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A GRAMMAR OF
MANICHEAN SOGDIAN

BY
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DEDICATED
TO
W. B. HENNING

PREFACE

THE present work was approved by the University of London for the award of the Degree of Ph.D. in 1943. It is largely based on unpublished Sogdian manuscripts formerly in the care of the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, photographs of which were kindly placed at my disposal by Professor W. B. Henning, who acted as Supervisor of my research.

The difficult reading and interpretation of these manuscripts formed part of the tuition I was fortunate enough to receive from Professor Henning; since many of the texts are likely to remain unpublished for many years to come, it will be an incentive to confidence to know that no readings of which he had not approved appear in this Grammar. Some of the discoveries, views, and suggestions which Professor Henning imparted to me have meanwhile appeared in print elsewhere, others will be found for the first time in the present book; they are all marked as his contribution by the addition of '(H.)', or 'acc. to H.'. In the compilation of a grammar based on these texts I have again been able to consult Professor Henning at every stage. Thus, while I am responsible for all statements in the Grammar that are not explicitly credited to him (or to others), I gratefully acknowledge that many of them have benefited by helpful suggestions on his part; he also read the first set of proofs. I am happy to take this opportunity of thanking him publicly for his generous assistance and friendship.

Despite the favourable circumstances in which the book was composed, today, nearly ten years after its completion, I cannot help viewing it with some misgivings. But for the Addenda and a few minor changes in the text, the work has had to be left at the 1943 stage, since the printing began soon afterwards. The sections on post-positions and adverbs have never been written, the syntax should have been treated much more fully; the important Paris texts have been used only sporadically, since M. Benveniste's edition was not available in this country at the time; even some of the texts in proper Sogdian script which Henning published after 1943, have not been utilized. Moreover, in my student days I was so fully absorbed in Sogdian, that I paid less attention than I should now, to parallels in other Iranian languages. If it were rewritten today, the book would be based on more material, and contain more references to Khotanese, Ossetic, Pašto, and modern dialects.

PREFACE

On the other hand, however much one might improve on the book, an exhaustive treatment of Sogdian grammar is not yet possible, since a good deal of Sogdian literature still needs to be understood. There is enough justification for avoiding further delay and presenting as it stands what has here been collected, namely the grammatical facts which can be gathered from all texts, published and unpublished, that are written in Manichean script. In this script, as in the less amply documented Syriac script used by Sogdian Christians, words are reproduced almost entirely in accord with their actual pronunciation. It thus affords a clearer picture of the Sogdian language as spoken between the seventh and tenth centuries A.D., than the proper Sogdian script, in which historical orthography disguises the state of the language at that period. The texts written in the latter script are, however, more numerous than those written phonetically, and add much information. I have therefore freely quoted from published and unpublished documents written in the proper Sogdian script, yet without aiming at the same degree of completeness as in the case of texts written in Manichean script.

I am deeply obliged, and wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Philological Society for accepting this book into their Series, and bearing the greater part of the costs of printing; to the University of London Publication Fund Committee for a substantial grant towards these costs; to the staff of the University Press for the admirable setting; and to Professor H. W. Bailey for constant support and encouragement.

I. G.

CAMBRIDGE

May 1952

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ABBREVIATIONS¹

i, ii, see *STi, STii*.

Add. to Sogd. = The *Errata* sheet to *Sogd.* (q.v.).

Anc. Lett. = Reichelt, ii 1–42. Cf. H., *BSOAS* xii 601 sqq.

B. = thus spelled in the proper Sogdian script in Buddhist texts.

BBB = H., *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, *APAW* 1936, No. 10.

Benv. = E. Benveniste.

Chr. = thus spelled in Christian texts in Syriac script.

Dhy = Reichelt, i 33–56. Cf. F. Weller, *Monumenta Serica* ii 341–404, iii 78–129.

Dhu = Reichelt, i 16–32.

DN = *Dirghanakha-Sūtra*, edited by R. Gauthiot, *MSL* xvii 359 sqq. Now re-edited in *TSP* as P5. Cf. F. Weller, *AM* (1st series) x 221 sqq.

Doc. = Reichelt, ii 57–61.

E = Ernst u. Manu Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, *Abh. z. K. d. Morgenlandes*, vol. xx, Leipzig, 1933–6.

EVP = G. Morgenstierne, *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, Oslo, 1927.

Frg. iia–vi = Reichelt i 67–70.

Ghilain = A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, Louvain, 1939.

Giw = *Giwargis*, ed. O. Hansen, *APAW* 1941, No. 10. Cf. *JRAS* 1946, 179 sqq. [and Benveniste, *JA* 1943–5, 91 sqq.]

Grammaire = *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, vol. i by R. Gauthiot, Paris, 1914–23; vol. ii by E. Benveniste, Paris, 1929.

H. = W. B. Henning.

hl. = headline.

HR ii = F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriftenreste* ii, *ABAW* 1904. Cf. below, *M 172, M 173 ii*.

IIFL = G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, i (1929), ii (1938), Oslo.

Intoz. Sūtra = Reichelt, ii 68–70.

Kaw. = H., *The Book of the Giants*, *BSOAS* xi 52 sqq.

KB = Karabalgasun Inscription, ed. O. Hansen, *Journ. de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, xlv (1930).

Lentz, v. *ST ii*.

Mahrnāmag = F. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch*, *APAW*, 1912. Cf. *Mi* below.

Man. = thus spelled in Manichean script.

Man. Lett. *i* and *ii* = Manichean Letters, cf. *Sogd.*, Foreword.

Mir. Man. = F. C. Andreas and W. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, *SPAW*, i (1932, pp. 175 sqq.), ii (1933, pp. 294 sqq.), iii (1934, pp. 848 sqq.).

Mugh = A. Freiman, *Datirovannye sogdiiskie dokumenty s gory Mug v Tajikistane*, *Ac. of Sciences*, Leningrad, 1936.

¹ For a Sogdian bibliography v. M. J. Dresden, *Bibliographia Sogdiana Concisa*, *Ex Oriente Lux* 8 (1942), 729 sqq.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Notes* = E. Benveniste, *Notes sogdiennes*, i (*JRAS* 1933, 29–68), ii (*JA* 1933, t. i, 193–248), iii (*JA* 1936, 193–239), iv (*BSOAS* ix 495–519). A further article with the same title *JA* 1951, 113 sqq.
- P* = *Codices Sogdiani, Monumenta linguarum Asiae Maioris*, vol. iii, with introduction by E. Benveniste, Copenhagen, 1940. Cf. *TSP*.
- Padm.* = *Padmacintāmaṇi-dhāraṇi-sūtra*, ed. F. W. K. Müller, *SPAW* 1926, 3 sqq.
- Par.* = A collection of broken lines, made from Man. fragments bearing the signatures *T i*, *T i α*, *T i α 3 γ*, *T i α 17*, *T i D*, *T i D 12*, *T i D 16*, *T i D 20*, *T i D 51*, *T i D a*, *T i i D 32*.
- R* = Recto.
- Reichelt = H. Reichelt, *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, Heidelberg, i (1928), ii (1931).
- Rustam* = *P* 13 and 13^{bis}; cf. *Tales*, 465 n. 2.
- S.* = thus spelled in the proper Sogdian script in Buddhist, Christian, Manichean, or non-religious texts.
- SCE* = R. Gauthiot, P. Pelliot, and E. Benveniste, *Le Sūtra des Causes et des Effets*, 3 vols., Paris, 1920–8. Revised translation by Benveniste, *VJ*, 127 sqq.
- SH.*, v. Reichelt.
- Sogd.* = H., *Sogdica*, London, 1940. Cf. *Add. to Sogd.*
- ST i* = F. W. K. Müller, *Soghdische Texte i*, *APAW* 1912. For Chr. words the abbreviation *i* is used.
- ST ii* = F. W. K. Müller and W. Lentz, *Soghdische Texte ii*, *SPAW* 1934, 504 sqq. For Chr. words the abbreviation *ii* is used.
- Stellung Jesu* = E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, *APAW* 1926, No. 4.
- Tales* = H., *Sogdian Tales*, *BSOAS* xi 465 sqq.
- T.M. iii* = A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho, iii*, *APAW* 1922, No. 2.
- TSP* = E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*, Paris, 1940 (the edition of *P*; not available to me before 1945).
- V* = Verso.
- Vajr* = Reichelt, ii 72 sqq. Cf. F. Weller, *AO* xiv 112 sqq.
- Vim* = Reichelt, i 1–13. Cf. F. Weller, *AM* (1st series) x 314 sqq.; *Abh. f. d. K. d. Morgenlandes* xxii, 6 (1937).
- VJ* = *Vessantara Jātaka*, ed. R. Gauthiot, *JA* 1912. See now E. Benveniste's new edition, Paris, 1946.
- Weller, v. *Dhy*, *DN*, *Vajr*, *Vim*.

SIGNATURES OF MSS.¹

10. 106; 10. 119; 10. 120; 10. 123 (all T i α).
 B 49 (publ. *Izv.* 1907, 534 sq.). (= *Sal. Man. II*)
 M: 1 (= *Mahrnāmag*); 14 (publ. *SPAW* 1933, 547 sq.); 44 (§ 512 n., v. *JRAS* 1945, 155); 107 i; 107 ii; 108; 110 i; 110 ii; 116 (cf. *BBB* p. 65); 117; 118 i (cf. *Stellung Jesu* 40); 118 ii (cf. *BBB* p. 68 on 544); 120; 121; 122; 123; 125; 127 (cf. *Tales* 471); 128; 129; 130 i; 130 ii; 133 (cf. *BBB* pp. 64. 80 on 662; *Sogd.* 3. 17); 134 i (cf. *BBB* p. 98 on c 43; *JRAS* 1944, 144 n. 3); 134 ii (cf. *Sogd.* 19 sq.); 135 i (publ. *Tales* 466 sqq.; cf. (T i) TM 418); 135 ii (publ. *Tales* 469 sq.); 136; 137 (poem, cf. *BBB* p. 80 on 662; *TPS* 1945, 151); 140 (cf. *BSOAS* xiii 909); 141; 142; 143; 144; 147 (publ. *JRAS* 1945, 152 sq.); 148 (publ. *ibid.* 148 sq.); 169; 172 (publ. *HR ii*, 100 sq.); 178 i (publ. *BSOAS* xii 307; cf. T ii D 139); 178 ii (publ. *ibid.* 311 sqq.; quoted as *HR ii* in §§ 99 (= line 85). 176 (= 85). 440² (= 89). 1676 (= 85-9, 93-7)); 197 (publ. *JRAS* 1945, 154); 247 (cf. *BSOAS* xii 309); 264 A; 280 (poem); 286 i; 286 ii; 337; 343; 356 (cf. *JRAS* 1942, 101); 358; 363 (publ. *Kaw.* 70 sq.); 370; 372; 373; 378; 399; 410; 423; 428; 429; 430; 452 (cf. *BSOAS* xii 309); 483 (Letter); 485; 498 b; 498 c; 500 m i; 502 l (cf. *BSOAS* xii 309); 502 o; 502 p; 504; 521 a; 521 b; 530; 540 β; 548 (publ. *BSOAS* xii 317); 549 i; 549 ii (publ. *JRAS* 1944, 142 sq.); 568; 575 ii; 579; 583 i (publ. *SPAW* 1933, 545 sq.); 583 ii (publ. *ibid.*); 591; 598; 599; 600; 601; 617 i; 617 ii; 627 ii (only § 56; wrong for 672 ii); 635 i; 640; 655; 659; 662; 664; 670; 672 i; 672 ii; 674; 684; 692 (publ. *Kaw.* 74); 697; 712; 715 c; 716; 746 c; 750; 760; 765 c; 765 d; 765 k; 767 i; 767 ii; 769; 771; 776; 778; 794 a; 794 b; 794 c; 796 i; 796 ii (publ. *JRAS* 1945, 153 sq.); 802; 810; 814 i; 815; 821 i; 834 i; 834 ii; 840 b ii; 840 c i; 840 c ii; 849; 857; 858 (Letter); 871; 880 (cf. *JRAS* 1946, 182 on 162); 882; 891 (Letter?); 894 i (cf. *TPS* 1948, 63); 896 (cf. *BBB* p. 64); 900; 904 i; 904 ii; 910 ii; 915; 916 b.
 O¹ (publ. *Izv.* 1918, 817-42); O² (publ. *Izv.* 1920, 399-420, 455-74).
 S: 6, 40 i, 40 ii (all three publ. *Izv.* 1912, 2. 28 sq.). (= *Sal. Man. III*)
 So. 64 (cf. T ii K); So. 338.
 T i (v. T i α (6)); T i (cf. *Par.*); T i α (10. 106; 10. 119; 10. 120; 10. 123); T i α (§ 1611); T i α (cf. *Par.*); T i α (2); T i α (6) (publ. as T i in *Tales* 474 sqq.); T i α i.
 T i D (cf. *BBB* p. 68 on 544); T i D 12; T i D 16; T i D 20; T i D 51; T i D a; cf. *Par.* on all six.
 T i TM 418 (v. TM 418).
 T i M 421.
 T ii (v. T ii E); T ii B; T ii D (publ. *Tales* 485 sq.).
 T ii D: 12; 32 (cf. *Par.*); 52 a; 52 c i; 52 c ii; 62 (cf. *BBB* p. 80 on 644); 63 a; 63 b iii (*TPS* 1945, 138 n. 3 insert D); 63 c; 66, 1; 66, 2; 66 a (publ. *JRAS* 1945, 151 sq.); 66 b (publ. *Tales* 472); 66 c; 66 d ii; 77 (1); 77 (A 1); 79, 1; 79 (2); 79, 3; 79 a; 79 b; 79 c; 79 d; 89 (2); 91; 93 c; 93 d; 93 e; 93 h; 93 m; 107; 115 (cf. *BSOAS* viii 585); 116; 117 (publ. *Tales* 473); 129 (Parthian);

¹ The signatures beginning with 10. and with So. are taken from H.'s revised classification of MSS.

² Where *Man.* should be inserted before *wrδ*.

SIGNATURES OF MSS.

138 iii; 139 (referred to as 139, 3^a in *BSOAS* xii 318; cf. *M* 178 i); 139 i; 139 ii; 140; 163 a; 163 b i; 167 ii; 167 iii; 167 iv; 167 m; 169 (§ 1123 read: *Stellung Jesu* plate iii); 207 (cf. *BBB* p. 77 on 623; *BSOAS* viii 586; *TPS* 1945, 145, 3 insert *D*); 213 (*A* 5); 267; 406 a; 413.

T ii *D* a (cf. *Par.*).

T ii *D* ii 169; T ii *D* ii 169 (a) i.

T ii *K* (So. 64); T ii *K* 178 (cf. *Stellung Jesu*, plate iv); T ii *S* 20 i; T ii *S* 23; T ii *T* (publ. *Tales* 483); T ii *T* (List of parts of the body); T ii *T* (2); T ii *T* 22 (cf. *Sogd.* 25); T ii *T* 31; T ii *T* m; T ii *S* (publ. as T ii in *Kaw.* 68 sq.).

T iii or T iii (Sth.); T iii 263 i; T iii 263 ii; T iii 282 (publ. *Kaw.* 66); T iii *S* 313; T iii § 2 i; T iii § 23; T iii § 23 (1); T iii § 23 (2) i; T iii § 23 (2) ii; T iii § 23 (3) ii.

TM: 351 (cf. *Stellung Jesu*, plate ii); 389 a (cf. *JRAS* 1945, 155); 389 α (cf. *Journ. Gr. Ind. Soc.* xi 87); 389 c (cf. *JRAS* 1945, 155); 393 ii (cf. *Sogd.* 33 sq., also mentioned *JRAS* 1944, 137); 418 (publ. as T i TM 418 in *Tales*, 466 sqq.; cf. *M* 135 i); 422.

X 1 i; X 1 ii.

Man. words for which no reference is given will be found in the Glossary to *BBB*; calendar names without reference have been taken from H.'s table, *Orientalia* viii 94 sq.

Sogdian words not preceded by Chr., S., or B., are Man., unless the context or the reference shows otherwise. It will be useful to remember that all signatures beginning with M¹, and most of those consisting of T ii *D* + Arabic number, are of Man. MSS.

Transliteration is according to *BBB* 52 sq., except that in quoting Chr. words from *ST* i, θ is used for Tau (cf. § 457n.).

Brackets: [] = lacuna, p[c]y = the restored c fills a gap of one letter; pc'y[t = restored ending followed by lacuna; pc'y[= restored beginning preceded by lacuna; pc'y [= complete word followed by lacuna; pc'y[= y immediately precedes lacuna (hence, possibly, pc'y[t, &c.); similarly]pc'y and]pc'y; pc(y)'y followed by reference to a single passage = y is damaged or uncertain; pc(y)'y followed by more than one, or no reference = pc'y and pcy'y are alternative spellings; (5) in Sogdian text = beginning of line 5.

¹ One side of *M* 429 contains S. text.

PART I

THE ALPHABET

1. The Manichean alphabet, as used by the Sogdians, consists of 29 letters, which are derived from the Aramaic alphabet. The symbols are given by H., *Mir. Man.* iii 911. The phonetic value of the letters is as follows:

ʾ initially, glottal stop, v. §§ 2-11; in internal position, *ā* (§§ 13. 15. 16), *a* (§ 14).

ʿ initially, glottal stop, v. §§ 18-20; otherwise with no phonetic value (§§ 21 sq.).

b = *b*, v. §§ 42-4.

β = *v* (labial fricative).

c = *č* (§ 69), *č* (§ 70), *ts* (§ 71), *dz* (§ 72).

d = *d*, v. §§ 45-7.

δ = *δ*, *θ* (voiced and voiceless dental fricative), v. § 58; *d*, § 59; *l*, § 60.

f = *f*.

g = *g*, v. §§ 48-50.

γ = Persian *γ* (voiced guttural fricative).

h = *h*, Persian *χ*, v. § 63.

ḥ = no phonetic value, v. § 64.

j = *ž* (§ 66), *ž* (§§ 67 sq.).

k = *k*, *g*, v. § 51.

l = *l*.

m = *m*.

n = *n*.

p = *p*, *b*, v. § 51.

q = same as *k*.

r = consonantic lingual *r* (§ 61); sonantic *r* (§ 62).

s = *s*.

š = *š*.

t = *t*, *d*, v. § 51.

ṭ = same as *t*.

w = *w*, v. §§ 33. 35; *u* (*o*), §§ 34. 36. 40; *ū* (*ō*), §§ 39. 41; *uw* (*ōw*), § 37; *au*, § 131.

x = Persian *χ* (voiceless guttural fricative).

y = *y*, §§ 23. 26; *i* (*ə*), §§ 24. 25. 27; *ē* (*ī*), § 29; *iy*, § 28; *ai*, § 30.

z = *z*.

ž = *ž*, v. § 65.

2. (i) ' initially stands as a symbol for the opening of the glottis (for ' see §§ 18-20; on the absence of this symbol see §§ 24. 25. 34).

3. (1) Followed by consonants it expresses *a*, or a short indistinct vowel (exceptions § 5; on the same value of ' before *s* v. § 18): 'styy (*a/əsti*) 'is'; 'rtyy (*arti*) 'and, then'; 'nywn (*anyōn*) 'similar'; 'rsk (*arsk*) 'envy', v. § 164; 'stryc (*əstrič*) 'female' *M* 549 i 16, 19. *T ii B R* 16.

4. (2) Together with a following ' it stands for *ā*: 'z 'greed', 'tr 'fire', 'myny 'summer', &c.

5. (3) ''-interchanges in some cases with '-: 'x's 'struggle' *M* 900, 8: 'x's *M* 247, 3 (*āxās*); 'myk 'mixture, impurity' *T ii T* 22, 5: 'myk- *M* 118 i R 6 (*āmīk*); 'jun 'birth', passim: 'jun *BBB* f 67; 'βrxsyy 'dissoluteness', passim: 'βrxsyy *BBB* 568; cf. also 'ywšt- Past stem, 'to excite' *Kaw.* K 5. 11. *Man. Lett.* ii 21: B. 'y'wšt- *VJ* 1152.

6. (4) 'y- before consonants stands for the diphthong *āi*: 'ykw 'eternally'.¹

7. (5) 'w- before consonants stands for *āu*: 'wkršnyy, N. of the Column of Splendour, &c., v. § 357.

8. (6) 'y- + consonant reads *ē* (*i*) or *i* (on the same value of 'y- v. § 19).

(a) *ē/i*: 'ys- 'to come' *Sogd.* 29, 12. *M* 579, 16. *BBB* f 13; 'ydyy 'someone'.

9. (b) *i* (rare): (i)yšw (*Išō*) 'Jesus' *Kaw.* K 18.

10. (7) Followed by *w* it reads *ō* (*ū*) or *u*.

(a) *ō/ū*: 'wh, exclamation; 'urδ 'there'; 'wt'k 'place'; 'wzz- 'to descend'.

11. (b) *o/u* (rare): 'wx 'mind', in *cn'wxy*¹ 'with all one's heart', v. *BBB* p. 86 on 730.

12. (ii) In internal position ' usually stands for *ā* (in which case it can be doubled), sometimes for *ā*, which otherwise is not expressed in writing.

13. (1) *ā*: z'tyy 'son'; δ'm 'living world', δ'm *BBB* 499; &c.

⁵ 'frywncyq 'prayer' *BBB* e 26. *M* 600, 5, against 'frywn id., *M* 858, 2, 'fryn- 'to bless' *Sogd.* 17, 24, against 'fryn- *M* 264 A 23, are due to the influence of the Parth. spellings 'frywn, 'fryn-. In Chr. initial *ā*- is nearly always rendered by '-, cf. Telegdi, *JA*, t. 230 (1938), pp. 228 sq.

⁶ The reading *ēvde* (v. § 164) does not yet apply to Man. 'wsty 'perverted'. On 'y- standing for *ē*- in B. writing, v. *BBB* pp. 94 sq.

^{xx} Two words; if it were a compound the spelling should have been **cnwxy*.

14. (2) ä: "m'tyy *M* 635 i 14, B. "m'ty: "m'tyy *M* 894 i 5, Chr. 'mty (*amate*) 'prepared, ready'; δβ'mb'n 'lady, wife' *M* 110 ii V 10: δβ'mpn *M* 127 V 9 (*dvāmban*); wβ'stgy'h 'narrative' *Sogd.* 16, 18: wβ'sty 'story, fable' *Sogd.* 19, last line; pw'rtyy 'you turn away' *Sogd.* 16, 7, pw'st 'he turned away' *M* 840 c ii 2: prwrt- 'to turn, to become' pass., prwsty, Past Partc., *Man. Lett.* ii 6; pty'z 'autumn' *M* 140 R 12: ptyz *M* 14 R 8 (*patyaz*); 'wpt- 'to fall' *T* ii D 115 R hl. *T* ii T 22, 18: 'wpt- *T* ii B R 2.

15. (3) 'y- before consonants represents -āi-: frm'yt 'he orders', ptxw'yt 'he kills'.

16. (4) 'w- before consonants represents -āu-,¹ cf. qrsn'wty' 'beauty', § 1070, or -au-, cf. fšy'ws 'gentleman', §§ 311. 429.

17. (iii) In final position the quantity of ' cannot always be established with certainty.

Final diphthongs are expressed like internal ones, cf. the Imperatives frm'y, ptxw'y (-āi, cf. § 15), ptškwy (-ai, cf. § 30), and kršn'w 'beautiful' cf. § 16.

c

18. (i) Initial ' is used as a symbol for the opening of the glottis before unwritten short front vowels followed by *s*, and before the letter *y*. On the use of ' in either case cf. §§ 3. 8. 9.

(1) Before *s*: 'sp'δ (*aspād*) 'army', 'spwrnw (*aspu'nu*) 'complete, perfect', 'stryc (*astrič*) 'female' *M* 549 i passim, 'spty'k (*aspatyāk*) 'perfection' *M* 504, 1.

19. (2) Before *y*.

(a) Usually = ē/i: 'yjn 'worthy', 'ys- 'to come', 'yw 'one', 'yy'n'kwc 'slanderer' *M* 118 ii R 7.

20. (b) Rarely = i: 'ync 'woman', cf. Yaghn. *inč*.

21. (ii) ' is sometimes used in internal position, before *y* (ē/i), to fill up the line: rwxšn'γrdmny'y 'paradise' *M* 178 i R 11; p('š)y't 'guardians' *T* ii D 66 c 20. 21; z'wrk'yn 'strong' *T* ii D 207, 5; elsewhere γrdmnyy, p'syyt, z'wrkyn.

22. (iii) In final position ' is only used in the Aramaic spelling of the name of Jesus (cf. § 25): yyšw' *M* 767 i 6 (Oblique yšw'yy *M* 796 i 13), against yyšw *M* 172 R 4. *T* ii D 66, 2, 10 (Obl. yyšwyy *M* 172 V 1).

¹⁶ The spellings c'un *M* 118 i V 1, δ'un *M* 117, 6, inst. of the usual cwn (*čon*) 'from', δun (*don*) 'with', are, acc. to H., influenced by the corresponding B. spellings. Not clear is the reason for the spelling n'wsrdyc (*nausardič*), N. of the first month, cf. Khwārezmian ناسارچی Beruni, *Chron.* 47.

Y

23. *y* is used as a consonant and as a mater lectionis for *i* (ə), ē (ī), ai.

(i) Initial position.

(1) *y* - : *ywnyδ* (*yōnēθ*) 'at once'; *yw'r* (*yawār*) 'but'; *yxwrn-* (*yχur'n-*) 'blood', cf. § 209.

24. (2) *i* - : *ytkw-* (*itkw-*) 'bridge', cf. § 126.

25. (3) *yy-* (imitating Parth. and MPers.) in *yyšw* 'Jesus' (§ 22) may stand for *i-* (East. Syr. *išō'*) or for *yē-* (West. Syr. *yēšū'*).

26. (ii) Internal position.

(1) *y* : *xwcy'q* (*χučyāk*) 'niceness'; *'p'yym* (*āpāyam*) 'I consider'; &c.

27. (2) *y* may indicate *i*, as in *wyssp-* 'all', or an indistinct short vowel approaching *i*, in which case it need not be spelled. Man. *'jytyytī* 'born' *Kaw. G 17*; Man. *'jty(ty) T ii D 12, 6*, Chr. *'žty i 69, 8*; Man. *nyzndy* 'humbleness' *T i D: nzndy'h M 765 k 7*, Chr. *nznty' ii 6, 13*; B. *zyβ-* 'to bite', § 610 fn. 1; Man. *jβ-*, § 840.

28. (3) *iy* : *fry'n* (*friyān*) 'of the dear ones', v. § 1207.

29. (4) *ē/i* : *ryt*, *ryyt* *JRAS, 1944, 143, 19*, 'face'; *mzyyn* 'armour' *M 133, 74*, *'mzyn T ii D 207, 5*; &c.

30. (5) *ai* : *ptškwyt* 'he says'; *nxywδδ*, 2 Pl. Imp. 'crush' *T i*.

31. (6) On *'y* v. §§ 8. 9. 15; on *'y* § 6; on *'y* §§ 19. 20. 21.

32. (iii) In final position the quantity of *y* = *ē, ī*, cannot always be established with certainty.

W

33. *w* is used as a consonant and as a mater lectionis for *u* (o), ū (ō), au.

(i) Initially.

(1) *w* - : *wrtn* (*wartan*) 'chariot'; *wyn-* (*wēn-*) 'to see'; *wyš-* (*wyaš-*) 'to rejoice', v. § 213.

34. (2) *u* - : *wjp-* (*užb-*) 'terror' *M 247, 12. M 794 a 8*, v. §§ 377. 510; *wβyw* (*wvyu*) 'sive', v. § 101; *wjk'k* 'letter', cf. § 472; *wrmzī* 'Thursday', v. § 103.

35. (ii) Internally.

(1) *w* : *kwyšī* 'giants', § 1186; *z'wr* (*zāwar*) 'strength'; &c.

36. (2) *u* (o) : *bwtly*, *pwtyy* 'Buddha'; *xwštr-* 'camel'; *rwxsšn-* 'luminous'; &c.

37. (3) *uw, ōw* (°w) : *rw'n* (*ruwān*) 'soul'; *'δw* (*əδuwa*) 'two'; *'wrīky* *M 591, 19. M 664, 17* 'resignation' or sim., connected by H. with

Chr. *'wrsd'r-* 'κλίνω' i 52, 8, *ōwart-* from **awa-warta-* 'to turn downwards'.

38. (4) Occasionally the mater lectionis for *u* is left out, cf. *xṭ'w* *yyšw* *T ii D 207*, 1, with *xwt'w* (*χυτῶν*) 'lord', passim.¹

39. (5) *ū/ō*: *rw-* 'river' *T ii T 267*, 10, *rwwt'°* *M 133*, 77. *M 715 c* 10; *γwwr* 'wild ass' *M 127 R 14* (H.); *δwr* 'far'; &c.

(6) *au*, v. § 131.

(7) On *'w* v. §§ 10. 11. 16; on *'w-* v. § 7.

40. (iii) Final.

(1) *u*: *'nyw* 'other'; *rwxsñw*, Acc., 'luminous'; *-šw* Encl. Pron. 3 Sg.; &c.

41. (2) *ō*: *yyšw* 'Jesus', §§ 22. 25.

b

42. *b* is used, in alternation with *p*:

(i) After *ā*, in Man. *'bwz*: *'pwx*, N. of the 10th day, cf. Chr. *'b* 'water', v. § 305.

43. (ii) After *m*. *δβ'mbn* 'lady, wife' *M 712*, 3; *δβ'mpn* *M 127 V 9* (*δvamban*); *'ymbn* 'perversion' *M 814* i 8. *M 664*, 35; *kmbyy* 'short of, imperfect, less', B. *knpy*; &c.¹

44. (iii) In loanwords. *bwtyy* 'Buddha': *pwtyy* *T ii D 62*, 16, *pwwtš'kmn* (§ 38, fn.); *b'syk* 'hymn' (adapted to Parth. *b's'h*): *p'syk*; *šbyr* 'scribe' *T ii D 79 d 7*.

d

45. *d* is used after *n*, *z*, and in loanwords, instead of, or along with, *t*. The pronunciation was, in any case, *d*.

(i) After *n*: *'ndwxs-* 'to strive' *BBB 710*: *'ndt'wxs-* *M 684*, 13; *r'mnd* 'always' *M 135 ii 13*: *r'mndt* *M 264 A 7*; *w'ndt*, Dem. Pron. Pl., *M 178 ii V 17*: *w'n(t)t* *Kaw.* V 16; &c.

46. (ii) After *z*: *'yzt* (*īzd*)¹ 'place; double hour' *M 548*, 5, *'yzt'yy*, Obl., ib. 3: *'yzt* *M 178 ii V 2*, Chr. *'yzt* ii 3, 54.

47. (iii) In loanwords: cf. Chr. *swmdr-* 'lake' i 77, 9, v. *Sogd.* 29, with Man. *swmtr-* 'ocean', from Skt. *samudra*, see §§ 413. 512.

³⁸ For S. cf. *šγw* 'words, speech' with B. *šγwaw*, v. § 222. Man. *pwwtš'kmn* 'Buddha Śākyamuni' *T ii D 66*, 1, 4, against S. [*š'k*] *mwn p'cty* *T ii D 77 (I)* R hl., cannot be regarded as belonging here, in view of the Parth. spelling *š'qm*, Turk. *š'kymn*, cf. *Mir. Man.* iii 880, n. 2.

⁴³ In Chr. texts *b*, corresponding to Man. B. *p*, is also found after *z*, cf. *'wšb-* 'terror' ii 3, 66. 69, Man. *wjp-* (§ 34), B. *wzp-*, cf. § 309.

⁴⁶ [Cf. now H., *BSOAS*, xii 316 sq.]

g

48. *g* is found :

(i) Regularly after *n*,¹ which in this case is often doubled: 'ngyryp 'with joined bodies', § 141; 'ngrnd- 'to cut', B. 'nkr'nt-; pryng, S. pr'yнк, a part of the face, Sogd. p. 6 on 7; srδnng 'chief, leader' M 197 V 12, srδng- Man. Lett. ii 16; yxwng 'discerning' Sogd. 35, 8, yxwng- Sogd. 31, 7; &c. [pr'yнк, v. Add. to § 976.]

49. (ii) In loanwords: 'dyng 'Friday' M 796 ii 7. 15. T ii D 66 a 21.

50. (iii) Otherwise: tmyg¹ 'hellish' M 118 i R 17: tmyq BBB; pr'gndyy¹ 'sowing': pr'kndyy BBB p. 72; wgy-n-¹ 'to destroy': wgy-n-, cf. § 219; wzrg¹ 'great' M 821 i 1 (only occurrence of this word in Man.); some abstracts in -gy', v. § 246.

p, t, k

51. Wherever we find *p, t, t̄, k, q*,¹ in a position in which the letters *b, d (d̄), g*, are used, we may assume that they were pronounced as voiced, cf. §§ 245 sq. 268 sqq. 304 sqq.

Elsewhere it is difficult to decide whether they acted as tenues or mediae (cf. BBB p. 57 on 495), except for *t (t̄)* after *β* and *γ*, where it was pronounced *d*, as shown by the very presence of *β* and *γ* (instead of *f* and *x*), by the Persian renderings *fd, γd*, cf. H., BSOS x 98, and by the evidence of related dialects (Khwarezmian and Ossetic).

β : f, γ : x

52. The voiced fricatives *β* and *γ* sometimes interchange with the voiceless *f* and *x*.

(i) *β* : *f*.

(1) After *t*. ptβs'mnly 'reading' M 116 R 13: ptfs[M 107 ii 3, Chr. ptfs- passim, Man. ptyfs-, Impf., § 622. Cf. § 468.

53. (2) After *r*. γrβ : γrf 'many', passim, Chr. always γrf, B. γrβ(y).

54. (3) Before *s*. pδwβ(s)', 3 Sg. Impf., 'to stick', § 453 : pδwfsyyny, Pres. Partc., § 890.

48¹ -nk- is quite exceptional: βjnnk'rlyy [sic] Pl., M 900, 4, against βjnngr'ryy passim.

50¹ Under the influence of MPers. t'ryg or sim., Parth. pr'gn-, wgy-n-, wzrg.

51¹ No phonetic reasons determine the choice between *t* and *t̄* and *k* and *q*. *t* and *k* are well suited for a compressed space, *t̄* and particularly *q* for filling out surplus space. Note the ornamental variation βyqkyr'n M 769, 2: βykyr'n T ii D 207, 30 'outside'.

55. (ii) γ : z .

(1) Before z (?). $'wyz'mndty$ 'descending' *M* 430, 2, otherwise always Man. $'wzz-$, cf. § 342; Chr. has $'wyzł$, 3 Sg. Pres., *i* 61, 16, but $'wxšł$, 3 Sg. Pret., *i* 33, 20. Cf. also Chr. $'yz'mntty$ 'resurrection' *i* 63, 12, 13, $'yz-$ 'to rise' *i* 7, 2. *ii* 4, 17, Man. $'nyz(y)nyy$, Pres. Partc., v. § 894, $'nyzndtt$, 3 Pl. Pres., *M* 502 o 5 (out of context), against Man. $mnzz-$, Impf., v. § 632; the Pret. is Chr. $'xšł$, 3 Sg., *ii* 4, 12, 19, the Causative Chr. $'xyž-$ *i* 30, 15, 39, 1.

56. (2) Before the t of the Past stem we find an analogical x instead of γ , in $ptcxt-$ *M* 116 R 5, against $pcył-$ *M* 627 *ii* 7, in $'wsuxł-$, v. § 1273, beside $'wsuył-$, and in $ywxtty$, *BBB* p. 68 on 544, where x was taken over from the Pres. stems $ptcxš-$ 'to receive', S. $'ws'wys-$ ($\delta su\chi s-$) 'to be purified', and S. $ywys-$ 'to be taught, to learn'.¹ The Pres. stem of Man. $fšquxł-$ 'to push in', Chr. $nyšquwxł'r-$: $nyšquyđ'r-$, v. *BBB* p. 74 on 604, 'to pull out', is not known.

57. (3) After r . Man. Chr. $šyrywzy$ 'friend' *M* 530, 4. *M* 849, 13. *ST* *i* 31, 19, 43, 18: $šyrxwzyy$ *M* 135 *ii* 63. *M* 549 *i* 10. *ST* *ii* 1, 17.¹

8

58. (i) δ (very frequently, without any apparent reason, spelled $\delta\delta$) corresponds to both Chr. (*ST* *i*) d and θ , viz. the voiced and voiceless fricative. Cf. Man. δyn , $\delta\delta yn$ 'religion': Chr. $d yn$ ($\delta\epsilon n$) and Man. $my\delta$, $my\delta\delta$ 'day': Chr. $my\theta$ ($m\epsilon\theta$).

59. (ii) In the case of $kš'm$ 'which' interchanging with $kt'm$, a dialect pronunciation d (voiced stop) may be assumed, cf. H., *BSOS* x 97, and v. § 268.

60. (iii) What exactly was the pronunciation of δ in those cases where other Iranian dialects have l (e.g. δyw 'unreliable': NPers. $l\acute{e}ve$, v. *BBB* p. 83; $pty\gamma'\deltał$ Pl., 'cups' *M* 771, 2: NPers. $pei\gamma\acute{a}le$, cf. Benveniste, *Notes* iii 233 sq.), is not known.¹

r

61. (i) r generally stands for consonantic r . For its articulation being lingual the following arguments are adduced by H.:

56¹ The same phenomenon is found in the actual pronunciation of Yidgha, cf. Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii 157.

57¹ Cf. Chr. $\theta b'r\gamma wž$ 'asking for gifts' *i* 42, 4, although in *ST* *i* the Pres. stem, when by itself, is also $\gamma wž-$ (73, 13).

60¹ Outside Man. cf. S. $\delta mt[yr$ 'lamp' *Sogd.* p. 40 on 11, and the triplets B. $k\delta p$ *SCE* 281 sq., $krp-$, $krp-$, 'kalpa', v. Hansen *apud* Reichelt, *Soghd. Handschr.* *i* 33, and Chr. $wdrz-$ 'to tremble' *i* 54, 16, Chr. $wlrz-$ *ii* 2, 1, B. $wyr'rz-$ *T* *ii* *D* 107 R 2.

(1) The adaptation of the letter *r* in the proper Sogdian alphabet to express the sound *l* (*r* with subscribed hook).

(2) The occasional rendering of foreign *l* by *r* in loanwords: *'ndrnyr* Sogd. 24, 12, from Skt. *indranīla*, B. *kṛp-* from Skt. *kalpa*, &c.

(3) *r* in Sogdian loanwords being rendered by *r* (not *γ*) in Persian, Uigur, &c., by *l* in Chinese.

(4) Unetymological *r* in anteconsonantic postvocalic position, cf. §§ 360 sq.

(5) The fact that the sound corresponding to Sogd. *r* in other Iranian languages is a lingual *r*.

62. (ii) In some cases *r* is to be taken as a weakened sonantic *r*: *mryyy* (*mə'γi*) 'bird', *wrnww* (*wə'nu*) 'faith', &c., cf. § 137.

h

63. *h* is used in the Dem. Pron. *hw̄nx* *M* 107 i 12. *M* 118 i R 13, beside *xwnx* *BBB* f 50. *M* 135 ii 4. *M* 794 a 7, and in loanwords or Sogdian words which have an equivalent with *h* in Western Iranian: *m'hjmnw* 'Monday' *T* i *D* 51, against *m'xjmnw* *BBB* p. 85; *mšyh'h* 'Christ' *M* 659, 7, S. *mš'yg'*; *rhnd* 'arhant' *M* 169 R 2. *M* 286 ii 12. *T* ii *D* 66, 1, 4, S. *ry'nt*; *fryhrw'n* 'believer' *T* ii *D* 62, 2, against *fryrw'n* passim; *wh'k(r)* 'merchant' *M* 134 ii R 3, against proper Sogdian *xw'qr*, cf. § 392; *pš'h'ryy* 'after-meal', against *pš'x'ryy* *BBB* p. 98; *n'(h)r* *M* 579, 7, B. *n'γ'r* *VJ* 317. 1092, 'jejunus', cf. NPers. *nāhār*.

h

64. *h* has no phonetic significance. It is used after final *-ʾ* or *-y* at the discretion of the scribe, its chief function being that of filling out surplus space, cf. H., *BBB* p. 80 on 670.

ž

65. *ž* (with the value of *ʃ*) is only used in the Parth. spelling *pnž* *T* ii *D* 66 a 7. 12 of Sogdian *pnc* 'five'.

j

66. (i) *j* usually stands for *ž*. Examples suggested by H.: *nyjy-* (*nižai-*) 'to go out', v. § 568; *'nwyj-* (*anwēž-*) 'to collect' (palatalized *z*, v. § 188); *jmn-* (*žamn-*) 'hour', cf. Parth. *jm'n* (Parth. *j = ž*), Arm. *žamanak*; *'jwn* (*āžon*) 'birth, son', cf. Turk. *جۇڭ* (Kāshgharī, i 73); Pers. *rēž* 'desire', *žγār* 'cry', *fiž* 'filth', representing Man. *ryj*, *jγ'r*, *βyj-*, v. H., *BSOS* x 99, 100, 101, respectively.

67. (ii) *j = ž*.

(1) After *n* in *'njmn*: *'ncmn* *M* 750, 3. *ST* i 87, 24 'assembly'; *pnjmyk* '5th' *M* 140 V 1. *T* ii *T* 22, 3: *pncmyk*.

68. (2) In *jkryy* 'sinful', cf. § 287.

c

69. *c* can stand for *č*, *ǰ*, *ts*, *dz*.

(1) That *c* can represent *č* is inferred from the interchange seen in § 67, and from the spelling *c* for older *tš*, *tc* (*wcnny*, Chr. *pcm'r*, Man. *pcxš-*, &c., v. § 164).

70. (2) The same interchange shows that after *n*, *c* can stand for *ǰ*.¹ Cf. also Pers. *linǰ*, rendering *-sync-* in Man. *pδδync-* 'to pull' (§ 600), v. H., BSOS x 104.

71. (3) *c* represents *ts*¹ in Chr. *mc* 'huc', 'wc' 'eo', v. § 461.

72. (4) *c* represents *dz* in *pcβwš-* 'to smell': *ptzβwš-*, *Sogd.* p. 47 bottom.

Peculiarities of Manichean manuscripts

73. Manichean scribes usually avoid splitting words between the end of one line and the beginning of the following one.¹ Therefore they often either lengthen words so as to fill out the line, or shorten them so as to fit them into one line.

74. (i) Words can be lengthened:

(1) By extending flat letters, such as *q* and *m*.

75. (2) By prolonging the left-hand connecting stroke of ' , δ, n, γ.

76. (3) By doubling ' , *y*, *w*, when they stand for long vowels, quite exceptionally even when they are short,¹ cf. *βyyj-* 'bad' *T ii D 117*, 20, 'tyy' 'and' *M 834 i 3*, and by doubling *t*, cf. *nftt* 'naphta', [γ]wqt̄t 'sulphur', v. H., BSOS x 398, *w'xšt̄t* 'words' *BBB 544*, *δδtyšt̄t* 'animals' *BBB* p. 61 top, &c.²

Sometimes these letters are even tripled, cf. 'tyyyh *M 769*, 16, *w'βt̄t̄t̄* 'he says' *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 13.

77. (4) By using internal ' (only before *y*), v. § 21.

78. (5) By using final *h*, v. § 64.

70¹ Chr. B. *c* is used for rendering foreign *ǰ* in loan-words. For Man., cf. *c'smn M 137 R 14*, V 6, MPers. **j'smn* (cf. *M 1*, 151). On S. *w'cγδ-* 'to dismount' v. § 263 fn. 1.

71¹ On the other hand, cf. B. *s'm* 'hairpin' *SCE 169*, from Chin. *tsām*, 'ym'wtsy 'parrot' *SCE 144*, 315, from Chin. *tsi*.

73¹ When they do so, they completely disregard the syllabic formation of words: *mrš'ep* (5) *ndty* (*marđaspa-ndi*) *M 118 i R* 'elements'; *ny* (15) *stt M 118 i V* 'is not' (*nī-st*); *šw'* (24) *zskun T ii D 117* (*šawā-zskun*) 'he was going'; *š[yr]* (104) *ng'ryy M 133* (*Sogd.* 17) 'pious'; *xrwmtz[̄t]* (5) 'βγγy *M 247*.

76¹ The doubling of final *-y* (often followed by *-h*) is, however, very common, irrespective of quantity.

76² Double *t* instead of a single one is frequent also in B. writing, cf. *γwtmtt* 'parents' *SCE 446*, 'nytt Pl. 'other' *VJ 43^b*, *βyttwš'rt* 'he gave' *VJ 236*, &c.

79. (6) Lines are filled by using punctuation dots.

80. (ii) Words are shortened :

(1) By leaving out the *matres lectionis*, not only when they stand for brief vowels, but also, occasionally, when the vowels are long: *xw'st'w'nft* (*χwastwānēft*) 'confession' *BBB* 609; *w'xšk* (*wāχšik*) 'spiritual' *BBB* b 23; *xwrmztβγ* *BBB* p. 139 (usually *xwrmzt'βγ-*); *'skwt* (*əskwāt*) 'should be' *BBB* b 50; &c.

81. (2) In this case the presence of a long vowel may be indicated by two dots under the line: *pšmṭy'* (for *pš'mty'*) *Sogd.* 21. 22; *sṭt'* (for *'ys't*) *Sogd.* 21. 25; *nyš'kṭt'* (for *nywš'kṭt'*) *M* 110 ii V 9; *xw'gd* 'tired' *BBB* 688, cf. *xw's'δ* *ib.* 714.

(3) In the writing of all three dialects a single consonant often stands for a double one: Man. *prwrtskwn* *T ii D* 63 a 4. 14, *prwrt* *M* 796 i 7, 3 Sg. Pres. of *prwrt-* 'to turn', but *prwrṭt* in *M* 796 i 25. *M* 521 b 30; B. *py't* *SCE* 171, Man. *py'tt* *Sogd.* 17, 24, 3 Sg. Pres. of *py't-* 'to adorn'; Man. *ptpyy* 'lamp, light', B. *ptpy*, from **pati-tapah-*, v. *BBB* p. 84 bottom; Man. *mry'rṭt*, Pl. of *mry'rṭt* 'pearl', *M* 135 i passim; Man. *γnd'kryy* 'evildoer' *BBB* 556, Chr. *γnd'qry* *ii* 3, 17, Chr. *γnt'q gry* i 27, 7 sq., *γnt'q qr*, Voc., i 48, 19; Man. *nymyδcyk* 'meridian', *nymyδ kyr'n* 'South', from *nīm* 'half' + *mēθ* 'day', v. *BBB* p. 99 on d 3; Chr. *'ym'x* 'we are', from *'ym+m'x*, v. § 778; &c.



PART 2
HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

Initial Short Vowels

a

82. (i) Summary.

(1) In front of a single consonant, or consonantic groups beginning with *s* or *š*, initial *a* (and *ha-*, v. § 397) is generally lost, except in OIr. disyllables, where its reduction is sporadic and late.

83. (2) The OIr. prefixes *apa-* and *abi-* appear as either *p-*, *β-*, or *'p-*, *'β-*. One may suppose that after the loss of the first vowel, their second vowel had sometimes been reduced, after which they became liable to take a prothetic aleph. Examples §§ 89 sq., 1163.¹

84. (3) In front of groups of consonants other than those in § 82, initial *a-* is preserved as *'-*, with the exception of Chr. *'yzt'* 'announcement' i 9, l. 29, 6, from *azdā*, beside Chr. *'zd'*, B. *'zt'*, § 284.

(4) Special cases are *'ym*, *'yš* (§ 432), and *'yjn* (§ 155).

85. (ii) Before a single consonant [treating *ny* as such].

(1) OIr. disyllables. Man. Chr. (*ST* *i*) B. *'zw*, Chr. (*ST* *i*) *zw* 'I', from Av. *azəm*; Man. *'wuw* (*awu*) and *wu* (*wu*), Acc. of the Article, from *awam*; Man. Chr. B. *'nyw* 'other', from *anyam*, exceptionally Man. Chr. *nyw* *M* 765 *k* 5. *ST* i 43, 10;¹ *Ancient Letters* 'c from *hačā*, against Man. *cn*, *cwn*, from *hačā*+*awana*.

86. (2) OIr. words with more than two syllables. Man. *xwrmzt'*, from *Ahura-mazdāh-*, but S. *'γwrmzt*, v. § 395 fn. 1; *mrt't* (*mərtāt*), N. of the 7th day,¹ from Av. *amərtāt-*; B. *p'myt'y*, *'tk* 'loan' *SCE*, *ST* *ii*, cf. Parth. *'b'myh*, NPers. *avām*, H., *BSOS* ix 80 (H.); Man.

83¹ Unexplained is the treatment of the preverb *awa-*, which in Sogdian became *ō-* (from *aw-*, cf. § 164), while in cases like *ahura-mazdāh-* (§ 86) and the preverbs *apa-*, *abi-*, the initial vowel was lost before the following syllable could be reduced. Cf. also *'wrδ* 'there', from *awaθra* (§ 440), and B. *'wδ* 'there' *VJ* 11^b. 193. 413. 832. 857. 860, against *wδy* from *awaδā* (§ 136). On Man. *'wntn* v. § 210 fn. 3.

85¹ In the Plural (originally **anūtā*, cf. § 494) and in compounds, where the loss of the initial *a-* is expected, it is often preserved on the analogy of the Singular. Cf. for the Plural Chr. *nyt* i 20, 30, B. *nyty*, Obl., *VJ* 199. but Man. *'nyt* *Kaw*. C 7, *'nyt* *M* 178 *ii* R 22, B. *'nyt* *VJ* 66^b. 450, *'nytt* *VJ* 43^b; in compounds, Chr. *ny'zng*, B. *ny'z'nk* and *'ny'z'nk* (v. *ST* *ii* 590 a) 'different', Man. *ny'wr* *T* *ii* *D* 117, 18, but B. *'ny'wr* *Dhu* 292, *'ny'wr* *VJ* 104 'autrefois' (cf. § 479), B. *ny'* and *'nyš* 'elsewhere', v. § 299.

86¹ To which *'r't*, N. of the 6th day, has been adapted (phonetically, *harwatāt-* might have resulted in **rūtāt*, cf. § 221).

prw 'after', from *aparam*, v. § 1142; words with the prefix *nw-*, § 1161, or the preverb *t(y)-*, §§ 661 sq.; &c. [v. Addenda.]

87. (iii) Before consonantic groups beginning with *s* or *š*.

(1) OIr. disyllables. Man. B. 'sty, S. 'st, Chr. *stȳ*, from *asti* 'is'; Man. B. 'sp- 'horse', from *aspa-*; Man. B. 'stk-, Chr. *stq-* 'bone', § 981, from **asta-(ka-)*; B. 'št(') '8', from **aštā*.

88. (2) OIr. words with more than two syllables. Man. Chr. B. *sm'n* 'sky', but S. 'sm'n, N. of the 27th day, from *asmānam*; Chr. *šp̄t* '80', from *aštāti-*.

89. (iv) The prefix *apa-* (§ 83). Cf. also § 1163. Man. Chr. *pywšt-*, Past stem: B. 'pyw'yž- *SCE* 336. 349, 'to conceal', cf. OPers. *apagaudaya-*; B. *py'rš-*: 'py'rš-, *py'nš-*: 'py'nš-, v. § 343; Chr. B. *pstn-* (*pstan-*, light stem, cf. §§ 174 sqq.) *ST ii* 2, 14. *VJ* 561 (v. *JRAS*, 1942, 99). 593. 614: 'pstn- *VJ* 671, 'respite, delay' (v. Lentz, *ST ii* s.v.), from **apa-stana-*; Chr. *pstw-* 'to deny, disclaim': Man. 'ps̄t'w-, Caus., v. *BBB* p. 101 on e 20; Man. *psuc-* 'to clear, purify': B. 'ps'wc- *Frg. iii* 68,¹ B. *pswys-*: 'pswys-, Intr., 'to clear up', v. *BBB* p. 105 on f 87; Man. *płr-*: B. 'pł'r- 'to pull out (hair)' v. H., *JRAS*, 1944, 143, adn. 4.

90. (v) The prefix *abi-* (§ 83). Man. *βj'w-* 'to increase', v. § 571, B. *βz'w-*: B. 'βz''w-; Man. *βtryt-*: B. 'βtryt-, Past stem, 'to oppress', v. § 152 b; 'βnw- 'to tremble', v. § 576; B. *βy'yš-*: 'βy'š- 'to boil', v. § 1068; Man. B. *βyr-*, Chr. *byr-* (*vīr-*),¹ Pres. stem, 'to obtain', Man. B. *βyrt-*, Chr. *byrt-* (*vīrt-*), Past stem, older form B. *βy'rt-* (*wyārt-*):¹ S. 'βy'rt- (passages quoted *ST ii* 580 a bottom), from *abi-*+root *ar-*, Av. *²ar-* 'to (be) award(ed)'; B. *βyδ'n* 'bridle' *VJ* 1419, *βδ''nh Dhu* 166, from Av. *aiwi.dāna-*, v. Benv., *Notes ii* 241; on *βywn-* 'to foresee' v. § 434.

91. (vi) Before other groups of consonants (§ 84). 'rt'w 'electus', from *artāwan-*; 'rsk 'envy', v. § 164; 'nywn 'similar', from **hamgaona-*, against *mywn* 'all', from *hama-gaona-*; 'nd(ry)kt, Pl., 'eunuchs', from *antar*, v. § 995; 'ngwšt 'finger', from *angušta-*; Man. 'βp̄t '70', from **haftāti-*; Chr. 'zd' 'announcement', v. § 284.

i

92. The treatment of initial *i-* (*hi-*, § 397) is similar to that of (*h*)*a-*, cf. §§ 82 sqq.

(i) Lost before a single consonant, but appearing as ' (representing an indistinct short vowel) in B. historical spellings: Derivatives from the Dem. Pron. *ima-*, v. §§ 1401, 1466 sqq.

89¹ 'ps'wcn, 1 Sg. Subj.

90¹ Cf. Yaghn. *wīr-/wīārt-*, Geiger, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i² 340.

93. (ii) Lost before *šk*, *šm*, and *zβ*, or replaced by a prothetic aleph: Man. *škw-*, *šwk-* 'dry': S. *'škw-* *Sogd.* 64, 13, from *hišku-*, v. *BBB* p. 53 on 486; *šm'r-* 'to think', (?)*šm'r* 'thought' from Av. *hišmar-* (H.); Man. *zβ'k* 'tongue' *T ii B R* 11, B. *zβ'k SCE* 128: B. *zβ'k DN* 32, *zβ'k VJ* 880, from Av. *hizvā-*.

94. (iii) Preserved as *i-*: B. *'yntk'w* 'Indian', from **hinduka-* (Bailey, *BSOS* viii 894 n. 2. ix 542), v. § 423; *'ync* 'woman'.

u

95. Initial *u-* (*hu-*, § 397) is lost, or preserved under the spellings *'-(ə-)*, *w-*, *'w-* (*u-*), in conditions similar to those obtaining for *a-* and *i-*.

96. (i) Lost. *twtty*, conjunction and adverb, 'that, then',¹ from *uta+uti*, cf. § 135; *pr*, preposition, 'in, on', from *upari*; *pδwβs-* 'to stick', from a root **dub+upa*, v. § 453; S. *šδ'kw* 'neck' *VJ* 769, *šδ'y SCE* 164, *šδyh Anc. Lett.* vi 4 (?), from Av. *ušadā-*, v. *Morgenstierne, IIFL* ii 251 b. [v. Add. p. 307.]

97. (ii) Appears as *'-*. Man. S. *'ty*, Chr. S. *'t* 'and', from *uta* (v. *BBB* p. 88 on 758), cf. § 118; Man. B. *'ztyw* 'exiled', from *uzdahyu-*, v. *Tedesco, BSL* xxv 151; B. *'str' mγδ* 'next day' or 'later in the day, afternoon' *VJ* 349, from **ustara-*, cf. Skt. *uttara*, Greek *ὑστερος*.

98. (iii) Appears as *w-*, *'w-*. B. *wp'p γntrw P* 3, 131, from Av. *wpāpō gandarwō* (H.); B. *'wš'y kyr'n* 'East' *Dhy* 113, from *ušah-*.

99. (iv) Nought alternating with *'-* (rarely, *'-*).

(1) Chr. *sq'*: Man. B. *'sk'* 'high, loud', adj. and adv., Man. *skycyk* adj.: *'skycyk*, v. § 1017, Man. *skys'r* 'up, upwards' *T ii D* 79 c 6: *'skys'r HR* ii 97, 2, Man. *sk'tryk*: *'sk'tryq*, v. § 1287, Man. *sk'wyh*, abstract, 'top, surface', v. § 1082, from Av. *usk-*, v. §§ 1215 sq.; Man. *pstq'ryy M* 125 R 2: B. *'pstk'r'k* 'assistant' *Vim* 75, from OPers. *upastā-*; Man. *spwrn-* *M* 133, 68, S. *spwrn-* *T ii D* ii 169 R 17. V 9, Chr. *spwrn-* i 84, 14: Man. *'spwrn-*, B. *'spwrn-* *SCE* 'full, complete', < **us-prna-*, cf. MPers. *'spwr*, Pahl. *uspur*, Khot. *uspurra*; Man. *pz't M* 672 ii 14, 'home, place of origin', *pz'tyk*, adj., *T i D* 12 (*Par.* 44): Man. *'pz'tyy*, Obl., *M* 286 i 16, S. *'pz'th X* 1 ii R 7. *T ii D* 77 (*A I*) 31, *'pz't Stell. Jesu*, plate iv, *T ii K* 178, 1 (H.), *'pz'tyt*, Pl., *T ii D* 89 (2) 1, *ckn'c* *'pz'tyš* 'where do you come from?' *T ii D* ii 169 (*a*) i R 12, 17, from *√zan-*+*upa* (H.); Man. *zwrt-* Pres. stem,

96¹ *frm'y twtyšyy zšyβt šβ'r't* 'give order that she should give him milk' *BBB* e 17 sq.; *w'nw q'mnd twf[y* 'thus they wish:' *T ii D* 139 i 11; *w'nw 'tyy* [. . .] *'š]kwnd twtyy* 'they are so . . . that' *M* 674, 12 sq.; *w'nw twtyšyh* 'so that his' *M* 125 R 4; *twtyšy* 'and its' *M* 664, 36; Chr. *twty* 'then' ii 5, 31. Dr. Henning has abandoned his assumption that this word should have been borrowed from MPers. *dwdy* (*ST* ii 604).

'to (re)turn' *M* 674, 25, Chr. *zwrt-* *i* 36, 7: Man. 'zwrt- *M* 117, 5, B. 'zw'rt- *VJ* 9^b, from *uz-warta-*; Man. *rwr*', B. *rwrh* 'medicine': B. 'rwrh, from Av. *urvarā-*, v. *BBB* p. 62 on 517.

100. (2) Like *rwrh*: 'rwrh are treated Man. B. *rw'n* 'soul': Chr. B. 'rw'n *ii* 2, 23. *VJ* 476. 537, from Av. *urvan-*, and S. *rw'rt-*: 'rw'rt 'fine, delicate', connected by H., *Additions to Sogd.*, with Av. *urwāθra-*. On Chr. 'rwzš v. § 158.

101. (v) Nought alternating with *w-*. Chr. *byw* (*vyu*) 'sive' *ii* 5, 21. 22: Man. B. *wβyw* (*uvyu*), < *ubayam*, Benv., *Gramm.* 173. [v. Add.]

102. (vi) Nought alternating with ' and *w-*. Man. Chr. 'šy' 'remembrance': Man. 'šy' *Sogd.* 21, 4. *M* 540 β 6, B. 'šyh: Man. *wšy* *T ii B R* 6, from *uši-* (H.), v. § 948.

103. (vii) Loanwords.

(1) B. *wšn'yš* 'ušnīša' *Dhy* 38; B. *wp'sy* 'lay-man' *ST ii* 8, 6, 'wp's'k *DN* 4, from Skt. *upāsaka*; B. *wpδy* 'lotus' *Dhy* 87, &c., from Prakrit *uppala*; B. 'wtrkw, from Skt. *uttarakuru*, *Dhy* 117 (cf. *ST ii* 551); Man. *wrmzł* 'Thursday', from West. Iranian *urmazd*, from *ōhrmīzd*, cf. *BBB* p. 86.

104. (2) S. *yzt'ys* 'idol' *T M* 389 a V 26, 'yztyskt'k 'idol-house, temple' *T M* 389 c 23, was probably borrowed not from MPers. 'wzdys, but from a corresponding Parth. form *'zdys (H.).

Short Vowels in Internal Position

a

105. (i) Remains, either not expressed in writing, or, less frequently, indicated by '-.', cf. § 14. *sng* 'stone' (*sang*); *frm'y-* 'to order' (*framāy-*); *z'wr* 'strength' (*zāwar*); &c.

106. (ii) Becomes an indistinct vowel approaching *i*, which is either spelled *y*, or not indicated at all. Cf. *i* from *a* in Ossetic and Persian (Miller, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i Anh. 18; Horn, *ib.* i² 24).

107. (1) Before *n*. Man. *prywynd* 'in this': Chr. *prywnł*, v. § 1460; *βynd* 'interdiction' *BBB* f 28: *βnd* 'prison' *M* 655, 18. *M* 814 i 12, *βndyh* 'slave' *BBB* b 87.

108. (2) After *j*. *jyt-*, Past stem, 'to strike' *M* 135 i 33: *jt-* *ib.* 30 (a parallel text in Sogdian writing, *T M* 418, has in both passages *zyt-*),¹ from Av. *jata-*.

109. (3) Before *š*. S. *nyšt-*, Past stem, 'to destroy': Man. *nšt-*, B. *nšt-*, cf. *BBB* p. 81; B. 'rd'yšp and 'rd'šp 'banner', from *drafša-*,

¹⁰⁸ Cf. also *Anc. Lett.* ii 40 *ptxwst zyt* 'he was killed' (cf. Germ. *totgeschlagen*)?

v. § 439; Man. *dyšcy* and *δšcy*, N. of the 15th day, from Av. *daβušō*, v. § 443.

110. (4) Before *s*. *βyst-*: *βst-*, Past stem, 'to bind', cf. *BBB* p. 53 on 485.

111. (5) Before *r*. *kyr'n* 'side, direction', *nykyr'n* 'outside, except': B. *nykr'n*, from Av. *karan-*, v. § 1148; B. *cyrδp'δw* and *c'rδ'p'δw* 'quadruped', v. § 440.

112. (6) With some words it is not known whether the original vowel was *a* or *i*. *jβ-* 'to bite': B. *zyβ-*, cf. § 610 fn. 1; '*spnc-* 'rest-house, inn' *M 178 i V 4*: '*spync-* *T ii D 139, 5*, cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.* i¹ 109; *spnyy* 'dirt': '*spyn-* 'sinful', v. *BBB* p. 102 on f 8.

(iii) Different from the cases enumerated in the preceding sections, are those where an old *a* has been palatalized by *y*, v. § 201.

113. (iv) In the neighbourhood of *γ*, *χ*, *b*, and *n*, we sometimes find *u* in the place of an expected *a*.¹ Cf. § 120 on *ō* from *ā*. B. *wytwyt-*, Past stem of **wyc-* 'to flow', B. *wyc'wytk* 'wise': *wyc'ytk*, cf. *BBB* p. 62 on 516; B. *mwyšk-* 'fly', v. § 975, from **maxšika-*; B. *γnp'wn(h)* *Vim 43. 72*, translating (together with *rym*) Skt. *kleśa* (Weller): Man. *ymbn* 'effort', cf. Lentz, *ST ii 583 b*, and H., *BBB* p. 105 on f 79; cf. also B. *šwnk* 'mussel' *Dhy 52. 180*, borrowed from Skt. *śaṅkha* (H.).

(v) For other changes v. § 202 on (*i*)*ya*, § 204 on *a(h)ya*, §§ 221 sq. on *wa*.

(vi) On the frequent loss of *a* through syncope v. §§ 164 sqq., 168 sqq.

(vii) *a* is irregularly lengthened in *wštm'x* 'paradise', from Av. *vahištəm ahūm*, cf. MPers. *whyšt'w*.

i

114. (i) Preserved as an indistinct vowel, which is either not written or spelled *y*, '.

(1) *dyšt'yy* 'built' *M 776, 10*: B. *δšt'y VJ 44^b*, from Av. *-dišta-*; *nγwš'k* (thus always) 'auditor'; cf. the preverb *ni-*, §§ 676 sqq.

115. (2) *i* is always spelled *y* in *wysp-* 'all', *mysyy* from *Miθra-*, and in some words with the prefix *wi-*, v. § 216.

116. (3) OIr. *i* appears as ' in B. *'rw'stk* 'fixed', *ST ii*, from Av. *urvišta-*, v. § 158, and cf. B. ' from *u* in *'ws'γtp'zn* (§ 119).

117. (ii) Is lost, cf. *wššnyh* § 163, *βγn-* § 165, B. *'ptyw'r* § 170, *'ptr-* § 178, &c. Disappears after palatalizing a following *k*, v. § 247.

(iii) On (*i*)*ya* v. § 202; on (*i*)*yā* v. § 205; on *iy* v. §§ 493 sq.

ix³ On a similar development in Yidgha v. Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii 90.

u

118. (i) Preserved: *p'rwty* 'nam', *kδwty* 'as if', B. *kt'rwtsy* 'or' *P* 2, 984, from *p'r*, *kδ(?)*, *kt'r*, + OIr. *uta* 'and', cf. §§ 96 sq.; *ptmwyt-*, Past stem, 'to dress', and other Past stems.

