CHAPTER FOUR

# MIDDLE WEST IRANIAN

*Prods Oktor Skjærvø*

## 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Overview

Middle Persian (MPers.) and Parthian (Parth.) constitute the western branch of the known Middle Iranian languages.* The term 'Pahlavi' (Pahl.) refers to the Middle Persian of the Zoroastrian texts, but is also sometimes used for Middle Persian in general. The indigenous words for the languages may have been Pārsīg and Pahlawānag 'Parthian' (found in a Manichean text). This usage was sometimes adopted by Western scholars, as well (Herzfeld, Nyberg: Pārsīk, Pahlavīk). Still earlier, Pahlavi and Chaldeo-Pahlavi were used.

The two languages are closely similar in structure, though Parthian shares some features with its eastern neighbors, notably with Bactrian, rather than with Middle Persian (see Sims-Williams 2007). The fact that Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian were two separate languages with different linguistic affinities was first shown by Tedesco (1921).

Parthian was spoken in Parthia, east of the Caspian Sea, and became an official language under the Parthian (Arsacid) rulers of Iran (ca. 247 BCE–224 CE). It is known mainly from a large corpus of short, formulaic, Parthian inscriptions mostly on potsherds from the Parthian capital of Nisa dating from the first century BCE (see Skjærvø 1995a, 1999); a few royal Parthian inscriptions from the last couple of centuries of Parthian rule; Parthian versions of the inscriptions of the third-century Sasanian kings Ardashir I, Shapur I, and Narseh; and from the Manichean (Man.) texts found at Turfan in north-eastern Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang) in the early nineteenth century. On the language of the mostly Aramaic inscriptions from north-western Iran and the Awrōmān document see Skjærvø (1995a).

Middle Persian is descended from Old Persian (OPers.) and is the ancestor of New Persian (NPers.). Its proper homeland was the area of Pārs in south-western Iran (Gk. Persis), and it was the official language of the local Perside kings (ca. 200 BCE–224 CE) and their successors, the Sasanians (224–651 CE). After the fall of the Sasanians, it continued to be used by the Zoroastrians long after the spoken language had become New Persian in the centuries following the Arab conquest (ca. 650). Middle Persian is known mainly from inscriptions, documents on parchment and papyrus, a translation of the *Psalms* of David (the 'Pahlavi *Psalter*' [Ps.]) found at Turfan, the Zoroastrian scriptures, and the Manichean texts from Turfan. A page from a Pahlavi text containing verb forms was also found there (Barr 1936).

---

*For reasons of space, Parthian could not be discussed as fully as Middle Persian. All descriptions and examples therefore apply to Middle Persian only, unless explicitly marked as Parthian.

The earliest inscriptions are those on the coins of the Perside rulers and on a silver bowl from the second half of the first century BCE (Skjærvø 1997b). There are royal and private inscriptions by high officials and travelers, most of them from the third century, a few from the fourth–fifth centuries; the earliest ones were bilingual (trilingual) Middle Persian, Parthian, (Greek). There are inscriptions on objects (silver bowls, seals, etc.) from the entire Sasanian period (see Brunner 1974; Skjærvø 1993). The Zoroastrian and Christian funerary inscriptions are from the late Sasanian and early Muslim period (see Gignoux 1978: 14); some are from as far away as India (that on the Thomas Cross from the seventh century, see Gignoux 1995) and Xi'an, China (from 874, see Humbach and Wāng Shiping 1988; Sundermann and Thilo, 1966). The papyri are probably from the sixth–seventh centuries (see Weber 1992, with bibliography pp. ix–x). A large corpus of mostly legal documents on parchment from the seventh century has recently surfaced and is currently being deciphered and studied (see, e.g. Gignoux 1991, 2001, 2002–3 with refs.; Weber 2007 with refs.).

The earliest Manichean texts may have been composed in the mid-third century, but the manuscripts are much later, and texts were still composed in Turfan in the eighth century (e.g. the *Mahrnāmag* is dated in 762, see Boyce 1975: 52); the *Psalter* manuscript probably dates from the seventh century, although the text is probably older (Skjærvø 1983: 178–79).

The Zoroastrian 'Pahlavi books' were written down in the ninth–tenth centuries, but contain texts that were transmitted orally for centuries. The corpus can be divided roughly into three categories (see Tavadia 1956; Boyce 1968): 1. translations of Avestan texts, 2. texts with religious contents, sometimes incorporating translations from the extant or lost Avesta; and 3. secular texts, including word lists.

## 1.2  Writing systems

The non-Manichean Middle Persian texts are written in scripts derived from Achaemenid Aramaic ('Imperial Aramaic'; Henning 1958; Skjærvø 1995a, 1996); the Manichean texts are written in a Syriac script more closely related to the Palmyrene script than to Estrangelo, as traditionally thought (Durkin-Meisterernst 2000a). In both, the consonants <', w, y> are also used to express vowels (*matres lectionis*, see section 2.3.1). See Tables 4.1–3.

The Persian variant of the Aramaic script evolved in Pārs in the late Parthian period, as can be seen from coins. There is a clear change at the end of the second century CE, and the standard form appears under Ardashir I's older brother Shapur (Skjærvø 1991b, 1997b). An advanced form of the script is seen in the *Psalter* manuscript, while, in the earliest funerary inscriptions, we have the cursive forerunner of the Pahlavi script used in the later funerary inscriptions and in the Pahlavi books ('Book-Pahlavi'). The final stage of the script is found in the documents on papyri and parchment (Weber 2007 with refs.).

In Tables 4.1–2, the order of the letter forms is right-to-left. Letter forms preceded by a line are final (or post-vocalic in the Pahlavi script). Manichean letters with a left-side flourish or lengthening lose these when connected with a following letter.

In the Pahlavi column, letters in parenthesis are alternative forms: those of <k> and <l> are used in a few arameograms.

**TABLE 4.1: ALPHABETS. PARTHIAN AND MIDDLE PERSIAN SCRIPTS DERIVED FROM IMPERIAL ARAMAIC**

| Semitic alphabet | Hebrew | Translit. values | Parthian inscrips. | MPersian inscrips. | Psalter | Pahlavi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ' (alef) | א | a  A | 𐭀 | 𐭀 | 𐭀 | 𐭀 |
| b | ב | b  B | 𐭁 | 𐭁 | 𐭁 | 𐭁 |
| g | ג | g  G | 𐭂 | 𐭂 | 𐭂 | 𐭢 |
| d | ד | d  D | 𐭃 | 𐭃 | 𐭣 | 𐭣 |
| h | ה | -  E | 𐭄 | 𐭤 | 𐭤 | 𐭤 |
| w | ו | w  W | 𐭅 | 2 [= O, r] | 𐭅 | 𐭅 |
| z | ז | z  Z | 𐭆 | 𐭆 | 𐭆 | 𐭦 |
| ḥ | ח | h  H | 𐭇 | 𐭇 | 𐭇 | 𐭇 |
| ṭ | ט | -  Θ | 𐭈 | 𐭈 | - | - |
| y | י | y  Y | 𐭉 | 𐭉 | (𐭩_)  𐭩 | 𐭩 |
| k | כ ך | k  K | 𐭊 | 𐭊 | 𐭊 | (𐭪)  𐭪 |
| l | ל | l  L | 𐭋 | 𐭋 | 𐭋 | (𐭫_𐭫)  𐭫 |
| m | מ ם | m  M | 𐭌 | 𐭌 | 𐭌 | 𐭬 |
| n | נ ן | n  N | 𐭍 | 𐭍 | 𐭍 | 𐭭 |
| s | ס | s  S | 𐭎 | 𐭎 | 𐭎 | 𐭮 |
| ' ('ayin) | ע | O | 𐭏 [= r] | 2 [= r, w] | 𐭏 | 𐭏 |
| p | פ ף | p  P | 𐭐 | 𐭐 | 𐭐 | 𐭯 |
| ṣ | צ ץ | c  C | 𐭑 | 𐭑 | 𐭑 | 𐭰 |
| q | ק | Q | 𐭒 | 𐭒 | 𐭒 | 𐭲 |
| r | ר | r  R | 𐭓 [= O] | 2 [= O, w] | 𐭓 | 𐭓 |
| š | ש | š  Š | 𐭔 | 𐭔 | 𐭔 | (𐭱)  𐭱 |
| t | ת | t  T | 𐭕 | 𐭕 | 𐭕 | 𐭕 |

## 1.2.1 Merger of letter shapes

In the Parthian and Middle Persian scripts derived from Imperial Aramaic, some of the original 22 letters began merging early on, and the Book-Pahlavi script contains only 12 distinct letters, but even these are often ambiguous. In the Parthian inscriptions, <'('ayin) = r>, and <b>, <k>, and <r = '> are sometimes indistinguishable (e.g. in the Paikuli inscription, <OBDt> *kerd* is often written so as to look like <krd-t>. In the Middle Persian inscriptions and the *Psalter*, <w = r = O>, and, in Book-Pahlavi, <n = w = r = O>; in the inscriptions and the *Psalter*, < '(alef)>, <ḥ>, <g>, <d>, and <y> were still distinct, but, in Book Pahlavi, <'= ḥ>, <g = d = y>, and in the *Psalter* and Book Pahlavi, <s = yy>.

TABLE 4.2: ALPHABETS. THE PAHLAVI SCRIPT

| Pahlavi | Values | Pahlavi | Values | Pahlavi | Values |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (glyph) | <'> = <h>, <y y> | (glyph) | <y> = <g, d> | (glyph) | <O> = <w, n, r> |
| (glyph) | <b> | (glyph) | <k> | (glyph) | <p> |
| (glyph) | <g> = <d, y> | (glyph) | <K>, γ | (glyph) | <c> |
| (glyph) | <d> = <g, y> | (glyph) | <l> | (glyph) | <-c> = <-p> |
| (glyph) | <-d̲> | (glyph) | l | (glyph) | <Q> = <m> |
| (glyph) | d, g, y, j | (glyph) | <L> | (glyph) | <r> = < w, n, O> |
| (glyph) | <-E>, <mn> | (glyph) | <m> = <Q> | (glyph) | <š> |
| (glyph) | <w> = <n, O, r> | (glyph) | <n> = <w, O, r> | (glyph) | <š> = <y'> |
| (glyph) | <z> = <d̲> | (glyph) | <s> = <yy> | (glyph) | <t> (= <yn>) |
| (glyph) | <h> = <'> | | | | |

TABLE 4.3: ALPHABETS. THE MANICHEAN SCRIPT

| Manichean | Value | Manichean | Value | Manichean | Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (glyph) | ' (alef) | (glyph) | ḥ | (glyph) | ' ('ayin) |
| (glyph) | b | (glyph) | ṭ | (glyph) | p |
| (glyph) | β | (glyph) | y | (glyph) | f |
| (glyph) | g | (glyph) | k | (glyph) | č |
| (glyph) | γ | (glyph) | x | (glyph) | q |
| (glyph) | d | (glyph) | l | (glyph) | r |
| (glyph) | -h | (glyph) | m | (glyph) | š |
| (glyph) | w | (glyph) | n | (glyph) | t |
| (glyph) | z | (glyph) | s | (glyph) | j (ž) |

In Pahlavi, which is a cursive script, the letters also have variant forms when combined and, in certain words, they take on special forms or the shapes of other letters, e.g. <z> can represent <y = d>; <y = d> can represent <b>; and, so, <z> can represent <b>: <YZLWN> for <YBLWN> 'carry', etc. This is indicated in transliteration by an under-bar: <Y̲BLWN>. In Pahlavi manuscripts written in India, <š> is indistinguishable from <y>. The letter < > is frequently used for <yy, zd>: <y 'n'> = <yzd̲ n̄0> yazdān 'the gods'; note also <m ÿyt'> (or m ÿyyt') for <mz̲dysn̲' (= mhyst') > 'Mazdayasnian' with < > for <zd> and <yt> for <sn>.

Note that the Aramaic letters <E> (only final), <O ('ayn)>, <Q>, and <Θ> (Aram. <ṭ>) were used only in arameograms (see below). In Pahlavi, they merged with other letters: <E = mw>; <O = w>; <Q = m> (only in <QDM> = abar 'on'); <Θ = t> (e.g. Aram. <ṭb>, MPers. inscr. <ΘB>, Pahl. <T̲B̲ = td> = nēw 'good').

In the Manichean script, all the letters are distinct and the spelling is near-to phonetic (with a few exceptions: Man. MPers. <p> = *p* and *f*; <Vc> = MPers. *Vz*, <Vc, Vj> = Parth. *Vž*).

## 2 PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 Inventory and distribution

By cross-referencing Middle Persian with Old Persian and New Persian, the vowel and consonant phonemes that can be posited for Middle Persian (see MacKenzie 1967) are set out in Tables 4.4–5. The Parthian vowel system was probably of the same type, but the consonant system was more complex.

TABLE 4.4: PHONOLOGY. VOWELS

|  | Front |  | Back |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| High | *ī* | *i* | *u* | *ū* |
| Mid | *ē* | *(e)* | *(o)* | *ō* |
| Low |  | *a ā* |  |  |

TABLE 4.5: PHONOLOGY. CONSONANTS

|  | Labial | Dental | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *Stops, Affricates* | *p b* | *t d* | *č ǰ* | *k g* | — |
| *Fricatives* | *f v* | *s z* | *š (ž)* | *x (γ)* | — |
| *[Parthian* | *β* | *δ* | *ž* | *γ]* | — |
| *Rounded* | — | *xw* | — | — | — |
| *[Parthian* | — | *x°]* |  |  | — |
| *Nasals* | *m* | *n* | — | *(ŋ)* | — |
| *Continuants* | *w* | *r; l* | *y* | — | *h* |

### 2.1.1 Vowels

Since the script does not distinguish between *ē* and *ī*, *ō* and *ū*, these values can only be determined by etymological considerations and their distribution in early New Persian and modern dialects of Persian (in standard New Persian they have merged into *i* and *u*), and a few instances remain uncertain.

The existence of the phonemes *(e)* and *(o)* is suggested by alternate spellings with or without *mater lectionis* and is also posited for etymological reasons in words such as *kerd* <krt'> 'did' (OPers. *kạrta* with syllabic *r*, Man. MPers. <kyrd>, NPers. *kard*, dial. *kerd*) and *ox* <ʾhw'> 'mind' (Av. *aŋ*ʸ*hā*, Man. MPers. <ʾwx>; see MacKenzie 1967: 23–25). The question remains, however, whether we have any *e* and *o* contrasting with *a ~ i* and *a ~ u*, respectively, as there do not seem to be any minimal pairs/triples of the type *kird ~ kerd ~ kard* or *widurd ~ widord ~ widerd* <wtwlt', wtlt'> 'crossed over'.

## 2.1.2 Consonants

The consonant phonemes Middle Persian *(γ)* and *(ž)* are found mainly in learned (Avestan) words, but perhaps also in words of non-Persian origin, and so probably represent marginal phonemes /γ/ and /ž/ (see MacKenzie 1967: 20–23)

*(ŋ)* is an allophone of *n* before velars (not expressed in the script). The opposition *n* ~ *m* is neutralised before labials, as evidenced by the alternate spellings <np, mp, nb, mb>.

The voiceless stops and affricates are found in initial position and after voiceless sibilant, but only sporadically after vowels (other than after prefixes such as *a-* 'non'). In intervocalic position, they are the result of gemination (geminates, apparently, do not contrast with non-geminates, and so were not phonemic): *appār-* 'rob' (< *\*apa-pāra-*), *pat-tāy-* > *pattāy-* 'endure (something)', *waččag* 'child'; *kerbag-kar* > *kerbakkar* 'well-doer'. In final position, they are found in the suffixes *-ak* and the rare *-īk* (contrasting with *-ag* and *-īg*); as a result of early syncope in *ēk* (*yak*) 'one' (< *\*ēw-k*), *ēč* 'any' (< *\*ēw-č*), and *pāk* 'pure' (<*pāw-k*, cf. Parth. *pawāg*); in a few words such as *kayk* 'flea', *sabuk* 'light, easy'; and after *h* in Man. <bšyhk>. For the comparative and superlative suffixes *-tar* and *-tom*, Man. MPers. has *-dar* and *-dom* after voiced sounds, but New Persian has forms with *-t-* throughout, and it is likely that this was already so in Pahlavi. Examples of other geminates: *passand-* 'please' (< *\*pati-sand-*), *škenn-* 'break' (< *\*škandaya-*), and *andar-rōn* 'in-side'.

*(ǰ)* is essentially limited to the initial position and the position after *n*: *panǰ* 'five', Man. MPers. <pnz>. Before voiced consonants, it is indistinguishable from *(ž)*: *duǰdēn* ~ *duždēn* 'unbeliever'.

The phoneme *(l)* is common in non-initial position, but also occurs sporadically in initial position (judging by the New Persian equivalents of these words and the occasional explicit Pahlavi spelling with <l> with diacritic). In Manichean Middle Persian, it is rarer, being often replaced by *r*: Pahl., NPers. *sāl* 'year', *larz-*'tremble', Man. MPers. *sār, rarz-*, but Pahl., NPers., and Man. MPers. *dil* 'heart'.

Parthian probably also had the phonemes *δ* and *γ* (mainly from older intervocalic *d, g*) perhaps also *β* (but old intervocalic *b* had become *w*) contrasting with *d, g, b*, cf. minimal pairs such as *pāδ* 'foot' ~ *pād* 'protected' and contrasting structures such as *bay-ān* 'gods', but *frēšt-ag-ān* 'prophets', as well as words such as *aβr* 'cloud'.

Note also that Manichean Parthian usually writes <wx> where Middle Persian has <xw>, which may indicate an indivisible phoneme *x°*: <wxybyh> *ʷxēbēh*, MPers. *xwēbaš*.

In inscriptional Parthian, initial *č-* is written <š> before *i* (<šyhr> = Man. Parth. *čihr*), which perhaps reflects a local sound change. Another difference between the two dialects is the form of the abstract ending inscr. Parth. *-īf* = Man. Parth. *-īft* (both probably from *\*-ītf*).

## 2.1.3 Syllable structure and consonant groups

Middle Persian initial, medial, and final groups usually contain fricatives, sibilants, and *r*. The initial groups 'sibilant + stop' early on acquired prosthetic vowels, globally in Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian, but sporadically as early as the third century, judging from inscr. Parth. *(a)spāδ-bed* 'general', spelled <ʾspʾdpty> and <spdpty> (cf. Man. Parth. *ispāδ* <ʾspʾd> 'army').

Parthian also had the non-initial groups *df* and *šf* (not found in Middle Persian):

*nidfār-* 'hurry' (Pahl. <nswb l-> *nixwār-*); *sadf-ān* 'beings' (<Skt. *sattva*), *kišfar* 'continent' (MPers. *kišwar*), *padišfar* 'honour' (MPers. *padixšar*).

A small problem is posed by the phonological analysis of initial <C-y-V>, which is best analysed as *Ci-* plus a non-phonemic glide: *ni( y )āy-* 'to sing', *zi( y )ān* 'harm' (there is no phonemic contrast between [CyV-], [CiyV-], and [CīyV-]). Similarly, the final *-y* in words such as <hy> 'other', <mhy> (beside <myh>) should perhaps be analysed as *-ī* (rather than *-y*); cf. the Pahlavi spellings <AHRNyd̲> and <ZKyd̲>, with <-yd̲> = *-īy*; here, this final will be spelled *-īy*, with *-y* reflecting the spelling with (*-d*), *anīy* for MacKenzie's *any*.

## 2.2 Non-segmental aspects

The theory that Middle Persian may had a system of 'light' and 'heavy' stems (like Sogdian) proposed by Back (1978: 39–61) was disputed by MacKenzie (1982: 294–95). A similar theory was also proposed by Huyse (2003), which still needs to be assessed.

Words such as *anīy* and *mahīy* may have been stressed on the first syllable, since the final syllable was later lost (*ánīy*, later *an*; *máhīy* later *meh*).

## 2.3 Relationship between orthography and phonology in Pahlavi

Two features complicate the phonological interpretation of Pahlavi orthography: 1. conservatism, resulting in an orthography based on that of the first two centuries of our era (cf. English, French); 2. the use of arameograms.

### 2.3.1 Vowels

All the Parthian and Middle Persian alphabets contain consonants only, with three of the consonants used as *matres lectionis*: <',"> = *ā*, <w> = *ō, u, ū*; <y> = *ē, i, ī*. In the Manichean script, <'y-> is used in initial, and sometimes in internal, position, to distinguish *i-, -ī-* from *ē-* spelled <'y->.

### 2.3.2 Consonants

In non-Manichean Middle Persian, few letters regularly spell the corresponding consonants: <m, n, z> = *m, n, z*. In initial position, all the letters usually express the corresponding consonants: <p k'> *pāk* 'clean', <c l> *čār* 'able', <gl> *gar* 'mountain', etc. In the Middle Persian inscriptions, <l> and <r> are used according to the whim of the scribe to spell *r*. In Pahlavi, <r> is relatively rare and limited to certain types of words (especially arameograms); the <l> with a diacritic stroke can be used when it spells *l* (rather than *r*).

After vowels and voiced consonants, the unvoiced stops express the corresponding voiced stops: <p'> *āb* 'water', <w t'> *wād* 'wind', *kerd* <krt'> 'did', etc. and <c> is used to spell *z* (but <nc> *nǰ*): <tyc'> *tēz* 'sharp', <lnc'> *ranǰ* 'toil' (Man. <rnz>). In intervocalic and final position after vowels, the voiced stops <b (wb)> and <d (yd), g> spell *w* and *y*, respectively: <lwb k'> *rawāg* 'current', <dlwb'> *drō( w )* 'deceit', *mayān* <myd̲h> 'middle', <mynwd> *mēnōy* 'the world of thought (the other world)'.

### 2.3.3   Historical and pseudo-historical orthography

Pahlavi orthography reflects a phonology closer to Old Persian than to Manichean Middle Persian, and consonants that had been lost or changed were still written as they were originally. Thus, what the Manicheans wrote as <by, rẏ, xrd, šhr, sr̄r̄>, i.e. *bay, rāy, xrad, šahr, sālār*, one would write <bg, l'd, hlt', štr', srd 'l> (OPers. *baga-, rādiy, xratu-,* Av. *xšaθra-*).

Analogical (also called 'pseudo-historical') spellings are also common. For instance, since old *b* and *d* had become *w* and *y* between vowels, <b> and <d> were used for any *w* and *y*, e.g.: *ruwān* <lwb ḥ> 'soul' (Av. *uruuānəm*), *ziyān* <zyd ḥ> 'harm' (Av. *ziiāni-*) = Man. <rw ḥ>, <zyy ḥ>; since old *s* and *θ* had both become *h* between vowels, *h* could be written as <h> or <s>: *gāh* <g 'h, gẏ> 'throne' (Av., OPers. *gāθu-*), Man. <g'h>; *puhl,* inscr. <pwhly, pwlsy> 'bridge' (Av. *pərəθu-*) = Man. <pwhl>.

In many Pahlavi manuscripts, a letter identical with <w>, but with no phonetic meaning, is written at the end of the word (the 'final stroke'). The form developed from a final <-y>, also with no phonetic (but perhaps historical) significance, used in inscriptional Middle Persian and the *Psalter*, but their distribution is different; in Pahlavi, it is only used after consonants with which it is not combined (<b, c, k, t, w/n/r>). It is commonly transliterated as <-'>.

In addition, *ē* is often spelled <yw>: <nywk'> *nēk* 'good', etc., and final *-ī (-īy)* <-yd̲>: <gytyd̲> *getī(y)* 'the world of the living'. In learned words, *ō* and *ū* are often spelled <wk>: <yt"hwkwylywk> *Yatā-ahū-wēryō*, an Avestan prayer.

Letter forms differ from scribe to scribe and develop throughout the centuries.

### 2.3.4   Arameograms

Parthian and Pahlavi (including the inscriptions and the *Psalter*) used a large number of, more or less faithfully rendered, Aramaic words, also called 'ideograms' or 'heterograms', but here: 'arameograms' (Skjærvø 1995a; Nyberg 1988). Iranian endings were added to the arameogram as 'phonetic complements'. To distinguish the arameograms from Middle Persian words spelled 'phonetically' arameograms are now transliterated in upper case, e.g.: <OLE> = *ōy* 'he, she, it', <GBRA> = *mard* 'man', with phonetic complements: <OLE-š ḥ'> = *awē-šān* 'they', <GBRA- ḥ'> = *mard-ān* 'the men('s)', <OBYDWN-d> = *kun-ēnd* and Parth. <OBDW-nt> = *kar-ēnd* 'they do'. Parthian still has a few Aramaic plurals, where Middle Persian uses phonetic complements, e.g. MPers. <GBRA-ḥ'> = *mard-ān*, Parth. <GBRYN> 'the men('s)'.

For the phonetic complements of verbal arameograms, see Skjærvø 1989, 1995a.

### 2.3.5   Transliteration and transcription systems

Throughout the history of Pahlavi studies, many transliteration and transcription systems have been used. This is due to two facts: the correct interpretation of the Pahlavi orthography did not become known until the inscriptions and the Pahlavi *Psalter* were fully deciphered, and the actual pronunciation of Pahlavi did not become known until the discovery of the Manichean texts.

Different opinions among scholars then resulted in basically two systems of transcription: one that remained faithful to the actual spelling as seen in the inscriptions and the *Psalter* and one that was based on the assumption that the spelling was largely historical and did not reflect the actual pronunciation, as evidenced by the Manichean texts. These

two systems were implemented in Nyberg's *Manual* (1964–74) and MacKenzie's *Concise Dictionary* (1971), respectively, which set the standards for them (see also MacKenzie 1967). Here, MacKenzie's system will be adhered to throughout with only minor departures. While the differences in transliteration systems today remain small (see Table 4.2), those between the two major transcription systems produce two rather different-looking languages, e.g.: *āp ~ āb* 'water', *wāt ~ wād* 'wind', *sakān ~ sagān* 'of Sakas', *mātagdān ~ mādayān* 'specifically', *hač ~ az* 'from', *miθr ~ mihr* 'Mithra'.

The main innovation in MacKenzie's transliteration system was the use of only capital letters in the arameograms, that is, also <A, E, O> for <'(*alef*), H (Ḥ), '(*ayin*)>, to which Humbach added <Θ> for <Ṭ>, e.g. <AB> vs. <'B> 'father', <BYTA> vs. <BYT> 'house', <ZNE> vs. <ZNH>) (<ZNḤ>) 'this', <OLE> vs. <'LH> (<'LḤ>) 'he', <ΘB> vs. <ṬB> 'good'.

Another common system, especially in French publications: <', H, '> = <A, E, O>, <ḥ> = <h>, and <Ṣ> = <C>, e.g. <l'ḥ> vs. <l'h> *rāh* 'road', <'RḤY'> vs. <ORHYA> *bay* 'god, majesty', <ṢBW> vs. <CBW> *xīr* 'possessions', <YṢBH-> vs. <YCBE-> *kām-* 'wish'. In some personal transliteration systems, <x> is used for <h> and <H> for <E>, e.g. <XWH-> for <HWE-> *h-* 'be'.

# 3 MORPHOLOGY

With the loss of Old Iranian final syllables in Middle West Iranian, the original gender and case distinctions were to a large extent lost. Nevertheless, third-century inscriptional Middle Persian and Parthian still had a two-case system, which had largely been given up in the Manichean texts, but is still present in early Pahlavi, especially in the translations of the Avesta. In contrast, the verbal system is quite archaic.

There is a rich derivational morphology, including sequences of more than one derivational marker, which often leads to nominalised constructions that straddle the boundaries between word class, noun phrase syntax, and sentence syntax, a process which is complemented by the derivational verbalisation of simple and derived nominals. As word order is relatively free, it is often difficult to distinguish adverbs, adpositions, and preverbs.

## 3.1 Nominal morphology

Morphological categories in nominals include number, case, person, and deixis and marginally feminine gender, definiteness and animacy.

### *3.1.1 Nouns*

3.1.1.1 Gender

Animate and inanimate is distinguished in the interrogative pronouns *kē* 'who?' versus *čē* 'what?' and the indefinite pronouns *kas* 'somebody' and *tis* 'something' (Parth. *kē, čē, keč, čiš*), as well as compound forms of these (see section 3.1.4.5).

Feminine gender can be marked by *-ag* in Middle Persian proper names (Jam and Jamag) and by *-ānīy* (*-ēnīy*) in imitation of Avestan (*ahlaw* and *ahlawēnīy* 'righteous'). In Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian, *-čān* denotes female members of a group: *niγōšāg-čān*, Parth. *niγōšāg-čān* 'hearer *female*'.

### 3.1.1.2 Number and case

In the early texts (inscriptions and the *Psalter*), there are two cases and two numbers, and there are sufficient examples in Pahlavi of the old system to show that it probably survived until quite late. The cases are regularly distinguished in the plural, but in the singular only in the *r*-stem family terms ('father', etc.) and in the 1s pronoun. The enclitic personal pronouns are only used as oblique. See Sims-Williams 1981; Skjærvø 1983; Cantera Glera 1999, 2004: 270–73. Table 4.6 (the forms are also Parthian).

**TABLE 4.6: NOMINAL NUMBER AND CASE MARKING IN THE THIRD-CENTURY INSCRIPTIONS**

|  | 'man' | 'father' |
|---|---|---|
| DIRs | *mard* | *pid* |
| OBLs | *mard* | *pid-ar* |
| DIRp | *mard* | *pid-ar* |
| OBLp | *mard-ān* | *pid-ar-ān* |

In the Pahlavi texts, the forms in *-ān* are used freely as marked general plurals, and the forms with *-ar* alternate with those without.

Archaisms include the plural (obl.) endings *-īn* and *ūn* (from original *i-* and *u*-stems, but there is much analogy): inscr. *mow-ūn* <mgwny> 'Magians' and Man. MPers. *dušmen-ūn* 'enemies' (old *u*-stems), Ps. *pidar-ūn* <ptlwny> 'fathers' (old *r*-stem), *frazend-ūn* <plcndwny> 'children' (old *i*-stem), Man. Parth. *dušmen-īn, frazend-īn*. On the reflexes of old final vowels before enclitics, see Sims-Williams 1981.

This case system eventually collapsed into a no-case system, with cases surviving marginally in the pronouns; in Pahlavi, the originally plural oblique case marker, *-ān*, became the unmarked plural marker, next to which a new ending *-īhā* (Man. *-īhān*) expressing individual plurality is found: *kōf-ān* 'the mountains' vs. *kōf-īhā* 'the various/individual mountains', *pad sūrāg-īhā ī kōf-ān* 'in the various holes in the mountains' (Bd. 21E.7), *pad anjoman-īhā* 'throughout the congregations' (Ps. 131 canon). The plural was used mainly when plurality was emphasised, not when a class of objects was referred to, e.g. 'stones are heavy'.

