chief"[754]

χοδδηοοβορδοβωστιγο "contract concerning the performance of duties for a lord"<χοαδηο "lord"+ πορδο "proper"+ πωστογο "contract"[755]

We can find the following construction in the examples of tripartite compounds:
Substantive+Substantive+Substantive
Substantive+ prefix+substantiv
Adjective+Adjective+Substantive
Adjective+Substantive+Suffix

It seems that the first construction is the most common type in Bactrian.

10.4 Seam vowel

In some languages, e.g., German, the relationship between the elements of a compound may be marked with a case suffix or another morpheme.[756] In the extant Bactrian material, the first part of compounds very often contains an o ending. The vowel -η- Pth.-y- (in *dstygyrd*) is used only once in λιστηγιρδο "estate"< λιστο "hand"+κιρδο "to make". The semivowel -y- as a case ending for genitive-dative is used in Manichean. It may also occur between two stems forming a compound with either the -aka- suffix, or trace of OIr. -i- stems, or it belongs to compounds borrowed from other Iranian languages.[757]According to Sims-Williams, this vowel is probably a locative ending and perhaps a vowel ending, and therefore the etymological meaning of *dastay(ā)-kṛta- being "(person or thing) put into (someone's) hands" [758]He also classified internal -η- in αζδηβδο "with the cognizance of"<αζδο "notice"+πιδο "in" as an oblique case ending.[759]

There are three major compounding strategies in the extant Bactrian materials, classified according to the final endings of the members of a compound:

[749] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 226.

[750] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 108.

[751] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 203.

[752] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 204.

[753] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 219.

[754] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 203.

[755] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 280.

[756] For example, in the German word, Arbeitsplatz "place of work", *s* is originally a genitive case suffix.

[757] Cf. Gershevitch 1985: 8.

[758] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 227.

[759] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 188.

1. The final vowel of both first and second member is *o*, e.g., αβζοδοφαραυο "prosperous in glory"<αβζοδο (pp as adjective) "prosperous"+*φαραυο "glory"[760]. This type is the most common form in Bactrian compounds.

2. The final vowel of the first element is omitted, whereas the final element of the second element is *o*. When the second member of a compound begins with a vowel the final *o* of the first member is often omitted e.g., *βαγασπο <βαγο+ασπο "god+horse" (rather than a compound meaning, e.g., "horse of (the) God"). [761]There is an exception of this rule in the extant Bactrian materials: λαδοαγαλγο "by whom wishes are granted"<λαδο "to give, to grant" [762]+αγαλγο "wish"[763]. In ναοαζο "pilot, sailor" <*Nāw-āza- [764] the final *o* of the first element is not omitted because of *a* before the final *o*.

3. The final vowel of the first element is *a* not *o*. In the Bactrian documents, the majority of words ends with *o*, but there are few examples of the other endings e.g., *i* or *a*.[765]

In χοακαμο "acting willingly, acting freely in accordance with one's own wishes"<χοα "own, self"+*kāma- "wish, will" [766], the first element is a prefix ends in *a*. In παρσαþαραβο "Persian satrap"[767] παρσα seems to be an abstract form of παρσαγγο "Persian"[768].

In ζιγαβαργο "destructive"<ζιγο "damage"+suffix -βαργο (from βαρ- "to bear, take, bring") forming nomina agentis from nouns[769], ζιγα is used instead of ζιγο. According to Sims-Williams, it is the older form of ζιγο.[770] In οαναφαρο "winning glory"<*Wana-farnah-[771]οανα seems to be an old form of οανο (?).In σαδαιωλο "having a hundred warriors"<*Satā-yauda-[772] σαδα is used instead of σαδο.

In αþφαρδαρο "best (through) Fire" or "best (gift) of Fire"<αþ- perhaps the name of a god "Fire"+φαρδαρο "more, better"[773] αþ has no vowel ending.

In ιαοοιγαρο perhaps "harvest"<ιαοι "grain"+καρο "work",[774] the first element has the ending *i*, which is preserved without any change.

We can summarize the mentioned compounding types as the following:

1. o-o

2. Ø-o

3. a-o (the oldest form)

o and a: word endings

-: boundary between two components

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[760] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 182.

[761] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 39.

[762] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 225.

[763] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 187.

[764] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 95.

[765] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 40, 1.3.

[766] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 278.

[767] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 114.

[768] According to Sims-Williams "with loss of -ŋ(g) before -š-?" (Sims-Williams 2007a: 253) cf. παρσαþαραβο.

[769] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 212.

[770] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 212.

[771] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 98.

[772] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 122.

[773] Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 38.

[774] Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 217.

Ø: without ending (ending is omitted)

10.5 Summary

As in other Middle Iranian languages, the most common compounds are demonstrative ones, which have a substantive as both first and second element. The following table shows the different types of compounds according to the grammatical character of the members:

Table 34. Grammatical characteristics of compound elements in Bactrian

first element	second element
noun	noun
	adjective
	suffix
	adverb
	pp or past stem
adjective	noun
	adjective
	pp or past stem
number	noun
prefix	noun
preposition	noun
	adjective
	adverb
pp or past stem	noun

Tripartite compounds are rare in our extant material. In this case it seems that the Substantive+Substantive+Substantive construction and determinative is the most common type. There is no seam vowel in Bactrian compounds, but the ending o of the first element could be preserved or ommitted. We find few examples of compounds in which the first element has the ending *a.* This *a* is not changed to *o* and is preserved.

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