119. (ii) Becomes an indistinct vowel which is expressed by *y*, in B. also by *'* (cf. B. *'* from *i*, § 116), or left unwritten. *δšt'wc*: *δyšt'wc* (*δaštāuč*) 'poverty', cf. § 1080; *o'pšyy* 'son', S. *o'pδr*: B. *o'pyδr'k*, from *puδra-*, cf. *BBB* p. 73; *fr'wycyh* 'forgetfulness', from **frāmušti-*, v. § 382; *ptmync-* 'to dress' (§ 600, *b*), B. *βr'mcn-* (§ 327), from **munč-*, cf. Av. *paiti.šmuxta-*, *framuxti-*; B. *wydyšt'h* (*wādišt*) 'wives', Pl. from *wuδ-*, v. § 506; B. *'wsy'p'zn* 'pure heart' *SCE* 6. 62: *'wsy'p'zn* *VJ* 82. 100, &c., Man. *'wsy'p'*; B. *'r'ys-* 'to wish': Man. **'rwx* 'desire', v. § 539 [but cf. Benv., *TSP* 202 sq.].

(iii) Is lost through syncope, cf. *ps'k* § 171, B. *'βš'h* § 169.

Old Iranian Long Vowels and Diphthongs (Initial and Internal)

120. (i) Turn up, normally, as long vowels: *'p* 'water': *m't* 'mother'; *δur* 'far'; *rw't* 'river'; *δyn* 'religion'; *kyn* 'vengeance, hatred'; Chr. *nur* 'now'; *fryš-* 'to send', from *fra-*+*iš-*; *'ys-* 'to come', from *ā-*+*is-*, cf. § 539; *'yw* 'one'; &c.

(ii) An isolated case of *ā* becoming *ō* after *v*, is that of Chr. *bwžbrt*, Pl., 'publicans' i 19, 12, from OPers. *bāji-*. Cf. § 113. [See Add.]

121. (iii) *ā* is shortened.

(1) *'m(?)tyy* (*āmate*, cf. § 14) 'ready', against NPers. *āmāde*, cf. Reichelt, *ZII* vii 143; *'ztyy* 'free' *M* 672 ii 13, against NPers. *āzād*; Man. *rwps* *T* i *D*, S. *rwps'h* *P* 13, 18, *rwpsyh*, Obl., *SCE* 149, against Parth. *rwb's*, Khot. *rrūwāsa*, Skt. *lopāśa*; *pšn* 'heel', Acc., *M* 142 R 8, against Av. *pāšna-*, NPers. *pāšne*; (*rwxšn'yr*)*dmn* 'paradise', against *δm(?)n* 'dwelling place', *δβ'mbn* 'lady', v. § 466 fn. 1 possibly Chr. *p'crt'y* (Oblique) 'reward', beside Man. *p'crt'z*, from *patirāta-*, v. § 674 fn.; the ending *-ān*, from *-āni*, of the 1 Sg. Subj., v. § 685; a shortening has to be assumed also for *pt'xwng* 'murder', *yxwng* 'discerning', v. § 976, = *-χwang* or *-χung* from **-χwānaka-* from **-χwahanaka-* (H.).

122. (2) As pointed out by H., the verbal nouns *-dāna-* and *-stāna-* have their long vowel regularly shortened in Sogdian. This tendency can be traced also in the Avesta (cf. *gaodana-*). For *-dāna-* cf. B. *z'kδn'k*, § 1117, Man. B. *pr'(?)δn* 'selling, sale' *BBB*. *VJ* 1229. 1273.

1282. 1304, from **parādāna*-¹ and S. *pyrδn*- 'saddle' < **pari-dāna*-, v. H., *JRAS*, 1944, p. 140 adn. 1; for -*stāna*- cf. the suffix -*stan(e)*, § 1118; Chr. *byyst'n* 'monastery', B. *βγyyst'n*, *βγ'yyst'n* (*T M* 422, 8) 'paradise', has its *ā* preserved under the influence of other Iranian languages.

Also the Past Participles -*dāta*-, -*stāta*-, have been reduced in B. *pr'(?)δt*- (v. fn.), and B. *'wstt* (§ 555) from *awa-stāta*-; but -*stāta*- is preserved in B. *'wst't*- (§ 554), B. *nyšt't*- (§ 561), Man. *ptst't* 'opposition' (§ 552 fn. 1).

123. (3) The shortening of *ā* before *ya* or *wā*, is another feature common to Sogdian and Avestan.¹ The examples adduced by H. are:

124. (a) Before *ya*. *'jy*- 'to be born' (v. § 182), Av. *zaya*-, against NPers. *zāyad*, Skt. *jāyate*; *sy'k M* 485, 9, Chr. *sy'q* 'shadow', B. *sy''kh* 'shadow, canopy', from **sayāka*-, cf. Av. *asaya*-, against NPers. *sāye*, Skt. *chāyā*; Man. B. *my'kcyk* 'happy' *T ii D* 66 c 3. *P* 6, 5, cf. Av. *mayā*- and *māyā*-; Man. *'wstjy*- 'to put', v. § 552, Av. *staya*- and *stāya*-.

However, not every Avestan reduction of this kind has a corresponding Sogdian one, cf. *sn'y*- 'to wash', against Av. *snaya*-.

125. (b) Before *wā*. S. *nw''z* 'sailor' *T ii D* 77 (*A I*) 28, Man. *n'wzyy M* 137 R 6 (misspelling?), Av. *navāza*-, against Parth. *nāwāz*, Skt. *nāvāja*.

126. (iv) *ai* has become *i* in the light stem *ytkw*- 'bridge', from Av. *haētū*-, cf. § 518, against Yaghn. *ilk*. For the partial or complete reduction of a secondary *ai* v. § 210 fn. 2. On **abi-waina*- v. § 434.

127. (v) *au* has become *ō* before *χ*, in the light stem *ruχšn*- 'luminous', from Av. *raoxšna*-, and in Chr. *tzmy*, *twzmy*, B. *tymy* (*tōχme*), 'seed, offspring, family', from Av. *taoxzman*- (cf. B. *γwt(?)m*, § 444), also contained in Man. *mrtzmyy* (*martōχme*) 'man'.

128. (vi) -*au*- becoming -*wa*-? Only in isolated spellings, which may be misspellings or cases of wilful metathesis (of the *wc'γwt'k* type, cf. H., *BSOS* ix 548). However, in view of the analogous development in Pašto (Geiger, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i² 208 top), the change may be genuine. Cf. S. *tw'z T M* 418 V 8, corresponding to Man. *twj M* 135 i 54 (being another copy of the same text), 3 Sg. Impf.

122¹ The forms attested for 'to sell', are analysed by H. as follows: Pres. stem B. *pr'yδ*- *VJ* 1247. *SCE* 413. *P* 2, 775, from **parādāya*- becoming *parādāya*- (acc. to § 124) and then *parēδ*-; Past stem B. *pr'(?)δt*- *VJ* 1230. 1252, from **parādāta*- becoming **parādāta*-, and then **parādēt*-, *parāēt*-; analogical Past stem Chr. *parēēt*-, i 9, 7, where H. restores *p[r]yθt[yθ] bnt* 'are sold'.

123¹ This was illustrated by H. during a lecture held at a meeting of the Philological Society in February 1943. [*v. Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1942, 50].

of Chr. *tuž-* 'to pay', cf. Pahl. *tōž-*; B. *ptrw'z-* 'to intercept', against the Past stem B. *ptrwyt-* cf. *JRAS*, 1942, 99.

129. (vii) Under unexplained conditions *āi* loses its second element. The examples are B. *pr'šy* 3 Sg. Impf., 'he sent' *VJ* 1405. 1417, which, acc. to H., belongs to Man. *fryš-*, v. § 198 (*frāšai*, from **frāišai*, from *fra*+*a*+*aišaya-*); *ās-* 'to take', from *ā-yasa-*, against the Past stem *ēt-* from *ā-yata-*, v. § 539. Cf. also the peculiar *x'w-* from **χwāy-*, v. § 233.

130. (viii) *āu* is reduced to *ā* in '*xšn'm* 'forgiveness, absolution', v. *BBB* p. 102 on f 11, from **χšnāuman-* (H.), cf. *Sogd.* p. 33 on 12b.

131. (ix) In late texts there is a tendency to reduce *āu* to *au*, and *ē* (from *ai*) to *ē*.

(1) *āu* became *au* in Chr. (*ST ii*) *xwdu* 'lord', against Man. Chr. (*ST i*) *xwt'w*, and in the suffix Man. *-wc*: *-uc*, v. § 1080.

132. (2) *ē* became *ē*. Chr. (*ST ii*) *xšwny* 'king', *xšwnc* 'queen', *xšwnqy* 'kingship' (*χšēwan-*), against Man. Chr. *xšywn-* (*χšēwan-*), cf. § 1086; Chr. *prw*, B. *prw P 2*, 1137 and *pr'w P 2*, 1191. *P 3*, 53. 184. 187. 188. 189. 190 (*parēw*), postposition, against Man. *pryw*, B. *pr'yw* (*parēw*), 'together with', lit., acc. to H., 'in one', from *par*+*ēw*.¹

133. (x) On *au* palatalized by *y* v. § 187. Here may be mentioned a case of palatalization of *-āu-* by a final *-i*: B. *χwt(')ynh* (*χutēn*)¹ 'queen', from **χwatāūni-*, Fem. of **χwatāwan-*, cf. Av. *ašaonī-*.

(xi) On the palatalization of *ā* v. § 201; on *-(i)yā-* v. § 205.

Old Iranian Vowels in Final Position

134. Preserved only with light stems, cf. §§ 484 sqq.

(i) *-a*.

(1) Remains *-a*, e.g. in the endings of the Vocative (§§ 1176, 1203) and the 2 Sg. Impf. (§ 697).

135. (2) '*ty* 'and' from *uta*, cf. § 97, owes its *-y* to the conjunction '*ty* 'that' (used mainly after *w'nw*, cf. §§ 1604 sq.) from *uti* (Av. *uiti*, cf. also *tuwty*, § 96). The correct outcome of *uta* would seem to be Man.¹ Chr. B. '*t* (cf. §§ 500 sq.), which is only used for 'and', and as an expletive particle to which enclitic pronouns are attached, not for 'that'. Cf. also the literary *tuwty*, against the contaminated form B. *tywty*, § 1349.

132¹ [v. Addenda].

133¹ Cf. خدینه (wrong for خدینه (H.)), Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 188.

135¹ *M* 137 R 4. V 11. 14. *M* 765 k 7. With enclitics: '*ty* *M* 655, 26. *M* 127 V 13. *M* 137 V 1; '*tyy*, v. *BBB* s.v. *-f-*; '*tyy* *M* 14 V 3; '*sn* *M* 310, 3; '*z'* *M* 280 R 8. 15; '*z'* *ib.* V 12; '*fn* *T ii D* 66, 1, 25.

136. (3) The reason of the final *-y* in Man. *wδyy* 'there' *M* 120, 9, *M* 127 R 9, &c., B. *wδy VJ* 1400, Chr. *wδy*, from *awadā* (against B. 'wδ, § 83 fn.), and of Man. *mδyy* 'here' *Man. Lett.* ii 16, B. *mδy VJ* 307, 324, 796, Chr. *mδy i* 14. 23, from **imadā*, is not known.

(ii) *-i*. Remains *-i*, cf. the ending *-ty* of the 3 Sg. Pres., § 704; on the treatment of *ahmi* and *ahi* v. § 432.

(iii) *-ā*. Appears as *-*, cf. the endings of the Nom. Sg. Fem. §§ 1170, 1193, and the Nom. Pl. §§ 1185, 1205.

(iv) *-ī* possibly appears under the spelling *-y* of the Nom. Chr. *ywxny* 'blood', v. § 1168 fn. On its palatalizing effect v. § 133.

(v) *-ū* appears under the spelling *-w* of the Nom. Man. *wδw* 'wife', v. § 506.

Old Iranian *r̥*

137. OIr. *r̥* before *-nt*, *-nk*, *-nč*, *-ft*, *-fs*, *-χt*, *-χs*, becomes *r* followed by a short vowel.

Otherwise it is generally reduced to a super-short vowel (a *Šwā compositum*) followed by a weak *r* which is liable to disappear.

In the latter case alternative spellings, with and without *r* (cf. §§ 145-8), show that *r* may not have been pronounced at all in many cases where it is regularly spelled. Hence the intrusive *r* mentioned in §§ 359 sqq. The weak pronunciation of *r* from *r̥*, is also shown by its not making position, v. § 485.

The short vowel before *r*, can be either *ə* (usually not expressed, rarely spelled *y*), or *i* (spelled *y*, v. §§ 140 sq.), or *u* (spelled *w*). What determines the choice of the vowel, is not clear, except that Dr. Henning has noticed that where OIr. *r̥* appears in Avestan as *-ahr-*, Sogdian has *-r-* (§ 139), where it appears in Avestan as *-əhr-*, Sogdian has *-yr-* (§ 141).

The vowel *ə* remaining after the disappearance of *r*, is either spelled *y* (§§ 146 sq.), or not expressed. It is liable to be reduced, like any brief vowel.

Initial <i>r̥</i> {	'r-, § 154. 'š-, before -š-, § 155.
Internal <i>r̥</i> {	-(^h)r-, §§ 138 sq. -r(^h)-, §§ 152-152c. -yr-, §§ 140 sq. -ry-, §§ 153 sq. -w(r)-, § 151. -rw-, § 153b. -ə- or nought, §§ 144-50.

138. (i) *r* appears as *-r-*, rarely *-ʾr-* (on initial *ʾr-* v. § 154).

(1) B. *ʾprs-* VJ 480. 541. 601. 897, *ʾpʾrs-* VJ 54^c. 36^d. 658. 709, *āpʾʾs-*, 'to take leave', cf. Skt. *āpṛcch-*; Man. *wprs*, B. (?)*wpʾrs* 'question', cf. § 214, from **wipṛsa-* (on *ps-* 'to ask' v. § 145); *βrzyy*, B. *βrzʾk*, (*vəʾze*) 'long', cf. § 967, from **βṛzaka-*; *γβ-* 'to know', from *grb-*; Man. Chr. S. *yʾrt-*, B. *yʾʾrt-*, (*yʾoʾt-*) 'wide', from **wi-grta-*, cf. §§ 220. 490. 518; *δrjyy* (*δəʾžī*) 'heart', Acc., *M* 591, 17, B. *δrzy*, Gen., SCE 99, from **dʾzaya-*, cf. § 182, v. also Chr. *žyʾwr*, § 148; *mry-* 'bird', cf. §§ 149. 485; *mrywndyy* 'lump, clod' *Sogd.* 56, 29, with old *r*, judging by § 149; *mrtʾt*, N. of the 7th day, from Av. *aməratāt-*, S. *mrt-* Past stem 'to die' *Anc. Lett.* ii 3^f (v. H., ZDMG. 90, 198), S. *mrtch* Fem. adj. 'immortal' (H.), *Anc. Lett.* iii 4, from *-mṛta-*, otherwise appearing as *murt-* (§ 151);¹ Man. Chr. *prcy*, B. *prch* 'back', from *pṛṣṭi-*, v. § 275; *prsʾ*, Acc., *'side, hour', *M* 178 ii V 2. 4, cf. Av. *parəsu-* (H.); *sp(rzyh)* 'splenic' *Sogd.* 31, 1, from Av. *spəərəza-*.

139. (2) Corresponding to Av. *-ahr-*: B. *crks* 'vulture' (cf. § 249), from Av. *kahrkāsa-* (*kṛka-*, cf. Walde-Pokorny, i 413); S. *kṛpsʾk* 'lizard' *P* 13, 19, cf. Av. *kahrpuna-*, NPers. *karbas*, *čūlpāse* (H.).

140. (ii) *r* appears as *-yr-*. On palatalized *r* v. §§ 185, 190.

(1) *kyrm-* 'snake', cf. Skt. *kṛmi-*.

141. (2) Corresponding to Av. *-ahr-*: Chr. *wyrq-*, B. *wyrk-* 'wolf', Av. *vāhrka-*; Man. *ʾngyr(p)*['with united bodies' *Kaw.* G 14, from Av. **hankāhrpa-*¹.

142-143. (3) Alternating with *-r-*? It is doubtful whether Man. *ptšmyrtyt*, Chr. *pcmrtyt*, Past Partc. Pl., Man. *ptšmrt*, Infin., 'to think, count', correspond to Skt. *smṛta*, NPers. *šumurde*, or are secondary formations, cf. § 486 fn. 2.

144. (iii) *r* becomes *ə*, usually not expressed in writing, occasionally spelled *y*. In B. the historical spelling with *-r-* often persists. This reduction is attested, but does not always take place, before *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*, *t*, perhaps also *γ*.

ə was sometimes lost, cf. *ʾkt-* § 171, *ʾps-* ib., B. *ʾprtk* § 170, *wšyn-* § 177.

145. (1) Before *s*. Man. *ps-*, S. *ʾps-*, beside B. (?)*prs-* 'to ask' (*ps-*, *əps-*), *ptfs-*/*ptβs-* (*ptf/vəs-*) 'to read', cf. §§ 52, 468, from (*pati-*)*pṛsa-*,

¹38 The word for 'element', Man. *mrdʾspnd(t)*, Chr. *mrdʾspnt-*, from *amṛta-spanta-*, is not Sogdian; its *-δ-* suggests the same origin as that of *murdw* 'death', in B. *zʾt murδw* 'birth-death, *samsāra*', *Dhu* 38, *zʾt ʾt murδw Vim* 7, Man. *zʾdmurδw Tʾi D* 63 a 8. 10, cf. Parth. *zʾdmurd*, and in B. *pyšmurδw* 'after death' *P* 8, 72 (H.).

¹41 Man. *-gyrp-* further weakens Benveniste's connexion of B. (?)*kyδrpw* with Av. *kāhrp-*, which disagrees with phonetic rules. [v. H., BSOAS, xi 721.]

cf. B. *p(*)rs-, Man. *wprs*, § 138; S. *brkst-* (*frakəst-*), quoted § 1657, Past stem of Man. *frkrnd-* 'to cut' (H.), v. § 152.

146. (2) Before *z*. *wyzz-*, cf. § 522, beside which B. texts also have the older spelling *wzzr-* (*SCE* 380. *Vim* 27. *P* 2, 95), 'right, true, stiff',¹ originally 'straight' (cf. its opposite B. *k'βt'k 'wrong', lit. 'bent, crooked'), from Av. *vərəzra-.²

147. (3) Before *š*. Cf. the loss of consonantic *r* before *š*+consonant, § 357; on initial *r* before *š* v. § 155. *umšt-*, Past stem, 'to spoil, destroy' *M* 356, 9, S. *umršt-*, v. *BBB* p. 100 on e 7; with different preverb, *frmšt-*, v. § 529; *wšyn-* (*wšayn-*), N. of Adamas and of the 20th day, from Av. *vərəθrayna-*, cf. §§ 211, 509; B. *wšn-* (*wəšn-*) 'male' *P* 19, 20, cf. Skt. *vṛṣan* (H.); (*)*wš-* 'hungry', from **wṛš-*, v. § 210; Man. *qyštyc* 'cornfield', B. *kšt'yc-*, Man. *kšt-*, Past stem, 'to sow', from *kṛšt-*, cf. also Man. *qš'wrzyy* 'ploughman', v. *BBB* p. 72 on 570; *-kyšp-*, from Av. *karšvar-*, in Man. *βtikyšpy xwšt'w*, Nom., *M* 178 ii R 4, *βtk[š]pyh xwšt'w*, Abl., *T ii D* 66, 2, 5 sq., 'the lord of the seven *kišvars*', epithet of the *Spiritus Vivens* (H.), B. *βtikyšp*, Abl., *P* 3, 209, cf. § 498. [v. Addenda.]

148. (4) Before *ž* (cf. § 355), in Chr. *žy'wr* 'heart', from Man. *δrjy'wr*, v. § 287, and cf. *δrjyy*, § 138.

(5) Before *t*. Man. B. *'kt-* and *'krt-* (*əkt-*), Chr. *qt-* (*kt-*), 'to do, make', from *kṛta-*; Man. [*γ*] *wqtt*, B. *γwkt* 'sulphur', from **gaukṛta-*, cf. H., *BSOS* x 398; *'sptyy* 'complete, perfect', cf. *'spwrn-*, § 151; Chr. *ptyqn*, S. *ptkntw* 'guilty', B. *ptw* 'retribution', B. *'prtk* 'guilty', cf. *BBB* p. 89 on 763, from *prt-* 'to condemn', cf. also § 487.

149. (6) Before *γ*. Only indirect evidence. Beside Man. B. *mry-* 'bird', cf. § 138, we have B. *'mry'*, *SCE* 170. 174, pointing to a pronunciation *əmya*, cf. Khwār. *'mγ'*; *mrywundy* 'lump', § 138, has been borrowed by NPers. as *muyunde* (H.), presumably from **məyunde*, with assimilation.

150. (7) In *cf-* 'to steal', from *tṛp-*, B. *cšn-* 'thirst', from **tṛšna-*, and B. (*)*cštyh* 'terror', from **tṛšti-*, v. § 277, *tṛ-* may first have become *trə-*, cf. §§ 152 sqq., then *čə-*.

151. (iv) *r* appears as *wr*, reduced to *w* in Chr. *spwn-* (cf. § 356). B. *βwrt-*, Past stem, 'to offer, bring', v. § 486 fn. 1; *murt-*, Past stem, 'to die', cf. § 518, against older *mrt-*, § 138; B. *mwrzk-* (*mu'zrk-*),

¹⁴⁶ *wzzrw* 'stiff (legs)' *SCE* 380.

¹⁴⁶ **vərəzra-* can be postulated as the adjective which appears in compounds as *vərazi-*. Thus *vərazi.čəšman-*, **dōiθra-*, mean 'with straight eyes', **saoka-*, **savah-*, 'giving straight help', *vəzəzyaphvā-*, 'with straight purpose'. Differently on *wzzrw* Benv. *Notes* ii 226 sq.

v. §§ 522, 975, 'short, small', from **mřzuka-*, cf. Gauthiot, *MSL* xviii 343 sq., where, however, the *w* may be due to a metathesis of *u*; B. *pwrd'nk* 'leopard' *P* 3, 137, cf. Skt. *prđāku*; *pwrn-* 'full', cf. § 513, *spurn-*, 'spurn-', Chr. *spwn-*,¹ from (*us-*)*přna-* (v. § 99), cf. 'sptyy, § 148. Cf. also *kun-*, 'to make' < *křnu-*.

152. (v) *r* becomes *ra*.

(1) Before *-nd*. Man. *frkrnd-* (Past stem S. *řrkst-*, v. § 145), 'ngrnd-, B. 'nkr'nt-, B. *ptkr*(^o)nt-, from *-krnt-* 'to cut', v. *BBB* p. 58 on 500 sq.

152a. (2) Before *-ng*. Man. *řtrng* 'oppression' *M* 108 R 1, from **abi-třng/ka-*, cf. Pers. *fadrang*, *ādrang*, H., *BSOS* x 101.

152b. (3) Before *-γd*. Man. *trγt-* (*traγd-*) 'depressed', *řtrγt-*, B. 'řtrγt- *P* 2, 133, Past stem of B. *řtr*(^o)*ync-* 'to oppress' (§ 153), v. *BBB* p. 60 on 510, from **třnřta-*.¹

152c. (4) Before *-χs*. B. *mnr'γs*, 3 Sg. Impf., 'became oppressive', v. § 403 fn., from **ham-třnχs-*.

153. (vi) *r* appears as *ry*.

(1) Before *-nč*.¹ *mrync-* 'to destroy', *M* 549 ii 4, cf. Av. *mərənča-*, *mərənčya-*; B. *řtr*(^o)*ync-* 'to oppress', from **abi-třnř/ča-*, cf. § 152b.

153a. (2) Before *-vd*. S. *ptyryřt-*, Past stem, 'to take', *Anc. Lett.* iii 21, from *-grřta-*.

153b. (vii) *r* becomes *ru*.

(1) Before *-fs*. B. *zrywřs-* 'to be raised' *Dhu* 257, v. H., *BSOS* x 509, from **uz-grřfs-*.

(2) In *pcmrws-* 'to touch', from **-mřs-*, cf. *BBB* p. 80 on 664, Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, 214 fn.

154. (viii) In initial position.

(1) *r* becomes 'r- (*ar-*). 'rt'wspy'h 'community of the electi', v. § 470, S. 'rtγw, N. of the 25th day, v. § 237, from *řt-*; Man. *i 'rdwk-* 'sincere', v. § 423, from *ardu-* in OPers. **ardumaniš*, cf. the adjective Av. *arədra-* (H.).

155. (2) *r-* became *ř*, before *ř*, in B. 'řřh 'bear' *SCE* 359, from **řša-*. With this development H. compares B. 'řcy'n'k 'worthy', v. *BBB* p. 93 on b 42, from **arřy-an-* (or **řřy-an-*), with metathesis S. 'yřc'ny and 'yřc'n'y, 10, 123 (*T i a*), from which Man. 'yjn, v. § 290.

151¹ Cf. Yaghn. *pun* 'full'.

152b¹ Thus H., who assumes an OIr. side form **třnřta-* for Av. *řtrřta-*.

153¹ *-inč* is perhaps merely a secondary development from *-anč*, cf. §§ 106 sqq.

Prothetic aleph

156. Two types should be distinguished :

(1) A euphonic prothetic ' before groups of consonants which

(a) are inherited from Old Iranian (§§ 157 sq.; with the order of consonants inverted, §§ 439. 441),

(b) are the result of a non-initial short vowel having been reduced in the first syllable (v. §§ 169-72, 178 sq.). These cases can be regarded as examples of regressive metathesis of the short vowel, cf. the history of B. *wγwšw*, § 417 fn. 1.

(2) A prothetic ' proper, before single consonants which

(a) are single by origin (§§ 159-61),

(b) have become single owing to a metathesis (§ 162).¹

The prothetic ' does not affect the rhythmic value of light stems, cf. § 497.

157. (i) Euphonic prothetic ' before Old Iranian groups of consonants (in Man., before *s*, also '-).

(1) 'stryc' 'feminine, female' *M* 549 i 16. 19. *T ii B R* 16, 'stryc *M* 549 i 17. 18. 20, *stryc BBB*, from *strika-; 'st'rytyy, Pl. Obl., *M* 264 A 26, S. 'st'rk̄t *X I ii R* 5, Man. *st'ryyt̄ M* 140 R 2, 'stars', from *stāraka-; B. 'st'np̄ 'coarse', Man. *stmb* 'stern', cf. *Sogd.* 18 bottom, and Benv., *Notes* i 43, Man. (?) *s(t)βtyy S* 40 ii R 3,¹ 'stβtyyh *BBB*, 'stβt̄c', Fem., *T i D*, *stβty M* 134 ii R 7, 'cruel', from *stamb-/stafta-*, cf. Av. *stānbya*; Man. B. 'sp's, Chr. *sp's*, 'service', S. 'sp'yš-, *spyš-* (*T M* 389 a V 27), Chr. *spš-*, Pres. stem, 'to serve' (cf. § 192), B. 'spyšt-, Man. 'spxšt-, Past stem (cf. § 257), from √*spas-*; Man. B. 'sp'δ, *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 26. *Vim* 136, Man. 'sp'δy *BBB* 519, B. *sp'δ O*² 31, Chr. *sp'd ii* 1, 24, 'army', from Av. *spāda-*; Man. 'šm'x, Personal Pron. 2 Pl., *M* 894 i 5. 10, S. 'šm'γ *X I ii R* 11, Man. *šm'x BBB* f 51. *M* 915, 6. 9, Chr. *šm'x*, B. *šm'γw VJ* 24^b. 380, &c., from OIr. *šmāχam; B. 'βšy'ws, Man. *fšy'ws* 'superior, gentleman', v. § 311; Man. 'xšp-, B. 'γšp- (əχšap-), Man. *xšp- M* 136 V hl., 'night', from Av. *xšapā-*; S. 'γšywr, Man. *xšywr*, N. of the 4th day, B. 'γšdrkt'k 'princely', from χšāθra-, v. § 299; 'xšn'w- 'to satisfy' *M* 896, 6, from Av. *xšnāvaya-*, Man. 'xšn'm, B. 'γšn'm, from *χšnāuman-, v. § 130; Man. 'xšnk-, B. 'γšnk- (əχšnak-), 'magnificent', Chr. *xšnq-*, v. § 511; B. 'γšyft-, Man. *xšyft*, 'milk', from Av. *xšvipta-*, cf. *BBB* p. 101 on e 18, v. below § 243; &c.

158. (2) Here may be mentioned Chr. 'rwzš' 'bandage', v. §§ 221 fn.

¹⁵⁶ This distinction is only precautionary, since the consonant isolated through metathesis in the examples so far noticed is always χ, so that they may form one group with those quoted in § 160.

¹⁵⁷ H., *BBB* p. 137, read *wsyβtyy*.

347, from the base **rwais-* (v. H., *ST ii* 603), to which also belongs B. *'rw'stk* 'bound, fixed' (§ 116), although there is a prothetic vowel also in Av. *urvaēs-*,¹ and, acc. to H., B. *'rwynt- Dhy* 70, Chin. 'to wash', from **rwantaya-* (? cf. Av. *'urvant-*).

159. (ii) Prothetic ' proper, before originally single consonants. With preference before *k* and χ , but also before other consonants.

(1) Before *k*. Man. *'kwrδδ* and *kwrδδ* 'where', B. *'ky* (beside *ky*), *'ky'*, *'kw* (beside *kw*), against Man. Chr. *ky*, *ky'*, *kw*, cf. § 1581; Man. *'kwtyy* 'dog' *T ii D* 62, 6, S. *'kwt- SCE. Anc. Lett.* iii 24, against Man. *kwtyy*, cf. Sanglechi *kud*, *IIFL ii* 397, Oss. *kudz*, &c. (v. Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, p. xi), v. H., *BSOS ix* 566 fn. 4; Man. S. *'kwcyk* 'Kuchean', v. H., loc. cit.

160. (2) Before χ . B. *'γw* (beside γw , cf. Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1918, 825), against Man. Chr. *xw*, v. §§ 1405 sqq.; B. *'γwšt-*, Past stem, 'to wish', *Dhy* 84. *VJ* 1077, Man. Chr. *xwšt-* ($\chi wšt-$).¹ Cf. also § 162 (with § 156 fn.).

161. (3) Before other consonants. B. *'cw*, Man. B. *cw*, cf. § 1581; Man. B. *'δw* (δw) 'two', v. § 1316, may owe its ' to Man. B. *'δw*' (presumably δwa , from δuwa); B. *'pkš-* ($\delta pakš-$, light stem) 'side' *VJ* 8, borrowed from Skt. *pakṣa*, cf. Salemann, *apud* Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1918, 831; Man. *'wyjt-* 'harm' § 219, cf. the prothetic *i-* of Av. *iwizayathā*, *Air. Wb.* col. 1688. [v. Add.]

162. (iii) Prothetic ' proper, before χ isolated through metathesis (cf. § 156 fn.). B. *'γwštr-* 'camel', Man. *xwštr-*, from **uχštra-*, v. § 257; B. *'γwš'yp-* 'squint-eyed', from Av. *xšvaēwa-*, v. § 416; B. *'γwš'y-* 'to grow', from *waxš-*, v. § 428; Man. *'xwšndyy* 'satisfied, glad', from $\chi šnūtaka-$, v. §§ 416, 414a.

Reduction of Internal Short Vowels not in positione

163. (i) Reduction in the third syllable has been recognized only in Man. *wcnyy* (*T i D*), *wšnyh*, and *wčnyy*, 'old, worn out', *wične*, from *witšne*, from **witašne* (v. § 164), from **witačne* (v. § 261), from **witačina-*, v. *BBB* p. 62 on 516. In *xwmn'*, N. of the 2nd day, χmna , from Av. *vohumanah-*, v. §§ 208, 512, and in *xwrmzt'*, from *ahura-mazdāh-* (cf. Uigur, &c. $\chi ormuzda$), v. § 86, the reduction may have taken place after the initial syllable had been reduced, hence in the second syllable.

158¹ Otherwise the only example of a prothetic vowel noticed in Chr. is *'zwntq* 'they will live' *i* 62, 5. The initial ' of Chr. *'zbr-* 'to cross (a river)' *ii* 1, 21 (thus to be read acc. to H., who connects it with Av. *zbar-*), may represent the preverb \bar{a} .

160¹ Note that the extremely frequent Pres. stem B. $\gamma wyz-$ ($\chi wēž-$), never has a prothetic aleph.

164. (ii) Reduction in the second syllable.

(1) Indicated by phonetic changes. The spelling *wcnyy*, beside *wšnyh* and *wčnyy*, shows that after the third syllable of **witačina-* had been reduced (§ 163), the vowel of the second syllable was also lost; **wyz'mndty* 'descending', Chr. **wyz-*, Pres. stem (*ōyz-*, from *ōχaz-*, cf. § 55; χ becoming γ seems to indicate direct contact with z); *zyrn* (*zirn*) 'gold', v. § 183 (the fact that Av. *zaranya-* did not become **zrin-*, suggests that it had lost its second *a*); *βxtm* (*vaxtam*) 'most divine', from *bagatama-* (γ becoming χ in direct contact with *t*, v. § 254); *zng* (*zang*) in Chr. *zng zng'ny* 'of all sorts', *ny'zng* 'different' (both in *ST ii*), Man. *-zng'n*, *-zng'n*, v. § 1034, from OIr. **zanaka-* (*k* becoming *g* after *n*, v. § 245); *δβ'mbñ* 'lady', from Av. *dāmānō. paθnī-* (*p* becoming *b* after *m*, v. § 304).

The preverb *pati-* became *pat-* (subsequently, often *pt-*, v. §§ 170, 176), as shown by the spelling *pc-* where *pati-* preceded a *š* or *č*: Chr. *pcm'r* 'counting', Man. B. *ptšm'r*, from **pati-šmāra-*, Man. *pcxš-* and *ptcxš-* (*pčaxš-*) 'to receive' (Impf. *ptycxš-*), from **pati-čaxša-*, cf. § 520; Chr. *pcqwy-*, Man. *ptškwy-* (Impf. *ptyškwy-*) 'to address, say'; Chr. *pcng* and *ptšng*, B. *ptš'nkh*, 'cross, torture-instrument', from **šan-* (H.), v. § 616 fn.; Chr. *pcpr-*, Man. S. *ptšpr-*, 'to arrange, place, fix'.

The preverb *pari-* became *par-*: Chr. *pšt'y-* 'to prepare', from Man. *pršt'y-*, cf. § 562 (loss of *r* before *š*, v. § 357).

The preverb *awa-*, and other words beginning with *awa-*, became *aw-*, contracted into *ō-*, cf. § 83 fn.

The fact that **rsk* 'envy' *M 118 ii V 11*, has preserved the initial *a-* of Av. *araska-* (against § 82), suggests that it was pronounced *arsk*. At a late stage of the language, Man. **yβtyy* 'perverted' *Sogd. 16, 11*, B. **yβtk* (*āyavde*), lost its *a*, as shown by the Pers. form *ēfde*, v. H., *BSOS x 103*.

165. (2) Suggested by the rhythmic law (not more than one internal short vowel admissible in a light stem, v. § 484). *βyn-* (*vayn-*) 'temple', cf. § 509, from **bagina-*, v. H., *BSOS viii 584*; *jmn-* (*žamn-*) 'hour', from *žamana-*, cf. § 512; B. *mwjšk-* (*muχšk-*) 'fly', cf. § 975, from **maχšika-*; *wβyw* (*uvyu*) 'sive', from *ubayam*, v. § 101; cf. also *xwmn'*, § 163.

166. (iii) Some general changes have come about as a result of the tendencies just illustrated:

(1) After the transfer of all verbs into the thematic class, the ending of the 3 Sg. Pres., *-ti* for light stems, *-t* for heavy stems, is added directly to the stem, the thematic vowel *-a-* having been lost. This is

proved by Man. *kwndyy* 'he makes' (*t* becoming *d* after *n*, v. § 272), and Man. Chr. *s'st* 'oportet', from B. *s'ct* (v. § 260). The same applies to the endings of the 2 Pl., cf. *p|tfrynd'sk*, from *ptfryn-*, v. § 724, and of the 3 Sg. Impf. Middle, cf. Man. *kwnd*', § 710.

167. (2) In the transitive Preterite the *u* of light stems (cf. § 877) is sometimes (in Chr. always) lost. Man. *qδ'r- M 118 i R 13. V 7. M 778, 5. T ii D 66 b 35*, Chr. *qθ'r-*, B. *kδ'r- DN 20. 28, &c.*, *'kδ'r- VJ 1476*, from Man. *'ktwδ'r-*, *'krtwδ'r-*, 'to do', cf. § 279; Man. *pcyλδ'r- BBB b 41*, Chr. *pcyλ'r- ST ii*, from Man. *pcyλw [δ'r-, M 672 ii 7*, 'to receive'; S. *wyδ'r- JRAS, 1944, 138, 35*, Chr. *wyδ'r-*, 'to say', from Man. *wytw δ'r-, Man. Lett. i 28. ii 5*; Chr. *fšmd'r-* 'to send', from Man. *fšmtw δ'r- M 129 V 10*; Chr. *xwšt'r- ii 3, 5*, from Man. *xwštwtw δ'r-*, § 730, B. *'ywštwd'r- VJ 1077*, 'to wish'; Chr. *spxšd'r-* 'to serve' *i 27, 19*, from **spaxštudār-*. [*ptywštδ'r- M 135 ii 35. VJ 553.*]

168. (iv) Reduction in the first syllable (on the reduction of initial short vowels v. §§ 82 sqq., 92 sq., 96, 99). Extremely frequent, chiefly affecting prefixes and words where the second syllable is long, or *in positione*, or, generally, stressed; but also monosyllabic stems like *ps-* (§ 171), *βj-* (§ 179), B. *'βš-* (§ 169), which evidently had the stress on the endings.

169. (1) Indicated by a prothetic *'*- (cf. also § 178).

(a) (OIr. *fr'-*). *'fcbmδ, fcbmδ* 'world', v. § 372; B. *'βs''c-*, Man. *fs''c-* 'to teach', v. § 316; B. *'βs''ny* 'parasang', v. § 316; B. *'βš''h* 'flea', v. § 323; Man. *'ft'r*, Man. Chr. *ft'r* '(too) much', v. § 318; *'ftrt- M 286 ii 16, ftrt- M 430, 8*, Past stem, 'to pass', v. § 318; B. *'βy''tr*, Man. *fy'tr*, 'more', v. § 321.

170. (b) (OIr. *p't-*). B. *'pcy'y*, Man. B. *pcy(y)'y*, 'profit, benefit' ((*ə*)*pč(y)āi*), v. § 199; B. *'prtk (əpte)* 'guilty', v. § 148; B. *'ptr'γwšt-*, *ptr'γwšt-* ((*ə*)*ptruxšt-*) 'obstructed', cf. § 128; Man. *'ptškwyndšδ* [sic] *M 121 R 4* (no context), from *ptškwy-* (*pčkway-*) 'to say', cf. § 164; S. *'pt'yn'kw T M 389 a R 21 sqq.*, Man. *ptynny*, 'made of flesh', cf. *BBB p. 57 bottom*, B. *'ptyw'r (əptχwār)* 'carnivorous'¹ *VJ 313. 949*, from Av. *pitu-*.

171-2. (c) (Otherwise.) *'bjyr'ync*, Fem., 'made of diamonds', *βj[yr]nyh*, Masc., (*ə*)*vžir-*, from Skt. *vajra*, v. § 1058; Man. B. *'kt-*, Chr. *qt-*, 'to do, make', v. § 148; B. *'ny'st (nyāst)*, 'he takes', *P 2, 278. 279*, elsewhere usually *ny's-*, from **ni-yāsa-*, cf. §§ 539, 630; S. *'ps-*, Man. *ps-*, 'to ask', v. § 145; *'ps'k* 'wreath' *M 178 i R 16*, *ps'kt*, Pl., *M 692, 15*, from Av. **pusā-* + *-ka-*, cf. H., *BSOS x 98*;

¹⁷⁰ Cf. NPers. *gōštzwār*.

S. *ʔšywr*, Man. *xšywr* N. of the 4th day, (ə)χššēwar (cf. Pahl. *šahrēwar*) < *χššēwar < *χšāθrawarya-, cf. § 299.

Cf. also the spellings *ʔp-/p-*, *ʔβ-/β-*, for OIr. *apa-* (§ 89), *upa-* (§ 99), *abi-* (§ 90), with the assumption made in § 83, and B. *ʔpšʔrmʔy βyntʔy tmyh*, SCE 401, 'l'enfer des mains liées derrière le dos', *əpšārme*, from **paša* (from Av. *apaša*) + *arma-*, v. Meillet, *BSL* xxiii 107.

173. (2) Indicated by phonetic changes. Chr. *žyʔwr* 'heart', from **δəžyāwar*, v. § 287; B. *čstʔn*, 'poor', from *duštʔwān-*, v. § 286; *ctfʔr* 'four', from *čabwār-* (*čtfār*; reduction suggested by the unusual outcome of OIr. *-θw-*, cf. § 295, and by the loss of *č-* in Yaghn. *tifār*; cf. *ptywšt-*, § 176 with fn.).

Cf. also the reduction of *a*, *ɾ*, *i*, after initial *w-*, §§ 208-11, 213 sqq.

174. (3) Suggested by the rhythmic law, cf. § 165, v. also the examples under § 178. The examples mainly concern prefixes. However, the fact that light stems, when prefixed by *pt-*, *pc-*, or *p-*, are sometimes treated as heavy stems, shows that there was some uncertainty in the pronunciation, *pat-* or *pt-*, &c., cf. § 529 (5).

175. (a) *pc-*. Man. *pcksyy*, light-stem verbal noun, 'expectation', v. § 956, Chr. **pcks-i* 39, 3 'to expect, look out', to which belongs *Anc. Lett.* i 8 *pcks*, 2 Sg. Impt. (H.), *pčkas-*; Chr. *pcywštyqʔ*, 3 Sg. Fut., 'to be transformed', *B* 49, 9, *pčyufs-*; B. *pcuzty* SCE 283. *Dhu* 32, *pcwzt* SCE 284. 402, 3 Sg. Pres., 'to meet', *pčwaz-* *pačwaz-*.

176. (b) *pt-* (cf. § 164). *ptcxš-*, *pcxš-* (*pčaxš-*, v. § 520, but, apparently, *pačaxš-* in Man. *pcxšδ*, § 734), Pres. stem, 'to receive', *ptcył-* (*pčayd-*), Past stem, v. § 509; *ptfs-/ptβs-* (§ 52) 'to read', B. *ptβsty*, 3 Sg. Pres., SCE 112, *ptfasti*; *ptβy-* (*ptway-*) 'reverence', v. § 521; Chr. *ptyfn-* (*ptifn-*) 'part', v. § 508; *ptšył-* (*ptšayd-*), Past stem, 'to arrange', v. § 509; B. *ptyʔmsty kʔm*, 3 Sg. Fut., 'to finish' (Intrans.), § 828, *ptyams-*, cf. the Past stem *ptyami-*: *patyami-*, § 865 fn. 1; Man. *ptrštʔwδʔr-*, Trans. Pret., 'to erect, push upwards' *HR ii* 97, 3, *ptrāšt-*, but *patrašt-* in the Comparative *ptrštr* 'more exalted', § 1285; B. *ptywštʔw δʔr-*, Trans. Pret., *VJ* 410, *ptywštʔw un-*, v. § 888, *ptyušt-*, hence the loss of *p-* in Yaghn. *duyūš-*;¹ B. *ptrʔmtʔ βw-*, Pot., 'to stop', v. § 884, *ptrami-*.

177. (c) Otherwise. *pδwβsʔ* (*pδuwsa*), 3 Sg. Impf. 'to stick', v. § 827; *prxstyy*, beside *prxst*, 3 Sg. Pres., 'to remain', *praxs-*: *paraxs-*, v. § 825; *pškfstyy*, 3 Sg. Pres., 'to be split', v. § 827;

¹ 176¹ Similarly Yaghn. *čukir-* 'to fear', suggests for Sogdian *pckwyr-* (v *BBB* p. 69 on 556) a pronunciation *pčkwir-*, cf. § 173 on *ctfʔr*.

wjxstyjh, 3 Sg. Pres., 'to be separated', cf. §§ 213, 825; *wyš-* (*wyaš-*) 'joy' &c., cf. § 213; *wšym-* (*wšaγm-*), v. § 509.

178. (4) Indicated by the rhythmic law and a prothetic ' jointly. Man. 'ptr- 'father' *M* 771, 5, S. 'ptr- *ST* i 86, 1. *SCE* 514, Man. *ptr-M* 143, 5. *T ii D* 79, 1, 11, Chr. *ptr-*, from Av. *p(i)tar-*; Man. 'ftm-, *ftm-* ((*a*)ftam-), cf. §§ 318, 1331; B. 'βškr- 'to expel', Man. *fškrtyh*, 3 Sg. Pres., *M* 765 k 2, (*a*)fškar-, cf. § 317; B. 'βš'm 'escorting', Man. *fšmtyw* δ'r-, Pret., 'to send' (v. § 512), *ašām*, *fšamt-*, cf. § 317; B. 'β'yrty *P* 2, 138, Man. *f'yrtyy* *M* 796 i 9. 11. 14, *f'rttyy* *M* 108 V 2, 3 Sg. Pres., 'to pass', (*a*)f'tir-, v. § 318.

179. (5) Following the reduction of an internal short vowel in the first syllable, some words acquire an anaptyctic vowel instead of a prothetic ' , cf. Pers. *uspurz*, beside *supurz*, &c. In such cases B. scribes are liable to spell both the anaptyctic vowel and the prothetic aleph. Man. 'βj-, S. 'βz- *Anc. Lett.* iii 4 (*əvž-*), Man. *βyj-* *M* 178 ii V 18, *βyyj-* *T ii D* 117, 20, Chr. *byž-*, B. *βyz-* *T iii Š* 23, 8 (*vəž-*, cf. Pers. *faž*, *fiž*, H., *BSOS* x 101), Man. *βj-*, Chr. *bž-*, B. *βz-* *P* 2, 42 (*vž-* or *vəž-*), B. (usual spelling) 'βyz-, 'bad', from Av. *bazda-*, cf. § 379; S. 'pš-, Man. Chr. *pš-*, Chr. B. *pyš-*, B. 'pyš-, from Av. *pasča*, v. § 373; (*a*)pčāt, *pəčāt*, 'time (French *fois*)', lit. 'interval, break' (same root as in 'nc'y-, with preverb *apa-*, *upa-*, or *pati-*): Chr. *pc'ty* 'rest' *ii* 2, 23, S. *prymyδ pc't* 'this time' *T M* 389 a R 29, *wyspwo* 'pc'tw 'every time' *T M* 389 a V 22, *prw* 'yw 'pc't 'at once' *Vim.* 109,¹ *pr* 'yw 'pyc't *Vim* 121.

180. (v) A metathesis of *u* sometimes reduces the number of syllables of a word. Cf. *žuxšk-* 'disciple', from **δriγuška-*, § 410; *sumdr-* 'ocean', from *samudra*, v. § 413; *itkw-* 'bridge', from **haētuka-*, v. § 423.

Consonants

y

181. (i) Preserved.

(1) *y'n* 'favour', from *yāna-*; *sy'k* (*sayāk*) 'shadow, canopy', from **sayāka-*, v. § 124; *'ztyw* 'exiled' from *uzdahyu-*, cf. § 97; &c.

182. (2) Palatalizes a preceding *z*. ''jy-, Pres. stem,¹ 'to be born',

*179*¹ B. *ywnpc'ty* *Dhu* 181, should perhaps be read *'yw'pc'ty*, unless *'ywn'* is the pronominal Oblique of *'yw*; cf. *Dhu* 120 where, however, the context suggests that *'ywn* is a mistake for *'wyn*.

*182*¹ Cf. B. ''z'yt, 3 Sg. Pres.; ''zy, 3 Sg. Impf., *VJ* 5^a; Man. ''jy't, 3 Sg. Subj., *T ii B V* 19; B. ''zy'y, 3 Sg. Opt., *Vim* 68; B. ''zy, Infin., in ''zy *myry* 'samāra', cf. Benv., *Notes* i 29 sq.; B. ''zyh, ''zy', verbal -ākā- noun, cf. § 972. H. reads this Pres. stem *āzay-*. One would, however, expect a form like **āzayāt*, 3 Sg. Subj., to become **āzyāt*. Perhaps the Pres. stem was *āzy-*

from **āzaya-*, cf. Lentz, *ST* ii 574 c, and above, § 124; *δrjyy* 'heart' *M* 591, 17, B. *δrzy* *SCE* 99, from **dʒzaya-*, from *zʒdaya-*, v. Benv., *MSL* xxiii 126, cf. *δrjy'wr*, § 287; *jyk* 'damage', from *zyā-*, v. § 205.

183. (ii) Disappears:

(1) After affecting the vowel of the preceding syllable, whereby:

(a) *ā* becomes *ē* (*ī*). *zyrn* (*zirn*) 'gold' *M* 135 i 9. 48. 54. *T i D*, from **zarnya-*, from *zaranya-*; *nyrk* (*nirk*) 'male', from *naryaka-*; Chr. *dyx'w* (*δixāu*) 'village', from *dahyāw-*, v. § 398 fn. 1; *myδ'n* (*medān*) 'middle, waist', from Av. *maidyāna-*; passives like *xwɣyn-*, § 540, causatives like *prwyr-*, § 543, &c. Cf. also §§ 189, 192.

184. (b) *ā* becomes *ē* (*ī*). The causatives *xwyr-*, § 542 (b), *syn-*, § 543 (f), *zyr-*, § 548. Cf. also §§ 188, 193.

185. (c) *r* becomes *ir*. Man. *fʒyr-*, *ftr-*, B. *βʒ'yr-*, Pres. stem, 'to pass', v. § 178, Man. B. *wytr-*, B. *wyʒ'yr-*, 'to go', cf. § 213 fn. 2, from **trya-* (differently Tedesco, *ZII*, ii 37); *myr-* 'to die', from *mʒya-*; *miθr-* 'death', with metathesis from **mirθ-* (cf. § 440), from Av. *mərəθyu-* (H.), v. § 507; the passives *pišmyr-*, B. *βʒ'yr-*, v. § 540. Cf. also § 190.

186. (d) *-u-* becomes *-we-* (*-wi-*) (on *-uz-* v. § 197): Chr. *nyɣwɣynt* (*nɣwend*), 3 Sg. Impf., 'to dress', from **ni-gundaya-*, v. *BBB* p. 76.

187. (e) *-au-* becomes

(a) *-ē-* (*-ay-*) (cf. also § 133). *nxrys-* 'to reproach', from **ni-xrausaya-*, v. *BBB* p. 76, to which Dr. Henning now adds *ptβyδ-* 'to know, recognize' (cf. § 586), from **pati-baudaya-*, Man. *ʒβyδ-*, *T ii D* 139 ii 6, 'to kiss, contact (of lamps between each other)', from **ham-baudaya-*, and Man. *βjy-* *BBB* p. 122^b, B. *βz'y-* *P* 2, 251. 261, *βz'y-* *P* 6, 163, *βzy* 3 Sg. Impf. *P* 2, 187, 'to grow' (Intrans.), cf. the noun of action Man. *βjyn* § 1026, *əvžay-* < *abi-žawya-*, Passive to *abi-žāwaya-* § 571.

(β) *-we-* (*-wi-*), v. § 191.

188. (2) After palatalizing a preceding *z*, *s*, as well as affecting the vowel of the preceding syllable.

(a) *-āz-* becomes *-ēž-*. *ʒwɣj-* 'to collect', v. § 542 (a); Chr. *xyž-* 'to raise', v. § 543 (d); B. *ɣwyz-* (*xwēž-*) 'to wish', from **xwāzaya-* (on Man. *xwɣj-* v. § 232); Chr. *fryž-* 'to direct', from **fra-rāzaya-*, v. § 319.

189. (b) *-arz-* became first **-erž-*, then, acc. to § 355, *-ež-*, cf. *prwɣj-* 'to feed' (Trans.), § 548 (b).

before vocalic endings (cf. Khot. *ysyāre*, 3 Pl. Pres., *ysyāmati* 'birth'), *āzay-* before consonantic endings. Cf. also the Pres. stem *niz-* 'to go out', beside *nizay-*, v. § 568 fn.

190. (c) Similarly, *-rz-* became first **-irž-* (cf. § 185), then *-iž-*, in *prwyj-* 'to feed' (Intrans.), § 548 (b).
191. (d) *-auz-* becomes *-wēž-* (*-wiž-*), in B. *'pɣw'yɣ-* (*əpɣwēž-*) 'to conceal', from *°gauzaya-*, v. Lentz, *ST ii* 591 a. Cf. § 187.
192. (e) *-as-* becomes *-eš-* (*-iš-*). B. *'sp'yš-* *SCE* 192. *Vim* 102, Chr. *spš-* *ST ii*, 'to serve', *speš-*, from Av. *spasya-*; B. *kyšpḥ* 'turtle' *SCE* 157. 353, from Av. *kasyapa-*.
193. (f) *-ās-* becomes *-ēš-*. *nyyš-* 'to spoil', from *nāsaya-*, v. § 549.
194. (3) Palatalization of a preceding consonant only, takes place in initial position, or after *i*, *ai*, *u*.

(a) *s* becomes *š*.

(a) Initial. *š'w* 'black' *M* 769, 7, from Av. *syāva-*; B. *šɣw*, Man. *šwcy* (v. § 410) 'lion', from **syargawa-*, cf. Bailey, *BSOS* x 898 sq.

195. (β) After *-i-*, *-ai-*, cf. Chr. *'ndyš-*, v. § 549 (d).

196. (b) *č-* becomes *š-*. *šw-* 'to go', from **čyaw-*; B. *š't* 'happy, rich', from **čyāta-*.

197. (c) *-z-* becomes *-ž-* in *pcwj-* (*pčuč-*) 'to be driven', v. § 541 (k).

198. (4) Lost without trace.

(a) *šyr'q* (*širāk*) 'kindness, goodness, beauty, perfection',¹ acc. to H. from **širyāk*, abstract of *šyr-* 'good'; *niž-* 'to go out' (from **nižya-*) from *nižaya-*, beside *nižay-*, v. § 568 fn.; Man. *fryš-* 'to send' (*fryš'ndskwn*, 3 Pl. Pres., *BSOS* viii 585, *fryštk* 3 Sg. Pres. (?), v. § 641), from *fra-aišaya-*, against B. *pr''šy*, v. § 129.

(b) Causatives in OIr. *-āwaya-*, appear in Sogdian as Pres. stems in *-w-*, v. § 546.

199. (c) Man. B. *pc'yt* (*pčait*) 'it is right, fit, salutary, convenient', *pc'ytt* Man. *Lett.* i 22, Man. *pc'ytq'm*, 3 Sg. Fut., B. *rtyšy . . šyr pc'yt ZY prtr βwt* 'he will recover' *P* 3, 41 sqq., not clear *P* 2, 104 *šy . . pc'yth . . pɣw'y* 'he happens (?) to kill', **pc'y*, substantivized Infinitive, from which the comparative Chr. *pc'yy str* (quoted § 1307) 'more salutary, profitable' (instead of *ἀνεκτότερον*), and the adjective Man. *pc'ycyq T i D* 51, against B. *pcy'yt*, Man. *pcy'yt M* 110 ii V 8, *pcy'yq'm*, 3 Sg. Fut.-Opt. (v. § 649), substan-

198¹ Cf. *šyr'q nβrz βr-* 'hospitably to offer kindness' *M* 617 ii 5 sq.; Man. *pr wyspw šyr'k*. [, *T ii D* 163 b i 7; . . *mytryy . . šyr'k . . 'love . . kindness' M* 849, 8 sq.; *šyr'kyy*, Obl., 'beauty' or 'perfection', *M* 178 i R 13; B. *mz'yy šyr'k* 'great kindness' *Dhu* 74 sq. In *VJ* 230. 370, *šyr'k* seems to mean 'goods, possessions'. B. *šyr'k m'n SCE* 191, *šyr'kh šm'r'kh VJ* 967, may represent the adjective *širak*, v. § 982 fn. 2.

tive B. *pcy'y*, *pcy'y*, *'pcy'y*, Man. *pcyy'y* *M* 110 *ii* R 12 (B. passages quoted *BBB* p. 99 on d 2). Acc. to H. perhaps from **pati-āy-*.

200. (*d*) Dialectically, perhaps, in B. **pəžāmč*, **patžāmč* (inferred from the pseudo-historical spellings *pδr'mch* *SCE* 435, *pδr'mc* *ib.* 451), against B. *pδry'mc* *SCE* 36, *ptzy'mc* *Dhu* 147, Man. *ptjy'mc* *M* 135 *i* 1, 'quarrel'.¹

201. Conspectus for the palatalization of *y*.

Sounds affected	<i>y</i> disappears	<i>y</i> remains
None	198-200	181
<i>a</i>	<i>e</i> , 183	
<i>ā</i>	<i>ē</i> , 184	
<i>r</i>	<i>ir</i> , 185	
<i>u</i>	<i>we</i> , 186	
<i>au</i>	<i>ē</i> , <i>ay</i> , 187	
<i>z</i> alone	<i>ž</i> , 197	<i>ž</i> , 182
<i>arz</i>	<i>ež</i> , 189	
<i>rz</i>	<i>iž</i> , 190	
<i>āz</i>	<i>ēž</i> , 188	
<i>auz</i>	<i>wēž</i> , 191	
<i>s</i> alone	<i>š</i> , 194	
<i>as</i>	<i>eš</i> , 192	
<i>ās</i>	<i>ēš</i> , 193	
<i>č</i> alone	<i>š</i> , 196	

202. (iii) *-(i)ya-* becomes *-i-* (*-ē-*). *pδynd* 'threshold', from *pati-anta-*, cf. H., *BSOS* x 100; *pryβyy* (*parīve*) 'cloud' *M* 140 R 8, B. *pr'yβ'k*, from **pari-abra-*, cf. Konow, *Saka Studies*, 173 a, Bailey, *BSOS* ix 77;¹ the suffix *-ik*, v. § 977, &c.

203. (iv) *-aya-* becomes *ē* (*-ī-*), e.g. in the ending of the 3 Pl. Opt.,¹ v. § 759.

204. (v) *-ahya* becomes *-ē* (*-ī*) in the ending of the Gen. Sg., v. §§ 1177, 1198.

200¹ It is assumed that *ptjy'mc* is the *-āmč* Infinitive (v. § 1102) of a Pres. stem *patžiy-*, of which we have the Pres. Part. *ptjyny* in a doubtful passage quoted below, § 285 fn. 1, and perhaps the 3 Sg. Subj. in an unpublished B. text (*T iii S* 313, 11 sqq.): *'ky MN 'ws'yt'p'zn kβny ptγwšt m'yδ ZY L' ptzy't p'rwtly šy pyrt ZY pr šw't rty . . dnn βγ'yšt pr'γw "z'yt* 'he who with a pure heart listens for a while (to this Sūtra), not *ptzy-*ing it, but believing in it, and behaving according to it, will be born amongst the gods'. Here *ptzy-* may mean something like 'to dispute, disparage'. Unfortunately the reading *ptzynt* cannot be excluded. With *patžiy-*, H. compares Av. *afyamna-*, OPers. *fīyamna*, Khot. *jin-*.

202¹ B. *pr'yβ-* *Dhy* 207, can hardly be the same word, as suggested by Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, p. 131. Acc. to Weller's analysis of the Chinese text (*Monumenta Serica*, iii (1938), 92) it should mean 'lovely'.

203¹ Vocalized as *ē* in *ST i*: *šwytqn* 36, 14, *psynt* 58, 3, *wbyntqn* 30, 9. 68, 21.

205. (vi) $-(i)yā-$ becomes $-ē-$ ($-ī-$). *pryp-* 'to lead', § 588, from *pari-āpaya-* (H.), cf. *Šiynī firēp-*, Geiger, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i² 329; *jyk* *M* 178 i V 28. *M* 821 i 13, Chr. *žyq*, B. *zykh*, 'damage', from *zyā-* (H.), cf. § 182.

206. (vii) On $(i)y$ becoming i v. §§ 493 sq.

206 a. (viii) As observed by H., initial *ya-* has become *i-* in the following examples: B. *'yz-* 'to sacrifice' *SCE* 248, beside B. *yz-P* 2, 568, <*yaza-*; B. *'ykyšy* 'yakša' *P* 2, 404, otherwise spelled Man. B. *ykyš-*; B. *'yšp*h 'jasper' *VJ* 15^b, *Dhy* 221, cf. NPers. *yašm* and *yašb*. Cf. initial *u-* <*w-* followed by a brief vowel, §§ 210, 214 sq.

Old Iranian *w* (Avestan *v*)

207. (i) Generally preserved as *w*. *wrd* (*ward*) 'rose'; *z'wr* (*zāwar*) 'strength'; *nwy* (*nawe*) 'new'; *γryw* (*γriw*) 'soul, body, self'.

(ii) Initial *awa-* becomes *wa-* or $\delta-$, v. § 83 fn.

208. (iii) If a short vowel preceded by initial *w-* is reduced, various results can be observed:

(1) *w-* is lost in Man. *xwmn*, N. of the 2nd day, from Av. *vohu-manah-*, in *xwm'r* 'consolation', from Av. *vohu-maθra-*, cf. § 391, and in *xwrn-* 'blood' (v. § 209), from Av. *vohunī/a-*. These being the only examples, it is possible that *w-* has been absorbed by a metathesis of *wχu-* becoming *χwu-*, *χu-*. The initial $\delta-$ of the S. spelling *'γwmn*, may be prothetic (cf. §§ 160, 162), or represent a trace of the old *wa-*.

209. (2) *w-* is reduced to *y-* in *yxwn-*, *yxwrn-*, with metathesis *ywxn-*, the doublet of *xwrn-*, v. §§ 208, 360, 417, 1168 fn.; cf. the reduction of *wi-* becoming *y-*, § 220, which, in view of *yδ-* 'shape', is not quite the same as the present one.

210. (3) *w-* becomes *u-* in Chr. *'wšnty*, S. *wš'nt'y*, Pl., 'hungry', v. § 1068, B. *wš'y-* 'to be hungry' *SCE* 29, from **wřš'*,¹ cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP* 95, and in Chr. *'wštm'x* 'paradise' *ii* 2, 24, from **wəštəmāχ*, from Av. *vahištəm ahūm*, cf. § 113 (vii).²

210¹ Cf. also Man. *wšn** 'hungry', § 386, *wšn**?

210² The usual Man. and Chr. spelling is *wštm'x*, but Man. *wyštm'x* occurs in *T i D* (Par. 7). The latter would seem to suggest that OIr. *wahi-* had become *wai-* (§ 398), *wē-*, *wə-*, which remained with some speakers, while others reduced the short vowel completely. Cf. also S. *wp'nc'k* (*u-*, *w-*, or *wə-pantē*), from **waipantāka-*, § 398.

210³ Difficult is the case of Man. *'wntn* (*ūndan*, *ōndan*?) *Sogd.* 21, 4, beside *wndn* 'such, so much', v. § 1609, from *awant-*, which can hardly be compared with *'wrd* and *'wδ* (§ 83 fn.); an analogy may be found in Khwār. *'wsp* 'all', from *wisp-*, cf. H., *ZDMG* 90, *32*.

211. (4) *w*- remains. *wšγn-* (*wšayn-*), from **wšayn-*, from *wšrayna-* (v. §§ 147, 177, 509), cf. the legend *o š l a γ n o*, A. Stein, *Zor. Deities on Indo-Scythian coins*, 5; cf. also *wyš-*, § 213.

212. (iv) The prefix *wi-* tends to preserve its identity, as can be seen from numerous Man. and Chr. words where it is always spelled *wy-*, v. § 216. On the other hand, it can be shown that its *-i-* had been reduced in a number of words, cf. §§ 213-15. Hence, where Man. and Chr. spell *w-*, the reading can be *w-*, *u-*, or *wi-*.¹ B. scribes are, of course, apt to use the historical spelling *wy-* for *w-* or *u-*.²

213. (1) *wi-* has been reduced (on *wi-* becoming *y-* v. § 220).

(a) *wi-* became *w-* in the light stems *wyš-* (*wyaš-*)¹ 'to rejoice, &c.', v. §§ 517, 1212, *wjxs-* (*wžaxs-*) 'to be separated', v. §§ 177, 825, *wkr-* (*wkar-*) 'kind, species', from **wi-kara-*, cf. § 515, B. *wyδβysty* (*wδvaχsti*), 3 Sg. Pres., *Vim* 82 'is strewn, covered (with flowers)' (Weller).²

214. (b) *wi-* became *u-* in *wprs* 'question' *M* 591, 2. *M* 674, 7. 10, B. *wpr's* *SCE* 64. *Dhu* 236. *DN* 1, 'wpr's *DN* 12, and in Chr. *wγ'm*, S. *wγ[']m* and 'wγ'm, with metathesis Chr. *γw'm* *'foreign country', v. § 421.

215. (c) *wi-* became *w-* or *u-*. *um't-*, suppletive Past stem of *x-* 'to be', from **wi-māta-*, cf. Parth. *um'dn*, MPers. *gumāy-* (H.),

212¹ *w-* almost certainly stands for *wi-* in Man. *wcnyy* 'worn out', considering the reductions mentioned in §§ 163 sq. Cf. also, in Man. texts in Sogdian writing, the loanwords *wy'yzyšn*, an astronomical term, *X I i V* 11 (MPers. *wihēzišn*), and *wβr's* 'discourse' *JRAS*, 1944, p. 137 (Parth. *wifrās*).

212² Cf. the inverse spelling *wyzyym'k P* 6, 193 (*užbyōne*), v. § 377.

213¹ Hence the metathesis in Chr. *γwštyg'*, 3 Sg. Fut., i 72, 4. 73, 11, B. 'γwšw 1 Sg. Impf. (v. H., *BSOS* viii 585 fn. 2), B. 'γwšnt Pres. Partc., cf. § 414 u fn. Man. *wyγwšnd* 3 Pl. Impf., *M* 135 ii 30 (against B. *wyγšnt VJ* 1458) is the result of a contamination between *wyaš-* and *γuš-*.