### 3.1.1.3 Definiteness

There are no definite and indefinite articles, but the numeral *ēw* <-1, -HD> 'one' can be used to express 'one specific X, a certain X' (see also section 3.1.4.5):

> *aswār-[ēw] šahryār wēn-ēm*
> 'horseman-[one] prince we see' = 'we see/saw a princely rider';
> *ud nūn zan-[ēw] paydāg*
> 'and now woman-[one] manifest (COP)' = 'and now a woman appeared';
> *u-š tarāzūg-[ēw] pēšīy est-ēd*
> 'and-him scales-[one] before stand-PRES/IPF-3s' = 'and a scales stood before him'
> (KNRm 34–37).

### 3.1.1.4 Address

In Manichean texts, a particle *-ā* may be used to express address:

*[rōšn-ā] jāyēdān* '[O light] eternal!' (M729 II V i, line 6, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 333).
Man. MPers. *pid-ā-n* 'our father!' may be a frozen vocative *pidā* plus the old enclitic
1p pronoun *-n.*

Parthian

*kaδ tō šaw-ē [xwadāy-ā] amāh-iž až zād-murd bōž*
'when you go-PRES-2s [o lord!] us-too from born-dead save-IMP-2s'
= 'when you go, o lord, save us, too, from rebirths!' (M5779c, lines 3–5, BBB, p. 45).

Pahlavi has the particle of address *ay* (*hay*): *ay druwand* 'O wicked (one)!' (Bd. 30.20).
Man. Parth. *ōn* <ẇn> is a particle of address or means something like 'hail!': *ōn
xwaršēd wuzarg* 'hail, great sun!' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text e 15–16).

### 3.1.2 Adjectives and comparison

The endings of the comparative and superlative are *-tar* and *-tom* (Man. MPers. *-dar* and
*-dom* after vowels and voiced consonants): simple adjective: *abēzag, abēzag-tar, abēzag-
tom* 'pure, purer, purest'; participle of necessity: (*zan-išn*)*-tar* 'more worthy of being
killed'; adverbial: *frās-tar* (from *frāz*, in *frās-tar zamān* 'in the future'), derived adverbial:
(*gōwizār-īhā*)*-tar* 'more in detail' see section 3.1.3. Irregular formations include the
following, which preserve fossilised forms showing vowel gradation (see Old Iranian
Chapter 3, section 3.1.2) *gar-ān* 'heavy (serious)', comp. *grāy,* superl. *grāy-ist*; comp. *frāy,
freh* 'more', superl. *frāy-ist, frah-ist* 'most'; *was* 'much', *wēš* 'more'; *bul-and* 'high,' superl.
*bāl-ist.* Note also *kam* 'little' *kem* 'less', *kamist* 'least'.

There is a small set of suppletive comparatives and superlatives: *wazurg* 'great', *mah-īy/
meh, mah-ist* 'greater, greatest'; *kōdag* 'small', *keh* 'smaller'; *xōb* 'good', *wah-īy/weh*
'better', *pahlom, pāšom* 'best'.

Forms such *abdom* 'last' (Av. *apa-tama-*) are mere lexical items in Middle Persian.

Parthian has *-istar* and *-istom*, but *-istar* is used for both comparative and superlative:
The suffix *-tar* (*-dar*) survives sporadically: *masā-dar* 'elder', *abar-dar* 'higher'. Note
*bay-ān bay-istom* 'the highest god' (Sogd. *βay-ān βay-tam-i*). Irregular: *qmbyg, kamb,
kambist* 'little, less, least, fewer, fewest'; Parth. *kalān* 'big', *mas* 'bigger', *mas-išt* 'biggest'.

Simple comparisons are expressed by *čiyōn* 'like', *ēdōn čiyōn* 'like', *mānāg* (*ī*) 'like',
and the postposition *homān-ag* 'resembling, like' (also *pad homānag ī* and *ēdōn
čiyōn–homānag* 'just like').

### 3.1.3 Adverbs and particles

Adverbs are formed from simple adjectives and other adjectival forms by the productive
ending *-īhā.* They can take the comparative and superlative endings.

From simple adjectives: *xūb-īhā* 'well'; – from compond adjectives: *(abē-brahm)-īhā*
'(walking) (without clothes)-ADV' = '(walking) without clothes', *(arešk-kāmag)-īhā*
'(envy-desire)-ADV' = 'out of envious desire'; *was-īhā* 'much/many-ADV' = 'greatly'; *(a-
frajūd-az-iš)-īhā* 'non-diminished-from-it)-ADV' = 'so that nothing has been diminished
from it' (Dk. 5.2.1, 7.1.41); *(a-padīr-išn)-īhā* '(non-reception)-ADV' = 'without
receiving'; – from the reflexive pronouns: *xwēš-īhā* 'by oneself'; *xwad-īhā* 'of oneself';
– from adjectival verbal forms: verbal noun in *-āg*: *(tuxš-āg)-īhā-tar* '(striv-ing)-
ADV-COMP' = 'more diligently', *(dān-āg)-īhā-tom* '(knowing)-ADV-SUP' = 'most

knowingly'; participle in *-ag*: *(zad-ag)-īhā* '(strick-en)-ADV' = 'having been struck down'.

### 3.1.3.1 Adverbs of time, place and manner

These include simple and combined forms:

Time or duration of event: *ahīy* 'first, originally' (Parth. *has*); Man. *az nox* 'from the beginning'; *fradom* (*pad fradomīh*), *nazdist* 'first, at first'; *abdom* 'last, at last' (*pad abdomīh* 'at last, in the end'); *nūn* 'now' (Parth. *awās*); *ahanūz* 'still, yet' (see also section 4.1); *hamēw* (later *hamē*), *hamēšag*, and *hamwār* 'always', *hamēy-īhā* 'forever'; Man. *and(om)* 'for so long'. Adverbial phrases formed with *zamān* 'time', *gāh* 'time (of the day)', *bār* 'time; *fois*' (Parth. *yāwar*): *(pad) ōylān zamān* 'at that time', *(pad) ham zamān* 'at the same time, immediately', *andar zamān* 'immediately', *harw gāh* 'every time', *pad ēw bār* 'once'.

Location or direction of event: *ēdar* 'here' and *ānōh* 'there' (Parth. *ēd* and *ōδ*), note *pad ham ānōh* 'also in that place'; *awar* 'hither, come here!' (see section 4.3.7.3a), *bē* 'out, away'; adverbial phrases formed with *rōn* 'side, direction' (Parth. *āgōž*) and *gyāg* 'place', e.g. *anda(r)rōn* 'inside', *bērōn* 'out(side)', *az–ō(r)rōn* 'from–hither, from–until now', *ulrōn* 'upward'; *harw gyāg* 'everywhere', *kadām gyāg*, *kū gyāg* 'where?', *abar gyāg* 'on the spot'; Parth. *harwāgōž* 'to all sides, wherever'.

Time or location: *pēš* (*ō pēš*) 'before, *pēšīy* 'before, in front'; *pas* (Parth. *paš*) 'after, afterward, then, next', *az ān pas* 'after that, afterward', *pasīy* (*azlō pasīy*) 'after, behind' (Parth. *až paš* 'behind, after'); – bare nouns: *bāmdād* 'at dawn', *was frasang zamīg šud* 'he went a ground (= distance) of many *frasangs*'.

Manner of event: *ēdōn* 'thus, in this way', *ōwōn* (Man. *āwōn*, Parth. *awāyōn*), *ēd-ōwōn*, *ēn-ōwōn*, *ān-ōwōn* 'in this/that way'; *ōh* 'thus, in the usual way'; *ēwar* 'for sure, certainly' (also *ēwar-īhā*); *saxt* 'firmly, intensely'; – adverbial phrases formed with *ēwēnag*, *hangōšīdag* 'manner, how', and *čim* 'reason': *pad ēnlān ēwēnag* 'in this/that way', *ham-ēwēnag* 'in the same manner, likewise'; *pad ēn hangōšīdag* 'in this manner'; *im/ham čim rāy* 'for this/the same reason', *pad ēdlān čim* 'for this/that reason, therefore'.

Degree: *abēr* (+ adjectives, adverbs), 'very', *was* (+ adjectives, adverbs, verbs) 'very, greatly, in great numbers' and Man. MPers. *frahīd* (= Parth.).

### 3.1.3.2 Adverbs formed by repetition

Middle Persian typically uses repetition to signify distribution. The repeated word is usually a noun: *gyāg gyāg* 'in various places, from place to place' (also *gyāg ō gyāg*), *āwām āwām* 'in various ages, from age to age', *jār jār* 'from time to time', Parth. *yāwar yāwar*; an adjective: *nōg nōg* 'ever anew, again and again' (Parth. *nawāg nawāg*); an adverb: *andak andak* 'little by little', *jud jud* 'separately, individually' (Parth. *yud yud*); a pronoun: *kas kas* 'each one individually'; a numeral: Man. *yak yak* 'one by one', *se se* 'three each'; phrases: *ast ī ka–ud ast ī ka* 'sometimes–sometimes'; Parth. *bāδ bāδ* 'again and again'.

### *3.1.4 Pronouns and deixis*

### 3.1.4.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have full forms and enclitic forms. Case distinctions survive in the 1st singular in both Middle Persian and Parthian and, perhaps, in the 2nd singular in

Parthian. In Pahlavi, cases are only sporadically distinguished, especially in Pahlavi translations of Avestan texts. Table 4.7

**TABLE 4.7: PERSONAL PRONOUNS**

| | Middle Persian | | Parthian | | Enclitic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | DIR | OBL | DIR | OBL | OBL |
| 1s | *an* <ANE> | *man* <L> | *az* <ANE> | *man* <LY> | *-Vm* |
| 2s | | *tō* <LK> | *\*tū* <ANT> | *\*tō* <LK> | *-Vt* |
| 3s | | *ōy* <OLE> | | *hō* <LHw> | *-Vš* |
| 1p | | *amāh* <LNE> | | *amāh* <LN> | *-Vn, -Vmān* |
| 2p | | *ašmāh* <LKWM> | | *ašmāh* <LKM> | *-Vtān* |
| 3p | *ōy* | *awēšān* <OLEš'n'> | | *hawīn* <LHwyn> | *-Všān* |
| | | *awīn* (Man.) | | | |

The enclitic forms of the personal pronouns are the same in Middle Persian and Parthian, except the 1st plural *-n*, which is found only in the third-century inscriptions as royal plural and, perhaps, in Manichean *pid-ā-n* 'O, our father!'. They are only used as oblique, never as subject. The vowel preceding the enclitic pronouns appears to have varied according to phonetic and morphological context (Sims-Williams 1981). After consonants, the connecting vowel was mostly *-i-* (*-im*, etc.), sometimes *-u/o-* (*-um*, *-om*, etc.).

Parthian inscriptions also have the arameograms <OLY> 'to me' and <OLYN> 'to Us', the readings of which are uncertain (*\*aw-im*, *\*aw-in*?).

### 3.1.4.2 Possessive pronouns

In both Middle Persian and Parthian, the oblique forms of the personal pronouns are used to express possession, also in predicative position. They also have special possessive prounouns used substantivally, but they are quite rare: Pahlavi 1s *man-īg-ān*, 1p *amā-g-ān*; Parthian 1s *man-ān*, 2s *taw-ān* (see section 4.2.3). The Parthian forms appear to be derived from the personal pronouns by means of the suffix *-ān* denoting appurtenance (see section 6.1.2.6).

### 3.1.4.3 Reciprocity and reflexitivy

Reciprocity is expressed by the combination *ēk–did* (*didān*), Man.-Parth. *ēw–bid* (*bidān*) 'one–another'.

The reflexive pronouns are *xwad* (Man. Parth. *ᵂxad*) '(my-, your-, him-, etc.) self/selves'; and *xwēbaš* (Man.), *xwēš* (Man. Parth. *ᵂxēbēh*) '(my, etc.) own'. Note the adverbs *xwad-īhā* 'of oneself, (of one's own accord)', *xwēš-īhā* 'by oneself, (alone)'; *xwēšīhā-gāh* 'place for being on one's own' = 'toilet'. The combination *xwēš tan* 'own body' is common, and sometimes to be analysed as a simple reflexive pronoun as in New Persian:

> *[xwēš tan] pad bandag-īh ō kas ma abespār*
> '[own body] to slave-ry to somebody do-not hand-over-IMP-2s' = 'do not give your own body over to slavery!' (AAM. 7).

*[xwēš tan rāy] zan xwad xwāh*
'[own body for] wife self seek-IMP-2s'
= 'seek yourself for a wife for yourself!' (AAM. 42).

### 3.1.4.4  Demonstrative pronouns

The unmarked (weakly deictic) demonstrative pronouns are identical with the 3rd person personal pronouns in both Middle Persian and Parthian. In Parthian the personal pronoun is also far-deictic. Table 4.8.

**TABLE 4.8: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS**

|  | MPers. | Parth. | MPers. | Parth. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Near-deictic | Near-deictic | Far-deictic |  |
| Singular | *im* <LZNE> | *im* <ZNE> | *ān* <ZK> | *hō* <LHw> |
| Plural | *im-ēšān* <LZNE-š'n> | *im-īn* <ZNHn> |  | *haw-īn* <LHwyn> |
|  | *ēn* <ZNE> |  |  |  |
|  | *ēd* <HNA> | *ēd* <ZK> |  |  |

Spatial and temporal deixis is usually expressed by MPers. *ēn . . . ān*, Parth. *im . . . hō* 'this . . . that'. They are also used in the sense of 'one . . . the other', and, by extension, *ān* can be used alone in the meaning of 'another':

*čārag ī ardaxšīr [az ān dar] xwāh-ēd*
'means CNCT Ardašīr [from that door] seek-IMP-2p'
= 'seek a means (to deal) with Ardašīr elsewhere!' (KN.3.20).

Note also the deictic particle *ēn-ak* 'look here; voici':

*ēnak āy-ēd nāwāz ī nēw*
'look-here comes skipper CNCT good'
= 'look, here comes the good skipper!' (M224 I R 6–7, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 322).

MPers. *ēd* expresses 'this one in question', referring to the written or spoken context. MPers. *im* is used in Pahlavi mainly in adverbial phrases such as *im rōz* 'today'.

In Manichean Parthian, a few old oblique pronominal forms survive in adverbial phrases: *(ō) yahm* 'until' (< *\*yahmāt?*), *amābar* 'hereafter' (< *\*ahmāt aparam*):

*ud ham haw-īn-iž kē [amābar] āžay-ēnd*
'and also those-too REL [hereafter] be born-PRES-3p'
= 'and also those who will be born hereafter' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text b 95–96).

### 3.1.4.5  Interrogative and indefinite pronouns and related adverbials

Interrogative pronouns function as indefinite pronouns when doubled or in combination with demonstratives, indef. *-ēw*, or *-iz* 'also, -ever'.

Animate/inanimate: *kē* 'who?'; *čē* 'what?'; paired, *kē–kē* '(whether) someone who–or someone who'.

Individual animate: *kas* 'somebody' (also noun: 'person'); – inanimate: *tis* 'something' (also noun: 'thing'); *ēč* (*hēč*) 'any (at all)' (Parth. *keč, čiš, ēwiž*). Combined: *kas kas*

'each one'; *ān kas* 'that person, that someone'; *ān tis* 'that (some)thing'; *anīy/anī-z kas/tis* 'somebody/something else (too)'. These three occur frequently in questions and negated clauses: *kas–nē* 'nobody, no one'; *tis-iz–nē* 'nothing'; *ēč–nē* 'not any = nothing'.

Inclusive: *har(w)* 'every' (pl. *harw-īn*); *wisp* (pl. *wisp-ān*, also Parth.), *harwisp* (*harwist*) 'every, all' (pl. *harwisp-īn*, Man. *harwisp-ān*); *hāmōyēn* 'all, in entirety'; *hamāg* 'all, entire, whole'; – composite: *harw čē* 'everything (that)'; *harw kas* 'everybody (who)'; *harw tis* 'everything'; *harw N-ēw* 'each and every N'; note *harw dō*, plur. *harw dō'īn, dō(n)ān* 'both' (see section 3.1.6.1).

Selective: *kadām* 'which?'; *kadār* 'which (of two)?'. Composite: *kadār-iz(-ēw)* 'which-ever'; *čēgām-iz(-ēw)* 'what-ever'.

Quantitive: *čand* 'several; how much?'; *and* 'so much/many'; *and čand* and *and–čand* 'as/ so (much/many)–as' (Parth, *āwend, čāwend, *čawend, *čwand*); *andak* 'a little' – composite: *andak andak* 'little by little'; *ēn-and, ēd-and* 'this much/many'; *ān-and* 'that much/many'; *čand-ēw* 'several, a few'.

Adverbial: *kū* 'where?'; *kay* 'when?'; *čiyōn?*; *čim* 'why?' (see also section 3.1.3.1).

*3.1.5 Adpositions*

Adpositions comprise prepositions, postpositions and ambipositions. Prepositions are either simple or compounded. Postpositions are always simple, and ambipositions consist of a preposition plus a postposition or a postposed adverb/nominal. Note that prepositions are lowered when governing an enclitic pronoun attached to the first word of a clause (see section 4.2.5.1). In some instances this makes it almost impossible to distinguish between postpositions and preverbs.

Only pre/postpositions: prepositions: *az* 'from, than', *ō* 'to', *pad* 'on, with, by means of'; Man. *hambadīz* 'corresponding to', *padisāy* 'on account of'; – postpositions: *hammis(t)* 'together with' (usually *az–hammis*); *rāy* 'on account of, for the sake of', *tā* 'except', etc.

Prepositions that are also adverbs and preverbs: *abāg* '(together) with', *abar* 'above, on, about', *andar* 'in', *bē* 'except' *pas, pasīy* 'after', *pēš* (*pēšīy*) 'before', *tar, tarist* 'across, through', *tā* 'to, until'.

Ambipostions: *az–rāy, pad–rāy* 'on account of'; *az–hammis(t)* 'together with'; *az–rōn* 'from (the direction of)'; *az-ō(r)rōn* 'from–in this direction'; *ō–tarist* 'into'; *ō–rōn* 'toward, in the direction of'; *bē–ēnyā* 'except'; *bē–tā* 'except'.

Parthian: *ad (–ham)* '(together) with', *frahāh* 'for the sake of', *nīrδ* (*niyarδ?*) 'near, with', *parwān* 'before', *wasnāδ* 'for the sake of', *yad (yad ō)* 'to, until', *yahm* 'until' (in *yahm [yahm ō yahm] yāwēdān* 'forever'), etc.

3.1.5.1 Nouns and adjectives as adpositions

Nouns, adjectives, and adverbs used as prepositions usually take the connector *ī* or are combined with *az* or other simple prepositions. In Pahlavi, it is not always possible to decide whether the relative particle should be present or not.

Prepositional phrases with or without the connector *ī*: with adverbs: *pēš (ī)* 'before, in front of, in the eyes of'; *mayān (ī)* 'between, in the middle of'; *pērāmōn (ī)* 'around'; *az pas (ī)* 'behind, after' (local); *az abar (ī)* 'above'; *azēr (ī)* 'below'; – with adjectives: *mānāg (ī)* 'like'.

Prepositional phrases with *az*: *pēš az* 'before' (time); *pas az* 'after' (local, temporal);

*abardar az* 'farther above'; *ō(r)rōn az* 'on this side of'; *bērōn az* 'outside'; *parrōn az* 'beyond'; *bēdandar az* 'outside', etc.

### 3.1.6 Numerals

Pahlavi numerals are usually written with numbers, and some are only known from the corresponding ordinals. The vocalisation of 30 and 40 is uncertain. Tables 4.9–10.

**TABLE 4.9: CARDINALS**

| 1–9 | | 11–19 | | 10–90 | | 100+ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MPers. | Parth. | MPers. | Parth. | M pers. | Parth. | MPers. | Parth. |
| *ēw, ēk, yak* | *ēw* | *yāzdah* | *ēwandas* | *dah* | *das* | *sad* | *sad* |
| *dō* | *dō* | *dwāzdah* | *dwāðes* | *wīst* | *wīst* | *dwēst* | *dwēsad* |
| *sē* | *hrē* | *sēzdah* | *\*hrēðas* | *sī* | *\*hrīst* | *\*tīrēst* | *hrēsad* |
| *čahār* | *čafār* | *čahārdah* | *čafārðas* | *čihl* | *\*čafarast* | *čahār sad* | |
| *panz* | *panǰ* | *pānzdah* | *\*panǰðas* | *panǰāh* | *panǰāst* | etc. | |
| *šaš* | *šwah* | *šāzdah* | *šwahðas* | *šast* | *šašt* | | |
| *haft* | *haft* | *hafdah* | *haftād* | | | | |
| *hašt* | *hašt* | *haštdah* | *haštād haštād* | | | | |
| *nō* | *\*nah* | *nōzdah* | *nawad* | | | | |

MPers., Parth. *hazār* 'thousand'
MPers., Parth. *bēwar* 'ten thousand'.

**TABLE 4.10: ORDINALS**

| | Middle Persian | Parthian |
|---|---|---|
| 1st | *fradom, naxwist (naxust)* | *afradom, naxwišt, naxwēn* |
| 2nd | *didīg, dōwom* | *bidīg* |
| 3rd | *sidīg, sēyom* | *hridīg* |
| 4th | *tasom, čahārom* | *čuhrom* |
| 5th | *panǰom* | *panǰom* |
| | etc. | |
| 9th | *nohom* | *nahom* |
| 13 | | *hrēðesomīg* 'thirteenth' |
| etc. | | |

3.1.6.1 Cardinals and ordinals

Cardinals take the plural (obl.) ending -*ān* (also Parth.), except '2', which, in Pahlavi, takes -*īn* or -*ān* (<2-yn', 2-ẖ'>): *ō-mān harw dō-īn* (*dō-nīn?*) 'to both of us' (Bd. 1.21). Manichean Middle Persian has *dō-nān* (= Parth.) and *\*si-nān* from *dō* and *sē*. Parthian also has *panǰ-enān*.

The forms *\*sinān*, and *panǰenān* are presumably from old *i*-stems as in other Middle Iranian languages (Khotanese *dvīnu, draiṇu, paṃjinu*, etc.):

az [si-nān] (āy-āg)-ān (zīw-ēn-āg)-ān im-īn gyān
'from [three-PL] (com-er)-PL (vivi-fi-er)-PL this-PL soul'
= 'from these three who shall come and vivify the soul' (M31 I V 1–2, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 37 [328])

Parthian:

> *awāyōn ohrmezd-bay ō [panǰ-enān] rōšn-ān dār-ēd*
> 'in-that-way Ohrmezd-god DO [five-PL] light-PL holds'
> = 'in that way, god Ohrmezd keeps the five lights' (KPT 941–3).

Combined numerals:

> *čahār sad šast ud hašt sār* '(one thousand) and four hundred sixty-eight years' (Šāb. 289).
> *pad hazār-ān ud bēwar-ān wyāg-ān* 'in thousands and ten thousands (of) places' (M206 II V 4–5, GW § 144).

Parthian:
*panǰwīst* '25', *wīst ud čafār* '24', *sad ud wīst* '20';
*hrē hazār dwēsad haštād ud [. . .]* 'three thousand two hundred eighty-[. . .]' (KawT 8);
*šwah yāwar hrēsad ud ēwandas bēwar ud čafār sad frēsta-ān* 'six times 311 × 10,000 + 400 messengers' (M33 I R i 2–5, *Mir. Man.* iii h 2–5).
Composition forms:
Man. MPers. *tas-kerb* 'four-shaped'; Parth. *čuhr-pāδ* 'four-footed'.

### 3.1.6.2 Distributives

Distributive numerals are formed by repetition (see section 3.1.3.2).

### 3.1.6.3 Multiplicatives

Multiplicatives are formed with the suffix *-(a)gānag*: *ē(w)-gānag* 'single(-minded)', *dō-gānag* 'two-fold, double, twin' *hazār-(a)gānag* 'a thousand-fold'.

### 3.1.6.4 Fractions

Fractions include *nēm* 'one half', formations like *se ēk-ēw* 'one third', and expressions with *bahr* 'part, share': *ēn xwāstag se bahr ēw bahr* '(of) this property: (of) three parts one part (= 1/3)' (MHD. 54.3); *az 100 bahr ēw bahr mānd* 'of 100 parts one part (= 1%) remained' (Bd. 14.20).

### 3.1.6.5 Quantity

Words specifying quantity include *was* 'many', Man. MPers. *frahīd* 'many', *abārīg* 'the other(s), the remaining', *and* 'so many', *čand* 'some, as many'. These words are construed like normal adjectives, but note also the typical, distracted, word order:

> *[mardōm] andar gumēz-išn [was] kē*
> '[people] in mix-ture [many] (COP) REL . . .' = 'there are many people in the Mixture who . . .' (Bd. 1.25);

> *hannām-ān rōšn-ān ānōh [frahīd]*
> 'limb-PL light-PL there [many] (COP)' = 'there, the limbs of light (are) many' (BT 11, 2232–3).

## 3.2 Verb morphology

Morphological categories include person and number, tense, mood and various stem formations.

### 3.2.1 Stem formation and semantic modification

The Old Iranian conjugations (present stems) are no longer (see Old Iranian Chapter 3, section 4.1.1). The only derived stems are the causative/denominative and passive. For derivatives from verbal stems, see section 3.2.1.2.

#### 3.2.1.1 Present and past stems

Conjugation is based upon the present and past stems of the verb. The past stem always ends in a dental stop, -d after vowels and voiced consonants, otherwise -t. Verbs with past stems ending in -ist, -īd (not Parthian), or -ād (rare in Middle Persian, common in Parthian) are 'regular', and the present stem is found by removing these endings, e.g. *dwār-/dwār-ist* 'run'; *purs-īd* 'ask'; *frēst-īd* 'send'; *est-ād* (*ēst-ād*) 'stand'.

Verbs with past stems ending in only -d or -t are 'irregular' and have unpredictable present stems, e.g.: *šaw-/šu-d* 'go'; *āy-/āma-d* 'come'; *stan-/sta-d* 'take'; *jah- /jas-t* 'jump'; *xwāh-/xwās-t* 'seek, ask for'; *nišīn-* (Ps., Man. *nišīy-*)/*nišas-t* 'sit (down); *gīr-/grif-t* 'take, seize'; *kun-/ker-d* 'do, make', etc. The past stem *mad* (= *āmad*) has no corresponding present stem; similarly Parthian *gad* (= *āyad* 'came', present stem *ās-*).

#### 3.2.1.2 Causative and denominative verbs

Causative and denominative verbs derived from present stems and nouns/adjectives by *-ēn-* are common. In the *Psalter*, these causatives are written with -n- only; NPers. has -ān-, but dialects only -n- (see, e.g. 'Dezfūlī and Šūštarī Dialects' in *En Ir*, vol. VII, esp. p. 353b).

Causative verbs made from transitive verbs (doubly transitive verbs) are quite rare, e.g.: *ōzan-ēn-* 'to cause (somebody) to kill (somebody else)', *dān-ēn-* 'to cause to know' (Pahl. Y. 31.17).

Causative verbs made from intransitive verbs are common, e.g.: *šaw-ēn-* 'to cause to go, send off', *abesīh-ēn-* 'to cause to perish, destroy', *est-ēn-* 'to make stand, establish, place', *zīy-ēn-* 'vivify' (spelled <*zyw-yn->*, cf. Man. *zīw-ēn-*).

Denominative verbs are made freely from nouns and adjectives, including those derived from verbs:

- from nouns: *tarāzūg-ēn-* 'weigh' (from *tarāzūg* 'scales'), Ps. *afsōs-īy-* 'be ridiculed' (from *\*afsōs-ēn-* from *afsōs* 'ridicule'); *rōyišn-ēn-* 'make grow' (Dk. 9.12.5; from *rōy-išn* 'growth' from *rōy-* 'grow');
- from adjectives: *āgāh-ēn-* 'make aware' (< *āgāh* 'aware'); *paydāg-ēn-* 'make appear, manifest' (from *paydāg* 'manifest); *(ham-juxt)-ēn-* '(make a) pair' (<*ham-juxt* 'together-joined, partner');
- from past stems (past participles), e.g.: *zād-ēn-* 'cause to be born' (*zād* 'born').

### 3.2.1.3 Compound verb phrases

Compound verb phrases with prenominals are frequent: *āgāh kerdan* 'to inform', *nigāh kerdan* 'to look', *ranǰ burdan* 'to suffer', prepositional *pad ēd dāštan* 'to think, imagine', etc.

### 3.2.1.4 Preverbs

Verbs can be modified by particles that are either exclusively used with verbs or also are pre/postpositions. As postpositions often end up before the verb, they can become indistinguishable from the verb modifiers.

The following common place words modify the sense of verbs beyond their intrinsic meaning:

*abar* 'up, on(to)' expresses upward movement and movement onto or toward. In some cases *abar* may continue an Old Iranian preverb and have no specific meaning:

> *pas ō ātaxš [abar mad]* (= Av. *upā.jasaṯ* Y. 30.6)
> 'next to fire [upon come-PRET-3s]' = 'next, he came upon the fire' (Bd. 4.10);

> *[abar raft h-ēnd] pad xwēškārīh*
> '[upon go-PRET-3p] to duties' = 'they went about their duties' (Dk. 7.1.10);

*andar* 'in(side)' expresses movement inside (and similar) and is used idiomatically with some verbs:

> *wāy-iz abzār-ēw ī-š pad kār [andar abāy-ist]*
> 'Wāy-too tool-one REL-him-IO for work [be-needed-PRET]'
> = 'Wāy, too, (was) a tool that he needed for the work' (Bd. 1.46);

*abāz* 'back(ward)' and *frāz* 'forth, forward' express backward and forward movement and 'backward' action and return (local or temporal), repetition, remainder, and retention (hold back): *abāz est-* 'to cease' (e.g. rain):

> *pad dast [frāz] šāy-ēd [griftan]*
> 'with hand [forth] be-possible-PRES-3s [take-INF]'
> = 'it is possible to seize (it) with the hand(s)' (AWN. 18.4);

*frōd* 'down' and *ul* 'up' express downward and upward movement, but are also idiomatic with a few verbs:

> *ēg ān [frōd murd]*
> 'then that one [down die-PRET-3s]' (Dk.7.3.45);

> *[ul] ō ān [zād] mard ī rāy-ōmand* (cf. Av. *us.zaiia-* 'up-be born', Y.9.4, etc.)
> '[up] to that [be-born-PRET-3s] man CNCT glori-ous'
> = 'a glorious man was born to *him*' (Dk. 7.2.58);

*bē* 'out, away' and aspect:

The preverb *bē*, besides being used as 'aspectual' modifier (see section 4.3.8.3), is still used in its original meaning of 'out, away', but also as a less specific modifier of the sense of the verb: *bē est-* (+ *az* 'from') to desist from (= stop)'.