213² Elsewhere the inference drawn from light stem endings, that *wi-* had become *w-*, is contradicted by Man. or Chr. spellings *wy-*. In such cases the reduction may have taken place only locally, just as in the case of the prefixes *pt-*, *pc-*, and *p-*, cf. § 174. S. *wycyntty*, 3 Sg. Pres., 'to choose', *X I i V* 20, S. *wcytwδ'r-*, Trans. Pret., *T M* 389 a V 30, Chr. *wcn-* ii 1, 43, Man. *wcyytš* 'electi' *BBB* f 81 (concerning which the influence of the MPers. spelling *wcyd-* has to be borne in mind, v. *BBB* p. 137 b), against Chr. *wycnd'r-* i 33, 12. 38, 5, Man. *wycyty* 'electus'; if in the sentence 'rty 'urm wrmyy'h 'skund 'they are quiet in quietness' (?) *M* 178 i V 9 sq., *wrmyy'h* is the Locative of **wram-*, this would be a side form of *wyrm-* *Sogd.* 50, 5, frequent in B., cf. *ST* ii 600 c; B. *wytrty*, 3 Sg. Pres., *O*¹ 15, *wytrty k'm*, 3 Sg. Fut., *VJ* 272, 'to go', which is contradicted by Man. *wytrnd*, 3 Pl. Pres. or Subj., *M* 617 i 6 (only Man. passage, apart from *wytrnd*, 3 Pl., *Kaw.* G 33, which may be Imperfect; in B. always *wy-*, cf. § 630), may have been influenced by the light stem *ftr-* (§ 178).

where a reduction is suggested by the loss of *w-* in the side form *m't-*, v. § 803; in Man. *wyr'tyy* 'watchful', the reduction can be inferred from the Chr. metathesis *γwr'ty*, v. *BBB* p. 84 on 703 (the *y* of Man. *wyγr't-* is due to MPers. orthography), cf. Chr. *γw'm*, § 214.

216. (2) Here are examples where the spelling *wy-* is the only attested one (Imperfects are, of course, disregarded, cf. §§ 625. 630):

(a) *wyc'w-* 'witness', cf. *BBB* p. 94 on b 46, and below, § 247; *wyδ'β* *'danger' *T ii D 66 b 12. 19*, from *√dab-*? (H.); Man. B. *wyδ's-*, Chr. *wyδ's-* 'to wonder'; Man. *wyδ't M 483, 9*, B. *wyδ't'y* *Dhy 87*, 'span', v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 236 fn. 4; Man. B. *wyδβ'γ* 'explanation, preaching'; Chr. *wyθrb-* 'to worry', v. § 1279; *wyδrfš-* *'to blaze', v. § 1033; B. *wyδ(')y-* 'to disappear', *Dhu 46. 204. Vim 100*, &c.; Chr. *wydymp'*, B. *wyδ'ynp'h* 'lightning', v. § 972; B. *wyr'stk* 'opposite, contradictory' *ST ii 10, 18. 29. Dhy 214*; Chr. *wyrw[x]š-* 'to shine' *i 16, 8*; Man. Chr. B. *wyst'w* 'oath, promise'; Chr. B. *wyt'p-* 'to illuminate' *i 31, 11. Vim 118*; *wyt'w-* 'to endure' *M 133, 83*; *pw wyz'w* 'inextinguishable' *M 617 i 8*, cf. Parth. *wzwd*, Khot. *buysu-* (H.); on *wytr-* v. § 213 fn. 2.

217. (b) *wy-* naturally appears before vowels (*w(i)y-*): Chr. *wyws-* 'to dawn' *i 33, 11*, cf. Av. *vīusaiti* (*Air. Wb.* 1394), *vyusq*; Man. *wy'βr-*, B. *wy''βr-* 'to talk', v. § 681.

218. (3) In the following the preverb only occurs as *w-* (apart from the Imperfect, v. § 625): B. *wβ''z* 'fathom', v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 236; *wβ'stgy'h* 'narrative' *Sogd. 16, 18, wβ'sty* *ib.*, p. 19 bottom; B. *wγ'yr-* *'to flow' *Dhu 39*; B. *wm'tyh* 'moha' *Vim 14*, B. *wm'tyk* 'stupid' *SCE 362*; Man. *wmrz-*, B. *wm'rz-*, Pres. stem, S. *wmršt-*, Man. *wmšt-* (cf. § 147), Past stem, 'to spoil'; Chr. *wryc-* 'to pour out' *i 36, 1, wryd'r-*, Trans. Pret., *ii 4, 33*; Man. *wryδ-* 'to mix'; Chr. *wsyrd'r-* 'to grasp' *i 81, 12*; Chr. *wsyδ*, B. *ws'yδ* 'instigation', v. § 1109 fn.; Man. *wš't-* 'open' *Sogd. 16, 2*; B. *wškrδ* *SCE 247* 'needle' or 'nail' (v. *SCE ii 61*, note 114); B. *wškpnw* *Vim 24, wškwpynh P 2, 852* 'continent, mainland' (Weller); *wšn'm* 'ablution', v. *BBB* p. 61 on 515; B. *wγ'rs-* 'to deliver', v. § 343; Man. *wxwn-* 'to call out, shout' *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 22, B. *wγw'nh*, v. *JRAS*, 1942, 97 sq., to which *Anc. Lett.* iv 8 'XRZY šw KL wxw'n wny 'then you may call it all in' (H.), should be added. On *wm't-* v. § 215.

219. (4) Both *w-* and *wy-* occur in the following cases: B. *wc'ytk*, *wc'wytk*, *wyc'ytk*, *wyc'wytk*, 'intelligent', v. *BBB* p. 62 on 516; *wc'rt* 'exact' *VJ 932*, B. *wyc'rt* *Vim 114*, Chr. *wycrt' ii 5, 25*; B. *wδβ'yt*, *wyδβ'yt*, 'distant', B. *wyδβ'y-* 'to extend', v. § 293; Man. *wdyr-*,

B. *wδ'yr-*, B. *wyδ'yr-*, 'to arrange, adjust', v. *Sogd.* 62, Past stem Man. *wδrt-* *M* 483, 9. *T i D*; Man. *wgyn-* *T ii D* 139, 24 (being another copy of the same text as *M* 178, where the corresponding line (*i V* 32) has *wyqn-*), S. *wk'yn-* *BBB* p. 102 on f 8, Man. *wyyn-* [sic], § 706, 'to destroy', *wyg'n* 'destruction', cf. § 957; Man. *wjt-* 'harm, destruction',¹ *wyjtk[ryy]* *M* 549 i 11, 'wyjtq[ryyh] (cf. § 161) *M* 178 i R 23 'evil-doer'; B. *wšk'yrtk Dhy* 33, *wyšk'yrt'y Dhy* 102, 'open (eyes)'. Cf. also § 213 fn. 2; on *wyrt'ity* v. § 215.

220. (5) The prefix *wi-*, and other initial *wi-* sometimes appear under the spelling *y-*, which, judging by the light stems *ykn-*, *yrt-*, B. *yw'st-*, stands for *y-*; cf. also *yxwn-*, § 209. The only Imperfect attested of a verb with the prefix *y-*, is Man. 'y \dot{x} w'y 'he separated', *BBB* p. 97 on b 85, probably *iχwāi*. *y-* from *wi-* is perhaps the normal development before *-w-*.

This reduction has been treated by H., *BBB* p. 56 on 494, where *ykn-* 'to dig' (light stem, cf. § 906, and *yknidyh*, 3 Sg. Pres., *M* 118 ii V 6), Chr. *yxwst-* 'to separate' (v. *BBB* p. 59 No. 3, cf. Man. *yxwnng* 'discerning', § 48), Chr. *yrt-* 'wide' (v. §§ 138. 490. 518), B. *ywyš-* 'to keep aloof' *Dhy* 189 (Past stem B. *yw'st-* (light stem): *kδ* . . . *yw'st'* 'β' 'if he can keep aloof' *T iii* 263 ii 29), *yδ-* 'figure, shape', from *wiδ-* (v. *BBB* p. 93 on b 36), and *yp'k* 'anger', are mentioned.

Other examples are *yβ'r-* *'to look after', v. § 890, *yw'r* 'mourning', v. H., *JRAS*, 1944, 140 fn. 2, and B. *yw'tnyh Dhu* 268 'refreshment' (H.).¹ [*yw'r*, v. now H., *BSOAS*, xii 310.]

221. (v) *-wa-*, preceded by *r* or χ (*h*), becomes *u*.

(1) *rwa* becomes *ru*¹ in *rwr'* (*rura*) 'medicinal plant', from Av. *urvarā-*, cf. § 99; on 'rt't from *harwatāt-* v. § 86 fn.

222. (2) χwa (*hwa*) becomes χu . *xw'w* 'lord', from * $\chi watāwan-$, was pronounced $\chi utāu$, cf. Man. *x't'w*, § 38, and $\chi utān$, § 133 fn.; S. *synw* 'speech, story' *T ii T* 4, indicates that B. *synnw* *VJ* 182. 204. 426, from *saxwan-*, stands for *sχun-*;¹ Chr. *xwšw* 'six', beside $\chi wšw$, v. § 417 fn. 1.

For *xwr-* 'to eat', from $\chi war-$, *frnxwundy* &c. (§ 1092), *ptxwnng*,

219¹ *cn wj(t)['] pty'ryy T ii D* 115, 13 sq., 'from harm and enmity' (?). *w(y)jt-* belongs, acc. to H., to Parth. MPers. *wzynd*, NPers. χwzd .

220¹ However, B. *yw'nk* 'joint, articulation' *SCE* 384, connected by H. with Oss. *wāng*, Dig. **wiwoŋ*, v. Miller-Freiman, *Oss. Wb.* iii 1288, goes back to the root Skt. *yu-* 'to unite, separate', cf. the Arm. *LW yawd* 'joint' (H.).

221¹ But *rwi* is not contracted, cf. B. 'rw'st- (*arwšst-*), § 116, and Chr. 'rwšš, (*arwšš*), §§ 158. 347.

222¹ Unless *synw* stands for *sχnu*, cf. § 417, which is less likely, since the metathesis of *sχu-* in *sux-* seems peculiar to Chr.

yxwnng (§ 121), there is no evidence as to whether the pronunciation was *χu* or *χwa*. *χwa* has remained in Chr. *xwʾrnt*, S. *γwʾrnt* adj., 'right hand', from the base *hwar-* 'to receive', v. Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 73.

223. (vi) *huwa-* (viz. Av. *hva-* or *xʷa-*, corresponding to Skt. *svā-* with a svarita accent) becomes *χū* (*χō*). This observation was made by H. It also applies to NPers. The examples are Man. *xwr*, B. *γwr VJ* 1262 'sun', beside the uncontracted B. *γwyr*, Chr. *xwyr ii* 2, 11, *xwyr sny* 'East' *ii* 4, 6 (*χuwər*, heavy stem (cf. § 529), with *y* acc. to § 111), from OIr. *huwar-*, Skt. *svār* and *súvar* (v. Wackernagel, *Altind. Grammatik*, i 201), cf. NPers. *hōr* (v. Hübschmann, *Pers. St.* 57), and Man. *xwp* 'good, skilful', from Av. *hwapah-*, Skt. *svāpas* (trisyllabic in the *RV*), cf. NPers. *xūb* (v. Horn, *Neupers. Etym.* 111).

224. (vii) *frn* 'luck', corresponding to Av. *xʷarənah-*, is not peculiar to Sogdian. Acc. to H., the word may be an old LW from Median. On the phonetic change of initial *χw-* (*hw-*) into *f-*, v. Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, p. 1 fn. 3.

225. (viii) *χw* not before *a*. Of *χw* (*hw*) followed by vowels other than *a*, it may be generally said that it is preserved in interior position and, before *ā*, initially, while initial *χw-* (*hw-*) followed by a palatalized *ā* or by diphthongs, tends to be dissolved into *χ* followed by a long vowel or diphthongs. There are, however, exceptions and doubtful words. A Sogdian final *-aχw* becomes *-χu* or *-uχ* (§ 236).

226. (1) *χw* remains *χw*.

(a) In interior position. *ʷxwyr-* (*āχwēr-*) 'to feed', from **ā-χwāraya-*, v. § 542; B. *ʷptywʾr* 'carnivorous', v. § 170, and B. *yʾtywʾrʾk* 'meat-eating' *P* 2, 733; Chr. *ptʾrqʾn xwʾr* 'heir', lit. 'receiver of the patrimony', v. Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 73 fn. 3; *ptxwʾy-* 'to kill', and forms with other preverbs (enumerated in *BBB* p. 58 sq.) from the Pres. stem *ʷχwāy-*, from **χwāhaya-* (on its treatment when used without preverbs, v. § 233).

227. (b) In initial position.

(a) Before *ā*. *xwʾr* 'sister', from Av. *xʷanhar-*; *xwʾt* 'weak', cf. § 417.

228. (β) Before *ī* and palatalized *ā*.¹ B. *γwys-* 'to perspire', from Av. *xʷisa-*, v. § 539; Man. *xwyr-*, B. *γwʾyr-* 'to feed', v. § 542.

229. (γ) In etymologically obscure words: *xwycq* 'open, loose', cf. § 976; *xwyc* and *xwʾc* 'pain', v. § 1059.

¹228 The preservation of *χw* here is not in agreement with §§ 230 sqq. *xwyr-* may be analogical to *ʷxwyr-*, § 226; B. *γwys-* is attested only once, and may yet turn up in Man. as **xws-*.

230. (2) Initial χw is dissolved.

(a) *hwai-* becomes first $\chi w\bar{e}$ - (still attested in B. and Man., but no longer in Chr.), then $\chi\bar{u}$ - ($\chi\bar{o}$). The example is

S. $\gamma w y \dot{s} t k$ 'teacher' SCE 92. T M 389 a R 10, $\gamma w y \dot{s} t' k$ Dhy 13, $\gamma w y \dot{s} t$ (v. § 286 fn.) 'chief' Vim 157, Comparative B. $\gamma w y \dot{s} t r$ 'chief, superior' (substantive) SCE 97. 128, (adjective) VJ 48^b. 273. 1352, (') $\beta e' n p d y$ $\gamma w y \dot{s} t r$ - 'lokajyeṣṭha' ST ii. SCE. DN 7. 74. 85, Man. $x w y \dot{s} t r t y$, Pl. Obl., 'presbyters' Man. Lett. ii 12. 13, $x w [y] \dot{s} t r$ BBB p. 12, $x w y \dot{s} t$ [M 871, 18, $x w y n \dot{s} t r$ - (v. § 342), against

Chr. $x w \dot{s} t y$ 'teacher' i 8, 11. 13. ii 4, 15, Man. $x w \dot{s} t y y$ M 483, 7, Comparative Chr. $x w \dot{s} t r t$ 'oi $\dot{\alpha} p x o v r e s$ ' i 50, 3, $x w \dot{s} t r t d y n d' r t$ 'high priests' i 17, 3, Man. $x w \dot{s} t r$ - 'presbyter' BBB 611. M 129 R 5. M 778, 3.¹ From Av. *hwōišta-*, cf. Morgenstierne, IIFL ii p. 269 s.v. *xušči*.

231. (b) $\chi w a i$ - becomes $\chi \bar{e}$ -. Only example is $x y p d$ 'own', cf. §§ 1391-6, from Av. *x^aēpaiθya-*. This word is apt to be treated in an irregular way, cf. Pašto *xpal*, EVP 96 sq., Šiyini *xobaθ*, v. Sköld, *Materialien*, 304.

232. (c) χw - + palatalized \bar{a} , become first $\chi w\bar{e}$ - (still attested in B.), then $\chi\bar{u}$ - ($\chi\bar{o}$). B. $\gamma w y z$ - ($\chi w \bar{e} \dot{z}$ -), cf. § 188, Chr. $x w \dot{z}$ - and $\gamma w \dot{z}$ -, v. § 57 fn., Man. $x w j$ -, 'to wish', from * $\chi w \bar{a} z a y a$ -.

233. (d) Proto-Sogdian $\chi w \bar{a} i$ - from * $\chi w \bar{a} h a y a$ -, becomes $\chi \bar{a} w$ - in the Pres. stem for 'to beat', Man. $x'w$ -, B. $\gamma'w$ - and $\gamma w'w$ -,¹ cf. BBB p. 58 on 505. On its treatment with preverbs v. § 226.

234. (e) Etymologically obscure are Chr. $x w y s m$ ($\chi w \bar{e} s m$), ST i, $x w s m$ ($\chi \bar{u} s m$, $\chi \bar{o} s m$), ST ii, 'care, solicitude', and B. $\gamma w y z' k w$, $\gamma w y z' w$, 'very', v. Benv., Notes i 36 sq., Chr. $x w z$ 'intensely' ii 3, 5. 6 (where the corresponding Syriac has 'to wish', not 'to wish a wish' (H.)).

235. (3) Initial χw - turns up as *p*- in Chr. $p'n$ 'table', cf. MPers. $x w'n$, BBB p. 87 on 750.

236. (4) Words whose stem ends in $-a\chi w$ -, lose their endings. The final group $-a\chi w$ then becomes (*a*) χu or $u\chi$. Man. *fswx*, Chr. *fsz* (*fsu\chi*), 'parasang', from **frasaxw-*, v. Markwart, *Gādhā uštavairi*, p. 4 (on *fn's'x*, *fs'x*, and B. $\beta s'n y$, v. § 435); Av. *a(p)hvā-*: 'wx 'mind',

²³⁰ The two forms also occur in Turkish $\chi w y \dot{s} t y (h?)$ Türk. Man. iii, p. 14, No. 7 ii v 8 (cf. Bang, *Muséon*, 36, p. 168, n. 1), $\gamma w \dot{s} t y$ ib. p. 12, No. 6 ii v 11. 19 (cf. Bang, *Muséon*, 44, p. 30). References by H.

²³³ The B. spelling $\gamma w'w$ - is, acc. to H., analogical to $p\gamma w'y$ -, $'n\gamma w'y$ -, &c.

v. § 11, *š'twx* 'happy (-minded)', from Sogdian *šāt+əχw*, cf. *Anc. Lett.* ii 3 *š'tyxw*;

237. OIr. *wahwi-*, Fem. of *wahu-* 'good': S. *'rtyxw βntk* (*artiχu-*), N. pr., *Anc. Lett.* ii 35, from **γtiwahwi-* (H.), S. *'rtγw*, **'rtwy*, N. of the 25th day, from Av. *ašōiš vanhuyā*, cf. H., *Orientalia*, viii 92, Man. *'pwx*, *'bwx*, N. of the 10th day, from Av. *āpō vanuhīš*.

238. Conspectus for OIr. *χw* (*hw*)

Old Iranian	Old Sogdian	Late Sogdian ¹
<i>χwa</i>		<i>χu</i> , 222 <i>ja</i> , 224
<i>huwa</i>	<i>χuwa</i>	<i>χū</i> , 223
<i>χwā</i>		<i>χwā</i> , 226. 227 <i>pā</i> , 235
<i>χwā . . y</i>	<i>χwē</i>	<i>χwē</i> , 226. 228 <i>χū</i> , 232
<i>χwā . . y</i>	<i>χwāy</i>	<i>χwāy</i> , 226 <i>χāw</i> , 233
<i>χwai</i>	<i>χwē</i>	<i>χwē</i> , 230; <i>χū</i> , ib. <i>χē</i> , 231
<i>χwi</i>	<i>χwi</i> , 228	
<i>aχw</i>	(a) <i>χu</i>	<i>χu</i> , <i>uχ</i> , 236

239. (ix) After *d* and *z*, *w* becomes *v* (on OIr. *θw* v. §§ 293 sqq.).

(1) After *d*. *δβr-* 'door', from *dwar-*; *δβtyk* 'second' (cf. § 430), from **dwiñiyaka-*; *δβyš-* 'to hurt, torment', from *dwaiš-*; *γδβk*, an animal, *M* 130 i V 3 (out of context), if it belongs to Av. *γadwa-* 'bitch', and not to NPers. *γalbe* 'magpie' (H.).

240. (2) After *z*. Man. *zβ'k* 'tongue', from **hizwāka-*, v. § 93 (on Chr. *žb'q* v. § 378); Chr. *'zbr-* 'to cross', v. § 158 fn.

241. (x) *w* becomes *p* after *š* in *-kyšp-* from Av. *karšvar-*, v. § 147; cf. *-šp* from *-fš* in B. *'rδ'yšp*, § 441.

242. (xi) *w* is lost (cf. also § 231).

(1) In some forms from OIr. *baw-* 'to be', v. §§ 787-9.

243. (2) *χšwi* became *χši*.¹ The examples are *χšyft* 'milk' *BBB* e 18, from Av. *χšvipta-*, cf. Morgenstierne *EVP* 72 sq., and, perhaps, Man. *'nχšyp-* 'to wriggle' *T ii D* 79 a 9 (reading not quite settled), from **χšwip-*.

¹ 238¹ Some of the forms here attributed to an old stage of the language, survive, beside the more recent ones, down to the late Chr. texts.

² 243¹ In *χwšyp* 'whip', B. *'γwšyp-* 'squint-eyed', *w* was saved by a timely metathesis, v. § 416. On the treatment of **χšwācam* 'six' v. § 417 fn. 1.

k

244. (i) OIr. *k* is normally preserved as *k*. *kyr'n* 'direction', from *karan-*; *frkrnd-* 'to cut', from *frakrnt-*; *δβtyk* 'second', from **dwiiti-yaka-*; &c.

245. (ii) *k* becomes *g*.

(1) After *n* (cf. §§ 272. 304). *zng* 'sort, kind', from **zanaka-*, v. § 164; *plzwng* 'murder', *yzwnng* 'discerning', from **-χwahanaka-*, v. § 121; *'ngrnd-* 'to cut to pieces', from *hankrnta-*; *'ngyrp*, from **han-kahrpa-*, v. § 141; *'ngs* 'cheek, face' M 142 V 4, from *kas-* 'to look'.

246. (2) Before *-yā* (cf. § 306) or in postvocalic position (cf. §§ 269. 305)? Man. *wβ'stgy'h* 'narrative' *Sogd.* 16, 18; *f'rštm'ng[y](?)h*, § 322, against frequent compounds with *'m'nky'*, *'m'n'ky'*; Chr. *nm'nrgry'* 'repentance', beside *nm'ryqrqy'*, v. *BBB* p. 92 on b 25. All these are abstracts from *-aka-* stems, v. § 985. In view of the examples there quoted in fn., it seems preferable to read *fāraštmanagya*, rather than *-māngya*.

(3) In postvocalic position, in Chr. *γwžlg'* (*γōžtaga*),¹ 2 Pl. Fut., 'to ask', i 75, 3.

(4) After *d*, in Chr. *γwtγ xwtg'r* 'alone', cf. § 269 fn.

247. (iii) *k* becomes *č*.

(1) Palatalized by a preceding *i* which afterwards usually disappears. B. *'r'ync* 'cubit' *Padm.* 28, from **arabnika-* (H.); **knc* 'girl',¹ from Av. *kainikā-*; B. *zm'wrc* 'ant' *SCE* 366, from **marwika-*, against B. *zm'wr'k*, id., *P* 2, 390, from **marwaka-* (cf. Skr. *vamrá*, *vamraká*), v. § 380;² *wyc'w* 'witness', from **wi-kāw-*, v. Schaefer, *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, xv 568; Chr. *pcrw* (*pčaru*) 'instead of', from **pat-čaru*, from **pati-karam*, B. *pc'rt* 'because of', from **pat-čart*, from **pati-kart-*, v. § 674 fn. (H. compares the Arm. loanwords *patčarav* 'because of', *patčar* 'reason, cause' < **pati-čarana-*); B. *nyc* 'nostrils' *SCE* 85 (probably also *Šiynī nēj*, &c., v. *IIFL* ii 403), from **nāhikā-*, cf. Skt. *nāsikā*,³ the Fem. ending of *-aka-* stems, *-c(?)*, v. § 1271, from **-ikā-* (H.).⁴

246¹ Acc. to H., *BBB* p. 57 on 495, *γōždga*. The ending, however, should be *-ta* (*-da*), v. § 738.

247¹ Attested are only *qncy*, Acc., *M* 760, 9; *kncy*, Gen., *M* 760, 21; *qncy* *T* i *D* 16 (out of context); cf. also the diminutive *qncck*, § 984.

247² In B. *mwyšk-* 'fly', from **maχšika-*, cf. § 975, the palatalizing effect of *i* was checked by the consonantic group preceding it.

247³ Meillet's explanation of *nyc* as from **nahya-čī*, *BSL* xxiii 108, can hardly be considered satisfactory.

247⁴ Acc. to Tedesco, *ZII* 4, 143, this Feminine ending goes back to the Gen. Fem. *-akayāh*. Tedesco thought of removing the difficulty of deriving from the

248. (2) Palatalized by a preceding *i* in *stryc* 'female', from **stri-kā*-, and possibly in some words with the suffix *-yc*, v. § 1010 sq.

249. (3) Otherwise we have *č* from *k* in B. *crks* 'vulture', from Av. *kahrkāsa*-, v. H., BSOS viii 584, cf. § 139; *mrc* 'death', from Av. *mahrka*-, v. H., loc. cit., cf. § 489; perhaps Chr. *crxwšt* 'wine-press', against Pahl. *karxōš*, v. H., BSOS x 97.¹

250. (iv) *k* appears as *γ* in Man. *swynd* 'oath', against Chr. *swqnt*, v. BBB p. 94 on b 47, from Av. *saokanta*-, possibly influenced by MPers. *sōyand*.

251. (v) After the loss of all endings, the final *k* of **-aka*- and *-ākā*- stems disappeared, v. §§ 960 fn. 1. 971.

252. (vi) On the loss of *k* otherwise, v. § § 463 sq. 472.

g (Avestan g, γ)

253. (i) OIr. *g* generally becomes *γ*. It remains *g* only in direct contact with a preceding *n*, e.g. *sng* 'stone', from Av. *asənga*-, 'ngwšt' 'finger' M 142 V 7, from Av. *angušta*-. This does not seem to apply to secondary contact of initial *g* with the prefix *han*-, cf. 'nytyy' 'all, complete', from Av. *həngata* (v. § 335), 'nywn' 'similarly', from *hangawna*- (v. § 1113). Cf. § § 283. 308.

254. (ii) In secondary contact with a following *t* or *š*, *g* becomes *χ*.

(1) *gt* becomes *χt*. *By'n bxtm* 'devātīdēva' M 370, 11 (Abl.), *vaxtam* from *bagatama*-, cf. § § 164. 528; *c'twxt* 'how fast', v. § 1314, Elative of Man. *twy T ii D 79, 1, 3. T i D a*, B: *twy*, adv., P 3, 9. 14, cf. Sogd. p. 40 on 13.

Oblique a form usually employed in the Nom.-Acc., by assuming that the Nom.-Acc. ending *-akā(m)* had been generalized with substantives, the Oblique ending *-a^o* with adjectives. This explanation does not hold, since the substantives concerned were stems in *-ākā*-, not in *-akā*-, v. § 971 fn. Moreover, it is by no means certain that *k* is palatalized in Sogdian by a following *y*; the abstracts in *-ky* of *-aka*- stems (v. § 985) do not support such an assumption; cf. also Sogdian *ky*, § 1581, against Khot. *ce*, from *kahya*.

Henning's explanation is based on the fact that *-ikā*- is the ordinary Feminine of *-aka*- stems in Sanskrit (cf. Whitney, § § 1181 c. 1222 i). It may be further supported by the Feminine of the light stem B. *murzk*- (v. § 151), if the form B. *murzk* (*mu'zka*, not **mu'zča*), quoted § 522, is genuine, since this would show that the change from *k* to *č* depended on the vowel by which *k* was preceded.

The assumption of a Feminine ending *-ikā*- could be extended to Šinyi, where it might account for the Umlaut in the Fem. Past Part. (v. Geiger, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i² 313). It would have to be adopted also for Khotanese *-gya*.

249¹ On the other hand it is possible that we have Sogdian *k* against OIr. *č* in *qrtr* M 133, 18 (passions, v. § 1658), Pl. *qrtrt T ii D 139 i 3* (demons, v. § 1657), *krtrtyy* Man. Lett. i 5, 'insidious, cunning', against Arm. *čartar* 'skilful, cunning', cf. *Air. Wb.*, 582, s.v. *čartu-tāra*-.

255. (2) $\gamma\delta$ becomes $\chi\delta$. *jwxšk-* 'disciple', from **driguška-*, v. §§ 285. 410.

X

256. (i) OIr. χ generally remains χ , except in the group χt , which becomes γd , v. § 273. χ also sometimes becomes γ before z (v. § 55) and after r (v. § 57). For χw v. *conspectus* § 238.

257. (ii) In Sogdian, as in Avestan (v. Bartholomae, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i 36, § 86), there are some examples of an unetymological χ inserted before δ . *npxšt-*, Past stem of *npys-* 'to write', against OPers. *nipišta-*; **spxšt-* *M 135 ii 64*, B. **spyšt-* *SCE 35*, Past stem of Chr. *spš-* 'to serve', against Av. *spašta-*; *xwštr-* 'camel', from **uxštra-* (v. § 517), against Av. *uštra-*; B. *ptrwγšty* 'obstructed', Past Partic. from B. *ptrwz-*, v. *JRAS*, 1942, 99; cf. also Chr. **rwxš* 'bandage', Av. *urvišna-*, § 347, and the forms *mχš* (*miχš*) and *wχšym*, given by al-Beruni for *miš*, N. of the 16th day, and Man. *wšynny* 'Tuesday', v. *BBB* p. 85 sq.

č

258. (i) Remains \check{c} : *cšm-* 'eye', from *čašman-*; *pnc* 'five', from *panča*; *pswc-* 'to purify', from **saoča-*; &c.

259. (ii) \check{c} becomes δ in secondary contact with a following *k, t, n* (on *čy* becoming δ v. § 196).

(1) Before *k*. Man. *yšktyh T i D 51*, B. **yškt'yh*, 'harem', from *inč* 'woman' + *kate* 'house', cf. § 339.

260. (2) Before *t*. Man. Chr. B. *s'št* 'oportet', from B. *s'ct*; *w'st* *M 796 i 22*, 3 Sg. Pres. from *w'c-* 'to let go'; Chr. *t'st' i 8, 7, 2 Pl.* Impt. from **tc-* 'to run, flee', v. *BBB* p. 62 on 516; *δyn'βr'st* 'electae' *Man. Lett.* i 20. 21, Pl. of *δyn'βr'nc*; *βγpwryšt* 'divine virgins', Pl. of *βγpwryc*, v. *BBB* p. 73; *stryšt*, Pl. of *stryc* 'female'; S. **sp'ynšt T ii D 167 m V*, Man. **spnctt M 178 i V 4*, Pl. from **spnc* 'rest-house, inn'; Man. *ny[w]š[']k[']šty T ii D 207, 22*, Acc. Pl. from *nywš'k'nc* 'auditrix'; Chr. *t'mp'r myšt*, Pl. of Man. *t'mb'rmync* 'of the body', v. § 1103.

261. (3) Before *n*. *wššnyh* 'old, worn out', from *wšcnny*, from **witačina-*, v. § 163, cf. *n'sšnyh*, § 266.

262. (iii) A Sogdian \check{c} has developed from

k, §§ 247-9

δ , § 286.

t, § 275 sq.

$\delta\check{c}$, § 288.

tr, § 278; *tř*, § 277

$\check{c}\check{c}$ (*sč*), §§ 372. 382.

On the treatment of *sč* in *pasča* v. § 373. On an inorganic *c* in B. texts v. § 286 fn.

j (ž)

263. (i) OIr. *ǰ* (*ž*) appears in Sogdian as *ž* (spelled Man. *j*, Chr. *ž*, B. *z*, *z*), except after *n*, where in Man. we find either *c*, or *c* alternating with *j*, hence pronounced *j*, cf. § 70.^{1 2}

264. (1) Sogdian *ž*. *jw-* (*žuw-*) 'to live', cf. § 574; *jn-* 'to strike' *M* 135 i 41, S. *zn-* *P* 13, 11, from *jan-*; *nyjy-* 'to go out', from OPers. *nižaya-*, cf. § 568; *βjʷ-* 'to add', from OPers. *abižāvaya-*, cf. § 571; *j(n)wvq* 'knee' *Sogd.* 49, 8, from Av. *žnu-*; Man. *jnʷ*, B. *znʷkh* and *ʷznʷkh* (*Vim* 66), 'knowledge', *βj(nʷh)* 'mark, sign' *Sogd.* 48, 1, from **žnā-*, cf. Av. *xšnā-*, &c.

265. (2) Sogdian *j*. *ʷnjmn*, *ʷncmn*, 'assembly' (§ 67), from Av. *hanjamana-*; *pδδync-* 'to pull' (§ 70), from *θanj-*.

266. (ii) *žd* becomes *ž* (cf. *zd* becoming *ž*, § 379): *kōž*, in B. *šwnkkuwzʷk* 'au chignon conchoïde' *Dhy* 180, from Av. *kaožda-* in *ašta.kaožda-*.

(iii) *ž* becomes *š* in secondary contact with a following *n*: *nʷšnyh* *cxryy* 'a turning wheel' *M* 178 ii V 15 sq., from **nāžina-* (cf. Man. *wšnyh*, § 261), cf. Man. *nʷj-* 'to turn round', § 1068 (H.).

(iv) On *ž* becoming *š* by assimilation v. § 452.

t

267. (i) OIr. *t* normally appears as *t*. *tm-* 'hell', from Av. *tamah-*; *mrtyy* 'man', from *martiya-*; *wʷt* 'wind', from *wāta-*; *ʷwpt-* 'to fall' *T* ii B R 2, from *awa-pata-*; &c.

268. (ii) Instead of, or alternating with, *t* from OIr. *t*, some words have Man. *δ*, Chr. *d*, in postvocalic position or after *r*. This presumably indicates a pronunciation *d*, cf. *d* from *t* in Khwār. and Oss. (Miller, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i Anh. 30), v. *BBB* p. 57 on 495, and above, § 59.

269. (1) In postvocalic position (cf. §§ 246. 305). Man. *kδʷm*, *ktʷm*, B. *ktʷm*, Chr. *qdʷm*, 'which?', 'whichever', from Av. *katāma-*; Man. B. *ʷyδ*, Chr. *yd*, from Av. *aēta-*, v. § 1500; Man. *ptʷšʷdy* 'joy' *T* ii D 163 b i 4. *T* ii D 207, 16, from **pati-šāta-* + Sogdian suffix *-ty* (§ 1070), beside *šʷtwx* 'happy', B. *šʷt* 'rich'; *msyδr* 'presbyter', Chr. *msyδrd*, Pl., v. § 1298; Chr. *xwδw* ii, from *xwʷʷw*; Chr. *xwdy* 'self' ii 1, 37, from *xwʷy*; Chr. *ʷmpd-* i 3, 4, B. *ʷnpt-* *SCE*, 'to fall', from *ham-pata-*; loan-words are possibly *xšyδ*, *ʷxšyδ* 'lord', from Av. *xšaēta-*, and

263¹ Difficult to explain is the presence of *c* instead of expected *z*, in S. *wʷcʷyδʷnt*, 3 Pl. Impf. (*MN* 'sp' *wʷcʷyδʷnt pr ɣwrt nyδʷnt* 'they dismantled from their horses and sat down for a meal' *T* i a i 9 sq.), corresponding to the Man. Pres. stem *ʷwjyδ-* (§ 376; cf. also § 483).

263² A *c* standing for *č* or *f* is also found in B. *ʷscyʷnʷk*, the form of transition between OIr. **arjyan-* (**rjyan-*) and Man. *ʷjyn* 'worthy', cf. §§ 155. 383.

n'xyδ, N. of the planet Venus, from *anāhitā*-; cf. also B. *k'wδ'm'* DN 53. 57, beside *k'wł'm'* DN 12. 19. 23, &c., from Skt. *Gotama*.¹

270. (2) After *r*. Chr. *msydrd*, Pl., v. § 1298; Chr. *mrđzmy* 'man' *ii*.

271. (iii) Apart from the preceding cases, *t* becomes *đ* in primary and secondary contact with a preceding *n*, as well as in the groups *χt*, *ft*.

272. (1) After *n* (cf. §§ 245. 304). Man. 'ndrykt' 'eunuchs', from *antar*, v. § 995; *kundy* 'he does', from *kwn*-+ending *-ti*; *w'crnd*, from *w'crn* 'road'+Pl. ending *-t*; &c.

273. (2) OIr. *χt* becomes *γđ* (spelled *γt*), v. Tedesco, *BSL* xxiii 112 sq., and above, § 51. Examples are the OIr. Past Participles in *-χta-*. On the Past stems with secondary *-xt-* v. § 56.

274. (3) OIr. *ft* becomes *vd* (spelled *βt*), v. Tedesco, loc. cit., and § 51. Examples are the OIr. Past Participles in *-fta-*, and 'βt(?)' 'seven' (§ 1316), from **hafta*. In the Past Partic. *wftyy M 137 V 12*, Chr. *°wfc*, Fem., *ii 5, 26*, 'woven', *f* is due to the influence of the Pres. stem *w'f-* (quoted by H., *JRAS*, 1942, 232 fn. 6), cf. Yidgha *waft* against *γarivd*, *Morgenstierne, IIFL ii 157*, and above, § 56.

275. (iv) Under unexplored conditions, *t* (*θ*) followed by *i* (*y*) becomes *č*, cf. *BBB* p. 96 on b 78. Beside forms with such a *č(i)*, the older ones with *t(i)* are often preserved.

(1) OIr. *ti* (*θy*) becomes *č(i)*. The preverb *pati-* appears as *pt-* and as *pc-* (v. §§ 671 sqq.), cf. H., *BSOS* viii 587; the ending of OIr. *asti* 'he is' appears as *-ti* in '*sty*' (§ 762), but as *-či* in *xcy* (§ 770, cf. Benv., *Grammaire*, 200) and, perhaps, in '*ycy*' (§ 775), cf. § 372; Av. *paršti-* becomes S. *prch*, subst., 'back', Chr. *prcy*, postposition, 'after', Man. *prcy*, adv., 'behind, slow' *M 430, 3. M 796 i, 15*, cf. *BBB* p. 62 on 517; verbal nouns in *-ti-*, cf. *fr'wycyh* 'forgetfulness', from **frāmušti-* (§§ 382. 1007), *xryc* 'buying', from **χriti-* (§ 1002), Chr. *°qc* from *krti-* (§ 1002), against '*kt'y*' (§ 948).

276. (2) Secondary *ti* also becomes *či* in *đšcy*, Name of the 8th day, cf. § 402.

277. (v) Initial *tr-* has become *čə-* (cf. § 150) in *cf-* 'to steal' *M 133, 11*, B. *cβ-*, from *trp-*, cf. *Morgenstierne, IIFL ii 256**, in B. *cšn* 'thirst' (§ 386), *cš'y-* 'to be thirsty' *SCE 29*, *cš'ntk* 'thirsty' (§ 1068), from **trš-*, and, acc. to H., in B. (?) *cštyh* 'terror' *P 2, 785, P 6, 12*, < **tršti-* (Av. *taršti-*), cf. Parth. *tyšt*, v. § 948 on the ending.

269¹ Of uncertain origin is *πwđk'r* 'alone' *M 896, 12*, B. *γwđk'r(y)* *SCE 27, 328*, Chr. *γwfy zwfy'r i 75, 20* (cf. § 246), *γwfy πwđq'r i 37, 22*, *πwđ πwđq'r ii 1, 71*, v. § 1336 fn. [Cf. Khot. *hvata hvata, hva hva* "severally".]

278. (vi) *štr* became *šč* in *zrwšc* 'Zoroaster', from **zarahuštr*, v. § 399, and, perhaps, in B. *mwškyščh*, from **mūš-kuštr*, v. § 382 fn. 1.

279. (vii) The Sogdian group *tδ* has become *θ* in the Trans. Pret. *kθār-* 'to do, make', from *əkt(u)δār-*, cf. § 167. It is not known whether this also happened with some other Trans. Preterites or not, cf. § 457 fn.

280. (viii) Final *t* after vowels was lost, as in OPers., in the endings of the Abl. Sg. (§§ 1179. 1199), of the 3 Sg. Opt. (§ 713), and of the 3 Sg. Impf. (§ 712).

281. (ix) Otherwise *t* is sometimes lost before *δ* (§ 457), *θ* (§ 456), *s* (§ 461 sq.).

(x) On *t* becoming *p* by dissimilation v. § 470.

d

282. (i) OIr. *d* generally becomes Sogdian *δ*. *δ'm* 'world, creation', from *dāman-*; *δm'n* 'dwelling place' (§ 466 fn.), from Av. *dāmāna-*; *myδ'n* 'middle', from *madyāna-*; *wrd* 'rose', from *warda-*; &c.

283. (ii) *d* remains *d* (spelled *d*, *t*, or *dt*, cf. §§ 45 sqq.):

(1) In primary contact with a preceding *n*. *βndyh* 'servant', from *bandaka-*; B. 'nt 'blind' *Dhy* 84, from Av. *anda-*. After the prefix *han-*, only *δ* is found (cf. §§ 253. 308), cf. 'ndysn 'reflection', from **han-daisana-*, 'ndmyy 'limb', from Av. *han-dāman-*, &c. In compound-Sandhi, both *δ* and *d* are found, cf. *δynδ'r* 'electus', *δynt'ry* 'monkship' *M* 116 R 3.

284. (2) In contact with a preceding *z* (on *zd* becoming *ž* v. § 379), cf. § 309. *ztyw* 'exiled', from *uzdahyu-* (§ 97); *zwrmtz*, from *ahura-mazdāh-*; **mzt'yzn*, v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 240 fn. 3, from **mazdayazna-*; Chr. 'zd'gry', ii 3, 42, B. 'zt', 'announcement', from *azdā*, cf. Tedesco, *BSL* xxiii 112 (on Chr. 'yzt' cf. § 84). Cf. also the LW S. (?)yzt(?)ys 'idol', from Parth. **zdys*, § 104.

285. (iii) *dr* becomes *ž* (on *dr* becoming *rδ* v. § 439). The historical spelling *δr* is frequent in B. texts. Cf. Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1920, 415 sq.; Tedesco, *ZII* iv 113; Benv., *MSL* xxiii 126; Hansen, *ZII* vii 89.

Man. *jwxšq-* *M* 655, 11. *T ii D* 62, 17. *T ii D* 66, 1, 3, Chr. *žwxšq-*, B. *zrwšk-* *Dhu* 207, *δrywšk-* *Vim* 71, 'disciple', from **driḡuška-*, v. §§ 255. 410, cf. NPers. *darviš* (Rosenberg, loc. cit., and *apud* Benv., loc. cit.); *jwk* 'sound, complete', B. *δr'wk* in *δr'wk cšm'y* 'with sound eyes' *Dhy* 337,¹ *Anc. Lett.* *δr'wk*, from **druwaka-* (Benv., loc. cit.);

²⁸⁵ The meaning of this compound, as suggested by Reichelt, *ad locum*, and Benv., *Notes* ii 236, has been confirmed by Weller in his discussion of the corresponding Chinese passage (*Monumenta Serica*, vol. iii (1938), p. 118 with

jym' (v. prec. fn.), Chr. *žym'* ii 1, 27, B. *δrymh*, 'lie', B. *δryw'nr'k* 'liar' (§ 1126), from *drug-*; Man. *j'm M 135 ii 36*, B. *z'm DN 24. Frq. iii 63. 77. 78, Doc. x 20* (Reichelt, ii 58), 'delicate, fine, thin, polite', from **drām* = MPers. *dārm-ak* (cf. *šārs: šrās-*) 'fine', v. Bailey, *JRAS*, 1934, 512 (H.);² Man. *jyl-*, B. *δryl-*, Past stem, 'to hold' (Hansen, loc. cit.); Man. *j'y-*, Chr. *ž'y-*, 'to talk', MPers. *drāy-*, v. *BBB* p. 126 b;³ &c.

286. (iv) *δ* from *d* becomes *č* in secondary contact with *š*. The example is *duš-*, when reduced to *δš-* (cf. § 173): B. *cšt'w'n* 'poor', against B. *δšt'w'n*, Chr. *dyšt'w'n*, from *duštuwān-*, v. Bailey, *BSOS* vi 67, who compares Arm. *t'š-* from *duš-*;¹ B. *cšt'wcyh*, Obl., 'poverty' *P 2*, 243, against Man. *δšt'wc*, *δyšt'wc* (§ 1080); *ckšt-* 'ugly' (v. § 1089), from **duš-ka(r)šta-*, cf. *k(r)šn* 'form' (Benv., *Notes iv* 513, and H., *Tales* 470 n. 1), and Parth. *dwrncyhr* 'ugly'.

287. (v) *d* (*δ*) + *ž* in secondary contact coalesce into *j*. Chr. *žy'wr ST i*, against Man. *δrjy'wr M 133, 17*, B. *δrz'ywr* [sic] *P 2*, 106, 'heart' (*jyāwar*, from *δəžyāwar*, from *δržya-*, cf. §§ 148. 173. 182. 1119); *jkryy* 'sinful', from **džkare*, from **duž-karaka-*, v. *BBB* p. 69 on 555.

288. (vi) *δč* becomes *č* in Man. *»c*, from B. *»δcw*, v. § 1564.

289. (vii) On *t* instead of expected *δ* in *dw'ts* '12', *pnct's-* '15', v. § 1321.

On *δ* lost before *s* v. § 459.

On *d* lost before *z* v. § 454, before *s* v. § 460.

On *tδ* becoming *θ* v. § 279; on *θδ* becoming *θ* v. § 455.

On *žd* becoming *ž* v. § 266; on *zd* becoming *ž* v. § 379.

290. (viii) An unetymological *d* is sometimes inserted after *n* before *č*, *ž*, or *ya*. Cf. H., *BBB* p. 75 on 606.

(1) Before *č*, *ž*: Man. '*yjndyy* (*-aka-* stem) 'worthy' *M 483, 8*, Chr. '*yžnty i 59, 19, yžndy ii 2, 23*, against Man. '*yjn BBB b 42. f 78*, Chr. '*yžn ii 6, 47*, Pl. Man. '*yjnd M 617 i 17*, abstract Man. '*yjn'wyy T i D*, v. § 155; *skpwndy* *'scammonia', against NPers. *saqmūniyā*, cf. § 352.

fn. 166), while Man. *šwk'čšmyy*, in the passage referred to in *BBB* p. 65 fn. 1, seems to have a disparaging meaning: *n' wβ' ptižyny 'ty šwk'čšmyy 'tyh xypδ βr't pr jym' n' 'wz'm* 'do not be quarrelsome (cf. § 200 fn. 1) and insolent, and do not condemn your brother with lies'. H. now abandons his connexion of *šwk-* with B. *δr'wk*, and compares Pers. شوخ (with some suffix before which *k > χ*).

²⁸⁵ Differently Benv., *Notes* iii 231.

²⁸⁵ Differently Morgenstierne, *NTS* vii 116 sqq.

²⁸⁶ The *c-* of *cšt'w'n*, which was hardly articulated, explains, acc. to H., the B. spellings (*'čšty-* 'third' (§§ 1331. 1337) and *γwycāt* 'chief' (§ 230). H. would attribute the same reason to the *c* of B. *cškw-* 'tear' (cf. §§ 371. 385 fn.).

291. (2) Before *ya*: *ɟyʃtrw'ndy* 'ill-will', against *rw'n* 'soul'; *prm'ndy* 'forgiveness' *Sogd.* 16, 3, against *pw prm'n* *Sogd.* 16, 6, cf. *BBB* p. 75; B. *nym'ntyh* 'contempt', abstract from B. *nym'n* (§ 1033), v. *BBB* p. 92 on b 25; *ptzm'ndy* 'loathing' *T ii D* 66, 2, 21, B. *ptzm'ntyh*, v. Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1927, 1398, against B. 'pw *ptzm'n* 'insatiable' *SCE* 460.

θ

292. (i) OIr. *θ* remains *θ*. *pδδync-* 'to pull' (§ 600), from *ʰθanjaya-*; *ɣδwuk* 'throne', from **gāθu-ka-*; *srδnng* 'chief', = MPers. *srhng*, cf. *BBB* p. 91 bottom; *p'rδ* 'watch', from *pāθra-*, *Sogd.* 25, 21; Chr. *r'θ* 'road', cf. NPers. *rāh*; Chr. *šqwrθy* 'difficulty', from *škauθi-*, cf. § 361; Chr. *xypθ* 'own', from Av. *xʷaēpaiθya-*.

293. (ii) OIr. *θw* turns up in various spellings.

(1) Man. B. *δβ* (= *θv*). **δβ(ʰ)y-* 'to extend, scatter', in S. *prδβ'y't δ'r* 'he diffused (the religion)' *T M* 389 a R 35, B. *wyδβ'y-* 'to extend' *Dhy* 92, B. *wδβ'yt VJ* 187. &c., *wyδβ'yt VJ* 739. 38^e, 'distant', Man. *δyβiyy* (*θivde*, v. § 431), Past Partc., 'scattered' *M* 134 i V 12, B. 'nδβy- 'to develop' *P* 2, 361, which H. connects with Av. *θwaya-*, cf. Av. *θwayqstama-* 'most distant [sic]'; *δβxšt-* *Sogd.* 16, 5, B. *δβ'γšt-* *VJ* 241. 243, Past stem, 'to collect, acquire', from Av. *θwaxš-*, v. H., *BSOS* x 105 n. 3; S. *pδβyr-*, 'pδβyr-', 'to hasten' (Trans.), *pδβ'r* 'haste', from **upa-θwar-*, v. *BBB* p. 59 sq.; B. *rypδβh* 'noon' *Dhu* 209, from *rapitwā-* (Reichelt, *ad locum*).

294. (2) Man. *δf*, in *pδf'rβγγy*, N. of a god, cf. *pδβ'r* above, and H., loc. cit., perhaps under the influence of the Parth. spelling, which should be **pdf'r*.

295. (3) *tf*, after *č*, in *ctf'r* 'four' (*čtfār*), cf. § 173.

296. (4) Chr. *tf*, *tβ* (= *tv*), in initial position. *tfyž ii* 6, 31, and *tβyž-* i, Pres. stem, 'to collect', v. H., *Sogd.* p. 32 on 4.¹

297. (5) *f*, in the enclitic pronoun of the 2nd person, Man. *-f(y)*, § 1355 sq., cf. Av. *-θwā*, v. H., *ZDMG* 90, *32*.

298. (6) *š*, in Man. B. *pš'(ʰ)βr* 'provisions', from Av. *piθwā-*, and Man. *γyšyp*, Chr. *γšyp*, 'damage', from S(*γyδβp*) in the *Anc. Lett.*, v. *BBB* p. 63 on 523.

šyčrρ = Hucy

299. (iii) OIr. *θr*, unless turning into *rθ* (cf. § 440; on *anθr* v. § 346), becomes *š*, beside which the older *δr* is frequently attested in Sogdian script, occasionally also in Manichean. Cf. Andreas, *apud* F. W. K.

296¹ Where the *ST ii* form should be read *tfyž-*, viz. both *ST i* and *ST ii* have initial *t*, not *θ*.

Müller, *Uigurica* (APAW, 1908), p. 3, n. 3. *štyk* 'third', from *θritiya-*; *mys-*, passim, against *myθr-* *M* 118 i R 8, from *miθra-*; *wšyyny*, from Av. *vərəθrayna-*; *npyyšn* 'grandson' *M* 134 i V 5, S. *np'yšnt*, Pl., *T* ii D 11, cf. § 943; *š*, N. of the 9th day, from *āθr-*, cf. H., *Orientalia*, viii 91 fn. 2, B. *š'kw* 'ashes', from **āθraka-*, v. Benv., *Notes* ii 244; Man. *γwšł*, Pl., 'metals', from *gaθra-*, v. *Sogd.* p. 20 on 21; B. *nyš* 'elsewhere' *VJ* 1230, *nyš* 'on the other hand' *Dhy* 272, from **anyathra-*, cf. Skt. *anyatra* (cf. *wysp'rđyy*, § 440); *xšywr*, N. of the 4th day, from **χšabrawarya-* (cf. § 171), against B. *γšθrkt'k* from Av. *xšabθrō.karāta-* (v. *JRAS*, 1942, 97); perhaps *wš-* from **wiθra*, cf. Av. *ōiθra*, in *γw wšyy* 'alone, single' *Sogd.* 24, 9, B. *wš'wš* 'one by one' *Dhu* 22, Man. *wšwšyt*, Pl., 'various', *Sogd.* p. 25 on 9, *wšp't* **autrefois* (?) *M* 127 R 11; &c. [*nyš*, cf. now Benv. *VJ* p. 92. V. Add.]

300. (iv) *θ* was dropped before *n* in *δβ'mbn* 'lady, wife', from Av. *dəmānō.pabnī-*, v. Meillet, *BSL* xxiii 103 (cf. also §§ 304. 449. 453. 466), in *pn'nc* 'co-wife', v. § 1046, and in B. *''r'ync* 'cubit', v. § 247.

301 (v) *θ* becomes *t*.

(1) Before *s*, in Man. B. *mrtš'r*, B. *'wrtš'r*, v. § 461, and in B. *kwrtš'r*, from *kwθδ*, v. §§ 440. 1534.

(2) Before *š*, in *datš'i*, N. of the 15th day, from **dabš'i*, v. § 443.

302. (3) After *δ*, in Man. *ptwyδł*, 2 Pl. Impt., 'to hand over', *patwēδt* from **patwēδθ*, v. *BBB* p. 104 on f 53-4.

(vi) *θi* became *š* in B. *γr'nš* 'tie', from **granθi-*, v. *BBB* p. 63 on 523.

P

303. (i) *p* normally remains *p*. *ptr-* 'father', from *p(i)tar-*; *npys-* 'to write', from **ni-paisa-*; *'sp-* 'horse', from *aspa-*; &c.

304. (ii) *p* becomes *b*.

(1) In contact with a preceding *m* (*n*), cf. §§ 245. 272. *δβ'mbn*, *δβ'mpn*, 'lady, wife', v. § 300; *tmb'r* 'body', v. § 449; *'mbyr-* 'to fill', v. § 544; Chr. *'mpd-* 'to fall' (*ambad-*), from *ham-pata-*.

On the loss of *b* from *p* in this position, v. § 453.

305. (2) In postvocalic position (cf. §§ 246. 269). Chr. *'b* 'water' *ii* 3, 26, otherwise Chr. *'p*, Man. B. *''p*; Man. *''bwx*, beside *''pwx*, N. of the 10th day, cf. § 236; cf. also the LW B. *'wβ's'k*, Fem. *'wβ's'nch*, 'lay-monk, lay-nun', *P* 7, 127 sq., beside *'wp's'k*, *'wp's'nch*, *DN* 4, from Skt. *upāsaka*.

306. (3) Before *yā* (cf. § 246), in Man. *by'mnwrz*, N. pr., *Mahrnāmag* 100, connected by H. with Man. *py'm-* 'to heal' (cf. § 582).

(iii) On the dissimilation in *ptfs-* 'to read' v. § 468.

b

307. (i) OIr. *b* normally becomes *v*, spelled β . β - 'god', from *baga-*; β 't 'brother', from *brātar-*; *ptβst-*, Past stem, 'to join, connect', from *patibasta-*.

308. (ii) *b* remains *b*:

(1) In primary contact with a preceding *m*: *kmbyy* 'less, wanting', from **kambiyah-*, v. § 1302. After the prefix *ham-*, *v* alone is found, cf. Chr. *'mbrz*, Man. *'nβrz*, 'reception', § 655. Cf. §§ 253. 283.

309. (2) After *z* (which became *ž*, v. § 377), in Man. *wjp-*, Chr. *'wžb-*, 'terror' (§ 43 fn.), from Av. *azōbā-*. Cf. § 284.

310. (iii) *b* became *m*, in Chr. **mr'w* 'crying', from **brāma-*, v. § 351.

(iv) On the loss of *b* after *m* v. § 453.

f

311. (i) Remains, generally, *f*. *fry-* 'dear', from *friya-*; *fšy'ws* 'gentleman' *M* 135 i 18, B. *'βšy'ws* 'superior' *Dhu* 273. *VJ* 1495, from Av. *fšuyas* (H.), cf. § 429; Man. Chr. *n'f*, B. *n'β*, 'people', from Av. *nāfa-*; Man. *wfr-* 'snow', from Av. *vafra-*; &c.

312. (ii) *fn*.

(1) Becomes *vn*. Man. *xwβn-* 'sleep, dream' *T ii D* 79 d 5, from Av. *x'vafna-*, cf. Yidgha *xūvən*, *IIFL* ii 67.

313. (2) Becomes *m*, in Man. Chr. *xš'm* 'evening' *M* 399, 4 (v. § 911). *ST* i 81, 7, from Av. *xšāfnyā-*, cf. Parth. *š'm*, and v. Tedesco, *ZII* ii 41.

(iii) *ft* becomes *vd*, v. § 274.

314. (iv) *fš*.¹

(1) Remains *fš-* in *fšy'ws*, § 311.

(2) Becomes *šf-* and *-šp* (cf. § 241), v. § 441.

(3) Becomes χ š in Chr. *xwšp'ny* 'shepherd' i 22, 21, from **χšupāne*, from **fšupānaka-*, cf. Khot. *kšundaa-*, *kšarma-* (Bailey, *BSOS* viii 128. ix 75), and conversely, *'fšyn*, title of the kings of Ustrūšana (Barthold, *Turkestan*, passim), from *χšēwan* (H.).

315. (v) Initial *fra-* became *fa-* before *s*, *š*, *t*, *r*, *n*, perhaps *yā*; cf. Khot. *ha-* from *fra-*, v. Hansen, *OLZ*, 1935, 350 sqq. *fa-* was frequently further reduced to *f-*, v. §§ 169. 178. [v. Addenda.]

316. (1) Before *s*. *f's'c-/fsyt-*, B. *'βs''c-/βs'yt-*, 'to teach', cf. *BBB* p. 68 fn. 2, from **fra-sāčā(ya)-*; Man. *fswx*, *f's'x*, B. *'βs'ny*, 'parasang', 314¹ In B. *'štnh* 'breast' *VJ* 6*. 1028, Sogdian agrees with Skt. *stana*, against Av. *fšāna-*, NPers. *pistān*, cf. Meillet, *BSL* xxiii 106.

from **frasaχw-* (§ 236), **frasānχa-* (§ 435); Man. *fsn*['y]- 'to swim' or 'to bathe', *Sogd.* 31, 18, < **fra-snāya-*, cf. Khot. *haysnāta-*, Hansen, loc. cit., 351; *fsp* (*faspa*) 'rafter' or 'wall' (H.), *M* 178 ii R 10, from **fraspā+x-* (for the meaning cf. MPers. *prysp*, for the preverb Av. *fraspāt-*, NPers. *farasp*); Chr. *fsuyt-*, Past stem, 'to sacrifice' i 80, 5, from **fra-suxta-*; cf. also *fcmbδ*, § 372 [v. Addenda].

317. (2) Before *š*. *fšt-*, Past stem, 'to ask', from **frašta-*; Chr. *fš'm-*/ Man. *fšmt-* (§ 583), 'to send', from **fra-šāma-*, cf. H., *Sogd.* p. 24 top, v. also § 178; **fšn*['s]- 'to recognize' *Sogd.* 31, 9, from **fra-(x)šnāsa-*, v. H., *ad locum*; probably also *fškr-* (§ 178), B. 'βškr-, 'to expel', cf. *BBB* p. 74 on 604, and *fšquxt-* 'to press into' (§ 56).

318. (3) Before *t*. Man. Chr. *fīm-*, Man. 'ftm-, S. 'βtm-, B. (?)*prtm-* (historical spelling), 'first' (v. § 1331), from *fratama-*; Man. *ft'r* *BBB* 528, *ft'r* *M* 483, 7, Chr. *ft'r* i 34, 5,¹ '(too) many, (too) much', lit. 'overstepping, superabundant', from *vtar-+fra-*, cf. (for the form) Skt. *pratāra*; Chr. *fīm'd'r-*, Pret., 'to blow' i 78, 9, from *fra+dmā-* (on the *i* cf. § 471), cf. Skt. *pradh mā-*, and B. *δm's't* *P* 7, 61 *'blown up, swollen' (H.), Participle from the Inchoative; Man. *fīyr-*, *ft'r-*, B. 'βt'yr-, Pres. stem (§ 178), from **fra-trya-*, cf. § 185, Man. *fīrt-*, *ftrt-*, Past stem (§ 169); Chr. *fīypd'r-*, Pret., 'to shine' ii 3, 72, from *fra-tāpaya-*.² On *frtr* v. § 437.

319. (4) Before *r*. Chr. *fryž-* 'to direct' i 31, 14, B. *fr'yz-* 'to erect' *Dhy* 84, *frēž-* from **frarāzaya-*, Past stem B. *fr'št-* (*frašt-*) *Dhy* 26, from **fra-rašta-*;¹ Man. *fruwq* 'flash, brightness', *Sogd.* 29, 3, from **fra-rauka-*, cf. Khot. *haruṇa* 'resplendent' from **fra-rauxšnya-*, Hansen, loc. cit. 352 fn. 1; cf. also S. *βwrδmy* 'vegetation', § 415.

320. (5) Before *n*. Chr. *fn's* 'deceit' ii 4, 11, 'ignorance, deception' ii 2, 22, B. *βn's* 'slander' *DN* 34, Chr. *fnyšt-*, Past stem, 'to deceive' ii 4, 43. 5, 39;¹ perhaps *fny-* 'to repudiate, exclude', v. *BBB* p. 102 on f 15, 18 [B. *βrny-*, cf. Benv., *TSP* 205 on 115].

321. (6) Before *yā* (?). Man. Chr. *fy'tr*, B. 'βy' (?)*tr* (*βfyātar*) 'more', from **frayāh-* (H.). Not certain, in view of *fry'tr*, cf. § 1291, and *fry'm-* *'to finish', v. § 647.

322. (vi) Owing to the scarcity of examples, it is not clear whether initial *frā-* becomes *fā-* when followed by the consonants which

318¹ Not attested in Sogdian writing.

318² But also Chr. *frīyp-*, Pres. stem, i 65, 6, if Henning's emendation (*BBB* p. 84 on 717) is correct.

319¹ The etymology of Man. *fršt-*, Past stem, 'to act', v. *BBB* p. 98 on c 37, is not known [poss. *frāšta-*, *qs-* (H)]; the meaning of *fršt'h* *βwł* (§ 884) is uncertain.

320¹ The translation 'to lose, corrupt; corruption' in *ST* ii, is incorrect.

affect *fra-* (§ 315). In Khotanese, *hā-* from *frā-* corresponds to *ha-* from *fra-*, cf. *hāmura-* 'forgetting', Hansen, loc. cit. For Sogdian one might quote *f'ršm'ng[y](')h* *M* 133, 49, N. of a subdivision of the first part of the soul, acc. to H., 'magnanimity', with *f'rš-* from **frā-rašta-* 'stretched, extended', and B. *f(')yr-* 'to stretch' (v. Benv., *Notes* ii 235), which Reichelt and Hansen (*Modi Mem. Vol. i* 413, *Soghd. Handschr. i* 33) derived from *frā-āraya-*. In both cases, however, the loss of the first *r* may be dissimilatory.

323. (vii) Initial *fru-* is given the same treatment as *fra-* before *š*, in B. *βš'h* (*afša*) 'flea' *SCE* 365, from **frušā-*, cf. Pašto *wraža*, *EVP* 91, Yidgha *friyo*, *IIFL* ii 208.

324. (viii) Initial *fra-*, *frā-*, before consonants other than those enumerated in § 315, remain unchanged, and so does *fr-* before *āi*.

325. (1) Before *γ*. *fra-*: B. *βrγ'w* *VJ* 66, *prγ'w* *VJ* 84, &c., 'treasure', cf. Parth. *frγ'w*, H., *Mir. Man.* iii *Gloss.* s.v.; B. *βrγrβ'y* *Dhy* 72, Pres. Infin. (depending on *s'ct*, line 67), 'to offer'.¹ *frā-*: B. *βr'γ'z'nt*, 3 Pl. Subj., 'to begin', *SCE* 261 (cf. Lentz, *ST* ii 582 c), *Man.* *f'r'γ'znd*, 3 Pl. Pres. or Impf., *M* 178 ii R 8.

326. (2) Before *k*. *fra-*: *Man.* *frkrnd-*, Pres. stem, § 152, S. *βrkt-*, Past stem, § 145, 'to cut'; *frqyr-* 'to neglect', v. *BBB* p. 74 bottom.

327. (3) Before *m*. *fra-*: *frm'y-* 'to order'; **frmrz-*, v. § 617, Past stem *frmš-* (§ 147), 'to spoil'. *frā-*: B. *βr''mcn'nt*, 3 Pl. Pres., 'to undress', *SCE* 218, cf. § 334, from **frāmunč-*; cf. also *f'r'wycyh*, § 329.

328. (4) Before *p*. *fra-*: *f'rp'š-* *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 24, B. *βrp'š-* *P* 2, 282, 'to beat, strike'; B. *βrp'z* 'pronus', cf. Lentz, *ST* ii 590, s.v. *p'z*. [*p'z*, v. Bailey, *BSOAS*, xii 324 sqq. xiii 136.]

329. (5) Before *w*. *fra-*: *f'rwyδδ-* *M* 502 p 5, B. *βrwyδ-* *P* 3, 117, 'to reach, hit (of an illness)'; B. *βrwz-* 'to fly', v. § 1039. *frā-*: *f'r'wycyh*, from **frāmušti-*, v. § 382.

330. (6) Before *χ*. *fra-*: S. *βrγ'z-* 'to touch' *VJ* 881, *Sogd.* 64, 11; *f'rχrwš* 'timid', v. *BBB* p. 83 on 690; B. *βrγw'y-* 'to chop', v. *BBB* p. 59, *Man.* *f'rχw'k* 'chopping' *Sogd.* 31, 23.

331. (7) *frāi-* becomes *frē-*. *fryš-* 'to send', from *fra-aišaya-*, cf. § 198; B. *βr'yštr* 'more', from Av. *fraēšta-*, v. § 1299.

(ix) A Sogdian *f* has developed from *θw*, v. § 297.

³²⁵ B. *f'r'γrβ'nt* *Dhy* 176, does not contain the proverb *f'rāš* (Benv., *Notes* iv 509), but is 3 Pl. Impf., with *ā* acc. to § 617.

n

332. (i) Remains, generally, *n*. *n'm* 'name', from *nāman-*; *pnc* 'five', from *panča*; *zyrn* 'gold', from *zaranya-*; &c.

333. (ii) *n* is sometimes lost before *č*, *γ*, *k*, *m*, *š*, *š*, *ts*, *θ*, and *χ*.

334. (1) Before *č*. [*δ'r*]wqyc, Fem., 'consisting of plants', *M* 133, 28, from *δ'rwkync*; B. *βr'mc* *VJ* 646, *pr'mc* *VJ* 697, 3 Sg. Impf., Man. **fr'myc-* (§ 438), 'to undress', B. *pl'ymc'nt* *VJ* 872, 3 Pl. Impf., 'to dress', against B. *βr'mcn-*, § 327 (from **βr'mnc-*), *ptm'ync-*, Man. *ptm'ync-*, from *°munč-*; the side form *-myc* of the suffix *-mync*, cf. § 1103.

335. (2) Before *γ*. Chr. *xγr* 'sword' *ii* 2, 7, from Man. *xnγr* *Sogd.* 35, 2. *T ii D* 163 a 7; Chr. *'γty*, Fem. *'γc*, B. *'γt'w*, Fem. *'γtc*, against Man. *'nytyy*, Fem. *'nyttc*, B. *'nyt'k*, Fem. *'nytch*, 'whole, all, complete', cf. *ST ii* 575 a,¹ from Av. *həngata* 'completely', v. H., *BBB* p. 107 s.v. *'ngdg*.

336. (3) Before *k*, cf. MPers. *ng* becoming *g*, Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 125 fn. 1. *mqx[w]* *M* 502 o 3, S. *mkγw* *P* 13, 20. *Rustam* 13, against *mngxw* *BBB* f 52, *mngx[w]* *M* 521 b 27, 'similar', v. H., *BBB* p. 103, and Benv., *Notes* iv 499.

337. (4) Before *m*. B. (*cnγw*)*cm'ny* 'from the depth of one's heart', *Intox. Sūtra* 36, against Man. (*cn'wxy*)*cnm'ny*, cf. *BBB* p. 86 on 730.

338. (5) Before *s*. Man. *ns* from B. *nns* 'nose', cf. *BBB* p. 79 on 659, and below, § 946; Chr. *xsd'r-* 'to protect', cf. Man. *xns* 'safe, strong', v. *BBB* p. 104 on f 57; *'spstky* *M* 133, 101, and *'nspstqy'h* *ib.* 69, 'willingness to serve'; Man. *fs'x* 'parasang' *T ii D* 116, 28, from *fns'x*, v. § 435; *xwsndy* 'happiness, contentment', from **χunsandya*, cf. MPers. *hwnsndy'h* (H.), v. also § 425. [v. Add.]

339. (6) Before *š* from *č*, cf. §§ 259 sqq.: *'yšktyh* 'harem', *nγ[w]-š[']k[']šlyy* 'auditrices', Chr. *tmp'r myšt* 'of the body'.

(7) Before *ts*, v. § 460.

340. (8) Before *θ*. Chr. *kθ*, *knθ*, *ST i*, *qt*, *qd-*, *qnt*, *ST ii*, 'town'.

341. (9) Before *χ*. *'xrwzn*, from *'nxrwzn* 'zodiacal circle', cf. Andreas, *SPAW*, 1910, 310; *pxryy* 'planet', from *pnxryt*, Pl., *M* 664, 29.

342. (iii) An intrusive *n* appears in *xwynštrty*, Pl. Obl., 'master, chief', *BBB* b 45, cf. § 230, and in *'wxnz*, Infin., 'to descend', *BBB*

¹ Cf. also Man. *'γtmzyn* *T ii D* 207, 5, *'(n)γt(m)zy[n* *T ii D* 66 c 22 (H.), 'completely armoured' (v. § 397).

490, against the Infin. 'wzx *M* 136 V 10, and the Pres. stem 'wzx- *M* 521 b 9. *Man. Lett.* ii 17, Impf. w'xz- (v. § 618), cf. *BBB* p. 54.^{1 2}

343. (iv) An alternation between *n* and *r* is found in some words, the original sound being sometimes *n*, sometimes *r* (or *r*).

(1) The Present stem *xrš-*: *xnš-*: *xš-* (acc. to either § 339, or § 357), and its compounds, cf. *BBB* p. 54 sq.: B. *yrš-*: *ynš-* 'to pull'; *Man. 'xšyc* (if not to be read 'kšyc, cf. now B. ''kš-, ''k'yš-, *P* 2, 850. 851 (H.)), v. *Sogd.* p. 30 on 11 a; B. 'py'rš-, Trans., 'to remove', *Dhy* 2. *Vim* 132, py'rš- *Dhu* 286. *SCE* 266, 'py'rš m'n 'coeur qui recule' *SCE* 213, pw py'rš 'steadfast' *T* iii 10: B. 'py'nš-, Trans., *Dhy* 160. 225, Intrans. 'to retreat' *Dhy* 161, py'nš-, Trans., *Dhy* 225^{bis}. 270, Intrans. *Dhy* 236, Chr. pxšn-, Intrans., i 26, 5 (cf. § 436); S. pry'nš- 'to separate'; S. 'nyš- 'to retire', *Sogd.* 34 line 2 and fn. 3; B. ny'rš- 'to prostrate, knock down' *Dhy* 231: Chr. nxš-; B. wy'rš-: *Man. *wxnš-* and *wnxš-* (§ 809), Chr. wxšn- (cf. § 435 sq.), Chr. wxš- 'to deliver', S. wy'nš 'deliverance' *JRAS*, 1944, 137, 1.

344. (2) *arδ* is found instead of *and*, in B. *k'tsy'rδ* 'mimicry', as compared with *Man. q'tsxn dyt* 'practical jokes', v. *BBB* p. 84 on 716.

345. (3) In the place of OIr. *r*, we have *an* in S. *βnš* 'mane' *P* 19, 21, from *b'ša-* (H.); *n* replaces *r* in the LW *wnx'n* 'Tuesday', from MPers. *warhrān*, v. *BBB* p. 85 bottom.

346. (v) *anθr* becomes *ār*. Av. *maqθra-* appears in B. *m'rkr'yt* 'soothsayers' *VJ* 59. 9^a, *m'r'kr'k SCE* 263, *m'r'kh wn-* 'diviner' *VJ* 28^b, cf. *Salemman, Izv.*, 1913, 1130, and in *xwm'r* 'consolation', v. § 391 [v. also Addenda to § 1117]; *θ'ryy* 'darkness', from **taθraka-*.

347. (vi) *n*, becoming final, was lost in Chr. 'rwxs 'bandage' (cf. §§ 158. 221 fn.), from Av. *urvišna-* (in *zaranyō.urvišna-* 'with golden shoelaces'), from **urvisna-*, cf. § 257 (H.).

(vii) On *n* becoming *m* before *p*, v. § 449; on *n* becoming *r* by dissimilation (?), v. § 467.

342¹ The *n* of *Man. βjynd* (heavy stem) *BBB* 509, against B. *βzyδy* (light stem) *Frg. iii* 22, both Infinitives of *βjyδδ-* 'to mount', and of *Man. 'wjynd* *BBB* 508, Infin. of *'wjyδ-* 'to dismount' (v. § 376), cf. *BBB* p. 60, to which one may possibly add Chr. *žynyt* i 27, 8, B. *zy'nt(t)* *VJ* 1389. 1398. 1399, S. *zy'nty*, Nom., *T* i a i 15 (-aka- stem?), 'messenger', v. *Sogd.* 35, might belong to the root (**zgnδ-*).

342² Not clear is the case of *šnz* 'branch' *M* 664, 26. *M* 765 d 3, *pršnzyt*, Pl., 'small branches', *M* 664, 28, presumably belonging to Pers., &c., *šāz*, cf. also *Wakhi šolx* (*IIFL* ii 461). *Walde-Pokorny, Idg. Wb.* i 325, have postulated a nasalized stem, IE. *kank* or *konk*.

m

348. (i) Remains, generally, *m*. *m'n* 'mind', from *mān-*; *n'm* 'name', from *nāman-*; *rymnyy* 'dirty, impure', cf. Av. *irimant-*, v. *BBB* p. 74 on 583; &c.

349. (ii) Final *-am* becomes *-u* in the endings of the Acc. Sg. Masc. (§ 1171), Nom.-Acc. Neuter (§§ 1169, 1172), and the 1 Sg. Impf. (§ 687).

350. (iii) Final *-ām* may have become *-ū* in the endings *-w* of the Acc. Sg. Fem. (§ 1173), *-nw* of the Obl.-Acc. of some numerals (§ 1322), *-šnw* of the pronominal Obl. Pl. (in the historical spellings S. *wyšnw* § 1447, *cywyšnw* § 1450, *myšnw* § 1479, *cym'ntšnw* § 1488, *wyspyšnw* § 1214) from **-šanām*, cf. § 1399 (with fn.), *Anc. Lett.* *-nw* of the Gen. Pl.

(iv) Final *-īm* has possibly become *-ī* in the Acc. *xwrnyy* 'blood', v. § 1168 fn.

351. (v) Internal *ām* became *āw* in Man. *fr'wycyly* 'forgetfulness', from **frāmušti-*, v. § 382, in Chr. *mr'w't*, adj., 'crying' i 72, 3, Pl. of **mr'w* from **brāma-* (H.), cf. § 310, and in the prefix *''w-* from Av. *hāmō-*, v. H., *BBB* p. 67, who quotes S. *''wmr'z* 'assistant' (also Man. *''wmr'z't*, Pl., *Kaw.*, G 1), S. *''wsywn'k* 'one with whom one talks', Man. *''wqršnyy*,¹ N. of the Column of Splendour, Man. *''wδm'ndt* 'sahavāsa', and has since added Man. *''wx'nyy* 'living in the same house' *M* 549 i 8, B. *''wm'n'k* 'unanimously' *P* 2, 266, *''wptβyww* 'equally honoured' *P* 2, 1137, *''w-w'δ'k* 'sharing place' *P* 2, 1137. 1195 sq., *''wy'r* 'one with whom one has a quarrel' *P* 3, 58.

352. (vi) Foreign *m* appears as *p* in *skpwndyy* *M* 746 c 4, possibly 'scammonia', NPers. *saqmūniyā*, v. Hübschmann, *Arm. Grammatik*, i² 376, cf. § 290. For the interchange *m*: *b*, *p*, cf. Arabic *مرد*; Greek *σμάπαιδος*, MPers. *clp* 'qalam' *Sogd.* p. 37 on 25, and v. H., *BSOS* x 949 fn. 4. [Meaning of *skpwndyy* quite uncertain.]

(vii) On *m* dissimilated into *v*, v. § 466; on *m* becoming *n* v. § 448.

r

353. (i) Remains *r*: *rw'n* 'soul', from Av. *urvan-*; *δwr* 'far', from *dūra-*; *fry-* 'dear', from *frya-*; *mrtyy* 'man', from *martiya-*; &c.

354. (ii) *r* is sometimes dropped before *ž*, *n*, *s* (§ 459 sq.), *š*, *ts* (§ 461), and after *ā*.

355. (1) Before *ž* (cf. § 148). Man. *kj* 'miracle' *Sogd.* 52 t 5, Chr. *qž ii* 3, 70, otherwise Man. *krj*, Chr. *qrž-*.

351¹ Translating Parth. *h'mcyhrg* (H.) [v. Add.]

356. (2) Before *n* (cf. Chr. *spwn-*, § 151). Chr. *pynmcyq* 'former, previous' *B* 49, 7, otherwise Man. Chr. *pynmcyq*; Chr. *w'cn* 'market', v. Hansen, *AbhPAW*, 1937, Nr. 9, p. 41 on 6, Man. *w'crn*, v. § 399.

357. (3) Before *š* (cf. § 147). Chr. *pšt* 'lips' *ii* 2, 6, B. *pršt SCE* 86, v. H., *BSOS* viii 585 fn. 3; Chr. *pšt'y-* 'to prepare', Man. B. *pršt'y-*; Man. *qšn* (*kašn*) *T ii* *B R* 5, *kšn M* 760, 26, Chr. *qšn*, Man. B. *kršn* (*karšn*), 'appearance, shape'; S. **špšt*, N. of the 26th day, v. H., *Orientalia*, viii 92, from Av. *arštāt-*.

358. (4) After *ā*. Man. Chr. *p* 'for, but' *T ii* *B R* 14. *M* 134 i *V* 4. *ST* i 81, 10. *ST ii* 6, 35 < *p'r*; Chr. *s*, post-position, 'towards', Chr. *'wc* 'there', Chr. *mc* 'here', Chr. *pāys* 'after', from *s'r*, *'wrt's'r*, *mrt's'r* (§ 461), B. *'pyšys'r* (§ 373); Chr. (*ST ii*) *-d'z*, from *-d'rz*, 3 *Sg.* Pres. of *d'r-*, cf. Telegdi, *JA*, t. 230 (1938), p. 229. [v. Add.]

359. (iii) An unetymological *r* is sometimes inserted before *n* and after long vowels. This is in keeping with the tendency to drop a genuine *r* in the same positions (§§ 356. 358), and, generally, with the weak articulation of *r* in Sogdian (cf. also § 137). The group *rn* with a spurious *r* does not make position (against § 526, *g*).

For the appearance of an inorganic *r* after long vowels, cf. the English spellings *farther*, *marster*, in the Cely Papers (cf. H. C. Wyld, *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, 3rd ed., p. 298).

360. (1) Before *n*. *xwrn-*, *yxwrn-*, 'blood', v. § 1168 fn., beside *yxwn-* and *ywxn-*, § 417, from Av. *vohunī/a-*; Chr. *z'rcrnwqy* 'mercy' *ii* 6, 5, otherwise *z'rcnwqy*.

361. (2) After a long vowel. *škwrd* 'difficult', against OPers. *škauθi-*, cf. *BBB* p. 88 on 763, v. also § 366.

362. (iv) Different from the preceding is the insertion of *r* after initial *v* in *brjwr* 'myriad', from Av. *baēvar-*. Cf. also B. *brj'()* *r* from Skt. *vihāra* (v. H., *BBB* p. 88 on 763. *BSOS* ix 570. x 94 fn. 4), and NPers. *barahne* 'naked', from **bāyna-* (v. H., *Sogd.* 41 bottom).

363. (v) A Sogdian *r* is sometimes used as an attempt to reproduce cerebral sounds in words taken over from Sanskrit. Hansen has thus explained B. *k'r'k* 'ghastha', from MInd. **gāṭṭha*, B. *pworny'nyh* (Man. *pworny'nyy*, § 1035) 'punya' (*BSOS* viii 579), and B. *kr'z'kh* 'garment' *VJ* 1497, from Skt. *kāṣāya* (*SPAW*, 1938, 398 fn. 1).

To these, Dr. Henning has added B. *n'rkr'k* 'actor', *SCE* 123, from Skt. *nāṭa* 'acting', cf. Khot. *nālaa-*, Bailey, *BSOS* viii 935. x 583 fn. 2, and B. *br'wr'y* *P* 2, 191. 198, *br'wr'k T ii D* 213 (4533 N. pr., Skt. *Virūdhaka* (Khot. *vārūlei*, *vīrrulai*, v. Bailey, *BSOS* x 915).

Cf. also Khot. *śararṇa* from Skt. *śaraṇya*, Bailey, *BSOS* x 903.

- (v1) On *dr* becoming *ž* v. § 285.
 On *θr* becoming *š*, v. § 299.
 On *sr* becoming *š*, v. § 371.
 On *r* alternating with *n*, v. §§ 343 sqq.
 On initial *fra-* v. §§ 315 sqq.
 On *r* becoming *γ* by dissimilation (?), v. § 469.
 On the dissimilatory loss of *r* v. § 473.

s

364. (i) Remains *s*: *sr-* 'head', from Av. *sarah-*; *δst-* 'hand', from OPers. *dasta-*; *'sp-* 'horse', from *aspa-*; &c.

365. (ii) The group *sk* apparently remains *sk* in interior position, but becomes *šk* initially.

With verbs or verbal nouns used with a preverb, the initial *šk* is regularly transferred into the interior.

A number of etymologically obscure words with initial *sk* in Sogdian, may have had the preverb *us-*, or the contact between *s* and *k* may be secondary otherwise.¹

366. (1) Initial (²)*šk-*. B. (²)*šk'np* 'world' VJ 529. 1218. &c., from *skamb-* 'to stem'; *škr-* 'to lead, take', from **skar-*; *škurδ* 'difficult' (§ 361), from **skauθi-*, cf. Parth. *'skwh* 'poor' (H.); B. *'škrwβ šw-* 'to stumble' SCE 21, from **škarf-*, v. § 482, cf. MPers. *'škrw-*, Parth. *'skrf-* (H., BSOS ix 81), from *√skār-*, v. H., BSOS x 508 (H.).

367. (2) Internal *šk* (on *šyškyy* 'drop' v. § 450). B. *'nšk'np* 'world' VJ 992; Man. *pškmbtskwn*, 3 Sg. Pres., *T i a* (no context); Man. *pškyr-* 'to be chased', v. BBB p. 103 on f 42. [v. Add.]

368. (3) Internal *sk*. *'rsk* 'envy', from Av. *araska-*, cf. § 164; *'sk* 'high, loud' (§ 1215), from Av. *uskāt*.

369. (4) Initial *sk-*. B. *'sk'rn'k* 'stupid' Vim 1. SCE 43. 113; Chr. *sqrβ* '?' ii 6, 39; *skrtyy* 'triumphant', § 1288; *skfs* 'obstinate', *pwskfty* 'unobjecting', from *√kamp-* 'to bend' (?);¹ B. *'sk'n* 'line, sign' Dhy 52 (cf. Weller, *ad locum*). [*sqrβ*, v. Bailey, JRAS 1949, 2.]

365¹ This set of rules is only tentative. It is made particularly uncertain by a group of words which look as if they belonged to the base *skand-* 'to break': *qšknđm'nky'h* 'destructive intention', S. *ktškn'k*, Chr. *qsqnty* 'destroyed, devastated', acc. to H. from *kat-* 'house' + *skand-*, v. BBB p. 63 on 521, cf. §§ 462. 472.

B. *'βskstw* Vim 116, translating Skt. *kālpa* acc. to Weller, *Abh. K. Morg.* xxii 6 (1937) p. 42 sq.; H. suggests that the Sogdian translator may have

misunderstood the character 𐰇𐰏 *kie* (*chie*), and rendered its ordinary meaning 'to rob, plunder'. *'βskstw* could be derived from **fra-skasta-*.

B. *'sk'nt* VJ 77. 124, *'sk'nty* VJ 51, 'cripple', for which H. compares Av. *sknda-* Y. 9²⁸ 'palsied' and Parth. *'sknd*, with the same meaning.

369¹ Acc. to H., BBB p. 83 on 689, from *√skamb-* 'to stem'.

370. (iii) *sp* has become *šp* in Man. *pšp'ryy*, B. 'nšpr- 'to walk', B. *βšp'ry* 'sole', from the base *spar-*, v. *BBB* s.v. *pšp'ryy*, cf. also *pšpr-*, § 1100.

371. (iv) *sr* became *š* (cf. *š* from *sr* in Pašto, *EVP* 77 sqq., and Yidgha, *IIFL* ii 71). *šyškyy* 'drop; tear' *M* 137 V 7. *M* 857, 7. *T ii D* 267, 16, from Av. *sraska-*, cf. Parth. *srsk*, NPers. *sirišk* (v. also § 450); B. 'γwšh 'mother-in-law' *SCE* 54, from **hwarsū-*, cf. NPers. *x^vaš* and *xusrū*, v. Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* 15, Yidgha *xušo*, &c., v. Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii 269; B. *šwn* 'hips' *P* 7, 57 (H.), from Av. *sraoni-*, cf. Pašto *šna*, *EVP* 78, NPers. *surūn*; B. *cškw-* 'tear' (*cškwy*, Nom. *VJ* 1373), S. 'ckw- (v. § 385 fn.), from **asruka-* (v. § 423), cf. NPers. *ašk* and *ars*, Hübschmann, loc. cit.¹

372. (v) *sč* appears as

(1) *c*, presumably after having passed through a stage **šč*, cf. § 382, in *xcy*, possibly also 'ycy, 'is', with *-cy* from **-šči*, from **-sči*, from *-sti*, cf. § 275, and, perhaps, in *fcmbδ* 'world', from **frasčamba-*, cf. Av. *frasčimbana-*, Khot. *haškama-* 'heap', and, from the same root, B. (?)*šk'np* (§ 366), 'nšk'np (§ 367), 'world'.¹

373. (2) *š*, in the derivatives from Av. *pasča*, cf. Tedesco, *MO* xv 212 fn.: Man. *pš'-*, B. *pyš'-*, used as a prefix, v. § 1143; B. *pyšm* *SCE* 532. *ST ii* 8, 7, 'pyšm *ST ii* 7, 15. 22, 'according to', preposition with suffixed article, from *pasča*+*ima-* (§ 1472);¹ Chr. *pšy*, *pšys'*, 'after', postposition, Man. *pšyy* *ββr-* *'backdoor' *Man. Lett.* i 29, B. 'pyšys'r 'en arrière' *VJ* 788. 791. 900, S. 'pšys'r 'then' *T M* 389 a R 4, from *pasča*+suffix *-ka-*;² Comparative Chr. *pyštrw*, B. 'pyštrw 'later', enlarged by the suffix *-cyk* B. 'pyštr'yck' *SCE* 489, *pyštrycyk* *SCE* 485, 'future'; *pyšt* (*pīšt*) 'but, and, then', from **pašūt*, from Av. *pasčaēta*, v. Benveniste, *Grammaire*, 204.

374. (vi) *s* becomes *š* when palatalized by a following *y*, v. § 201. A following *i* appears to have the same effect¹ in B. *šykth* 'pebbles' *VJ* 780. 902. 1105. *Dhu* 285, *škth* *VJ* 1266, Man. *šykt'bryy* *M* 110 ii R 6, against MPers. *sygd*, v. H., *BSOS* ix 88.

(vii) On *s* becoming *š* by assimilation, v. § 450.

371¹ B. *šyn* *SCE* 166, *šynh* *SCE* 230, 'bed', is not derived from Av. *sray-*, but is a LW from Skt. *śayana* (H.).

372¹ The difficulty lies in the final *-δ* of *fcmbδ*. From **frasčambana-pada-* > **frasčambambad-* > *fčambaδ*, lit. 'place of support'? [Acc. to H. popular corruption of Skt. *Jambudvīpa*].

373¹ Thus Benv., *Grammaire*, 204, who later (*Notes* ii 215) proposed a different etymology.

373² Acc. to Benv., *SCE* ii, p. 32 on 401, 'pyšys'r does not belong here, but to B. 'pš'rm'y (v. § 171).

374¹ But cf. B. *šymh* 'terror, fright', from Av. *sima-*, cf. § 1082.

Z

375. (1) Remains *z*. *zyrn* 'gold', from *zaranya-*; *'ztyw* 'exiled', from *uzdahyu-* (§ 97); *zβ'k* 'tongue', from Av. *hizvā-* (§ 240); *z(n)w(q)* 'chin, jaw' *Sogd.* 49, 7, from **zanuka-*; *-mz'tyzn* (§ 284), from **mazdayazna-*, cf. Lentz, *ZII* iv 263, Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 177 sq.; B. *γ'wzn-* 'deer', Man. *γwznyh M* 662, 2 (no context), cf. Pers. *gavazn*, Oss. *qwazn*, Bailey, *BSOS* vii 69, Khot. *ggūysna-*, Bailey, *BSOS* viii 123.

376. (ii) Becomes *ž*.

(1) When palatalized by *y*, v. § 201.

(2) Before *g* (*γ*), in *βjyδδ-* 'to mount', and *'wjyδδ-* *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 18 'to dismount', from Av. *zgaδ-*, v. Tedesco, *ZII* ii 40; cf., however, the *ž* of Av. *hvō.γžaθa-*; v. also § 342 fn. 1. On S. *w'c'γδ-* and *βz'γst-* v. § 483.

377. (3) In secondary contact with *b* in Man. *wjp-*, Chr. *'wžb-* (*užb-*), 'terror' (v. § 510), derived by H. from Av. (*duž*)*azōbā-*, becoming **ūžbā* and *užba*.

378. (4) Dialectically, before *v* from *w*, in Chr. *žb'q* 'tongue' i 30, 4 (reading confirmed by Lentz, *ST* ii 602 a), cf. Khwār. *žβ'k*, against Man. *zβ'k*, from Av. *hizvā-*, v. §§ 93. 240.

379. (5) Before *d*, with loss of *d* (on *zd* remaining *zd* v. § 284,¹ cf. also *ž* from *žd*, § 266). *βj-*, &c. (§ 179) 'evil', from Av. *bazda-*, cf. Bailey, *BSOS* vii 85; Chr. *rwž-* 'to wish', from *ruzd-*, cf. MPers. *ruzd* 'greedy', v. H., *Sogd.* p. 47 on 3; Man. *pjwq* 'abortion' *M* 530, 11 (quoted *BBB* p. 62 on 516), Pl. *pjwqt T* ii B V 1, from Av. *pazdu-*, cf. Pahl. *pazūk*, Bailey, loc. cit. (original meaning 'expelled, rejected creature', cf. Av. *pazdaya-* 'to drive away'?)

(6) By assimilation, v. § 451.

(iii) On the assimilatory loss of *z* before *s*, v. § 465; before *ž*, v. § 458.

380 (iv) A late prothetic *z* before *m* has been recognized by H. in B. *zm'wrc*, *zm'wr'k*, 'ant' (§ 247), cf. Uigur *zmurun* [sic], Greek *σμούρνα*, with *μούρρα*, *σμάραγδος* with Skt. *marakata*.

Š

381. (i) Remains *š*. *'xšp-* 'night', from Av. *xšapā-*; *zryš-* 'to hurt', from *'raēš-*, v. *BBB* p. 56 on 492; **kyšp-*, from Av. *karšvar-*, v. 147; &c.

379¹ The differentiation in the Sogdian treatment of OIr. *zd* may have its reason in the different origin of the *zd* groups, cf. *mazdāh-* corresponding to Skt. *medhā*, but *bazda-* with *zd* from *dh+t* (H.).

382. (ii) Proto-Sogdian *šč* became *č*. *fr'wycyh* 'forgetfulness', from B. *fr'wyšcy*, from **frāmušti-*, v. *BBB* p. 75 on 605 (cf. §§ 119. 275. 329. 351. 1007); *prcy* 'behind', from **paršči*, from Av. *paršti-*, v. § 275; possibly Man. *mwškyc* 'wild cat',¹ and B. *γytcn-* 'stingy';² cf. also § 372.

383. (iii) S. *šč* became Man. *j* in 'yjn 'worthy', owing to the special origin of *šč* in this word, cf. §§ 155. 263 fn. 2.

384. (iv) *šz* apparently became *č* in *βyc* 'physician', from Av. *baēšaza-*, v. *BBB* p. 62, but cf. Pahl. *bck'n*, Bailey, *BSOS* ix 230; v. § 949 on B. *βyšykyn*.

385. (v) *š* is lost after *č(a)-*.

(1) Before *m*, in Chr. *cmȳ*, *cmȳ*, Pl., *ST ii*, Man. *cmȳy T ii D 63 a 15*, 'eye', beside Man. Chr. B. *cšm-*, from *čašman-*, cf. Khwār. *tsam*, Khot. *tcei'ma-*, Ormuri *cimī*, &c.¹

386. (2) Before *n* in Chr. *cn'wq* 'thirsty' i 24, 7, Man. *wšn cn'* 'krtyšy' 'you have become hungry (cf. § 210 fn. 1) and thirsty' (?) *M 121 V 4*, against B. *cšn* 'thirst' *VJ 814*. *Vim 134*, *cšn'mwrtk* 'dead with thirst' *VJ 317 sq.*, from **tršna-*, v. Bailey, *BSOS* vi 67 (cf. § 277); cf. Ormuri *trunuk*. [Chr. *cn'*, Abl., 'thirst', Hansen, *Giw*. p. 7.]

387. (vi) Final *-š* is lost in the ending of the 2 Sg. Opt., v. §§ 692. 695. On the dissimilatory loss of *š*, v. § 474.

(vii) A Sogdian *š* has developed from

<i>θr</i> , § 299.	<i>s</i> , before <i>p</i> , § 370.
<i>θw</i> , § 298.	Palatalized <i>s</i> , § 374.
<i>θi</i> , § 302.	<i>sr</i> , § 371.
<i>sč</i> , § 373.	<i>čy</i> , § 196.
<i>s</i> , before <i>k</i> , § 366 sq.	<i>h</i> , § 405.

382¹ The forms attested are Man. *mwškyc M 127 V 2*, Uigur *miškič SPAW*, 1930, 467, B. *mwškyšc(h) SCE 330. 359*, B. *mwškynech Frg. iii 39*. Assuming that *mwškyšc* is the oldest form, *mwškyc* may be a case like *fr'wycyh*, or it may have lost the second *š* through dissimilation. *mwškynech* would then represent an inverse spelling of *mwškyc*, on the analogy of *-mȳc*: *-mȳnc*, &c. (§ 334). *mwškyšc* could be derived from **mūš-kušt(a)r-* 'mouse-killer', cf. Skt. *mūṣikāda*, Greek *μωφόροπος*; for *i* from *u* cf. § 119, for *-šč* from *-štr* cf. § 278.

382² B. *γytcny'kyh*, Obl., 'stinginess', *SCE 70*. If *tc* is here used instead of *c*, this may be a phonetic development from Man. *γyšcnk T i D 51*, B. *γyšcn'k SCE 46*, 'stingy'. The etymology, however, is unknown; *-cn(')k* is here considered to be a suffix, v. § 1021.

385¹ The similar development of S. 'ckw', Pl., 'tears', *So. 338*, from B. *cškw-* (§ 371), may support a suggestion by Prof. Turner, that the initial *c-* of this word should be the result of a contamination between **aškw-* and *čašm-*. A parallel from Indian languages, as Prof. Turner kindly informed me, is provided by Bhadrawāhī *ēkhu*, Bhalēsi *ākhu* 'tear', which presumably show con-

h

388. *Conspectus.*

Preserved as χ .	Initial, 389 sq.	
	Internal.	Before <i>u</i> (<i>w</i>), 391. 392. Before <i>āu</i> , 393. After long vowels, 394. 395. 396.
Lost.	Initial, 397.	
	Internal.	Before <i>i</i> , <i>y</i> , 398. After <i>ǵ</i> , 399. In syncope, 400. - <i>ah</i> - stems, 403. Av. ending - <i>ahē</i> , 404.
	Final, 401 sq.	
Becomes <i>ǵ</i> , 405.		

389. (i) OIr. *h* is preserved as χ :

(1) Initially.

(a) Before *u* (*w*), cf. fn. 1 on § 391, in Man. *xwr* 'sun', and *xwp* 'good, skilful', v. § 223.

390. (b) In the pronominal stem *x-*, v. §§ 1398, b. 1405 sqq.

(c) In some forms belonging to OIr. *ah-* 'to be', v. §§ 760 sqq.

391. (2) Internally.

(a) Before *u* (*w*),¹ which afterwards may be transposed through metathesis. (Exception: *zwošc-*, § 399.) *xwrmzt'*, from *ahura-mazdāh-* (on the ending v. § 395 fn.); *xwmn'*, N. of the 2nd day, from Av. *vohu-manah-*, cf. §§ 208. 404; Man. Chr. *xwm'r* 'consolation' *M* 617 i 28. *B* 49, 2. 12, B. *γwm'r* *VJ* 1115, from Av. *vohu-+maθra-*, v. §§ 208. 346; *xwrn-*, *yxw(r)n-*, 'blood', from Av. *vohunī/a-*, v. § 208 sq.; *-xwnd-*, from *-ahwant-*, v. § 939; *'wx* 'mind', *ǵ'twx* 'happy', from Av. *uθhvā-*, v. § 236; either *a(ǵ)hvā-* or *ahu-* 'existence' may be recognized in Chr. *bǵ'xwq* *B* 49, 5, B. *'βyz'γwōk* passim, 'unhappy, miserable', with suffix *-ka-*, and the abstract Man. (')*βj'xwty'h* 'unhappiness, suffering (not clear whether mental or physical)', v. *BBB* p. 90 on a 9, with suffix *-ty'* (v. § 1070. Wrong

tamination of Skt. *ásru* and *ákṣi*, the normal outcome of *śr* in this group being **śtr*, becoming *thr* (e.g. Khasāli *āthru* 'tear'). For Henning's explanation of the initial *c-*, v. § 286 fn. One may also consider the possibility of *cškw-* going back to **dasruka-* (cf. Greek *δάκρυ*, &c.), becoming **dašuka-*, **daškwa-*, and then developing acc. to § 286.

391¹ The tendency of *hw* to become χw , is seen also in the Avesta, cf. Bartholomae, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i 37.

Lentz, *ST* ii 580 a);² S. 'rtγw, N. of the 25th day, Man. 'pwx, N. of the 10th day, from 'wahwī-, v. § 237.

392. (b) *h* also becomes *χ* when its position in front of *u* (*w*) is due to metathesis. 'rtxwšt, N. of the 3rd element, S. 'rtγwšt, N. of an intercalary day (cf. H., *Orientalia*, viii 90 with fn. 3), from *rtā*-+*wahišta*- (*artχwšt*,¹ from **artχwəšt*, from **artuhəšt*, from **artwahišt*), against the treatment of *wahišta*- in *wštm'x* (§ 210); Man. *xw'qr* 'merchant' *T* ii *D* 66 b 9. 28, B. γw''kr *Vim* 157, from **wahākara*- (cf. § 63), v. *BBB* p. 116 top, against *w'crn* 'street, bazar', from **wahāčarana*- (v. § 399), where no metathesis took place.

393. (c) Before *āu* in Chr. *dyx'w* 'village' i 36, 14. 52, 3. ii 3, 54, from *dahyāw*-, cf. § 398 fn. 1 on 'ztyw.

394. (d) After long vowels if, owing to the loss of the endings, *h* moved into final position (except if *h* was followed by *i*, § 398; a special case is that of B. 'y, § 401).

395. (a) *m'x* 'moon, month', from *māh*-; Man. *x'x* 'source, spring' (*x'xtyy*, Pl., *T* ii *B* R 3, *x'xsryyt*, Pl., *M* 178 i *V* 1), B. γ'γh *VJ* 961. 1206, cf. Bailey, *BSOS* ix 75, if it goes back to **χāha*-, and not to **χāχα*-, as supposed by Bailey; *wštm'x* 'paradise', from Av. *vahištəm ahūm*, cf. § 113, vii; perhaps *mzyx* 'great, big', v. § 403.¹

396. (β) After *χ* was thus established in final position, suffixes could be added. Man. *y'xyy* 'brave' *T* ii *D* 66, 2, 8, *y'xy* *M* 137 R 6, Pl. *y'xyt* *M* 871, 8, B. γ'γy *SCE* 308. *Padm* 49, which H. derives from **yāh*- (cf. the meaning of Av. *yāskərət*-)+suffix *-aka*-; *'ndwxc* 'sorrow' *M* 178 i *V* 15 and passim, cf. NPers. *andōh*, with suffix *-č* (§ 1004); if *mzyx* belongs to § 395, one should here mention B. *mz'yγk* 'nw'z'k 'big assembly' *SCE* 62, S. *mz'yzk* *Anc. Lett.* ii 53 (meaning, acc. to H., 'grown up, of age'), Fem. *mz'yzch ptwh* 'great retribution', ib. 40, with suffix *-(a)ka*-.

397. (ii) *h* is lost.

(1) Initially always, except in the words mentioned § 389 sq. After

391² Similar to *βj'xw*- with *βj*- 'bad', may be B. *wytγy* *SCE* 466. *P* 3, 117, *wtγy* *Vim* 17, *wytγwy* *Vim* 19, 'suffering' (*wətuχ*-, *wətχw*-?), from **wada*- 'bad' +*āhu*-.

392¹ To which was adapted the name of the third day, 'rt'wəwšt, *artawəχwšt* (inst. of **artawəšt* or **artaxwəšt*), < *rtāhe wahištahe*.

395¹ An exception to this treatment is *xwrmz*' from *ahura-mazdāh*-, but the *h* of *mazdāh*- is also lost in Av. *mazdqm*, Acc., and other forms which follow the *-ā*- stem inflection (cf. Bartholomae, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i 235). Note the form without ' in the name of the first day in Sogdian script, γwrmzt, 'γwrmzt.

its disappearance a following short vowel can be reduced acc. to §§ 82 sq. 92 sq. 96. 99-102.

The prefixes 'n- and 'w-, from Av. *ham-* and *hāmō-* (§ 351) respectively; *mγwn* 'all, complete', from *hamagaona-*; *mzyyn M 133*, 74, B. *mz'yn VJ 921*, 'with an armour, armoured', from **hama-zaēna-*; *mwck* 'teacher', from **hamauk-*, v. Bailey, *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1936, 100; *pn'nc* 'co-wife', from Av. *hapathnī-*, v. § 1046; *z'r* 'thousand', from **hazahra-*; Man. S. *m'yδ* 'thus', Chr. *myθ i 16*, 19. 81, 9, *maid* from **hama-īθa*, and B. *m'δ* 'thus, so that', from **hama-aθa*, cf. Av. *hamaba*;¹ *rt't*, N. of the 6th day, from Av. *haurvatāt-* (cf. § 86 fn.); 'myyny 'summer', from Av. *hqmīna-*; *zβ'k* 'tongue', from Av. *hizvā-*, *škw-* 'dry', from *hišku-*, v. § 93; B. 'yntk'w 'Indian', § 94; *ytkw-* 'bridge', from Av. *haētū-*, § 126; Chr. *nzn̄t* 'humble' i 6, 9, abstract Man. *nzndy'h*, cf. § 27, from **huna*^o, cf. Arm. *hmazand* (H.); 'wβt-, Past stem, 'to sleep', from **hufta-*, § 857.

398. (2) In internal position the examples of loss of *h* can be distributed as follows.

(a) Before *i* or *y* (on *ahi* 'thou art' v. § 405). *nyδ-* 'to sit down', from **nihida-*, cf. Tedesco, *BSL* xxiv 199 sq.; 'ztyu 'exiled', from *uzdahyu-* (§ 97);¹ the ending -' of the 2 Sg. Subj. (§ 698), from *-āhi*; S. *wp'nc'k*, N. of an intercalary,² from **wahy(ah)- + pančaka-*, v. H., *Orientalia*, viii 90 with fn. 2, cf. § 210 fn. 2, where *wš̄m'x*, *wyš̄m'x*, 'paradise', from Av. *vahištəm ahūm*, is mentioned; *ky'*, Oblique of the relative pronoun, from *kahya*.

The last three examples also fall under § 399.

399. (b) After *a*, unless, with the exception of *zrušc*, *h* is followed by *u* (*w*), v. § 391. 'ym 'I am', from *ahmi*, v. also § 432; *m'x* 'we', from **ahmāxam*, cf. OPers. *amāxam*; Man. *r'k* 'vein', H., *JRAS*, 1942, 232 fn. 6, cf. MPers. *rg*, NPers. *rag*, Parth. (unpubl.) *rhq*, from **rahaka-*, cf. Av. *Raṇhā-* (H.); Man. *w'crn*, Chr. *w'cn* (§ 356), 'street', from **wahāčarana-*, v. *BBB* s.v., cf. § 392; *xw'r* 'sister' *M 760*, 16, from *χwaha-*; B. *z'kt*, Pl., *VJ* passim, Man. *z'kt(y)*

397¹ Beside B. *m'δ* we have Chr. *m'f* in *ST ii*, which would point to an old *t* having become *d* (cf. § 269). On the other hand there is also Chr. *myf ii 6*, 10. 41, *myd i 81*, 12, against *myθ* quoted above, so that one is at liberty to assume that B. *m'δ* stands for *māθ* [v. Add. to § 96, p. 307].

398¹ The reason for the difference in the treatment of *uzdahyu-* and *dahyāv-* (§ 393) presumably is that in the latter *y* had disappeared after producing umlaut (v. § 183), while in *uzdahyu-* the *a*, not being stressed, was reduced as in §§ 164 sqq. before it could be palatalized, causing *y* to remain, and the preceding *h* to disappear.

398² Perhaps the *vpači* of Rachmati, *T.T.* vii 19, N^o 9, 3, is to be read *wpncy* (?).

T i a (Par. 12), Sg. *z'k¹ from *zahaka-, cf. MPers. *zhg* (H.); z'r 'thousand', from *hazahra-; Man. *zrwšc- T ii D 66*, 1. 3, S. 'zr'wšc- *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 26 (*zrušč.*, light stem), 'Zoroaster', from *zarahuštr (v. H., *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1932, Heft 18, p. 830), cf. Parth. *zrhwšt*, v. § 278.

(c) After *ā*, in *yr'myy* 'property, wealth', from Gathic *grāhma-* see H., *JRAS*, 1944, 139 fn. 5.

400. (d) Together with a following *a* or *i*, if these are lost through syncope. *ptxw'y-* 'to kill', from *pati-*χwāya-*, from *pati-*χwāhaya-*; 'wšt- 'to stand, step', *ōšt-* from **ōhišta-*, from *awa-hišta-*.

401. (e) In B. 'y, 3 Sg. Impf., 'to be', v. § 766, acc. to H. from **āha* (Av. *āha*), becoming **āya*, with *y* as hiatus consonant.

402. (3) In final position. For Av. -*ō* from -*ah*, Sogdian has -*i*, spelled -*y(y)*. This was established by Tedesco, *ZII* iv 126, on the strength of the Nom. Sg. Masc. ending -*y*, and of *xwtyy* 'self', from Av. *x^oatō*. One may add the rel.-interrog. pronoun *ky* from Av. *kō*, and *δšcy*, N. of the 8th day, from *dabušō*, v. §§ 276. 443.

403. (iii) OIr. -*ah-* stems are generally treated as -*a-* stems (v. §§ 935. 938 sq.), including heavy stems in -*iyah-* (*kambē*, from **kambiyah-*, § 1302). But with stems in -*iyah-* that would normally become light it is just possible that *iya* became *ē* (§ 202) causing *h* (> *χ*) to remain, cf. § 395 sq. This would provide an explanation for *mzyz* 'great, big', from the comparative Av. *mazyah-*.¹

404. (iv) The Gen. ending of Av. *varəθraynahe*, N. of the 20th day, and the ending of *vanhave mananhe*, N. of the 2nd day, appear as -' in the Sogdian light stems *wšγn'* and *xwmn'*.

405. (v) An isolated case of palatalization of *h* is provided, acc. to H., by 'yš 'thou art' (*iš*, from **iχ*, from **aχi* (cf. § 432), from *ahi*).

(vi) On the Sogdian equivalents of Av. *ahr* and *əhr* when representing *r*, v. §§ 139. 141.

METATHESIS

406. (i) Of *u* (*w*). Cf. H., *BSOS* ix 548 sq. (referred to, in this section, as H., loc. cit.). Metathesis of *u* (*w*) can be by replacement of a short vowel (*fsuχ* from **frasaχw-*), or by intrusion (*δγud-* from *δuyd*). Since replacement is not found with progressive metathesis, one may consider the cases of replacement by regressive metathesis as ex-399¹ [Chr. z'q, *Giw.*].

403¹ An -*ah-* stem appearing with *χ* in Sogdian, is possibly B. 'zyw(*h*) ('zywh *kwn-* 'to cause anxiety' *VJ* 218, *rtj šy ZKh* 'zyw(*h*) *mnr²ys* 'and his anxiety became oppressive' *VJ* 18^d sq. 791. 1114. 1277. 1332), which acc. to H. may stand for *azaχ-* = Av. *qazah-*. [Cf. also 'rsγ, 'rs'ny 'piles' P2, 37. P3, 10-12. Skt. *arśas-* (H.)].

amples of *u* (*w*) producing umlaut before dropping, similar to those where *y* was lost after palatalizing preceding vowels (§§ 183 sqq.).

In this section the examples are arranged acc. to the sounds across which *u* (*w*) has been transposed.

407. (a) Regressive.

(1) Across β . *w* β - 'to be(come)', from *β w*-, v. § 792 sq., cf. *BBB* p. 89 on a 6 [cf. Oss. *ovin*, *üævin*].

408. (2) Across δ . B. *w* δ - (*wu* δ -) 'wife', from *wadū*-, cf. § 506; S. *mw* δ - 'wine' *Anc. Lett.*, from *m δ w*, v. H., *BSOS* x 98.

409. (3) Across θ . S. *γw*' δ *k* 'throne' *T i a* (6) R 12,¹ from *γ δ wk* (*γāθuk*), cf. Yaghn. *γōlk* (Klimchitsky, *Zap.*, 1937, 20).

410. (4) Across γ . Man. *jwz*' δ *k*-, Chr. *žwz*' δ *q*-, 'disciple', from B. *δryw*' δ *k*-, from **drigu*' δ *ka*-, cf. §§ 255. 285; Man. *jwγ*- (light stem),¹ Chr. *žwγ*- (in *žwγm*'*ny* 'αὐστηρός' i 47, 15. 48, 20, and the abstract *žwγy*'*q* B 49, 30 (thus to be read acc. to H.)), from B. *zγw*- P 3, 39, *δryw*- VJ 1097, Chr. *žyw*, Acc.,² ii 1, 75, 'severe, hard, cruel'; Man. *šryw* 'lion' (zodiacal sign) *M* 549 i 20, from B. *šryw*, cf. § 194 (H.).

411. (5) Across *i* (?). It is not clear whether Chr. *qwynt* is a metathesis from *qywt* 'to that' (§ 1463) as suggested by Lentz, *ST* ii 586 c (*kiwand* becoming *kwyand* or *kwind*), or whether both are merely different spellings of *kiwind*, cf. Man. *prwynd*, § 107.

412. (6) Across *k*. *šwkc*'-, Fem., 'dry', against the Masc. *škwyy* from *(*hi*)*škuwaka*- (§ 93); for Chr., H., loc. cit. 549 fn. 1, mentions *swq*- 'to be', from Man. B. (?)*skw*-, *pcwq*'*d*'- 'to speak, address', from *ptšqw*'*d*'-r-, *pcwqyr*- 'to fear' B 49, 10, from *pcqwyr*-.

413. (7) Across *m*. Chr. *swm**dr*- 'lake', Man. *swm**tr*- 'ocean' (*sum**dr*-), v. § 47, from *smw**tr*- (*smudr*-) *M* 137 R 3, &c., B. *sm*'*utr*-, cf. § 505, from Skt. *samudra*.

414. (8) Across *mn*. Chr. *žwmn*- (*žumn*-) 'time', from Man. *jmnw*-, v. § 512 fn.

414 a. (9) Across *n*. 'xšw*ndyy* 'satisfied, glad', *əxšūnde* < *əxšūnte* (§ 272) < *χšnūtaka*-, Past Partc. to 'xš*n*'*w*-,¹ cf. § 571 and 'xwš*ndyy* § 416.

409¹ *prw γw*' δ *k* *pr*' δ *y* δ , 2 Sg. Impt., 'sit down on the throne', cf. § 877 fn. 2.

410¹ *wy*' δ *n* *jw*' δ *ty* 'my δ *ny* δ ''*w* δ *nw*' δ *ty* *šw*' δ 'he walks turning to and fro among the cruel ones' *T* ii *D* 117, 1 sq.

410² Standing for **žyw*-*w*. This may also apply to the adverb *jyw* 'very much' *T* ii *D* 117, 22. 27, Chr. *žyw* ii 5, 24, B. *zγw* Reich. ii 63, 9. *VJ* 65^e (v. *JRAS*, 1942, 99), *δryw* VJ 1332.

414 a¹ Thus Henning, abandoning his connexion of 'xšw*ndyy* with B. 'γw'š- (*BSOS* viii 585 fn. 2) on which see § 213 fn. 1.

415. (10) Across *r*. *xwrm* 'earth, soil', from *xrwrm*, v. *JRAS*, 1942, 101 (on S. *γurwm* v. § 482); S. *βurδmy T ii D ii 169 (a) i V 17*, Abl., *βurδmy* [sic] ib. 11, Nom., 'vegetation', *furd|θme*, from **furd|θme*, from **fra-rudma*⁻¹ (cf. § 319)+suffix *-ka-* or *-ya-*.

416. (11) Across *š*. *xwšyp* 'whip', from Av. *xšvaēpa-*, *Sogd.* p. 23 on 17. 18; B. *'γwš'yp-* 'squint-eyed', from Av. *xšvaēwa-*, v. *BBB* p. 63 on 523; Man. *'xwšndyy* 'satisfied, glad', *əχūšnde* < *əχšūnde*, v. § 414 a.

417. (12) Across *χ* (OIr. *χ* and *h*). Man. Chr. *ywzn-* 'blood', from Man. *yxwn-*, B. *wyrn-* (*uχ^rn-* or *wuχ^rn-*) *P 2*, 454, 476, &c., from *γwrn-*, v. §§ 209. 1168 fn.; Chr. *swxrw* 'word, speech' *ii 5*, 24. 40, from B. *sywru*, cf. § 222; Chr. *swx'y-/swxst-* 'to take, lift', against Chr. *sxw'y-*, B. *syw(°)y-* (cf. § 567 fn. 1), Man. Chr. *sxwst-* *T i a. ST ii 1*, 50, S. *'sγwst-* *X 1 ii R 1*; Chr. *ywx'y-* 'to separate', against Man. *'ywx'y* 3 Sg. Impf. (§ 220); Chr. *'wxst-* Past stem, 'to break', against Man. *'xw'y-* Pres. stem, v. *BBB* p. 59 N° 11; B. *wγwšw* 'six', from **χšwašam*, v. H., loc. cit. 548 fn. 2;¹ Man. *wx'scn*² 'exhausted', against *xw'sδ* idem, *xw't* 'weak', cf. *BBB* p. 82 sq.; on final *-χw* v. § 236.

418. (13) Across *z*. *wjzp-* 'terror', from Av. *azōbā-*, v. § 377.

419. (14) Across *žāχ* in Chr. *bwž'xq* 'distressed', from Chr. *bž'xwq*, v. Lentz, *ST ii 580 a*, and above, § 391.

420. (b) Progressive.

(1) Across *č*. B. *ptpt'yn'cwj* Obl., 'refractoriness' or 'isolation', *Dhu 34*, from **ptpt'yn'wc*, cf. § 1080.

421. (2) Across *γ* (cf. H., loc. cit.). S. *δγwt-* 'daughter' *SCE 26. VJ 26. 352. T ii D 10*, from Man. *δwγt-* *M 760, 7*, S. *δwγt-* *VJ 1009. 1135. T ii D 6. 7. 15*; S. *γwδ-* 'Sogdian', v. Freiman, *Sbornik*, 33 sqq., *Intox. Sūtra 37, Sogd.* 61, 25, from *swγδ-* *Anc. Lett.*; Chr. *γwd'r-*, Pret., 'to speak', from Chr. *wγd'r-*, from Man. *wγtwδ'r-* (§ 167), cf. Lentz, *ST ii 584 a*; Chr. *γwr'ty* 'awake, watchful', from Man. *wγr'tyy*, v. § 215; Chr. *γwš-*, B. *'γwš-*, 'to rejoice', from Man. B. *wγš-*, v. § 213 fn. 1; Chr. *γw'm n'fc* 'guest' *i 24, 8 sq. 25, 18*, from

⁴¹⁵ H. compares Av. *uruθman-*, *°mi-*, *°mya-*. Cf. also Man. *'βrwδ* 'growth, plant', v. *BBB* s.v., from **abi-rauda-*.

⁴¹⁷ **χšwašam* became, through dissimilatory loss of the first *š*, **χwašu*, *χušu* (= Chr. *xwšw*, cf. the place-name *خوشو فنس* 'the six temples' (H.), Barthold, *Turkestan*, 126 sq.), then, through metathesis, *uχšu* (cf. Yidgha *uxšo*, Yagh. *uxš*, referred to by Gauthiot, *MSL* xvii 154), finally, with svarabhakti vowel (§ 482), *uχušu*.

⁴¹⁷ If not borrowed from Parth. *wx's-*.

Chr. *wy'm n'fc* i 81, 16, B. *wy'm Sogd.* 60, 14, S. *wy[']m Anc. Lett.* iii 7 (*wyām*, 'foreign, remote country', from **wi-gāma-* (v. § 214) ? On *n'fc* v. § 1003 fn.). [v. Add. p. 308.]

422. (3) Across **h* in *xw'qr* 'merchant', from **wahākara-*, v. § 392; *rtaxšt*, N. of the 3rd element, from **artukāšt*, v. § 392.

423. (4) Across *k*. *šmnkw'nc*, Fem., 'devilish', from *šmnwq'ny*, Masc., v. H., loc. cit.; *ytqw-* 'bridge', from **haituka-*, cf. § 518; B. *'yw'rδkw* 'sincere' *SCE* 62. *Dhy* 134. 194, *'yw'rδkwy* Obl., *Sogd.* 60, 9, against Man. *i 'rδwky* 'sincerity' *M* 664, 16, v. § 154; B. *'βz'γkwstr* 'more wretchedly' *Dhy* 41, against B. *'βyz'γwk* (§ 391), cf. H., loc. cit.; B. *cškw-* 'tear', from **asruka-*, v. § 371; B. *'yntk'w* 'Indian' *Intox. Sūtra* 37, S. *'yntkw* Pl., *Anc. Lett.* ii 37, from **hinduka-*, cf. MPers. *hindūg*; S. *m'nkw* 'similar', from *m'nwk*, cf. *BBB* p. 103 on f 52; B. *'nz'nkwy* 'upon one's knees' *T iii S* 313, 3, from *'nz'nwk-* *VJ* passim; *'ykwun* 'eternally', from **āyu-ka-na-* (H.).

424. (5) Across *r*. *xrwanz[t]βγγy* (§ 73 fn.), from *xwrmztβγγy*.

425-6. (6) Across *s*. Man. *'x(s)[w]ndty'h* 'happiness, contentment' *T ii D* 66 c 7, Chr. *xswnty'* i 73, 9, from Man. *xwsndy'*, cf. § 338.

427. (7) Across *t*. Chr. *qtwr* 'descendant' *ii* 1, 66, from *qwtw*, borrowed from Skt. *gotra*, cf. also § 483 fn.

428. (8) Across *χ*. Man. *xwšy* 'increase' (H.) *M* 896, 20. *M* 765 d 8, B. *'γwš'y-* 'to grow' *P* 2, 358 sq., from *waxš-* 'to grow'; Man. *xwštr-* 'camel' (§ 517), from **uxštra-*, v. § 257; B. *yγws-* 'to learn' *SCE* 536, Past stem *yγwt-* *VJ* 310. 796, from S. *yγws-* *X I i V* 5, Past stem S. *yγwt-* ib. R 22, Man. *ywxt-*, cf. H., loc. cit.; B. *rywšn-* 'luminous', from Man. Chr. *rwzšn-*.

429. (9) Across *ya* in *fšy'ws* 'gentleman', from Av. *fšuyas*, v. § 311.

430. (ii) Metathesis of *i*, *e* (regressive).

(1) Derivatives from OIr. *dwi-* 'two', became first *divi-* (§ 239), then *div-* (cf. Gauthiot, *MSL* xvii 145): the ordinals Man. *δβty-*, B. *δβty-*, *δyβty-*, v. §§ 1334-6, and Man. S. *δβtyk*, Chr. *dbtyq*; Man. B. *δyβnw*, B. *δβnw*, 'both', v. §§ 1316. 1320; B. *δyβzβ'k* 'double-tongued' *SCE* 442; B. *δyβp'δ'kw* 'biped' *VJ* 1177.

431. (2) *θvi* from OIr. *θwi*, has become *θiv* in Man. *δyβtyy* 'scattered', v. § 293.

432-3. (3) OIr. *ahmi* 'I am' became *'ym* (cf. also § 399), *ahi* 'thou art' became *'yš* (cf. § 405). These can, of course, be considered as cases of palatalization, cf. § 133.

434. (iii) Metathesis of *i*, *ē* (regressive). *pyšt* 'but, and, then', from **pašit*, v. § 373; the suffix B. *-yck* from *-cyk*, v. § 1013; Chr. *nyštd'r*- (*nīšdār*-),¹ Trans. Pret., 'to plant', *i* 19, 15, from *nāšidār*-, cf. Chr. *nšyd(š)r*- *ii* 3, 28. 34 (H.). A metathesis interfered with the normal development of *ai* > *ē* in Chr. *bywny*, Pl. *bywnyt*, 'prophet', *bywnqy* 'prophesy', Man. *ʾbywnyt* Pl., *M* 286 *ii* 13, adverb *bywn* 'foreseeingly' *M* 264 *A* 18, if from **abi-waina*-(*ka*-), cf. Parth. *frwyn*- 'to foresee'² (H.).

435. (iv) Metathesis of *n*.

(1) Regressive. Man. *fns'x* (*fansāx*) 'parasang' *T ii D* 116, 26. 31, from B. *ʾβs'ny* (*afsāny*), from **frasānyā*- (H.), cf. § 338 on *fs'x*, § 236 on *fswx*; B. *nns* 'nose', from **nasn*-, from **nāsn*-, v. § 946 (and § 338 on Man. *ns*); B. *γns*- 'stinking', from Man. B. *γsn*-, v. § 496; Man. *wxš*- 'to deliver' (§ 809), from Man. **wxnš*- (3 Sg. Impf. *wyxnš*, *BBB* p. 55 top), v. § 343.

436. (2) Progressive. Chr. *wxšn*- 'to deliver', from Man. **wxnš*-, and Chr. *pxšn*- 'to retreat', from B. *py'nš*-, v. § 343; B. *βr''mcn*- 'to undress', from **frāmunš*-, v. § 327.

437. (v) Metathesis of *r*.

(1) *fra*- becoming *far*-. Man. Chr. *frtr*, B. *prtr*, 'before,¹ special,² more,³ rather,⁴ better',⁵ with the abstract suffix *-yā* Man. Chr. *frtry* 'increase, furtherance, improvement' *ST ii* 6, 46. *M* 135 *ii* 15. *M* 568, 8. &c., S. *prtry'kh* *T M* 389 *a R* 17. 30. *a R* 34, comparative *frtrstr*,⁶ v. § 1290: *fatar*,⁷ from Av. *fratarā*-.⁸ On *ftrwnny* v. § 473.

434¹ Provided the reading is correct, being at variance with the one in *ST ii*.

434² **abiwaina* > *βuain*- > *βiain*- > *βiōn*-. The difficulty lies with the preverb, since Av. *abi-wāna*- means 'to look; to notice'. On the other hand, this is just the meaning required for the 3 Sg. Impf. B. *β'yun* *VJ* 820 (thus correctly read by Gauthiot), which H. connects with the word for 'prophet'. *βy'wn*- occurs in two unpublished B. fragments: *ywn'yδ'γω* 'δβγ βy'(w)[n- (ʔ), 'the supreme god at once . . .' (cf. the *VJ* passage quoted), *T iii S* 23 (2) *i* 1, *rtv r'mnt* *γω βy'wn'y* [, 'and always the prophet' or 'and always he may foresee (or notice)', *T ii T* (2) 7.

437¹ B. 'δprtr *prtr* 'le tout premier' *SCE* 527. 538.

437² S. *prtry* adv., 'especially', *BBB* p. 100 on e 8, line 3.

437³ Man. *cw frtr* 'ʔ' 'whatever else there may be in addition (or afterwards)' *BBB* p. 101 on e 12; Chr. *nyšt žwzš[gy] qf frtr by cn xypθ αυθty* 'οὐκ ἔστι μαθητῆς ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον' *i* 8, 10 sq.

437⁴ B. *prtr* . . *c'n'kw* 'rather . . than', v. § 1692.

437⁵ S. *rtv [cnn] c'β' prtr* 'dy *L* β(w)[t] 'nobody is better than thou' *T i a* (6) *R* 2 sq.; Man. *frtr c'nw* 'better than', v. § 1308; Chr. *[cn γr]f syctyty frtr 'yšt'* *δm'x* 'πολλῶν στρουθίων διαφέρετε ὑμεις' *i* 10, 11.

437⁶ *frtr qty*, *ST ii* 1, 82 sq. is to be read *ftrty qty* 'have passed' (H.).

437⁷ B. *prtr* possibly stands for *partar*. Cf. NPers. *pardā*, from **fratāka*-, with Khot. *paḍā*, from **partāka*-, Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 179 fn. 1.

437⁸ The assumption of this metathesis seems necessary because otherwise one would expect OIr. *fratarā*- to become a light stem *far*-, cf. **fram*- from *fratama*-, § 318. [Cf. OPers. *fratarā* 'more, rather' *TPS* 1948, 66 sq.]

438. (2) *frā-* becoming *fār-* (H.): Man. *f'rmyc* 3 Sg. Impf., 'to undress' *M* 133, 96, cf. B. *βr'mc*, § 334.

439. (3) *dr* becoming *rđ* (on *dr* becoming *ž* v. § 285). B. *'rđ'spt* Pl., *Dhy* 98, *'rđ'yšp T iii š 2 i 6*, 'banner', from Av. *drafša-* (cf. also § 441), v. Benv., *Notes* ii 224; Man. *'rđyf- M* 141 R, B. *'rđ'yp- SCE* 496, 'to shine', B. *'rđ'yp' SCE* 76, *'rđ'yp'kh SCE* 495, S. *'rđ'yp T M* 389 a R 6, 'splendour', from **drāfaya-*, cf. Man. *wydrfš-* 'to blaze', § 1033, Parth. *drfš-*, v. *Mir. Man.* iii 899 top (H.);¹ S. *rđnk Anc. Lett.*, 'safe, fortified', from *drang-*, cf. *draṃga* in the Rājataranḡiṇī and Kharoṣṭhi Documents, as 'fortified post' and something like 'safe', v. Burrow, *BSOS* vii 509 sq. (H.). [Cf. *BSOAS* xii 605 n. 4.]

440. (4) *θr* becoming *rθ* (on *θr* becoming *š* v. § 299). *p'rđ* (*pārθ*) 'watch' *Sogd.* 25, 21 (v. comment.), from B. *p'dr* 'service' *SCE* 544, beside Man. B. *p's M* 116 R 5. *SCE* 491. 521; B. *c'rđ'p'dw VJ* 1178, *cyrđp'dw VJ* 1484, 'quadruped', from Av. *čathru-*, v. Benv., *Grammaire*, ii 104; Man. *wysp'rđyy* 'every-where', v. *BBB* p. 70 on 565, from **wispaθra*,¹ cf. Skt. *viśvatra* (H.), cf. also B. *nyš*, § 299; S. *mrđp'r* 'here' (§ 1116), *marθ* from **imaθra*, *'wrđ* 'there' *HR* ii 97, 7. *T ii D* 63 c 7. &c., *ōrθ* (cf. § 83 fn.) from Av. *avaθra* (on further developments cf. §§ 301. 461), *kwrđ* 'where' (§ 1581) from *kūθra*. On S. *mydry* v. §§ 185. 507.

441. (vi) Other metatheses.

(1) *fš* becoming *šf* (*šp*). B. *'rđ'yšp* 'banner', from *drafša*, cf. § 439; Man. *šf'r* 'shame' *M* 135 i 58, B. *šβ'r Vim* 87. *SCE* 294, *šβ'rm'y* 'pudenda' *SCE* 127, Chr. *šfrs-* 'to be ashamed' i 20, 6. 42, 4, B. *'šβ'rs- P* 2, 654, from *fšar-*, cf. Benv., *MSL* xxiii 403 sqq.

442. (2) *tf* becoming *ft* in B. *cβt'rmyk* 'fourth' *P* 2, 326, from *ctβ'rmyk*.

443. (3) *đšcy*, *dyšcy*, N. of the 15th day, from *dašti* (v. § 276), from *datši*, from **daθši* (cf. § 301), from Av. *dabušō* (§ 402), cf. also § 109 (v. H., *Orientalia*, viii 91 fn. 1).

444. (4) *đrjyy*, *đrjy'wr*, 'heart', **drz-* from *zrd-*, v. § 182.

(5) B. *γwtm*, *γwt'm*, 'relative', from Chr. *twxm-* 'seed, family' (cf. § 127), v. *BBB* p. 89 bottom.

445. (6) B. *nβyy* Acc., *DN* 8, *nβyw* Acc., *DN* 70, 'excellent', against *nγβy* Acc., *SCE* 47 'aimable', *nγwβy* Nom., *Dhy* 153, *nγwβ'w'k*, abstract, 'excellence', *Dhy* 109. 180 (H.).

439¹ Differently Reichelt, *ZII* iv 247 (*'rđ'yp-*, from *aθra + tāpaya-*).

440¹ Now recognized by H. in *Anc. Lett. wysp'dr*, cf. *BBB* p. 73 (not 'prince').

446. (7) B. *myδβ-* 'minister' (§ 509), from Parth. *mgbyd*, cf. H., *Sogd.* p. 22 on 11, and Tedesco, *BSL* xxiii 113.

447. (8) Chr. *fwx'r* 'blissful', from MPers. *frwx*, v. *BBB* p. 89 bottom.

OTHER SECONDARY CHANGES

Assimilation

448. (1) *m* becoming *n* before *k* (which in its turn becomes *g*, v. § 245), in the ending of the 1 Sg. Pres. *-am*, when followed by the verbal particle *-q'* (becoming *-g'*), cf. Chr. *prycng'*, *šwng'*, &c., v. Salemann, *Izv.*, 1913, 1141.

449. (2) *n* becoming *m* before *p* (which in its turn becomes *b*, v. § 304, and is sometimes lost, v. § 453). *δβ'mbn*, *δβ'mpn*, 'lady, wife', from Av. *dəmaqno.pathni-* (§ 300); *ṭmb'r* 'body', from **tanu-pāra-*.

450. (3) *s* becoming *š*. Man. Chr. *wyššy(y)h* 'prince', from **wispaše*, cf. B. *wyspydr'k*, from **wispuθraka-*, v. *BBB* p. 73; B. *špšh* 'louse' *SCE* 365, from Av. *spiš-*, cf. Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii 247 b; Man. *šnyš-* 'to snow', v. § 807, from **šnēž-* (v. § 452), from Av. *snaēža-* (H.); *šyškyy* 'drop, tear', from **šyskyy*, from Av. *sraska-*, cf. § 371.