### 3.2.2 Nominal verb forms

From both the present and past stem nouns and adjectives can be derived, which can function as such but which also have verbal function. The adjectival forms can be classified as participles, although their occurrences are limited. On their verbal uses, see 4.3.10. On the infinitives, see 4.3.10.2; on the agent and action nouns in *-tār*, *-tār-īh/-dār*, *-dār-īh*, see section 6.1.2.3; on verbal nouns in *-išn* from past stems, see section 6.1.2.2.

#### 3.2.2.1 Nominal forms derived from the present stem

From the present stem, three adjectival forms with active meaning are made: the productive agent noun in *-āg*, the rare *-endag* (*-andag*) (descendant of the Old Iranian active present participle), and *-ān* (descendant of the Old Iranian middle present participle); and the participle of necessity in *-išn*. On their verbal uses, see section 4.3.10.1–3.

##### 3.2.2.1a Agent noun in -āg

The form in *-āg* is an agent noun mostly used adjectivally: *šaw-āg* '(who/which is capable of) going', *dān-āg* 'one who knows, a wise man', *saz-āg* 'fitting, appropriate'.

Derived forms are common: *raw-āg* 'current': abstract noun *(raw-āg)-īh* 'currency'; denominal verb *(raw-āg)-ēn-* 'to make current, propagate'.

##### 3.2.2.1b Participle in -andag

The form in *-endag* (*-andag*) is mostly used adjectivally: *ādur sōz-endag / xwar-endag* 'burning / consuming fire', *(mān-endag)-ān* 'those similar (to)', *zī-ndag* (< *zīy-endag*) 'living'.

Parthian has forms in *-end-*: *harw-īn (adīh-end)-ān* 'all those going in' (Huy. V, strophe 4).

##### 3.2.2.1c Active participle in -ān

This form has only verbal function.

##### 3.2.2.1d Partciple of necessity in -išn

This form can be derived from any present stem and functions like the Latin gerundive (see section 4.3.10.1). It must be carefully distinguished from the derived noun in *-išn* (see section 6.1.2.2).

#### 3.2.2.2 The verbal adjective in -ag from the past stem

The verbal adjective in *-ag* is intransitive(-passive) and expresses state resulting from a past event: *paywast-ag* 'something connected, continuous(ly)' (< *paywand-* 'to connect to'), *āfrīd-ag* 'someone/something created', *būd-ag* 'something that has (always) been'. On its verbal use, see section 4.3.10.3d.

#### 3.2.2.3 Infinitives

Infinitives are either identical with the past stem ('short' infinitives) *or* identical with the past stem plus *-an* (endings *-tan/-dan*, *-īdan*, *-istan*, *-ādan*). The two forms cannot always be distinguished in the Pahlavi script since the only orthographic difference between the short and the long infinitives is the final stroke. On their uses, see section 4.3.10.2.

### 3.2.3 'To be'

#### 3.2.3.1 'To be'

The present stem is *h-*, the imperfect stem *ănā-* in the inscriptions and Manichean Middle Persian (3s *anā-d*, 3p *anā-nd*); Parthian has 3s *ahāz* (Skjærvø 1991a). The other tenses and moods, including the imperative and preterite, are supplied by *baw- būd* 'to be, become', with 'allegro' forms such as *b-ēd = baw-ēd*, *bād = baw-ād* (*Psalter* also 1s *b-am*); in Pahlavi, these are mostly hidden by arameograms, but the occurrence of the phonetic spelling <byt'> in series with <YHWWNyt'> suggests they were quite common.

The 3rd singular indicative copula is mostly gapped, the 3rd plural often, and the subjunctive 3rd singular sometimes. The 3rd singular *ast* usually denotes existence.

Parthian does not appear to have an imperative, and the subjunctive is used instead.

See Tables 4.11–12. Table 4.13 gives the arameograms used in the inscriptions.

On the use of 'be' as copula, existential verb, and in possessive constructions, see section 4.3.1.

**TABLE 4.11: MIDDLE PERSIAN 'TO BE'**

|     | Indicative | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Optative | Imperative |
|-----|------------|-----------|-------------|----------|------------|
| 1s  | *h-am* (Man. *h-ēm*) | *\*ănā-n* | *h-ān* | | |
| 2s  | *h-ē* | | | | *bāš* |
| 3s  | *ast, nēst* 'is not' | *ănā-d* | *h-ād* | *h-ē* | |
| 1p  | *h-ēm* (Man. *hom*) | | | | |
| 2p  | *h-ēd* | | | | *baw-ēd* |
| 3p  | *h-ēnd* | *ănā-nd* | *h-ānd* | *h-ēnd hē* | |

**TABLE 4.12: PARTHIAN 'TO BE'**

|     | Indicative | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Optative | Imperative |
|-----|------------|-----------|-------------|----------|------------|
| 1s  | *h-ēm, ah-ēm* | *\*ah-ā-n* | *ah-ā-n* | | |
| 2s  | *\*ay-ē* | | | *ah-ē-ndē* | *baw-āh* |
| 3s  | *ast, nē ast* | *ahā-z* | *ah-ā-d* | *ah-ē-ndē* | |
| 1p  | *h-ēm* (Man. *h-ēm-āδ*) | | | | |
| 2p  | *h-ēd* | | | | *baw-ēd* |
| 3p  | *ah-ēnd* | | *ah-ā-nd* | *ah-ē-ndē* | |

**TABLE 4.13: MIDDLE PERSIAN AND PARTHIAN 'TO BE': ARAMEOGRAMS**

|          | MPers. | Parth. |
|----------|--------|--------|
| Present  | <HWE> | <HWY> |
| 3s       | <AYTY>, <LOYTY> | <AYTY> |
| Imperfect | <HWYTN> | <HWE> |
| Preterite | <YHWWN> | <YHW> |

#### 3.2.3.2 Enclitic forms

Enclitic forms are also found, e.g. 1s *-am*, 2p *-ēd*:

*guft ō awēšān ka-š dād būd hēnd kū [mard-ēd]*
'say-PRET to them when-he-AG create-PAST PRET-3p that [man-be-2p]'
= '(Ohrmazd) said to them when he had created them: You are men' (Dk. 7.1.9).

Cf. *Psalter*: *kōdak-am* <kwtkm> 'I am small' (Ps. 118.141), *kerd-am* <kltm> 'we have been made' (Ps. 96 canon).

### 3.2.4 On the endings

Forms from the present stem have endings indicating the 3 persons and two numbers. In the past tenses, the auxiliaries ('be, stand') have the endings, e.g.:

3s pres. ind. *šaw-ēd* 'he goes,' subj. *šaw-ā-d*, opt. *šaw-ē*;

3p pret. ind. *šud h-ēnd*, past pret. *šud būd h-ēnd*, perf. *šud est-ēnd*, pluperf. *šud est-ād h-ēnd*.

#### 3.2.4.1 Notes on the present endings

In non-Manichean Middle Persian, the 1st singular is usually spelled with the phonetic complement <-m>, contrasting with <-ym> in the 1st plural, which indicates a distinction between *-am* and *-ēm* (as in NPers.). In Manichean Middle Persian the 1st singular ending is *-ēm* <-ym>.

In the Pahlavi manuscripts (especially of the Pahlavi Avesta), the 1st singular subjunctive ending is frequently written <-ḥy, - ḥd>, sometimes also <-ḥyd̲>, which I interpret as an archaising spelling for *-ānīy* imitating Av. *-ānī* (differently Cantera 1999, 2004: 295–96).

The optative is extremely rare, but may have ended in *-ē* (see AZ. 40 in section 4.3.8.5).

The 2nd singular ending *-ē* was originally spelled <-ydy> (Ps. *pāy-ē* <NTLWN-ydy>), which in Pahlavi became <-yd̲> and, in the oldest manuscripts, is regularly spelled with the final <-d̲> resembling a stunted <-b>. In later manuscript, the ending is also spelled <-y ̣, - ̣y, - ̈, -y>.

The 2s optative ending *-ēš* is relatively frequent in *Dēnkard* book 9. In Indian manuscripts, it is indistinguishable from *-ē*. It needs to be investigated whether it is only used in imitation of Avestan.

The 2s imperative has no ending, but the original *-a* appears to be preserved as *-ā-* before enclitics in the *Psalter* and in Manichean Middle Persian (Sims-Williams 1981): *ahrām-ā-m* <hrʾm ̣-m> 'raise me (-*m*) up!'. The 2s indicative is frequently used for the imperative in Middle Persian, the 2s subjunctive in Manichaen Parthian. See also section 4.3.7.3a on *awar* 'come!'.

A small group of verbs have only the ending *-d/-t* in the 3s: Pahl., Man. MPers. *kun-d* 'does', Pahl. *\*da-d* <dt'>, Man. MPers. <dt> and <td> (for *\*dah-(a)d*), Pahl. *raw-d* <lpd> 'moves about', *bar-d* <bld> 'carries', *čāš-t* 'teaches', Ps. *hōš-t* 'dries', *fragen-d* <plkyndy> from *fragan-* 'lay the foundation'. See Gershevitch 1970.

The 1p indicative has the ending *-om* in the inscriptions (<-wmy>; it may be restricted to the imperfect) and in Manichean Middle Persian (<-wm>). Pahlavi regularly has <-ym> in both phonetically written forms and arameograms.

The 3p optative has the ending *-ēnd-(h)ē*, with *-ē* spelled <HWE> = *hē* and <HNA> = *ē* (< *ēd*).

There are two special, 'shorthand' forms of the endings of the 3s and 3p derived from <-yt> and <-ynd> (see the facsimiles in Barr 1936). In some Pahlavi texts, these endings

tend to be used indiscriminately, and MacKenzie therefore introduced the transcriptions as <-x₁> and <-x₂>. Other endings are sometimes added, e.g. <YBLWN-x₂-ynd> *bar-ēnd* 'they carry'.

For the phonetic complements of verbal arameograms, see Skjærvø 1989, 1995a.

For the endings in inscriptional Parthian, see Skjærvø 1986. For the Parthian verb in general, see Durkin-Meisterernst 2000.

### 3.2.5 System of tenses and moods

The Parthian and Middle Persian verbal systems are more or less identical. On the Parthian verb, see Ghilain 1939; Durkin-Meisterernst 2000b, 2002. The Old Iranian moods and inflection by six persons were preserved, but the old past tenses, with the exception of the imperfect in the earliest inscriptions, were replaced by the new, composite forms we see adumbrated in Old Persian.

From the present stem are made the present indicative and subjunctive, optative, and imperative. From the past stem are made the preterit and perfect tenses, both with the moods indicative, subjunctive and optative.

The imperfect and its accompanying past imperfect survive in the inscriptions, but only the imperfect of 'to be' in Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian (see section 3.2.3.1). It was then lost.

The past tenses other than the imperfect are made with the past stem plus 'to be' (preterite and past preterite) or 'to stand' (perfect and pluperfect).

There is a terminological problem with the past tenses of Middle Persian and Parthian, authors using a variety of different terms. I shall use the terminology set out in Table 4.14.

**TABLE 4.14: BASIC VERB SYSTEM**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| From the present stem: | | | |
| present: | + present endings | *šaw-am* | 'I go' |
| imperfect: | + imperfect endings | *\*šaw-ēn* | 'I went' |
| | | | |
| From the past stem: | | | |
| preterit: | + present of 'to be' | *šud h-am* | 'I went, have gone' |
| past imperfect: | + imperfect of 'to be' | *\*šud anā-n* | 'I had gone' |
| past preterit: | + preterit of 'to be' | *šud būd h-am* | 'I had gone' |
| perfect: | + present of 'to stand' | *šud est-am* | 'I have gone' |
| | | *nibišt est-ēd* | 'it is (stands) written' |
| pluperfect: | + preterit of 'to stand' | *šud estād h-am* | 'I had gone' |
| | | *nibišt estād* | 'it was (stood) written' |

Note that, instead of 'preterite', the term 'simple past' is also used on the model of French *imparfait* and *passé simple*; instead of 'past imperfect' and/or 'past preterite', 'pluperfect' is also used; and instead of 'perfect' and 'pluperfect', 'present/past perfect' is also used. Brunner (1977), for instance, uses the term 'perfect' for the preterite, 'pluperfect' for both the past preterite and the pluperfect, and 'present perfect' for the perfect.

See the complete Middle Persian paradigms in Tables 4.15–17. Table 4.18 lists the Parthian present forms only, as the past tenses follow the same pattern as the Middle Persian ones.

**TABLE 4.15: MIDDLE PERSIAN PRESENT: 'to do'**

|     | Indicative       | Imperfect        | Subjunctive | Optative     | Imperative |
|-----|------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| 1s  | *kun-am, -ēm*    | *kun-ē-n*        | *kun-ā-n*   |              |            |
| 2s  | *kun-ē*          |                  | *kun-ā*     | *kun-ēš*     |            |
| 3s  | *kun-ēd (kun-d)* | *\*kun-ē (-ēd)*  | *kun-ā-d*   | *kun-ē*      | *kun*      |
| 1p  | *kun-ēm*         | *\*kun-om*       | *kun-ā-m*   |              |            |
| 2p  | *kun-ēd*         |                  | *kun-ā-d*   |              | *kun-ēd*   |
| 3p  | *kun-ēnd*        |                  | *kun-ā-nd*  | *kun-ē-nd hē*|            |

**TABLE 4.16: MIDDLE PERSIAN PAST: 'to go'**

|     | Preterit | | | Past preterit | | |
|-----|----------|------------|-------------|---------------|------------|------------|
|     | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative | Indicative | Subjunctive | Optative |
| 1s  | *šud h-am* | *šud h-ā-n* |            | *šud būd h-am* | *šud būd h-ā-n* |            |
| 2s  | *šud h-ē*  |             |            | *šud būd h-ē*  |             |            |
| 3s  | *šud-ø*    | *šud h-ā-d* | *šud h-ē*  | *šud būd-ø*    | *šud būd h-ā-d* | *šud būd h-ē* |
| 1p  | *šud h-ēm* |             |            | *šud būd h-ē-m* |            |            |
| 2p  | *šud h-ēd* |             |            | *šud būd h-ēd* |             |            |
| 3p  | *šud (h-ēnd)* | *šud h-ā-nd* | *šud h-ē-nd hē* | *šud būd h-ē-nd* | *šud būd h-ā-nd* | *šud būd h-ē-nd hē* |

**TABLE 4.17: MIDDLE PERSIAN PERFECT: 'to go'**

|     | Perfect<br>Indicative | Pluperfect<br>Indicative |
|-----|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1s  | *šud est-am*          | *šud estād h-am*         |
| 2s  | *šud est-ē*           | *šud estād h-ē*          |
| 3s  | *šud est-ēd*          | *šud estād-ø*            |
| 1p  | *šud est-ēm*          | *šud estād h-ēm*         |
| 2p  | *šud est-ēd*          | *šud estād h-ēd*         |
| 3p  | *šud est-ēnd*         | *šud estād h-ē-nd*       |

**TABLE 4.18: PARTHIAN PRESENT: 'to do'**

|     | Indicative       | Subjunctive   | Optative    | Imperative |
|-----|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------|
| 1s  | *kun-ām, -am*    | *kun-ā-n*     |             |            |
| 2s  | *kun-ē*          | *kun-ā*       | *kun-ēndē*  | *purs(-ā)* |
| 3s  | *kun-ēd*         | *kun-ā-(δ)*   | *kun-ēndē*  |            |
| 1p  | *kun-ām*         | *kun-ā-m*     |             |            |
| 2p  | *kun-ēd*         | *kun-ā-d*     |             | *kun-ēd*   |
| 3p  | *kun-ēnd*        | *kun-ā-nd*    | *kun-ēndē*  |            |

## 3.2.6 Intransitive and transitive

The Middle Persian verb system is dominated by the opposition intransitive vs. transitive. In the present and imperfect, intransitive and transitive verbs are construed in the same way, but in the preterite and perfect (see below), intransitive verbs are construed as in the

**TABLE 4.19: INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS**

|  | Present | Preterit |
|---|---|---|
| Intransitive: | Subject + Verb-INTR | Subject + Verb |
| Transitive non-agential: | Subject + Verb-PASS | Subj. + Verb |
| Transitive agential: | Subj./Agent + Dir. obj. + Verb | Agent + Dir. obj./Subj. + Verb |
| Examples: | Present | Preterit |
| Intransitive: | *an šaw-am*<br>'I-SBJ go-PRES-1s' = 'I go' | *an šud h-am*<br>'I-SBJ go-PRET-1s' = 'I went' |
| Transitive non-agential: | *rōz baxš-īh-ēd*<br>'day divide-PASS-PRES-3s'<br>'the day is divided'<br>*někīh dād bawēd*<br>'goodness give-PASS-3s'<br>'goodness is given' | *rōz baxš-īh-ist*<br>'day divide-PASS-PRET-3s'<br>'the day was divided'<br>*někīh dād*<br>'goodness give-PRET-3s'<br>'goodness was given' |
| Transitive agential: | *an tō wēn-am*<br>'I-SBJ you-DO see-PRES-1s'<br>'I see you' | *man tō dīd h-ē*<br>'I-AG you-SBJ see-PRET-2s'<br>'I saw you' |

present, but transitive verbs with an ergative (agential/passive) construction (Skjærvø 1985). This system is commonly referred to as a 'split-ergative' system (see section 4.3.3.1). Thus, the preterite has the following meanings:

- intransitive verb of state or action: active meaning;
- transitive verb without agent: passive meaning;
- transitive verb with agent: active and passive meaning, corresponding to active and passive constructions in English ('I killed him' = 'he was killed by me').

### 3.2.6.1 Intransitive-transitive verbs

Middle Persian has intransitive-transitive pairs of two main types:

1. the transitive stems are characterised by *-ā-* (OIran. causatives in *-aya-*), e.g.: *ahram-* 'go up' (Man.) – *ahrām-* 'lead up', *nibay- nibast* 'lie down' – *nibāy- nibāst* 'lay down', *nišīn- (nišīy-) nišast* 'to sit (down)' – *nišān-* (Man. *nišāy-*) *nišāst* 'to seat', etc.;
2. the present takes the suffix *-s-* (OIran. inchoatives in *-sa-*); this type is only Manichean Middle Persian and is also common in Parthian, e.g.: *buxs-* 'be saved' – *bōz-* (Parth. *bōž-*) 'save', with past stem <bwxt>, which was probably *\*buxt* for both stems. In Pahlavi this type was replaced by stems in *-t-*: *bōxt-* (see next).

### 3.2.6.2 Morphological passive

There is a small set of synthetic passive stems in Middle Persian surviving from Old Iranian, among them *kir-* 'be done', inscr. 3s *kir-ēd* <klyty> (Man. *kirīh-*); Pahlavi *abesīh- (abesīy-)* 'be destroyed' and *škīh- (škīy-)* 'be broken' (act. *škenn-* 'break'; see Skjærvø 1997b: 178–79).

Productive passive stems are formed by the suffix *-īh-* (older also *-īy-*) to the present stem:

- suffix *-īy-*: *wizand-* 'shake': pass. Ps. *wizand-īy-ēnd* <wcnd-yd-yndy> 'they are shaken'; *kun-* 'do': pass. imperf. 3s inscr. *a-kir-īy* <k(y)lydy> 'it was made';
- suffix *-īh-*, past stem *-īh-ist* (*-īh-īd*): imperf. 3s inscr. *abzāy-īh* 'was increased', *gugān-īh* 'was destroyed'.

The passive of causative and denominative verbs (see section 3.2.1.2) is formed by replacing *-ēn* with *-īh* (Skjærvø 1997a: 179–80): *afsōs-ēn-* 'ridicule': pass. Ps. *afsōs-īy-ēnd* < p̌sws-yd-yndy> 'they are ridiculed'; *rawāg-ēn-* 'propagate': pass. *rawāg-īh-* 'be propagated', *zād-ēn-* 'give birth to': pass. *zād-īh-* 'be given birth to'.

A small set of verbs with past stem in *-xt-* and *-ft-* have passive present stems also in *-xt-* and *-ft-*, e.g. *bōxt-ēd* 'he is delivered', *nē frēft-ēd* 'he is not (to be) deceived' (see Dhabhar 1955). These forms correspond to Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian 'inchoatives' in *-xs-*, *-fs-*, e.g. *buxs-ēd* 'he is delivered', *wīfs-ēd* 'he is deceived' (see section 3.2.6.1).

### 3.2.6.3 Periphrastic passive

In both Middle Persian and Parthian, the passive of any transitive verb can be formed with *baw-* 'to become':

|  | *guft baw-ēd* |  | *bōxt baw-ēd* |
|---|---|---|---|
| beside | *gōw-īh-ēd* | beside | *bōxt-ēd* |
|  | 'it is being said' |  | 'he is saved' |

## 4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

### 4.1 Coordination and negation

The main coordinating conjunction is *ud* (*u-*) 'and' and the disjunction *ayāb* 'or' (Parth. *āgām*). The enclitic *-iz* 'also, as well, even' is used for coordination and emphasis, for which see section 5.2.2.1. The common negation is *nē*; *ma* is used with (a) the imperative, (b) the particle of exhortation *ēw* (*ma ēw*) and (c) the subjunctive of exhortation. They can be distracted from the verb.

The negations combine with indefinites such as: *kas/ēč—nē* 'no-body/not any = no-one, nothing'; *ahanūz—nē* 'still not, not yet'; *hagriz—nē* 'never'; *hambun-iz—nē* 'not at all' (see section 3.1.4.5).

### 4.2 Noun phrase structure

#### 4.2.1 Modification of nouns by adjectives and nouns

The modifying noun or adjective (pronoun, numeral) can be placed before the head noun (the older and rarer construction) or added after the head noun by means of the 'relative connector' *ī* (Man. *īg, ī*), descendant of the Old Persian relative connector and forerunner of the New Persian *ezāfe* (CNCT).

Dependent nouns are in the *oblique case* where retained. The 'possessive' relations thus expressed include all those of the ancient genitive: possession, subjective and objective genitives, etc. (see also section 4.2.4):

| Without connector | With connector |
|---|---|
| Singular | |
| *[weh] dēn* | *šāh [ī wazurg]* |
| 'the [good] religion' | 'king [CNCT great]' = 'a/the great king' |
| | |
| Plural-OBL | |
| *pad [yazd-ān] nām* | *pad pušt [ī yazd-ān]* |
| 'in the [gods'] name' | 'with support [CNCT gods']' = 'with the gods' support' |

The plural of the modifier can be used with collective nouns and, regularly, with superlatives: *abar [was-ān mardōm]* 'over [many-OBLp people]' (KN.1.45); *mard-ān pahlom* 'man-OBLp best' = 'the best of/among men', *yazd-ān mahist* 'the greatest of/among gods'.

The degree of *agreement* between noun and adjective, including pronouns and numerals, varies throughout the history of the language as well as between the different corpora. In the earliest texts, agreement is relatively strict, but in the later texts, where the case system is loosened up or abandoned, agreement tends to serve the function of clarity (see Boyce 1964b).

Several nouns and adjectives can be connected with relative particles:

*kār-nāmag [ī ardašīr] [ī pābag-ān]*
'the book-of-deeds [CNCT Ardašīr] [CNCT Pābag-(son-of)]'
= 'the book of deeds of Ardašīr son of Pābag';

*marg [ī alaksandar] [ī hrōmāyīg]*
'death [CNCT Alexander] [CNCT Roman]'
= 'the death of Alexander, the Roman'.

Frequently, adjectives so connected are separated from the noun:

*pābag rāy [pus]-ēw būd [ī abāyišnīg]*
'Pābag for [son]-one was [CNCT comely]'
= 'Pābag had a comely son' (KN.1.24).

The adjective can be replaced by a prepositional phrase:

*afsā ī dibīr [ī az harrān šahrestān]*
'Afsā [CNCT scribe] [CNCT from Harrān town]'
= 'Afsā, the scribe, from the town of Harrān' (Bīš.9–10).

Enclitic pronouns (see below) can be attached to the relative particle:

*harwisp rōz [ī-t zīndagīh]*
'every day [CNCT-your life]'
= 'every day of your life' (Ps.122.4).

In Parthian, the relative connector *čē* (rarely *kē*) is used less than in Middle Persian and to some extent for the sake of disambiguation (Boyce 1964b; Brunner 1977: 16):

*"xad ast šahrδār [čē] harw-īn šahr-ān]*
'himself is ruler [CNCT all-PL realm-PL]'
= 'he himself is the ruler of all realms' (M32a V, lines 9–10, Boyce 1975: 120, text bo 2);

*rōšn-īft ay-ē [čē-mān]*
'light-ness be-2s [CNCT-us]' = 'you are our light' (M83 I R, line 28, Boyce 1975, text au).

### 4.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns and numerals

Demonstrative pronouns and numerals are usually preposed, but occasionally postposed, though without the relative particle:

*[pahikar ēn] man*
'[this image] (is) of me . . .' (ANRm a);

*ud [čahār-dah dar] ud [mān panz] ud [gāh sē]*
'and [fourteen doors] and [houses five] and [thrones three]' (M98 R, lines 20–22, Hutter 1992: 11).

### 4.2.3 Possessive pronouns

The oblique forms of the personal pronouns are used to express possession, also in predicative position, while the rare possessive pronouns are used substantivally:

*kē mizd ō [manīg-ān] frāz dah-ē*
'who fee to [my-OBLp] forth give-PRES-2s'
= 'you who give the fee to mine (= my people)' (Y. 40.1);

*ōy kē [amāg-ān] tan ud ǰān zīy-išn u-š yaz-am*
'he who [our-OBLp] body and soul liv-ing (COP) and-him-IO sacrifice-PRES-1s'
= 'and I sacrifice to him who is our people's body and soul (i.e.) livelihood' (Y. 37.3);

*ud pad [taw-ān] farrox-īh nēw framen-ām-ā*
'and at [your] fortunate-ness well rejoice-PRES-1p-Exclamation'
= 'and we do rejoice in your good fortune!' BBB (425–7).

Parthian:

*tō žīr-īft až [man-ān] abar-dar ast*
'you-IO wis-dom than [mine] high-er there-is'
= 'you have wisdom superior to mine' (BT 11, lines 1401–2);

*harw [taw-ān] kām kirbag ispurr būd*
'all [your] wish good-deed complete became'
= 'all your desired good deeds were completed' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text m 20–22)

### 4.2.4 Periphrastic adnominal constructions

The construction with preposed adjective or genitive can be replaced by *ān ī, ōy ī, ēd ī* 'the . . . one; that of, the one of, the one belonging to, this . . . of (mine, etc.)':

*[a-sar] rōšn-īh > [ān ī a-sar] rōšn-īh*
'[without-head] light' > [that CNCT without-head] light'
= 'the light without beginning' (Bd. 1.7);

*[star-ān ī] axtar-īg ud [ān-iz ī] nē axtar-īg*
'[star-PL CNCT] zodiac-al and [those-too CNCT] not zodiac-al'
= 'the stars of the zodiac and also those not of the zodiac' (Bd. 2.1);

*[ōy ī druwand] gannāg mēnōy*
'[he CNCT wicked] Foul Spirit'
= 'the wicked Foul Spirit; he, the wicked Foul Spirit' (PN. 11);

*pad [ēd ī tō kerb]*
'in [this CNCT you(r) shape]'
= 'in this shape of yours' (Bd. 13.29);

*pad [ān ī xwēš (hu-kunišn)-īh]*
'by [that CNCT own (good-doing)-ness]'
= 'by my/your/his (etc.) own good deeds' (PN. 32).

### 4.2.5 The use and word order of adpositions

The regular use and word order of adpositions calls for no comments.

Following are two special cases: enclitic pronouns governed by adpositions and adpositions governing complex noun phrases.

#### 4.2.5.1 Enclitic and relative pronouns governed by adpositions

Prepositions can usually take enclitic pronouns:

*warrag-ēw [abāg-iš] pad asp nišast est-ād*
'ram-one [with-him] on horse be-seated-PLUPF-3s'
= 'a ram was sitting with him on the horse' (after KN. 3.18);

*u-m kām-ist [pad pēš-iš] namāz bur-dan*
'and-me wished [to before-him] homage carry-INF'
= 'and I wished to do homage before him' (AWN. 11.4),
cf.
*ka-m kām-ist namāz bur-dan [ohrmazd pēš]*
'when-me wished homage carry-INF [Ohrmazed before]' = 'when I wished to do homage before Ohrmazd' (AWN. 101.2).

The prepositions *az* 'from', *ō* 'to', and *pad* 'on, with' regularly govern the 3rd singular enclitic pronoun, more rarely other enclitic pronouns. In these functions, the prepositions are usually written phonetically: *az-im* <hcm> 'from me', *pad-išān* <ptš'n'> 'on + them', *aw-iš* <'wbš> 'to + him' (only form):

*zarduxšt [az-išān] ān ī ōy dōysar ī pad men-išn bē nē bast*
'Zarathustra-AG [from-them] that CNCT him eye CNCT in thought *BĒ* NEG closed'
= 'Zarathustra did not close his mental eye to them' (Dk. 7.3.33).

When the enclitic pronoun is not governed by the preposition, the preposition is written with the arameogram:

ō-[mān <OL-m ʾḥ'> harw dō' ān]
'to-[us-OBLp all two-OBLp]'
= 'to the two of us' (Bd. 1.21);

abar-[iš waxšwar-īh]
'about-[his prophe-cy]' (Dk. 7.2.61).

When used as *postpositions*, these three appear as *aziš*, *awiš*, *padiš* (spelled phonetically), where -*š* is an empty suffix. In that case, they usually govern an enclitic personal pronoun or a relative pronoun (see also Boyce 1964a):

u-[š] āsmān [aziš] bē tars-īd
'and-[him] sky [from] *BĒ* feared'
= 'and the sky was afraid of him' (Bd. 4.10);

spazg-īh ma kun kū-[t] dusraw-īh . . . [awiš] nē rasēd
'slanderous-ness NEG do-IMP-2s, that-[you] infam-y [upon] NEG comes'
= 'do not slander, so that infamy may not come [upon you]' (MX. 1.8).