451. (4) *z* becoming *ž* in Man. *jyšt-*, Chr. *žyšt-*, 'hated', cf. *BBB* p. 77 on 633, originally Past stem from **zais-*, cf. Av. *zōišnu-*, *zōiždišta-*, Parth. *zys-* 'to hate', NPers. *zišt* (H.).¹

452. (5) *ž* becoming *š* by assimilation to the initial *š-* in *šnyš-*, v. § 450.

Assimilatory loss

453. (i) Of *b* after *m*. Chr. *'mst* 'it fell', from *'mpst*, v. Lentz, *ST* ii 575 b; Chr. *db'mn*, *b'mn*¹ (v. *ST* ii 579 a), S. *δβ'mn* *ST* i 87, 25. *Anc. Lett. (Doc.)* x 17, from Man. *δβ'mbn* (§ 300); B. *pδ'wm-*, Pres. stem, 'to stick together' *P* 7, 82, from **dumb-*, root **dub-* (H.), cf: the Inchoative *pδwβs-* and the verbal noun *'δwβ*, in *y'r* *'δwβ pδwβ(s)'* 3 Sg. Impf., 'she fastened a quarrel' *Man. Lett.* i 30 (on the Inchoative v. also § 827); Chr. *ṭm'r* 'body', from *ṭmb'r*, v. Lentz, *ST* ii 598 a.

454. (ii) Of *d* before *z*. Man. *mnozprt* 'impure' *BBB* 583, Chr. id., ii 3, 48, from Man. *mndzprt* *BBB* f 58, Chr. *mntzprt'y* 'rubbish' ii 4,

451¹ With this word a further assimilation to the sibilant in the following syllable took place, acc. to H., *BBB* p. 75 on 606, in *šyšt'rw'ndy'*, from *jyšt'rw'ndy'* 'Bösseeligkeit'. *šyšt-*, however, could also be the Past stem of Chr. B. *šš-* 'to disperse', cf. § 540 c, hence *šyšt'rw'n* = 'scatter-brain'.

453¹ *b-* instead of *db-* by analogy to *bāmbušt*, v. *Sogd.* 17 sq.

33; Chr. *tryz'y* 'oppressed, compelled', from Man. *trytzyy*, v. *BBB* p. 60 on 510.

On *d* lost before *s* v. § 460; before *ð*, v. § 457.

455. (iii) Of *ð* after *θ*. S. *knðβr* 'town-gate' *P* 13, 2, *knðβrty* Pl. Obl., *VJ* 43 (*kanθvar*, from *kanθ + dvar-*), v. Reichelt, *ZII* iv 247.

456. (iv) Of *t*.

(1) Before *θ*. Man. *prwyrdð*, 2 Pl. Subj. from *prwyrt-* 'to cause to become' (*parwerθ* from **parwertθ*), v. *BBB* p. 104 on f 53-4.

457. (2) Before *ð*. In the Chr. Trans. Pret., the final *t* or *d* of the Past stem (also with light stems, cf. § 167) is lost before *-ðār*.¹ In Man. only *xwrðr-* 'to eat' *M* 107 i 50, and *n'wðr-* 'to shake (one's head)', v. *BBB* p. 55, have been noticed.

(3) Before *s*, v. § 461 sq.

458. (v) Of *z* before *ž*. B. *βrzw'n'y* 'long-lived' *SCE* 107. 503, from *βrzzw'n'y* *SCE* 167 (*vəržuwāne* from *vərž-žuwāne*).

On *z* lost before *s*, v. § 465.

459. (vi) Some consonants and consonantic groups have disappeared in secondary contact with a following *s*. Sometimes several stages of the reduction are attested.

(1) *čādarsār* 'downwards', Man. B. *c'ðr s'r* *M* 674, 25. *M* 880, 6. *VJ* 821. 829. 1304, > **c'ðs'r* > *c's'r* *M* 134 ii R 11. *Man. Lett.* i 26 (H.); *c'ðrstr*, comparative, 'under, below' *M* 178 ii R 12. V 15, > *c'str* *T* i *D*.

460. (2) *čindarsār* 'inside, into, in', B. *cntrs'r* > **cnts'r* > Chr. *cyns'* and Man. *cyts'r*, v. *BBB* p. 74 on 601.

461. (3) *martsār* 'here', *ortsār* 'there', Man. B. *mrts'r*, B. 'wrts'r' (v. §§ 301. 440) > Chr. *mc'*, 'wc' (*matsā*, *ōtsā*, § 71), v. Lentz, *ST* ii

457¹ Thus always in *ST* i, with the notable exception of *kθār*, v. § 279. If the notation in *ST* ii of *ð*, *t*, *θ*, were not in such a hopeless state of confusion, one could see whether this change of *tð* into *θ* had taken place with other verbs as well. Here is a list of the Chr. Preterites in *ST* ii (including those where *-ðār* has been added directly to the Pres. stem, cf. § 877 fn: 1), whereby *t* stands for Tau (*θ*) and *ʃ* for Teth (*t*), acc. to Henning's system.

d: 'šy'd'r-, br'd'r-, by'pd'r-, fšmd'r-, fšypd'r-, xryd'r-, xsd'r-, γwd'r-. (wyd'r-), xwsd'r-, q'md'r-, pcwq'd'r-. (pššqw'd'r-), prbyrd'r-, pryfd'r-, pšd'r-, pšt'd'r-, pšwysd'r-, pyzd'r-, tbrd'r-, wryd'r-, wyd'r-, wyd'sd'r-, žyrd'r-.

t: 'wst'r-, xwšt'r-, qt'r-, pcyt'r-, szwst'r-, tqwšt'r-.

ʃ: 'wyzʃ'r-, pšʃ'r-.

d and *ʃ*: nšyd'r-, nšydʃ'r-.

d and *t*: pryfd'r-, pryft'r-.

t and *ʃ*: pšywšt'r-, pšywštʃ'r-.

d, *ʃ*, and *t*: 'γšd'r-, 'γšʃ'r-, 'γšt'r-.

587 c, S. 'wts'r T i a (10. 106)¹ > Chr. *ms'*, Man. Chr. 'ws' M 127 V 12. ST i 52, 4 (thus correctly Benveniste, against Lentz, loc. cit.).

462. (4) *katskande* 'destroyed', S. *ktsknt'k* > Chr. *qsqnty*, v. § 365 fn.

463. (5) **βykstr*, comparative of *βyk*, > Man. *βystr* 'outside, away' T ii D 116, 22, Chr. *bysr* i 26, 5; Man. B. *βyks'r* > Chr. *bys'* i 70, 13. 14.

464. (6) The group *nčk* disappears in Man. *rystr* 'smaller', if this is from **rynckstr*, v. § 1288 fn.

465. (7) The ending *-*āzsk* of some durative Preterits has become -*āsk*, v. § 645; the comparative **δvanzstar* became *δvanstar*, v. § 1290.

Dissimilation

466. (1) *m* becoming *v*. *δβ'mbn* 'lady, wife' (§ 300), from **δmām-ban*.¹ [v. Addenda.]

467. (2) *n* becoming *r* (doubtful). *sprync* 'of iron' (?), from *spnync*, v. *Sogd.* p. 32 on 5.

468. (3) *p* becoming *f* (*v*) in *ptfs-/ptfs-* 'to read', cf. §§ 52. 145, from **p(a)l-pas-*, with dissimilation to the initial *p* (H.).

469. (4) *r* becoming *γ* (doubtful). Man. *βwγt'rmykt*, adj., Pl., 'patient' M 378, 13 (v. § 1246), S. *βwγt'rmykt* T M 389 a V 13, from **βwrt'rmyk* in *βwrt'rmyky* 'patience'.¹ [Cf. Oss. *bixsin*.]

470. (5) *t* becoming *p*. 'rt'wspy'h 'righteousness, community of the electi', *δyn'rtwspy*, idem, S. 'rt'w'spy'kyh T M 389 a V 19, B. 'rtwspy Vim 90, 'rt'w'spy Dhu 275. 295, 'rt'w'spy SCE 555, 'rt'w'spy' Dhu 265 'justice, dharma' (v. B. Geiger, *WZKM* 41, 112 sq.), from **artawasta-* (cf. Av. *ašavasta-*) + abstract suffix -*yā-*,¹ cf. Baluči *gidisp* 'span' from Av. *vitasti-*, Greek 'Υδάσπη from Skt. *vitastā* (H.).

471. (6) *θ* becoming *t* (doubtful). Chr. *ftm'd'r-* 'to blow' (§ 318), if one may assume the existence of a form of transition **fθmāt-*.

Dissimilatory loss

472. (1) Of *k*. Man. (?) *wj'k* M 122, 3, Turk. *užak*, from Man. *wjk'k* 'letter of the alphabet', v. *BBB* p. 65; *qtsndy* 'destruction' *BBB* 521, from S. *ktsknt'k*, v. § 365 fn.

461¹ Cf. B. *kwrt's'r* 'where' > B. 'kwts'r, v. § 1534. [Chr. *qwc'*, *Giw.* 159.]

466¹ Beside *δβ'm-* we still have Man. *δm'n* 'dwelling place' *Kaw.* V 3, *δm''n* M 133, 42, *rwzēn'γrdm'n* 'paradise' M 178 i passim, from Av. *raozēna-* + *gāō dēmāna-* (cf. § 121), and **wδm'ndt*, § 351.

469¹ The form with *γ* is, acc. to H., a pun on *βwty* 'delivered (souls)'.¹

470¹ B. *artawaspe* would be a possible outcome of **artawastyā-* > Man. > B. *artawaspyd* of **artawastyākā-*.

473. (2) Of *r*. Man. *ftrwnyy* (*fatarūne*) 'increase, advantage' (*prw ftrwnyy M 399*, 13 'πόσω μᾶλλον' (H.)), from *frtr* (*fartar*),¹ cf. § 437; *prybyy* 'cloud', from **pari-abra*-, v. § 202. Cf. also § 322.

473 a. (3) Of *s*. S. *'wptasθ* 'you have fallen' (cf. § 868), *ōpatasθ* < **ōpastasθ*, v. H., *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 13.

474. (4) Of *š*. B. *wγwšw* 'six', from **χwašu*, from **χšwašam*, v. § 417 fn. 1.

Haplology

475. (1) Of *ān*. Man. *wyncyk* 'visible' *T ii D 117*, 28, from *wyn'ncyk* (? , cf. § 1018); *m'k'nd* (*mākand*) *M 118 i V 5*, from **mākanand*, 3 Pl. Impf. from *ākan*- 'to fill' (H.); Chr. *wng'* (*wangā*) 'I shall do' i 42, 3. 4, from *wanangā*, cf. § 448; B. *cnsty* 'completely' *VJ 39^a. 722*. &c., from *cn'nstty SCE 124*, B. *cnnsty T iii Š 23 (3) ii 4*; B. *cn'nty P 2*, 69, *cn'nty* ib. 43, 'completely', *čanaγ(a)te* from **čananγate* (though possibly directly from *čan+aγ(a)te*, cf. § 335); *ptz'nd M 178 i V 10*, corresponding to *ptz'n'nŋ* in another copy of the same text, *T ii D 139*, 11, 3 Pl. Pres. from *patzān*- 'to recognize', cf. § 1006 fn.

(2) Of *nə*. *'frynnyf* Pres. Partc. Pl., 'blessing, praising', *M 264 A 23*, from **āfrīnəne* (H.), cf. Chr. *sfrīnny* 'creator' *ii 3*, 13; *'nwysn[y]yf* Pres. Partc. Pl., 'to make enter, to initiate', *M 134 i R 4*, from *'nwysn*-, v. § 547;¹ Chr. *wyny i 67*, 8. 15. 17, Pres. Partc. from *wyn*- 'to see'; B. *γ'ryn'k* 'buyer' *P 2*, 775, < **χrīnəne* (H.).

476. (3) Of *and*. B. *'nkr'nt* 'they cut' *SCE 183*, from *'nkr'nt'nt SCE 223*.

477. (4) Of *ai*, in the 3 Sg. Opt. (ending *-ai*) of Present stems in B. *'y-(āy)*,¹ cf. *nγw'y* 'he should pound' (inst. of **nγw'y'y*) *Frg. iii 63*, *sγw'y*, *'sγw'y* 'he should take', ib. 51. 52, *nw'y* 'he should walk', v. *BBB* p. 55, &c.

478. (5) Of *ta*, in Chr. *šts* '18', *štas*, from **štatas*, from **aštadasa*, with assimilation of *d* to *t* [or *d(a)s* > *s*, cf. §§ 459 sqq.].

479-480. (6) Of *ya*. Man. *ny'wr*, B. *'ny'wr* 'autrefois' (§ 85 fn.), from *'ny' + y'wr*, v. *Benv.*, *Grammaire*, 157.

Other reductions

481. Chr. *dsptrr* 'towel', from **đast-partar*, v. *Benv.*, *Notes iii 228*, H., *BBB* p. 74 fn.; the Lunar Mansions Man. *frwxšpd* and S. *šwšk*, from Skt. *proṣṭhapada* and S. *'štrwšk* respectively, v. *Henning*, *JRAS*, 1942, 242 fn. 1.

473¹ Chr. *ftrwnyy B 49*, 23, is possibly to be read *ftrwny*.

475¹ Possible is, of course, the restoration *'nwysn[n]yf*.

477¹ In Man. writing, where the ending *-ai* is expressed by *-y*, the spelling with one final *y* or with two, is of no significance in view of § 76 fn. 1.

Svarabhakti vowels

482. (1) *u*. S. *sywtm'n* 'all' *T M* 389 a R 14, from *sytm'n* (*saydmān*); S. *γurum* 'earth, soil' (H.) *T iii* 263 i 8, from *χurm* or *χrum*, v. § 415; B. *wyrušw* 'six', from **uχšu*, v. § 417 fn. 1; B. **škrwβ* 'stumbling', from **škarf*, v. § 366; Man. *krwš* 3 Sg. Impf., 'to trace', from **karš*, v. *BBB* p. 102 top.

(2) A few cases of anaptyctic *i* have been mentioned under § 179.

483. (3) *a* (ə). B. **γwšt'ry* *VJ* 416. 13c, **γwšt'r'yh* *VJ* 86, 'camel', from *χuštr-*, v. § 517;¹ B. *βz'γsty*, 3 Sg. Pret. 'he decamped' *P* 2, 200, *vžəyasti* < *vžyasti*, cf. § 376, and the curious S. *w'c'γδ'nt*, § 263 fn. 1.

THE RHYTHMIC LAW

484. (i) **Definition.** The preservation or loss of the OIr. vocalic endings is governed by a rhythmic law discovered by Tedesco (cf. *ZII* iv 102). In a slightly modified form, this law can be formulated as follows:

Given the alterations of OIr. words which the phonetic changes peculiar to Sogdian have brought about, stems with not more than one brief vowel (not counting prothetic or svarabhakti vowels) are light, except when this vowel is *in positione*, viz. followed by *mb*, *χw*, or by a group of consonants beginning with *n*¹ or *r*; all other stems are heavy. Heavy stems lose their vocalic endings, while light stems preserve them.

485. (ii) **Remarks.**

(1) A brief vowel followed by *r* and a consonant, is not *in positione*, if the brief vowel and *r* jointly represent an OIr. *r* vowel (cf. § 137). Cf., e.g. *mry* 'wood, meadow', *mary* (§ 530), corresponding to Av. *marəyā-*, NPers. *mary*, heavy, against *mry-* 'bird', *mə'γ-*, corresponding to Av. *mərəyā-*, NPers. *mury*, light, or *γrβ* 'many', pronounced *γarv*, heavy, against *γrβ-* 'to know', *γə'v-* from *grβ-*, light. *γ*

It is the same when the brief vowel is expressed by *y* or *w*. We read *wi'k-* for the light stem *wyrk-* 'wolf' from **wřka-*, but *nirk* or *nerk* for the heavy *nyrk* 'male' from *naryaka-*; the light stem *purn-* 'full' from **prna-*, is to be read as *pu'n-*. It has been seen in §§ 144-51 that such an *r* which goes back to *r*, was often lost.

486. (2) This rule is useful for determining the nature of *r* in cases of doubt. Here are some examples.

(a) From the fact that the Past stems *βrt-* (§ 879), *δβrt-* (§§ 879).

483¹ Not necessarily Sogdian is the svarabhakti vowel of S. *ku'r* *Sogd.* 64, 13, against B. *kuwr* *Vim* 108. *Frg iii* 6, Man. *kuwr*, *quwr*, passim, from Skt. *gotra*, cf. Khot. *gūtaira*, Bailey, *J.R.A.S.*, 1942, 22.

484¹ [On *-ny-* v. § 85.]

927), *škr̥t- (§ 879), are treated as heavy stems, it appears that they are secondary formations *vart-*, *θvart-*, *aškart-*, which have replaced the original *bṛta*,¹ &c.²

487. (b) The distribution of the forms belonging to the base *par-*, as proposed in *BBB* p. 89 on 763, cf. above, § 148, should be revised in so far as it is B. *ptw* which goes back to *pṛt-*, while *pwrc* 'debt', borrowed by Turk. *borğ*, v. *Sogd.* 66 top, must have had *hochstufe*, since it is heavy; it could represent a metathesis from **partu-* + suffix *-č*.

488. (c) Chr. B. *γwrs* '(a)round' i 19, 15 (cf. H., *Sogd.* p. 57 on 27). *SCE* 299. *DN* 10. 58, being heavy, cannot contain *ṛ*. H. suggests a metathesis from **garsu-* (from **gart-su-*).

489. (d) That *mrc* 'death' represents Av. *ma(h)rka-* (cf. § 249) with *-ar-*, and not Av. *mərati-* with *ṛ*, is shown by its being heavy.

490. (e) On the other hand, *γγ(?)rt-* 'wide' (§ 518), being light, must contain *ṛ*. H. suggests connecting it with the Past Partc. B. *'ny'rtk* 'prosperous, fertile', v. *Sogd.* p. 30 on 6, hence *γγṛt-* from **wi-gṛta-*.

491. (f) Amongst words of unclear origin, *krj* 'miracle' reflects *-ar-*, *mrx-* 'straight, flat' should contain *ṛ*.

492. (3) If a light stem, ending in an originally consonantic *r* preceded by a short vowel, comes into contact with an ending beginning with *t*, the short vowel is brought into position. This does not usually affect the treatment of such stems as light stems, but it helps to explain why the Plural of *rwr-* 'medicinal plant' (Sg. Man. *rwr*, B. *rwrh*) appears as *rwr̄t*, *rwr̄tt*, in *M* 568, 1. 10. *Man. Lett.* i 19. Cf. also in B. the 3 Sg. Pres. *βrt VJ* 1069. *SCE* 95. 195 (against Man. *βrt*, v. § 515), *δβ'rt SCE* 111 (against Man. *δβ'rt* *M* 583 ii R 1. *T ii D* 267, 6, B. *δβ'rt* *VJ* 11c. 492. 556), *šk'rt SCE* 267 (against Man. *šk'rt* *M* 127 V 14, Chr. *šqr̄tyq'n* ii 6, 44 sq., B. *'šk'rt* *'skwn VJ* 1091. 1304), *γwrt SCE* 30 (against *γwrt* *k'm VJ* 1089).

(4) The group *rn* with a spurious *r*, does not make position, cf. (y)χu'n-, § 513.

486¹ *bṛta-* turns up in the light-stem Preterite B. *βwrtw δ'r-* (*vu'tu dār-*), *Intox. Sūtra* 36 sq., in tmesis: *"r'ys't ZY ny"δ'kh βwrtw ZY cnywcm'ny ptškw't δ'rt*, i.e. *"r'ys't δ'rt ZY ny"δ'kh βwrtw δ'rt ZY cnywcm'ny ptškw't δ'rt*, 'he wished and offered prayer and implored from the depth of his heart'.

486² The Past stem Man. *ptšmrt-*, B. *ptšmyrt-*, 'to think, count', is treated as heavy in the Infinitive *ptšmrt* (§ 928) and the 3 Sg. Pass. Pret. *ptšmyrt* (§ 865), but in this case it is possible that the lack of the vocalic ending is due to a disyllabic pronunciation *pačmō't* (cf. *pačaxš-*, § 176). Man. *ptšmyrtyt M* 134 ii

493. (5) Light stems ending in *y* or *w* lose their quality as light stems when an ending or suffix beginning with a consonant is added; in that case the *y* or *w* coalesces with the preceding brief vowel into a long vowel (or, if there is no vowel, becomes syllabic as a long vowel).¹

494. (a) Stems ending in *y*. (ʔ)*ny-* 'other' from *anya-*, *fry-* 'dear' from *friya-*, have the usual light-stem endings in the Singular, but the Plural of *'ny-* (apart from B. *'ny'*, § 1205) is in all three dialects (ʔ)*nyt* (cf. § 85 fn.), the Plural of *fry-*, Chr. *fryt* (§ 1251; *fryyt* also in Man., *M* 894 i 2, in unclear context), the comparative, Man. *frytr*, the superlative, S. *prytm* (§ 1207); the Pres. stem *sy-* 'to show, appear' has B. (ʔ)*sy'* ((ə)s(a)ya) for the 2 Sg. Impf. and 3 Sg. Impf., but Man. *syyt* (*sīt*, *sēt*, or *sait*) for the 3 Sg. Pres., v. § 550.

495. (b) Stems ending in *w*. *šw-* 'to go' has the 2 Sg. Impf. and 3 Sg. Impf. *šw'* (*š(a)wa*), but the 3 Sg. Pres. *šwt* (*šōt* or *šaut*); *βw-* 'to be(come)', 3 Sg. Pres. *βwt* (*vōt*), 2 Sg. Impf. and 3 Sg. Impf. *wβ'* from **bawa* (cf. § 407); *žuw-* 'to live', 3 Sg. Pres. Man. *jwt* (*žūt*), v. § 574.

496. (6) Once the rhythmic value of a stem is established, it is usually no longer affected by secondary changes. Thus we have B. *γnsy* Nom., 'stinking', *SCE* 287, with metathesis from *γsn-* (§ 516), against § 525, *d*, and, on the other hand, Man. *ns* 'nose', heavy, with loss of *n* from B. *nns* (§ 338). Similarly *kj* 'miracle' (§ 355), *qšn* 'shape' and Chr. *pšt* 'lips' (§ 357), remain heavy. However, beside the Singular Chr. *kθ* 'town' from *knθ* (§ 340), we have the light-stem treatment in the Plural Chr. *qdt'* *ii* 1, 22.

497. (7) It has been stated in the definition above (§ 484), that prothetic and svarabhakti vowels do not prevent a stem from being light. The examples for the latter are B. *'γwšt'ry* and *βz'γsty*, § 483. For prothetic vowels cf. again B. *'γwšt'ry* (§ 162), and *'xšp-* (§ 514), *'xšnk-* (§ 511), &c., v. also § 178.

498. (8) If a light stem comes to form the second part of a compound V 7, Chr. *pcmryt'* i 10, 10, Past Partc. Pl., give no clue as to whether they represent **smrt-* or **smart-*; the *y* of *ptšmyrt* may have been taken over from the Pass. Pres. stem *ptšmyr-* (§ 540).

493¹ With heavy stems of this type the final *y* (no examples for *w* have been noticed) also becomes syllabic. Examples are *mryy* 'man' from *martiya-* (against *mrt' mrt'* 'every one' *T ii B R* 19. *VJ* 52. 277, from Av. *maršta-*), Man. *kmbyy* 'less, short of', § 1302 (*kambe* (not *kambi*), as shown by its treatment as an *-aka-* stem in the abstract *qmbwnyh*, v. § 1087 fn.), and perhaps B. *artawaspe* (§ 470 fn.). This fact had not been recognized by Tedesco, who mistook the *-y* of B. *knpy* and *mrt'y* for an inflectional ending, loc. cit., p. 104, although the correct analysis of *mrt'y* had been given by Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1918, 834.

pound, the whole is treated as a heavy stem, cf. B. $\beta\gamma$ 'chief god' *VJ* 820. 824, S. *kndβr* 'town-gate' (§ 455), Man. *prβrβdšt* 'crossing one's arms' *Sogd.* 21, 16. However, in juxtapositions the second element, if light, may keep the endings, cf. the forms attested for $\beta tky\beta$ -, § 147.

499. (9) On the same line is the enclitic use of $\beta\gamma$ 'Sir, god', usually after conjunctions, in polite address or invocation, instead of the Vocative $\beta\gamma$ '. Cf. Man. $\beta rtyy \beta\gamma$ *M* 530, 5. *Man. Lett.* ii 5, *kβ β\gamma* *M* 135 i 7. 17 sq. 24, *qrmšwhn ptškwym β\gamma* 'I ask your forgiveness, oh God' *BBB* 748 sq., v. also *VJ* 200. 226. 949. 1075 (Fem.). $\beta\gamma$ is also enclitic in *xwrmzβ\gamma*, Nom. *M* 110 i R 3 sq. *M* 771, 5. *T ii D* 79 a 5, *Abl. T ii D* 66, 2, 8 sq.

500. (10) The case of $\beta\gamma$ may explain the doublets *-f* (§ 1355), S. *-m* (§ 1346), and *-š* (§ 1372), of the enclitic personal pronouns *-fy*, *-my*, *-šy*, the former having merged with the conjunction to which they were attached. Also S. 'st 'is' (§ 762) beside 'sty, may be quoted in point.

501. (11) Just as enclitic light stems are treated in an irregular way, so also proclitic ones. No ending is found with the prepositions *pr* (§ 1625), S. 'c (§ 1610), while with light-stem numerals there appears to have been hesitation between the ending *-'* and no ending at all (cf. the numerals for 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 18, in § 1316).

502. (iii) The light-stem endings. The endings by which a light stem can fairly safely be recognized,¹ are the following:

(a) Nominal forms.

(1) *-'* (B. *-'* or *-h*). In the Singular for the Feminine of adjectives (§ 1193), the Ablative (§§ 1179. 1199), the Predicative Instrumental (§ 1182); in the Plural for the Nom.-Acc. (§§ 1185. 1205).

(2) *-w* for the Nom.-Acc. Sg., or the Acc. only (§§ 1169. 1171 sq. 1192. 1194-6).

(3) *-y(y)* for the Nom. Sg. Masc. (§§ 1168. 1191), unless the Plural has *-yt*, cf. § 1252.

(4) *-y'* (B. *-y'* or *-yh*) for the Loc. Sg. Masc. and for any Oblique case of Feminines (§§ 1183. 1178. 1181).

(5) *-p* (B. also *-th*) for the Nom.-Acc. Pl. (§§ 1184. 1204).

(6) *-ty'* (B. *-tyh*) for the Obl. Pl. (§ 1188).

(7) *-yšt* for the Plural (§ 1186).

(8) *-c'* for the Feminine of *-aka-* stem adjectives (§ 1271).

⁵⁰² For occasional exceptions v. §§ 213 fn. 2, 496, 576^c, 614 fn., 645 (?), 861 fn., 879 fn. 2, 923, 930, 1217, 1230a, 1239, 1267, 1638 fn., Addenda to 861.

(9) *-y* for the Singular, *-t'* for the Plural, added to the comparative suffix *-tr-* (§ 1283).

(10) The abstract suffix *-y'k* (Man. and Chr. only), v. § 1110.

(b) **Present stems.**

(1) *-s* for the 2 Sg. Impt. (§ 697) and the 3 Sg. Impf. (§ 712).

(2) *-ty* for the 3 Sg. Pres. or Fut. (§ 704 sq.).

(3) *-t'* for the 3 Sg. Impf. Middle (§ 710).

(c) **Past stems.**

(1) *-s* for the Potentialis (§ 881) and the construction with *k'ryy* (§ 932 sq.).

(2) *-w* for the Trans. Pret. with *-δ'r-* (§ 877 sq.).

(3) *-y* for the 3 Sg. Pass. or Intrans. Pret. (§ 864), and the Infin. (§§ 922-6).

(4) *-c'* for the Feminine of the *-aka-* Past Partc. (§ 1271).

503. (iv) **Examples of light stems** (cf. Tedesco, art. cit., 103 sq. for nouns, and *ZII* ii 286 (§ 11), 287 (§ 13), 291 (§ 20) for verbs), arranged in alphabetical order acc. to the first consonant after the brief vowel, *r* being neglected acc. to § 485.

(1) β. γρβ- (γρ'v-), Pres. stem; 'to know' (γρβty 3 Sg. Pres., in all three dialects; B. γρβ' 3 Sg. Impf., *VJ* 50^b); Man. B. ωβy- (ωvy-) 'sive', v. § 101; *pdwβs-* (pδwvs-) 'to stick', cf. § 177; *xwβn-* (xwvñ-) 'sleep, dream' (B. γwβny, Nom., *SCE* 57; γwβnw, Acc., *VJ* 3. 4; γwβn', Abl., *P* 13, 26); *divdy-* 'second', v. §§ 1334 sqq.

504. (2) č. *xwc-* (xuč-) 'nice' (*xwc'*, Nom. Fem., § 1193; B. *γwcw*, Acc., § 1194; Man. *xwcy'q*, abstract, § 1110).

505. (3) d. *smwtr-* (*smudr-*) 'ocean', cf. § 413 (Loc. *smwtry'* *M* 716, 4, B. *sm'wtry'* *Dhu* 218).

506. (4) δ. *pδ-* 'footmark, foot (figur.)' (Acc. Man. *pδw Kaw.*, *G* 22); *γδ-* 'thief' (Pl. B. *γδ'yšt SCE* 312); *wδw-* (*wadw-*) and *wδ-* (*wud-*) 'wife'¹ (Nom. *wδw (wadw)* *M* 135 ii 60, B. *wδwh*, passim, and *wδy (wudi)* *VJ* 1120; Gen.-Dat. B. *wδwyh (wadwya)* *VJ* 904. 1388. *SCE* 410, and *wδyh (wudya)* *VJ* 350. 982; Abl. B. *wδwyh (wadwya)* *SCE* 174, and *wδyh (wudya)* *VJ* 24^a; Pl. *wδ'yšt (wudišt)* *SCE* 55, *wydyšt* (v. § 119) *SCE* 231).

507. (5) θ. B. *rδδ-* 'body of a carriage', from Av. *raθa-* (H.) (Nom. *rδδy VJ* 343; Acc. *rδδw VJ* 588. 986. 1171); S. *myδr-* (*miθr-*) 'death', cf. §§ 185. 440 (Nom. or Gen. *myδry*, in S. *kδ' tw' βγγ myδry 'skw't* 'if

¹ 506¹ While the Nom. Sg. *wadu* directly continues the OIr. Nom. Sg. *wadū*, cf. § 136 v, the Oblique and the Plural have the ordinary light-stem endings added to the stem *wadu-* which thus becomes *wadw-*, and with metathesis (§ 408), *wud-* (or *wδ-*, acc. to § 119).

you should be dead' (?) *T ii T* 14; Obl. *mydry* in B. *mydrywt*(²)*k* 'krt'nyh 'deadly sin' *Dhu* 83. *Vim* 45 sq.; Acc. *mydrw* *Anc. Lett.* ii 55).

508. (6) f. *cf-* (*čaf-*) 'to steal', cf. §§ 150. 277 (*cf*), 3 Sg. Impf., *M* 133, 11; B. *čfty*, 3 Sg. Pres., *SCE* 161; *wfr-* (*wافر-*) 'snow' (Loc. *wfry*), v. § 1183; Chr. *ptyfn-* (*ptifn-*) 'part' (Acc. *ptyfnw i* 38, 5, cf. *BBB* p. 77 on 623); Chr. *pcywfs-* (*pčyufs-*) 'to be transformed', v. § 175.

509. (7) γ. *βγ-* (*vay-*) 'god'; *pcyt-*, *ptcyt-* *M* 662, 1 (*pčayd-*, cf. §§ 164. 176), Past stem, 'to receive' (*pcytw* [δ'r-], *Trans. Pret.*, *M* 672 *ii R* 7 sq.); *ptsyt-* (*ptsayd-*), Past stem, 'to arrange' (*ptsytw* δ'r-, *BBB* 563); *βwyt-* (*vuyd-*), Past stem, 'to deliver' (*βwytw* δ'r-, *M* 378, 14); B. *myδβ-* (*mayδv-*) 'minister', cf. § 446 (Nom. *myδβy* *VJ* 237. &c.; Acc. *myδβw* *VJ* 1337; Pl. *myδβt* *VJ* 207. 212. 234. 355. 1376); *žym-* (*žaym-*) 'lie', v. § 285; *wšyn-* (*wšayn-*, cf. §§ 147. 177. 211), N. of the 20th day (*wšyn*), old Gen., v. § 404, and of a god (*wšynny* *βγγy*, Nom., *M* 583 *i* 8); *βγn-* (*vayn-*) 'temple', cf. § 165 (Man. *βγnyy*, Nom., *T ii D* 117, 45; *βγn*, Abl., *ib.*, 41; *βγny*, Loc., *ib.*, 47. 51).

510. (8) j, ž. *vəž-* 'bad', v. § 179; *užb-* 'terror', cf. §§ 34. 309. 377 (Chr. 'užb', Nom.-Acc., *ii* 3, 66. 69; Man. *xw* [sic] *wjp*, Nom., *M* 247, 12; *wjpy*^h, Abl., *M* 794 *a* 8); B. *kwzp-* (*kužb-*) 'active, energetic, effective' *Dhu* 200. *P* 3, 65 (Man. *kwjpy*^k, abstract, *BBB* 727).

511. (9) k. (°)*xšnk-* ((ə)*χšnak-*)¹ 'magnificent' (Nom. Chr. *xšngy ii* 5, 9, B. 'γšnky *Intox. Sūtra* 7 (cf. *ST ii* 584 *a*); Pl. Man. 'xšnkt' *M* 178 *i* R 28, S. 'γšnkt' *T ii D* 77 (*A I*) 15); *ykš-* 'yakša' (Pl. *ykšyšt* *M* 178 *ii* V 6, and B. *ykšt* *DN* 6; Pl. Obl. B. *ykšty* *P* 2, 338); *wyrk-* (*wi*^r*k-*) 'wolf' (Nom. B. *wyrky* *P* 2, 330; Pred. Instr. B. *wyrk*, § 1182; Pl. Chr. *wyrqyšt*, § 1186).

512. (10) m. *ram-* 'people' (Pl. Chr. *rmf* *i* 22, 20. 57, 20); *kyrm-* (*ki*^r*m-*) 'snake', cf. § 140 (Pl. Chr. *grmyšt*, § 1186); *sumdr-* 'ocean', v. §§ 47. 413 (Loc. *sumtry* *M* 108 *R* 7); *žamn-* 'hour', *žamnw-* and *žumn-* 'time, period';¹ *xumn-* (*χumn-*), N. of the 2nd day (*xumn*), old Gen., v. § 404); *namr-* 'submissive' (Pl. *nmrt* *M* 129 *R* 3; abstract *nmry*^q *M* 133, 84, v. *BBB* p. 97 on b 85); *ptyams-* 'to finish', v. § 176;

511¹ This reading can be maintained as long as no form with *g* (***xšng-*) occurs in Man. or Chr. H. reads (ə)*χšang*, and compares NPers. *qašang* (*Sogd.* 20 sq.).

512¹ Acc. to H. one has to distinguish two stems: (1) An old -*a-* or -*an-* stem *žaman(a)-*, meaning in Sogdian 'hour'; this inflects *jmnuw*, Acc. (the Nom. does not seem to occur), *jmny*, Loc., *M* 147 *R* 3. 7. 11. &c., *jmnd*, Pl. (2) An old -*u-* stem *žamanu-*, meaning 'time' in general, which only occurs with the Loc. ending, before which it either appears as *žamnw-* (cf. *waδw-*, § 506 *fn.*), or, with metathesis, as *žumn-*, cf. Man. *m'hjmmwy* 'on Monday', in the headline of a Parth. text, and Chr. *žumny* *i* 84, 14. B. *zmnw* *DN* 86, is a misreading, the facsimile (*P* 5) has clearly *zmnw*.

nams-, in the abstract *nmsy'k* 'insult, contempt', cf. §§ 550. 828 fn.; *fšamt-*, Past stem, 'to send' (*fšmłw* *šr-*, Trans. Pret., *M* 129 V 10, cf. §§ 178. 317. 583); *ptramt-* 'to stop', v. § 176.

513. (11) n. *šβn-* (*švan-*) 'doubt' (Nom. *šβn'* *Man. Lett.* i 27, B. *šβnh* *SCE* 216. *Vim* 127); *wn-* (*wan-*) 'tree'; *wrn-* (*wə'n-*) 'faith', cf. § 1168 fn.; *yχun-*, *yχu'n-*, *χu'n-*, 'blood', v. §§ 209. 360. 1168 fn.; *pu'n-* 'full', cf. § 151 (Nom. Masc. Chr. *pwrnny* i 30, 10; Nom. Fem. B. *pwrnk* *VJ* 877; Nom. Pl. Man. *pwrd'* *M* 834 i 22); *əspu'n-* 'complete', cf. §§ 99. 151 (Acc. Man. 'spurnw *BBB* f 53; abstract 'spurnny' *k* *M* 378, 2, Chr. *spumy'q* i 84, 14, 'completion'); *kun-* (*kun-*) 'to do'.¹

514. (12) p. *kap-* 'fish' (Pl. *kpyšt*, § 1186); (*ə*)*χšap-* 'night' ('*xšp*' *M* 136 R 2. V 3, *xšp'h* ib., V hl., Nom.; '*xšpy*'(h), Loc., *M* 147 passim).

515. (13) r. *šβr-* (*švar-*) 'door'; *ptwr-* (*ptur-* or *ptwar-*) 'reward' (Acc. B. *ptwrw* *SCE* 61. 424); *βr-* (*var-*) 'to carry, take, bring, offer' (Man. *βrty*, 3 Sg. Pres., *T* ii *D* 267, 16. *T* ii *T* 22, 5 (but cf. § 492); Man. B. *βr'*, 3 Sg. Impf., *Kaw.* C 5. *VJ* 172. 1158); *fškar-* 'to expel', v. § 178; *pčar-* (Chr. *pcrw* 'instead of', v. § 674 fn.); *wkr-* (*wkar-*) 'kind, species', cf. § 213 (*wgruw*, Acc., *M* 778, 12; B. *wkry'*, Loc. used as Gen., *Dhu* 265).

516. (14) s. *šast-* 'hand'; *βyst-* (*vəst-*), Past stem, 'to bind' (*βystw* *šr-*, Trans. Pret., *M* 716, 10); *asp-* 'horse'; *wisp-* 'all', cf. § 1214; *γasn-*¹ 'stinking' (Nom. B. *γsny* *P* 2, 398; Pl. Man. *γsnd'* *T* ii *D* 139 i 12), cf. § 496 on B. *γns-* and on the heavy *ns* 'nose'.

517. (15) š. *wyaš-*, cf. §§ 213. 1212, 'joy' (Nom. Man. *wyšyy* *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 6. *T* ii *D* 66 c 6, B. *wyšy* *Vim* 69; Acc. Man. *wyšuw* *M* 178 i R 7, B. *wyšw* *SCE* 564; Abl. B. *wyš'* *SCE* 41. *VJ* 883), 'joyful' (Nom. Masc. B. *wyš'y* *VJ* 140, *wyšy* *VJ* 10. 72; B. *wyš'*, Nom. Fem. *VJ* 1238. 1403, Pred. Instr. *VJ* 41. 945, Nom. Pl. *VJ* 4^a. 7^a. 11^b. 1354), 'to rejoice' (B. *wyš'*, 2 Sg. Impt., *VJ* 1; cf. also Chr. *γwštý*, § 213 fn. 1); *rəšt-* 'true, right' (Chr. *ryšt'*, adv., passim; Man. *rštý'q* *M* 133, 71 (v. *Sogd.* p. 3), Chr. *ryštý'q*, abstract, 'truth'); *ptrašt-*, Past stem, 'to erect', *ptyušt-*, Past stem, 'to hear', v. § 176; *χuštr-* 'camel', cf. §§ 162. 257. 428. 483 (B. '*γwštry*', Nom. *SCE* 176. 371, Acc. *VJ* 560; Man. *xwštryy'h*, Acc., *M* 127 V 10, *xwštryy*, Gen., *M* 568, 5; B. '*γwštrw*', Acc., *VJ* 163. 56^a [B. '*γwštr*', Abl., § 1624]).

518. (16) t. *žət-*, Past stem, 'to strike' (*žytwd'šr-*, Trans. Pret., *M* 135 i 32); *itkw-* 'bridge', cf. §§ 126. 397. 423 (Acc. B. *ytkw* (*itkww*))

513¹ [On 'ny- 'other' v. § 85.]

516¹ From **g^wndhsno-*, cf. Greek *δέσμος* 'reproach, insult', acc. to Brugmann-Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*, 116, from **g^wedhsno-*, cf. also Walde-Pokorny, i 672 sq.

SCE 539; Loc. Man. *ytqw'y* (*itkwya*) *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 21);¹ *murt-* (*mu't-*), Past stem, 'to die' (B. Chr. *mwrty*, 3 Sg. Pret., *VJ* 66^b. 195. 199. 200. 1282. 1284. *ST ii* 5, 30); *yrt-* (*yo't-*) 'wide', v. §§ 138. 220. 490 (Chr. *yrt'y*, Nom., *ii* 3, 43; B. *yrt'ry Dhy* 86. 108. 119, *yrt'ry* ib., 92, comparative; Man. (?) *yrt'y*'*k*, abstract, 'extension, diffusion' *T ii D* 207, 13); *ratn-* 'jewel' (B. *rtny*, Nom., *VJ* 1480; B. *rtnw* Acc., *VJ* 85; Man. *rtnt'*, Pl., *Sogd.* p. 25 on 9).

519. (17) w, v. also §§ 493. 495. *yaw-* *'barley' (*ywy*), Loc., *M* 746 c 13); *kaw-* 'giant' (Pl. *kwyst*, § 1186).

520. (18) x. *mā'x-* 'straight, flat' (B. *mryw*, Acc., *VJ* 1497; Man. *mrx*, Pl., *M* 715 c 8); *yuxn-* 'blood', v. §§ 417. 1168 fn.; *čaxr-* 'wheel' (*čxrw*, Acc., *M* 178 *ii* V 32); *wžaxs-* 'to be separated', v. § 213; *vuxs-* 'to be delivered' (B. *βwysty*, 3 Sg. Pres., *SCE* 350); *pčaxš-* 'to receive', cf. §§ 164. 176 (*ptčaxšty*, 3 Sg. Pres., *M* 118 *ii* R 5; Chr. *pxš'*, 2 Sg. Impt., *ii* 2, 22); *jwxšq-* (*žuxšk-*) 'disciple', cf. §§ 180. 255. 285. 410; *ruwšn-* (*rōxšn-*) 'luminous', cf. § 127; (*ə*)*spaχšt-*, Past stem, 'to serve' (*spxšt' wβ-*, Pot., v. § 884).

521. (19) y, v. also § 493 sq. *ptvay-* 'reverence', from **pati-baya-* 'fear' (H.) (Nom. Chr. *ptby* (*ptvai*, from *ptvay*) *ii* 1, 9. B. *ptβy SCE* 521; Gen. B. *ptβy Dhy* 14; Abl. B. *ptβy SCE* 74; Acc. Man. B. *ptβywu* passim).

522. (20) z. *mu'zk-* 'short', cf. § 151 (B. *mwrzky*, Nom. Masc., *SCE* 20; B. *mwrzk'*, Nom. Fem. (?), *SCE* 98. 129. 322); *γazn-* 'treasure' (Nom. B. *γzny VJ* 66; Gen.-Dat. Man. *γznyy T ii D* 66 b 29; Acc. B. *γznw VJ* 46. 84. 415); *wizr-* 'straight, right', cf. § 146 (Nom.-Acc. Man. *wyzryy M* 135 *ii* 19. *T ii D* 115, 12; Acc. Chr. *wyzrw ii* 4, 44; B. *wrzrw*, used for the Nom., *SCE* 380).

523. (21) The stem has no vowel. Chr. *sq-* 'loud, high', from *usk-*, v. §§ 99. 1215; *ps-* 'to ask', *βj-* (*vž-*) 'bad', **fš-* 'flea', v. § 168; Man. *xt-* 'judge', v. § 1190.

524. (v) Examples of heavy stems.

(A) Stems with one short vowel in *positione*.

(1) *-mb*. Man. *zmb* 'shore' *T ii D* 66 b 31, Chr. [zm]py, Loc., *i* 77, 9 (v. *Sogd.* 29);¹ *nmb* 'dew' *BBB* 577.

(2) 525. (2) n groups.

(a) *-nd*. *znd* 'song' *M* 137 R hl., cf. H., *BSOS* x 104 sq.; B. *twnt*

¹ 518¹ *ytkw-* is treated like an old *-ū-* stem, with the endings added to *-u-*, cf. *wδw-* (§ 506 fn.) and *jmruw-* (§ 512 fn.).

² 524¹ The spelling Chr. *zmb'* *ii* 1, 20, either represents an *-ākā-* stem, or is due to the influence of the B. spelling *znph* (in *pnzph VJ* 64^e. *T ii T* 7. 8. 18).

(*tund*) 'violent', Man. *tundy*, abstract, cf. § 1066; *βnd* 'prison', § 107.

(b) -nθ. *knδ* (*kanθ*) 'town', v. § 496 on Chr. *kθ*.

(c) -ng. *mng* 'fraud, deceit' *M* 894 i 1 (H.); *sng* 'stone'.

(d) -ns. *ɣns* 'longing, regret' *M* 134 ii V i4; *xns* 'firm, strong, safe'; B. *nns* 'nose', § 338, cf. § 496 on Man. *ns* remaining heavy, and on B. *ɣns-* treated as a light stem.

526. (3) r groups.

(a) -rβ/f. *ɣrβ*, *ɣrf*, 'many', cf. § 53.

(b) -rc. *mrc* 'death', cf. § 489; *pwrc* 'debt', cf. § 487.

(c) -rδ. *srδδ* 'year' *M* 410, 33; *wrdɣy*, Obl. Pl. of **wrd* 'rose', BBB 574.

(d) -rɣ. *mry* 'wood, meadow' *M* 178 i V 3, B. *mryh* VJ 316, Obl. *mryyh* SCE 241, cf. Yaghn. *mary*, Klimchitsky, *Zap.*, 1937, 18 sq., v. § 485.

(e) -rk. *nyrk* 'male'; **rk* 'work'. [v. Addenda.]

(f) -rm. *ɣrm* 'hot', v. § 1314; *krm* 'deed' *M* 598, 3. *T* ii D 207, 28.

(g) -rn. Chr. B. *trn* 'tender, submissive' i 6, 9. SCE 47, Man. *trny*, abstract, *Sogd.* 3; *frn* 'luck'.

(h) -rs. Man. **rsk* 'envy', cf. § 164; Chr. B. *ɣurs* '(a)round', v. § 488.

(i) -rš. *kršn* 'shape', B. *pršt* 'lips', v. §§ 357. 496.

(k) -rt. B. *srt* 'cold' VJ 961; *nrt* 'trunk' *M* 286 i 5, S. *nrth* *Sogd.* 4, 17; *ɣyrt* (*žyart*) 'quick'; *zprt* (*zpart*) 'pure'.

(l) -rz. *wrz* 'miracle' *M* 134 i R 5 &c.

(m) -rž. *krj* 'miracle' *M* 110 i R 9. &c., cf. §§ 355. 496.

527. (4) -χw. That χw makes position is inferred from the fact that *fwx* 'parasang' and **wx* 'mind' (§ 236) do not take light-stem endings.

528. (B) Stems with two brief vowels not *in positione*.

(1) The old superlative Man. *βxtm* (*vaxtam*) 'godliest' (v. §§ 164. 254), where *-tam* was no longer perceived as a suffix added to the light stem βɣ-, remains uninflected, contrary to the rule obtaining with the comparative suffix *-tar* when used with light stems, v. § 1283.

529. (2) The Past Infin. or 3 Sg. Pass. Pret. *frmšt* (*framəšt*) *M* 674, 16, from the Pres. stem **frmrz-* 'to destroy', cf. § 147.

(3) S. *ɣwyr* (*χuwər*) 'sun', v. § 223; *patyaz* 'autumn', v. § 14.

(4) *əspatak* 'complete' and *kavnak* 'little' (v. § 982), against the light stems *žuxšk-*, &c. (§ 975), where there was no vowel between the stem and the suffix.

(5) Man. *pryt* (*parəyd*) 'weary', v. § 1285, may also belong here. Occasional disyllabic pronunciation of verbal stems with preverbs, has been assumed for *pačwaz-* (§ 175), *pačaxš-* (§ 176), *paraχs-* (§ 177).

530. (C) Stems with long vowels. *rw'n* 'soul'; *dyw* 'demon'; *n'f* 'people'; *rw* 'river'; &c.

[A connexion between the rhythmic law and a shift of stress has been suggested in *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1948, 61 sqq.]

PART 3
MORPHOLOGY
VERBAL STEMS

The Past stem

531. (1) The Sogdian Past stem represents (with the exceptions mentioned in §§ 536-8) the OIr. Past Participle, whose endings are preserved with light stems, lost with heavy stems.

In the *Ancient Letters* the simple Past stem is still freely used as the Past Participle. In the later texts it serves as Past Participle only when enlarged by the suffix *-aka-*, while the simple Past stem is confined to special functions, which are enumerated here acc. to their light-stem endings.¹

532. (1) No ending. Only when contracted with forms of 'to be' in the Intrans. and Pass. Pret., v. § 861.

533. (2) *-y*.

(a) From the OIr. Nom. Sg. Masc. ending: in the 3 Sg. of the Intrans.-Pass. Pret. (v. §§ 861. 864), and before some forms of 'to be', when no contraction took place (§ 861 fn.).

(b) Infinitive ending, v. §§ 922-6.

534. (3) *-w* (from the OIr. Acc. ending).

(a) Before *δ'r-*, in the Trans. Pret., v. § 877.

(b) In S., before *un-*, in the Potentialis, v. § 888.

535. (4) *-ʹ* (from the OIr. Abl. or Instr.).

(a) Before *kwn-* and *βw-*, in the Potentialis, v. § 881.

(b) In B., Infinitive ending, between *cnn* and *kʹry*, v. § 933.

536. (ii) By adding *-āt* to the Present stem, a secondary Past stem can be formed from any verb,¹ cf. Reichelt, *Geiger Festschrift*, 259 sq. In the following list, if no other Past stem is given, only the one in *-āt* is attested.

(1) In Man. *jβʹt-* 'to bite', v. § 840, B. *zyβʹvk*, Past Partc., *P* 3, 87, cf. § 610 with fn. 1; *zʹryysyʹt-* 'misereri', v. § 550 fn. 2; *tkwšʹt*, Infin.,

531¹ On the adverbial suffix *-ny* added to the Past stem, v. § 1036. The old Past Participle survives as a light-stem adjective in **tryt-* 'distressed', of which the comparative (§ 1284) and the abstract (§ 1110) are attested. Cf. also the comparatives *ptʹytryy* § 1284, *pršʹtr* and *ptršʹtr* § 1285.

536¹ No Past stems in **-āyāt* have been noticed of Pres. stems in *-āy*, whose normal Past stem is *-āt*.

'to look' *T* ii B R 7; *nβyr't*, Inf., 'to deliberate, plan' (H.) *M* 178 ii R 6 (quoted § 1659); *ptmync't* Inf., 'to dress, put on' *M* 915, 20 (*ptmwy't*); *γrβ'tδ'r*-, Trans. Pret., *M* 130 ii V 5. *T* i D, *γrβ[']t*, Inf., *M* 767 i 10, *γrβ'tyḥ* Past Partc., *M* 670, 2, 'to know'; *ps't δ'r*-, Trans. Pret., 'to ask' *M* 127 V 11 (*fštw δ'r*-); *prwyj'tyt*, Past Partc. Pl., 'to nourish' *M* 399, 11; *šm'r't*, Infin., 'to think' *M* 655, 7. 10 (B. *šm''rt wn*-, Pot., *VJ* 1026); *škw't*-, v. § 804. [*-γrβt*-, § 1158.]

537. (2) Outside Man. S. *stw't δ'r*- 'to become converted', v. § 877 fn. 2 c; Chr. *ptfs't*- 'to read', v. § 851; B. *zy'yr't*, Infin., 'to call' *VJ* 23. 214 (Man. *jyyrt*-); B. *rwš't*, Infin., 'to flow', *VJ* 1029 (Pres. stem *rwš*- *P* 2, 139); B. *wy'rs't wn*-, Pot., 'to deliver', *P* 2, 126; B. *nš'yδ'tch*, Past Partc. Fem., 'to plant', *VJ* 1118; *prβ'yr't βw*-, Pot., *VJ* 859, *prβ'yr't δ'r*-, Trans. Pret., *SCE* 418, 'to tell' (S. *prβ'yr't k*, Past Partc., *T M* 389 a V 11); B. *ptβ'r'wt*- and *ptβ'r'wt*-, 'to remember', v. § 865; B. *rysty*, Inf., 'to lick', *VJ* 970 (v. *JRAS*, 1942, 100); B. *γwβ't*, Infin., 'to praise', *Vim* 41 (Man. Chr. *γwβ'ty*, Past Partc.); B. *tyny'ty*, Infin., 'to lead, take', *VJ* 1^a (cf. Man. *ny't*-, *pr'ny't*-, § 569).

538. (iii) Other Past stems which do not represent the OIr. Past Participle are those enumerated in § 486, and B. *šm''rt*-, v. § 593.

Cf. also the secondary *-dār*- Preterites in § 877 fn. 1, and the Past stem *θvaχšt*- beside *θvaγd*-, § 551.

Present classes and corresponding Past stems

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first (§§ 539-63) shows a few notable OIr. Present formations as represented in Sogdian. The second (§§ 564-604) is an empirical list of the main types of Present stems in Sogdian. For a detailed study of the MĪr. verb, v. H., *ZII* ix 158 sqq. (Index by Ghilain, *Muséon*, l, 367 sqq.), and Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue Parthe*, Louvain, 1939.

OIr. Present classes in Sogdian

539. (1) Inchoative. Apart from the Inchoatives used for the Present Passive (v. § 824), there are some old Inchoatives. *ps*- 'to ask', from *prsa*-, Past stem *fšt*- from **frašta*-; *'ndwxz*- 'to strive', v. *BBB* p. 84 on 710; B. *γwys*- 'to perspire' *P* 2, 295, from Av. *x'wisa*-; Chr. *šfrs*- 'to be ashamed', v. § 441; B. **wβs*- 'to sleep', v. § 620, Past stem Man. *wβt*-, v. § 397; *'ys*- 'to come', from *isa*- + *ā*-, *tys*- 'to enter', from *isa*- + *ati*-, B. *pr'ys*- 'to reach; to hand over', from *isa*- + *parā*-, cf. Tedesco, *ZII* ii 34 sq., Past stem *'γt*-, *tyt*-, *pr'γt*- (cf. § 603);¹

¹ 539¹ The Past stem OIr. *ia*- is contained in *niz(i)t*- (§ 568), and perhaps in B. *yty*, Infin., 'to go', *VJ* 314. There is, however, also a Pres. stem *yt*- (S. *kw*

''s- 'to take', from *ā-yasa-* (cf. § 129), Past stem *'yt-* from *ā-yata-*;² *ny's-* 'to take' (cf. § 630), from **ni-yāsa-*,³ Past stem *ny't-* from **ni-yāta-*;⁴ B. ''r'ys- 'to wish', and the verbal noun Man. **'rwx* 'desire' (v. H., *BSOS* x 103 with fn. 4, *BBB* p. 71 on 566, and cf. above, § 119), Past stem *'rwy't-* *Sogd.* 46, *Frg.* o 3; other traces of OIr. Inchoatives are *xw's'δ*, *wx'scn*, *xw't* (from *χwās-/χwāt-* 'to be(come) tired', v. *BBB* pp. 82 sq.), the Past Partc. *wyr'tyy* 'alert, vigilant', v. *BBB* p. 84 on 703 (Pres. stem **wirrās-*, v. H., *ZII* ix 196, cf. Yaghn. *γurās-*), the secondary Past Partc. B. *δm's't*, v. § 318, and *tpsnuw* 'annoyance', from Av. *tafsa-*, *Sogd.* 48, 6.

540. (ii) Passive. Cf. also § 548.

(a) *xwyn-* 'to be called', v. § 706, from **χwan-ya-*.

(b) *ptšmyr-* 'to be counted', v. § 706, from **patišmrya-*, Active Chr. *pcmr-*, v. § 592.

(c) *šyš-* 'to be scattered': Man. *šyštyy*, 3 Sg. Pres.?, v. § 706; B. *šyšt*, 3 Sg. Subj., *Dhy* 23. Active *š'š-*, v. *BBB* p. 84 on 701.

(d) *kyr-* (*kir-*), Pass. of *kwn-* 'to make',¹ from *k(i)rya-*, v. H., *ZII* ix 205 sq.: Man. B. *kyr* 3 Sg. Impf., *M* 280 R 7. *VJ* 64; B' *kyr't*, 3 Sg. Subj., *SCE* 552.

(e) B. ''β'yr, 3 Sg. Impf., 'was brought', *VJ* 868. 871. 872, from **ā-brya-*. Active ''βr-.

(f) B. *škr'yδ* 'skun, 2 Pl. Pres., 'you are being led', *VJ* 1282, Pass. of *škr-*.

(g) B. 'βz'y- 'to grow', < *abi-žawya-*, v. § 187.

541. Less certain are:

(h) B. 'nγwy- from **ham-χwah-ya-*, Pass. of 'nγw'y- from **ham-χwāh-āya-* 'to infringe': *rty mc 'γw 'By' L' ''z'yr't L' ZY šy ZKh prm'nḥ 'nγwy'ty* (v. § 711 fn.) *VJ* 5^b sq. 'by me my father will not be hurt, nor his order infringed'.

tmw y'tty, 3 Sg. Subj., 'he will go to hell', *T M* 393 ii R 2), acc. to H. from Av. *yat-*, of which *y'tty* could be the Pres. Infin.

539² Of *ās-* a secondary Past stem is attested in Chr. 'st- i 38, 6, unless this is to be read 'yt-.

539³ Acc. to H. the root *yam-* seems to appear in Iranian in two forms, *yam-* and *yamə-*; thus we have *yasa-* (*ymško-*) and *yāsa-* (*yṃško-*), *yata-* and *yāta-*, &c. Differently on *ny's-*, Reichelt, *Geiger Festschrift*, 251.

539⁴ A Past stem made from the *guṇa* form of the root *yam-* (cf. *p(a)tyamt-*, § 580) is contained in *nymt-* from **ni-yamti-*: Man. *nymty βsty't skwnd* 'they are taken and bound' *M* 814 i 9; Chr. *nymty*, Past Partc., 'caught (fishes)' i 79, 6. It is used as the Past stem of *ny's-* in *ST* i 78, 12 sq.: *qt ny'st' 'dyy γw'nḥ nymtyt bntq'* 'if you retain anybody's sins, they will be retained'.

540¹ Not to be confused with *kyr-* (*kēr-*) 'to sow, grow (trans.)', from *kāraya-*: B. *kyr*, 2 Sg. Subj., *Vim* 30.

(i) Man. *pšy-*, Pass. of *pš'y-* 'to throw', seems to follow the same pattern: *pšy't* 3 Sg. Subj., *M* 674, 24, 'to be kept back, thrown out' (H.).

(k) Man. *pcwj-* *'to be driven (chariot)', from **pati-uz-ya-*? (H.): *pcwj't*, 3 Sg. Subj., quoted § 1648, cf. § 197.

542. (iii) Causative.

(1) From *-aya-*. Cf. also § 548. With palatalization:

(a) *'nwyj-*, Trans., 'to collect', from **ham-wāzaya-*: *'nwy-*, Intrans., 'to assemble', from *ham-waza-*, cf. *BBB* p. 79 on 649.

(b) *xwyr-* 'to feed' *M* 134 i R 1, B. *γw'yr-* *VJ* 1341, cf. *'xwyr-* *Sogd.* 50, 3, from *χwāraya-*: *xwr-* 'to eat', from *χwara-*, cf. § 228 fn.

(c) *zrync-* *M* 135 ii 7. *M* 502 1 5, B. *zr'ync-* *VJ* 102. 39^b. 449. 597, 'to save, deliver', from **uz-ran'jaya-* (H.), cf. the verbal noun B. *zr'nk'* *P* 2, 10, *zr'nk'h* ib. 130, 'deliverance'; Past stem Man. Chr. *zry't-* *M* 410, 40 (*zry'twδ'r-*). *ST* i 31, 4, B. *zr'yt-* *O*² 20 (*zr'ytw δ'r-*). *P* 2, 125 (*zr'yt wn-*, Pot.).

543. (d) B. *w'γ'yz* (*wāχēž*) 3 Sg. Impf., 'to cause to descend': Man. *'wxx-* 'to descend', § 342; B. *'ny'yz-* 'to cause to get up, to raise' *VJ* 1137. *ST* ii, Chr. *'xyž-* i 30, 15. 39, 1: Man. *'nyz-*, **'nxx-*, B. *'nyz-*, Chr. *'yz-*, 'to rise', v. § 55.

(e) *prwyr't-*, Trans., 'to turn, transform', from *pari-wartaya-*: *prwrt-*, Intrans., 'to turn, become', from *pari-warta-*, cf. *BBB* p. 94 on b 52.

(f) *syn-* 'to raise' (heavy stem: *syn*, 2 Sg. Impf., *M* 178 ii R 3), from **sānaya-*: *sn-* 'to rise', from Av. *sana-*, cf. Tedesco, *ZII* ii 39.

544. (g) *'mbyr-* 'to fill' *M* 178 i V 2, from **ham-pāraya-*, cf. *'mb'r*, *BBB* p. 98 top.

(h) *'wjyystδ'r-* 'to cause to settle', Trans. Pret. from **wjyγδ-*, Caus. from *'wjyδ-* 'to dismount', v. *BBB* p. 60 on 508.

(i) Chr. *nywynt'*, 3 Sg. Impf., 'to dress (somebody)', ii 5, 27: B. *ny'unt-* 'to put on a dress', v. § 186.

545. (k) B. *'pyw'yz-* (*əpχwēž-*) 'to conceal', cf. § 191.

(l) B. *np'yδ-* '*faire se coucher*' *VJ* 1138, from **nipādaya-*: *nypδ-* '*se coucher*' *SCE* 324, from **nipada-*.

(m) *nšyyδ-* 'to plant, place', v. *BBB* p. 90, from *nišādaya-*: *nyδ-* 'to sit, seat oneself', from **nihida-*.

546. (2) Without palatalization (stems in *-āw-*):

(a) *'pst'w-* 'to cause to disown': *'pstw-* 'to disown', v. *BBB* p. 101 on e 20, and cf. § 575.

(b) *n'w-* 'to shake': *βnw-* 'to tremble', cf. § 576.

(c) Chr. *'ž'w-* 'to make live', *'ž'wt'*, 3 Sg. Pres., i 14, 12 (thus

corrected by Telegdi, *JA*, t. 230 (1938) p. 224 fn.), 'ž'wny, Pres. Partc., cf. § 894: žw- 'to live', v. § 574.

547. (3) With -(a)n- from -ana- (H.), cf. Bartholomae, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i 73 (§ 132 b).

(a) 'nwysn- 'to make enter, initiate', from Av. *vis-* (H.): S. *pr ny'wš'ky'kh' nwysn't* δ'rt 'he initiated (= received) into the lay community' *T M* 389 a V 23; Man. 'nwysn[y]yť Pres. Partc. Pl., § 475, 2, m](')wysnw 1 Sg. Impf., *M* 765 c 5; Chr. 'wysn't wn-B 49, 13.

(b) *rwδn-* 'to cause to grow' ? v. *Sogd.* p. 47 on 4.

548. (iv) Transitive and Intransitive coinciding. Since the palatalization of the root vowel with loss of the palatalizing *y* is common to the -*ya-* and the -*aya-* class, a number of causatives have become indistinguishable from the corresponding passives in the written form, although there probably was a difference in the pronunciation.

(a) 'zyr- 'to hurt', from **āzāraya-*; 'to be hurt', from **āzrya-*, v. *BBB* p. 89 on a 1. *āzēr-*: *āzīr-* ? [v. Addenda].

(b) *prwyj-* 'to feed', Trans., from **pari-warzaya-* (*parwež-*); Intrans., from **pari-wrz-ya-* (*parwiž-*), v. *BBB* p. 77 on 628 with fn. 4; cf. now B. *prwrz* 'nursing' *P* 8, 199 (H.).

549. (c) *nyyš-* 'to spoil' *M* 771, 11, Chr. *pryyš-* 'ἀπόλλυμι', from *nāsaya-* (*nēš-*), cf. § 193: *nyš-* 'to be lost' (*nyštyy* 3 Sg. Pres. Pass., *BBB* a 2), from *nasya-* (*neš-*); Preterite of the Trans. is S. *n(y)štwd'r-*, *BBB* p. 81 on 674.

(d) Chr. 'ndyš- Trans., 'to show' i 11, 2, from *handaisaya-*, Intrans. 'to appear' i 52, 4, from *handis-ya-*, v. H., *ZII* ix 207. *BBB* p. 87 on 753, and cf. 'ndysn 'reflection', H., loc. cit., and *fδys* &c., 'vision', *Sogd.* p. 20 on 22 b; S. *pδ'yš-* Trans., 'to show' *T M* 389 a R 10, from **upa-daisaya-*, Intrans., 'to appear' *Vim* l. 2. 5. 6, from **upa-dis-ya-*; Past stem B. *pδ'št-*, v. § 1060.

550. (e) *sy-* 'to show' and 'to appear',¹ cf. Parth. *sy-*, Ghilain, p. 91. On its rhythmic value v. § 494. *z'ry sy-* 'to pity' and 'to be pitied';² B. *z'n'nt L' syt* 'does not pay attention' *VJ* 284. 289;

550¹ There is apparently another Pres. stem *sy-*, attested in B. *syt* 3 Sg. Pres. 'sews' *SCE* 80. B. 'sy'nt 3 Pl., *SCE* 175, Chin. 'se sont arrêtés', probably means 'appeared, are'.