In relative clauses, they may govern the relative pronoun directly or a resumptive pronoun:

pēm [kē] tan-gōhr ī zarduxšt [awiš] mad estād
'milk [REL] body-substance CNCT Zarathustra [into] come-PLUPF-3s' = 'the milk into which the body substance of Zarathustra had come' (Dk. 7.2.46);

ān mēnōy ī-[š] gannāg-īh ī dām-ān ī ohrmazd [aziš] būd
'that spirit REL-[him] foul-ness CNCT creature-OBLp CNCT Ohrmazd [from] be(come)-PRET-3s'
= 'that spirit, from whom stench came to Ohrmazd's creatures' (Bd. 1.49).

4.2.5.2 Adpositions governing complex noun phrases

Nouns governed by prepositions can take all kinds of modifiers, including adjectives, possessives and relative clauses. In such cases, the postposition *rāy* comes at the end of the complex phrase:

gōšurūn [pad gōspand (abāz ō gētīy dah-išn)-īh] ham-dādestān būd
'Gōšurūn [for cattle (back to world-of-the-living establish-ing)-ness] agreed was'
= 'Gōšurūn agreed to the re-establishment of (= to re-establish) cattle in the world of the living' (Bd. 4A.6);

ud paydāg kū dēw-ān
'and manifest (COP) that the demon-PL
[zan-išn ī-šān az ān xwarrah rāy]
'[strik-ing CNCT-them-IO from that Fortune on-account-of]'
[pad kanīg (petyār-gār)-īh]
'[for young-woman-IO (adversity-mak)-ing]'
ō hān deh 3 xēn abar bar-ēnd
'to that village 3 plague upon carry-PRES-3p'
= 'and it is manifest: the demons, on account of the beating they took from that Fortune, in order to provide adversity for that young woman, will bring three plagues upon that village' (Dk. 7.2.6);

*spandarmad abaxšāy-ēd*
'Spandarmad (have-mercy)-PRES-3s'
*abar ahlaw-ān [(duš-xwār)-īh ī-šān abar tan rāy]*
'upon righteous-OBLp [(dis-comfort)-ness CNCT-them upon body on-account-of]'
*ud abar druwand-ān [pādifrāh ī-šān abar ruwān rāy]*
'and upon wicked-OBKp [punishment CNCT-them upon soul on-account-of]'
= 'Spandarmad (the Earth) has mercy on the righteous on account of the discomfort to their bodies and on the wicked on account of the punishment (exacted) upon their souls' (WZ. 35.47).

## 4.3 Semantics and use of verb forms

See Table 4.15 for a survey of verbal constructions.

### 4.3.1 'To be'

The 1st and 2nd person copula are usually expressed; in the present indicative, the 3s copula is mostly, the 3p often, and the 3s subjunctive sometimes gapped.

#### 4.3.1.1 'To be' and the existential verb

Usually *ast* denotes existence or possession, but we also find it in certain contexts (not yet entirely defined) referring to some preceding discussion or explanation, meaning something like 'that is (*id est*)' or 'and that is X':

*ān ast ohrmazd*
'(Wahman said:) That/he is Ohrmazd';

*az asarag kerb ahunwar frāz būd. ast dēn*
'From the headless form, the *Ahunwar* originated, that is, the *dēn*'.

Parthian: ᵂ*xad ast šahrδār* 'he himself is the ruler'.

#### 4.3.1.2 'Belonging to'

The adjectival reflexive pronoun (section 3.1.4.3) is commonly used to express possession:

*ohrmazd xwēš h-am*
'Ohrmazd's his-own be-PRES-1s'
= 'I belong to Ohrmazd';

*pad ān ī xwēš (hu-kunišn)-īh*
'by that CNCT own (good-doing)-ness'
= 'by his own good deeds' (PN.32).

#### 4.3.1.3 'To have'

'To have' is expressed by the verb of existence *h-*, pret. *baw-* and an oblique form of nominals (originally indirect object):

*agar-[it] hambun-iz mihr ī amāh [ast]*
'if-[you-IO] at-all love CNCT us [there-is-PRES-3s]'
= 'if you have any love for us at all'.

In some texts, the postposition *rāy* is used to mark the possessor (as in early New Persian):

*[ardawān rāy] kanīzag-ēw abāyišnīg [būd]*
'[Ardawān IO] servant-girl-one comely [there was]'
= 'Ardawān had a pretty servant-girl' (KN. 2.1).

Parthian:

*merd-ēw ahāz *ud haft puhr [būd]*
'man-one be-IMPERF-3s and seven son(s) was'
'there was a man, and (he) had seven sons' (BT 11, lines 83–84).

### 4.3.2 Agreement between (grammatical) subject and verb

When the subject is the plural of an animate noun (humans or animals) the predicate is usually in the plural, but in the preterite the auxiliary is often omitted. When the subject is not expressed, the auxiliary cannot usually be omitted. In sequences of verbs, the auxiliary may be added to one or more of the forms:

*ān-iz-im bē [stad]*
'[those]-too- I-AG [seize-PRET(-3p)]'
*u-m abāz⸱ō xwēš šahr [hišt h-ēnd]*
'and I-AG back to own land [let-PRET-3p]'
= 'those, too, I seized, and I let them return to their own land(s)' (KKZ 13)

*Collective* nouns in the singular can take a plural verb:

*[grōh-ēw āy-ēnd]*
'[group-one come-3p]'
= 'a group will come' (Bd. 33.24).

When the subject is an *inanimate* noun, the predicate is usually in the plural when the individuality is emphasised, also when the noun has no plural ending:

*pas [hamāg kōf] frāz [rust h-ēnd] pad 18 sāl*
'afterward [all mountain(s)] forth [grow-PRET-3P] in 18 years'
= 'afterward, all the mountains grew up in 18 years' (Bd. 9.1).

There are occasional differences between Middle Persian and Parthian, as in the conclusion of the Hajiabad inscription (see section 8.1).

### 4.3.3 The ergative construction

In the 'ergative' construction, the performer of the action (the subject in the present) becomes the agent and is in the oblique case (frequently an enclitic pronoun), and the direct object of the action becomes the 'grammatical' subject and is in the direct case. The verb then normally agrees with the direct object of the action (the grammatical subject):

*pas [pōrušāsp] ān hōm [kust]*
'next [Pōrušasp-AG] that *hōm*-SBJ [grind-PRET-3s]'
*u-[š] ō ān gāw pēm [gumēxt]*
'and-[he-AG] (in)to that cow milk [mix-PRET-3s]'
= 'next Pōrušasp ground that *hōm*, and he mixed (it) into the milk of that cow' (after
Dk. 7.2.46);

*ka frabih būd h-am ā-[t] frabihtar [kerd h-am]*
'when fat I was then-[you-AG make-PRET-1s]'
= 'when I was fat, then you made me fatter'

*guft ō awēšān ka-[š dād būd hēnd] kū mard-ēd*
'said to them when-[he-AG create-PAST-PRET-3p] that: man-be-2p'
= '(he) said to them when he had created them: You are men' (Dk. 7.1.9).

Consecutive intransitive and transitive verbs:
When a noun is the agent of a sequence of coordinated or subordinated clauses with transitive verbs, it can be resumed by an enclitic pronoun:

*[pābag] (ka-[š] nāmag [dīd]) andōh-gen [būd]*
'Pābag-SBJ (when-[he-AG] letter [see-PRET-3s]) sorrow-ful [become-PRET-3s]'
*u-[š] pad passox (ī ō ardaxšīr [kerd]) [nibišt] kū*
and- [he-AG] in answer (REL to Ardaxšīr made) [write-PRET-3s] that'
= 'when Pābag saw the letter, he became sad, and, in the answer he made to Ardaxšīr, he wrote that . . .' (KN. 1.41–2).

Transitive and intransitive verbs often alternate in one and the same sentence:

*ud pas [ōy wirāz] ([čiyōn-išān ān saxwan āšnūd) abar ō pāy [est-ād]*
'and then [that Wirāz-SBJ] (as-their that word hear-PRET-3s) on to foot [stand-PRET-3s]'
*ud dast pad kaš [kerd] ud [guft]*
'and hand in arm-pit [do-PRET-3s and [say-PRET-3s]'
= 'and then that Wirāz, when he heard [transitive] that speech of theirs, got up [intransitive], placed [transitive] his hands under the armpits, and said [transitive]' (AWN. 1.20).

Here, the agent pronoun is left out, but could have been included, e.g. *u-š dast pad kaš kerd* 'and-he-AG . . .'.
In late texts, New Persian-type constructions are also found, in which the preterite of transitive verbs is construed actively like the present:

*ud andar [šud h-ēnd] ud ō wištāsp-šā namāz [burd h-ēnd]*
'and inside [go-PRET-3p] and to Wištāsp-king homage [bring-PRET-3p]'
*ud frawardag bē [dād h-ēnd]*
'and letter *BĒ* [give-PRET-3p]'
= 'and they went inside, did homage to King Wištāsp, and gave (him) the letter' (AZ. 8)

Here *burd hēnd* and *bē dād hēnd* (for *-šān . . . burd* 'they-AG brought' and *-šān . . . dād* 'they-AG gave') reflect New Persian (active) *burd-and* and *be-dād-and*.

4.3.4.1 Reflexive pronouns in ergative constructions

Reflexive pronouns normally refer to the agent of the sentence:

> *[ohrmazd] nēryōsang [xwēš aštag] paydāg-ēn-īd est-ēd*
> '[Ohrmazd-AG] Nēryōsang [own messenger] manifest-CAUS-PERF-3s'
> = 'Ohrmazd has revealed Nēryōsang as his own messenger' (Dk. 5.4.6).

Occasionally, they refer to the ('logical') direct object when it is grammatical subject:

> *u-m abāz ō [xwēš] šahr hišt [h-ēnd]*
> 'and I-AG back to [own] land [let-PRET-3p]'
> = 'and I let them return to their own land(s)' (KKZ 13).

### 4.3.4 The use of the tenses

4.3.4.1 Present indicative

The present indicative is the 'unmarked' tense and is used for events taking place in the present or soon in the future and for general statements including in subordinate clauses. It is used with the particle *ē(w)* to express exhortation (see section 4.3.8.2) and with expressions of time to indicate the duration of an event from a point in the past until the present, 'since', 'for' (similar to New Persian):

> *im rōz haft \*māhīgān ast [tā] ābustan [h-am]*
> 'this day seven month there-is [while] pregnant [be-PRES-1s]'
> = 'today I have been pregnant for seven months' (KN. 9.19).

4.3.4.2 Imperfect and past imperfect

In the inscriptions, the imperfect is used as a narrative past tense and still contrasts to some degree with the preterite, which is often used in subordinate clauses to express priority (Skjærvø 1985, 1989):

> *ud uzdēs [gugān-īh]*
> 'and idol [destroy-PASS-IPF]'
> *ud gilist ī dēw-ān [wišōb-īh],*
> 'and dens CNCT demon-OBLp [ruin-PASS-IPF]'
> *ud yazd-ān gāh ud nišēm [a-kir-īy]*
> 'and god-OBLp throne and seat [make-PASS-IPF]'
> = 'and the idols were destroyed, and the dens of the demons were ruined and were made into a throne and seat for the gods'. (KKZ 10).

In the Manichean texts, the imperfects of 'to be' are used parallel with regular preterites:

> *ud awēšān zōr-ān kē ōy zamān hān zahag zāy-ēn-ād*
> 'and those power-PL-AG REL that time that child gave-birth'
> *harwisp-ān wuzarg šād-īh [būd]*
> 'all-PL great happi-ness [be-PRET-3s]'
> *u-š harw padiš gaš [anānd]*
> 'and-it all at joyful [be-IPF-3p]'

= 'and all those powers (archons), who had given birth to that child at that time, they all felt great happiness, and rejoiced at it' (KPT 510–16);

Parthian:

*abāw nē hō zāwar [ahāz] kē zān-ād . . .*
'but not that power [be-IPF-3s] who-AG knew . . .'
'but it was not that power, (the one) that knew . . .' (M2 II R i, lines 34–35, *Mir. Man.* iii, text a).

The past imperfect is a regular pluperfect:

*u-m pad ān spās*
'and-me-DO for that service
*ī-m pad yazd-ān ud šābuhr šāhān šāh [kerd anā-d]*
'REL-I-AG to god-OBLp and Šābuhr king-OBLp king [do-PAST-IPF-3s]'
*ān-im kunē(d) šābuhr šāhān šāh . . . kām-kār ud pādixšāy*
'that-me-DO make-IPF-3s Šābuhr king-OBLp king acting-at-will and authoritative'
= 'and for the service I had performed for the gods and to Šābuhr, king of kings, (for) that Šābuhr, king of kings, put me in complete charge' (KKZ 1);

*[sūrīd anā-d] āz . . . u-š az nas īg dēw-ān*
*ud az rēm ī druxš-ān [kerd anā-d] ēn nasāh . . .*
'Āz [be-angered-PAST-IPF-3s] . . . and-she-AG from carcass CNCT demon-OBLp and from filth CNCT she-demon-OBLp [make-PAST-IPF-3s] this corpse'
= 'Āz had been angered . . . and from the impurity of the demons and from the filth of the she-demons she had made this corpse . . .' (S 13 a6 + S 9 a, lines 4–8, Boyce 1975: 100, text aq 2).

Parthian:

*maran [kaft ahā-z] ud yōbahr abnaft*
'death [fall-PAST-IPF-3s] and sickness [retreat-PRET]'
= 'death had fallen and sickness retreated' (AR. VII, strophe 1).

## 4.3.4.3 Preterite and past preterite

The preterite and the past preterite must originally have contrasted with that of the imperfect and past imperfect, but, in Pahlavi, the preterite is the only past tense (beside the historical present). The past preterite is used to indicate that an action or incipient state was completed before something else happened in the past.
   Intransitive verbs:

*az mēnōy [mad h-am]*
'from world-of-thought [come-PRET-1s]'
*nē pad gētīy [būd h-am]*
'not in world-of-the-living [be-PRET-1s]'
= 'I came from the world of thought; I have not (always) been in the world of the living' (PN. 1).

With gapped auxiliary:

*u-mān ō padīrag [āmad] awēšān widerdagān ruwān*
'and-us to-meet [come-PRET-(3p)] those-OBL departed-OBL souls'
= 'and the souls of those departed came to meet us' (AWN. 10.2).

Transitive verbs without agent:

*nē abāg tan dād*
'not with body [establish-PRET]'
*čē ka tan [dād būd] xwāb az pas būd*
'for when body [establish-PAST-PRET] sleep after [be-PRET]'
= '(sleep) was not established together with the body, for when the body had been established, sleep came into existence after (it)' (Bd. 19.2).

Transitive verbs with agent:

*u-[š] hamāg dām ud dah-išn az ān bē [kerd]*
'and-[he-AG] all creature and creat-ion from that *BĒ* [make-PRET-3s]'
*ud ka-[š] bē [kerd būd]*
'and when-[he-AG] *BĒ* [do-PAST-PRET-3s]'
*ā-š andar ō tan burd*
'then-[he-AG] inside to body bring-PRET-3s]'
= 'and he made all the creatures and creations from that (body); and, when he had made (them), then he brought (them) into (his own) body' (PR. 46.3).

### 4.3.4.4  Present and past perfect

The original function of the present and past perfect was to express a state resulting from a previous event, e.g. *nibišt est-ēd* 'it is written', with emphasis on the *presence* of writing, not on the fact that it was written at some specific moment in the past. The perfect was originally intransitive-stative and non-agential:

*pad nibišt abar stān [nibišt est-ēd]*
'in inscription on *monument [write-PREF-3s]'
= 'it is/stands written in the inscription on the *monument' (ŠKZ 27);

*tā ma-dan ī petyārag 6000 sāl zamān [widerd estād]*
'until come-INF CNCT adversary 6000 year time [pass-PLUPF-3s]'
= 'until the coming of the adversary a period of 6000 years had passed (and was now over)' (Bd. 5B.15).

Parthian:

*garān mast-īft kū [xuft išt-ē]*
'heavy drunkenness (COP) where [sleep-PERF-2s]'
= 'heavy (is) the drunkenness in which you are asleep' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text g 91).

*mardōm pad ān wiyābān-īh*
'people by that being-led-astray'
*ō (uzdēs-[parist-išn] )-īh [mad estād h-ēnd]*,
'to (idol-[worship-ing])-ness [come-PLUPF-3p]'
= 'by being led astray by those, people had come to (and were then) worshipping idols' (Dk. 7.4.72).

In Pahlavi, however, the perfect began to be construed like the preterite:

*ēk čand tis ī widēmās ī dahāg pad ǰādūg-īh andar bābēl [kerd estād]*
'one some thing CNCT wonderful REL [Dahāg-AG] by sorcer-y in Babylon
[make-PERF-PAST-3s]'
= 'several wonderful things that Dahāg had made by sorcery in Babylon' (Dk.
7.4.72);

*ud ka man a-franāft būd h-am [kē] wad [dāšt estād h-am],*
'and when I un-propagated was [who-AG] bad [hold-PLUPF-1s]'
*ā-t a-franāft-tar kerd h-am*
'then-you-AG un-propagated-COMP make-PRET-1s'
= 'and when I was unpropagated by those who had considered me bad(ly) (held me
in low esteem), then you made me more unpropagated' (AWN. 17.15).

### 4.3.5  Passive and agency

Most passive sentences were originally agent-less, although the means of an action was
regularly expressed (by the instrumental in Old Iranian, see section 6.4.7). In Pahlavi,
passive constructions were also influenced by the ergative construction.

### 4.3.5.1  Instrument

The instrument of an action is regularly expressed by a preposition, usually *pad*:

*gōw-išn ud warz [kē padiš] andar mardōm*
*pad waxšwar-īh wābar-īh-ist h-ēnd*
'say-ing and wonder [REL by] among people
in prophet-hood true-(CAUS-)PASS-PRET-3p'
= '(their) sayings and wonders, by which they were revealed among men as true
prophets' (Dk. 7.1.3).

### 4.3.5.2  Passive agent

Agents are occasionally used in passive constructions with *baw-*:

*ēd wād murnǰēn-ēd čē ka-[tān] wād murnǰēn-īd*
'this wind destroy-IMP-2p for when-[you-AG] wind destroyed (ERG)'
*ā-[tān] harwisp dām [murnǰēn-īd baw-ēd]*
then-[you-AG] entire creation [destroy-PASS-PRES-3s]'
= 'destroy this wind! For, when you have destroyed this wind, then you will have
destroyed the entire creation' (after Bd. 21.4).

### 4.3.5.3  Unspecified agent

In subjectless sentences, a passive form can be translated using 'one, somebody':

*kū pad gyān ī xwadāy-ān [kōxš-īh-ēd]*
'when upon life CNCT lord-OBLp [make-effort-PASS-3s]'
= 'when an attempt is made = when somebody makes an attempt upon the life of
lords' (KN.9.15).

When the agent is unknown, it can also be expressed by a 3rd plural, e.g. *gōw-ēnd* 'they say' = 'it is said'; *u-[šān] ōzad* 'they killed (him)' = 'he was killed'.

### 4.3.6  Direct and indirect object marking

Nouns as direct and indirect objects were in the oblique case in early Middle Persian and can be unmarked in later texts, as well. They can also be marked by adpositions, the direct object more frequently in Manichean, the indirect object frequently in all texts.

#### 4.3.6.1  Unmarked and adpositional direct object

Nouns as direct object are regularly unmarked in Zoroastrian Middle Persian. In late Pahlavi, we occasionally find, presumably under the influence of New Persian, the postpososition *rāy* used to indicate the direct object, even in agential constructions:

> *u-šān zan [rāy] nē ōzad*
> 'and-he-AG that woman-[DO] not killed'
> = 'and he did not kill that woman' (KN.9.22).

#### 4.3.6.2  Direct object marked by the preposition *ō*

In the *Psalter* and Manichean Middle Persian, as well as in Parthian, the direct object is often indicated by the preposition *ō*, including in agential constructions, but the use may be restricted to certain verbs, since verbs such as 'to see, bind', etc., apparently do not take it. It is not clear to what extent this usage may have been influenced by the Aramaic/Syriac use of the preposition *li-*:

> *āfur-ēm [ō ēn xwān yōjdahr]*
> 'we bless [DO this table pure]'
> *ud istāy-ēm [ō tō] sārār ī hu-jadag*
> and we praise [DO you] leader CNCT of-good-fortune'
> = 'we bless this pure table, and we praise you, (our) fortunate leader' (after M729 I R, lines 2–3, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 330);

> *u-š nē padīrift [ō nabīy-ān] ud [ō payāmbar-ān]*
> 'and-it-AG NEG received [DO prophet-OBLp] and [DO messenger-OBLp]'
> = 'and it did not receive the prophets and messengers' (Ps. 136 canon).

Parthian:

> *az [ō tō] bōž-ān až harwīn aβnās*
> 'I-SBJ [DO you] deliver-SUBJ-1s from all-OBLp harm'
> = 'I shall deliver you from all kinds of harm' (AR. VII, strophe 43).

#### 4.3.6.3  Indirect object

In early Middle Persian, nouns as indirect objects are marked simply by being in the oblique case. Later, they were regularly marked by the adpositions *rāy* 'for the sake of, for the benefit of' and *ō* 'to'.

#### 4.3.6.4  Indirect object and possessor raising

With some verbs that are normally transitive and take a direct object plus a personal indirect object or prepositional phrase in the present, in the agential construction, the grammatical subject does not correspond to the direct object, but to the person affected by an action (Mackenzie 1964, who named it the 'indirect affectee'). These constructions may be compared to passive constructions in English where an indirect object becomes the grammatical subject: 'he gave me a book' > 'I was given a book by him':

> *wēmār h-ē gōšurūn az ān ī gannāg mēnōy wēmār-īh*
> 'sick you are Gōšurūn from that CNCT Foul Spirit sick-ness'
> *ud kēn ī dēw-ān [abar burd h-ē]* (pres.: *kēn ī dēw abar tō bar-ēnd*)
> 'and malice REL demon-OBLp-AG [upon bring-PRET-2s]' (upon . . .-2s = 'upon you')
> = 'you are sick, Gōšurūn, with the Foul Spirit's sickness and the malice the demons have brought upon you' (Bd.4.31)

> *ēd ī-[t] . . . pursīd*
> 'this REL-[you-AG] asked'
> *u-[m] xūb-īhā [awiš guft]* (for: *u-m-[it] xūb-īhā [awiš] guft*)
> and-[I-AG] well-ADV [to] told-PRET(-2s)'
> *ud [handarz-ēn-īd h-ē]* (pres.: *ō tō handarz-ēn-am*)
> and [instruction-DENOM-PRET-2s]' (to . . .-2s = 'to you')
> = 'this which you asked about and which I told (you) well and (in which) I instructed you' (MX. 196);

> *u-š men-išn bē [āhōg-ēn-īd h-ēnd]*,
> 'and-he-AG think-ing *BĒ* [sin-DENOM-PRET-3p]'
> = 'and he made their thought(s) sinful' (Bd.14.15).


### 4.3.7  The use of the moods

#### 4.3.7.1  Subjunctive

The subjunctive is the mode of eventuality, and expresses future, wishes, purpose, indefiniteness ('whatever', etc.), etc. (see Lazard 1984, Skjærvø 1986).

#### 4.3.7.1a  Main clauses

In main clauses, the subjunctive regularly expresses exhortations to all persons. It is often accompanied by subordinate clauses also in the subjunctive:

> *āfrīn kerd kū*
> 'vow made that':
> *šābuhr anōšag ud jāwēd-šahr [baw-ād]* . . .
> 'Šābuhr immortal and eternal-rule [be-PRES-SUBJ-3s]'
> *ud an-iz bandag ēd kerd [kun-ān]* . . .
> 'and I-DIR-too servant this done [do-PRES-SUBJ-1s]'
> *ud az ēdar drust frāz ō dar ī awēšān bay-ān [ras-ān]*
> 'and from here safely forth to court CNCT their-OBLp divinitie-s-OBLp [arrive-PRES-SUBJ-1s]'

= 'He vowed: Let Šābuhr be immortal and rule for ever! And let me, (His) servant, also succeed in doing this . . .! And let me arrive safely at His Majesty's court' (ŠPs. II 5–9, cf. section 4.3.10.3e).

In Manichean Middle Persian, this is negated with the particle *ma-bēz* 'lest, however':

*ba ma-bēz [h-ād] kas kē gōw-ād*
'but NEG-EXH [be-PRES-SUBJ-3s] somebody who say-PRES-SUBJ-3s'
= 'but let there be nobody who shall say' (M9 I V, line 8, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 298).

Parthian:

*kadām žamān [ah-ād] kaδ hō āxrāw društ baw-āh*
'which time [be-PRES-SUBJ-3s] when that itch healthy be(come)-PRES-SUBJ-3s'
*kū pad hamag tanbār društ ud abē-dard baw-āh*
'that in entire body healthy and without-pain [be(come)-PRES-SUBJ-3s]'
= 'when will the time come when that itch shall be healed, so that he will be healthy and painless in the entire body?' (BT 4, lines 2047–49).

### 4.3.7.1b  Subordinate clauses

In subordinate clauses the subjunctive is used to express future, especially in relative and final clauses:

*[kē] ēn nāmag [wēn-ād] ud [pahiburs-ād],*
'who this document [see-PRES-SUBJ-3s] and [read-PRES-SUBJ-3s]'
*ān pad yazd-ān ud xwadāy-ān ud xwēš ruwān rād ud rāst ēw *baw-ēd*
'that-one for god-OBLp and lord-OBLp and own soul generous and truthful EXH be-PRES-3s'
= 'whoever shall see and read this document, let him be generous and truthful toward the gods, the lords and his own soul!' (KKZ 18);

*[kū tā] gōhr ī zarduxšt bē ō pidar-ān [ras-ād]*
'[so that] substance CNCT Zarathustra *BĒ* to fathers [arrive-PRES-SUBJ-3s]'
= 'so that the substance of Zarathustra should come to his parents'
(Dk. 7.2.39);

*čiyōn [dān-ā] kū kerd yazd-ān ud amā weh ōwōn kun*
'as [know-PRES-SUBJ-2s] that: done gods-IO and us-IO better thus [do-IMP-2s]'
= 'as you shall know that (something) is done in the best way for the gods and Us, act in that way!' (KKZ 3).

Parthian:

*u-t grīw až hō pāy-ēd [kū]-š mehgār nē [kar-ā]*
'and-your soul from that protects [that]-it-DO harm NEG [do-PRES-SUBJ-2s]'
= 'and he protects your soul from that (fire), so that it does not harm it' (BT 11, lines 775–6);

*[kē] buxtag-īft až andar [kišt ah-ād]*
'[who] deliver-ance from inside [sow-PRET-SUBJ-3s]'
= '(those) in whom deliverance may have been sown' (BT 19, §54);

*ōn ō tō gyān rōšn pand dah-ā-m [kū] bōγ [wind-ā]*
'hail to you soul light advice give-IMP-2s-me-IO [so-that] deliverance [find-SUBJ-2s]'
= 'hail! to you, Light soul, give me advice, so that you may find deliverance!'
(M4a R i, lines 2–4).

In late Pahlavi texts, the subjunctive is used instead of the optative as irrealis:

*[agar] nē ēdōn [kerd h-ād],*
'[if] NEG in-this-way [do-PRET-SUBJ-3s]'
*ān rōšn-īh ō gētīy nē [tāb-ēn-īd h-ād]*
'that light-ness on world-of-the-living NEG [shine-CAUS-PRET-SUBJ-3s]'
= 'if it had not been done in this way, that light would not have been made to shine
upon the world' (Bd. 7.9).

## 4.3.7.2  Optative

The optative is used in main clauses to express a wish. In the Manichean texts it survives
in some set formulas with 3rd singular present optative of 'be': Man. MPers. *ōh b-ē*,
Parth. *ōh baw-ēnde* 'so be (it)!'; MPers. *āfrīd b-ē*, Parth. *āfrīd baw-ēnde* 'blessed be . . .!'.
    The 2nd singular is found in Pahlavi, perhaps in imitation of Avestan (see section
3.2.4.1):

*ohrmazd ō zardušt guft kū ōy ī dān-āg [men-ēš]*
'Ohrmazd-AG to Zardušt said that: he CNCT know-ing [think-OPT-2s]'
= 'Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: You should think the Knowing one!' (Dk. 9.24.11);

*was tō awēšān zardušt [ēz-ēš] u-šān [franām-ēš]*
'much you them Zardušt [sacrifice-OPT-2s] and-them [further-OPT-2s]'
= 'You should sacrifice to them much, Zardušt, and promote them!' (Dk. 9.35.20)
    Cf. Y. 65.10 *āpō [jaiδii-ōiš] zaraθuštra* 'may you implore the waters, Zarathustra'
and *[yaz-aēša] mē zaraθuštra* 'may you sacrifice to me, Zarathustra' (passim).