550² 3 Sg. Pres. B. *z'ry syt* 'uses sparingly, pities' (= B. *z'ry βrt SCE* 195), *SCE* 78. 132. 194. *P* 2, 66. 75, Man. (z)'ryy (s)yyt *M* 521 a 1 (out of context).

2 Sg. Pres. B. *z'ry 'sy'y* 'you pity' *Dhu* 183, Man. 'ty myy . . z'ryyyskwn 'I pity you' *T ii D* 117, 2.

2 Sg. Impf. B. *z'ry sy' Dhy* 183, *z'ry 'sy'* *VJ* 367 sq. 'have pity'.

tr'nyw syl 'shows anger' SCE 332; *šyrsyt* 'rejoices' SCE 524; cf. also Man. *nmsy'k* 'feeling despised', v. BBB p. 75 on 607 (but also § 828 fn.), and B. *šyrsy'twh* 'happiness' SCE 406 (cf. § 1072).

551. (v) -s- enlargement.

(a) *βxš-/βyt-* 'to give'.

(b) *ptcxš-/ptcyt-* 'to receive'.

(c) **θvaχš-* 'to collect, gain', Past stem *θvaχšt-* Sogd. 16, 5, and *θvaγd-*, v. H., BSOS x 105. Sogd. p. 32 on 4.

(d) *tkwš-* 'to look', from *√ku-+ati* (H.).

(e) Beside B. (')*pc-* 'to cook' SCE 219. 233. Frg iii 73, we have **puχš-* in B. *puγš'* 'bouilloire' SCE 206. Past stem B. *puwt-*, v. § 933.

(f) Beside B. *'yww-/y'wšt-* 'to perturb', there is **yōš-* in B. *sry'wš* 'dont le cœur se trouble' SCE 318.

(g) Man. *wyδrfš-* *'to blaze', v. §§ 439. 1033.

552. (vi) The root *stā-*.¹

(1) **awa-stāya-*.

(a) *'wsty-* (*ōstay-*) 'to put, place', from *awa-stāya-*, v. § 124. B. *'wst'yt* 3 Sg. Pres., SCE 91. P 2, 111; Chr. *'wstyθ'* 2 Pl. Impt., i 34, 3; Man. *'wsty't* 3 Sg. Subj., BBB f 25; *'wstyn* 1 Sg. Subj., Sogd. 43, 10; *w'styy* 3 Sg. Impf., BBB; *w'styy'nd* 3 Pl. Impf., M 110 i R 1, *w'stynd* M 178 ii R 14.

553. (b) The Present stem also occurs as *ōst-*, perhaps under the influence of *ōšt-* (v. § 557), or derived from the Past stem *ōstāt-* (§ 554), on the analogy of *γrβ't-:γrβ-*, &c. (§ 536). Cf. Parth. *'wyst-*. Chr. *'wst* 2 Sg. Impt., ii 3, 16; *w'st* 3 Sg. Impf., ii 5, 28, Man. *w'(st)* Kaw. V 22; Man. *w'stnd* 3 Pl. Impf., M 178 ii R 14; B. *'wstt* 3 Sg. Pres., SCE 317. 488; *'wst'ndskwn* 3 Pl. Pres., Man. Lett. i 23; *'wstny* Pres. Partc., ib. 11.

3 Sg. Subj. (cf. § 711 fn.). B. *-βy c' z'ry 'st* (v. § 1312) *sy'ty ZKh γr'ywh* 'how pitiful your bodies will look' VJ 1100 sq.

1 Pl. Subj. or Opt. B. *z'ry . . sy'ym* 'may we be pitied, pity us' VJ 361.

3 Sg. Impf. B. *-šy z'ry 'sy* 'he pitied him (Sudāšan)' or 'he (S.) appeared pitiful to him' VJ 824.

3 Pl. Impf. B. *-šn* (wrong for **-šy*) . . *z'ry sy'nt* 'he pitied them' VJ 20^a sq.

2 Sg. Pass. Pret. Man. *z'ryssy'tyš* 'tibi miseritum est' M 370, 3.

Trans. Pret. Chr. *z'ryssy'd'r-* i 36, 11.

Pres. Partc. B. *z'ryssyn'k* P 2, 29, *z'ry sy'n'k* P 7, 155 'merciful'.

Abstract. Chr. *z'ryssy'mny* 'mercy' i 31, 11.

552¹ For nominal forms belonging to this root, cf. Man. *pst-* 'assistance', from *upastā-*, v. § 99; *ptst't* 'resistance', from *patištāta-* (v. BBB p. 104 on f 63), under the influence of *ōstāt-* (§ 554); S. *'pšt'w'nh* 'order', v. § 1084; the suffix *-stan(e)*, v. § 1118; the durative particle *'štn*, v. § 635 fn. 1.

554. (c) Past stem *ōstāt-* from *awa-stāta-*, B. *ʷstʷ(y)* Inf., *VJ* 44. 250. 348.

555. (d) Owing to the shortening described in § 122, *ōstāt-* became *ōstat-* and *ōst-*, in B. *ʷstt un-* Pot., *Vim* 46. 47, and the Chr. Trans. Pret. *ʷstʷr-* ii 2, 5. 3, 22.

556. (e) The Past Partc. Chr. *ʷstyty (ōstaitē)* i 47, 14, was derived from the Trans. Pret. Chr. B. *ōstaidār-*, on which v. § 877 fn. 1.

557. (2) *awa-hišta-*

(a) Pres. stem *ōšt-* from *awa-hišta-*, 'to stand, step'. B. *ʷšt* 3 Sg. Pres., *Vim* 74; *ʷštʷnt* 3 Pl. Pres., *Dhy* 281; *ʷštʷnd kʷm* 3 Pl. Fut., *Man. Lett.* ii 12; *wʷšt* 3 Sg. Impf., *BBB*; B. *wʷštʷnt* 3 Pl. Impf., *VJ* 30^b; *Man. ʷštʷmntyy* 'existence' *T ii D* 207, 29 (cf. § 1100).

558. (b) Under the influence of *ōstay-* (§ 552), *ōšt-* becomes *ōštay-*. *ʷštʷyyt* 3 Sg. Pres., *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 11; B. *ʷštʷyt kʷm* 3 Sg. Fut., *Dhy* 357; *Man. wʷštʷyy* 3 Sg. Impf., *M* 133, 17.

559. (c) The Past stem is Chr. *ʷšt-* i 14, 22 (v. § 853). 59, 17 (v. § 848). 61, 19 (v. § 860). 81, 7, modelled on *ōst-* (§ 555).

560. (3) *əpštay-* 'to abandon', containing the preverb *apa-*, is modelled on *ōštay-* (§ 558). Only B. *ʷpštʷm ʷskwn* 1 Sg. Pres., *VJ* 301¹.

561. (4) *ništay-* 'to order, suggest', from OPers. *ništāya-* (H.). *Man. nyštʷymskwn (ništayʷmskun)* 1 Pl. Pres., *M* 617 i 25; Past stem B. *nyštʷt-* *VJ* 1416.

562. (5) *parštāy-* and *paštāy-* (cf. § 357) 'to prepare', from *parištāya-*, Past stem *Man. prštʷt-*, Chr. *pštʷt-*, from *pari-štāta-*?¹

563. (6) B. *pištʷy-* (*patštay-*) 'to lean, rest on' *Dhy* 25, from **patištāya-*.

The main types of Sogdian Present stems

564. Conspectus.

-ām-	580-4	-δ-	586
-āw-	571-3	-δ- (-θ-)	587
-āy-	565 sq.	-f-	590
-(a)w-, -(u)w-,	574-6	-mb-	602
-ay-	567-70	-n-	577-9
-β-	589	-nc-	600
-c-	591	-nd-	601

560¹ [v. Add.]

562¹ The meaning of Av. *parištaya-* is, however, quite different.

-p- 588	-z- 594
-r- 592 sq.	-ž- 595
-s- 596 sq.	Suppletive stems, 603
-š- 598 sq.	Denominatives, 604
-t- 585	

565. (1) -āy-.

(a) *frm'y-|frm't-* 'to order'; *'p'y-|'p't-* 'to consider'; *p'y-|S. p't* *Sogd.* 64, 20, 'to protect'; B. *r'y-|r't-* 'to weep';¹ &c.

566. (b) *-xw'y-|-xwst-* 'to beat', with preverbs, v. § 226.

567. (2) -ay-.

(a) Man. B. *ptškwy-1|ptškw't-* 'to say, address'.

568. (b) *nižay-* 'to go out', from **nižaya-1* *nyjyt* 3 Sg. Pres., *M* 583 ii 8, B. *nz'yt* *SCE* 283. *Vim* 127; B. *nyz'yt k'm* 3 Sg. Fut., *Dhy* 211; *nyzy't* 3 Sg. Subj., *SCE* 215; *nyzy'y* 3 Sg. Opt., *Dhy* 60; Man. *nyjyy* 3 Sg. Impf., *T ii D* 66 b 31, B. *nyz'y* *VJ* 7. 349. 353. &c.; B. *nyzy'nt* 3 Pl. Impf., *VJ* 892. *O*¹ 14; S. *nyzy'm'nt'k* 'deliverance' *T M* 389 a V 14. The Past stem is Man. *nyjt-*, Chr. *nyžt-*, B. *nyzt-* and *nyzyt-* (*VJ* 146), from **nižita-*, cf. § 539, fn. 1.

569. (c) *ānāy-*, *parānāy-* (on B. *pr'n'y-* v. § 567 fn.), *tinay-*, 'to lead, take, bring', from *anaya-*. B. *'n'y* 2 Sg. Impt., *VJ* 1248, *'nyδ* 2 Pl. Impt., *VJ* 1381, 2 Pl. Subj. *VJ* 1383, Man. *'['](nyδ'* 2 Pl., *M* 356, 13; B. *pr'n'yt* 3 Sg. Pres., *Dhu* 22, S. *pr'nyny* Pres. Partc., v. § 895; B. *tyny-*, v. § 662, 3. Past stem *nyt-*, cf. *'nyt qun-* Pot., § 883, Chr. *'nyd'r-* Trans. Pret., i 36, 2, Man. *pr'nyt' δ'r-* Trans. Pret., *T ii D* 52 c ii 2, from *anāta-*.

570. (d) *patway-* 'to wind, coil, wriggle': B. *pt'yw'y* 3 Sg. Impf., *VJ* 29^c, *ptwy't* (*oy*, *ow*, *oh*) Inf., *VJ* passim. To the same base¹ perhaps belongs B. *prw'y* 3 Sg. Opt., *Frg* iii 19, *prw'yt* 3 Sg. Pres., *SCE* 324 (*parwāy-?* cf. § 567 fn.) 'to wrap up, surround', Past stem

565¹ From Av. *raya-* (from **rāya-*) in *gāθrō.rayant-* (H.).

567¹ Chr. *pčkwāy-* in *pc[qw]yntq'* 3 Pl. Fut., i 27, 16. Uncertainty between *-āy-* and *-ay-*, or merely considerations of space, may have prompted the spellings Chr. *'šty'mnt'y* 'showing' i 32, 17 (elsewhere Chr. has *'šp'y-*; *'šty'f'sqn* i 44, 14, is a scribal error for *'šp'y'f'sqn*), Chr. *szw'ytq'* 'it will take away' i 60, 6, B. *sywy't* 'he extols' *SCE* 338 (end of line), beside Chr. *swx'y-*, § 417. It may be possible to consider B. *pr'n'y't* 3 Sg. Pres., *SCE* 392, said to mean *prostrerner* (with this meaning also *pr'n'yt*, ib. 404), as an inverse spelling of *parānāy-* (v. § 569).

568¹ The Pres. stem also appears as *niž-*, with reduction of the first *a* of **nižaya-*, and assimilation of *y* (v. § 198). B. *nyz'n* 1 Sg. Subj., *T ii D* 213 (*A* 5) 14; Man. *nyj'*[t 3 Sg. Subj., *M* 107 i 54; *nyjtyh skwn* 3 Sg. Pres., *M* 14 R 5 sq.; Chr. *nyžntq'* 3 Pl. Fut., i 63, 11; B. *nyz'nt* 3 Pl. Impf., *T ii T* 9.

570¹ **wei-* (Walde-Pokorny, i 223 sq.), cf. Oss. *biyun* 'to wind, plait',

prwyt-, cf. S. 'β*th prwyt'k* 'seven times wound' (H.) *T M* 393 ii R 13, Chr. *prwyd'rt* 'he placed around' i 19, 15.

(e) 'jy- 'to be born', v. § 182 fn., Past stem *āžit-*, § 27.

(d) B. *pr''šy* 3 Sg. Impf., § 129, against the Pres. Man. *fryš-*, § 598 (a).

571. (3) -*āw-*. Cf. also § 546.

(a) 'xš*n'w-* 'to satisfy', v. § 157, Past stem 'xš*wnd-*, § 414 a.

(b) *vəžāw-* 'to add, increase', from OPers. *abi-žāwaya-*, cf. H., *BSOS* viii 584: Man. *βj'w* 2 Sg. Impf., *M* 767 i 2, B. 'β*z''w-* *SCE* 412, *βz'w-* *Vim* 93, cf. § 90, and § 187 on the pass. *vəžay-*.

(c) *ps'w-* 'to touch', Past stem *ps'wt-*, v. *BBB* p. 72 on 576.

572. (d) *nyšk'w-* 'to take out' *M* 108 V 5. *M* 133, 57, B. *nšk'w-* *Frg.* iii 64. *Vim* 162. *DN* 32.

(e) *ptfr'w-* 'to think, remember', Past stem *ptfr'wt-*, v. § 604.

(f) *pt'w-* 'to endure' *M* 372, 8.

573. (g) *β'w-* 'to approach'. Man. *β'w* 3 Sg. Impf., *M* 760, 3; Man. *β'wn* 1 Sg. Subj., *T ii D* 66 b 37; S. *β'w'nt* 3 Pl. Impf., *T i a* (6) V 1; Chr. *b'wd'r-*, Pret., v. § 877 fn. 2. Cf. Benv., *Notes iv* 511.

(h) B. 'n*δ'w-* 'to anoint' *SCE*, Past stem 'n*δwt-* (S. 'n*δwt*, Infin., *T M* 389 a R 36. V 16).

(i) **parθ/δāw-* 'to inflame', cf. S. *prδ'w* 'flame', Past stem Man. *prδwt-*, v. *BBB* p. 92 on b 15, connected with Khwār. *θāw-*, scarcely with Skt. *du* (H.). *× p r θ w t -*

(k) *x'w-* 'to beat', Past stem *xwst-*, cf. § 233.

574. (4) -(a)*w-*, -(u)*w-*, cf. § 495.

(a) *βw-* 'to be(come)', v. § 790 sq.

(b) *šw-* 'to go', cf. § 603, g.

(c) *jw-* 'to live'.¹ *jw* (*žūt*) 3 Sg. Pres., *M* 142 R 7, *jwtk'm* 3 Sg. Fut., *M* 127 V 6, *jw'nd* (*ž(u)wand*) 3 Pl. Pres., *M* 810, 4; cf. Chr. 'ž*w-*, § 546, c.

575. (d) Root *stu*. *pstw-* 'to disown', Chr. *pstw't* (*pəstawāt*) 3 Sg. Subj., i 10, 14. 13, 9, cf. also § 546, a; Chr. *nyž'tw-* 'ἀναγγέλλω' i 74, 2, from **nišstu-*, cf. Pahl. Psalter *nstwt* 'promised' ? (H.); S. *''*stw-* 'to be converted', cf. § 877 fn. 2.

576. (e) *βnw-* 'to tremble'. Man. 'β*nwtty* (*əvnōtī*) 3 Sg. Pres. Middle with Pass. ending; B. *β'n'w* 3 Sg. Impf.; v. *BBB* p. 55.

(f) *γw-* 'to be wanting, necessary', Impersonal, Past stem B. *γwt-*, *BBB* p. 68 bottom.

Hübschmann, *Laulehre*, 28, N^o 62, Wakhī *zwāy-*, Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii 556, Geiger, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i³ 312, N^os 6, 9.

574¹ As pointed out by H., Sogdian goes here with Av. *J(a)va-*, Khot. *jv-* (cf.

577. (5) -n-.

(a) *jn-* 'to strike' (§ 264), Past stem *j(y)t-* (§ 108); *sn-* 'to rise', Past stem *stt-* (§ 864); Man. B. *kn-* 'to dig' *Man. Lett.* i 18. *SCE* 527, Past stem B. *knt-* *VJ* 239.

578. (b) Man. Chr. B. *zn-* 'to bring forth' *T ii B R* 19. *ST i. VJ* 38, Past stem *z't-*, cf. B. *z't kwn-*, Pot., *P* 3, 7 and § 865.

(c) Man. B. *kwn-*, Chr. B. *wn-*, 'to make, do', Past stem *'kt-*, cf. § 148.

579. (d) Man. *zyn-* 'to take away' *Kaw. G* 9, Past stem *zyt-*, § 836; *wyn-* 'to see', Past stem *wyt-*; Chr. *wrn-* 'to believe', *ST i*; B. *'pz'rn-* 'to afflict',¹ cf. the verbal noun Man. *pzrn*, § 957; Man. *'fryn-*, *'fryn-* (§ 5 fn.), B. *'pryn-* *VJ* 148. 541. &c., 'to bless', Past stem *'fryt-*; Man. Chr. *sfryn-* 'to create', cf. §§ 475, 2. 627, Past stem *sfryt-* *M* 591, 5.

580. (6) -ām-.

(a) *ptyām-* 'to finish': Man. *pty'mym* 1 Pl., *M* 378, 2, *pty'mt*[3 Sg. Pres. (uncertain) *M* 600, 15, *pty'm* 2 Sg. Impf., *BBB* c 16 (doubted by H. *ad locum*), S. *ptyy'm* 3 Sg. Impf., v. § 630; Past stem *p(a)tyamt-*, cf. § 865 fn. 1.

581. (b) *ptrām-* 'to appease, stop': Man. *ptr'mt* 3 Sg. Pres., *T ii T* 22, 19, B. *ptr'mt T M* 422, 11, *ptr'mt* ib. 7; Past stem *ptramt-*, light stem, v. § 176.

582. (c) *pyām-* 'to heal': Man. S. *py'm-* *M* 137 R 2. *T M* 389 a R 14. 19, cf. the name *by'mnurz*, § 306, and the verbal noun Chr. *py'm* i 70, 16; Past stem *pyamt-* (light stem): S. *py'mtw kwn-*, Pot., v. § 888, *py'mtw* *δ'r-*, *Trans. Pret.*, *T M* 389 a R 7 sq.

583. (d) Chr. *fš'm-* 'to send' (cf. § 317) i 6, 7. 78, 8. ii 6, 18: Man. *fšmt-* (*fšamt-*), v. § 512, Chr. *fšmd'r-*, *Trans. Pret.*, cf. § 457.

584. (e) Chr. *'wz'm-* 'to condemn' i 17, 4, Man. *'wz'm* 2 Sg. Impf., § 285 fn. 1, *wz'm* 3 Sg. Impf., *T i* (*Par.* 10), Past Partic. *'wzty*, § 838; cf. also *'wzmtyh* *M* 123 R 3 (not clear; 3 Sg. Pass. ?).

585. (7) -t(-d-).

(a) *prurt-* 'to turn, become': *prwt-* *Man. Lett.* ii 6, B. *prw'st-* *VJ* 1107; *zurt-* 'to (re)turn': Chr. **zwsf-* v. § 871, B. *zw'rst-* *P* 2, 241; *pw'rt-* 'to turn away' *Sogd.* 16, 7 b, B. (?) *pw'rt-* *SCE* 50. 98: *pw'st-* § 14.

(b) Chr. *'mpd-*: *'mpst-*, B. *'npt-*: *'np'st-*, 'to fall'.

Bailey, *BSOS* x 575), Pašto *žw-* (*EVP* 106), against OPers. *šiva-*, MPers. *zyw-*, Parth. *jyw-*, NPers. *ziy-*, *žive*. [v. *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1942, 50].

579¹ *mn' L' nm'y' pz'rn't* (Infinitive) 'never mind about afflicting me' [*sic*] *VJ* 1457 sq. [v. Add. to § 818.]

(c) *pyāt* : *pyast* - 'to adorn'. *py't*- *Sogd.* 17, 24, B. *py't*- *SCE* 171, *py't*- *DN* 81 : *pyst*- *M* 178 i R 28. V 23, 27, B. *py'st*- *Dhy* 180. 359. 363. *Dhu* 36. 223, 'py'st'- *SCE* 523.

586. (8) -δ-.

(a) *βjyδδ*- 'to mount' : *βjyst*-; 'wjyδδ'- 'to dismount' : 'wjyst'-; cf. §§ 376. 342 fn. 1.

(b) Chr. *prwyd*-, B. *prw'yδ*- 'to seek' : S. *prwyst*- *X* 1 ii R 21.

(c) *ptβyδ*- 'to recognize, know', v. § 187 : B. *ptβyst*- *Dhy* 14, *ptβ'yst*- *O*² 39 (H.), Chr. *ptbst*- § 867 (H.).

(d) B. *rwδ*- 'to grow' *Frg.* iii 5. *Vim* 30 : Man. *rwst*- *M* 178 i R 29.

(e) *nyδ*- 'to sit' : Chr. B. *nyst*-, v. *Morgenstierne*, *BSL.*, 24, 205.

(f) B. *pr'yδ*- 'to sell', Past stem B. *pr'(?)δt*-, Chr. *pryθt*-, v. § 122 fn.

587. (9) -θ-. *wryδ*- *Sogd.* 16, 4. *Man. Lett.* ii 9 : *wryst*-; *ptryδ*- : *ptryst*-; 'to mix', v. *BBB* p. 69 on 560. < *pat* + 'nistā, 'nistā.

588. (10) -p-. Chr. B. *wyt'p*- 'to illuminate', § 216, Chr. *ftyp*- 'to shine', § 318, for the Past stem cf. B. *tβt*- *SCE* 205. 234. 274, S. *ptβt*-, § 850; Man. *pryp*-, B. *pr'yyp*-, 'to lead, take', Past stem Chr. **pryft*-, v. *BBB* p. 96 on b 72, cf. §§ 205. 614.

589. (11) -β-. *γwβ*- (*γōv*-) 'to praise' *M* 264 A 22. *SCE* 338 : *γwβt*- (*γwδ*-).

590. (12) -f-. *w'f*- 'to weave' : *wft*-, v. § 274.

591. (13) -c-.

(a) *pts'c*- 'to arrange, fix' : *ptsyt*-; *pswc*- 'to purify, clean' *M* 178 ii R 2 : *pswyt*- *M* 664, 5. *M* 674, 18; *pryc*- 'to abandon' *M* 894 i 3 : Chr. *pryt*-; *w'c*- 'to send, let go' *Kaw.* C 13, *w'št* 3 Sg. Pres., v. § 260 : B. *wyt*-, cf. *BBB* p. 56 top.

(b) *ywc*- 'to teach' : *ywxt*-, v. § 56.

592. (14) -r-.

(a) Pres. stem light (cf. § 515, in B. sometimes heavy, v. § 492), Past stem heavy (cf. § 486). *βr*- 'to bring' : *βrt*-; *δβr*- 'to give' : *δβrt*-; *škr*- 'to lead' : *škr*-; *xwr*- 'to eat' : *xwrt*- (cf. §§ 879. 927); Chr. *pcmr*- (*pēmar*-) ii 6, 46 (*pcmr*² 2 Sg. Impt., v. *BBB* p. 100 fn. 1) : Man. *ptšmrt*-, *ptšmyrt*-, B. *ptšmyrt*-, Chr. *pcmrt*-, v. § 486 fn. 2.

593. (b) Pres. stem and Past stem light. *myr*- (cf. § 185) : *murt*- (v. § 518) 'to die'.

(c) Both stems are heavy. *βyr*- 'to obtain' : Man. Chr. B. *βyrt*-, B. *Anc. Lett.* (?)*βy'rt*-, v. § 90; *šm'r*- 'to think' : B. *šm'rt*- *VJ* 1026.

594. (15) -z-.

(a) Chr. B. *pyz-* 'to beat, throw': B. *pyšt-* O² 17.

(b) *wmrz-* 'to spoil', v. *BBB* p. 100 on e 7: *wmšt-*, v. § 147; **frmrz-*, v. § 617: *frmšt-*, v. § 529.

595. (16) -ž-.

(a) From OIr. ž. Man. *twj-*, Chr. *twž-*, 'to pay', cf. § 128: *twyšt-*.

(b) From OIr. z, cf. §§ 188-91. 197. Man. *xwj-*, B. *γwyz-*, 'to wish', from **χwāzaya-*, v. § 232 (cf., with the old z, Man. Chr. *šyrx/γwzy* 'friend', § 57): *xwšt-*; &c.

596. (17) -s-.

(a) Chr. *dys-* 'to build' i 21, 16: Man. *δyšt-* *M* 776, 10, B. *δšt-* *VJ* 14^b.

597. (b) *npys-* 'to write' *M* 915, 4. 22: *npxšt-* *T i D*, v. § 257.

598. (18) -š-.

(a) *fryš-* 'to send', § 198, Past stem *fryšt-*.

(b) *nyyš-* 'to spoil': S. *n(y)št-*, v. § 549.

(c) *zryš-* 'to hurt': *zryšt-*, v. *BBB* p. 56 on 492.

(d) *prqyš-* 'to imprison': *prkšt-*, v. *BBB* p. 96 on b 74.

(e) *ptywš-* (*ptyōš-*) 'to hear': *ptywšt-* (*ptyušt-*), cf. § 176.

599. (f) Chr. *spš-*, B. *'sp'yš-* 'to serve', v. § 192, Past stem *'spxšt-*, v. § 257, which gave rise to a secondary Pres. stem Chr. *spxš-* ii 5, 34, *sp'xš-* i 31, 5 (*spaχš-*).

600. (19) With internal *n*, *m* (OIr. nasal infix, or belonging to the root).¹

(i) -nč-.

(a) Man. *pδδync-* 'to pull' *M* 502 I 6, *p](δ)ync-* *M* 548, 2, B. *pδ'ync-* *SCE* 263, Past stem *pδδ'yt-* *M* 343, 3, (*p)δδyt-* *M* 356, 15, cf. also B. *prδ'yt-* 'to spread' *VJ* 19^b. 346. 862. From **θan'jaya-*.

(b) *ptmync-* 'to dress' *M* 134 i R 2. *M* 530, 14. &c., Past stem *ptmwyt-*; **frāminč-* 'to undress', cf. § 327.

(c) Chr. *pšync-* 'to spill' ii 6, 10, Past stem Chr. *pšyt-* i 81, 14; Man. *'šync-* 'to pour', Past stem B. **'šyt-*, v. § 634.

(d) *zrync-* 'to save, deliver', Past stem *zryt-*, v. § 542.

(e) B. *βtr(')ync-* 'to oppress', v. § 153, Past stem Man. *β'tryt-*, B. *'β'tryt-*, v. § 152 b.

(f) *mrync-* 'to destroy', v. § 153.

601. (ii) -nd-.

(a) Man. *'γwnd-* 'to cover', quoted § 807: *'γwst-* *M* 133, 63, cf. *BBB* p. 76 on 616.

600¹ On the Pres. Infinitives *'wznz*, *βjynd*, *'wjynd*, v. § 342. On the base *xn/rš-*, v. § 343.

(b) *frkrnd-* 'to cut': S. *frkst-*, v. § 152.

(c) *'wsynd-* Man. Lett. ii 13, 'to crush, break', from $\sqrt{\text{sid}}$ (H.).

(d) *βynd-* Kaw. G 2, *βyynd-* M 133, 14, 'to bind': *βyst-*.

602. (iii) -mb-.

(a) *swmb-* 'to bore, pierce' M 135 i 11. 13. 51, B. *swmp-* SCE 89: *swβt-* M 135 i 40. 55, B. *swβt-* SCE 89.

(b) Chr. *'ymp-* ii 6, 22, B. *'y'np-* SCE 130, 'to pervert': Man. *'yβt-* Sogd. 16, 11 a.

(c) B. *pδ'wm-*: **pδwβt-* 'to stick', v. § 453.

603. (20) Suppletive stems.

(a) *'ys-* 'to come': *'γt-* (from *ā-gata-*) Intrans. 'to come', Trans. 'to bring', v. BBB p. 74 on 588; *prys-* 'to reach', B. *pr'ys-* 'to reach' and (VJ 1096) 'to hand over': Man. Chr. *pr'γt-* 'to reach' M 135 i 59; *tys-* 'to enter': *tγt-*, v. § 661. Cf. on all three, § 539.

(b) *δ'r-* 'to hold': *jγt-*, v. BBB p. 64 top.

(c) *w'β-* 'to speak': *wγt-*, Chr. *γwd'r-*, v. §§ 167. 421.

(d) *βw-* 'to become' v. §§ 787 sqq.: *'kt-*, v. § 804.

(e) *x-* 'to be', cf. § 786: *(w)m't-*, v. § 803.

(f) *'βr-* (cf. § 653): *'γt-* 'to bring',¹ v. sect. a.

(g) *šw-*: *xrt-* 'to go', cf. Tedesco, ZII ii 35 sq.

604. (21) Denominatives.

(a) B. *n'mt* 'is called' VJ 151. 412. 48^d. *Dhu* 95. *Dhy* 388. 389, from *n'm* 'name'.¹

(b) *ptfr'w-* 'to remember', from Chr. *ptfr'w*, Acc., i 82, 4, Man. *ptfr'wy*, Obl., T ii D 63 a 19, *ptfr(w)yy* Obl., M 133, 99, 'memory, remembrance', v. BBB p. 88 on 756; Past stem *ptfr'wt-*, and B. *ptβr'w't-*, v. § 537. [v. Addenda.]

The Augment

Cf. Reichelt, *Geiger Festschrift*, 248 sqq.

605. (i) A point of special interest with the Imperfect, is the fate of the OIr. augment and some Sogdian innovations with regard to its treatment.¹

Generally one can say that the augment was lost initially (acc. to

603¹ Cf. Yaghn. *ūr-*: *uxt-* 'to bring'. cf. *diwar-*, *diyāta-*

604¹ In the sentence B. *pwt'k ZY my 'sty snk'swtr n'mt* 'I have a book called *Samgha-Sūtra*' T iii S 313, 11 sq., it is not clear whether *n'mt* is acting as a verb or forms a compound with *snk'swtr*. The latter could also be the case in VJ 412. 48^d.

605¹ On the augment used outside the Imperfect, v. §§ 638 fn. 871.

§ 82), but preserved in internal position (viz. between a preverb and the stem of a verb).

In the latter case, if the preverb had a final vowel, this would contract with the following augment, in such a way that *-a*+augment > *ā*, *-i*+augment (viz. *-ya-*) > *ī* (v. § 202); the notable exception is *abi-*, which in the Imperfect appears as *vā-* (§ 619).

606. With preverbs ending in a consonant (except *ham-*, § 608), *-i-* is used as the augment, following the proportion *parwart-* (Pres., from *pari-warta-*, cf. § 164): *pariwart-* (Impf.) = *zwart-* (Pres., from *uz-warta-*): *zīwart-*.

607. In some cases such a proportion affected even Pres. stems which never had a preverb (§ 629); on the strength of, say, *zwart-*: *zīwart-*, the Pres. *snāy-* 'to wash' (from OIr. **snāya-*) was given an Impf. *sīnāy-*.¹

608-9. The preverbs *ham-*, *han-*, *ā-*, received special treatment, based on an exchange of suitable elements differentiating the stem of the Imperfect from that of the Present (cf. *BBB* p. 66 bott.). *ā-*+augment, would still have given *ā-* (cf. § 612 fn.); *ham-*+augment became *ma-* (cf. § 397) which was lengthened to *mā-* under the influence of *vā-* (from *awa-*+augment), and used also for the Imperfect of Present stems with the preverb *ā-*. On the other hand, where *ham-* appeared as *an-*, *ma-* was modified to *man-*.¹

610. (ii) Imperfects with no augment.

(1) Verbal stems without preverb.

(a) Light stems. *ps'* 3 Sg., *M 135 i 21*, *ps'nd* 3 Pl., *M 118 i R 10*. V 8, 'to ask'; *kwn'* 3 Sg., 'to do, make' *BBB* b 92; *βrwu* 1 Sg., 'to bring' *M 137 V 7*; *cf'* 3 Sg. 'to steal' *M 133, 11*; B. *zyβ'* 3 Sg., 'to bite', v. Benv., *Notes* iv 518;¹ Man. *wβ'* 'became', v. § 798.²

607¹ Reichelt, art. cit., 253 sq., has a different explanation of Imperfects like *syn'y-*.

608¹ It is possible that this arrangement was due to the interchange between the preverbs *an-* (*am-*) and *ā-*, on which v. §§ 656 sqq. A curious compromise between *mā-* and *man-*, is S. *nā-* for a Present in *ā-* or *an-* (before *p-*) in *n'prs* 3 Sg., *Anc. Lett.* ii 39, *n'prsw* 1 Sg., ib. 44, either from B. *"prs-* 'to take leave' (thus H.), or from Av. *ham-fras-* 'to consult'.

610¹ Benveniste's remarks suggest that he takes the *y* of *zyβ'* to be the mark of the Imperfect. In that case the form to be expected would be **zyβ* (*zīv*). *y*, which here stands for *ə* (cf. § 27), is also met with in B. *zyβty* 3 Sg. Pres., *T iii 263 i 25*, and B. *zyβ'y* 3 Sg. Opt., *P 3, 84. 86*. For the Past stem v. § 536.

610² Acc. to Benv., *Grammaire*, 45, and Reichelt, art. cit., 248. 254, the initial ' of B. 'β', 3 Sg. Impf. from *βw-*, represents the old augment (transferred analogically also to the 2 Sg. Impf.).

611. (b) Heavy stems. *βyr* 3 Sg., 'to obtain', *M* 118 i R 15; *xyr* 3 Sg., 'to go' *M* 760, 1; *β'w* 3 Sg., 'to come', v. § 573; *βyynd* 3 Sg., 'to bind' *M* 133, 14; *š's* 3 Sg., 'to scatter' *T* i; *wynw* 1 Sg., 'to see' *M* 410, 16; &c.

612. (2) Sometimes even verbal stems with a preverb fail to take the augment: Man. *''y'znd* 3 Pl., 'to begin' *M* 178 ii R 5 (inst. of *m'y'znd*, v. § 634);¹ B. *''ny'nt* 3 Pl., 'to lead' *Frg* ii^a 26; B. *''z'y* 3 Sg., 'to be born' *VJ* 5^a; Man. *pδwβs*' 3 Sg., 'to stick', v. § 453; B. *ny'wš* 2 Sg., 'to hear' *VJ* 798 (cf. B. *nyγ'wšy'nt* 'skwn *SCE* 6, 3 Pl. Opt.-Dur. with augment, cf. § 638 fn.); S. *'syw'y* 3 Sg., 'to take' *T* i a i 12 (cf. Man. *syxw'y*, § 627).

613. (3) The augment is also missing in the so-called Middle Imperfect, v. the examples in §§ 699. 709 sq.

614. (4) The augment, though not apparent, is virtually present in

(a) Man. *pryp* 3 Sg., 'to lead, take' *BBB* b 72, cf. § 205;¹ S. *'ys'nt* *T* ii *T* 6 sq., B. *''ys'nt* *VJ* 281 (*ēsand*), 3 Pl., 'to come', B. *tys* (*tīs*) 3 Sg. 'to enter' *VJ* 8. 215. 280, B. *pr'ys* 3 Sg., 'to reach' *VJ* 131. 845, cf. § 539.

615. (b) B. *βr''mc* 3 Sg., § 334, Man. *f'rmyc*, § 438, 'to undress', with the preverb *frā-*.

(5) Different are the examples in § 630, where the augment is merely concealed by the spelling.

616. (iii) Imperfects with inserted *-ā-*.

(1) Of Presents with the preverb *p-* (from *apa-* or *upa-*). *p'xw'y* 3 Sg., 'to cut off' *Man. Lett.* i 16; *p'rxs* 3 Sg., 'to remain, be left' *M* 135 i 57; *p's'pr* 3 Sg., *'to fix, compose, level' *M* 118 i R 12, cf. *pšpr'mndyy*, § 1100; *p'syyn* 3 Sg., 'to trap'¹ *M* 129 R 12, *p'syn* *M* 716, 11; *p'swc* 3 Sg., 'to purify' *M* 129 V 9; *p's'y'y* 3 Sg., 'to throw' *BBB* b 55.

617. (2) Of Presents with the preverb *fr-* (from *fra-*), sometimes becoming *f-* acc. to § 315. *f'r'm'y* 3 Sg., 'to order' *M* 135 i 30; *f'r'mrz* 3 Sg., 'to spoil' *M* 133, 12; *f'r'(w)[z* (H.) 3 Sg., 'to fly' *T* ii *D* 79 c 6;

612¹ Such Imperfects in *-ā-* possibly represent an older stage than those in *mā-*, with *-ā-* = preverb *-ā-* + augment *-a-*.

614¹ The fact that the stem of the Present and that of the Imperfect of *parēp-* appeared to be the same, may have encouraged the use of the light-stem ending in the 3 Sg. Impf. B. *pr'yp'* *VJ* 960. 1236. 1346. Cf. the 3 Sg. Impf. B. *wyn'* *VJ* 405 (against *wyn* *VJ* 18^a. 2^c).

616¹ Acc. to H., from the OIr. base **šan-* = Skt. *kṣan-* 'to hurt, injure' (cf. also Chr. *pšng*, § 164), provided OPers. *'zšt'* is not connected with *kṣan-*, as proposed by Bartholomae, *Air. Wb.* (against this connexion, v. Herzfeld, *Altp. Inschr.* 70 sq.).

B. *fr''γrβ-* 'to offer', v. § 325; *f's'c* 3 Sg., 'to train, teach' *M* 601, 6; *f's'n*[s 3 Sg., 'to recognize' *Sogd.* 31, 9; Chr. *f's'm* 3 Sg., 'to send' *ii* 1, 70, S. *β's'm* *T i a i* 13; B. *β'v'yr* 3 Sg., 'to come, proceed' *Frg ii^a* 23; on B. *pr''šy* 3 Sg., 'to send', v. § 129.

618. (3) Of Presents with the preverb *w-* (from *awa-*): *w'xznd* 3 Pl., *Kaw.* G 4, *w'xz'nd* *M* 363, 10, 'to descend'; *w'p't* 3 Sg., *T ii D* 115 R hl., *w'ptnd* 3 Pl. *T ii B R* 2, 'to fall'; *w'z'm* 3 Sg., 'to condemn' *Sogd.* 43, 8. *T i*; *w'st* *BBB* 634. 638. f 75 (cf. § 557) and *w'st'yy* (cf. § 558), 3 Sg., 'to step in, stand'; *w'st'yy'nd* (*wāstayand*) 3 Pl., 'to place', v. § 552; *w'rms* 3 Sg., 'to become quiet', § 828.

619. (4) Analogically.¹

(a) With Presents having the preverb *β-* (from *abi-*). Man. *β'p'trync* 3 Sg., 'to suppress' *Sogd.* 43, 11; B. *β'n'w* 3 Sg., 'to tremble' *VJ* 1001 (Pres. stem Man. *βnw-*, v. § 576); S. *β'zyδ* 3 Sg., *P* 13, 27, *β'zyδ'nt* 3 Pl., *VJ* 855, 'to mount'; B. *β'zy* 3 Sg., 'to grow', v. § 187; B. *β'ywn* (*vāyōn*) 3 Sg., v. § 434 fn. 2.

620. (b) In B. *w'βs* 3 Sg., 'to fall asleep' *Frg ii^a* 13 (Pres. **wβs-*, cf. *Yaghn. ūfs-*, from **hufsa-*, v. § 539). *X w'f*

621. (5) *-ā-* is also used for the Imperfect of *θvar-* 'to give', the origin of which remains obscure (cf. *BBB* p. 59 fn. 1): Man. *δ'βrw* 1 Sg., *BBB* 679. *M* 130 *ii R* 4; Chr. *t'br ii* 5, 28, B. *δ'βr* *VJ* 115. 126. 338, 3 Sg.; Man. *δ'βr'nd* 3 Pl., *M* 118 *i R* 1. [v. Addenda].

622. (iv) Imperfects with inserted *-i-*.

(1) Of Presents with the preverb *pt-* from *pai-*. *ptycxš* 3 Sg., *Kaw.* V 16, *ptycxšym* 1 Pl., *i B* 4981 f 6, *ptycxš'nd* 3 Pl., *M* 135 *ii* 38, *ptycxš'nd* *T ii B V* 6. 10, 'to receive'; *ptyškwyy* 3 Sg., 'to say, speak' *M* 135 *i* 17. *M* 423, 8; *ptyβyδ* 3 Sg., *Sogd.* 31, 12, *ptyβyδ'nd* 3 Pl., *T ii D* 79 c 7, 'to recognize'; *ptyrwδ* 3 Sg., *BBB* 580, 'to grow'; *ptys'c* 3 Sg., *BBB* 666, *ptys'cnd* 3 Pl., *M* 178 *ii R* 12 'to make, arrange, fix'; *ptyryš* 3 Sg., 'to tear away' *BBB* b 98; *ptyl'p* 3 Sg., **to light* *M* 129 V 13; *ptyz'nww* 1 Sg., 'to recognize' *M* 280 R 2; *ptywyd'w* 1 Sg., 'to offer, show' *M* 410, 17; *ptyxw*[y 3 Sg., 'to kill' *M* 794 b 6. *T i*; *ptyw'fnd* 3 Pl., 'to weave', v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 232 fn. 6; *ptyrwš* 3 Sg., *T ii D* 117, 25, *ptyrw(šym)* 1 Pl., *M* 617 *ii* 24, 'to hear'; *ptyfs* 3 Sg., 'to read' *T ii D* 138 *iii* 3.

623. (2) Of Presents with the preverb *pc-* (cf. § 672). *p'cykwyr'nd* *Kaw.* G 5, *pcykwyr'nd* *M* 247, 20, 3 Pl., 'to fear'; *pcywznd* 3 Pl., 'to meet' *T ii B V* 15; *p'cyxyz* 3 Sg., 'to kneel' *M* 130 *ii V* 1 (cf. *BBB* p. 105 bottom); *pcyβynd* 3 Sg., 'to overtake, join' *M* 760, 2.

619¹ The analogical extension of *-ā-* (and of *m-*) as a mark of the Imperfect, is also found in *Khwarezmian*, v. H., *ZDMG* 90, *33* sq.

624. (3) Of Presents with the preverb *pr-* (from *pari-*). Man. Chr. *pryš'ý* 3 Sg., 'to prepare' *Sogd.* 52, *Frg* s 2. *ST* ii 6, 16 (v. *BBB* p. 98 fn.); *prywrt* (mistake for **prywyrt*) 3 Sg., 'to transform', v. *BBB* p. 94 on b 52; *prywrt* 3 Sg., 'to turn, become' *M* 910 ii 2; *pryqyš* 3 Sg., *M* 129 R 12, *prykkýš* *M* 133, 15, 'to imprison'; *pryšyrnd* 3 Pl., 'to tell, explain' *M* 134 ii V 10.

625. (4) Of Presents with the preverb *w-/wy-*, v. §§ 212 sqq. *wyxnš* 3 Sg., 'to deliver' *Man. Lett.* i 31; *wy'wšnd* 3 Pl., 'to rejoice', v. § 213 fn. 1; B. *wyr'yc* 3 Sg., *VJ* 437. 38^c. 518. 586, *wyr'yc'nt* 3 Pl., *VJ* 35^b, 'to pour out'.

626. (5) Of Presents with the preverb *n-* (from *ni-*, v. §§ 676 sqq.). *nym'y* 3 Sg., 'to judge' *M* 135 i 35; *nyš'kw* 3 Sg., 'to pull, take out' *M* 133, 57; *nyšyδ'nd* 3 Pl., 'to place' *M* 178 ii V 12. 15, B. *nyš'yδ* 3 Sg., *VJ* 864. 1358; B. *nyrwntw* 3 Sg., 'to dress, put on' *VJ* 93, Chr. *nyrwynt*, Caus., 3 Sg., ii 5, 27; Chr. *nypys* 3 Sg., 'to write' i 30, 1.

627. (6) Of Presents with the preverb *z-, s-* (from *uz-, us-*). *zyryšw* 1 Sg., 'to hurt, damage' *BBB* 514 (cf. ib. p. 56 on 492); B. *zyw'rt'nt* 3 Pl., 'to turn, come back' *VJ* 386. 397, S. *zyw'yr't'nt*, Caus., 3 Pl., *T* *M* 389 a R 3; Man. *syxw'y* 3 Sg., *M* 129 V 12, *syxw'y'y* *M* 118 i R 14, *syxw'y'ynd* 3 Pl., ib. V 5, 'to take, lift', but cf. S. 'syw'y', § 612; *syfryn* 3 Sg. "to create" *M* 178 ii R 19.

628. (7) Of Presents with the preverb *t-* (from *ati-*, v. § 661 sq.). B. *tyk'wš* 3 Sg., 'to look' *VJ* 789. 821; on B. *tyny* v. § 630; on B. *tys* v. § 614.

629. (8) Of Presents with no preverb (§ 607). *šym'rw* 1 Sg., *BBB* 513, *šym'r* 3 Sg., *M* 840 b ii 4, 'to think' (Pres. *šm'r-*); *šykr* 3 Sg., 'to lead' *M* 135 i 29 (Pres. *škr-*); *jygyr* 3 Sg., 'to call' *M* 178 ii V 10. *T* ii D 117, 25 (Pres. *jgyr-*); B. *syn'y* 3 Sg., *VJ* 12. 33^b. &c., *syn'y'nt* 3 Pl., *VJ* 869. 1436, 'to wash' (Pres. *sn'y-*).

630. (9) If the Present already shows a *y*, standing for *y*, *i*, or *iy*, where one would expect the mark of the Imperfect, we may assume that in the Imperfect the same *y* represents *ū(y)*. This is suggested by the B. spelling *n'y's* 3 Sg., 'to take' *VJ* 36^b. 848. 1194 (*nīyās*; Pres. B. *ny's-* *VJ* 1021. *Frg* iii 23. &c., and 'ny's-', cf. § 171; in Man. the Imperfect appears as *ny'sw* 1 Sg., *M* 697, 3, *nyy's* 3 Sg., *BBB* b 82. *M* 129 R 9; B. has *nyy's-* in *Frg* ii^a 26); it is confirmed by Chr. *pcywfs* (*pčiyufs*, heavy) 3 Sg., 'to be transformed' i 16, 7, from the light-stem Pres. *pčiyufs-*, v. § 175.

Other examples are S. *ptiy'm* (*ptiyām*) 3 Sg., 'to finish, to complete' *T* *M* 389 a V 39 (Pres. *p(a)tyām-*, § 580); Man. *ptyms*, *ptiys*, B. *pty'ms* *Padm* 22 (*ptiyams*) 3 Sg., 'to finish (Intrans.)' (Pres. *ptyams-*,

v. § 176); Man. *ptyy'p* (*ptiyāp*) 3 Sg., 'to reach', § 1236, from **pati-āpaya-*; B. *tyny* (*tīnai*) 3 Sg., 'to lead' *VJ* 1351, cf. § 662; Man. *nyjyy* (*nīžai*) 3 Sg., 'to go out', Pres. *nižay-*, cf. the side-form *niž-* which is treated as a light stem (§ 568 fn.); B. *wytr* *VJ* 49^b. 278, *wytr* *VJ* 828. 1116 (*witar*), 3 Sg., 'to go on, pass, pass away' (cf. B. *wytr't* 3 Sg. Subj., *VJ* 365, *wytr'ty* 3 Sg. Pres., § 213 fn. 2, *wytr't* Inf., *VJ* 299, &c. (*witar-*)).

631. (10) The preverb *y-* possibly becomes *ī-* in the Imperfect, judging by the spelling '*yaxw'y* 'he separated', v. § 220.

632. (v) Imperfects in *mn-* of Presents in *'n-* (cf. § 608). *mnxz* 3 Sg., *M* 880, 6, *mnxz'nd* 3 Pl., *BBB* 545 'to rise'; *mnz'nw* 1 Sg., 'to confess, profess' *BBB* 614; *mnc'y* 3 Sg., 'to stop' *M* 760, 5. *T ii D* 66 b 27; *mnxwy* 3 Sg., 'to break, infringe' *M* 778, 11; *mnβxš* 3 Sg., 'to divide' *T ii D* 116, 33. *M* 356, 12 (Pres. *'nβxš-* *M* 655, 14); *mns'c'nd* 3 Pl., 'to fix' *M* 178 ii R 24; *mnšt'yw* 1 Sg., 'to show' *M* 410, 37; *mnwz'n[d* 3 Pl., 'to assemble' (Intrans.) *M* 692, 11; B. *mnpt* 3 Sg., 'to fall' *Frg ii^a* 17, cf. § 633.

633. (vi) Imperfects in *m'-* (cf. § 608).

(1) Of Presents in *am-*: Man. *m'(pt)* 3 Sg., 'to fall' *T ii D* 79 a 3 (Pres. Chr. *'mpd-* i 3, 4, B. *'npt-* *SCE*), against B. *mnpt*, § 632.

634. (2) Of Presents in *ā-*: *m'γ'z* 3 Sg., *T ii D* 66 b 32, *m'γzym* 1 Pl., *Man. Lett.* i 8, *m'γ'z'nd*, *m'γ'znd*, 3 Pl., *T ii B R* 3. 6, 'to begin', but cf. *'γ'znd*, § 612; *m'p'y* 3 Sg., 'to perceive' *Sogd.* 31, 9; *m'msw* 1 Sg., 'to plough' *Sogd.* 16, 10; *m'zyrw* 1 Sg., 'to hurt' *BBB* 538; *m'βr* 3 Sg., *M* 130 i R 1. *M* 601, 5, *m'βrnd* 3 Pl., *BBB* 643, 'to bring'; *m'k'nd* 3 Pl., 'to fill', v. § 475; *m'šync* 3 Sg., 'to pour' *M* 356, 10 (Pres. *'šync-* ib. 11, Past Partc. Fem. B. *'šych* *P* 3, 120); *m'qwc'nd* 3 Pl., 'to hang (Trans.)' *M* 178 ii V 30; Chr. *m'γwnt* 3 Sg., 'to cover' i 16, 18.

Verbal Particles

- (i) *sk(wn)*, *k(n)*, 635-45.
- (ii) *k'm*, *k'n*, 646-51.
- (iii) *x't*, 652.

635. (i) Man. *skwn*, *sk*, *kn*, *k*. Durative function.¹ These particles also occur in Chr., where *skwn* is usually spelled *sqn*. B. has only (°)*skwn*, KB. *skwn* and *skwnw*.

A. Waag has studied the use of these particles in Chr. (*ZDMG* 90, 144 sqq.), and established that there the forms without *s* are re-

¹ 635¹ B. has also a durative particle *'štn*, derived from the Pres. stem *hišta-*, v. Benv., *Grammaire*, 39.

stricted to verbal forms ending in *-t* or *-d*. This is also the case in Man. On the employment of *sk* in Man., it is not possible to state any particulars, except that it is much less frequent than *skwn*.

skwn compares with the verbal stem (?)*skw-* 'to stay' (cf. *ST* i 102 fn.) and the noun (?)*skwn* '(duration =) age (H.)' [v. Addenda].

636. (1) *skwn*.

(a) Present Indicative. For examples v. *BBB* p. 134, s.v.

637. (b) Imperfect. *γrβ'skwn* 3 Sg., 'knew' *M* 135 i 64; *kn'skwn* 3 Sg., 'was digging' *Man. Lett.* i 18; *t'sndskwn* 3 Pl., 'were cutting' ib. 19; B. *tyk'wš'nt'skwn* 3 Pl., 'were looking' *DN* 7.

638. (c) Optative (with the value of a Preterite).¹ *wšyndskwn* 3 Pl., 'became' *T ii D* 63 a 2; *'syyskwn* 'she took', *sn'yyskwn* 'she washed', *Man. Lett.* i 21.

639. (d) *-āz-* Preterite (cf. § 814). Man. *šw'zskwn* *T ii D* 117, 20, *šw'* (24) *zskwn* ib. (quoted *BBB* p. 60) 'he was going'.

640. (2) *sk*. *δ'rsk* 3 Sg. Impf. of *δ'r-* 'to hold' *M* 483, 2; *γw'sk* 3 Sg. Impf. of *γw-* 'to want' (?) *M* 769, 1; [*y*]*sndsk* 'they are coming' *Sogd.* 21, 27; Chr. *b'sq* 3 Sg., 'was' i 32, 16; Man. *wyntysq* *T ii D* 12, 3 (out of context), 3 Sg. Pass. 'is seen' (H.), v. § 706.

641. (3) *k*. (The function of *-k* in the following examples, has been established by H.) *prwyrk* 'he transforms' *M* 684, 6; *myndk* 'is similar' *S* 6 hl.;¹ *skwndk* *S* 40 ii R 2, *'skwndk* ib. V 6 'they are, stay'; *frštk* 'sends' (?) *S* 40 i V 3 (out of context).

642. (4) *kn*. In Man. only *βwtkn* *T i D* 51 (no context) = Chr. *βwtqn* i 81, 14, probably continuous Present.

643. (5) The following forms of heavy Present stems, with an aleph before *skwn* or *sk*, raise difficulties, partly because the Man. examples belong to unclear or mutilated passages:

(a) *skwn*. *ptšynd'skwn* *M* 617 ii 10, from *ptšynd-* 'to agree, be

635² Man. *cn ryncq skwn mrt's'r* 'from childhood on till now' *M* 617 ii 29; B. *'wyh zrwyh'skwny* 'in old age' *P* 2, 152; B. *'sty ZKZY tyw'k'skwny čstw'n't ny'zkyzn βwt'PZY m's'k skwn'y š't βwt* 'there is that one who in his youth is poor and indigent, but in his old age rich' *SCE* 30 sqq.; cf. also the adj. *'skwncyk*, Pl. *'skwncykt*, 'present, contemporary' *Man. Lett.* ii 10. 11.

638¹ The simple Optative, when used as a Preterite (which only happens in B. texts), can take the augment, cf. *w'pt'y* 'it fell' *VJ* 1022, *mnc'y'y* 'she ceased' *VJ* 1116, *L' p't'yryš'y* 'he did not mix' *O*¹ 8. For the Optative used as a Past tense in Avestan, Sanskrit, and Kuchean, v. W. Couvreur, *BSL* xxxix (1938), 247 sq.; for Khotanese v. Bailey, *BSOS* x 593.

641¹ *'yn ii s'r myndk* 'the following two hymns are similar (in melody) to'

pleased'; *šm'r'skwn* *M* 127 R 5, from *šm'r-* 'to think'; *'rδyf'skwn* *M* 141 R, from *'rδyf-* 'to shine'.

644. (b) *sk. p[ɫ]frynd'sk* *M* 600, 3, from *p[ɫ]fryn-* 'to greet'; *xw]jɫ'sk* ib. 4, from *xwj-* 'to wish'; Chr. *d'r'sq* ii 5, 32, from *d'r-* 'to hold'; Chr. *pɫ'w'sq* ii 6, 8, from *pɫ'w-* 'to endure'.

645. (c) *p[ɫ]synd'skwn* is preceded by (*š*)*m'x*, hence is likely to be 2 Pl. Pres. (from *p[ɫ]synd-t'-skwn*). Chr. *d'r'sq* and *pɫ'w'sq* have the function of the 3 Sg. Impf., which may also be assumed for Man. *šm'r'skwn* and *'rδyf'skwn*; comparing Chr. *d'r'sq* with Man. *δ'rsk* (§ 640), it is tempting to accept Waag's suggestion (art. cit., 142) that the Chr. forms have resulted from *-āz-* Preterites + *sq*;¹ the spelling *šw'zskwn* (§ 639) for *šawāskun*, would be an older form, cf. *p[ɫ]cxš-* for *p[ɫ]caxš-*.

On the other hand, if these are not *-āz-* Preterites, aleph preceding the particle may be merely euphonic, or represent the light-stem ending of the 3 Sg. Impf. introduced for euphonic reasons. The same applies to *xw]jɫ'sk* and *p[ɫ]frynd'sk*, if these are 3 Sg. Impf. Middle (cf. §§ 709 sq.).

The last two, however, may be 3 Sg. or 2 Pl. of the Present. If 3 Sg., their aleph would have to be taken for a euphonic vowel; if 2 Pl., they would be similar to *p[ɫ]synd'skwn*.

646. (ii) Man. B. *k'm*, less frequently *k'n*; Chr. *q'*, *g'* (*ST* i, v. Salemann, *Izv.*, 1913, 1140 sqq., and *B* 49, 8; cf. also § 448), *q'n* (v. Telegdi, *JA*, t. 230 (1938), 229). This particle is usually added to the Present Indicative, giving it the value of a Future; sometimes it is used to reinforce the Subjunctive, the Optative,¹ or the Precative.

Although the various forms of this particle appear to belong to various dialects, one Man. text, *T* ii B, has both *k'm* (*βwtk'm* 'it will be' V 5) and *k'n* (*prš[ɫ]ymk'n*² 'we shall prepare' V 3). *-kām* is used for the Future also in Khwārezmian, v. H., *ZDMG* 90, *34*.

647. (1) *k'm*.

(a) With the Present Indicative. *pc'yɫq'm* 'it will be convenient' *BBB* d 2 sq.; *jwtk'm* 'he will live' *M* 127 V 6; *swmbɫk'm* 'he will

645¹ There is no need to extend this explanation to the light stems KB *'skw'skwnw* (Hansen, 27, Waag, loc. cit.), Man. *γrβ'skwn*, *kn'skwn* (§ 637), *γw'sk*, Chr. *b'sq* (§ 640), where the aleph can be accounted for as the ordinary ending of the Imperfect.

646¹ The Optative followed by *k'm*, *k'n*, has perhaps the meaning of 'to be about to', judging by *VJ* 100 and *P* 3, 53, 123.

646² Acc. to H., *kān* resulted from *kām* by dissimilation to the *-m* of the ending of the 1 Sg. and Pl.

bore' *M* 135 i 51; *βwtk'm*, § 646, and *M* 591, 7; *ny w'c'mk'm* 'I shall not allow' *Kaw.* C 13; *βyndmq'm* 'I shall bind' *T ii D* 117, 31; *myryk'm* 2 Sg., 'you will die' *M* 127 V 8; *myrtyk'm* 'he will die' ib. 9; *fry'mδ'k'm* 2 Pl. (possibly Subj.) *'to finish' (H.) *M* 399, 5; *S. swyδ'k'm* 2 Pl., 'you will burn' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 14.

648. (b) With the Subjunctive. *β'ik'm* *M* 135 ii 13, *wβ'y(k'm)* *T ii D* 66 b 34, 3 Sg., 'will (or should) be'; *S. δ'r't k'm* 3 Sg., 'to hold' *Anc. Lett.* ii 46; *B. w'β' k'm* 2 Sg., '(if) you want to say' *Vim* 19; *βδ'yz' k'm* 2 Sg., 'you wish to *clean' *Dhu* 286; *L' βyš' k'm* 'do not give' *VJ* 69.

649. (c) With the Optative. *B. δβr'y k'm* 'I am about to give' *VJ* 100; *Man. qδ' . . wβyk'm* 3 Sg., 'when . . will be' *M* 140 V 7; Optatives are perhaps also *Man. wβyk'm* 2 Sg. '(so that) you will be' *T ii D* 117, 32, and *pcy'yq'm* 2nd or 3rd Sg., 'to suit, be useful', ib. 29.

(d) With the Optative-Imperative, v. § 753.

(e) With the Precative. *myrytyq'm* 'he shall die' v. § 809.

650. (2) *k'n*.

(a) With the Present Indicative. *βwtk'n* 'will be' *M* 771, 16. *T ii D* 52 a 6. *M* 118 ii V 3; *βyr'k'n* 2 Pl., 'you will obtain' *M* 894 i 4; *βymk'n* 'we shall be' *M* 771, 10; *prš'ymk'n*, v. § 646; *B. βyr'm k'n* 'I shall find' *Frg ii^a* 19; *pswysty k'n* 'will be cleared' *Frg iii* 70 sq.

651. (b) With the Optative. *B. šw'yk'n* 3 Sg., '(if) he is about to go' *P* 3, 53; *kwn'yk'n* 'he is about to make' *P* 3, 123.

652. (iii) *x't*. A secondary Subjunctive can be formed by adding *x't*, 3 Sg. Subj. of 'to be' (§ 773), to the Indicative, v. *BBB* p. 65 on 527. *'kriyy* '[s]tyy *x't* 'should have been made' *M* 116 V 12; *qδ'rmx't* '(if) I have done' ib. 10; *'styy x't* 'should be' ib. 15; *pryc't* *x't* 2 Pl., 'you should abandon' *M* 894 i 3.

Preverbs

ā-, 653.

ā-: *ham-*, 656-9.

abi-, 660.

apa-, 660.

ati-, 661 sq.

awa-, 663.

upa-, 663.

us-, *uz-*, 664 sq.

ham-, 654 sq.

para-, 666.

parā-, 667.

pari-, 668-70.

pati-, 671-4.

frā-, 675.

ni-, 676-8.

niš-, 679.

wi-, 680.

wi-+*ā-*, 681.

653. (i) *ā-*, Impf. *mā-*, § 634. »*βr-* 'to bring' *M 356*, 13. *T ii D 167 iii 14*; (°)*fryn-* 'to pray, bless', B. »*pryn-*, cf. § 579; »*γyδ-* 'to wish'; »*γz-* 'to begin' *M 120*, 7. *M 133*, 38; »*γund-* 'to cover', cf. § 601; »*jy-* 'to be born', § 182; »*ny-* 'to lead', cf. § 569; »*yfs-* 'to be perverted', cf. § 827; &c.

Not clear is »*tz'z 2 Sg. Impt.*, *M 117*, 8 (meaning unknown).

654. (ii) *ham-*.

(1) »*m-* before *p* (which becomes *b*, v. § 304). Imperfect *m'-* and *mn-*, v. § 633. Chr. »*mpd-* 'to fall'; Man. »*mbyr-* 'to fill', v. § 544. Cf. Chr. »*mbrz*, § 655.

655. (2) »*n-* before other consonants, including *β, f, w*. Impf. *mn-*, v. § 632. Man. »*nβrz βr-* 'to receive (guests)' v. H., *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, 117, bottom, but Chr. »*mbrz br-* i 30, 13; »*nfr'sy*, Acc., *M 135 ii 52* ('juridical) inquiry'; »*nc'y-* 'to stop'; »*ndwzs-* 'to strive'; B. »*nt'c* 'crowd';¹ Man. »*nxy-* 'to infringe'; »*nwyj-* 'to collect'; &c.

656. (iii) The preverbs *ā-* and *ham-* sometimes interchange, though rarely within the same dialect. [v. Addenda.]

(1) Man. »*γrt-* *Sogd.* 29, 6: B. »*ny'rt-* 'fertile, juicy, rich'.

(2) Chr. »*ž'wny*: Man. »*nj'wny*, S. »*nz'wny* 'σωτήρ', v. § 894.

657. (3) Chr. »*zn-*: Man. B. »*nz'n-* 'to confess, profess', cf. *BBB* p. 76 on 614.

(4) Chr. »*št'y-*: Man. B. »*nšt'y-* 'to show'.

(5) Chr. »*brz* and »*mbrz*, Man. »*nβrz*, B. »*nβ(°)rz VJ 254. 1337*, 'reception', cf. § 655.

658. (6) Chr. »*w'zy*: Man. »*nw'zkyy*, Obl., v. § 986, B. »*nw'z'k* 'meeting, crowd', v. *BBB* p. 79 on 649.

(7) Chr. (and Man.?) »*wysn-*: Man. S. »*nwysn-* 'to introduce, initiate', v. § 547.

(8) Chr. »*γz-/xšt-* 'to rise', »*xyž-* 'suscito': Man. »*nxz-*, »*nyz-*, B. »*nyz-*, v. § 55.

659. (9) Man. »*x's*, Chr. »*x's*: B. »*ny'(°)s* 'struggle', v. *BBB* p. 88 top.

(10) Chr. »*xwncy*, Abl.: Man. »*nrxwnc*, S. »*nγwncy*, Obl., *X 1 ii R 16*, 'struggle', cf. § 1004.

(11) Chr. »*y'm* 'end' i 18, 3. 19, 13. 20, 5, B. »*y'm*: Man. »*ny'm* *M 178 i R 9. M 882*, 5.

660. (iv) *abi-* becomes (ə)*v-*; before *a*, (ə)*vy-*, in S. (°)*βy'rt-*, v. § 90. On *βywn-* v. § 434. Impf. *vā-*, v. § 619.

(v) *apa-* becomes (ə)*p-*, v. § 89. Impf. *pā-*, v. § 616.

655¹ *Vim 73. DN 5, nt'cy Obl., Padm 39, wysp nt'c Vim 67* 'all' (Weller), < **ham-tāča-*.

661. (vi) *ati-*.

(1) *tys-* (*tīs-*) 'to enter', from *ati-*+*isa-*, § 539 (on the Impf. v. § 614); Past stem *tyt-* from *ati-*+*gata-*, cf. Parth. *'dyh-*/*'dgd-*, H., BSOS x 944 fn. 1, and Man. Chr. *ty'm* 'ford' *M* 769, 3. *ST* i 60, 1, B. *ty'm* *VJ* 64°. *Vim* 3. 4.

662. (2) *txyz-* 'to descend, set', in Man. *xwr m'xyy txyyz* 'the setting of sun and moon', cf. § 1639, and *xwrtxyz kyr'n* 'West'.

(3) B. *tyny-* 'to lead into, take', *tyny'ty* Inf., v. § 537, *tyny* 3 Sg. Impf., v. § 630.

(4) *tkwš-* 'to look', cf. § 551; Impf. B. *tyk'wš-*, § 628.

663. (vii) *awa-* > *ō-*, v. § 83 fn. 1. Impf. *wā-*, v. § 618. *'wzz-* 'to descend', § 342; *'wsty-* 'to place', § 552; *'wz'm-* 'to condemn', § 584; &c.

(viii) *upa-* > (*ə*)*p-*, cf. (*ʔ*)*pst-* 'assistance', (*ʔ*)*pzt-* 'place of origin', § 99. Impf. *pā-*, cf. § 616.

664. (ix) *us-*, *uz-* > (*ə*)*s-*, (*ə*)*z-*. Impf. *sī-*, *zī-*, § 627.

(a) (*ə*)*s-*. *sfryn-* 'to create', cf. § 579, from **us-frin-*; Chr. *swy'y-*, *swx'y-*, B. *syw'y-*, S. *'syw'y-*, cf. §§ 417. 567 fn. 612, 'to lift, take', from **us-χwāhaya-*.

665. (b) (*ə*)*z-*. Man. *zwrt-*, *'zwrt-*, 'to (re)turn', from **uz-warta-*, v. § 99; *zrync-/zryt-* 'to deliver', v. § 542; *zryš-* 'to hurt', v. *BBB* p. 56 on 492; B. *zyrβ-* 'to exalt' *SCE* 522, Pass. B. *zyruβs-* 'to be raised', cf. § 153 b.

666. (x) *para-*. Chr. *prbxš-* 'to deliver, betray', v. *BBB* p. 76 bottom; S. *pry'nš-/pry'št-* 'to separate', v. *BBB* p. 55 top (cf. § 343); B. *prw''c-* 'to slander' *SCE* 81, cf. *prw''k* 'slander' ib. 440. 549.

667. (xi) *para-*+*ā-*. *pr'ny-* 'to lead', v. § 569; *pr'kn-* 'to sow', v. *BBB* p. 72 on 570; B. *pr'yδ-/pr''δt-* 'to sell', v. § 122 fn.; *prys-* (*parēs-*)/*pr'yt-* 'to reach', v. § 603.

668. (xii) *pari-*.

(1) > *par-*, cf. § 164. Impf. *parī-*, v. § 624. *prδys-* 'to build', v. *BBB* p. 56 bottom; *prβrt-*, Past stem, 'to cross (arms)', v. *Sogd.* 23 top; *prwrt-* 'to turn, become'; &c.

669. (2) > *pary-* before *ō* in *prywj-* 'to be victorious' *Sogd.* 16, 9, cf. H., *ZII* ix 228.

670. (3) Contracted with a following *ā*: *pryp-* 'to lead, take', < *pari-āpaya-*, v. §§ 205. 614; cf. also *pryβyy* 'cloud' < **pari-abra-*, § 202.

671. (xiii) *pati-*.

(1) > *p(a)t-*, cf. § 164. Impf. *p(a)ti(y)-*, v. §§ 622. 630. *ptβyδ-* 'to recognize'; *p(t)cxš-* 'to receive'; *ptγwδ-* 'to conceal'; *ptṛ'm-* 'to calm, appease'; *pty'm-* 'to finish'; &c.

672. (2) > *p(a)č-*, v. § 275. *pcγwβt-*, Past stem, 'to praise'; *pcḳwyr-* 'to fear'; *pcwz-* 'to meet' *T ii B R 17*; Chr. *pcywfs-* 'to be transformed', Impf. *pcīyufs-*, v. § 630; &c.

673. (3) *pt-* and *pc-* convey different meanings when used with the same verbal stem. Man. *pt[γ]rβ-* *Sogd. 25, 29, B. ptyrβ-* 'to understand' *SCE 556. Padm 56. Dhu 92. 121. 283*, 'to feel' *SCE 406* (happiness). 564 (joy), 'to place (an order or book upon one's head)' v. *ST ii 604*: B. *pcyrβ-* 'to accept, receive' *SCE 369. Vim 147. Dhy 240. DN 65. 67. 71. 83. 87*; *ptxw'y-* 'to kill': *pcxw'y-* *M 794 b 7*, 'to interfere, hinder', cf. *BBB p. 59 top*.

674. (4) With *-ā-* (only nominal forms).

(a) *p'cr'i* 'reward', from **pati-rāta-*, v. *BBB p. 130*¹

(b) *p'ckrt* '(in) place (of)', from **pati-kṛta-*, v. *BBB p. 77 bottom*¹

(c) B. *p'cγ'm* 'false, unreliable' *ST ii*.

(d) Man. *p'tcnyy*. Chr. *p'cny* (miswritten *p'cyy* in *ST i 18, 5*), 'reply', not attested in B., cf. Lentz, *ST ii*, s.v. *pcβ'nt*;² connected acc. to Bailey, *JRAS*, 1930, 19, with Arm. *pataszani*, acc. to Benv., *JA*, t. 225 (1934), 183, with Hebrew *ptšgn*.

(e) The *-ā-* of Man. Chr. *p'tfr's* 'torment' *M 617 i 8. ST ii 1, 76*, is borrowed from Parth. *pādīfrās*, MPers. *pādīfrāh* (H.).

675. (xiv) *fra-*. Impf. *f(r)ā-*, v. § 617.

(1) Remains *fra-*, v. §§ 324-30.

(2) Becomes *f(a)-*, v. §§ 315-20.

(xv) *fra-+ā-*. On the Impf. v. § 615.

(1) Remains *frā-*, v. §§ 325. 327. 329.

(2) Becomes *fā-*, v. § 322.

676. (xvi) *ni-*. Impf. *nī(y)-*, v. §§ 626. 630.

(1) *n-*. Man. *nβndyh*, B. *nβ'ntk* 'bridle'; Man. *nβyr-*, § 536, B. *nβ'yr-* *Dhu 145*, 'to plan, deliberate, take counsel' (H.), cf. S.

674¹ H., *BBB p. 77 fn. 5*, dismisses a connexion between *p'cr't* and Chr. *p'crty ii 6, 29*. The latter, however, does seem to mean 'reward' rather than 'place', in which case *-rt-* (= *-rat-*) would be shortened < *rāt*, acc. to § 121. Hence we should have the following series of words:

(1) Man. *p'cr't*, Chr. *p'crty* (Obl.), 'reward', from **pati-rāta-*.

(2) Man. *p'ckrt* '(in) place (of)', from **pati-kṛta-*.

(3) Chr. *pcrw* 'instead of', from **pati-karam*, v. § 247.

(4) B. *pc'rt* (*c'wn*, *cnn* . . . *pc'rt* 'because of, for the sake of' *P 2, 236, 345*), from **pati-kart-*, v. § 247.

674² [B. *p'c'γn P 15, 25*, is to be read *p'r'γz.*]

nβ'yr'(kh) § 973, c; Man. *nfrywn* (§ 1084) 'curse', *nfrywn-ryk* (§ 1015) idem, *nfryt'* Voc. Sg. (§ 1253), Chr. *nfrytyty* Voc. Pl. (§ 1259), 'accursed', cf. Bailey, *BSOS* vii 281; Man. *ny'd* *M* 672 ii 10, B. *ny'd'kh* *Intox. Sūtra* 36, Chr. *ny'd'*, 'prayer'; Man. *nxyrs-* 'to reproach' *BBB* pp. 75 sq.; Man. *nywδn*, Chr. *nywδn*, B. *ny'wδn*, 'garment'; Man. Chr. *nywš-*, B. *ny'wš-*, 'to listen'; B. *nk'np-* *SCE* 98. *Dhy* 9/Man. *nqβt-* *M* 133, 51, 'to bend'; Chr. *nm'y-* 'to judge'; Man. Chr. B. *nm'n-* 'repentance', v. *BBB* p. 92 on b 25, cf. Khot. *nimāna*, *E*; Man. Chr. *npys-*, B. *np'ys-* 'to write'; *nw'rt'* 'provocation' *BBB* p. 82 top; Man. *nwyδm'*, B. *nwyδmh*, 'invitation', v. *BBB* p. 98 on c 43, cf. also *nwyδm'* *Türk. Man.* iii 30 line 11 (H.), and B. *nwyδ-* 'to invite' (v. H., *BSOS* ix 85); Man. *nxy'y-*, B. *nyw'y-*, 'to pound' *BBB* p. 59.

677. (2) *ny-*¹ Man. *nyšty-*/B. *nyšt't-* 'to order, suggest', v. § 561; Chr. *nyšqwx|γd'r-* 'ἐκβάλλω', cf. § 56. Possibly also Man. *nyzβ'ny*, B. *nyzβ'n'k* 'passion', v. *BBB* p. 66 on 537.

678. (3) *n-* and *ny-*¹ Chr. *nšyd-*, B. *nš'yδ-* *VJ* 1118: B. *nyš'yδ-* *SCE* 529 'to plant, place'; B. *np'yδ-* 'to lay down' *VJ* 1138: B. *nyyδ-* 'to lie down' *SCE* 324; Chr. *nšqr't*, B. *nšk'rt*: Chr. *nyšqr't* 'meaning, definition', v. *ST* ii, 589 c; B. *nšk'w-* 'to extract' *Frg* iii 64. *Vim* 162. *DN* 32. Rosenberg *Frg* 13 (*Izv.*, 1927, 1380, cf. pp. 1386. 1398): Man. *nyšk'wnd* 3 Pl. Pres., *M* 108 V 5, *nyšk[w]t* *M* 904 ii 10 (end of line).

679. (xvii) *niš-*. No safe example, apart from *nyjy-* 'to go out', § 568. Possible are B. *nšy'(w)st-*, Past stem, 'to lacerate', v. *BBB* p. 59, from *χwasta-* (not certain in view of Av. *šx^v* inst. of *šv* from *x^v*, v. Barth., *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i 182, N^o 45), and Chr. *nyžt'w-* 'to announce', v. § 575.

680. (xviii) *wi-*.

(1) Spelled *wy-* § 216 sq., *w-* § 218, *wy-* and *w-* § 219. Becomes *w-* § 213, *u-* § 214, *w-* or *u-* § 215. Impf. *wi-*, § 625.

(2) Becomes *y-*, Impf. 'y-, v. §§ 220, 631.

681. (xix) *wi-+ā-*. Man. *wy'βr-* *T* ii *D* 117, 42, B. *wy''βr-*, 'to talk', Man. *wy'βrt'yy* 'speech', v. *BBB* p. 80 on 662.

677-8¹. Apart from Imperfects.

VERBAL INFLEXION

The Personal Endings

Conspectus¹

Singular			
	1st	2nd	3rd
Present Indicative	- <i>'m</i> , - <i>m</i> , 682	- <i>y</i> 693, - 700 (1)	Light: - <i>ty</i> 704 Heavy: - <i>t</i> 707
Subjunctive	- <i>'m</i> 683; - <i>n</i> 685 - <i>'n</i> 684	- <i>'</i> 698 - 703 (?)	- <i>t</i> 711
Optative	Chr. B. - <i>'y</i> 689	- <i>y</i> 695, - 703 (?)	- <i>y</i> 713
Injunctive	Chr. B. - <i>w</i> 688		
Imperfect.	- <i>w</i> 687 - 691	- <i>y</i> 696 - 702	Light: - <i>'</i> 712 - 715 Heavy: - <i>t</i> 714
Middle Imperfect	- <i>tw</i> 690	- <i>ty</i> 699	Light: - <i>t'</i> 710 Heavy: - <i>t</i> 709
Imperative		Light: - <i>'</i> 697 Heavy: - 701	
Passive			- <i>ty</i> 706
Plural			
	716-21	Man. 737 Chr. 738 S. 739-54	755-9

1st Singular

682. (1) -*am* (spelled -*'m* or -*m*), from -*āmi*.

(a) Present Indicative. *γrβ'm* 'to know' *M* 135 i 27; *'skw'm* 'to be' *BBB* 759; *ptškw'y'm* (*pčkwayam*) 'to say' *BBB* 748; *'p'ym* (*āpāyam*) 'to consider' *BBB* a 10; *'zyrm δβyš'm* 'to hurt and injure' *BBB* 483; &c.

683. (b) Future. *w'c'mk'm* 'to allow', *βyndmq'm* 'to bind', v. § 647; *'smk'm* 'to take' *Man. Lett.* i 29.

684. (c) Subjunctive. Only Chr. *wn'm*. 'I should do' i 42, 2.

¹ For the endings of the Precative see § 805, of the Irrealis §§ 815. 821 sq., of the Intrans. Pret. § 861.

685. (2) *-ān* and *-an* (spelled *-ʼn*, B. also *-ʼn*, and *-n*), from *-āni*. The use of *-ʼn* or *-n* may sometimes have been directed by considerations of spacing (cf. § 80). **Subjunctive:**

(a) *-(ʼ)n*. Man. B. *mynʼn* 'to stay, be' *M* 579, 12. *VJ* 534; *ʼysʼn* 'to come' *M* 579, 13; *prw(rt)ʼn* 'to become' ib. 16; B. *wyʼršʼn* 'to deliver' *VJ* 40^b. 42^b. 384; *čβʼn* 'to steal' *DN* 79; *šwʼn* 'to go' *VJ* 1056 (end of line).

686. (b) *-n*. *βʼwn* (*vāwan*) 'to go, approach', v. § 573; *ʼncʼy(n)* (*ančāyan*) 'to remain' *Sogd.* 50, 7; *ʼwstyn* (*ōstayan*) 'to place', § 552; *ptʼxwʼym* (*patxwāyan*) 'to kill' *Kaw.* C 6; *prβyryn* (*parvēran*) 'to explain' *M* 591, 20 (end of line); *ywcn* (*yōčan*) 'to teach' *M* 794 a 2; *wyʼšn* (*wyašan*) 'to rejoice' *M* 834 ii 2; B. *wyʼršʼn* 'to deliver' *VJ* 60^b. 533 (end of line); B. *ʼpsʼwcn* 'to clear' *Frg* iii 68; B. *pwʼrtn* 'to turn away' *DN* 82; B. *pyʼtn* 'to adorn' *DN* 81.

687. (3) *-u* (spelled *-w*, B. *-w* and *-ʼw*), from *-am*, cf. § 349.

(a) **Imperfect.** Man. *δβʼrw* 'to give', § 621; *prywrwʼ* 'to become' *M* 410, 12; *wynw* 'to see', § 611; *mʼmsw* 'to plough', § 634; B. *ptʼyγwšw* 'to hear' *VJ* 430. 577; B. *wnʼw* 'to make' *T* iii Š 23 (I) &c.

688. (b) **Injunctive (H.).** Chr. *θbrw* 'to give' i 61, 11. 15. B. *ʼγʼzw* 'to begin' *P* 6, 77 (H.), used as Irrealis, cf. S. *wmʼʼw*, § 822.

(c) **Future Injunctive (H.)** B. *prβʼyryw kʼm* 'to explain' *P* 2, 1223 (used as Irrealis) [cf. H., *BSOAS* xi 735 line 5].

689. (4) *-ai* (only B. *-ʼy*) [from *-ai(ya)m*].

(a) **Optative.** *zrʼyncʼy* 'to deliver' *VJ* 102; *wnʼy* 'to make' *VJ* 477.

(b) **Future Optative** (cf. § 646 fn. 1): *δβʼry kʼm* 'to give' *VJ* 100.

690. (5) *-tu*. Only in *ʼstw* 'I have taken' *Man. Lett.* i 29 (from *ʼst* 3 Sg. Impf. Middle (§ 709) + *-u*, ending of the 1 Sg. Impf. (§ 687), cf. *kundy* 2 Sg., § 699). On the Precative *šnyštw* v. §§ 805. 807.

691. (6) **Nought. Imperfect:** B. *ptʼyγwš* 'to hear' *VJ* 62^c. 509; Man. *ptʼyškwy* 'to tell' *M* 135 i 24 (= S. *ptyškwʼy* in another copy of this text, *T M* 418 R 6).

2nd Singular

692. (1) Man. *-(y)y(h)*, B. *-(ʼ)y*, are used for the Pres. and Fut. Indicative (*-i* from *-ahi*), the Optative (*-ai* from *-aiš*, v. § 387), and the Imperfect (*-i* from *-ah*, cf. § 402). Since the rules prescribing the Optative are not always observed, one cannot be sure that the forms here quoted as Opt. are not meant to be Pres. Indicatives.

693. (a) Present Indicative. $\gamma\beta yy$ 'to know' *M* 135 i 22; $n'jy\dot{h}$ 'to wriggle' *BBB* b 60; $pw'rtyy$ 'to turn away' *Sogd.* 16, 7.

694. (b) Future. $myryyk'm$ 'to die', § 647.

695. (c) Optative. $\delta'ry$ '(if) you hold' *M* 127 V 8; $k\delta'$ $ptxw'y y$ 'if you kill' *ib.* 9; $q\delta'$ $r'\delta\delta$ $\dot{s}wy\dot{h}$ 'if (when) you walk' *M* 765 k 13; $k\delta'$. . $n\gamma w\dot{s}y y$ 'if you listen' *T ii D* 117, 29 sq.; $wyspw$ $'rk$ cw $'tymy$ $\dot{t}\gamma w$ $frm'y y$ 'any work you may order me' *M* 135 i 26; $c'nw$. . $pty'myy$ 'when you finish' *BBB* d 11.

696. (d) Imperfect. S. $\beta\dot{s}'my$ 'you sent' *Anc. Lett. (Doc.)* x 7 (v. *BBB* p. 85 on 719).

697. (2) '-'.
(a) Imperative of light stems (from -a). $\gamma\beta'$ 'to know' *BBB* f 3. *M* 591, 21. *M* 760, 18; kwn' 'to do' *BBB* d 13. *M* 767 i 2; $\beta r'$ 'to bring' *BBB* e 22; $\delta\beta r'$ 'to give' *M* 767 i 4; &c.

698. (b) Subjunctive (cf. *BBB* p. 100 fn. 1), from $\bar{a}hi$, cf. § 398. $wry\delta'\dot{h}$ 'to mix' *Sogd.* 16, 4; B. $py'r\dot{s}'$ 'you should remove' *Dhu* 286; 'YKZY *L' tys'* . . *rt y L' \beta yr' Vim* 38, $k\delta$. . *L' tys'* . . *rt yms* . . *L' \beta yrt wn' Vim* 40, 'if you do not enter, you cannot obtain'; &c.

699. (3) *-ty; after n, -dy. Only in Man. $kwndyy$ *M* 655, 4, 2 Sg. Impf. Middle, analogical to $kwnd'$ 3 Sg. Impf. Middle (§ 710); cf. $'stw$, § 690.

700. (4) Nought, with heavy stems only.

(a) Present Indicative (?). B. *L' tk'w\dot{s}* 'don't you see?' *VJ* 801 sq. 904 sq., cf. Tedesco, *ZII* ii 285.¹

701. (b) Imperative. $nyy's$ 'to take' *M* 760, 20; $\beta j'w$ 'to add, increase' *M* 767 i 2; $n\gamma w\dot{s}$ 'to listen' *M* 591, 20; &c.

702. (c) Imperfect. B. $n\gamma'w\dot{s}$ 'you have heard' *VJ* 798.

703. (d) Subjunctive or Optative. B. $k\delta$. . $'s$ 'if you take' *VJ* 1323 sq.

3rd Singular

704. (1) -ty, -dy (after n), with light stems (-ti, -di).

(a) Present Indicative. $\delta\beta rty$ 'to give', cf. § 492; $kwndyy$ 'to do, make' *BBB*; Man. βrty 'to bring', cf. § 515; $sndyy$ 'to rise' *M* 108 V 1.

705. (b) Future. Man. $myrtyk'm$ 'to die', § 647; Chr. $\theta brtyq'$ 'to give' i 14, 16. 44, 6. 61, 17.

⁷⁰⁰ The difficulty still remains; for elsewhere $tk'w\dot{s}$ does not mean 'to see', but 'to look'.

706. (2) *-ty* for the Present Passive, with both light and heavy stems (*-ti*? v. *BBB* p. 103 on f 37 sqq.¹), cf. § 540. *ĵyrtyy* 'is called' *M 118 i V 13*; *nyštyy* 'is lost', v. § 549; *pš[ky]rtyy* 'is expelled' *BBB* f 42; *ptšmyrtyy* 'is counted' *BBB* 662, B. *ptšmyrtyy* 'is considered' *P 7, 49*; *ptšprtyy* 'is arranged' *M 136 V 2* (not certain, possibly Pret.); *šyštyy* 'is dispersed' *T ii D 139 ii 11* (doubtful); *wyryndyy* 'is destroyed' *M 178 i V 18* (cf. § 219); *wyntysq* 'is seen', v. § 640; *xwyndyy* 'is called' *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 25. Cf. also Man. *βnwtyy* 'trembles', § 576. *lmpj. w>aty*

707. (3) *-t*, with heavy stems.

(a) Present Indicative. *ʼnštʼyt* 'shows'; *sʼšt* 'oportet'; *tyst* 'enters'; *tkwšt* 'looks'; &c.

708. (b) Future. *swmbtkʼm* 'to bore', § 647; Chr. *prbyrtqʼn* 'to explain' *ii 1, 68*.

709. (c) Imperfect Middle of heavy stems (from *-tā*), cf. Tedesco, *ZII* ii 291 sq.;¹ Benv., *Grammaire*, 29; H., *BBB* p. 102 on e 26. B. *ʼst* 'to take', *nyʼwšt* 'to listen', *ʼnškrt* 'to pick up, collect'; *wynt* 'to see' *VJ 1066*. *Frg ii^a 12*;² B. *šwt* 'to go' *VJ 481. 543. 603. 711. 767. 1201*.

710. (4) *-tʼ*, *-dʼ* (after *n*), Imperfect Middle of light stems (from *-tā*), cf. § 709. B. *wntʼ* (v. Tedesco, loc. cit.), Man. *kwndʼ* v.. H., loc. cit., 'to do'; B. *kntʼ* 'to dig' (v. *BBB* p. 102 fn. 1); B. *cftʼ* 'has stolen' *SCE 156. 159*; B. *prw ɣʼmʼk ʼzwh βrtʼ* 'has turned his greed towards riches' *SCE 332*.

711. (5) *-t* (*-āt*), from *-āti*,¹ for the Subjunctive. *ʼjyʼt* 'will be born', § 182 fn.; *ʼskwʼt* 'to be'; *kwnʼt* 'to do'; &c.

712. (6) *-a* from *-at* (§ 280), for the Imperfect of unaugmented light stems. *kwnʼ* 'to do'; *βrʼ* 'to bring, apply' *Kaw. C 5*; *psʼ* 'to ask' *M 135 i 21*; *cfʼ* 'to steal' *M 133, 11*; *pδwβ(s)ʼ* 'to stick', § 453.

713. (7) Man. *-y(y)*, B. *-y*, for the Optative (*-ai* from *-ait*, v. § 280), cf. § 477. *ʼzyry* 'to be hurt' *M 135 ii 51*; *sumbyy* 'to bore, pierce'

706¹ The Inchoative-Passives *pškfstyy* and *wjzstyy*, quoted there as heavy stems with the Passive ending *-ti*, should rather be considered as light stems (acc. to §§ 168. 177) with the ordinary active ending *-ti*, in view of the heavy-stem 3 Sg. *ʼyfstt* in § 827.

709¹ B. *ʼzyt*, *ʼzyt* 'was born', taken by Tedesco as an Impf. Middle, belongs to § 865.

709² *wynt* is clearly a Past tense, against Tedesco, loc. cit. 294 fn. 1.

711¹ Subjunctives in *-ty* still occur in B. texts: *βʼty*, v. § 799; *ʼskwʼty* 'to be', *šwʼty* 'to go', *ʼsty* 'to take', *VJ 50-4*; *syʼty* 'to appear', § 550 fn. 2; *ʼzwyntyy* 'to infringe', v. § 541.

ib. i 11; *zwrtyy* 'to turn away' BBB f 8; *'pstwy* 'to renounce' ib. 10; B. *'ys'y* 'to come' VJ 138; *wyn'y* 'to see' VJ 240; &c.

(8) Chr. -y, S. -(^o)y(-ē) for the Irreales *'st'y*, *βwt(^o)y*, *wm't'y*, cf. § 821.

714. (9) No ending is used with the Imperfect of

(a) heavy stems *β'w* 'to go, approach', § 573; *β'yr* 'to obtain', *βy'ynd* 'to bind', *š's* 'to scatter', § 611; *nyy's* 'to take' M 133, 16; *xyr* 'to go' M 760, 1; *ptyškwyy* 'to say', § 622. Exceptions § 614 n.

715. (b) augmented light stems: *ptyfs* 'to read', § 622; *š'yr* 'to lead', § 629; B. *δ'βr*, Chr. *t'br*, 'to give', § 621; Chr. *pcywfs* 'to be transformed', v. § 630.

1st Plural

716. (i) The usual ending is -ym; in S. also -ymn is found, which seems to be regular in the *Anc. Lett.*;¹ in Man. we have -ym'n once.

The ending -ym of the Optative may represent Av. -aēma. From the Optative it spread to the Pres. Indicative, Subjunctive, and the Imperfect, acc. to Tedesco, ZII ii 287, while Benveniste, *Grammaire*, 30, assumes this ending to have been generalized from *īm* 'we are', and from the 1st Pl. of the Intrans. Pret.

717. (ii) -īm.

(J) Present Indicative. *'γδym* 'to wish' BBB a 11; *'skwym* 'to be' M 107 i 11.

718. (2) Imperfect. *ptycxšym* 'to receive', *ptyγw(šym)* 'to hear', § 622.

719. (3) Subjunctive. *c'nw 'ty pts'cym w' m'n* 'fcm̄δδ 'how shall we build this world?' M 178 ii R 6 sq. [S. *wys'ym*, Addenda to § 825].

720. (4) Optative. *δ'ryym* 'let us keep' T ii B V 18; Chr. *pt'xw'ym* 'to kill' i 21, 8; *ny'sym* 'to take' ib. 9.

721. (iii) S. -ymn¹ (-īman). Except for the Impf. *mn't'γs'ymn* 'we fled' (H.) P 13, 11, it is often difficult to decide to which tense or mood the ending belongs. *wyn'ymn* '(if) we can see (you)' *Anc. Lett.* i 2; *L' z'n'ymn* 'we do (or did) not know' *Anc. Lett.* ii 17; *δ'r'ymn* 'to hold' ib. 26; *pcp'ymn* 'we expect' ib. 56; *nm'cyw βr'ymn* 'to pay homage' *Anc. Lett.* vi 3; *kt . . 'nš't'ymn* 'in order that we may show' P 13^{bis} (*Rustam*) 10; *βyr'ymn* 'to obtain' *Dhu* 292: *c'γwn'k ZKw m'n 'wst'ymn²* 'how shall we dispose the mind?' SCE 552 sq.; *wyδβ'γ*

716¹ -ymn compares with Khwār. -ānni, cf. H., ZDMG 90,*32*, and with Khot. -āmane (Subj.).

721¹ Once, -ymnyy: *β'ymnyy* *Anc. Lett.* ii 29, from β- 'to be'.

721² B. *'wstyšn* *Vim* 45, is probably to be read *'wstyymn*.

wn'yymn ZY prβ'yym [sic] 'we shall preach and explain' *P* 2, 734 sq.
Cf. 'yymn 'we are', § 778.

(iv) *-ym'n*, only in Man. *wβym'n*, v. § 801.

2nd Plural

722. (i) There are, unfortunately, too few examples in Man. texts, and many of them in obscure passages, to enable us clearly to define the function of the three endings *-t'* (*-d'* after *n*), *-δ'*, *-δ*, that are used with Present stems.

This is all the more regrettable as the treatment of these endings is different from the one found in B. and in Chr. texts, which again are at variance with each other.

As far as one can see, *-t'* has become, in Man. texts, the ending of the Pres. Indicative, though some traces of *-δ'* and *-δ* with the Present are still found. Otherwise *-δ'* and *-δ* seem to be reserved for the Imperative and the Subjunctive; as regards their distribution according to the rhythmic law, the usage varies in the various manuscripts, presumably acc. to the period to which they belong and the provenience of the scribe by whom they were written. Thus, *BBB Frg f* uses *-δ* for the Imperative and the Subjunctive of heavy stems, *-δ'* with *kwn-* (light), but *M 135 ii* has *-δ'* in Imperatives of heavy stems, and *T ii B* uses *-δ'* with the Imperative of both light and heavy stems. See the conspectus, § 737.

723. (ii) *-ta*.

(1) Two forms strongly suggest that *-t'* is the ending of the Pres. Indicative, viz. *pryc't'x't* *M 894 i 3*, Periphrastic Subjunctive of *pryc-* 'to abandon', and *βyr't'k'n* ib. 4, Future of *βyr-* 'to obtain', because both *x't* and *k'n* are usually added to the Pres. Indicative (cf. §§ 650. 652).

724. (2) Next there are some forms with the durative suffix *-sk(wn)*, which may be Pres. Indicatives in *-t'*: *p[ɛ]frynd'sk* 'to send greetings'; *xw[j]t'sk* 'to wish'; 'šm'x δ'r[ɛ]t'sk, *T i a*, 'you hold'; (š)m'x p[ɛ]tsynd'skwn, from *p(a)tsind-* 'to be agreeable'. They have been discussed in §§ 643-5.

725. (3) Other forms in *-t'* may be Pres. Indicatives, but their function cannot be established with certainty: *pcš't'h* 'to taste' *Sogd.* 36, 24; *fryyδ't'* 'to do penance' ib. 16, 17; 'yst' 'to come' ib. 21, 25; δ'rt' 'to hold' *M 746 c 14*.

726. (iii) *-θa*. *-δ'* is used for the Imperative and the Subjunctive, irrespective of the rhythmic value of the stems concerned.

(1) Imperative.

(a) Light stems: *znδ* 'to bring forth' *T ii B R 19*; *škrδ* 'to bring along' *ib. V 2*; *kwnδ* 'to make' *BBB f 62*.

727. (b) Heavy stems: *šwδ* 'to go' *T ii B R 16*; *p(c)wzδ* 'to meet' *ib. 17* (but cf. § 175); *βrδ* 'to bring' *ib. V 2*; *n' tkwšδ* 'don't look' *ib. R 14*; *'ndwxsδ* 'to strive' *M 135 ii 14. 25*; *δ'rδ* 'to keep' *ib. 18*.

728. (2) Subjunctive.

(a) Light: *'rłkδ* *'šm'x . . . 'skwδδ* 'if you are' *T i D*.

729. (b) Heavy: *w'nw 'ty . . . pryysδ* 'so that you may reach' *M 135 ii 28*.

730. (3) Apart from a few forms with no context to guide us, viz. *jγyrδ* 'to call' *T ii D 12, 13*, *βrδδ* 'to bring', *'[l](n)γδ* 'to lead', *(p)βγjδδ* ' ? ', all three in *M 356, 13 sq.*, and apart from *xwγδ* 'to wish' *M 399, 12* and *pškwγδ* 'to tell' *M 617 ii 1* which may be either Imperatives or Subjunctives, there is a possible Subjunctive of the Preterite in *xwšt w δ'rδ* *M 617 ii 12* '(since, or if)¹ you have been wishing'.

731. (4) *γrβδδ'skun* 'to know' *M 672 i 11*, *xwrδ'skun* 'to eat' *BBB f 76*, both light stems, are perhaps durative Presents.

732. (iv) -θ. -δ appears with a number of heavy stems, where it must or can be taken as an Imperative ending; yet it is also used for the Subjunctive.

(1) A series of Imperatives is found in *BBB Frq f*: *p'yδ* 'to look after' 56; *δ'rδ* 'to hold' 57; *ptfr'wδ* 'to remember' 70; *ptwγδł* 'to hand over' 54 (cf. § 302).

733. (2) *frm'yδ* *BBB d 8. 10* = NPers. *be-farmāyid*, *n' frm'yδδ* 'please do not' *M 617 i 27*, are likely to be Imperatives, though the Optative cannot be excluded. *'xwγrδ* 'to make eat' *Sogd. 50, 3 b*, *'ysδ* 'to come' *ib. 21, 24 a*, and *nxwγδδ* 'to crush' *T i*, may be Imperatives.

734. (3) *ptcxš-* 'to receive' seems to be treated as heavy stem in the Imperative *ptcxšδ* *BBB f 52*. Cf. § 176.

735. (4) -δ is used for the Subjunctive in *prysδ* 'to reach' *BBB f 55*, and *prwγrδδ* 'to cause to become' *ib. 58. 68 (v. § 456)*.

736. (5) In the Preterites *prš'tδ'rδδ* 'to prepare' *M 134 i V 3*, and *βrłδ'rδδ* 'to bring' *M 617 ii 6*, the ending of -δ'r- must be that of the Present.

730¹ Not expressed, cf. § 1695.

737. (v) These being the forms attested, it is possible, with due reserve, to suggest the following provisional scheme for Man.:

Pres. Ind.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -t', \text{ ordinary ending, 723-5.} \\ -\delta', \text{ before } skun, 731. \\ -\delta, \text{ with } -\delta'r\text{- Preterites, 736.} \end{array} \right.$
Imperative and Subjunctive.	

738. (vi) In Chr., the only ending of the 2nd Pl. is $-t'$, except in the fragment *T ii B 35*, where the same distinction prevails between the Present and the Imperative, as in Manichean:

Present. $d'r't'sq$ 'to hold' *i* 81, 15 (cf. also the $-\delta\bar{a}r$ - Pret. $qt'r't' ii$ 1, 25); $\theta br't'sq$ 'to give' *ib.* 16.

Imperative. $'wsty\theta'$ 'to put' *i* 34, 3; $'s\theta'$ 'to take' *i* 81, 9. 12; $pcy'z\theta'$ 'to receive' *ib.* 13; $xwr\theta'$ 'to eat' *ib.* 9.

739. (vii) For texts in Sogdian writing, the following picture can be gained, mainly from the *VJ* and *T M 389 a*.

(1) $-\delta'$ (light and heavy).

(a) Present Indicative: $wynd'$ (heavy) 'to see' *VJ* 1102; $\delta k'yr\delta'$ 'skun' 'you are being led' *VJ* 1282 sq.

740. (b) Future: $wnd'k'm$ (light) 'to do' *VJ* 1095. Heavy, v. § 834.

741. (c) Imperative.

(a) Light: $\gamma wn\delta'$ 'to proclaim' *VJ* 75; $\beta r\delta'$ 'to hold' *SCE* 216.

742. (β) Heavy: $'zw'rt\delta'$ 'to come back' *VJ* 9^b; $\delta w\delta'$ 'to go' *VJ* 75.

743. (d) Subjunctive (light): $k\delta' m'y\delta L' kwn\delta'$ 'if you don't do so' *T M 389 a R* 18.

744. (e) Present or Imperative (light): $kwn\delta'$ 'to make' *VJ* 1122.

745. (f) Present or Imperfect (heavy): $wynd'$ 'skun' 'to see' *VJ* 1377.

746. (2) $-\delta$ (heavy only).

(a) Present: $'wst'y\delta$ 'to put' *T M 389 a R* 16 (possibly Opt., cf. §§ 751. 553); $tk'w\delta\delta$ 'to look' *VJ* 1101.

747. (b) Imperfect: $p'r'\gamma\delta\delta$ 'to remain, be left' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 5.

748. (c) Imperative: $pcy'z\delta$ 'to receive' *VJ* 958; $\gamma wyz\delta$ 'to wish' *VJ* 1215; $'ny\delta$ 'to fetch' *VJ* 1381; *L' PZY r'y\delta* 'do not cry' *VJ* 8^b; $py'm\delta$ 'to heal' *T M 389 a R* 14.

749. (d) Present or Imperative: $pyz\delta$ 'to beat' *VJ* 1122.

750. (e) Trans. Pret. with $\delta'r$ -: *swytwōδ'rδ* 'to burn' *X 1 ii R 17*; *prwystδ'rδ* 'to cause to be' ib. 21; *pr'ytiδ'rδ* 'to abandon' ib. 6; *'šm'rδ'rδ* 'to think' ib. V 4; *zytδ'rδ* 'to take' *JRAS*, 1944, 137, 4.

751. (3) -yδ.

(a) Optative: *wyδ's'yδ* 'to be astonished' *VJ 1380* (not Pres. Ind., as suggested by Tedesco, *ZII ii 288*); cf. *'wst'yδ*, § 746.

752. (b) Optative-Imperative: *w'β'yδ* 'to tell' *VJ 1334*; *šw'yδ* 'to go' *VJ 1381*; *'s'yδ* 'to take' *VJ 165. 25^b*; *γwvyz'yδ* 'to wish' *VJ 160. 178*; *spyš'yδ* 'to serve' *T M 389 a V 27*; *'wšp'yδ* 'to step forward' *T M 389 a R 13*, may belong to § 748, in view of § 558.

753. (c) Future Optative-Imperative: *L' γwvyz'yδ k'm* 'do not ask' *VJ 174*.

754. (4) Peculiar forms are the Optatives *šw'yšδ* 'to go' *Dhu 23* *pt'yrβ'yšδ* 'to understand' ib. 92, which may have a secondary ending derived from the 2nd Sg. *iš* 'you are' + -θ(a), cf. Chr. *'yšt'* (§ 777), and *ptšmryδy* 'to reckon' *Anc. Lett. ii 45*, *'pδr'ydy* 'to throw away' ib. 46 (v. *BBB p. 72 on 572*), *wnyδy* 'to do' ib. 47, *'syδy* 'to take' ib. 48, *δβr'ydy* 'to give' ib. 49.

755. (1) -and.

3rd Plural

(1) Present Indicative: *ptryδ'nd* 'to mix with' *BBB f 35*; *frqyrnd* 'to be indifferent', *w'β'nd* 'to say', *BBB p. 74 bottom*; *q'mnd* 'to wish' *T ii D 139 i 11. 14*, *q'm'nd* ib. 10; &c.

756. (2) Future: *kwn'nd k'm* 'to do' *Man. Lett. ii 13*; *sn'ynd k'm* (*snāyandkām*) 'to wash' ib. 14; &c.

757. (3) Imperfect: *wyn'nd* 'to see' *Man. Lett. i 18. 20*; *βynd'nd* 'to bind' *Kaw. G 2*; *mns'c'nd* 'to fix', § 632; *βr'nd* 'to offer' *Kaw. V 14*; *δ'βr'nd* 'to give', § 621; &c.

758. (4) Subjunctive: *kwn'nd* 'to do' *M 178 ii R 17*; *zwrt'nd* 'to return' *M 674, 25*.

759. (ii) -ēnd for the Optative, contracted from -ayant (v. § 203), which is still attested in B. *šm'ry'nt* 'to think' *P 2, 857*, and *Anc. Lett. un'y'nt* 'to do' *ii 18*, *ny's'y'nt* 'to take' ib. 19. *skwynd* 'to be' *M 135 ii 50*; *qwnynd* 'to do' ib. 53; *p'šynd* 'to sing hymns' *RBB d 10*; Chr. *psynt* 'to ask' *i 58, 3*; B. *šyws'ynt* 'to be worried (lit. burned)' *SCE 151*; B. *γwrynt* 'to eat' *VJ 17^b*; &c.

Auxiliaries

760. (i) OIr. *ah-* 'to be'. Some analogical adaptations have taken place, especially with regard to the use of initial χ (from *h*). See *conspicuum*, § 786.

(a) Forms directly derived from the equivalent OIr. forms:

1 Sg. Pres.: Man. *'ym M 530, 5. M 697, 8, B. 'ym, from ahmi, v. § 432.*

761. 2 Sg. Pres.: Man. *'yš M 137 R 1. 4. 12. T ii D 66, 1, 9. 11. 13; Chr. B. 'yš i 42, 8. 47, 15. 58, 3. VJ 310. 320. 929; from ahi, v. § 432.*

762. 3 Sg. Pres.: Man. B. *'sty, Chr. sty, S. 'st ST ii 7, 3, Anc. Lett., from asti.*

763. 2 Pl. Pres.: S. *-sδ, -sδδ'*, used as Preterite ending, v. § 868, possibly occurring independently as *jsδδh, X I ii R 9, from *sθa.*

764. 3 Pl. Pres.: (1) Man. *xnd, B. ynt.*

765. (2) S. *'nt Vim 62. ST ii 7, 27. Anc. Lett. ii 37 (thus to be read inst. of 'yt, cf. § 870).¹* } < *hanti.*

766. 3 Sg. Impf.: B. *'y¹ VJ 40. 345. 346, from āha (Perfect), v. § 401.*

767. 3 Sg. Subj.: Man. *'t (§ 437 fn. 3), S. 't VJ 297. 1056. 1075. Dhu 50. Anc. Lett., from ahat.*

768. 3 Sg. Opt.: Man. *y't M 617 i 35, from hyāt, cf. BBB p. 101 on e 12.*

769. (b) From *'y* (§ 766) was derived the 3 Pl. Impf. B. *'ynt VJ 28^b.*

770. (c) From *xnd* (§ 764) the initial χ was transferred to other forms:

3 Sg. Pres.: Man. Chr. *xcy, B. ycy, cf. § 372.*

771. 3 Sg. Impf.: B. *γ'y (χāi) VJ 16^a. 14^b. 16^b. 19^b. 343. 60^e. 64^e. 857. 862. P 2, 100, from χ-+'y (§ 766).¹*

772. 3 Pl. Impf.: B. *γ'ynt (χāyand) VJ 1241, from χ-+'ynt (§ 769).*

773. 3 Sg. Subj.: Man. *x't, B. γ't VJ 1448, from χ-+'āt (§ 767). On x't used as a particle for the Subjunctive, v. § 652.*

774. 1 Sg. Subj.: B. *γ'n VJ 1050. 1055, derived from χāt.*

765¹ On Reichelt's *'yt* 'er war', v. BBB p. 94 bottom.

766¹ Used, apparently, for the Present in *Dhy* 211.

771¹ B. *γ'y VJ 913. 917. 920. 921, if 3 Sg. Opt., has probably a different origin (= χai, from χ-+'ai, ending of the 3 Sg. Opt. (§ 713)).*

775. (d) From 'ym (§ 760), 'yš (§ 761), the following forms are derived:

3 Sg. Pres.: Man. 'ycy *BBB* b 78, with the ending of *xcy* (§ 372).¹

776. 2 Sg. Impf.: Chr. 'yš i 25, 18. 19, possibly due to a Syriac idiom.

777. 2 Pl. Pres.: Chr. 'yšt' i 71, 3. 83, 5; cf. B. 'yšδ(?) , § 754.

778. 1 Pl. Pres.: Man. 'ym *M* 635 i 4, Chr. 'ym, 'ym'x (from *īm* + *māχ* 'we') i 82, 2, Chr. B. 'ym' *ST* ii 1, 83. 4, 25. *O*¹ 9 (with ' analogical to 'yšt' ?), S. 'ym *T M* 389 a R 34, B. 'ymn *Vim* 44.

779. 3 Pl. Pres.: B. 'ynt in *nyztk* 'ynt 'have come out' *Dhy* 210, which, however, may be 3 Pl. Opt., cf. § 852.

780. (e) From 'st (§ 762) were derived:

(1) B. 'st'nt 3 Pl. Pres., *SCE* 35. *Vim* 64. *ST* ii 7, 30. 32. But Man. *st'nd* *Man. Lett.* ii 17 (cf. § 1682). 20, is possibly used for the Imperfect [unless it is 3 Pl. Pret. of *sn-* 'to rise', cf. § 864 (H.)].

781. (2) B. 'st'ynt 3 Pl. Opt. *Dhy* 209, Opt.-Pret. (§ 638, fn.) *P* 7, 9. 11.

(3) B. 'st't 3 Sg. Subj., v. § 856, < *ast* + *āt* (§ 767).

782. (4) B. 'st'y 3 Sg. Irrealis (H.) '(if there) were' *P* 2, 164, 'there may be' *P* 2, 997, 'sty' *P* 2, 1004, = *astē*, cf. § 821.

783. (f) The abstract *styā*, occurring in Chr. *pr wyny sty'y* 'év éaurō'¹ i 62, 6, may be derived from Av. *sti-*, acc. to § 948.

784. (g) Chr. *nyst* *ST* i, B. *nyst* *VJ* 226. 362. &c., Man. *nystt* (v. § 73 fn.), 'is not'; with *īm* 'am', Man. *nystym* 'am not', v. *BBB* p. 89 on 767.

785. (ii) A stem 'n- (H.) of unclear origin (cf. MPers. 'n'd, 'n'nd, H., *ZII* ix 245 sq.), provides a 2 Pl. Pres. Man. 'n(sd)' *M* 617 ii 26, 'nsδ['] *T* ii *D* 52 c ii, S. 'nsδ' *T M* 389 a R 12. V 24. Cf. § 869.

786. **Conspectus:**

		<i>Pres. Ind.</i>	<i>Impf.</i>	<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Opt.</i>	<i>Irrealis</i>
Singular	1	'ym 760	..	B. γ'n 774	..	..
	2	'yš 761	Chr. 'yš 776	..	..	..
	3	'sty 762	B. 'y 766	't 767	y't 768	B. 'st(')y
		<i>xcy</i> 770	B. γ'y 771	x't 773	B. γ'y	782
		'ycy 775	..	B. 'st't 781	771 fn.	..
		..	..	'sty y x't 652	..	..

775¹ Differently H., *BBB* p. 96 ('ycy from *hištati*). [v. Addenda.]

783¹ [*pr wyny sty'y* translates Syr. *baqnūmēh*, hence *sty*' = *qnūmā* = 'persona, ipse, substantia, essentia' (H.)].

Conspicuous (*cont.*).

		<i>Pres. Ind.</i>	<i>Impf.</i>	<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Opt.</i>	<i>Irrealis</i>
Plura	1	'ym Chr. B. 'ym' B. 'ymn 778	......	......	......	......
	2	-sδ(δ') 763 'nsδ' 785 Chr. 'yšf' 777	......	......	......	......
	3	and 764 S. 'nt 765 B. 'ynt (?) 779 B. 'st'nt 780	B. 'ynt 769 B. γ'ynt 772 st'nd 780 ..	.. .. .. ..	B. 'st'ynt 781 B. 'ynt (?) 779	........

787. (iii) OIr. *baw-* 'to become, to be', appears in Sogdian as *β-*, *βw-*, and *wβ-*.

(1) From the stem *β-* (*v-*) are derived:

(a) In Man.: *βnd* 3 Pl. Pres.; *βymk'n* 1 Pl. Fut.; *β't* 3 Sg. Subj.

788. (b) In Chr.: all the forms attested, except *bw't* 3 Sg. Pres., *bw't* 2 Pl. Impt., *bw'ty* 3 Sg. Irrealis, *bw'tyš'* 2 Pl. Irrealis.

789. (c) In S.: the same forms as in Man., moreover *β'm* 1 Sg. Pres., *β'n* 1 Sg. Subj., (')*β'* 2 Sg. Impt. and 3 Sg. Impf., *β'y* 3 Sg. Opt., *β'ym* 1 Pl. Subj. or Opt., *β'y'nt* 3 Pl. Opt., *β'ymnyy* 1 Pl., *β'y* Infin.

790. (2) From the stem *βw-* (*vaw-* before vowels, *vō-* before consonants, cf. §§ 493. 495) are derived:

(a) In Man.: *βwt* 3 Sg. Pres.

(b) In Chr.: v. § 788.

791. (c) In S.: *βwt* 3 Sg. Pres., *βwy* 2 Sg. Pres. and 3 Sg. Opt., *βw'n* 1 Sg. Subj., *βwδ'k'm* 2 Pl. Fut., *βwt(?)y* 3 Sg. Irrealis.

792. (3) From the stem *wβ-* (*wav-*, metathesis from *vaw-*, v. § 407) are derived:

(a) In Man.: *wβ'm* 1 Sg. Pres.; *wβyk'm* 2 Sg. Fut.; *wβ'* 2 Sg. Impt. and 3 Sg. Impf.; *wβnd* 3 Pl. Impf.; *wβ't* 3 Sg. Subj.; *wβyy* 2 and 3 Sg. Opt.; *wβym*, *wβym'n* 1 Pl. Opt.; *wβynd* 3 Pl. Opt.; *wβyt(y)* 3 Sg. Precative; *wβyny* Partc. Pres.

(b) In Chr.: no forms, v. § 788.

793. (c) In S. (in Manichean texts in Sogdian writing, hence under the influence of the Man. spelling, and in the *Rustam* fragment): *ωβ'* 3 Sg. Impf.; *wβ't* 3 Sg. Subj.

794. (4) Hence it can be said that before vocalic endings *wav-*, *vaw-*, and *v-* are used, *wav-* being confined to Man. (and to the

Rustam fragm.), *vaw-* to S., and *v-* being common to all three dialects; before consonantic endings all three dialects have *vō-*.

Paradigm:

795. (5) Present Indicative.

1 Sg. Man. *wβ'm*, *wβ'mskwn*, B. *β'm* VJ 1134.

2 Sg. B. *βwy* VJ 1340.

3 Sg. Man. *βwt*, B. *βwt*, Chr. *bwt*.

3 Pl. Man. *βnd*, B. *βnt* ST ii, *βnt 'skwn* VJ 826.

796. (6) Future.

2 Sg. Man. *wβyk'm* (possibly Opt., v. § 649); Chr. *byq' i* 31, 7.

3 Sg. Man. *βwtk'm*, § 647; Man. *βwtk'n*, § 650.

1 Pl. Man. *βymk'n*, § 650.

2 Pl. S. *βwδ'k'm* JRAS, 1944, 138, 15.

3 Pl. Chr. *bntq' ST i*.

797. (7) Imperative.

2 Sg. Man. *wβ'*, Chr. *b'*, B. *'β'* VJ 225.

2 Pl. Chr. *bwt' i* 38, 2.

798. (8) Imperfect.

3 Sg. Man. *wβ'*, S. *wβ' T M 389 a R 38. P 13*, 7, B. *'β'* (cf. § 610 fn. 2), *β'*, Chr. *b'*, *b'sq* § 640.

3 Pl. Man. *wβndt*, B. *βnt* VJ 1441. 1459.

799. (9) Subjunctive.

1 Sg. S. *βw'n Anc. Lett. iii 9*, B. *β'n* VJ 530. 1453, Chr. *b'm i* 77, 7.

3 Sg. Man. *wβ't*, *β't*; S. *wβ't T M 389 a R 31*; Chr. *b't*; B. *β't ST ii*; B. *β'ty* VJ 19. 101. 335 (cf. § 711 fn.).

1 Pl. (possibly Opt.): Chr. *bym i* 31, 4. *ii* 6, 34; B. *β'ym* VJ 801; S. *β'yminy*, § 721 fn. 1 (could also be Pres. Ind.). [S. *wβ'ym*, Addenda to § 825].

3 Pl. Chr. *bnt ii* 5, 39, *bnt ii* 1, 63.

800. (10) Future Subjunctive.

3 Sg. Man. *wβ't(k'm)* and *β'tk'm*, v. § 648.

801. (11) Optative.

2 Sg. Man. *wβyy* § 838; B. *βwy* VJ 52°. 896. 1198.

3 Sg. Man. *wβyy*; Chr. *by*; B. *βwy* VJ 442. 446. &c.; *β'y* VJ 783. 859. SCE 125. 517. P 2, 16.

1 Pl. Man. *wβym T ii D 139 i* 12. 13; *wβym'n (?) T ii D 163 b i* 10.

3 Pl. Man. *wβynd M 135 ii* 61; Chr. *byn'tqn* (Durat.) *ii* 6, 26; B. *β'y'nt P 2*, 927.

(12) Future Optative. 3 Sg. Man. *wβyk'm*, v. § 649.

(13) Precative. 3 Sg. Man. *wβyt(y)*, v. § 810.

(14) **-āz- Preterite.** 3 Pl. Chr. *b'zynth ii* 6, 21, v. § 814.

(15) **Irrealis.**

3 Sg. Chr. *bwt'y*, B. *βwt'(°)y*, v. § 816.

2 Pl. Chr. *bwt'yš't'*, § 819.

802. (16) Present Participle.

(a) Man. *wβyny* (Pl. *wβyny't'*, § 890).

(b) Chr. *byq*, v. § 897.

802 a. (17) Infinitive. B. *β'y P* 2, 681. *P* 6, 115 (H.), cf. Baluči *bayag*.

803. (iv) For the Pres. stem **ah-*, *wm't-* (cf. § 215) and *m't-* provide a Past stem, the former being usual in Man. and S., where *m't-* is rare (Man. only *m't'* 3 Sg., *T ii D* 117, 28, and *m't'yš* 2 Sg., *M* 760, 12; for B. cf. Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1918, 841), while the latter is normal in Chr. (where *wm't-* is only found with *-yq* Participles in *ST ii*, cf. § 897, and Telegdi, *JA*, t. 230 (1938), p. 230). They inflect like ordinary Intrans. Preterites (cf. § 861):

(1) Indicative:

1 Sg. *wm'tym*.

2 Sg. *wm'tyš* *Man. Lett.* ii 15.

3 Sg. *wm't'*.

2 Pl. Man. *wm'[t](s)δ* *M* 617 i 24, S. *wm'tsδ* *JRAS*, 1944, 137, 2.

3 Pl. *wm'tnd* *M* 110 i R 8.

(2) Subjunctive: B. *wm't't* 3 Sg., *P* 2, 970. *P* 9, 70.

(3) On the Irrealis ii: 1 Sg. S. *wm't'w*, 3 Sg. B. *wm't'y*, v. § 822.

804. (v) Apart from the stems so far mentioned, the Pres. stem Man. S. *'skw-* (light), Man. Chr. *sqw-*, Chr. *swq-* (Past stem Man. (cf. § 885) B. *'skw't-* *SCE* 3. 114, S. *'skwt't* (3 Sg. Pret. ?) *Anc. Lett.* ii 26), whose original meaning seems to have been 'to stay, to tarry', and the Pass. Pret. *'kt-* 'to have been made = to have become', are widely used as auxiliaries. Cf. also the use of *kun-* in the Potentialis (§§ 881 sqq.), of *δ'r-* in the Trans. Pret. (§§ 877 sqq.) and the Perfectum Praesens (§ 855), of Chr. *šw-* in the periphrastic Passive (§ 837).

The Precative

805. The Precative is formed by inserting *-yt-* or *-t-* between the Present stem and the endings, which are *-w* for the 1st Sg., *-'* for the 2nd Sg. (doubtful), *-y* or nought for the 3rd Sg.

Apart from two B. examples, this formation, whose existence and function are a discovery of Dr. Henning's, seems to be confined to Man. texts.

806. (i) 1st Singular.

(1) *βyr-* 'to obtain': *cw mn*''¹ γδyy γωytyy(ħ) βyrytw *cn βγ* 'Whatever wish be my desire, may I obtain it from God' *M* 337, 8 sq.

807. (2) γwnd- 'to cover', *w'r-* 'to rain', *šnyš-* 'to snow' (v. §§ 450. 452): *pr tw*' (3) γwndytw *cxš'm*¹ (4) *yxš w'rytw cn kpwry* (5) *šnyšt w, M* 137 V (from a poem), translated by H.: 'May I anoint you with the eye-salve *čaxšām* (prepared from the seeds of *Cassia absus L.*), may I rain (on you) the perfume *yaχsa* (cf. *Anc. Lett.* ii 58. *P* 3, 174. *P* 7, 108 [v. *BSOAS*, xi 727 sq.]), may I snow camphor on you.'

808. (ii) 2nd Singular. *δ'r-* 'to hold': *δ'ryt'* *M* 373, 3 (out of context).

809. (iii) 3rd Singular.

(a) Ending -y.

(1) *γw-* 'to want': γωytyy(ħ), v. § 806.

(2) *wxš-* 'to deliver': *wxšytyy M* 672 ii 12.

(3) *šw-* 'to go': *šwytyy* 'may he go' *M* 130 i V 5.

(4) *myr-* 'to die': *myr(y)tyq'm* 'he shall die' *Kaw.* I 3.

810. (b) No ending.

(1) *wβ-* 'to be(come)': *srđng unwnyy wβy(t)* 'may the chief be victorious' *T* i; *šm'x frnyy 'ft'r mwck 'ty xwštty nyj γwt [w'nw 'ty šm'x] frnxwndky' cn βyryštty 'yjndyy wβyt* (or *wβyty*) 'your Excellency (H.) does not require many teachers and masters for your splendour to become worthy of the gods' *M* 483, 7 sq. (from a letter). 2-wy t Tales 64

811. (2) *ptr'ms-* 'to be appeased': B. *mw ptβr'w p'zn ptr'ms'yt* 'the remembrance-spirit should calm down' *T M* 422, 9 sq.

812. (3) *kwn-* 'to make': B. *KZNH ZY wδ'yδ dyw'yδ wy'k ZKw w'r ZY nnp'kw kwn'yt* 'so that there, at that very place, he should produce rain and dew' *Frg* iii 14 sq.

813. (4) *šw-* 'to go (sexually)'? (but possibly a different Pres. stem *šw'y-*): B. *rykd k'w γwtmt s'r šw'yt 's'il va vers ses parentes'* *SCE* 131.

-āz- Preterites

814. A Preterite can be formed by adding -āz- (spelled -z-, but without aleph in Chr. *žyrynūt* 'they called'¹ ii 5, 35) to the Present stem, cf. Waag, *ZDMG* 90, 140 sqq.

Attested are the 3rd Sg. (no ending), the 1st Pl. (-ym), the 3rd Pl.

807¹ Possibly one illegible letter after *cxš'm*.

814¹ Instead of *žyrynūt* ii 6, 22, H. suggests reading *žyrytūt* 'they were called' [without excluding the possibility of *žyrynūt* being a passive -āz- Preterite].

(-nt or -ynt). In Man. only *šw'zskwn* 'he was going' occurs, v. § 639, in B. only *'skw'z* 'he was, stayed'. The remaining forms are Chr.: *w'b'z* 'he spoke', *pt'w'z* 'he endured', *nm'y'q un'z* 'he insulted' *ii* 6, 8 (thus probably to be read inst. of *wγ'z*), *my'n'zym* 'we were', *spxš'znē* 'they used to adore', *nm'y'q qtyt' b'zynyē* (from *b-* 'to become', v. Waag, loc. cit.) 'they were insulted'.

On forms such as Chr. *pt'w'sq* as possible -āz-Preterites, v. § 645.

The origin of -āz- is not known. Schaefer's explanation of Parth. -āz (apud Waag, art. cit., 144), cannot apply to Sogdian, where OIr. -āt does not become -āz. Moreover, -āt exists in Sogdian separately as -'t-, v. § 536.

-'z + q' 857Π

Irrealis i

815. Salemman, *Izv.*, 1913, 1144, pointed out the existence of a Sogdian Irrealis (Past tense), characterized by the insertion of -wt- between the Present stem and the endings, which are -y for were 1st and 3rd Sg., Chr. -yšt' for the 2nd Pl. This formation does not occur in Man. texts.

(i) 1st Singular. 'ys- 'to come': Chr. 't zw 'yswt'y . . . 'καὶ ἐγὼ ἐλθὼν [= ἄν ἦλθον καὶ] . . . (ἄν ἔπραξα)' *i* 49, 1.

816. (ii) 3rd Singular.

(1) βw- 'to be': Chr. [cn 'yqwn ms' pt'γwšt'y ny [q]t'y qt x[. . .]y¹ [b]wt'y (?) 'dy smynt'y c[šmy] 'since eternity was it not heard that anybody opened the eyes of a blind one' *i* 69, 6 sq.;]bwt'y 'yny ny qt' wnyq [m']t' (ei mē) ἦν οὐτος (παρὰ Θεοῦ) οὐκ ἠδύνατο ποιεῖν (οὐδέν)' *i* 70, 9; B. 'γω wyspy šyr'k byrt βwt'y rty pyšt z'tk L' byrt βwt 'any goods (if lost) might be found, but a son cannot be recovered' *VJ* 369 sqq.; S. 'nywn 'YKZY šy ZKh [. . .] L' βwt'y 'just as if its . . . had not been . . .' *T M* 389 a V 20.

817. (2) tys- 'to enter': B. KZNH šy kd 'ywp't 'wy γwšy tys'wt'y 'so that, once (the Sūtra) had entered his ears, . . .' *T ii D* 213 (*A* 5) 30; in the same text 'yswt'y 24, tys'wt'y 26, in unclear context.

818. (3) δβr- 'to give': B. nm'y ZY 'γω swδ''šn ZKwh t'γw''kth ''δ'kw δβ'r δβ'r'wt'y (corresponding to δβ'rtδ'r'y, 3 Sg. Pret. Opt., in the parallel passage 1034 sqq.) *VJ* 1023 'Heaven forbid that S. should have given away the children to somebody' [sic]. [v. Addenda.]

819. (iii) 2nd Plural.

(1) βw- 'to be': Chr.]bwt'yšt' šm'x . . . ' (ei ek tou κόσμου) ἦτε (ὁ κόσμος ἄν τὸ ἴδιον ἐφίλει)' *i* 71, 2.

816¹ H. points out that the restoration *zwycy* is not possible, because the word is always *zwycq* [and suggests *py[n]wt'y (a slight emendation)].

820. (2) *wrn-* 'to believe': Chr. *wrnwtyšt'*, corrected by the scribe into *wrnd'ryšt'* 'πεπιστεύκατε' i 75, 7; *pyšt' šm'[x] .. ny .. nm'nyqyn qtyšt'* .. *qt wrnwtyšt' pryw* 'and ye .. repented not .. that ye might believe him' i 19, 12 sqq.

821. (iv) As to the origin of these forms, it is possible that *bwty*, which compares with Persian *būdē* (cf. also the Irreales B. *wm't'y*, § 822, and *'st'y*, § 782, with *-ē* added to the 3 Sg.), was interpreted as consisting of the Present stem $\beta-$ + *ūtē*, whence the latter element was extended to other Present stems (H.).

Irrealis ii

822. A second type of Irrealis, with the endings (*-w* for the 1st Sg. (cf. § 688), *-y* (v. prec. §) for the 3rd Sg.) added to the Past stem, is attested only in Sogdian script, with *wm't-* 'to be':

(1) *'rty 'yw w'tδ'r w'n'kw L' βyrt β'y ZKZY γnd'nyw m'twh 'WZY 'By' L' wm't'y* 'and such beings are not to be found, who were not mothers or fathers (etc.) to someone else' P 2, 147 sqq.

(2) *'XRZY prtr 'WZY 'kwty 'PZY 'WZY k'sy wδwh wm't'w 'YKZY tw'zky* 'then I would rather be a dog's or a pig's wife than yours' *Anc. Lett.* iii 23 sq. (reading and translation by H.).

The Passive

823. (i) The Passive can be expressed in various ways.

(1) With some verbs an OIr. passive Present stem survived, v. § 540 sq.

(2) Its Preterite was formed by the old Past Participle and 'to be', v. §§ 861 sqq.

(3) With certain classes of verbs an Inchoative Present stem was used.

(4) A periphrastic combination of an *-aka-* Participle¹ with $\beta w-$ (in Chr. also *šw-*, v. § 837) for the Present, *'kt-* for the Preterite, was often employed. (On the combination of an *-aka-* Participle with **ah-/wm't-*, or *'skw-*, v. § 846.)

In this chapter only Nos. 3 and 4 will be dealt with.

824. (ii) Inchoative (on the old Inchoative v. § 539). An Inchoative Present stem can be formed from any Past stem of transitive verbs, whose final *-t* is preceded by γ (which before *s* becomes *x*), *x*, β (becoming *f* before *s*, but cf. § 54), *m* or *n*, by replacing the *t* with *s*. The stem thus obtained provides a passive or intransitive Present to the original Present stem.

825. (1) Past stem in *-yt-*. $\beta](r)'xs-$ 'to be roasted' (?), v. *Sogd.* p. 40 on 12; $\beta wxs'm$ 1 Sg. Pres., *M 118 ii* V hl., $\beta wxs't$ 3 Sg. Subj.,

823¹ The old Past Participle has been noticed once, v. § 839 a.

M 821 i 1, B. *βwys'nt* 3 Pl. Subj., *VJ* 535, *βwysty* 3 Sg. Pres., *SCE* 350, 'to be delivered' (S. *βwc-* *T ii D ii* 169 R. 9. V 20: Man. *βwyt-*, § 509, 'to deliver'); *jxs't* 3 Sg. Subj., *'to be kept' *M* 891, 18 (*δ'r-|jyt-* 'to keep, hold', § 603); *prxst* (*paraχst*) *M* 430, 3, and *prxstyy* (*praχsti*) *M* 575 ii 4 sq. (context not quite clear), 3 Sg. Pres. (cf. § 177), S. *p'r'ysδ* (*pāraχθ*) 2 Pl. Impf., § 747, Man. *p'rxs* 3 Sg. Impf., § 616, 'to remain, to be left' (*pryc-/pryt-* (§§ 842. 864) 'to leave, abandon'); *pswxs't* 3 Sg. Subj., *M* 107 i 50, S. *'ps'wysty k'm* 3 Sg. Fut., *T M* 389 a V 15, 'to be purified, cleared', B. (*'ps*(*'*)*wys-* 'to clear (of sky)', v. *BBB* p. 105 on f 87 (*pswc-/pswyt-* 'to purify, clean'); *pt[ymw]xs* (H.) 3 Sg. Impf., 'she dressed herself in (*pr*)' lit. 'became dressed in', *T ii B* R 10 (*ptmync-/ptmwynt-* 'to dress'); *ptsxsyy* 3 Sg. Opt., 'to be arranged, made' *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 10 (*pts'c-/ptsyt-* 'to arrange'); *wjxstyyh* 3 Sg. Pres. 'to be separated' (*√drang-*, v. *BBB* p. 103 on f 39; cf. § 177); *wxst[y* 'it is said' 3 Sg. Pres., *Kaw*. V 6, B. *wysty SCE* 179. *Dhu* 277 (*w'β-/wyt-* 'to say, speak', § 603, c);¹ *zrxsym* 1 Pl. 'to be delivered' *T ii D* 66 b 4 (*zrync-/zrynt-* 'to deliver', § 542, c).

826. (2) Past stem in *-xt-* (v. § 56). S. *ywysty* 3 Sg. Pres., *SCE* 536, *ywysy* Infin., *X* 1 i V 5, 'to learn', lit. 'to be taught' (*ywc-/ywxnt-* 'to teach'), cf. § 428.