### 4.3.7.2a  Impossible conditions (irrealis)

In conditional as well as relative clauses the optative is used to express impossible
conditions and imaginary situations (irrealis; see Lazard 1984, Skjærvø 1986; see also
Texts 8.1–2):

*ud ka nē pānāgīh awēšān rāy [h-ē]*
'and if NEG protection their on-account-of [be- OPT-3s]
*ahrimen ud wišūdag-ān hāmōyēn ruwān ī druwand-ān*
'Ahrimen and abortions all soul CNCT wicked'
*andar dōšox bē [marnj-ēnd-ē]* (*-ē* spelled <HNA>)
'in hell *BĒ* [destroy-PRET-OPT-3p]'
= 'and if it were not for their protection, Ahrimen and (his) abortions would be
destroying all the souls of the wicked' (PT, p. 124 §23);

*agar man nē [dād h-ē] mēnōy ī būm ud deh*
'if I-AG NEG [establish-PRET-OPT-3s] spirit CNCT earth and land'
*harwisp mardōm bē ō ērānwēz [šud h-ēnd h-ē] xwašīh ī ānōy rāy*
'all men away to Ērānwēz [go-PRET-OPT-3p] nice-ness CNCT there on-account-of'
= 'if I had not established the 'spirit' of earth and land, all men would have gone to
Ērānwēz, because it is so pleasant there' (Bd. 31.1);

*ardaxšīr asp dō az bārag-ān ī ardawān*
'Ardaxšīr-AG horse two from steeds-OBL CNCT Ardawān'
*kē pad rōz-ēw 70 frasang bē [āy-ēnd h-ē] zēn kerd*
'which in day-one 70 frasang *BĒ* [come-PRES-OPT-3p] saddle did'
= 'Ardaxšīr saddled two of Ardawān's horses, which would come 70 frasangs in one day' (KN.2.14);

*čē ka hamāg gēhān ābādān-īh [būd h-ē]*
'for if all world-of-the-living inhabited-ness [be-PRET-OPT-3s]'
*agar-išān was-iz [zad ud stō kerd h-ēnd h-ē]*
'if-they-AG much-too [strike-PRET and ruin do-PRET-OPT-3p]'
*az dām-ān wizend-īh bērōn nē [šud h-ēnd h-ē]*
'from creatures NEG harm-ing outside NEG [go-PRET-OPT-3p]'
*čē-šān nē [tuwān-ist h-ē] šu-dan*
'because-them NEG [be-possible-PRET-OPT-3s] go-INF'
= 'for, if the entire world were inhabited, even if they had smashed and destroyed a lot, harm would not depart from the creations, because it would not be possible for them to go (away)' (Bd.28.19);

### 4.3.7.2b  *Irrealis in questions*

The present optative is used in questions to indicate unlikely possibilities:

*kē bē-z-ušān sar az hāyān [ul hannār-ē]*
'who out-too-their head from *resting-place [up raise-PRES-OPT-3s]'
*u-šān ēn šād-īh [nizēh-ē]*
'and-them this happi-ness [teach-PRES-OPT-3s]'
'who would lift their head(s) out and up from their *resting-place and teach them this happiness?' (Šāb. esch., lines 151–3).

Parthian:

*kē-m [abdāž-ēndē] až harw [. . .]*
'who-me [deliver-PRES-OPT-3s] from all . . .'
= 'who would deliver me from all [. . .]?' (AR. IIIb, strophe 12).

### 4.3.7.2c  *The 'parabolic' optative*

The optative is commonly used in relative and comparative clauses together with their main clauses to express assumptions and imaginary comparison:

*mān-āg ī ō y čiyōn*
'resembl-ing CNCT he like]
*kē pus ī dōst ī (2-sāl)-ag (3-sāl)-ag pad (tōšn-dārišn)-īh [bar-ē]*
'REL son CNCT dear CNCT 2-year-ling 3-year-ling by ?-hold-ing [carry-OPT-3s]'
= 'just like someone who were to carry his dear two-year-old (or) three-year-old son by holding him?' (Dk. 7.2.34);

*awēšān wēn-išn ōwōn tēz kū ān ī aryand-tom dōšox ōwōn wēn-ēnd*
'their sight thus sharp that that CNCT murki-est hell thus see-PRES-3p'
*čiyōn mard-ēw kē čašm abēr wēn-āg andar ēwēnag [*niger-ē]* (ms. <nkylnd>)
'like man-one whose eye very see-ing in mirror look-OPT-3s'
*tan ī xwēš [*wēn-ē]* (ms. <HZYTWNd>)
'body CNCT own [see-OPT-3s]'

= their sight is so so sharp that they see the most murky hell like a man with a very 'seeing' eye were to look in a mirror and see his own body' (PT, p. 124 §22);

*ud āwōn če 'ōn zīr merd*
'and thus like wise man'
*kē draxt-ēw nēw ud bār-war tōhm [wind-ē]*
'who tree-one good and fruit-ful seed [find-OPT-3s]'
= 'and just like a wise man, who were to find the seed of a good and fruit-bearing tree' (after M49 II V, lines 10–13, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 308);

*āwōn mān-āg če 'ōn iškōh merd*
'thus resembl-ing like poor man'
*kē duxt ī nēk [zād h-ē]*
REL-IO daughter CNCT good [be-born-PRET-OPT-3s]'
*ud abēr hu-čihr [h-ē]*
'and . . . very good-looking [be-OPT-3s]'
= 'like a poor man, to whom a good daughter were born, and who were very beautiful' (BT 4, 2010–13).

Parthian:

*kē až maδyān was-ān dušmen-īn wirēxt*
'who from middle many-OBLp enemies-OBL fled'
*ud . . . ō dašt ēw wazurg ud wiyābān [yād-ēndē] . . .,*
'and . . . to plain-one large and deserted [come-OPT-3s]'
*aδyān až dūr maδyān dašt kadag ēw [wēn-ēndē]*
'then from far middle plain house-one [see-OPT-3s]'
= '(like a man) who (had) escaped from the middle of many enemies, and were to come to a large plain and desert . . . and then from afar were to see a house in the middle of the plain . . .' (BT 11, 791–801).

### 4.3.7.3 Imperative

The imperative exhibits no special features. It is negated with *ma*. Commands to 3s and 3p and 1p are usually expressed with the particle *ēw* + indicative (see section 4.3.8.2):

*ēč zamān ma pāy u-š ōzan*
'any time NEG [wait-IMP-2s] and-him [kill-IMP-2s]'
= 'do not wait, but kill him!' (KN. 9.21).

The 2nd singular indicative is not infrequently used as imperative:

*ma man abar [zan-ē] srid*
'NEG me upon [strike-PRES-2s] Srid'
= 'do not strike me, Srid!' (Dk. 7.2.64).

Parthian:

*gyān-um frih-istom ō kū franaft ay-ē abāž [izwart-ā]*
'soul-my dear-est to where go-forth-PRET-2s back [turn-PRES-2s]'
= 'O my dearest soul, return to where you went forth!' (M4b R i, lines 6–8, Boyce 1975: 160).

*4.3.7.3a*  The 'pseudo-imperative' *awar, awar-ēd*

The original adverb *awar* (*ō*) 'hither' is used in expressions of greeting in the function of imperative of *āy- āmad* 'come' and is then inflected like an imperative: *awar, awar-ēd* 'come here!' (Nyberg 1932). It is negated by *ma*:

> *drīst ud weh ud pad drōd [awar-ēd]*
> 'healthy and good and in health [come-IMP-2p]!'
> = 'welcome!' (KN. 12.4);

> *[ma] drīst [awar]*
> '[NEG-EXH] healthy [come-IMP-2s]'
> = 'you are not welcome!' (M3 R, line 22, Boyce 1975: 45).

Parthian:

> *[awar] bay ō man wēn*
> '[come-IMP-2s] god DO me [see-IMP-2s]'
> = 'come, god! look at me!' (M4b I V 19).

*4.3.8  Aspectual and modal particles*

Aspectual and modal nuances can be rendered explicit by particles (see Lazard 1984, Skjærvø 1986):

4.3.8.1  *hamē*

The adverb *hamē* (inscr., Man. *hamēw*) 'for ever' is used to express ongoing, progressive, state or action:

> *kāmag ī gannāg mēnōy [hamē warz-ēnd]*
> 'wish CNCT Foul Spirit [*HAMĒ* perform-PRES-3p]'
> = 'they keep doing the Foul Spirit's wish' (Bd. 1.25);

> *[hamēw nimāy-ēd ud xand-ēd]*
> '[*HAMĒ* show-PRES-3s and smile-PRES-es]'
> = 'he keeps pointing (at him) and smiling' (KSM 51).

4.3.8.2  *ēw*

The particle *ēw* (inscr., Ps. <ẏw>, Man. *hēb*; Pahl. *ē*), negated *ma ēw*, expresses exhortation/warning to 3rd person singular and plural and 1st person plural:

> *šāh-ān šāh ō ēr-ān šahr [ēw wihēz-ēd]*
> 'kings-OBL king to Iranians-OBL land [EXH move-PREE-3s]'
> = 'let the King of Kings move hither to the land of the Iranians (= Iran)!' (after NPi 9);

> *burdešnōhr [ēw baw-ēm]*
> 'thankful [EXH be-PRES-1p]'
> = 'let us be thankful!' (Ps. 135 canon);

*drōzan [ma hēb baw-ēnd]*
'deceitful NEG [EXH be-PRES-3p]'
= 'they [should] not [be] deceitful' (M5794 II R, lines 15–16, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 297);

*mard uzwān az saxwan ī nē abāy-ēd guf-tan bē [ē pahrēz-ēd]*
'man tongue from speech REL NEG ought-to say-INF away [EXH keep-PRES-3s]'
= 'a man should keep his tongue from saying things he should not say!' (PR. 10j1).

### 4.3.8.3 *bē*

The particle *bē* (Man. <b'>) often appears to express the singularity and completion of an event and to be to some extent complementary to *hamē*, but this is not always the case. In Middle Persian, it is homonymous with the preverb *bē* 'out, away', from which it is sometimes difficult to distinguish. It can be separated from the verb, notably by the negation:

*ka zamān brēhēn-ēd dām-iz ī ahrimen raw-āg [bē baw-ēd]*
'when time fashions creation-too CNCT Ahrimen mov-ing [*BĒ* be(come)-PRES-3s]'
= 'when he fashions time, Ahrimen's creation, too, will start moving' (Bd. 1.36);

*azēr ēn zamīg hamāg gyāg āb [bē est-ēd]*
'under this earth all place water [*BĒ* stand-PRES-3s]'
= 'under this earth, in every place, there stands water' (Bd. 1A.10)

*dā ka hān kanīg az zarīg [ba murd]*
'until when that girl of sorrow [*BĒ* die-PRET-3s]'
= 'until that girl died of sorrow' (M2 V ii, lines 27–29, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 306).

*wināh andar hāsr [bē ma hil-ēd]*
'sin within "mile" [PART NEG-EXH let-IMP-2p]'
= 'do not let a sin within a mile (of you)!' (PN. 36).

### 4.3.8.4 *ōh*

The particle *ōh* 'thus' is used as a verbal particle meaning approximately 'in the usual, well-known way' (Skjærvø, forthcoming):

*u-š dān-ist kū hōm [ōh ras-ēd]*
'and-he-AG knew that Hōm [*ŌH* arrive-PRES-3s]'
= 'and he knew: the Hōm will come in the usual way' (Pahl. Y. 9.1).

### 4.3.8.5 *kāč*

The particle *kāč (ka)* 'if only' is used with the preterite indicative or optative to express an impossible wish:

*ruwān ī kersāsp bē ō zardušt guft kū*
'soul CNCT Kersāsp *BĒ* to Zardušt said that:'
*[kāč] man hērbed-ēw [būd h-am]*
'if-only I priest-one [be-PRET-1s]'
*kē-m tuwān-ēw pad pušt [h-ē]* ...
'REL-me power-one in back [be-OPT-3s]

*ud gēhān man zišt pad čāsm [būd h-ē]*
and world me ugly in eye [be-PRET-OPT-3s]'
= 'Kersāsp's soul said to Zardušt: If only I were a priest and I had a power in my back (?) and the world had seemed ugly to my eye(s)' (PR. 18f3);

*[kāč ka] man az mādar nē [zād h-am]*
'if-only I from mother NEG [be-born-PRET-1s]'
*ayāb ka zād h-am pad xwēš baxt pad rahīgīh bē [murd h-ē]*
'or when I was born by own destiny in child-hood *BĒ* [die-PRET-Opt-1s]'
*ayāb murw-ēw [būd h-ē] ō drayāb [ōbast h-ē]*
'or bird-one [be-PRET-Opt-1s] to ocean [fall-PRET-Opt-1s]'
*ayāb ašmāh bay-ān ēn frašn az man nē [purs-īd h-ē]*
'or you-PL divinity-PL this question from me NEG [ask-PRET-OPT-3s]'
= 'if only I had not been born from a mother or, once born, I had not reached childhood or I had been a bird (and) and had fallen into the ocean or Your Majesty had not asked me this question' (AZ. 40; readings follow the manuscript MK).

### 4.3.9  Impersonal constructions

Various modalities can be expressed by verbal phrases involving impersonal verbs in the 3rd singular or constructions with nouns and adjectives. These constructions can take a subordinate clause in the subjunctive (see section 4.3.7.1b) or an infinitive (short or long, see section 4.3.10.2). To express necessity, a derivative in *-išn* from the present stem is used. In both cases, if an agent is expressed, it is in the oblique case, but in the first case it is an indirect object (historically also direct object), in the second case, it is an agent.

#### 4.3.9.1  Impersonal verbs

These include *abāy-ist* 'be proper/necessary', *andar abāy-ist* 'need', *kām-ist* 'wish', *sah-ist* 'seem', *saz-* 'be proper', *šāy-ist* 'can, be possible', *wurrōy-ist* 'believe':

*tō kē h-ē kē [man] ēdōn [sah-ēd] kū*
'you who are REL [me] thus [seem-PRES-3s] that'
*-t harwisp xwār-īh ud āsān-īh padiš*
-you all comfort and easy in'
= 'who are you, in whom—it seems to me—there is all happiness and ease' (Bd. 30.15);

*kē-š [wurrōy-ēd] xwar-ēd*
'who-him [believe-PRES-3s] eats'
*ud kē-š nē [wurrōy-ēd] nē xwar-ēd*
'who-him NEG [believe-PRES-3s] NEG eats'
= 'he who believes shall eat, and he who does not believe shall not eat' (PR. 48.60);

*bē ka-tān purs-īd ēg-[im] nē [kām-ē]*
'but when-you-AG asked then-[me] NEG [wish-PRES-OPT-3s]
*bē ka rāst gōw-am*
'except when truth speak-PRES-1s'
= 'but since you have asked me, I would wish for nothing except that I (should) speak the truth' (AZ. 40).

*bē [abāy-ēd] [abesīh-ād] wis ī pōrušāsp*
'but [be-necessary-PRES-3s] [be-annihilated-PRES-SUBJ-3s] house CNCT
Pōrušāp'
= 'but it is necessary (that) the house of Pōrušāsp should be annihilated' (Dk.7.2.57).

Active forms with a personal subject are occasionally found (*šāy-ēm* 'we can', *wurrōy-ēnd* 'they believe', etc.):

*pad dastwar [abāy-ēnd dāš-tan]*
'as spiritual-guide [be-proper-PRES-3p hold-INF]'
= 'they should be regarded as spiritual guides' (Dk. 7.4.47).

### 4.3.9.2 Impersonal constructions with adjectives

These including expressions meaning 'possible (for)' (*dastan, tuwān*), Parth. *čār* 'necessary' (for additional examples see section 4.3.10.2):

*ud ahīy framāy-ēn kū*
'and at-first order-IPF-1s that:'
*-[m] agar [dastan h-ād]*
'-me-IO if [possible be-PRES-SUBJ-3s]'
*ēg ādur-ēw ēdar nišāy-ān*
'then fire-one here found-PRES-SUBJ-1s'
= 'and, at first, I gave an order (saying): if it becomes possible for me, then I shall found a fire here' (Abnun);

*anāy-om pid-ar-ān tawān ud dastan kū*
'but-my father-OBLp possible and possible that
*-tān pāddāšin ī (ēw-rōz)-ag rāy day-ānd šād-īh ī jāyēdān*
'-you-IO CNCT one-day for give-PRES-SUBJ-3p happi-ness eternal'
= 'but for my fathers it was possible and possible (= my fathers were able and capable) to give you eternal happiness as reward for one day's (good work)'
(*Mir. Man.* ii M95/R/4–5 [GGZ]).

### 4.3.10 The use of verbal nouns and adjectives

### 4.3.10.1 The participle of necessity in *-išn*

The participle of necessity in *-išn* takes a regular agent:

*u-[š] čē [kun-išn]*
'and-[he-AG] what [do-NEC]
= 'and what should/must he do?' (KN.9.15);

*[mardōm-ān] pad ēn sē rāh saxt [est-išn]* . . .
'[people-AG] on these three path firmly [stand-NEC]'
*mizd ī mēnōy [bē nē hil-išn]*
'reward CNCT other-world *BĒ NEG* [relinquish-NEC]'
= 'people must stand firmly on these three paths; (they) must not relinquish (their) reward in the other world' (PN.28).

4.3.10.2  Infinitive constructions

The infinitive is used largely as in English: as a noun; with verbs meaning 'to order, command' and 'to send, allow'; with impersonal constructions such as 'it is necessary to' (often short infinitive), 'it is time to', etc.; with adpositions, as well as in enumerations and summaries of contents (see Sample Text 8.5).

*4.3.10.2a  Infinitive as subject*

The infinitive is commonly used as subject in impersonal constructions:

> *čē xwad-iz pad nahčihr [franaf-tan] būd*
> 'for himself-too to hunt [go-forth-INF] was'
> = 'for, for himself, it was (time) to go hunting' (M3 R, lines 14–15, Boyce 1975, text n);

> *[harw kas] bē [abāy-ēd dān-istan] kū az kū bē mad h-am*
> '[every person-DO it-is-necessary know-INF] that: from where *BĒ* come-PRET-1s'
> = 'everybody should know from where he comes' (PT, 57 §11);

> *ēk ka-[š] tis [kām-ēd guft-an]*
> 'one when-[him] something' [wish-PRES-3s say-INF]
> = 'one (Ahunwar), when he wishes to say something' (Dk. 9.2.4);

> *čē-m [ašmāh kām] kun-išn*
> 'which-I-AG [you-IO wish (COP)] do-NEC'
> *man (āgāh-ēn)-īdan framāy-ēd*
> 'me-IO make-known-INF order-IMP-2p'
> = 'that which it is your wish I should do (= you wish me to do), please make known to me!' (DD. Intro. 27.2);

> *ēk-ēw kū bē nē mīr-ēnd*
> 'one-one (COP) that *BĒ* NEG die-PRES-3p'
> *ēk-ēw kū [ōza-d] nē [šāy-ēnd]*
> 'one-one (COP) that [kill-INF] NEG [can-PRES-3p]'
> = 'one (reason) is this: they (the *amahrspands*) do not die; another is this: they cannot be killed';

> *ka-t ahanūz [āma-d zamān nē būd]*
> 'when-you-IO yet [come-INF time NEG be-PRET-3s]'
> = 'when it was not yet the time for you to come' (AWN. 4.1).

*4.3.10.2b  Infinitive as direct object*

The infinitive as direct object is most often found with verbs meaning 'command', 'permit', 'begin', 'finish', etc., but also with other verbs:

> *abāz [dwār-istan nē hišt]*
> 'back [run-INF NEG permit-ted]'
> = 'he was not allowed to run back' (Bd. 1A.6);

> *u-t [nimāy-am būd-an] ī ristāxēz ud tan ī pasēn*
> 'and-you-IO [show-PRES-1s be(come)-INF] CNCT resurrection and body CNCT final'

= 'and I shall show you the coming about of the resurrection and the Final Body'
(AWN.5.7);

*nihang-ēw azēr [nibiš-tan niwist estēd]*
'section-one below [write-INF begin-PERF-3s]'
= 'a section (on . . . .) has begun to be written below' (Dk. 7.1.42)

*u-[š] nē [tuwān būd hanzaf-tan] nibiš-tan*
'and-him-IO NEG [able be-PRET-3s finish-INF] write-INF'
= 'and he was not able to finish writing' (M1 177–8).

With *ādūg* 'able':

*pad ān zamān čē ǰeh xwāh-ēd gannāg mēnōy [ādūg dād]*
'at that time what Jeh requests Foul Spirit [able give-INF] (COP)'
= 'at that time the Foul Spirit was able to give Jeh what she requested' (Bd. 4.7).

Parthian:

*ast žamān kaδ dēnāβar "xēbēh grīw ōh burz [čār dir-dan]*
'there-is time when faithful own soul thus high [able hold-INF]'
*čwāγōn samīr kōf*
'like Samīr mountain'
= 'there will be a time when the faithful will be able to hold his soul just as high as
Mount Sumeru' (*Mir. Man.* iii b 28–31).

### 4.3.10.2c Infinitive with adpositions

The infinitive is commonly used with adpositions, like the *ing*-forms in English:

*[az ma-dan] ī tāzīg-ān ō ēr-ān šahr*
'[from come-INF] CNCT Arabs-OBL to Iranians-OBL land'
*[(rawāg-ēn)-īdan] ī ān-išān duš-dēnīh*
'[propagate-INF] CNCT that-their (bad-*dēn*)-ness'
= 'from the coming of the Arabs to Iran (and) the propagation of their evil religion'
(Bd. 0.2);

*[pad (marnǰ-ēn)-īdan] tag abar kerd*
'[to destroy-INF] attack upon made'
= 'he attacked to destroy (it)' (Bd. 1.16);

*[gumān ker-dan] ī mardōm-ān . . . [rāy]*
'[doubtful make-INF] CNCT people [in-order-to]'
= 'in order to make people doubt' (AWN. 1.3).

### 4.3.10.3 Participial constructions

The nominals derived from verbs function largely like participles in other languages.

### 4.3.10.3a Present agent noun in -āg.

The present agent noun in *-āg* occasionally has verbal function but is construed like a
noun:

*čiyōn awēšān dwāzdah axtar ud haft abāxtar*
'as those twelve constellation and seven planet'
*[ (brēh-ēn)-āg ud (rāy-ēn)-āg] ī gēhān h-ēnd*
'[determine-*ĀG* and govern-*ĀG*] CNCT world-of-the-living are'
= 'as those twelve constellations and seven planets are the ones that determine (the
destiny) and govern the world of the living' (MX 21);

*šahriyār ī xwarāsān-īg [dār-āg] ī dēn [winnār-āg] ī ardāw-ān*
'prince CNCT east-ern [hold-*ĀG*] CNCT *dēn* [establish-*ĀG*] CNCT righteous-PL'
= 'ruler of the East, upholder of the *dēn*, establisher of the righteous; ruler of the
East, who upholds the *dēn* and settles firmly the righteous' (MIK 36 R i 8–10 [IB
6371]).

Parthian:

*narah-īg [wāδ-āg]*
'hell-ADJ [lead-*ĀG*]'
= 'who leads to hell' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text g 128–37).

### 4.3.10.3b  Present verbal adjective (participle) in -andag

The present verbal adjective in *-andag* (*-endag*) has verbal function in late Pahlavi texts
(only?):

*[dūr kun-andag] ast man ardwahišt amahrspand*
[far mak-ing] is I Ardwahišt *amahrspand*'
*kē [bahr-ēw dah-andag] ast man . . .*
'REL [share-one giv-ing] is I . . .'
= 'the one who removes, that is I, the *amahrspand* Ardwahišt; he who gives (people
their) shares, that is I . . .' (Pahl. Yt. 3.13).

### 4.3.10.3c  Active participle in -ān

The form in *-ān* is used as a free participle and after *niwis-tan* 'to begin' (more common in
Manichean Middle Persian):

*zarduxšt [griy-ān] passox guft*
'Zarathustra-AG [weep-ing] answer spoke'
= 'Zarathustra answered, weeping' (PR. 36.7);

*ka est-ān xēz-ān ayāb nišīn-ān ayāb nibay-ān ayāb bar-ān ayāb wāz-ān*
'when stand-ing, ris-ing or sitt-ing or ly-ing or rid-ing or driv-ing' (*Pursišnīhā* 10
[11]);

*[niwist] mahīy [baw-ān]*
'[begin-PRET-3s] big-ger [becom-ing]'
= 'it began to become bigger' (BT 4, lines 568–69).

### 4.3.10.3d  Past verbal adjective in -ag

The verbal adjective in *-ag* from the past stem is sometimes (mostly in 'late' texts?) used as
in New Persian as a 'conjunctive participle' (gerund), meaning 'after having done such
and such':

*ardaxšīr 4000 mard ārāst*
'Ardaxšīr 4000 man equipped'
*[abar awēšān taxt-ag] šabīxōn kerd*
'[upon them run-*AG*] night-raid made'
= 'Ardaxšīr equipped 4000 men (and), having set upon (the enemy), he made a night raid' (KN. 5.10);

*ud az kurd-ān mard 1000 ōzad*
'and of Kurds man 1000 killed'
*[abārīg xast-ag] dast-gīr kerd*
'remaining [wounded-*AG*] captive made'
= 'and he killed 1000 men of the Kurds; having wounded the rest, he took them captive' (KN. 5.10–11).

### 4.3.10.3e  Past participle

The past participle can be used in figura etymologica with the present, to express something like 'succed (in doing), finish doing':

*šābuhr . . . hamē [kerd kun-ād] . . .*
'Šābuhr . . . ever [done do-PRES-SUBJ-3s]'
*ud an-iz bandag ēd [kerd kun-ān] . . .*
'and I-DIR-too servant this [done do-PRES-SUBJ-1s]'
= 'Let Šābuhr for ever succeed in doing! And let me, (his) servant, also succeed in doing this!' (ŠPs. II 6–7, cf. section 4.3.7.1);

*harw kē weh-tar dān-ēd [guft gōw-ēd]*
'every who better-COMP knows [said say-PRES-3s]'
= 'whoever knows better let him succeed in saying it!' (PT, 159).

## 5  COMPLEX SENTENCES

### 5.1  Clause structure and word order

The normal word order is Subject/Agent Object Verb (SOV), but the verb is frequently raised, and, not infrequently, a subject, direct object, or another part of the sentence may be lowered to the position after the verb:

*ud [purs-īd] ān ī ahlaw-ān ruwān*
'and ask-PRET that CNCT righteous-OBLp soul'
= 'and the soul of the righteous ones asked' (AWN. 4.10);

*sidīgar hazārag bun būd ka frēdōn kišwar baxt [salm ud tūz]*
'third millennium bottom was when Frēdōn(-OBL) land shared [Salm and Tūz-AG]'
= 'it was the beginning of the third millennium when Salm and Tūz divided Frēdōn's land' (Bd. 33.3);

*mard ī wēn-āg abar nigāh ē dār-ēd [deh]*
'man CNCT see-ing over look EXH keep-3s-IND [village]!'
= 'let a "seeing" man watch over the village!' (after Dk. 7.7.29);

*kōf frāz rust h-ēnd [pad 18 sāl]*
'mountain forth grow-PRET-3p [in 18 year]'
= 'the mountains grew up in 18 years' (Bd.9.1).

### 5.1.1   Word order in ergative constructions

The word order in the ergative construction normally parallels that of the present (see above): Agent-Grammatical Subject-Verb. But we also find inversion, i.e. Grammatical Subject-Agent-Verb:

Agent = noun:

*u-t wars ud rēš [wād-ān wišuft]*
'and-you(r) hair and beard [wind-OBLp-AG tousle-PRET]'
= 'and the winds have tousled you hair and beard' (AZ. 86);

*pas az ān ī [ardaxšīr] ān kirm [ōzad būd abāz āmad*
'after-from-that CNCT [Ardaxšīr-AG] that Kirm [kill-PAST-PRET-3s] back came'
= 'after Ardaxšīr had killed that Kirm, he came back (KN. 9.1).

Agent = non-enclitic pronoun:

*[kē] tō [dād h-ē] [kē] man [dād h-am]*
'[who-AG] you-S [make-PRET-2s] [who-AG] I-S [make-PRET-1s]'
= '[who] made you, [who] made me?' (Dk. 7.3.60).

Agent = enclitic pronoun:

*ud az awēšān agrā-dar kē-[mān] ahīy [dīd h-ēnd]*
'and than those excellent-COMP who-[we-AG] first [see-PRET-3p]'
= 'and he was more excellent than those whom we saw at first' (KNRm 39);

*u-[š] kōf-īhā az ān gōhr bē [rōy-ēn-īd]*
'and-[he-AG] mountains from that substance out [grow-CAUS-PRET]'
= 'and he made the mountains grow from that substance' (PR. 46.5).

### 5.1.1.1   Sequence of enclitics

In chains of enclitic pronouns, the agent is in various positions:

*ān-ōwōn-im-[iš] wahišt . . . [nimūd]*
'that-manner-me-IO-[he-AG] paradise [show-PRET-3s]'
= 'in that manner he showed me paradise' (KNRb 7–9);

*harw kē ēn mizdagtāzī az man padīrift hād*
'every REL this good-news from me receive-PRET-SUBJ-3s'
*ud ō ēn āfrāh . . . ī-[m]-iš nizist hunsand hād . . .*
'and DO this instruction REL-[me-AG]-him-IO] taught content be-SUBJ-3s'
= 'everyone who may have received this good news from me and may be content with this instruction, which I taught him . . .' (BBB., lines 12–17).

### 5.1.1.2   Fronted verb

If the verb is fronted, the agent can be enclitic to the verb:

*guft-[iš] ohrmazd ka-š zan brēhēnīd kū*
'said-[he-AG] Ohrmazd-AG, when-he-AG woman fashioned that:'
*dād-iz-[im] hē tō kē-t jeh-ān sardag petyārag*
'established-too-[I-AG] be-PRES-2s you who-your-IO whore-OBLp species adversary (COP)'
= 'Ohrmazd said, when he fashioned the woman: I established you, too, whose adversary is the whore species' (Bd. 14A.1).

Other instances of agent enclitic to the verb:

*u-t anīy xīr dād-[om]*
'and-you-IO other possessions give-PRET-[I–AG]'
= 'and I gave you other possessions (as well)' (M49 II R, line 3, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 307).

When the verb is fronted and the agent is a noun, it is usually anticipated by a pronoun proclitic (with *u-*) or enclitic to the verb:

*guft-[iš zarduxšt]*
'said-[he-AG *Zarduxšt*-AG]'
= 'Zarduxšt said' (Dk. 7.4.58);

*u-[šān] dīd [frawahr] ī mardōm-ān anāgīh*
'and-[they-AG] saw [pre-souls-AG] CNCT men-OBL evil'
= 'and they, the pre-souls of men, saw the evil' (after Bd. 3.22).

Note the attachment to the preposed past preterite auxiliary *būd* in the poetic Parthian sample text VI below, Text, (8.7):

*[būd-iš sānād] až žafr ahrīwar ō hō ayāg abrang-īft až kū ōsaxt*
'[raise-PAST-he-AG-PRET] from pool dark to that place pur-ity, from where came-down'
= 'he had raised (it) from the dark pool to that place of purity, from where it had come down'.

### 5.1.1.3 Agent resumption

When a noun is the agent of a sequence of coordinated or subordinated clauses, it may or may not be resumed by an enclitic pronoun:
Coordinate, not resumed:

*pas [srōš ahlaw ud ādur yazd] dast ī man frāz [grift ud guft]*
'then [righteous Srōš and the divine Fire took] my hand [and said]' (AWN.5.4), instead of *grift u-šān guft*.

Embedded in subordinate clause:

*pābag ka-[š] pad ān ēwēnag [dīd] abd [sah-ist]*
'[Pābag-AG/IO] when-[he-AG] in that way [see-PRET] marvellous [seem-PRET]'
= 'When Pābag saw how it was, it seemed marvelous (to him)' (KN. 1.12).

Here *Pābag* is the actual agent of *dīd* represented by *-š*, but also the indirect object of the impersonal verb *sahist* 'it seemed'.

5.1.1.4  Fronted agent and resumptive pronoun

A similar pattern is found in main clauses, where the noun is resumed by an enclitic pronoun by means of the particle *ā*-:

> *ēg [ōy mar] ā-[š] ō pasīy gaw abāz [rān-ēn-īd]*
> 'then [that villain-AG] *Ā*-[he-AG] to back hands [move-CAUS-PRET]'
> = 'then that villain brought his hands to the back' (Dk. 7.3.6).'

*5.1.2  Questions*

Questions without interrogative pronouns or adverbs are indistinguishable from positive statements. For indirect question, see section 5.3.3.1.

Most often questions are introduced by interrogative pronouns and adverbs (see section 3.1.4.5). These can be placed at the beginning (but frequently *after* a raised subject, etc.) or at the end of the question:

> *rad ī mard-ān [kē] rad ī zan-ān [kē]*
> 'model CNCT men [who?], model CNCT women [who?]'
> = 'who is the model for men, and who is the model for woman?' (MX. 60.1);

> *war ī jam-kard [kū kard est-ēd]?*
> 'bunker CNCT Jam-made [where? made-PERF-3s]
> *tan ī sām [kū gyāg nibay-ēd]?*
> 'body CNCT Sām [where? place lie-3s]'
> *ud mānišn ī srōš [kū]?*
> 'and dwelling CNCT Srōš [where?]'
> = 'Where was the bunker that Jam made built? In what place lies the body of Sām? And where is the dwelling of Srōš?' (MX. 61.3–5);

> *ān dō aswār ī ō ēn kustag-rōn mad h-ēnd [kay bē widerd]*
> 'those two horseman REL to this side-ward come-PRET-3p [when? *BĒ* pass-PRET]'
> = 'Those two horsemen who came hither, when did they pass?';

> *mihr-druz [čand ēwēnag ast]*
> 'contract-cheater [how-many kind there-is]'
> = 'how many kinds of contract-cheaters are there?'

Parthian:

> *[až kū ay-ē]*
> '[from where? be-PRES-2s]'
> = 'where are you from?'

Disjunctive questions are formed with *ayāb* 'or'. A negated repeated verb can be gapped:

> *ēn yaz-išn ō yazd-ān ras-ēd [ayāb] ō dēw-ān*
> 'this sacrific-ing to gods-OBL arrives [or] to demons-OBL'
> *ud ō frayād ī ruwān ī amāh ras-ēd [ayāb nē]*
> 'and to help CNCT soul CNCT us arrives [or not]'
> = 'does this sacrifice come to the gods or the demons? and does it come to the help of our soul?' (after AWN. 1.15).

### 5.2 Coordination and connectors

Middle Persian and Parthian have the usual types of sentences. What is most noteworthy is the frequent use of sentence-introducing particles and sentence connectors.

#### 5.2.1 Sentence connectors

The most common of these is the conjunction *ud* (*u-*) 'and', which is often introduced, it seems, to serve as 'chair' for an enclitic pronoun. Less frequent, but with similar function, is *ā-* (rarely independent).

Adverbs such as *ēg* 'then', *pas* 'afterward, then' and *did* 'next' have their full meaning:

*[ka] šābuhr sagān šāh . . . ēdar ō sad stūn āmad*
'[when] šābuhr sakas-OBL king here to hundred columns came'
*[u]-š nān andar im xān xward*
[and]-he-AG food in this house ate'
= 'When Šābuhr, king of Sakas, came hither to the Hundred Columns (= Persepolis), he ate food in this house' (ŠPs. I, lines 2–6);

*sē sāl urwar harw čē nē abāy-ēd [ā] nē hōš-ēd*
'three year plant all which NEG be-proper-PRES-3s then NEG dries'
= 'for three years, all the plants that ought not to, do not dry out' (Bd. 48.3);

*ān ī ō dām ras-ēd tā fraškerd*
'that CNCT to creation arrives until perfectioning'
*[ā]-š dānist*
[then]-he-AG knew'
= 'what comes upon the world until the perfectioning (of the existence) he knew' (Bd.1.53);

*[agar] dēn nē stay-ē*
'[if] religion NEG praise-PRES-2s'
*[ēg]-it ēn tigr pahikāf-om*
'[then]-you this arrow pierce-PRES-1s'
= 'if you do not praise the religion, then I shall drive this arrow through you' (PR. 48.50);

*[did] harwisp-āgāh-īh ī ohrmazd rāy*
'[next], omni-science CNCT Ohrmazd about
= 'next, about the omniscience of Ohrmazd' (Bd. 1.10).

*u-š [pas] mayānag ī zamīg suft*
'and-he-AG [then] middle CNCT earth pierced'
= 'then he pierced the middle of the earth' (Bd. 4.10);

*u-š [pas] bē ō gyāg bar-išn*
'and-he-OBL [afterward] *BĒ* to place to-be-carried'
*[pas]-iz bē nih-ēd*
'[afterward]-too *BĒ* places'
= 'and he should carry (it) to a place, and then he puts it down, too' (after ŠnŠ 2.10)

Note the frequent use of *pas* in the Abnun inscription, which recalls that of *pasāva* in Darius's Bisotun inscription (simplified text):

*[pas] ka abar sāl 3 šābuhr ka hrōmāy āy-ēnd*
'[then] when in year 3 Šābuhr . . . when Romans-DIR come-PRES/IPF-3p'
*[pas] an ēdar \*anā-n*
'[then] I-DIR here be-IPF-1s'
*[pas] kū āšnaw-ēn kū hrōmāy āy-ēnd*
'[then] when hear-IPF-1s that: Romans-DIR come-PRES/IPF-3p'
*[pas] an yazd-ān \*pādwēh-ēn kū . . .*
'[then] I-DIR gods-IO implore-IPF-1s that: . . .'
*[pas] kū āšnaw-ēn kū hrōmāy šābuhr zad h-ēnd . . .*
'[then] as hear-IPF-1s that: Romans-DIR Šābuhr-AG smash-PRET-3p [then . . .]'.
= 'Then, in year three of Šābuhr, when the Romans were coming, then I was here.
Then, when I heard that the Romans were coming, then I implored the gods: . . .
Then, when I heard that Šābuhr had smashed the Romans [then I . . .]'.

In Manichean Middle Persian, *gahīy* <ghy> is used in similar functions:

*ud [gahīy] hāmšahr dudīy hāmīn baw-ēd*
'and [then] universe again summer be(come)-PRES-3s'
= 'and then, there will again be summer in the universe' [literally: 'the universe will be
summer'] (M7981 II R ii, lines 28–30, Hutter 1992: 64).

Parthian has *aδyān* 'then' and *bid* 'next, again':

*[aδyān] ohrmezd-bay padwah-ād ō mād ʷxwēbēh*
'[then] Ohrmezd-god-AG implored to mother own'
= 'then god Ohrmezd implored his own mother' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text p, lines 4–5);

*[bid] mārī mānī wāxt*
'[then] Lord Mani-AG said'
= 'then Lord Mani said' (BT 11, line 903).

## 5.2.2  Coordination and disjunction

Particles and conjunction connecting clauses include words meaning 'and', 'too', 'both
. . . and'; 'nor', 'neither . . . nor'; 'or', 'either . . . or' and similar.

### 5.2.2.1 Coordination

Coordination is expressed by *ud* 'and', the enclitic *-iz* 'and, too', and the adverb *ham*
'also' (literally: 'same'), often in combination; *ud . . . ud, ud . . . ud . . . -iz, -iz . . . -iz, ham
. . . (ud) ham* 'both . . . and'.

*pādixšāy-īh bē-[iz] dah-ē [ud] bē-[iz] čāš-ē*
'king-ship *BĒ*-[too] give-PRES-2s [and] *BĒ*-[too] teach-PRES-2s'
= 'you both give kingship and teach' (Dk. 9.35.5);

*ud [ham] awēšān andar \*andarwāy āb ul bar-ēnd*
'and [both] they in atmosphere water up carry'
*[ud ham] andar zamīg frōd bar-ēnd*
'and [and] in earth down carry'

*kū nēm-rōz wār-ēd*
'that mid-day rains'
= 'and those both carry the water up into the *atmosphere and also carry (it) down into the earth, so that it rains at midday' (Bd. 21C.20).

Coordination can also be effected by the periphrastic adnominal constructions (see section 4.2.4):

*pādāšn ī ahlaw-ān [ān-iz] ī druwand-ān pādifrāh*
'reward CNCT righteous-OBLp that-too CNCT wicked-OBLp punishment' (after AWN. 11.6), beside:
*pādāšn ī ahlaw-ān pādifrāh-[iz] ī druwand-ān*
'reward CNCT righteous-OBLp wicked-OBLp-[too] punishment'
= 'the reward of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked'

### 5.2.2.2 Adversative conjunctions

The conjunctions *bē* 'but' and Man. *anāy* express contrast and are often coupled with negations:

*andar deh [nē]*
'in village [NEG]'
*[bē] pad kustag-ēw ī deh widard*
'[but] to side-one CNCT village passed'
= 'he passed, not through the village, but to one side of the village' (KN. 2.16);

*ō(r)rōn [ma] awar [anāy] ānōh pattāy*
'hither [NEG-EXH] come-IMP-2s [but] there wait-IMP-2s'
= 'do not come here, but wait there!' (M2 I R i, lines 12–13, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 301).

Parthian has *abāw* and *bēž* 'but' expressing contrast:

*[abāw] nē hō zāwar ahā-z kē zān-ād*
'[but] NEG that power be-IPF-3s REL-AG knew . . .'
*[bēž] hō zāwar rōšn kē . . .*
'[but] that power light REL . . .'
*[abāw]-iš hām-čihrag nēst*
[but]-it of-the-same-form NEG-COP'
= 'but it was not that power, (the one) that knew . . . but (rather) that light power which . . . but (that one) is not of the same *form as it' (M2 II R i, lines 16–20, 34–35, *Mir. Man.* iii, text a);

*čē tō ō aniy keč abwēn-āh ʷxad ma kar*
'what you to other person blame-PRES-2s self NEG do-IMP-2s;
*[bēž] pattūd čār až masā-dar-ān*
[but] endure-INF ought-to from old-er-OBLp'
= 'do not do yourself what you blame somebody else for, but (rather) you should endure (it) from those older (than you)!' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text b, lines 9–11).

### 5.2.2.3  Correlative negation

Correlative negation 'neither . . . nor' is expressed by *nē . . nē, nē . . nē-iz* 'neither . . . nor':

> *ān tarāzūg ēč kustag ōgrāy nē kun-ēd*
> 'that balance any side dip NEG does'
> *[nē] ahlaw-ān rāy [ud nē-iz] druwand-ān*
> 'NEG righteous-OBLp for [and NEG-too] wicked-OBLp'
> = 'that balance does not dip to any side (i.e. is not biased), neither for the righteous
> nor for the wicked' (after MX. 1.120).

### 5.2.2.4  Coordination and negation by repetition

Clauses can be coordinated by repeating a preverb or a negation. These constructions
may imitate Avestan ones (see Old Iranian, Chapter 3, 8.1.2):

> *[bē] abar ō ān deh ān ī abārōn an-(āšt-īh) [pad-ēd]*
> '[*BĒ*] up on that village that CNCT evil non-peace [fall-PRES-3s]'
> *bē ān ī abārōn snōh-išn bē ān ī abārōn spazg-īh*
> '[*BĒ*] that CNCT evil *bad-weather [*BĒ*] that CNCT evil sland-er'
> *ud [nē-iz] az ān deh ān ī abārōn anāštīh frāz [abesīh-ād]*
> 'and NEG-too from that village that CNCT evil non-peace [be-cut-off-PRES-
> SUBJ-3s]'
> *[ud nē] ān ī abārōn snōhišn ud nē ān ī abārōn spazgīh*
> 'and NEG that CNCT evil *bad-weather and NEG that CNCT evil sland-er'
> = 'and upon that village evil discord, evil *bad weather, and evil slander will fall;
> and neither evil discord, evil *bad weather, nor evil slander will be cut off from that
> village' (Dk. 7.7.17).

### 5.2.2.5  Disjunction

Disjunction is normally expressed by *ayāb* 'or' (Parth. *āgām*), *ayāb . . . ayāb* 'whether—
or'. In questions it is preceded by *kadār* 'which (of two)':

> *ast ka māhī [ayāb] wazay [ayāb] sang wārēd*
> 'there-is when fish [or] frog [or] stone rains'
> = 'there are times when fish, frogs, or stones rain' (Bd. 21E.1);

> *kadār pēš dād xwarrah [ayāb] tan*
> 'which (of the two) first established Fortune [or] body'
> = 'which was established first: the (divine) Fortune or the body?' (Bd. 14.8);

> *kadār [ayāb] ahlaw [ayāb] druwand wurrōy-ēd meh*
> 'whether [either] righteous [or] wicked believes much-COMP' [see section 4.3.9.1]
> *kū kas-ān [ayāb] ān ī ahlaw tuxšāg-īhā-tar wurrōy-ēd [ayāb] ān druwand*
> 'i.e. people-OBLp, whether that CNCT righteous zealous-ly-COMP believes [or]
> that CNCT wicked'
> = 'does the righteous or the wicked one believe the most: i.e. among people, does the
> righteous or the wicked one believe the more zealously' (Pahl. Y. 31.17).

### 5.2.2.6 Restriction

To express 'other than, or else' (*bē . . .*) *ēnyā* (Man. *ba . . . anāy*) is used:

*nūn [bē] ka rāst gōw-ē [ēnyā]*
'now [except] if truthfully you-speak [otherwise]
*ham-dādestān nē baw-ēm*
'agreed NEG be(come)-PRES-1p'
= 'now, unless you speak the truth, we will not agree' (KN. 12.18);

*dān-išn [ba] pad ēn dar-ān ī-m az abar nibišt [anāy]*
'knowl-edge [except] by these doors-OBL REL-I-AG from-above wrote [otherwise]'
*ō mardōhm-ān madan nē šāy-ēd*
'to people-OBLp come-INF NEG be-possible-PRES-3s'
= 'knowledge cannot come to people other than by these doors which I have written above' (M9 I V, lines 9–11, *Mir. Man.*, p. 298).

### 5.2.2.7 Parataxis

Various relationships can be expressed without connectors (parataxis), e.g. contrast and consequence:

*ēdōn bē kun-ē*
'thus *BĒ* you-do'
*kas abar ōy ī did rēš ud ziyān kardan nē tuwān baw-ād*
'anybody unto him CNCT other harm and damage do-INF NEG able be-SUBJ-3s'
= '(if) you do thus, (then) nobody will be able to do harm and damage to another'
(Dk. 7.1.21).

### 5.2.2.8 Particles introducing exegetical passages

In the Pahlavi translations and commentaries on Avestan texts, the particles *ay*, *hād* and *kū* all can mean approximately 'that is', but, more specifically, *ay* can mean 'the meaning is', *hād* 'yes (and/but)'; to point out varying opinions, the expression *ast ī/kē (ēdōn) gōwēd* or *ast ī/kē* 'there is someone who (says) (thus)' are used:

*xwaršēd ī a-marg ī rāyōmand ī arwand-asp*
'sun CNCT death-less CNCT wealth-y CNCT fleet-horse(d)'
*[kū]-š asp nēk;*
'[i.e.]-it horse good (COP)'
*[ast kē] ēdōn gōw-ēd*
'[there-is who] thus says'
*[ay] asp ī nēk bē dah-ēd*
'[the meaning is] horse CNCT good gives'
= '[translation of the Avestan:] the sun, immortal, shining, with fleet horses;
[Pahlavi:] i.e. it has good horses; there is one who says: the meaning is "he gives good horses" ' (Pahl. Y. 0.9);

*hōm ī ahlaw ī dūrōš*
'Hōm CNCT righteous CNCT *dūrōš*';
*[hād] dūrōš-īh-iš*
'[i.e.] *dūrōš*-ness-his'

*ēd kū ōš az ruwān ī mardōm-ān dūr dār-ēd;*
'this (COP) that death (*ōš*) from soul CNCT people-OBLp far-away (*dūr*) holds'
*rōšn guft*
'Rōšn said'
*[hād] a-hōš-īh pad hōm baw-ēd*
'[yes, and] death-less-ness through *hōm* is'
= '[translation of the Avestan:] Hōm, the righteous, the *durōš*'; [Pahlavi:] i.e. it is
called *durōš* for this reason that it holds death far away from men's souls'; Rōšn said:
yes, and (also) because deathlessness comes about through Hōm'. (Pahl. Y. 9.2).

## 5.3 Subordination

Subordinate clauses usually precede or follow main clauses and other subordinate
clauses, but embedding is also found (see Relative clauses).

### 5.3.1 Conjunctions

Among subordinating conjunctions, we can distinguish between those with one specific
function and those with multiple functions, e.g. *agar* 'if' and *ma agar* 'lest, let not' (with
verbs of fearing), *čē* 'because', *ka* 'when, if'; *kū* 'that, so that, than, where, etc.', *čiyōn* 'as,
when, because; that is', *tā* 'so that, until'. There is further ambiguity in Pahlavi, where *ka*,
*kē*, and *kū* are sometimes confused under the influence of New Persian *ke*. Composite
conjunctions are common.

Nominal 'that' -clauses introduced by *kū* are the most common subordinate clauses in
Middle Persian; *kū* introduces reported speech (see Section 5.3.3.1).

### 5.3.2 Relative clauses

The relative pronouns are *ī*, *kē* and *čē*. They can function by themselves as subject, direct
object and indirect object, and be governed by pre/postpositions. Their grammatical
function (other than as grammatical subject) may be expressed by (independent or
enclitic) personal or demonstrative pronouns. Thus, an enclitic pronoun attached to a
relative pronoun can be independent or simply resume the relative pronoun, i.e. *kē-š* 'who
his = whose' or 'who . . . him/his, 'who to him = to whom', etc.':

> *ōy [kē-š] zan nē būd*
> *ā-š zan dah-ēnd*
> 'he who-him wife NEG was
> CNCT-him wife give-PRES-3p'
> = 'to him who had no wife they will give a wife' (PR. 48.63).

As enclitic pronouns tend to 'spread' throughout the clause, doing duty for what-
ever they are needed for (agent, possessive pronoun, etc.), it is sometimes difficult or
impossible to determine their precise attribution:

> *nēk-raw-išn-īh ān mēnōy*
> *[ī]-š/[ī-š] tan ī xwēš padiš weh bē kerd*
> 'good-go-ing-ness that spirit (COP)
> which-it body CNCT own thereby better made'
> = 'goodness is that spirit by which he made his body better' (Bd. 1.35).

With *[ī-š] . . . padiš* 'which-it . . . thereby = with which' or 'which-his . . . thereby = by which . . . his'.

The relative pronoun *čē* is rare and mainly used when the referent is not specific ('whatever, everything that, that which'), corresponding to *kē* animate references ('who-ever, someone who, he who'):

> *ud [čē] andar ān dar*
> 'an [what] in that chapter (COP)'
> = 'and whatever (else is) in that chapter'.

### 5.3.2.1  Generic statements

Relative clauses containing generic statements take the subjunctive (cf. section 4.3.7.1b) and parabolic relative clauses take the optative (see section 4.3.7.2c).

### 5.3.2.2  Complex relative clauses

Relative clauses can combine with other clauses:

> *pas ō āb mad [ī]-m guft kū azēr ī ēn zamīg winnārd est-ēd*
> 'next to water came [which = water]-I-AG said that: (water) below CNCT this earth set up-PERF-PRES-3s'
> = 'next he came to the water, which I said is set up below this earth' (Bd. 4.10);

> *u-m anī-z kerdagān ī yazd-ān was kerd*
> 'and-I-AG other-too ritual-S CNCT gods-OBL many did'
> *[ī]-m agar abar ēn nāmag nibišt h-ē ēg was būd hē*
> '[which = ritual-S]-I-AG if in this inscription write-PRET-OPT-3s then (ritual-S) much be-PRET-OPT-3s'
> = 'and I performed also many other rituals for the gods, which, if I had written (them) here, would have been too much' (KNRm 48–49);

> *čiyōn mard-ēw [kē]*
> 'like man-one [who]'
> *tā pad gētīy būd [aziš] huram-tar nē būd*
> 'as-long-as (man-S) in world-of-the-living was [than (man)] happi-er NEG was'
> = 'like a man than whom, while he was in the world, there was none happier' (AWN. 4.6);

> *ān frazend [ī-š] ašmāh framūd kū bē ōzan*
> 'that child [which-him-DO] you-AG commanded that: *BĒ* kill-IMP-2s'
> *u-mān nē ōzad*
> 'and-we-AG (child-S) NEG killed'
> = 'that child which you ordered us to kill we did not kill' (KN. 10.11).

### *5.3.3  Nominal clauses*

Nominal 'that' -clauses introduced by *kū* are the most common subordinate clauses in Middle Persian.

### 5.3.3.1 Reported speech

Pahlavi, like New Persian, does not have indirect speech; instead, reported speech is phrased as direct statements or questions introduced by *kū* and is therefore identical with nominal 'that'-clauses. The governing verbs include verbs of utterance, thought, and various kinds of perception (seeing, hearing), but also fear, etc.:

> *tars-īd kū [ma agar mardōm ī deh wēn-ēnd šnās-ēnd]*
> 'he feared: Let not people CNCT this village see-PRES-3p recognise-PRES-3p'
> = 'He feared that the people of the village might see (them) and recognise (them)'
> (KN. 2.16).

Indirect questions:

> *gōw kū [ān 3 tis čē]*
> 'say-IMP-2s that: [that three thing (COP) what?]'
> = 'tell (me) what those three things are'.

Parthian:

> *aδyān warrag wāxt kū*
> 'then Warrag-AG said that:'
> *[-š az až kū zān-ām bay] kū [čē ast]*
> '[-it I-DIR [from where? recognise-PRES-1p lord] that: [what? COP]'
> = 'then Warrag said: wherefrom am *I* to recognise, lord, what it is?' (BT 11, lines 719–21).

Disjunctive indirect questions:

> *ašmāh dān-ēd kū*
> 'you-PL know that:'
> *[ēn yaz-išn ayāb ō yazd-ān ras-ēd ayāb ō dēw-ān]*
> '[this sacrific-ing either to gods-OBL arrives or to demons-OBL]'
> = 'do you know whether this sacrifice comes to the gods or the demons?' (after ŠnŠ. 9.5).

Occasionally, the conditional conjunction *agar* 'if' is used in indirect questions to express 'whether':

> *frōd ward šnās-am [agar] tō h-ē spandarmad*
> 'down turn-IMP-2s know-PRES-1s [whether] you are Spandarmad'
> = 'turn around (so) I may know whether you are Spandarmad' (Dk. 7.4.58).

### 5.3.4 Adverbial clauses

The main types of adverbial clauses and their conjunctions are the following:

- Time: *(ī) ka* 'when' and *ast ī ka* 'sometimes'; *čiyōn* 'as when'; *ēw-bār* 'once, as soon as'; *pas az ān ka* 'after'; *pēš* 'before'; *tā* (Man. *dā*) 'as long as, until' (also with infinitive; see also *kū tā*, below), and 'since' (expressing duration in the past: Germ. *seit*, Fr. *depuis*), *tā ka, tā (pēš) ka, tā ān ī ka* 'before, until'.
- Place: *kū* 'where' or combinations such as *ānōh kū* 'there where', *ān gyāg kū* 'the place where', etc.

- Reason and cause: *čē* 'because, for'; *az ān čiyōn* 'for the reason that'.
- Purpose and result: *(kū) tā* 'so that, in order that'.
- Comparison: *čiyōn* 'as, in the way that'; *harw čiyōn* 'in every/whatever way that'; *čiyōn ka* 'as if'.
- Condition: *agar* and *ka* 'if', with indicative.

For examples, see on the uses of the tenses (see section 4.3.4) and the moods (see section 4.3.7).

### 5.3.4.1 Adverbial phrases

Adverbs in *-īhā*, especially those from compound adjectives, can qualify a verb more broadly:

> *daw-ēnd [abē-brahm-īhā]*
> 'they run [without-dress-ADV]'
> = 'they run about undressed' (M28 I V ii, line 19, Skjærvø 1995b: 251).

> *spāh ī kirm . . . ō bērōn mad*
> 'army CNCT Kirm to-outside came'
> *abāg aswār-ān ī ardaxšīr kārēzār [gyān-abespār-īhā] saxt kerd*
> 'with horsemen-OBL CNCT Ardaxšīr battle [soul-surrendering-ADV] hard did'
> = 'Kirm's army came out and fought (such) a hard battle with Ardaxšīr's cavalry as to (as if they were willing to) surrender their souls' (after KN. 6.16);

> *ahrimen ud māzanīg-ān ud āz spāh-bed ī abārīg dēw-ān*
> 'Ahrimen and Māzanīg(-demons) and Āz army-chief CNCT remaining demons-OBL'
> *[(stard homānāg)-īhā]*
> '[(stunned like)-ADV]'
> *[(pad xwēš hamēstār-īh wānīd-ag)-īhā]*
> '[(by own oppos-ition conquered)-ADV]'
> *bē ō mardōm-ān dīdār-īg baw-ēnd*
> '*BĒ* to people-OBLp seen-ADJ be(come)-PRES-3p'
> = 'Ahrimen and the Māzanīg demons and Āz, general of the other demons, as if stunned, having been conquered by their own opponents, become visible to people' (WZ. 35.35);

> *was dēw-ān druz-ān pad (bīm-nimāy-išn)-īh . . . aw-iš āmad h-ēnd*
> 'many demons lie-demons for (fear-show-ing)-ness . . . to-him came'
> *ud hamāg [(a-padīr-išn)-īhā] ud [(zad-ag)-īhā] [stōw-īhā] az-iš wašt h-ēnd*
> 'and all [(non-receiv-ing)-ADV and [(strick-en)-ADV] and [defeated-ADV] from-him turned'
> *pad ān ī ōy abēzag (frāz gōw-išn)-īh ī abestāg*
> 'by that CNCT him pure (forth-say-ing)-ness CNCT Avesta'
> = 'many demons and lie-demons came against him (Zarathustra) to induce fear in him, and all turned back from him without (him) receiving (them), having been struck down, and overcome, by that pure one's recitation of the Avesta' (Dk. 5.2.6).

### 5.3.5 'Subordination' by means of derived nouns and adjectives

Infinitives (see 4.3.10.2a) and the derived nouns in *-īh* (see 6.1.2.4), in particular, are often used instead of subordinate clauses, especially with prepositions like *pad* 'for', etc. and the postposition *rāy* ', in order to, on account of':

> *sag-ān [pad hamēstār-īh] ī gurg-sardagān*
> 'dogs [for oppos-ition] CNCT wolf-species-OBLp'
> *ud [pānag-īh] ī gōspand-ān [kerdan rāy] dād estēd*
> 'and [protect-ion] CNCT cattle-OBLp [do-INF in-order-to] establish-PERF-PRES-3s'
> = 'dogs have been established (in the world) for the opposition of (= in order to oppose) the wolf species and for the protection of (= in order to protect) the domestic animals' (Bd. 24.38);

> *andar dōšox druj ī spazg-īh [(garān-wināh)-īh rāy] dwār-išn ī ø pas*
> 'in hell lie-demon CNCT slander [(heavy-sin)-ness on-account-of] runn-ing to back (COP)'
> = 'in hell every lie-demon runs in front (of the damned), but the lie-demon of slander runs behind because it is such a heavy sin' (after MX. 1.12).

Compound adjectives are often used as alternatives for subordinate clauses, for instance, relative clauses:

> *ud anī-z ērbed-ān ud mowmard-ān ī ōšmurd-mānsr*
> 'and other-too teachers and priests CNCT recited-(holy-text)'
> *ī (dranjēn-īd)-zand ī uskārd-dādestān*
> 'CNCT memorised-*zand* CNCT studied-law'
> *ī āgāh-dēn ī (nimū-dār)-čim ī (wizī-dār)-kirbag*
> 'CNCT aware-*dēn* CNCT (show-er)-meaning CNCT (discrimin-ator)-good-deeds'
> *pad čand gyāg h-ēnd*
> 'in several place are'
> = 'and there are other teachers and priests, too, in many places, who have recited the holy texts, who have memorised the *zand* (the Pahlavi versions), who have studied the law, who are aware of the *dēn* (tradition), who can show the meaning, and who can say what are good deeds and what are not (DD. Intro. 9.3).

### 5.3.6 Dating

In Middle Persian, dates are expressed by the names of the days and months and the year according to the Yazdegerd era (631 CE):

> *frazaft pad drōd ud šādīh ud rāmišn*
> 'completed in good health and happiness and joy'
> *andar rōz šahrīwar ud az māh ābān 908 ī yazdgerd ī šāhān šāh*
> 'on the day of Šahrīwar and the month of Ābān (in the year) 908 of King of Kings Yazdegerd' = 908+631 = 1639';

> *ēn ayādgārīhā nibištag būd estād pad māh wahman ī andar sāl 324 rōz day pad ādur*
> 'these stories were written in the month of Wahman in the year 324 on the day of Day before Ādur' = 955;

*ēn ayādgār andar rōz xwaršēd māh šahrīwar kadīm wihēzagīh sāl ī šaš-sad nawad-ēk nibišt*
'this story was written on the day of Xwaršēd, month of Šahrīwar in the intercalary year (according to the) Qadim (calendar) of 691' = 1321.

Parthian inherited the dating formula seen in Old Persian, Sogdian, etc.:

*pad čafār saxt šahrīwar māh*
'on four passed Šahrīwar month'
= 'on the fourth of the month of Šahrīwar' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text c 23–24);

*pad saxt čuhram māh šahrīwar pad dōšambat ud žamān ēwandas*
'on passed fourth month Šahrīwar on Monday and hour eleven'
= 'on the fourth of the month of Šahrīwar, on Monday, at 11 o'clock' (*Mir. Man.* iii, text d 57–60).

## 6 LEXIS: WORD FORMATION

The main strategies for word formation are the use of prefixes, affixes, compounds, and combinations of these.

### 6.1 Nominal derivation

#### 6.1.1 Prefixation

The following are some of the most common prefixes making adjectives from nouns or verbal stems:

- *a-* (*an-* before vowel) and *abē-* denote lack of something; antonyms include adjectives in *-ōmand* (from nouns) and *-āg* (from verbal stems): *sēǰ* 'danger': *sēǰ-ōmand* 'full of danger', *a-sēǰ* 'without danger'; *dān-* 'to know': *dān-āg* 'knowledgeable', *a-dān* 'without knowledge, stupid'.
- *ham-* ~ *ǰud-* 'being of the same X', 'being of different/opposite X' (Parth. *hām-* ~ *yud-*): *ham-dēn* 'having the same religion'; *ǰud-dēn* 'having a different (the opposite) religion'; Parth. *hām-tōhm-ag* 'of the same family', *yud-āwend-ag* 'without equal'.
- *hu-* ~ *duš-* (*du(s)-* before s, *duǰ-* before voiced stops) 'having good X', 'having bad X' [or: 'very bad' if already bad]: *čašm* 'eye' > *hu-čašm* 'benevolent' (from *čašm* 'eye'), *duš-čašm* 'envious'; *sraw* 'reputation' > *hu-sraw* 'of good fame, famous', *dusraw* 'of bad fame, infamous'; *gand* 'stench' > Man. *duǰ-gann* 'foul'; Parth. *hu-čihr* 'pretty', *dur-čihr* 'ugly'.
- *pad-*: forms adjectives expressing possession: *pad-bēš* 'with hostility, incensed' (cf. *a-bēš*); *pad-parr-ag* 'with wings, winged'.

#### 6.1.2 Suffixation

The following are common suffixes used to form adjectives and nouns from verbal stems, nouns, and adjectives.

### 6.1.2.1  Nouns

The two most common nominalising suffixes are *-išn* (also Parthian), which makes action nouns from present (occasionally past) verbal stems, and *-īh* (Parth. *-īf*, *-īft*), which makes abstract nouns from nouns or adjectives (including compounds). Others:

*-stān* makes nouns of place: *hindūg* 'Indian': *hindū-stān* 'India'. Other: *dād* 'law': *dādestān* 'law, judgement'; *hērbed* 'priest': *hērbed-estān*, title of Avestan texts containing rules connected with priestly studies.

### 6.1.2.2  Action nouns in *-išn*

The action noun in *-išn*, which differs from the passive participle of necessity (see section 4.3.10.1) by syntax and word order, can be made from any present stem and a few past stems:

- from simple present stems: *men-išn, gōw-išn, kun-išn* 'thinking, speaking, doing';
- from derived present stems: *(paydāg-ēn)-išn* 'reaveal-ing', *(āgāh-īh)-išn* 'being made aware, being informed', *hammōxt-išn* 'being taught';
- from past stems: *āmad-išn* 'the coming' (Man.), *zād-išn* 'being born, birth' (Dk. 5.2.2).

It frequently forms compound verbs with *kerdan* 'to do': *rām-išn ud āsāy-išn kerdan* 'enjoy-ing and relax-ing make' = 'having a good time and relaxing' (PN. 8).

### 6.1.2.3  Agent nouns in *-tār/-dār*

This agent noun is formed from the past stem: *warz-īd* 'work, labour, perform': *warz-īdār* 'one who performs/does sth., a labourer'; *xwar-d* 'eat': *a-(xwar-dār)* 'not eating, without eating'; *kar-d*: 'do, make': *margīh-(ker-dār)* 'death-maker'; *dā-d* 'give': *(ātaxš-dādār)-tar* 'more fire-giving', *ma-d* 'come': *madār-tom* 'who comes most (often)'.

A few forms have passive meaning: *grif-t* 'seize': *grif-tār* 'prisoner', *frēf-t* 'deceive': *frēf-tār* 'easily deceived'.

### 6.1.2.4  Abstract nouns in *-īh*

The abstract noun in *-īh* can be made from any nominal:

- nouns: *xwadāy* 'lord': *xwadāy-īh* '(over)lord-ship, rule';
- adjectives: *frārōn* 'morally good': *frārōn-īh* 'good-ness';
- verbal nouns and adjectives: *dān-āg* 'knowing, wise': *(dān-āg)-īh* 'wis-dom';
- agent nouns in *-tār/-dār*: *nimū-dār*: 'show-ing': *(nimū-dār)-īh* 'guid-ance'; *bōx-tār* 'deliver-er': *(bōx-tār)-īh* 'deliver-ance'; *(tarāzūg-ēn)-īdār* 'a weigh-er': *(tarāzūgēn-īdār)-īh* 'weigh-ing'.
- compounds (see below): *(rāst-gōw-išn)-īh* 'speaking of truthful speech', *(dēw-ēzag)-īh* '(demon-worshipp)-ing'; Parth. *(abē-āstār)-īft* 'being (free from sins)'.

It is common with action nouns in *-išn*: *(āgāh-īh)-išn* 'being made aware': *(āgāh-īh-išn)-īh* 'the fact of being made aware', *(hammōxt-išn)-īh* 'the act of being taught', *(āmad-išn)-īh* 'the act of coming' (Man.). In compounds: *a-(bōxt-išn)* 'having no salva-tion': *(a-bōxtišn)-īh* 'the fact of/state of having no salvation'; *a-(srāy-išn)* '(someone) without recit-ing': *pad (a-srāyišn)-īh* 'in a state of being someone who does not recite' = 'while not reciting'; *anāg-(raw-išn)* 'of evil behaviour': *(anāg-rawišn)-īh* 'having evil

behaviour'; *gišnag-(zīy-išn)* 'having short living, short-lived': *(gišnag-zīyišn)-īh* 'short-lived-ness'. The nouns in *-išn-īh* are sometimes almost indistinguishable from those in *-išn* (see Josephson 1998).

### *6.1.2.4a  Quotational* -īh

In exegetical texts, *-īh* is often used to 'quote' a word to explain it:

> *mihr ī frāgōyōd ī hazār-gōš . . .*
> 'Mihr CNCT "with-wide-grazing-grounds" CNCT thousand-eared'
> *u-š [(hazār-gōš)-īh] ēd kū*
> 'and-his "(thousand-ear)-ness" this (COP) that:'
> *-š 500 mēnōy ō sar nišīn-ēnd,*
> '-him-IO 500 spirit on head sit-PRES-3p'
> *u-š kār ī [gōš-īh] kun-ēnd*
> and-him-IO action CNCT "ear-dom" do-PRES-3p'
> = '[translation of Avestan:] Mihr with wide grazing grounds, with a thousand ears
> . . .; and his (being said) to have a thousand ears (means) this that 500 spirits sit on
> his head and perform the task of being ears for him' (Pahl. Y. 4.8).

### 6.1.2.5  Nouns and adjectives

*-ag: nām* 'name': *nām-ag* 'written document'; *(sē-šab)-ag* 'lasting three nights'; with no discernable function or the unsuffixed word no longer exists: *xān, xān-ag* 'house', *kanār-ag* 'limit, border' (cf. *kanārag-ōmand* 'limited').

*-gar (-kar), -gār (-kār)* 'doer of X, making X': *yōǰdahr* 'ritually pure': *yōǰdahr-gar* 'who makes ritually pure'; *bazzag* 'bad deeds ': *bazzak-kar* 'doer of bad deeds, evil-doer'; *wināh* 'sin, crime' *wināhgār (wināhkār)* 'sinful, criminal'.

### 6.1.2.6  Adjectives

*-ak (-k)* makes diminutives: *and* 'so much': *and-ak* 'a little'; *nēw* 'good': *nēk* 'good'; Man. MPers. *kōdak* and *kōdag* 'small'.

*-ān* forms adjectives denoting appurtenance, especially filiation: *ardašīr-ān* 'son of Ardashir', *razm ī wištāsp-ān* 'the battle fought by Wištāsp'; the expanded form *-ag-ān* commonly denotes 'son of': *šābuhr-ag-ān* 'son of Shabuhr' (also the name of the book Mani presented to king Šābuhr); *pābagān* is ambiguous, 'son of Pāb/Pābag'.

*-āw* Parth. suffix denoting language: *frōm-āw* '(in) "Roman" (= Greek)'.

*-īg* (rarely *-īk*), the most common suffix for forming adjectives from nouns: *(burz-išn)-īg* 'praise-worthy'; *nazd* 'near(ness)': *nazd-īk* 'near'.

*-ōmand* (Man. MPers., Parth. *-āwend*), forms adjectives meaning (things) 'full of . . .': *bīm-ōmand* 'fearful' (cf. *abē-bīm* 'without fear'); *kanārag-ōmand* 'limited' (cf. *a-kanārag* 'limitless'); *padixšar-āwend*, Parth. *padišfar-āwend* 'honourable'.

*-gen*, similar to *-ōmand*, but less common: *bīm-gen* 'scary'; Parth. *zēn* 'armour, weapons': *zēn-gen* 'weaponed'.

*-ēn*: adjectives denoting material and similar: *zarr-ēn* 'of gold, golden'; Parth. *ādur-ēn* 'fiery'.

*-gōn* 'kind, species': colour adjectives: *zarr-gōn* 'golden', and adjectives made from indefinite pronouns and adverbs, e.g. *harw-gōn, wisp-gōn* 'of all kinds/colours'.

-*wār*: adverbs of manner from adjectives and nouns: *sazāg* 'fitting, appropriate': *(saz-āg)-wār* 'fittingly, appropriately'; *xwadāy* 'lord, ruler': *xwadāy-wār* 'in a manner befitting a lord'.

## 6.2  Compounding

Compounds are formed by combining other words, with or without suffixes. Following are some common types.

### 6.2.1  Nouns

noun + noun: *kār* 'work' + *nāmag* 'written document': *kār-nāmag* 'book of deeds';
noun + verbal noun: *uzdēs* 'idol' + *parist-* 'to worship': *uzdēs-parist* 'idol-worshipper' (*uzdēs-paristišnîh* 'idol-worship').

### 6.2.2  Adjectives

adjective + noun: *rāst-gōwišn* 'of truthful speech'; *was-anāg* 'who has (commits) much evil'; Parth. ˮ*xaš-bōy* 'fragrant';
noun + noun: *drō-dādwar* 'whose judgements are deception (false)';
noun + verbal noun: *gyān-abespār* 'surrendering one's life, reckless, desperate'; *pārag-stanišn* 'who takes bribes'; *anāg-kerdār* 'evil-doing, evil-doer'; *(dēw-ēz)-ag* 'who sacrifices to the *dēw*s'; Parth. *razm-yōz* 'battle-stirring';
noun, adjective + past participle: *yazd-āfrīd* 'god-created'; *ohrmazd-dād* 'given, established (created) by Ohrmazd'; *harwisp-pēsīd* 'adorned with every (adornment)'; Parth. *(šary-zād)-ag* 'lion cub'.
numeral + noun: *(panzdah-sāl)-ag* 'fifteen-year-old'; Man. MPers. *tas-kerb* 'four-shaped'; Parth. *čuhr-pāδ* 'quadruped'.

## 7  LEXICON AND STYLES

### 7.1  Dialectology and loans

Many of the 'Medisms' of Old Persian have been inherited, e.g. *asp* 'horse'. The *Psalter* and Manichean Middle Persian sometimes have purer Perside dialect forms than Pahlavi, e.g. Man. MPers. *damestān* 'winter' ~ Pahl. *zamestān* <z/dmst ̍n′>.
There are some loan words:

- from Indic: *semspār* 'astrologer' < *sāmvatsara* (MacKenzie 1984);
- from Greek: *stēr* 'stater' (via Central Asian *stadēr*); Pahl. *kālbod/kālbed* < *kalapódion* (Bailey 1943: 96);
- from Aramaic: *nakkīrā* 'repudiating' (Henning 1946: 732 = 1977, II: [250]).

### 7.2  Religious terminology

A special problem is presented by determining the meaning of the religious terminogy inherited from Avestan in Pahlavi or Pahlavised form, sometimes also in Perside from inherited from Old Persian Examples:

Avestan Ahura Mazdā, the name of the supreme deity, originally meant, literally, 'omniscient lord', but the adjective *mazdā* (*maz-da' ah-* 'who places [all] in [his] mind') is not otherwise used in the Avesta, and, already in the Young Avesta and, a fortiori, in the Old Persian inscriptions, where it is univerbated as Ahuramazdā, as well as in Pahlavi Ohrmazd, where the individual parts are no longer recognisable, it was just a name. In the tradition, however, the original epithets had been preserved as *harwisp-āgāh* 'all-aware' and *xwadāy* 'lord' (Bd. 1.1, 34 etc.).

Avestan *raēuuant xᵛarənanᵛhant*, approximately 'wealthy and fortunate' (blessed by the divine fortune) has the Pahlavi equivalent *rāyōmand xwarrahōmand*; here, for instance, the Zoroastrian exegetes disagreed about the meaning of *rāyōmand*, which was interpreted as *rād* 'generous' (S. 1.1), *tuxšāgīh* 'diligence' or *abzār-ōmandīh* 'possession of "means" ' (S. 1.11), while 'being *xwarrahōmand*' was equated with *xwēškārīh* 'performance of one's duties' (according to station in life).

Avestan *ašauuan-* clearly referred to being in accordance with the cosmic (true) order (*aša-*) as established by god (Ahura Mazdā); the Pahlavi term *ahlaw*, on the other hand, while referring to being in accordance with the Ohrmazd's creation and the teachings of Zarathustra, probably had a more general meaning, which we cannot define ('righteous' is a stop-gap translation that is often inapplicable). In addition, the Old Persian form *artāvan-*, which characterised those who went to paradise, the 'blessed' dead, survives as *ardā* in some phrases, e.g. *ardā zardušt*, *ardā frawahr*, where it is not much more than a standing epithet.

Avestan *daēnā-* denoted a mental faculty, probably that of 'seeing' in the beyond; she is also personified as sacrificer's guide in the ritual race and as a women who appears to the departed in the beyond and guides him/her to the Bridge of the Accountant and beyond to paradise or hell. Pahlavi *dēn* preserves this last function in the inscriptions of Kerdir and in the Pahlavi books, but, in addition, *dēn* also refers to the entire (orally transmitted) religious tradition, as expressed in the term *gōwēd pad dēn* 'it says in the *dēn*', and similar phrases. Only in the late Sasanian and Islamic periods does the term probably acquire a meaning comparable to 'religion' in the Christian discourse of that time.

Pahlavi *mēnōy* and *gētīy* are nouns and adjectives referring to the other and this world and their inhabitants, respectively. Translations such as 'spirit, spiritual' and 'material' associate them with modern meanings they probably did not have.

### 7.3 Sociolinguistic aspects: styles and levels of speech

A wide variety of styles are found in the Middle Persian corpus. Some of these are genuine Middle Persian, while others are clearly influenced by the language they were translated from. Thus, the word order in the *Psalter* follows that of the Syriac original. Some of the Manichean texts may also have been translated or adapted from Aramaic and so preserve some of the originals' style.

The simplest style is the colloquial seen in narrative texts. It is characterised by short, paratactic sentences and sparse use of anaphora and conjunctions:

> *pas abar suft mad*
> 'then (he) bored up (through it and) came (inside)' (Bd. 7.10).

A typical feature of Middle Persian style is variation:

*war ī ǰam-kard [kū] kard est-ēd?*
*tan ī sām [kū gyāg] nibay-ēd?*
*ud mān-išn ī srōš [kū]*
'where is the bunker that Jam made built, in what place lies the body of Sām, and where is the dwelling of Srōš?' (MX. 61.1).

Close to this style is the didactic prose of texts such as the *Mēnōy xrad*, the *Pand-nāmag*, and the *Bundahišn*. The most complex style is the elaborate prose of the *Dēnkard* and some other texts. The complexity of the prose of the *Dēnkard* is compounded by the fact that it is, to a large extent, based on Pahlavi versions of the *Avesta* and its exegesis.

The elevated polite style is seen in the royal inscriptions (especially the Paikuli inscription) and the *Ayādgār ī Zarērān*. The king uses, is addressed, and referred to in the royal plural and with titles such as *ōy bay* (obl. *awēšān bay-ān*) 'His Majesty', *ašmāh bay-(ān)* 'Your Majesty'. The verb *framū-dan* 'order' is used as a dummy verb or auxiliary for the speech and action of a superior:

*ahīy az abārīg xwar-išn framāy-ē xwar-dan*
'first from the other food order-PRES-2s eat-INF'
= 'first deign eat some of the other food!' (KN. 93).

## 8 SAMPLE TEXTS

The following are samples of texts from inscriptional Middle Persian and Parthian, the Middle Persian Psalter and Book Pahlavi, and Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian, each given in parallel transliteration and transcription, together with interlinear and idiomatic translation (ERG = ergative; AG = agent; IMP = imperfect; SBJ = subjunctive; OPT = optative).

### 8.1–2 Middle Persian and Parthian inscriptions of Šābuhr I at Hajiabad

| tgl'hy | ZNE | LY | mzdysn | bgy | šhpwhry | (Middle Persian) |
|--------|-----|----|--------|-----|---------|------------------|
| *tigrāh* | *ēn* | *man* | *mazdēsn* | *bay* | *šābuhr* | |
| wt'wny | ZNE | LY | mzdyzn | ALHA | šhypwhr | (Parthian) |
| *widāwan(ī)* | *im* | *man* | *mazdēzn* | *baγ* | *šābuhr* | |
| arrow-shot | this | me | Mazdean | god | Šābuhr | |

= 'This arrow-shot (is that) of me, the Mazdean divine Šābuhr,'

| MLKAn | MLKA | 'yr'n | W | 'nyr'n | (Middle Persian) |
|-------|------|-------|---|--------|------------------|
| *šāh-ān* | *šāh* | *ēr-ān* | *ud* | *an-ēr-ān* | |
| MLKYN | MLKA | 'ry'n | W | 'ny'ry'n | (Parthian) |
| *šāh-ān* | *šāh* | *ēr-ān* | *ud* | *an-ēr-ān* | |
| of-Kings | king | of-Iranians | and | non-Iranians | |

= 'king of kings of Iranians and non-Iranians,'

| MNW | ctry | MN | yzt'n | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|------|-----|-------|------------------|
| *kē* | *čihr* | *az* | *yazd-ān* | |
| MNW | šyhr | MN | y'ztn | (Parthian) |
| *kē* | *šihr* | *až* | *yazd-ān* | |
| who | seed | from | gods | |

= 'whose seed is from the gods,'

| BRE | mzdysn | bgy | 'rthštr | MLKAn | MLKA | 'yr'n | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|--------|-----|---------|-------|------|-------|------------------|
| *pus* | *mazdēsn* | *bay* | *ardaxšahr* | *šāh-ān* | *šāh* | *ēr-ān* | |
| BRY | mzdyzn | ALHA | 'rthštr | MLKYN | MLKA | 'ry'n | (Parthian) |
| *puhr* | *mazdēzn* | *baγ* | *ardaxšahr* | *šāh-ān* | *šāh* | *ēr-ān* | |
| son | Mazdean | god | Ardaxšahr | of-kings | king | of-Iranians | |

= 'whose seed is from the gods, son of the Mazdean divine Ardaxšahr, king of kings of Iranians,'

| MNW | ctry | MN | yzt'n | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|------|-----|-------|------------------|
| *kē* | *čihr* | *az* | *yazd-ān* | |
| MNW | šyhr | MN | y'ztn | (Parthian) |
| *kē* | *šihr* | *až* | *yazd-ān* | |
| who | seed | from | gods | |

= 'whose seed is from the gods,'

| npy | bgy | p'pk | MLKA | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|-----|------|------|------------------|
| *nab* | *bay* | *pābag* | *šāh* | |
| pwhrypwhr | bg | p'pky | MLKA | (Parthian) |
| *puhrīpuhr* | *baγ* | *pābag* | *šāh* | |
| grandson | god | Pābag | king | |

= 'the grandson of the divinity Pābag, the king.'

| AP | -n | AMT | | ZNE | HTYA | ŠDYTN | (Middle Persian) |
|----|----|-----|---|-----|------|-------|------------------|
| *u* | *-n* | *ka* | | *ēn* | *tigr* | *wist* | |
| and | -we-AG | when | | this | arrow | shot | |
| W | | AMT | LN | ZNE | HΘYA | ŠDYt | (Parthian) |
| *ud* | | *kaδ* | *amāh* | *im* | *tiγr* | *\*wist* | |
| and | | when | we-AG | this | arrow | shot | |

= 'And when We shot this arrow,'

| ADYN | -n | LOYNY | štldl'n | W | BRBYTAn | (Middle Persian) |
|------|----|-------|---------|---|---------|------------------|
| *ēg* | *-in* | *pēš* | *šahryār-ān* | *ud* | *wispuhr-ān* | |
| then- | we-AG | before | rulers | and | princes | |
| | | QDMTE | hštrdryn | | BRBYTAn | (Parthian) |
| | | *parwān* | *\*šahrδār-īn* | | *wispuhr-ān* | |
| | | before | rulers | | princes | |

| W | wclk'n | W | 'zt'n | ŠDYTN | (Middle Persian) |
|---|--------|---|-------|-------|------------------|
| *ud* | *wuzurg-ān* | *ud* | *āzād-ān* | *wist* | |
| | RBAn | W | 'z'tn | ŠDYt | (Parthian) |
| | *\*wazurg-ān* | *ud* | *āzād-ān* | *\*wist* | |
| and | great men | and | nobles | shot | |

= 'then We shot it before the rulers, princes, great men, and nobles.'

| AP- | n | LGLE | PWN | ZNE | drky | HNHTWN | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|---|------|-----|-----|------|--------|------------------|
| *u* | *-n* | *pāy* | *pad* | *ēn* | *darrag* | *nihād* | |
| | | NGRYN | pty | ZK | wym | HQAYMWt | (Parthian) |
| | | *pāδ* | *pad* | *ēd* | *wēm* | *awestād* | |
| and- | we-AG | foot | on | this | cleft | placed | |

= 'And We placed (Our) foot/feet on this cleft (Parth. 'stone'),'

| AP- | n | HTYA | LCDr | ZK | cyt'k | BLA | LMYTN | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|---|------|------|-----|-------|-----|-------|------------------|
| *u* | *-n* | *tigr* | *tar* | *ān* | *čīdāg* | *bē* | *abgand* | |
| W | | HΘYA | LCD | LHw | šyty | LBRA | RMYt | (Parthian) |
| *ud* | | *tiγr* | *tar* | *hō* | *šīd* | *bēh* | *\*abgand* | |
| and-Us-AG | | arrow | past | that | cairn | away | threw | |

= 'and We threw (= shot) the arrow beyond that cairn.'

| BLA | OLE | wyʽk | AYK | HTYA | LMYTN | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|-----|------|-----|------|-------|------------------|
| *bē* | *ōy* | *gyāg* | *kū* | *tigr* | *abgand* | |
| byš | TME | | ANW | HΘYA | NPLt | (Parthian) |
| *bēž* | *ōδ* | | *kū* | *tiγr* | *kaft* | |
| but | that | place | where | arrow | fell | |

= 'But, the place (Parth. 'there') where the arrow was thrown (Parth. 'fell'),'

| TME | wyʽk | ZK-'wgwn | LA | YHWWN | AYK | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|------|----------|-----|-------|-----|------------------|
| *ānōy* | *gyāg* | *ān-ōwōn* | *nē* | *būd* | *kū* | |
| there | place | that-manner | not | was | that | |
| | LHw-znk | ATRE | LA | YHWt | AYK | (Parthian) |
| | *hō-zanag* | *wyāg* | *nē* | *būd* | *kū* | |
| | that-manner | place | not | was | that | |

= 'there the place was not such that,'

| HT | cytʽk | cyty | HWE | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|-------|------|-----|------------------|
| *agar* | *čīdag* | *čīd* | *h-ē* | |
| ʽk | šyty | BNYt | HWYndy | (Parthian) |
| *ag* | *šīd* | *\*dišt* | *ah-ēndē* | |
| if | cairn | erected | were-OPT | |

= 'if a cairn had been raised'

| ADYN | by-lwny | ptyʽk | YHWWN | HWE | (Middle Persian) |
|------|---------|-------|-------|-----|------------------|
| *ēg* | *bē-rōn* | *paydāg* | *būd* | *h-ē* | |
| | OL LBRA ŠΘRA | ʽksy | YHWt | HWYndy | (Parthian) |
| | *ō bēh ārag* | *āgas(ī)* | *būd* | *ah-ēndē* | |
| then | to out-side | visible | would-be-OPT | | |

= 'then it would have been visible outside.'

| AHR | LNE | prmʽt | MNW | cytʽk | ʽwlndly | cyty | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|-----|-------|-----|-------|---------|------|------------------|
| *pas* | *amāh* | *framād* | *kē* | *čīdāg* | *ōr-andar* | *čīd* | |
| ʽdyn | LN | ʽwpdšt | MNW | šyty | PNEstr | BNYt | (Parthian) |
| *aδyān* | *amāh* | *ubdišt* | *kē* | *čīd* | *ōr-istar* | *dišt* | |
| then | We-AG | ordered-ERG | who | cairn | more-hither | erected | |

= 'Then, We commanded (someone) who raised the cairn *on this side (Parth. 'further in this direction').'

| | MNW | YDE | ΘB | HWE | ZK | LGLE | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------------------|
| | *kē* | *dast* | *nēw* | *h-ād* | *ān* | *pāy* | |
| ʽws | MNW | YDA | ΘB | HWY-nt | | NGRYN | (Parthian) |
| *awās* | *kē* | *dast* | *nēw* | *ah-ānd* | | *pāδ* | |
| ʽ(now) | who | hand(s) | good | be-SBJ-3s/p | that | foot' | |

| PWN | ZNE | drky | ʽyw | HNHTWN | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|-----|------|-----|--------|------------------|
| *pad* | *ēn* | *darrag* | *ēw* | *nih-ēd* | |
| pty | ZNE | wym | hyp | HQAYMWd | (Parthian) |
| *pad* | *im* | *wēm* | *hēb* | *\*awest-ēδ* | |

= '(Now) he whose hand is (Parth. 'hands are') good, let that one place his foot on his cleft (Parth. 'stone')

| W | HTYA | OL | ZK | cytʽk | ʽyw | ŠDYTN | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|------|-----|-----|-------|-----|-------|------------------|
| *ud* | *tigr* | *ō* | *ān* | *čīdāg* | *ēw* | *wih-ēd* | |
| W | HΘTYA | OL | hw | šyty | hyp | ŠDYW | (Parthian) |
| *ud* | *tiγr* | *ō* | *hō* | *šīd* | *hēb* | *\*wih-ēδ* | |
| ʽand | arrow | to | that | cairn | EXH | shoot' | |

= 'and let him shoot the arrow to that cairn!'

| AHR | MNW | HTYA | OL | ZK | cyt'k | LMYTN | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-------|-------|------------------|
| *pas* | *kē* | *tigr* | *ō* | *ān* | *čīdāg* | *abgan-ēd* | |
| | MNW | HΘYA | OL | hw | šyty | z'mywd | (Parthian) |
| | *kē* | *tiγr* | *ō* | *hō* | *šīd* | *žām-ēδ* | |
| 'then | who | arrow | to | that | cairn | throws (Parth. 'leads, makes reach')' | |

= 'Then, he who shoots the arrow to (Parth. 'makes the arrow reach') that cairn,'

| OLE | | YDE | ΘB | | (Middle Persian) |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------------------|
| *ōy* | | *dast* | *nēw* | | |
| LHw | -p | YDA | ΘB | HWYN | (Parthian) |
| *hō* | *-b* | *dast* | *'nēw* | *ah-ēnd* | |
| 'he | indeed | hand(s) | good | (are) | |

= 'his hand is (Parth. 'hands are') good (indeed)!'

## 8.3  Pahlavi Psalter, from *Psalm* 127

| NYŠEt | cygwn | st'hy | ZY | st'dytky | PWN | d'mny | ZY | BYTA. |
|-------|-------|-------|-----|----------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
| *zan-it* | *čiyōn* | *stāx* | *ī* | *stāyīd-ag* | *pad* | *dāman* | *ī* | *xān.* |
| wife-your | like | vine | | praised | at | bosom | of | house |

= 'Your wife is like a praised vine in the bosom of the house.'

| plcndt | cygwn | nm'mk[y] | ZY | zyty | pyl'mwn | -t | hw'ny. |
|--------|-------|----------|-----|------|---------|-----|--------|
| *frazend-it* | *čiyōn* | *nimāmag* | *ī* | *zayt* | *pērāmōn* | *ī-t* | *xwān.* |
| child-your | like | tree | of | olive | around | of-your | table. |

= '(And) your children (are) like a tree of olive oil(?) about your table.'

| LHNAš | 'wgwn | 'plyny | klyty | GBRA | MNW | tlsyt | MN | MROHY |
|-------|-------|--------|-------|------|-----|-------|-----|-------|
| *\*ēd-iš* | *ōwōn* | *āfrīn* | *kir-ēd* | *mard* | *kē* | *tars-ēd* | *az* | *xwadāy.* |
| this-him | thus | blessing | is made | man | who | fears | from | lord |

= 'In this way he is blessed, the man who fears the Lord.'

| 'plynt | OBYDWN't | MROHY | MN | chywny |
|--------|----------|-------|-----|--------|
| *āfrīn-it* | *kun-ād* | *xwadāy* | *az* | *čihyōn (ṣihyōn)* |
| blessing-you | will-make | lord | from | Zion |

= 'The Lord shall bless you from Zion.'

| W | wyn'y | PWN | klpky | ZY | 'wlšlmy |
|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|---------|
| *ud* | *wēn-ā* | *pad* | *kerbag* | *ī* | *ūrišalm* |
| and | see-SBJ-2s | by | grace | of | Jerusalem |

= 'And you shall see by the grace of Jerusalem.'

| KRAwspy | YWM | ZYt | zywndkyhy |
|---------|-----|------|-----------|
| *harwisp* | *rōz* | *ī-t* | *zīndagīh* |
| all | day | of-your | life |

= 'all the days of your life.'

| W | wyn'y | plcndy | OLt | plcndwn |
|-----|-------|--------|-----|---------|
| *ud* | *wēn-ā* | *frazend* | *ō-t* | *frazend-ūn.* |
| and | you-see-SBJ | child | to-your | children |

= 'And you shall see children unto your children.'

## 8.4 Pahlavi *Bundahišn* (Bd.33.0–4)

| *abar* | *wizend* | *ī* | *hazārag* | *hazārag* | *ō* | *ērān-šahr* | *mad.* |
|--------|----------|-----|-----------|-----------|-----|-------------|--------|
| on | harm | that | millennium | millennium | to | Ērān-šahr | came |

= 'On the harm that befell the land of the Iranians in each millennium:'

| *ka* | *gannāg* | *mēnōy* | *andar* | *dwār-ist* | *pad* | *bun,* |
|------|----------|---------|---------|------------|-------|--------|
| when | Foul | Spirit | in | rushed | in | beginning |

= 'When the Foul Spirit rushed in in the beginning,'

| *nazdist* | *hazārag* | *ī* | *andar* | *gumēz-išn-īh* |
|-----------|-----------|-----|---------|---------------|
| first | millennium | | in | mixture |

= 'the first millennium in the mixture,'

| *gāw* | *ud* | *gayōmard* | *būd h-ēnd.* |
|-------|------|-----------|--------------|
| Bull | and | Gayōmard | were |

= 'there were the Bull and Gayōmard.'

| *ka* | *mašīy* | *ud* | *mašyānīy* | *ān* | *huspāsīh* | *kerd* | *50 sāl* |
|------|---------|------|-----------|------|-----------|--------|----------|
| when | Mašīy | and | Mašyānī-AG | that | good-worship | made | 50 year |

= 'When Mašīy and Mašyānī had performed that good worship/service for 50 years,'

| *ēg-išān* | *zāy-išn* | *aziš* | *nē* | *būd.* |
|-----------|-----------|--------|------|--------|
| then-them | birth | from | not | was |

= 'then there was no birth from them (*-išān . . . aziš*).'

| *andar* | *ham* | *hazārag* | *pad* | *70 sāl* |
|---------|-------|-----------|-------|----------|
| in | same | millennium | for | 70 year |

= 'In the same millennium, for 70 years,'

| *hōšang* | *ud* | *tahmūraf* | *harw* | *dō* | *dēw-ān* | *bē* | *ōzad.* |
|----------|------|------------|--------|------|----------|------|--------|
| Hōšang | and | Tahmūraf | each | two | demons | | killed |

= 'Hōšang and Tahmūraf both killed demons.'

| *andar* | *hazārag* | *sar* | *dēw-ān* | *ǰam* | *kirrēn-īd.* |
|---------|-----------|-------|----------|-------|--------------|
| in | millennium | head/end | demons-AG | Jam | cut |

= 'At the end of the millennium the demons cut Jam (in half).'

| *didīgar* | *hazārag* | *bun* | *būd* |
|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|
| second | millennium | bottom/beginning | was |

= 'At the beginning of the second millennium was.'

| *ažidahāg* | *duš-xwadāy-īh* | *abar* | *kerd.* | *100 sāl* | *bē* | *kerd.* |
|------------|-----------------|--------|---------|-----------|------|---------|
| Aždahāg | evil-rule | began | | 100 year | | did |

= 'when Aždahāg began (his) evil-rule. He did (so) for a hundred years.'

| *čiyōn* | *hazārag* | *sar* | *būd* | *frēdōn* | *grift* | *bast.* |
|---------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|---------|---------|
| as | millennium | end | became | Frēdōn-AG | took | bound |

= 'When the end of the millennium came, Frēdōn seized and bound (him).'

| *sidīgar* | *hazārag* | *bun* | *būd* |
|-----------|-----------|-------|-------|
| third | millennium | beginning | was |

= 'It was the beginning of the third millennium'

| *ka* | *frēdōn* | *kišwar* | *baxt* | *salm* | *ud* | *tūz.* |
|------|----------|----------|--------|--------|------|--------|
| when | Frēdōn | land | divided | Salm | and | Tūz |

= 'when Salm and Tūz divided Frēdōn's land (between them).'

| *ēg-išān* | *ēriǰ* | *ōzad* | *frazend-ān* | *ud* | *āwādag-ān* | *abesīh-ēn-īd.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then-they-AG | Ēriǰ | killed | children | and | families | destroyed |

= 'Then they killed Ēriǰ and destroyed (his) children and family.'

| *andar* | *ham* | *hazārag* | *mānuščihr* | *zād* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| in | same | millennium | Mānuščihr | was-born |

= 'In the same millennium, Mānuščihr was born'

| *ud* | *kēn* | *ī* | *ēriǰ* | *xwāst.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | vengeance | of | Ēriǰ | sought |

= 'and sought (exacted) vengeance for Ēriǰ.'

## 8.5 Pahlavi *Dēnkard* (*Dk*.9.45.4)

(DkM II, pp. 870–71; DkDH, p. 235)

| *abar* | *stāy-išn* | *ī* | *pōručist* | *ī* | *zarduxšt-ān* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| on | praise | of | Pōručist | | Zarathustrid |

= 'On the praise of Pōručist, daughter of Zarathustra'

| *pad* | *dōš-īdan* | *ī* | *weh-dēn* | *pad* | *xrad* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| for | loving | of | Good Dēn | with | wisdom |

= 'for loving the Good Dēn with wisdom'

| *ud* | *ker-dan* | *ī* | *ān* | *ī* | *dēn* | *handarz* | *hunsand-īhā.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | making | of | that | of | *dēn* | advice | happi-ly |

= 'and for happily performing the advice of the Dēn.'

| *dā-dan* | *ī* | *tan* | *pad* | *zan-īh* | *ō* | *zarduxšt* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| giving | of | body | in | matrimony | to | Zarathustra |

= 'How she gave her body in wife-hood to Zarathustra'

| *ud* | *spurrīg* | *warz-īdan* | *ī* | *kār* | *ud* | *tarsagāh-īh* | *ī* | *ōy.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | fully | performing | of | work | and | respect | of | him |

= 'and fully performed "work" and respect for him.'

| *pas* | *az* | *zarduxšt* | *zan-īh-iz* | *ud* | *tarsagāh-īh* | *ī* | *jāmāsp* | *ker-dan* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| after | | Zarathustra | wife-hood-also | and | respect | of | Jāmāsp | mak-ing |

= 'After Zarathustra, how she also performed wife-hood and respect for Jāmāsp.'

| *ud* | *(wazurg-mizd)-īh* | *ī-š* | *az* | *ohrmazd* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | (great-reward)-ing | of-her | from | Ohrmazd |

= 'And the fact that a great reward (came) to her from Ohrmazd'

| *pad* | *ān* | *dēnīg-īh* | *ud* | *yazd-ān* | *xwēš-īh.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| for | that | *dēn*-following | and | gods' | own-being |

= 'for following the Dēn and being the gods' own.'

## 8.6 Manichaean Middle Persian

(*Mir. Man.* i, text e, M7984 I R ii, line 34 v ii, line 1)

| gahīy | hān | wīftōb | āz | garān | xešm | pahikand, |
|-------|-----|--------|-----|-------|------|-----------|
| then | that | lusty | Āz | heavy | rage | was-filled |

= 'Then that *lusty Āz was filled with heavy rage,'

| u-š | niwist | gām | xwāh-ān |
|-----|--------|-----|---------|
| and-it-AG | began | step | seeking |

= 'and it began to seek (her next) step.'

| u-š | framād | kū | pad | hān | dō | dēs |
|-----|--------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| and-she-AG | ordered | that: | by | that | two | forms |

= 'And she ordered: 'According to those two forms,'

| ī | srīgar | ud | nar | ī | narēsah-yazd | ī-m | dīd |
|---|--------|-----|-----|---|-------------|-----|-----|
| | female | and | male | of | Narēsah-god | that-I-AG | saw |

= 'male and female, of god Narēsah, which I saw,'

| hān | dō | dām | nar | ud | māyag | dēs-ān |
|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-------|--------|
| that | two | creatures | male | and | female | I-shall-form |

= 'I will form those two creatures, male and female,'

| kū-m | paymōg | ud | niyām | baw-ānd . . . |
|------|--------|-----|-------|---------------|
| that-me | garment | and | covering | be-SBJ-3p |

= '(in order) that they may be a garment and covering for me.'

| pas | hān | āz | az | hamāg | hān | zahag | ī | dēw-ān |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-----|-------|---|--------|
| then | that | Āz | from | all | that | brood | of | demons |

= 'Then that Āz, of all that brood of the demons'

| kē | az | asmān | ō | zamīg | kaft h-ēnd |
|----|-----|-------|---|-------|------------|
| who | from | sky | to | earth | fell |

= 'that fell from the heaven upon the earth,'

| hān | āsarēštār | ī | nar | āsarēštār | ī | māyag, |
|-----|-----------|---|-----|-----------|---|--------|
| that | archon | | male | archon | | female |

= 'that male Archon (and) that female Archon,'

| šagr-kerb-and | axšōz | ud | xešm-ēn | bazzag | ud | appar | anā-nd |
|---------------|-------|-----|---------|--------|-----|-------|--------|
| lion-shaped | *lusty | and | of-wrathful | sins | and | thievish | was-IPF |

= '(who) were lion-shaped, *lusty, of wrathful sins, and thievish,'

| awēšān | paymōxt. |
|--------|----------|
| those | donned |

= 'those it donned.

| u-š | xwēš | niyām | ud | paymōg | kerd h-ēnd |
|-----|------|-------|-----|--------|------------|
| and-it-AG | own | covering | and | garment | made-them |

= 'And it made them its own covering and garment.'

| u-šān | andar | axšōz-īh-ist |
|-------|-------|-------------|
| and-them | inside | lusted |

= 'And she lusted inside them.'

## 8.7 Manichaean Parthian poetic text

(*Mir. Man.* iii, text k, M104 R lines 1–17; Boyce 1975: 127, text bx)

| *warm* | *ādur-ēn* | *frasis-tan* | *kām-ād* |
|---|---|---|---|
| cloud | fiery | breaking | it-wished |

= 'It wished for the fiery cloud to break forth'

| *kū* | *hamag* | *pad* | *ādur* | *hāw-āh.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| that | all | by | fire | consume-SBJ-3s |

= '(in order) that it might consume everything by (its) fire.'

| *šahrδār* | *arγāw* | *ʷxēbēh* | *padmōžan* | *izwašt* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| prince | noble | own | garment | changed |

= 'The noble prince changed his garment'

| *ud* | *pad* | *sezd-īft* | *būd* | *āgas* | *ō* | *sātān.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | in | power | was | revealed | to | Satan |

= 'and was revealed to Satan in his power.'

| *hampad* | *zamīg* | *ud* | *asmān* | *wilarz-ād,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *immediately | earth | and | sky | trembled |

= 'Immediately, the earth and heaven trembled,'

| *ud* | *samēl* | *kaft* | *ō* | *žafr-ān.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | Samēl | fell | to | depths |

= 'and Sammēl fell down into the depths.'

| *tarkumān* | *rāšt* | *būd* | *abaxšāh-išn* | *rōšn* | *wasnāδ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| interpreter | true | was | forgiveness | light | for the sake of |

= 'The true interpreter had pity for the sake of the light'

| *čē* | *dušmen-īn* | *xāz-ād.* |
|---|---|---|
| which | enemies | swallowed |

= 'that the enemies (had) swallowed.'

| *būd-iš* | *sān-ād* | *až* | *žafr* | *ahrīwar* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| was-he-AG | raised | from | deep | pool |

= 'He had raised-(it) from the deep dark pool'

| *ō* | *hō* | *ayāg* | *abrang-īft* | *až* | *kū* | *ōsaxt.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| to | that | place | puri-ty | from | where | came-down |

= 'to that place of purity from where it had come down.'

| *namāž* | *ō* | *tō* | *(wazarg-īft)-(zād-ag)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Homage | to | you | (great-ness)-child |

= 'Homage to you, O child of greatness,'

| *kē* | *abdāž-ād* | *ʷ xēbēh* | *ardāw-īft.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| who | delivered | own | righteous-dom |

= 'who delivered your congregation of the righteous!'

| *awās-iž* | *pāy* | *āmōž-ag* | *marī zakkō* |
|---|---|---|---|
| now-also | stay | teach-er | Mārī Zakō |

= 'So stay now, (our) teacher Mari Zakō,'

| *pān-ag* | *wazarg* | *čē* | *tō* | *čar-ag* | *nisāg-ēn* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| protection | great | of | your | flock | shining |

= '(as) a great protection of your shining flock!'

## ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Abnun | Inscription of Abnun, ed. Skjærvø (1992). |
| ANRm | Inscription of Ardaxšīr at Naqš-e Rostam, ed. Herzfeld (1924: 84–85), Back (1978: 281–82) |
| AR. | *Angad rōšnān*, ed. Boyce (1954). |
| AWN. | *Ardā Wirāz-nāmag*, ed. Haug and West (1872), Gignoux (1984). |
| AZ. | *Ayādgār ī Zarērān*, ed. Monchi-Zadeh (1981). |
| BBB. | Henning (1936). |
| Bd. | *Bundahišn*, ed. Anklesaria (1956). |
| BT 4, 11, 19 | Sundermann (1973, 1981, 1997). |
| Bīš. | Inscription of Šābuhr at Bīšāpūr, ed. in Nyberg (1964: 124–25), Back (1978: 378–83). |
| Dk.7 | *Dēnkard*, book 7, ed. Molé (1967). |
| Huy. | *Huyadag-mān*, ed. Boyce (1954). |
| KKZ | Inscription of Kerdīr on the Kaʻba-ye Zardošt, ed. Back (1978: 384–489) |
| | |
| KN. | *Kār-nāmag ī ardaxšīr ī Pābagān*, ed. Sanjana (1896). |
| KSM | Inscription of Kerdīr at Sar-e Mašhad, ed. MacKenzie (1989). |
| M | Manichean manuscript in the Turfan collection of the Berlin-Brandenburgishe Akademie der Wissenschaften. |
| MHD. | *Mādayān ī hazār dādestān*, ed. Macuch (1993). |
| *Mir. Man.* i–iii | The texts edited in Andreas (1932–1934). |
| NPi | Inscription of Narseh at Paikuli, ed. Herzfeld (1924), Humbach, H., and P. O. Skjærvø (1983). |
| Pahl. Y. | Pahlavi *yasna*, ed. Dhabhar (1949). |
| Pahl. Yt. | Pahlavi *yašts*, ed. Dhabhar (1927). |
| PN. | *Pand-nāmag*, ed. Kanga (1960). |
| PR. | *Pahlavi rivāyat*, ed. Williams (1990). |
| Ps. | The Pahlavi *Psalter*, ed. Andreas and Barr (1936). |
| PT. | *Pahlavi Texts*, ed. J. M. Jamasp-asana (1897). |
| Šāb. esch. | *Šābuhragān*, the eschatological part, ed. MacKenzie (1979–80). |
| ŠH | Inscription of Šābuhr at Hajiabad, ed. MacKenzie (1978). |
| ŠKZ | Inscription of Šābuhr on the Kaʻba-ye Zardošt, ed. Huyse (1999). |
| ŠPs. II | Inscription of Šāpūr Sagān-šāh at Persepolis, ed. Back (1978: 495–97). |

## LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTIONS

The most recent descriptions of phonology, morphology (and some syntax) are Rastorgueva (1966 and 1981) and Sundermann (1989), with extensive bibliographies. See also Klingenschmitt's (2000) miscellany. Older works include Haug (1870), E. W. West in Geiger and E. Kuhn (1895: 249–332); Bartholomae (1911–15 and 1916–22). For the phonology, see Weber (1997) with bibliography. For the morphology of the verb, see Henning (1933) for Middle Persian and Ghilain (1939) for Parthian. For the syntax see Brunner (1977). Introductions to Pahlavi: Nyberg's (1928–31) *Hilfsbuch* (see Henning's [1935] review) and the revised (1964–74) *Manual*. Hansen (1963) contains select texts as excercises in reading Pahlavi. Henning (1958) is a survey of the place of Middle Persian and Parthian among the Middle Iranian languages. Many of the Manichean texts

published before Sundermann (1973) were published in transliteration by Boyce (1975) accompanied by a glossary (1977). Dictionaries: MacKenzie (1971: Pahlavi) and Durkin-Meisterernst (2004: Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES

Andreas, F. C. (1933) 'Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung der Psalmen', ed. K. Barr, in *SbPAW*, 1933, pp. 91–152.

——(1932) 'Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkistan. I', ed. W. B. Henning, in *SbPAW*, 1932, pp. 173–222 [= Henning (1977) I, pp. 1–48].

——(1933) 'Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkistan. II', ed. W. B. Henning, in *SbPAW*, 1933, pp. 294–363 [= Henning (1977) I, pp. 191–260].

——(1934) 'Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkistan. III', ed. W. B. Henning, in *SbPAW*, 1934, pp. 846–912 [= Henning (1977) I, pp. 275–340].

Anklesaria, B. T. (1956) *Zand-Ākāsīh: Iranian or Greater Bandahišn*. Bombay: Rahnumae Mazdayasnan Sabha.

Back, M. (1978) *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften: Studien zur Orthographie und Phonologie des Mittelpersischen der Inschriften zusammen mit einem etymologischen Index des mittelpersischen Wortgutes und einem Textcorpus der behandelten Inschriften.* Tehran and Leiden: distrib. Brill.

Bailey, H. W. (1943) *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; 2nd ed. with new intro., 1971.

Barr, K. (1936) 'Remarks on the Pahl. Ligatures ℘ and ⅄', *BSO(A)S* 8, pp. 391–403.

Bartholomae, C. (1911–15) 'Mitteliranische Studien I', *WZKM* 25, 1911, pp. 245–62; II; pp. 389–409; III: 27, 1913, pp. 19–24, IV: pp. 347–74; V: 29, 1915, pp. 1–47.

——(1916–22) *Zur Kenntniss der mitteliranischen Mundarten* I, *SHbAW, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1916, no. 9; II, 1917, no. 11; III, 1920, no. 2; IV, 1922, no. 6; V, 1923, no. 3.

Boyce, M. (1954) *The Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian*. London, New York: Oxford University Press.

——(1964a) 'Some MPers. and Parth. Constructions with Governed Pronouns', in *Dr. J. M. Unvala Memorial Volume*. Bombay: Kaikhusroo M. JamaspAsa for Dr. J. M. Unvala Memorial Volume Sub-Committee, pp. 48–56.

——(1964b) 'The Use of Relative Particles in Western Middle Iranian', in *Indo-Iranica. Mélanges présentés à Georg Morgenstierne à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, pp. 28–47.

——(1968) 'Middle Persian Literature', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* IV, 2, 1. Leiden and Cologne: Brill, pp. 31–66.

——(1975) *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Tehran and Liège: Brill (Acta Iranica 9).

——(1977) *A Word-List of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Tehran and Liège: Brill (Acta Iranica 9a).

Brunner, C. J. (1973) 'Middle Persian Inscriptions on Sasanian Silverware', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 9, pp. 109–21.

——(1977) *A Syntax of Western Middle Iranian*. Delmar, New York: Caravan Books.

Cantera Glera, N. A. (1999) 'Die Stellung der Pahlavi-Übersetzung des Avesta innerhalb des Mittelpersischen', *StIr* 28, pp. 173–204.

——(2004) *Studien zur Pahlavi-Übersetzung des Avesta*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Dhabhar, B. N. (1927) *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk*. Bombay: Trustees of the Parsi Puncheyet Funds and Properties.

——(1949) (ed.) *Pahlavi Yasna and Vispered*. Bombay: S. F. Desai for the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds and Properties.

—— (1955) *Essays on Iranian Subjects*. Bombay: Society for the Promotion of Researches in the Zoroastrian Religion.

Durkin-Meisterernst, D. (2000a) 'Erfand Mani die manichäische Schrift?' in R. E. Emmerick, W. Sundermann, and P. Ziehme (eds) *Studia Manichaica. IV. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichaismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, pp. 161–78.

—— (2000b) 'Zum parthischen Verbum', in B. Forssman and R. Plath (eds) *Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 2. bis 5. Oktober 1997 in Erlangen*. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, pp. 75–88.

—— (2002) 'The uses of *baw-* in Parthian', in Ph. Huyse (ed.) *Iran. Questions et connaissances. Actes du IVe Congrès européen des études iraniennes organisé par la Societas Iranologica Europaea Paris, 6–10 Septembre 1999*. Vol. 1: *La période ancienne*. Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, pp. 47–62

—— (2004) *Directory of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Part I of *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts* III: *Texts from Central Asia and Chaina*, ed., N. Sims-Williams (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum. Subsidia, 2). Turnhout: Peeters.

Geiger, W., and E. Kuhn (1895–1901) (eds) *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, 2 vols. Strassburg: K. J. Trübner; repr. Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1974.

Gershevitch, I. (1970) 'The Crushing of the Third Singular Present', in M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch (eds) *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*. London: Lund Humphries, pp. 161–74.

Ghilain, A. (1939) *Essai sur la langue parthe* (Bibliothèque du *Muséon*, vol. 9) Louvain: Institut orientaliste and Publications universitaires.

Gignoux, Ph. (1978) *Glossaire des inscription pehlevies et parthes* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Supplementary Series, vol. 1) London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum.

—— (1984) Le *livre d'Ardā Vīrāz: Translittération, transcription et traduction du texte pehlevi*. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations.

—— (1991) 'Une nouvelle collection de documents en pehlevi cursif du début du septième siècle de notre ère', *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus*, pp. 683–700.

—— (1995) 'The Pahlavi Inscription on Mount Thomas Cross (South India)', in Ziony Zevit et al. (eds), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, pp. 411–21.

Hansen, O. (1963) *Mittelpersisches Lesebuch*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.

Haug, M. (1870) *Essay on the Pahlavi Language*. Stuttgart: Guttenberg, K. Hofbuchdruckerei.

Haug, M., and E. W. West (1870) *The Book of Arda Viraf*. Bombay: Govt. Central Book Depot.

Henning, W. B. (1933) 'Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente', *ZII* 9, pp. 158–253 (= *Selected Papers*, vol. 1, pp. 65–160).

—— (1935) Review of Nyberg, 1928–31, in *GGA*, 1935, no. 1, pp. 1–19.

—— (1936) *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. APAW, 1936.

—— (1946) 'The Sogdian Texts of Paris', *BSOAS* 11, pp. 713–40.

—— (1977) *Selected Papers*, 2 vols. Tehran and Liège: Brill.

—— (1958) 'Mitteliranisch', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I, IV, 1. Leiden and Köln: Brill.

Herzfeld, E. (1924) *Paikuli: Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.

Humbach, H., and P. O. Skjærvø (1983) *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli*, pt. 3.1: *Restored Text and Translation*; pt. 3.2: *Commentary*. Weisbaden: Reichert.

Humbach, H., and Wáng Shìpíng (1988) 'Die pahlavi-chinesische Bilingue von Xi'an', in *Barg-e sabz. A Green Leaf. Papers in Honour of J. P. Asmussen* (Acta Iranica 28). Leiden: distrib. Brill, pp. 73–82.

Hutter, M. (1992) *Manis Kosmogonische Šābuhragān-Texte: Edition, Kommentar und literaturgeschichtliche Einordnung der manichäisch-mittelpersischen Handschriften M 98/99 I und M 7980–7984*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Huyse, Ph. (1999) *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ)*, 2 vols. (= Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, part 3, vol. 1, Texts 1). London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

——(2003) *Le y final dans lès inscriptions moyen-perses et la 'loi rythmique' proto-moyen-perse* (Studia Iranica. Cahier 29). Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes.

Jamasp-asana, J. M., ed. (1897) *Pahlavi Texts*, Bombay.

Josephson, J. (1998) 'The Middle Persian Nouns in *-išn* and *-išnīh*', *OS* 47, pp. 87–104.

Kanga, M. F. (1960) (ed.) *Čītak Handarz i Pōryōtkēšān. A Pahlavi Text*. Bombay: M. F. Kanga.

Klingenschmitt, G. (2000) 'Mittelpersisch', in B. Forssman and R. Plath (eds) *Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 2. bis 5. Oktober 1997 in Erlangen*. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, pp. 191–229.

Lazard, G. (1984) 'Les modes de la virtualité en moyen-iranien occidental', in W. Skalmowski and A. van Tongerloo (eds) *Middle Iranian Studies. Proceedings of the International Symposium Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of May 1982*. Louvain: Peeters, pp. 1–13.

MacKenzie, D. N. (1964) 'The 'Indirect Affectee' in Pahlavi', in *Dr. J. M. Unvala Memorial Volume*. Bombay: Kaikhusroo M. JamaspAsa for Dr. J. M. Unvala Memorial Volume Sub-Committee, pp. 45–48.

——(1967) 'Notes on the Transcription of Pahlavi', *BSOAS*, pp. 17–29.

——(1971) *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*. London and New York: Oxford University Press.

——(1982) Review of Back, 1978, in *IF* 87, pp. 280–97.

——(1984) 'Some Pahlavi Plums', in *Orientalia Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin Emerito Oblata* (Acta Iranica 23). Leiden: Brill, pp. 383–91.

Macuch, M. (1993) *Rechtskasuistik und Gerichtspraxis zu Beginn des siebenten Jahrhunderts in Iran. Die Rechtssammlung des Farroḥmard i Wahrāmān* (Iranica, 1). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Molé, M. (1967) *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevis* (Travaux de l'Institut d'études iraniennes de l'Université de Paris, 3). Paris: Klincksieck.

Monchi-Zadeh, D. (1981) *Die Geschichte Zarēr's* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Indoeuropeaea Upsaliensia, 4). Uppsala, Stockholm: distrib. Almqvist & Wiksell International.

Nyberg, H. S. (1932) 'Un pseudo-verbe iranien et son équivalent grec', in A. Nelson (ed.) *Symbolae Philologicae O. A. Danielsson Octogenario Dicatae*. Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska bokhandeln.

——(1928–31) *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, 2 vols. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.

——(1964, 1974) *A Manual of Pahlavi*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

——(1988) *Frahang i Pahlavīk*, B. Utas and C. Toll (ed.). Wiesbaden:

Rastorgueva, V. S. (1966) *Sredne-Persidskii iazyk*. Moskva: Nauka.

Rastorgueva V. S., *et al.* (1981) (ed) *Osnovy iranskogo iazykoznaniia. Sredneiranskie Iazyki*. Moscow: Nauka: 'Srednepersidskij jazyk' pp. 6–145, 'Parfjanskij jazyk', pp. 147–232.

Salemann, E. (1895) 'Mittelpersisch', in *Grundriß*, vol. I, pp. 249–332.

Sanjana, D. P. (1896) (ed.) *The Kârnâmê î Artakhshîr î Pâpakân*. Bombay: Printed at the Education Society's Steam Press.

Shaked, S. (1979) *The Wisdom of The Sasanian Sages (Dēnkard VI) by Aturpāt-i Ēmētān.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Sims-Williams, N. (1981) 'Notes on Manichaean Middle-Persian Morphology', *StIr* 10, pp. 165–76.

—— (2002) Bactrian documents from Northern Afghanistan, London and new York: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press (Studies in the Khalili Collection 3; Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. Part II, Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia 6).

Skjærvø, P. O. (1983) 'Case in Inscriptional Middle Persian, Inscriptional Parthian and the Pahlavi Psalter', *St Ir* 12, pp. 69–94, 151–81.

—— (1985) 'Remarks on the Old Persian Verbal System', *MSS* 45 (*Festgabe für K. Hoffmann*), pp. 211–27.

—— (1986) 'Verbs in Parthian and Middle Persian Inscriptions', in R. Schmitt and P. O. Skjærvø (eds) *Studia Grammatica Iranica. Festschrift für Helmut Humbach.* München: R. Kitzinger, pp. 425–39.

—— (1989) 'Verbal Ideograms and the Imperfect in Middle Persian and Parthian', in *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard* (Studia Iranica, cahier 7) Paris: Association pour l'avancement des études iraniennes, pp. 333–54.

—— (1991a) 'MPers. *anǎīd, anānd*, in *Corolla Iranica*', in R. E. Emmerick and D. Weber (eds.) *Papers in Honour of Prof. D. N. MacKenzie on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday on April 8th, 1991.* Frankfurt, etc.: P. Lang, pp. 190–97.

—— (1991b) review of M. Alram, *Nomina propria iranica in nummis*, Iranisches Personennamenbuch IV. (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986), *IIJ.* 34, pp. 131–35.

—— (1992) 'L'inscription d'Abnūn et l'imparfait en moyen-perse', *StIr* 21, pp. 153–60.

—— (1993) 'The Earliest Datable Inscription on a Sasanian Bowl. Two Silver Bowls in the J. Paul Getty Museum', *BAI* 7, pp. 181–92 [pub. 1994].

—— (1995a) 'Aramaic in Iran', *ARAM*, vol. 6 (*Palmyra and the Aramaeans*), pp. 283–318 [pub. 1997/98].

—— (1995b) 'The Manichean Polemical Hymns in M 28 I', *BAI* 9, pp. 239–55 [pub. 1997].

—— (1996) 'Iranian alphabets derived from Aramaic', in P. T. Daniels and W. Bright (eds) *The World's Writing Systems.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 515–35.

—— (1997a) 'On the Middle Persian Imperfect', in E. Pirart (ed.) *Syntaxe des Langues Indo-iraniennes anciennes. Colloque International, Sitges (Barcelona) 4–5 mai 1993* (Aula Orientalis Supplementa, vol. 6). Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, pp. 161–88.

—— (1997b) 'The Joy of the Cup', *BAI* 11, pp. 93–104 [pub. 2000].

—— (1999) 'Methodological Questions in Old Persian and Parthian Epigraphy', *BAI* 12, pp. 157–67 [pub. 2002].

Sundermann, W. (1973) Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und parabeltexte der Manichäer (Berliner Turfantexte, 4). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

—— (1981) *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* (Berliner Turfantexte 11). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

—— (1989) 'Westmitteliranische Sprachen', 'Parthisch,' and 'Mittelpersisch', in *CLI*, pp. 106–13, 114–137, 138–64.

—— (1997) Der Sermon von der Seele (Berliner Turfantexte 19). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Sundermann, W., and Th. Thilo (1966) 'Zur mittelpersisch-chinesischen Grabinschrift aus Xi'an (Volksrepublik China)', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 11, pp. 437–50.

Tavadia, J. C. (1956) *Die mittelpersische Sprache und Literatur der Zarathustrier.* Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz.

Tedesco, P. (1921) 'Dialektologie der westiranischen Turfantexte', *MO*15, pp. 184–258.

Weber, D. (1992) *Ostraca, Papyri und Pergamente* (CII III/IV–V, Texts I). London.

—— (1997) 'Pahlavi Phonology', in A. S. Kaye (ed.) *Phonologies of Asia and Africa.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, pp. 601–36.

—— (2007) 'Einige Bemerkungen zur Paläographie des Pahlavi', in M. Macuch, M. Maggi, and W. Sundermann (eds), *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turan. Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 434–42.

Williams, A. V. (1990) *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg,* 2 vols. (Det Kongelig Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser, 60). Copenhagen: Munksgaard.