827. (3) Past stem in *-βt-*. Man. *'yfstt* 3 Sg. Pres., *T ii D* 117, 4, *'yfsnd* 3 Pl. Pres. or Impf., *T ii D* 32 (*Par.* 46) 'to be perverted' (Chr. *'ymp-/Man.* *'yβt-* 'to pervert', v. H., *BSOS* x 103); Man. *pδwfsy-ynyy* Pres. Partc., v. § 890, *pδwβ(s)* 3 Sg. Impf., § 453, B. *pδwβsy* Infin., *ST ii*, B. *pδ'wβsty k'm* 3 Sg. Fut., *Dhy* 373, 'to stick' (Intrans.) (Trans. B. *pδ'wm-*, v. § 453); Man. *pškfstyy* (*pškafsti*) 'is split' *BBB* f 37 (cf. Man. *ptškf*, *BBB* p. 55 bottom); B. *zrwβs-* 'to be raised', cf. §§ 153^b. 665.

828. (4) Past stem in *-mt-*. Man. *pty(y)ms* (*p(a)tiyams*, cf. § 630) 3 Sg. Impf., B. *pty'msty k'm* (*ptyamstikām*) 3 Sg. Fut., *Dhy* 322 sq. 'to end', Intrans. (Trans. *ptyām-/p(a)tyamt-*, v. § 580); Chr. *'yms't* 3 Sg. Pres., i 43, 19, *'ymsntq'* 3 Pl. Fut., i 8, 9, B. *m'y'ms* 3 Sg. Impf., *Dhu* 289, 'to end' (Intrans.); Man. *w'rms* 3 Sg. Impf., *T ia*, B. *'wr'mst[* 3 Sg. Pres., *Sogd.* 60, 17, *'wr'ms'nt* 3 Pl. Pres., *Padm* 26, 'to become quiet' (*'ōrām-/ōramt-*, cf. *'w(rm'tky)* 'quietness' *M* 133, 50); B. *ptr'ms'yt* 3 Sg. Precative, 'to calm down', § 811 (*ptrām-/ptramt-* 'to appease, stop', v. § 581).¹

825¹ [v. Addenda.]

828¹ Perhaps Man. *nmsy'k*, *BBB* 607, is the abstract of an adjective derived from an Inchoative **nams-* 'to be despised', *nmsy'k* being the contempt one suffers, *nmy'k* the one which is cast upon others. H. has a different explanation, v. § 550.

829. (5) Past stem in *-nt-*. B. *γ'ns-* 'to be annoyed', Past stem Man. *γ'nd-*, v. *BBB* p. 78 on 664.

830. (iii) The periphrastic Passive (cf. § 823, 4).

(1) Present Indicative. 3 Sg. *δβxštyy βwt* 'is collected' *Sogd.* 16, 5; B. *γrβ'ty βwt* 'is understood' *Intox. Sūtra* 17 (cf. *BBB* p. 97 on b 88); *jyyrtyy βwt* 'is called' *M* 107 i 18. *M* 796 i 17 (*jyyrtyy*); B. *n'stk βwt* 'is destroyed' *Vim* 50; Man. *pcxwsty βwt* 'is prevented' *BBB* f 49; *pδδ'γtyy βwt* 'is pulled out' *M* 343, 3.

831. 3 Pl. *jyyrtyt wβnd* 'are called' *M* 834 i 9.

832. (2) Durative Present. 3 Sg. *xwrtyy βwtškw* 'is being eaten' *BBB* 760; *nštyy βwtškw* 'is being lost' *BBB* 674 sq.

833. (3) Future. 3 Sg. Chr. *'šty ny bw'tq* 'will not be taken' i 38, 6, cf. § 539 fn. 2.

834. 2 Pl. S. *βstyty βwδ'k'm* 'you will be bound' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 15.

835. 3 Pl. Chr. *nymtyt bntq* 'they will be retained', see § 539 fn. 4; Chr. *prm'nty qty bntq* 'they will be forgiven' i 78, 11 sq. (Passive of *prm'nty un-* 'to forgive', ib. 11), cf. § 846 fn. 2.

836. (4) Subjunctive. 3 Sg. *wdrtyy wβ't* 'will (or should) be arranged' *M* 483, 9; *zytyy β't* 'will be deprived' *BBB* f 78 sq.; *pcγwβtyh β't* 'will be praised' *M* 172 R passim; *c'nw* . . [*jyyrty wβ't* 'when . . is called' *BBB* c 15; *c'nw ptynty wβ't* 'when it is finished' ib. 24.

837. 3 Pl. Man. *sfrytyt wβ'nd* 'will be created' *M* 591, 5; Chr. *pš'ty bnt* 'should be thrown' ii 1, 63, cf. § 846 fn. 2; Chr. *bnt bystyt šm'x myd'nt' t' pšwγtyt šm'x cr'γt* 'let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning' i 38, 1 sq.; Chr. *fnyštyt ny šw'nt* 'should not be deceived' ii 5, 39, cf. § 320 fn.

838. (5) Optative. 2 Sg. *w'nw 'tyh* . . *'wzty nyy wβyy* 'so that you should not be condemned (H.)' *M* 118 ii R 13, cf. § 584.

839. 3 Sg. *βsty wβyy* 'should be refused' *BBB* f 31; *sxwsty w(βy)* 'should be taken away' *T* i a; B. *βyryy βwy* 'may be fulfilled' *VJ* 1232.

839 a. (6) Imperfect. B. *prβ'yrty β'* 'was explained' *P* 6, 154 (ref. by H.). One would have expected **prβ'yrtyy*.

840. (7) Preterite.

(a) Indicative. 1 Sg. *'naxsty 'kty* 'I have been goaded' *BBB* b 13 sq.; *jβ'ty 'kty* 'I have been bitten' ib. 16.

841. 2 Sg. Chr. *byrtŷ qŷyš* 'you have been found' i 47, 7.

842. 3 Sg. Man. *prŷtŷy 'kŷtŷy* 'has been left out' BBB 700; *pršŷtŷy 'kŷtŷy* 'was prepared' M 118 i R 7 sq.; *wmštŷy 'kŷtŷy* 'was spoiled' M 356, 9; Chr. *pšŷtŷy qŷy* 'had been removed' ii 5, 42; S. 'bryty L' *kŷy* 'was not created' ST i 86, 6.

843. 3 Pl. Chr. *fšmŷtŷt qŷntŷ* 'were sent' i 58, 12; S. 'sγwst' *kt 'krt'nt ZY . . βst'kt ZY prkŷyš'kt* 'were taken, bound, and imprisoned' X 1 ii R 1 sq.

844. (b) Continuous Preterite (= Participle+continuous Preterite of β-): Chr. *žŷtŷt byq m'tntŷ* 'were being discussed' i 30, 6 sq.

845. (c) Subjunctive. *prŷtŷy 'kŷtŷt* 'should have been missed' BBB 747; *γr'ndŷy 'kŷtŷt* 'should have been irritated' BBB 644 sq.

The Perfectum Praesens

846. This is a formation expressing the continuance of a state reached through an action. It consists of an *-aka-* Participle,^{1 2} followed usually by **ah-/wm't-*, less often by *'skw-*, when intransitive or passive,³ by *δ'r-*, when transitive (§ 855). Cf. the Perfectum Praesens in MPers., with *'yst-* and *d'r-*, H., ZII 9, 246.sq.

847. (i) Present Indicative. 1 Sg. B. *tytk 'ym* 'I have entered' Vim 5.

2 Sg. B. *ty'y 'skw'y* 'you have entered' VJ 53^b sq.

848. 3 Sg. Chr. *'γtŷ stŷy* 'ἐλήλυθεν' i 75, 17 sq.; Man. *'wjystŷy 'stŷy* 'is settled' BBB 536; Chr. *'wštŷy stŷy* 'ἔσσηκεν' i 59, 17; Man. *πῖβstŷy 'stŷyh* 'is connected' Kaw. K 16; *πῖmwγtŷy 'stŷy* 'is dressed' BBB 667; *pr . . . 'ndmytŷ wrystŷy πῖmwγtŷy 'stŷy* 'is mixed and dressed in the . . . limbs' BBB 560 sq.; *xrtŷy 'stŷy* 'has passed' M 767 i 1.

849. *'kŷtŷy xcy* 'is made' M 107 i 10; *frm'tŷy xcy* 'is ordered' BBB

846¹ With the exception of *tyt* (end of line) *wm't* 'had entered (= was inside)' M 118 i R 6 sq., where a final *y* may have been omitted owing to shortage of space.

846² When the subject is feminine or plural, the Participle takes the Feminine or Plural ending. Exceptions noted are, on the one hand, B. *sy''kh prδ'γ'kw γ'y*, against *sy''kh prδ'γ'ch 'y*, v. § 859, on the other hand, B. *nyztk 'ynt*, § 852, Chr. *nystŷy swqnt*, § 853, and, with the periphrastic Passive, Chr. *pšŷtŷy bnt*, § 837, *prm'nŷy qŷy bntq'*, § 835.

846³ In Man. *xrtŷyh βwt* 'has passed', v. § 1592 (inst. of *xrtŷy 'stŷy*, v. § 848), *xrtŷyh* is used as an adjective, cf. § 1326 fn. B. *'γt βwt* 'has come' SCE 74, is either a scribal error for *'γt(')k* or *'γt'y βwt*, which is frequent in the SCE, or a contamination between the latter and *'γt* 3 Sg. Pret. (§ 865). As to *'γt(')k βwt* (against Chr. *'γtŷ stŷy*, v. § 848), it can be explained, acc. to H., by remembering that *'γt-* is also the Past stem of the transitive *'βr-* (§ 603, a. f); in which capacity it can take the auxiliary *βwt* (cf. § 830).

729; *γωβτῆς xcy* 'is praised' *M* 172 R. pass.; *πῆγωστῆς xcy* 'is hidden' *M* 834 *i* passim; *πῆσγc xcy* (Fem.) 'is arranged' *M* 178 *i* V 7.

850. 1 Pl. S. *πῆβτῆς 'ym* 'we are burned' *T ii D ii* 169 R 11.

851. 2 Pl. Chr. *πῆψῆτῆς ny 'yšt'* 'have you not read?' *i* 21, 15.

852. 3 Pl. (a) With **ah-*: *βστῆς xnd* 'are bound' *M* 178 *ii* V 26; B. *nyztk 'ynt* 'they have come out', v. §§ 779. 846 fn. 2; Man. *πῆστῆς xnd* 'are adorned' *M* 178 *i* V 23. 27; *ywxtyt ['tyh] fsytyt xnd* 'they are trained' *Man. Lett.* *ii* 15 sq.

853. (b) With *'skw-*: Chr. *'wštῆς swqnt* 'are standing' *i* 14, 22; Chr. *nystῆς swqnt* 'are sitting' *i* 31, 13 sq., cf. § 846 fn. 2; Man. *pr'γtyt 'skwnd* 'they have arrived' *M* 579, 3.

854. (ii) Durative Present.

(a) With **ah-*: Chr. *'šybdy stysq* 'is kept in concealment' *ii* 1, 80.

855. (b) With *δ'r-*: *ptmwytyy δ'rmskwn* 'I am wearing', v. *BBB* p. 53 bottom; *wlyst'w ptcxtyy δδ'rmyskwn* 'we have accepted, are bound by, an oath' *M* 116 R 7 (v. *BBB* p. 94 on b 46).

856. (iii) Subjunctive.

(a) With **ah-*: *'krtyy '[s]tyy x't* 'should have been made', v. § 652; B. *cw . . . δβ'r δβ'rty 'st* 'if the gift has been given' *VJ* 444 sq.

857. (b) With *'skw-*: *'wβtyy 'skw'[t (?)* 'should be asleep' *M* 655, 24; *wδrtyy 'skw't* 'should be arranged' *T i D*.

858. (iv) Optative.

(a) With **ah-*: B. *ptm'wytk γ'y* (v. § 771 fn.) 'he would be dressed' *VJ* 921; cf. also *nyztk 'ynt*, § 852.

(b) With *'skw-*: Man. *'qwytyy 'skwyyh* 'is hanging', v. § 1685.

859. (v) Preterite (Indicative only).

(a) With **ah-*: B. *'ns'γt'kw γ'y* 'was fixed' *VJ* 343; *sy''kh prδ'γt'kw γ'y* 'a canopy was spread out, unfolded' *VJ* 862; *sy''kh prδ'γt'ch* (Fem.) *'y*, id., *VJ* 346; *pts'γty 'y* 'was adorned, inlaid' *VJ* 344 sq.; *δšt'y γ'y* 'was built (= stood there)' *VJ* 14^b (quoted § 1587).

860. (b) With *wm't-*: *'jytyytl wm'(t)[nd* 'they had been born' *Kaw.* G 17 sq.; Man. *βjysty ym't* 'was mounted' *M* 127 V 11; *pršt'tyh wm't* 'had been prepared' *Kaw.* G 25 sq.; B. *'krty ym't* 'had been done' *SCE* 475; *'nškr'ty ym't* 'had been collected' *VJ* 1017; B. *βyrt'y ym't* 'had been received' *VJ* 440; Chr. *'wštῆς m't* 'εἰσθήκει' *i* 61, 19; on Man. *tyt ym't* v. § 846 fn. 1.

The Intransitive (and Passive) Preterite

861. The Intransitive Preterite, which formally coincides with the (non-periphrastic) Passive Preterite, is formed by adding to the Past stem inflectional forms of **ah-* and *an-* (§ 785) 'to be', except in the 3rd Sg., where no ending is used with heavy stems, while light stems take the ending *-y*.¹ [v. Addenda.]

862. (i) Indicative. 1 Sg. *ʷj̄tym* 'I was born' *BBB* b 38; *ʷj̄tym* 'I have come' *M* 579, 5; *ʷkt̄ym* 'I have become'; *n̄stym* 'I sat down' *BBB* 754; Chr. *nyž̄tym* 'I have come out' *i* 42, 5. 75, 8; Chr. *xrt̄ym* 'I went' *i* 67, 8; S. *wyt̄rt̄ym* 'I went' *Anc. Lett.* v 11.

863. 2 Sg. *ʷj̄tyš* 'you have come' *M* 760, 13, *ʷj̄tyš* *M* 370, 5; *γ̄bt̄yš* 'you have toiled' *M* 121, 7; *z̄ʷryšyš̄tyš* 'tibi miseritum est'. § 550 fn. 2; Chr. *nyž̄tyš* 'you have come out' *i* 75, 16; Chr. *q̄tyš* 'you have become' *i* 47, 7. 67, 15; S. *ʷp̄z̄tyš* 'you have originated', § 99.

864. 3 Sg.: (a) Light stems. B. *βz̄ʷysty* 'decamped', v. § 483; Man. Chr. *q̄ty* 'became, has become'; *nyj̄ty*, *nyj̄tyy*, 'she went out' *Man. Lett.* i 26. 27, and passim; Chr. *pyw̄šty* 'he concealed himself' *ii* 4, 39; Chr. *pyr̄ty* (*praydi*) 'food was left' *i* 34, 5; *st̄ty* 'he rose' *Man. Lett.* ii 18, and (in S. script) *T M* 389 a R 25; *tȳtyy* 'it entered' *BBB* 593.¹ [v. Addenda.]

865. (b) Heavy stems. *ʷj̄t* 'he came' *M* 129 R 7; *pr̄ʷj̄t* 'he reached, came to' *M* 135 *i* 59; *ptymt* 'conclusum est', *ʷj̄št̄* 'inceptit' (both of chapters);¹ *z̄t̄* 'is born, was brought forth' *M* 915, 10 (from *zn-*, § 578); Man. Chr. *xrt̄* 'went' *BBB. ST* *ii*; Chr. *ʷmp̄st* *ST* *i*, B. *ʷnp̄ʷst* *VJ* 64^b. 197, 'to fall'; Chr. *ʷw̄št̄* 'stepped in' *i* 81, 7; S. *ʷz̄yt* *VJ* 411. 8c., &c., *ʷz̄yt* *ST* *i* 86, 5, *ʷzyt* *ib.* 14 (*āžit*) 'was born'; B. *ʷskw̄t* 'he stayed' *SCE* 3; B. *δβ̄rt* 'was given';² B. *pt̄β̄r̄wt*

861¹ This ending of the 3rd Sg. is the OIr. Nom. Sg. ending of the Past Participle (*ʷkty* from **kriah*, cf. Khot. *yaḍa*), which was lost with heavy stems. It is also preserved, acc. to H., before the initial *χ-* of the copula in B. *ʷkrty* *γ̄y*, § 876 (not to be confused with the Preterite of the Perfectum Praesens B. *δš̄ty* (from **dištaka-*) *γ̄y*, § 859), and in Man. *ʷktyy* *ȳt*, § 874. It is found exceptionally with heavy stems in B. *n̄šywsty* (*rt̄y ZKh* *p̄ʷdyt s̄t n̄šywsty* 'and your feet have been completely torn' *VJ* 1104 sq., cf. the parallel passage 779 sq., which has the Pl. *n̄šyʷst̄nt̄*), and B. *γ̄rt̄y* 'he went' *VJ* 785.

864¹ Thus probably also *BBB* 579: 'it (viz. snow, rain, dew) entered the womb of the earth'.

865¹ With this function also *ptymt̄y* *M* 128 R 7, *ptymt̄y* *M* 137 R hl., is found, which, as a translation of Parth. *hn̄jst*, MPers. *hn̄zst*, can be either the *-aka-* Past Participle, or 3 Sg. Pret. *ptyamti*, coexisting with the heavy *patyamti*, cf. § 176.

865² B. *mn̄ ʷr̄β̄y ʷz̄wn δβ̄r̄ δβ̄rt̄ wβ̄yγ̄ ʷz̄ny wβ̄yγ̄*, &c., 'by me, during many lives, treasures, &c., were given as gifts' *VJ* 1479.

T iii S 313, 7; *ptβr'w't* ib. 5, 'is remembered' (cf. §§ 604. 537); *B. ptšmyrt* 'is considered' *P 2*, 24, cf. § 486 fn. 2.

866. 1 Pl. No examples happen to have been noticed, except *S. 'krt'yymn* 'we have become' *Anc. Lett.* iii 35. [v. Addenda.]

867. 2 Pl.: (a) Chr. *qtyš't* 'you have become' *i 44*, 4; Chr. *fnyš'tyš't* 'you have been deceived' *ii 4*, 43 (cf. § 320 fn.); Chr. *ptβstyš't* *ii 1*, 30, Syr. 'you have understood', from *ptβd-* (H.), cf. § 586.¹

868. (b) *S. 'krtsδ JRAS*, 1944, 137, 5, *'krt'sδδ' X 1 ii V 3*, 'you have become'; *S. 'wptsδ*, v. § 473^a; *B. 'γ'psδ* 'you have come' *VJ 151. 958*, *'γtsδ* ib. 152; cf. § 763. [v. Addenda.]

869. (c) *S. 'krt'nsδδh X 1 ii R 15*; *B. 'krt'nsδ VJ 391*; cf. § 785.

870. 3 Pl.: (a) *'γtnd* 'they came' *Sogd.* p. 19 bottom; *tγt'nd* 'they entered' *T ii B V 11*; *'ktnd* 'they became' *BBB* p. 82 bottom; *'nwš't'nd* 'they assembled' *T iii 282*, 14, *B. 'nwš't'nt SCE 566*, Chr. *'wš'tnt ii 1*, 20; *'waxš'nd* 'they descended' *M 110 ii 11*; *wyγr'tnd* 'they woke up' *BBB b 21*; *B. 'zyt'nt* 'had been born' *SCE 565*; *B. nš'γ'wst'nt* 'were torn' *VJ 780*; *S. ptškw't'nt* 'they were addressed' *Anc. Lett.* iii 8 (thus to be read acc. to H.); *βγ' γr'nt'nt* 'the gods got angry' ib. 23 (cf. *BBB* p. 78 on 644); *pr'γt'nt* 'they arrived' *Anc. Lett.* ii 37 (v. § 765); *mrt'nt* 'they died' ib. 38 (cf. H., *ZDMG 90*, 198).

871. (b) With the augment, Chr. *zywstnt i 53*, 2, hapax legomenon (misreading for **zwstnt*? (H.)), from *zurt-* 'to (re)turn', cf. § 585.

872. (c) *B. 'krt'ynt (əktind)* 'they became' *VJ 1264*; *nš'γwst* (1266) *'ynt (niš'χustind)* 'were torn' *VJ*; *γβ't'ynt (γavdind)* 'they toiled' *VJ 784*. Cf. § 779. [v. Addenda to § 875.]

873. (ii) Subjunctive (cf. *BBB* p. 78 bottom). 3 Sg. Man. *'kt't*, as auxiliary, v. § 845; *B. kβ't* 'may have split' *VJ 1104*; *B. βyrt* *'th* 'should have been obtained' *P 2*, 173 sq.; *S. ptxwš't* [sic] *Anc. Lett.* v 30, 'will have been heard'.

874. (iii) Optative. 3 Sg. Man. *'ktyy y't*, § 1687, cf. §§ 768. 861 fn.

875. 3 Pl. (function uncertain). *S. 'krt'y'nt*, *Anc. Lett.* ii 10. 34; *pr'γt'y'nt* 'to arrive' ib. 10. [v. Addenda.]

876. (iv) Pluperfect. 3 Sg. *B. 'krtyγ'y* 'had been made' *VJ 1117*, v. § 861 fn.; *B. 'nš'krt γ'y* 'had been collected' *VJ 1019*.

867¹ This ending of the 2 Pl. Intrans. Pret. has been extended to the Trans. Pret. in Chr. *qθ'ryš't* 'you have done' *i 26*, 2 (but *qθ'r't* ib. 4).

The Transitive Preterite

877. By adding the auxiliary Present stem $\delta'r$ - (§ 603, b) to the Past stem¹ of transitive verbs,² a Preterite is formed in such a way that Past stem + Pres. Ind. of $\delta'r$ = Indic. of the Perfect.

Past stem + Subj. of $\delta'r$ = Subj. of the Perfect.

Past stem + Impf. of $\delta'r$ = Pluperfect.

$\delta'r$ - inflects like an ordinary Present stem, but there is some uncertainty with regard to the 2 Pl., cf. §§ 725. 730. 732. 736. 738. 750. 867 fn.

The Past stem, if light, has the ending *-w*, which was sometimes syncopated (v. § 167). On the assimilation of the final *-t* of the Past stem to the δ - of $\delta'r$ -, v. § 457. On *kḥār*- from *akt(u)ḥār*-, v. § 279.

878. Examples (cf. *BBB* s.v. $\delta'r$ -):

(i) Light stems. *'k(r)ḥwδ'r*- 'to make'; *βwytwδ'r*- 'to deliver', § 509; *βystw δ'r*- 'to bind', § 516; *fšṭw δ'r*- 'to ask'; *zryṭwδ'r*- 'to deliver' § 542, c; &c.

879. (ii) Heavy stems. *'škrṭδ'r*- 'to lead' *M* 363, 4. *Kaw.* G 23; *'wjyṣt δ'r*- 'to allow to settle'; *βrṭδ'r*- 'to offer, bring' *M* 144 R 2. *M* 370, 7. *M* 617 ii 6; *δβrṭδ'r*- 'to give' *M* 247, 7. 9. *M* 659, 9;¹ *nyṭδ'r*- 'to take' *M* 127 R 13. 14; *wyṭδ'r*- 'to see' *M* 617 i 2;² *xwrṭδ'r*- 'to eat'; &c.

880. (iii) Pluperfect. *'ytδ'rw* 1 Sg., 'to receive', v. *BBB* p. 95 top; *qδ'r* 3 Sg., 'to make', *M* 118 i R 13, where, however, the parallel passage V 7 has *kδ'rtt*.

The Potentialis

881. Cf. Salemann, *Izv.*, 1913, 1140, fn. 17; Reichelt, *Festschrift Geiger*, 257, and *ZII* vii 147 sq.; H., *BBB* p. 86 on 727.

This construction consists of the Past stem followed by *kwn*-, if

877¹ In late texts, $\delta'r$ - is sometimes used with the Pres. stem, cf. Man. *βn'yδ'r*- *Sogd.* 31, 13, Chr. *pyzd'r*- 'to beat' ii 6, 41 (cf. § 594) and *'wsfyd'r*- 'to put' *ST* i (cf. §§ 554 sqq.).

877² $\delta'r$ - is occasionally used with intransitive verbs for a kind of Middle Preterite [v. Addenda]:

(a) Chr. *b'wd'rnṭ qw d'yz'w s* 'they approached the village' i 52, 3 (cf. § 573); Chr. *wy'ywδ'rṭ* 'pernoctavit' i 33, 10, *wywsd'rṭ* 'it dawned' i 33, 11.

(b) Chr. *pšyd'rṭ* 'he sat down' i 52, 10, belongs, acc. to H., to Man. *pršyḏṭ* *T* i *D* 51, B. *pršyḏt* *P* 2, 3, 3 Sg. Pres., Man. *pršyḏḏ* 'sitting' *M* 358, 2, cf. also § 409 fn.

(c) S. *γβ ky cnn 'y'mpnyh 'stwt δ'r'nt* 'many who had been converted from heresy' *T M* 339 a V 30 sq.

879¹ Hence *BBB* 503 to be restored *δβrṭ[ṭ]*.

879² But B. *wytw δ'r*- *VJ* 3, with historical spelling.

active, by *βw-*, if passive or intransitive. The Past stem, when light, has the ending *-ʾ* (on *-w* v. § 888).

The Potentialis is used to express a possibility, but sometimes, especially in negative sentences, it conveys the consummation of an action.

The Potentialis also occurs in other Iranian languages.¹ For Khotanese cf. Leumann, *E* pp. 487^b-488^a,² for Yaghnobi v. Salemann, loc. cit., and Klimchitsky, *Zap.*, 1937, 15, for Baluči (reference by H.) v. E. Mockler, *A Grammar of the Baloochee Language*, 61. 71. It also exists, acc. to H., in Khwārezmian.

882. (i) With *kwn-* (Active).

(1) Light stems. *twytʾ kwnyy* 3 Sg. Opt. 'might be able to pay' *BBB* p. 86 fn. 1; *nyy jyʾh kwnʾm* 1 Sg. Pres. 'I do not (always or completely) observe' *BBB* 727 sq.; *ʾqtʾ kwn[ym](k)[ʾ]m* 1 Pl. Fut. 'we shall be able to do' *M* 635 i 5.

883. (2) Heavy stems. *nyy . . . ptfrʾwt kwnʾm* 1 Sg. Pres. 'I do not (always or completely) keep in mind' *BBB* 756; *nyy ʾnyʾt qwndyh* 3 Sg. Pres. 'he cannot bring' *M* 765 k 6; B. *cʾnʾw ʾwrt ʾsplk ʾwrt wnʾnt* 3 Pl. Impf. 'when they had completely finished eating the food' *VJ* 62 sq.; *ZKw δβʾr δβʾrt kwnʾ* 3 Sg. Impf. 'he had finished giving away his presents' *VJ* 53^c sq.

884. (ii) With *βw-* (Passive and Intransitive).

(1) Light stems. *wytʾ wβʾt* 3 Sg. Subj. 'could be said' *BBB* d 2; (*n*)*yjʾh wβʾt* 3 Sg. Subj. 'could come out' *T ii D* 163 a 3; *ny fršʾh βwtʾ* 3 Sg. Pres. 'cannot be *settled' *M* 135 i 2 sq.; *wʾnw ʾty xʾn jyʾt wβyy . . . ʾty ms . . . šyrxwzyy ʾdyh ʾspzšʾ wβyy* 3 Sg. Opt. 'so

881¹ For OPers. Reichelt, *Geiger Festschr.* 257, has quoted *zšabʾam dūtam šarriyāh* 'could take away the ruling power'. For the consummation of an action, expressed by this construction, H. compares Xerx. *Van, dipim naiy nipištām akunauš* 'he had not inscribed an inscription', and Pahl. *kird nibišt Kn. i* 42 'wrote'. To judge by these forms, the Participle should by rights have the Accusative ending, as is the case in Sogdian with the examples in § 888. The usual Sogdian ending *-ʾ* may represent the Predicative Instrumental (§ 1182). Av. *paiṛi.tačahi bavān* 'they can run about', quoted by Reichelt, *ZII* vii 147, is rather different from the Potentialis here treated, whose characteristic is the use of the Past stem.

882² There the Participle usually takes the Accusative ending *-u*. Here are some examples from *E*: Active: *ni ʾjatu yiđāndi* 'they could not cancel' 2, 25; *kō . . . jeiđu yanāma* 'if we could deceive' 2, 106. Intransitive: *ne . . . māndu yanims* 'I cannot stay' 6, 94. Passive: *nə hvats hamāre*, 3 Pl., 'cannot be told' 4, 149. With *yūđu yan-* and another Past Participle in apposition: *ne yūđu yīndi haməstu* 'he cannot transform' 2, 97; *škōndu yūđu yīnds* 2, 114, *yūđu tīndi padāndu* 24, 40, 'can build'; &c. For later texts, cf. *yūđi yaṁde* 'he can do' Bailey, *BSOS* viii 925, 22; *karā na byāštā yūđe* 'he could not cross the magic circle' Bailey, *BSOS* x 369, 15; for the Passive with *hami-* v. Bailey, *BSOS* x 586 on 73.

that it should be possible to maintain the house and look after one's friends' *M 135 ii 58 sqq.*; B. *L' ptr'mt' (ptramta) βwt 3 Sg. Pres.* 'cannot stop, cease' *P 2, 234.*

885. (2) Heavy stems. *w'nw . . . 'ty . . . 'skw't wβnd 3 Pl. Subj.* 'so that they may stay' *M 110 ii V 7*; *nyy ''p't βwt 3 Sg. Pres.* 'cannot be grasped, observed' *M 178 i R 22.* [v. Add. to § 825.]

886. (iii) As in the periphrastic Passive (§§ 840 sqq.), it is possible that the Preterite of the Intrans.-Pass. Potentialis was made up with 'kt- 'to become'. Unfortunately there is no other evidence for it but Man. *tyt' 'krt'* [*M 110 ii R 5* (preceding line missing), from *tys-/tyt-* 'to enter'.

887. (iv) In the sentence *štyk cxs'pt' . . . nyy jy't'h wβ'mskwn* 'I am unable (always or completely) to observe the third commandment' *BBB a 4-6*, *wβ'mskwn* must be a lapse on the side of the writer who had to choose between saying either *βwt'skwn* (with *cxs'pt'* as the subject) or *kwn'mskwn* (with *cxs'pt'* as the object).

888. (v) In S. it sometimes happens that -w is added to the Past stem instead of -. B. *L' wytw L' prβ'yr't β'y 3 Sg. Opt.* 'cannot be told or explained' *VJ 858 sq.*; *'rty my ZKw prm'n'h L' ptywšt'w wn'nt 3 Pl. Impf.* 'they did not obey me (in every point)' *VJ 1272 sq., cf. also VJ 1246 sq.*; *δrytw wnty 3 Sg. Pres.* 'can keep (completely)' *Vim 2*; S. *py'mtw kwn'n 1 Sg. Subj.* '(if) . . . I am able to heal' *T M 389 a R 2.*

Present Participles

889. (i) -anaka-. The OIr. Middle athematic Participle-ending -āna- (cf. Bartholomae, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i 109, § 209, 3), enlarged by the suffix -ka-, is in Sogdian the ordinary means of forming a Participle from a Present stem. It is spelled in Man. and Chr. -ny or -yny, in S. -n'k or -yn'k. Both may stand for -ane, but it is possible that the spelling without y before n indicates the loss of this short vowel.¹

890. (1) -yny.

(a) In Manichean: ''j'nyny't Pl. ' ?' *M 134 i R 3*; *βryny't Pl.* 'to bring' *M 134 i R 6* and passim; *yrβyyny't Pl.* 'to know' *T ii D 62, 23*; (*p*)*rynyy* 'to fill, nourish' *M 617 i 24* (quoted § 1241), cf. B. *p'r- SCE 106. Dhu 266. VJ 1109, v. H., BSOS viii 585 fn. 2*; *pδwfsyyny* 'to stick' *T ii D 62, 16, cf. § 896*; *pt[γ]rβyny't Pl.* 'to grasp' *Sogd. 25, 29*; *šqryny't Pl.* 'to lead' *M 134 i R 6*; *wβyny't Pl.* 'to be' *M 617 ii 28*; *wγšyny't Pl.* 'to rejoice' ib.; *xwrynyy* 'to eat' *BBB f 77*; *yβ'ryny ** 'to look after', quoted § 1241.

889¹ It is scarcely an accident that the spelling -ny is found almost exclusively with heavy stems. [Cf. Addenda to § 897.]

891. (b) Outside Manichean: Chr. *brync* Fem. (§ 1273) 'to have' *i* 37, 3; *qwnyny* 'to make' *ii* 3, 14; *sqwyny* 'to last' *ii* 5, 23. For B. v. § 894.

892. (2) *-ny*.

(a) In Manichean: 'n^{gr}mnyy 'to slander' *Sogd.* 52 Frg. t, 2; '[p]š'mnyť Pl., *Sogd.* 21, 20; 'wstnyy 'to establish' *Man. Lett.* i 11; šβjnyh *'to gain' *Sogd.* 31, 4; šβyšnyy 'to vex' *BBB* 488; frkyrny 'to neglect' *BBB* 690; γwβnyť Pl. 'to praise' *M* 264 A 22; nγwšnyy 'to listen' *M* 591, 17; pδδ'rnyť Pl. *'to keep' *M* 134 i R 1; prwyr-ťnyh 'to transfer, to ferry' *M* 137 R 5; pťγwšnyť Pl. 'to listen' *M* 172 V 7; pťmyncnyť Pl. 'to dress' *M* 134 i R 2; pť[s](y)ndnyť Pl. 'to be pleased, agree' *M* 617 ii 30; py'mnyy 'to heal' *M* 137 R 2; šwmnyy 'tailor', from šwm- 'to sew', v. *Sogd.* p. 17 on 7 a; tγwšnyť Pl. 'to look' *M* 134 i R 5; w'βnyť Pl. 'to tell' *M* 172 V 7; xwyrnyť Pl. 'to feed' *M* 134 i R 1.

893. (b) Outside Manichean: Chr. 'ympnyť Pl. 'to pervert' *ii* 6, 22; *dysnyť* Pl. 'to build' *i* 21, 16; *prbzxny* 'to betray' *i* 33, 19; *pšyncn'* Voc. 'to spill' *ii* 6, 10; *sfrynny* 'creator', v. § 475, 2; *wyθrbnync* 'to be agitated', v. § 1279; B. *γr'nsn'y* 'to be annoyed, peevish' *SCE* 407; *pp'wn'k* 'to endure' *SCE* 68; *ywcn'k* 'to teach' *Vim* 67; an old Participle is also B. *wyrmny* 'quiet' *Vim* 71, cf. § 213 fn. 2.

894. (3) With some Participles both spellings occur: *prwyjyny* 'to feed' Intrans., *BBB* b 88: *prwyjnyy* Trans. *BBB* 628. *M* 110 i V 6; Chr. *θbryny* *i* 19, 11, B. *šβr'yn'k* *VJ* 413. 49^a, *šβ'r'yn'y* *SCE* 496: Man. *š(β)r(ny)ť* Pl. *M* 134 i R 3, B. *šβrn'k* *SCE* 46, 'to give'; Man. *šm'ryny*, *šm'rynyť* Pl., *M* 127 R 11. 13: *šm'rnyť* Pl. *M* 617 ii 31, 'to think'; 'n[(γ)zy(n)yy *M* 834 ii 14: '(n)γ(znyh) ib. 5 (H.'s readings) 'to rise'; B. *šw'yn'k* 'to walk' *T* iii 14: Man. *šwnyy* *T* ii *D* 117, 27 (meaning quite uncertain). Cf. also the substantivized Participle (v. Lentz, *ST* ii 578^c) Man. 'nj'wynyy *M* 137 R 8, S. 'nz'wyny *Stellung Jesu*, plate iii, *T* ii *D* ii 169 V 12: Man. 'nj'wny *T* ii *D* 66, 2, 9, Chr. 'z'wny, S. 'z'wny *ST* i 87, 23, 'nz'wn'k *T* *M* 389 a R 28, 'nz'wny *T* ii *D* ii 169 (*Stellung Jesu*, 94) R 19, 'σωτήρ'.

895. (4) The vowel is not normally expressed in writing if the Pres. stem ends in *-āy-*: 'nyny 'to bring' *M* 118 ii R 4. 6, from *ānay-*, S. *pr'nyny* *Stellung Jesu*, 95, 10 (thus to be read acc. to H.) 'to lead', from *parānay-*, v. § 569; *pršt'yyny* 'to prepare' (*parštāy-*)

892¹ MPers. 'sm- renders Av. *hiθa-*, *hiθu-*, *haēθahya-*; the meaning of 'pšm-, which may be connected with *fšm-*, was therefore close to that of those Avestan words (H.).

Sogd. 52 Frg. s, 3; *nyjnynt* Pl. 'to emanate, come out' (*nižay-*) *M* 118 i V 9.

(5) Hapology of *-nə-* took place in Man. *ʹfrynynt*, B. *γʹymʹk*, and Chr. *wyny*, v. § 475, 2.

896. (6) This Present Participle is contracted with a following form of **ah-* 'to be', in B. *pδwβsynʹnt* (= **pδwβsyny ʹnt*) 'they are sticking' *T ii D* 413, 9 (only example).

897. (ii) The suffix *-yq* (*-ək¹* from *-(a)ya-ka-*) is the most common Present Participle formative in Chr. It does not take the Plural ending, and is in *ST ii* written in one with a following *wmʹt-*. It does not seem to occur in Man. or B.² *ʹndyšyq* 'to appear' i 52, 4 (cf. *BBB* p. 87 on 753); *byq* 'to be' i 30, 6, cf. § 844; *dʹryq* 'to hold' i 45, 12;¹ *θbryq* 'to give' i 60, 2. *ii* 3, 39 (*tbryqwmʹt*); *γʹbyq* 'to know' i 48, 19; *mymyqwmʹtnt* 'they were staying' *ii* 1, 88; *pływsyq* 'to listen' i 37, 18;¹ *spšyqwmʹtnt* 'they were officiating' *ii* 3, 59; *swyqyq* 'to stay' i 32, 16; *šmʹryq* 'to think' i 30, 8; *šwyq* 'to go' i 52, 4. 6; *wʹbyq* 'to say, speak' i 52, 14. 68, 18; *wnyq* 'to do' i 45, 12. 70, 9; *wrnyq* 'to believe' i 56, 3; *žyq* 'to talk' i 52, 16. *ii* 1, 56 (*žyqwmʹtnt*). [v. Addenda.]

898. (iii) *-y*. Not attested in Chr. Since the stems concerned are nearly all heavy, this formative is likely to go back to *-aka-*. In some of the examples a special continuous or iterative meaning can be discerned, others are used more like adjectives or nouns of the agent, some are possibly Infinitives.

899. (1) Heavy stems.

(a) Continuous Past. *pływdyy wmʹtym* 'I was concealing' *BBB* 616, Pl. *pływdyt m[y](nδδʹ)skwn* 'you keep (lit. remain) concealing' *M* 134 i R 9; *ʹndwzsy nyw wmʹtym* *BBB* 710 sq., *ʹndtʹwzsyh [nyw] wmʹtym* *M* 684, 13, 'I was not striving'; *prycyy wmʹt* 'was leaving' *M* 504, 6.

900. (b) Iterative. *ʹwryzyh* 'dropping' *Sogd.* 31, 24; *pšʹmyh* '?' *Sogd.* 21, 23 (cf. § 892 fn.); *yʹβyy . . . šwʹzskwn* 'he used to go roving' *T ii D* 117, 19 sq., B. *yʹβʹk . . . šwt* *SCE* 28. [v. Add. p. 308.]

901. (c) Depending on *kʹm-* and *sʹc-*, hence possibly Infinitives. B. *kʹmt yʹβʹy* 'he likes to rove' *SCE* 300; *kʹmt nyʹwšʹy* *SCE* 56 sq., *kʹmt nyʹwšʹk* ib. 82, 'he wants to hear'; B. *sʹct ʹntwysʹk* 'oportet niti' *Dhy* 128.

902. (d) Used as adjective. *zwrʹ prwrtyy*, *ʹwrʹ nwrtyy*, 'turning

897¹ Vocalized as *-ik* only in *pływsyq* i 37, 18, and *dʹryq* ib. 19.

897² Different is Man. *wnyq kwn-* 'to overcome' (H.) *M* 133, 11, since the base *wan-* is not used as a Present stem in Sogdian, cf. § 994.

to and fro', v. § 1638; $\beta'ryh$ 'riding, on horse-back' *BBB* 489, B. $\beta'rw$ $\acute{s}w$ - 'to ride' *VJ* 133 (the Present stem $*\beta'r$ - is not used¹).

903. (2) Light stems.

(a) Iterative. Man. $f'iryh$ 'on foot, walking, runner' *Sogd.* 25, 22.

904. (b) Agent. S. $w'nkw$ *ZY* $\beta't$ $ptcyšy$ *ZKn* $\acute{s}yr'krt'y$ 'so that she should receive (lit. be the receiver of) this benefaction' *T M* 389 a V 12.

(iv) Other Participle suffixes added to the Present stem are: $-n$, § 1033 (note the intensive B. $r'yr'y'n$); B. $-n'k$, § 1039; $-(')nd$, § 1066; $-(')ndy$, § 1068; $-cyk$, § 1018.

The Present Infinitive

905. In Man., the Present Infinitive of heavy stems merely consists of the Present stem, which takes the ending $-y$ in the Oblique, while light stems always have $-y$ (v. *BBB* p. 55). Outside Man., light stems are also found with the endings $-'$ for the Ablative, $-w$ for the Accusative.¹

On $-mndy$ used for the Present Infinitive v. § 1100.

906. (i) Light stems.

(1) $-y$.

(a) Not depending on a verb or preposition: $\beta xšy$ 'to divide' *M* 135 ii 40; $\delta\beta ryy$ 'to give' *BBB* 738; $qnyy$ $yknnyy$ (cf. § 220) 'to dig' ib. 494; $kwnyy$ 'to make' *M* 117, 12; $snny$ 'to rise' *BBB* 490; $xwryy$ 'to eat', § 1308.

907. (b) Depending on $frm'y$ - 'to order': $jnyy$ 'to strike' *M* 135 i 41.

908. (c) Depending on $k'm$ - 'to wish': B. $\acute{s}kwy$ 'to be' *SCE* 329.

909. (d) Dep. on $\gamma w\acute{t}$ 'oportet': $\beta xšy$ 'to divide' *M* 135 ii 46.

910. (e) Dep. on pr : $snny$ 'to rise' *BBB* p. 54 on 490; $pcxšyy$ 'to receive' *BBB* 751; $xwry$ 'to eat' *M* 130 i R 2; $xwšyy$ 'to increase' *M* 765 d 8; Chr. bry 'to offer' i 33, 10; Chr. $spxšy$ 'to serve' i 45, 8, 10, cf. § 599.

911. (f) Oblique: kww $xš'm$ $xwryy$ $jmnw$ prm 'until the time for eating supper' *M* 399, 4.

912. (2) $-w$. Depending on pr : Chr. $spxšw$ 'to serve' i 37, 1, cf. § 599; B. $\gamma r\beta'w$ 'to know' *VJ* 381. 391.

902¹ The only other forms are Man. $\beta'rycyk$ 'mount', v. § 1017, and B. $L' \beta'r$ ($n\acute{a}v\acute{a}r$) 'not riding', perhaps coined as a rhyme word for $n\acute{a}x\acute{a}r$: $p\delta'y$ $n'\gamma'r$ $L' \beta'r$ 'on foot, without food (cf. § 63) or mount' *VJ* 317.

905¹ A peculiar ending is seen in B. cnn . . . $c\beta''y$ 'from stealing' *DN* 26. Oblique of an $-aka$ - Infinitive? Cf. §§ 921. 1254.

913. (3) -. Depending on *cn*: B. $\gamma\beta$ *Dhu* 77. P 2, 95, $\gamma\beta$ 'h P 2, 83 (but $\gamma\beta$ 'y VJ 393) 'to know'.

914. (ii) Heavy stems.

(1) No ending.

(a) Not depending on a verb or preposition: 'wznz 'to descend' BBB 490; δ ys *pr* δ ys 'to build' ib. 494; *xwj* 'to ask' BBB 737; &c.

915. (b) Depending on *pc*'y- 'to be convenient': *frm*'y 'to order' BBB d 3.

916. (c) Dep. on γ wt 'oportet': ''s 'to take' M 142 R 5; δ 'r 'to hold' M 670, 5.

917. (d) Dep. on *pyštyy* 'styy or *βwt* 'is ready' (H.): *ptxw*'y 'to kill' M 760, 19; *pš*'y 'to throw' T ii D 62, 9.

918. (e) Dep. on *pr*: 'wzz 'to descend' BBB p. 54 on 490; *tkwš* 'to look' T ii B V 4; Chr. *ptywš* 'to hear' i 11, 2; Chr. *ptxw*'y 'to kill' ii 6, 16; S. *nm*'y 'to judge', 'ys 'to come', ST i 87, 20; S. *ptywš* 'to hear', *βr*'z 'to touch', *Sogd.* 64, 10 sq.

919. (f) Dep. on *cn* (B. only): *wyn* 'to see', *ptywš* 'to hear', *βr*'z 'to touch', ''βr 'to bring, fetch', '' γ 'yr 'to walk', VJ 78 sqq. (cf. BBB p. 79 on 656-677).

920. (2) Ending -y.

(a) Depending on *cn*: Man. *wynyy* 'to see', *ptywšy* 'to hear', *pcβwšyy* 'to smell', *pcmrwsyy* 'to touch', v. BBB loc. cit.; *βyryy* 'to obtain' BBB f 5; B. *wy*'rš'y 'to deliver' ST ii 9, 6.

921. (b) In B., after *pr*: *pr* δ β'r γ wyz'y 'to ask for gifts' VJ 120 (cf. Chr. *pr* θ b'r γ wž i 42, 4); *pr* . . . 'nškr'y 'in the act of collecting VJ 1016.

It is possible that these forms, and the ones mentioned in § 901, are -aka- Infinitives.

The Past Infinitive

922. (i) Light stems (ending -y).

(a) Depending on *fr*'z- 'to begin': Man. *ptsyty* 'to make, arrange' M 178 ii R 8; B. *βsty* 'to attach' VJ 1239.

923. (b) Dep. on '' γ 'z- 'to begin': *wytyy* 'to say' (or possibly 'let') M 133, 41; S. *ywyty* 'to teach' Kaw. H 8 (the following 'βs' γ t, instead of *'βs' γ ty, is curious).

924. (c) Dep. on γ wt 'oportet': 'ktyy 'to make' BBB d 4. 7.

925. (d) Dep. on *frm*'y- 'to order': *jtyy* 'to strike' M 135 i 30;

swβty 'to bore, pierce' *ib.* 40; B. *βty* 'to give' *VJ* 36; B. *δryty* 'to hold' *VJ* 35. 303.

926. (e) Dep. on *pr*: (?)*kštyy* 'to sow' *BBB* p. 71.

927. (ii) Heavy stems.

(1) No ending.

(a) Depending on *frm'y-* 'to order': *δδβrt* 'to give' *T ii D* 62, 20; *xwrt* 'to eat' *M* 617 *i* 27; Chr. *ptxwst* 'to kill' *ii* 4, 30; B. *sn't* 'to wash' *VJ* 1292.

928. (b) Dep. on *s'št* 'oportet': *ptšmrt* 'to think' *M* 655, 8. 15 (H.'s reading); B. *knt* 'to gouge' *VJ* 239.

929. (c) Dep. on *kwn-*: *'ywšt ptywšt 'k'ndt Kaw.* K 5 sq. 11 sq. 'they became excited', Passive of **'ywšt ptywšt kwn-* 'to excite'.¹

930. (2) Ending -y.

(a) In B. the light-stem ending was sometimes extended to heavy stems: *'wst'ty* 'to place' *VJ* 44 (*'wst't* *ib.* 250. 348); *prš'tty* 'to prepare' *ib.* 56; *rys'ty* 'to lick', v. § 537; *ptwy'ty* 'to wriggle' *VJ* 114; *zy'yr'ty* 'to call' *VJ* 60. 1314 (*zy'yr't*, v. § 537).

931. (b) In Man. the following examples occur: *pr βyrtyh* 'to obtain' *M* 891, 9 (no context); *prw 'kštyy* (cf. § 926) *pr'qndyy* 'in ploughing and sowing' *BBB* p. 71; *δβrtyy γwlk'm* 'will have to be given' *M* 135 *i* 44 (a copy of the same text in Sogdian writing has *δβrt'k T M* 418 V 2); *'t[y] 'ywstyh nywstyh wyδwc 'ync M* 133, 63 sqq. (preceding lines missing) 'clothing and dressing a widow' (H.).

It is not clear whether -y is here the Oblique-Accusative ending, or represents -aka- as an Infinitive suffix (cf. the possible Present Infinitives in -aka-, § 921).

932. (iii) In B. the ending -' is used with light stems, when the Infinitive, usually preceded by *cnn*, is followed by *k'ry*. Heavy stems, for which there is also one Man. example, have no ending. The meaning of *cnn . . . k'ry*, correctly rendered by Reichelt as 'after', has been confirmed by Weller, *Monumenta Serica*, ii 377. -' is presumably the ending of the Ablative.

933. (1) Light stems. *cnn 'γδ'y 'γwšt k'ry* 'after having wished his wish' *Dhy* 84; *cnn prwy:t'y šw'mntk 'krt'k'ry* 'after having completed the *pariṇāmana*' *ib.* 83 (cf. *ZKw prwyrt'y šw'mntk wn-*, prec. line); *nβ'nt wγš'y 'krt' k'ry* *ib.* 82 (haplography for *n. w. 'krtyh 'krt' k'ry*, cf. *n. w. 'krtyh wn-*, prec. line) 'after having completed the *anumodana*'; *cnn pwy'p'k'ry* 'after cooking (it)' *Frg iii* 74.

¹929¹ [Acc. to H. *'ywšt* and *ptywšt* are old Participles.]

934. (2) Heavy stems. Man. *cn xwr̥t̥ k'ryy* 'after eating' *M* 144 R 1; B. *cnn pwt̥y ryth šm''r'ti k'ry* 'after having thought of the face of the Buddha' *Dhy* 56; *cnn 'kr̥t̥nyh wydy't k'ry* 'after the disappearance of the sins' *Dhy* 189; *mn' cnn nyr̥β'n wy't̥rt k'ry* 'after I shall have passed into the *nirvāṇa*' *Dhu* 81 (Reichelt's translation is unsatisfactory).

NOMINAL STEMS

NOUN FORMATION

Primary stems

935. Most OIr. nominal stems are treated in the same way as the *-ā-* stems, viz. they inflect, acc. to their rhythmic value in Sogdian, either as light stems or as heavy stems (cf. Tedesco, *ZII* iv 132 sq.). In a number of words, however, formatives other than *-ā-* have been preserved or have left traces.

936. (1) OIr. root stems.

(a) *δβr-* (light) 'door', from *dwar-*; *m'x* 'moon', from *māh-*; 'p water', from *āp-*; &c.

937. (b) An OIr. ablaut is preserved in the doublet Man. 'stryt̥ Pl., *M* 810, 7: *st'ryyt̥*, 'st'rytyy, S. 'st'r'kt 'stars', cf. § 157, from *star-/stār-+aka-*.

938. (2) *-ah-* stems.

(a) *-ah-* is lost. *sr-* (light) 'head', from *sarah-*; *tm-* (light) 'hell', from Av. *tamah-*; *rw̥t* 'river', from OPers. *rautah-*; *fr̥n* 'luck', from Av. *x'arənah-*, v. § 224; *qmbyy* 'less, short of', from **kambiyah-*, v. § 493 fn.

939. (b) *-ah-* is preserved as *-(a)χ-* when followed by the suffix *-want-* (§ 391). *fr̥nxw̥nd-* 'lucky' from *x'arənahvant-*, *wrcxw̥nd-* 'miraculous' from *varəčahvant-*, cf. H., *BSOS* viii 586, against *fr̥n* 'luck', and **wrc* 'miracle' in Chr. *wrc wny*; Man. *wrcw̥nkrc* (§ 1088), B. *trw'rc*, v. § 1144, from Av. *varəčah-*. [Cf. also B. 'zyw(h), 'rsy, § 403 fn.]

(c) On *mzyx* from *mazyah-* (?) v. § 403.

(d) On *xwm̥n'* from **manah-* v. § 404.

(3) On the OIr. *-āh-* stem *mazdāh-* v. § 395 fn.

940. (4) *-an-* and *-ar-* stems.

(i) *n*, *r*, are lost.

(a) *βr't̥* 'brother' from *brātar-*, cf. § 944; B. *cr̥myh* 'hide', *P* 2, 211, from Av. *čarəman-*; *cšm-* (light) 'eye' from *čašman-*; *δ'm* 'world' from *dāman-*; *dyw't̥* 'daughter' from Av. *duydar-*, cf.

§ 944; S. *šym* 'eye-ball' *Sogd.* 5, 2, 'sight' *T M* 389 a V 9, from Av. *daēman-*; *-kyšp-* (light) from Av. *karšvan/r-*, v. § 147; *m't* 'mother' from *mātar-*; *n'm* 'name' from *nāman-*; B. *sn'wty* Obl. Pl. 'sinews' *P* 2, 371, from *snāwar/n-* (H.); Man. *zrw* 'old age' *T ii D* 167 ii 8. *M* 821 i 13, B. *zrwḥ Vim* 113, *cnn zrwḥ P* 2, 324, from Av. *zaurvan-*; (?)*zrw* N. of a god, v. *ST ii* 602^b, from Av. *zrvan-* (cf. §§ 945. 958). [v. Addenda.]

941. (b) Before suffix. S. **z'm'k* 'son-in-law', Pl. *z'm'tyty T ii D* 7, from Av. *zāmātar-+aka-*. Cf. *sprymy* § 1097, *'ndmy* § 283.

942. (ii) *n*, *r*, preserved.

(a) From the strongest stem. *rw'n* 'soul' from (*u*)*rwān-*; *sm'n* 'sky' from *asmān-*; **martān* 'brave', attested through the abstract Man. *mrt'ny' T i a* (*Par.* 19), cf. *ST ii s.v. m'rdny*, *BBB s.v. m'r'dnyy*, from Av. *marātan-*, v. *Morgenstierne*, *EVP* 47.

943. (b) From the strong or weak stem.

(a) Man. *npyyšn* 'grandson', Pl. S. *np'yšnt*, from OIr. *naθbr-*, cf. § 299, with analogical *p* and a mysterious *-n*; *wrkr* 'leaf' from **warkar/n-*, v. *Sogd.* 4; *'ptr-* 'father' from *p(i)tar-*; *'tr* 'fire' from *ātar-*.

944. (β) Man. *βr'trt-*, S. *δwytrt-*, v. § 1231, Pl. of *βr't* and *δwyt'*, v. § 940.

945. (γ) Before suffix. *xšpncyk* 'nocturnal' from Av. *xšapan-*. [*zwrnyy* 'period' from Av. *zrvan-+aka-* (H.).]

946. (δ) B. *nns* 'nose' can perhaps be taken as an *-an-* stem with transposed *n* and reduced root vowel, from OIr. **nāsn-*, cf. Av. *nānhan-*¹ (on Man. *ns* v. § 338).

947. (5) OIr. *-i-* stems.

(i) *i* is lost with masculine light stems, and with heavy stems. *γr-* (light) 'mountain' from *gari-*; *xwr't* 'food' *M* 178 i V 20, from Av. *x'arəti-* (unless it belongs to Av. *x'āša-*); B. *šwn* 'hips' from *sraoni-*, v. § 371.

948. (ii) *i* is preserved.

(a) With feminine light stems, which have the feminine formative *-ā* added to the stem: *'kty* 'action, deed' from *krti-+ā*; *γwβty* 'praise' from **gufti-+ā*; *tr'ty* 'grief' from **tr'nxti-* (cf. § 152^b)*+ā*; Chr. **sty* 'being', v. § 783, from Av. *sti-+ā*; B. (?)*cštyh* 'terror', v. § 277, from **tr'sti-+ā*. Similarly is treated OIr. *uši-*, believed to be a Dual, which appears in Sogdian as *wšy*, *'šy*, *šy*, v. § 102.

946¹ For the preservation of *s* before *n* cf. Av. *hazamqm* (v. Bailey, *BSOS* ix 72) and Av. *sāmā-*.

949. (b) In compounds and before suffix. S. *'rtyxw βnik*, N. pr., v. § 237; B. *βsylykyn* 'therapeutic' *Padm* 21,¹ from Av. *biši-* 'physician'.

950. (6) OIr. -i- stems.

(i) *i* is lost, cf. Tedesco, *ZII* iv 141. B. *βwmh* 'world, earth' from *būmī-*; S. **'rtwγ*, Man. *''pwx*, from *'wahwī-*, v. § 237.

(ii) Lost after causing umlaut, in B. *γwt'ynh* 'queen', v. § 133.

951. (iii) Preserved. Possibly in the Nominative Chr. *γwxny*, and the Accusative Man. *γxwny*, *xwrnyy*, 'blood', v. § 1168 fn.; before suffix in *stryc* 'female' from **stri-kā-*.

952. (7) OIr. -u- stems.

(i) Light.

(a) *u* is preserved.

(α) As the ending of uninflected stems, v. § 1190.

(β) In *'ztyw* 'in exile', adj. or adv., from *uzdahyu-*, v. §§ 97. 398.

(γ) With metathesis in S. *mwδ-* 'wine', v. § 408, Chr. *žwmn-* 'period', v. § 512 fn.; followed by the suffix *-aka-* in Man. *škwyy* 'dry', § 412; followed by the suffix *-ka-* in *ytkw-* 'bridge', § 518, and B. *cškw-* 'tear', v. § 371; on *jwxšk-* v. § 958.

953. (b) *u* is lost. *ps-* 'sheep' (Man. *psy*, *psyy*, B. *'ps'* *SCE* 364, *psw* (Acc.) *VJ* 87) from *pasu-* (but cf. Chr. *xwšp'ny*, § 314); B. (?) *ks-* 'thin', cf. §§ 1201. 1204, from *kasu-*, v. Lentz, *ST ii* 587^a; S. *myδr-* 'death' from *mγθyu-*, v. §§ 185. 507.

954. (ii) Heavy.

(a) *u* is preserved.

(α) In *-wk*, resulting from the addition of the suffix *-ka-*, v. § 978.

(β) With metathesis, perhaps in *pwrc* 'debt' and Chr. B. *γwrs* '(a)round', v. § 487 sq.

(b) *u* is lost. B. *wβ'z* 'fathom' from Av. *vibāzu-*, v. § 218; *wštm'x* 'paradise' from *'ahu-*, cf. § 395.

955. (8) OIr. -ū- stems. *ū* has been shortened in *wδw-*, *wδ-*, 'wife', v. § 506. It was lost, or transposed through metathesis, in B. *γwšh* 'mother-in-law', cf. § 371.

956. (9) Amongst the OIr. -a- stems are of interest those in *-ya-*, on which v. § 494, and verbal nouns from the Present stem or from the root, which mostly belonged to this class. Cf. the following list:

(i) Light stems. Man. B. *wγš-* 'joy', B. *wγš-* 'joyful', from *wγš-*

949¹ A different reading (*βsylykrm*) is proposed by Benveniste, *BSOS* ix 496.

'to rejoice', v. § 1212; *ptβy-* 'reverence' from **patibaya-*, v. § 521; *wrm-* 'quietness, calm', v. § 213 fn. 2; *xw xwšy* Nom., 'increase' *M* 896, 20, cf. § 428; *pcksy* Nom., 'expectation, outlook' *M* 280, 9, cf. § 175.¹

957. (ii) Heavy stems. Man. **rwxs* 'desire, greed', v. § 539; **mb'r* 'satiety', cf. § 544; **ny'm* 'end', § 659, cf. Chr. **yms-* 'to end', § 828; **psyyk* 'spilling', § 1168 fn., to Chr. *psync-*, § 600, c; **wrm* 'quiet', § 213 fn. 2, cf. **wrms-* 'to become quiet' § 828; **sprxs* 'twigs', v. *BBB* p. 72 on 573; *βnd* 'prison', *βynd* 'interdiction', § 107, from *βynd-* 'to bind'; *βtrng* 'oppression', § 152^a, to B. *βtr(?)ync-* 'to oppress', § 153; *x' δβ'r* 'gift' *M* 144 R 3, to *δβr-* 'to give'; *δβyš* 'harm, damage' from *δβyš-* 'to harm'; *frxrw* 'timid', cf. § 330; Chr. **mr'w* 'crying', from *brām-*, v. §§ 310. 351; *pcy'z* 'reception', from *pcy'z-* 'to receive', v. *BBB* p. 94 on b 48; *pcqwyr* 'fear', from *pcqwyr-* 'to fear'; *pswq* 'purification', to *pswc-* 'to purify'; *ptmwk* 'dress', to *ptmync-* 'to dress'; *ptnym* 'contemptuous' from B. *ptn'ym-* 'to scoff', v. *BBB* p. 64 on 525; *pts'δ* 'appearance, shape' *Kav.* G 7, cf. Av. *sadaya-* 'videri' (H.); *pts'k* 'institution, order, arrangement', cf. *pts'c-* 'to arrange', v. *BBB* p. 86 on 725; *ptšm'r* 'figure, counting', cf. Chr. *pcmr-* 'to count', v. § 592; Man. *ptz'n T ii D* 63 a 6. 15, Chr. *ptz'n i* 31, 9, 'knowledge', from *ptz'n-* 'to recognize'; *ptzrn* 'annoyance' *BBB* b 18, *pzrn* 'affliction, sorrow' *M* 697, 3, B. **pz'rn VJ* 82. 126. &c., from B. **pz'rn-* 'to afflict', v. § 579; *skfs* 'obstinate', v. § 369; *w'zł* Pl. 'wings' *T ii D* 79 a 11, cf. *wz-* 'to fly' § 1638; *wryδ* *ptryδδ* 'mixture' *BBB* 581; *wyδβ'γ* 'explanation, preaching', cf. B. *wyδβys-* 'to unfold', § 213, v. *BBB* p. 87 on 734; *wyg'n* 'destruction' *M* 178 i V 19, from *wygn-*, &c., 'to destroy', v. § 219, cf. MPers. *gwg'n-*, Parth. *wyg'n-*, H., *ZII* ix 189; *wyšt'w* 'promise, oath', cf. **psšt'w-*, § 546; *wyz'w* 'extinguishing', v. § 216.

958. (10) In isolated nouns the stem includes the OIr. Nominative ending. *w'xš* 'word, speech; spirit', from the root stem *wāk-*; *jwxšq-* 'disciple' from the *-u-* stem *drigu-*, v. §§ 255. 285. 410; *fšy'ws* 'gentleman' from the *-ant-* stem *fšuyant-*, cf. § 311. Cf. also *šys* '30', *pnc's* '50', § 1323. [(?)*zrw*] § 940, < *zrwā*, Nom. of *zrwān-*.]

SUFFIXES

959. Alphabetical Index

-*š* 971-4 (948).-*βr* 1134.B. -*βr'y* 1134.B. -*cw* 1080.B. -*wt* 1079.-*k* 979 sq. 989-93.

956¹ With the last two one cannot be sure whether *-y* is not the *-aka-* suffix. Cf. also *pw ptczšy* 'unseizability' § 1165.

- B. -'k 960.
 B. -'kh 971.
 B. -'kk 976 fn. 982 sq.
 B. -'kw 960.
 -'m 1094.
 B. -'m'k 1099.
 S. -'m'nt'k 1100.
 B. -'m'y 1099.
 -'mc 1102.
 -'mndy 1100 sq.
 -'n 1032-5.
 B. -'n 1027. 1031.
 B. -'n'k 1039 sq.
 -'nc 1043-8.
 -'ndy 1068.
 B. -'nk'r'k 1126.
 B. -'nt 1066.
 B. -'nik 1068.
 B. -'nty 1068.
 -'ny 1035-8. 1040 sq.
 -'nyk 1042.
 -'rmyk 1105.
 B. -'st 1112.
 B. -'t(wh) 1072.
 -'w 1075 sq.
 B. -'w 960.
 B. -'w'k 1082 sq.
 B. -'w'nt 1091.
 -'wc 1080.
 Chr. -'wq 1077.
 B. -'wn 1026.
 B. -'wn'k 1087.
 -'wnd 1091.
 B. -'wny 1087 sq.
 -'wr (?) 1119.
 S. -'wt 1079.
 -'wy 1081-3.
 B. -'y 960.
 B. -'y'n 1050.
 B. -'yck' 1013.
 B. -'yδ 1109.
 B. -'yy 1106.
 B. -'yn'k 1053.
 B. -'yn'y 1055.
 B. -'yt 1073.
 -b'r 1129.
 -β'ry 1130.
 -β'r 1131.
 -β'r'n 1133.
 -β'ry 1132. 1130 fn.
 -c 1000-5.
 Chr. -c'q 1019.
 B. -c'n'k 1022.
 B. -c'nch 1023.
 -c'ny 1022 sq.
 -cn 1020.
 -cnk 1021.
 -cnwq 1024.
 -cy 1007.
 B. -cy 1006. 1008 sq.
 -cyk 1014-18.
 -cyny 1025.
 -δ'r 1135.
 -δ'ry 1136.
 -δnyy, B. -δn'k 1117.
 -gy' 985 fn.
 B. -γ 1108.
 -γwny 1113-15.
 B. -h 971.
 -k 975 sq. 981-8.
 B. -k 960.
 B. -k' 976 fn.
 -k'n 1063 sq.
 -k'ny 1065.
 -k'r 1124.
 -k'ry 1125.

- k'w* 1078.
 -*kr* 1120 sq.
 -*kry* 1120. 1122.
 -*kryny* 1123.
 -*kw* 999.
 B. -*kw* 998 sq.
 -*kwy* 999.
 -*ky* 998.
 -*ky'* 985.
 -*kym* 1060-2.

 -*m* 1093-5.
 -*m'* 1098.
 B. -*m'k* 1097.
 B. -*m'y* 1097.
 -*my* 1097.
 B. -*my* 1096.
 -*myc* 1103.
 -*myk* 1104.
 -*mync* 1103.

 -*n* 1026-31.
 -*n'k* 1059.
 B. -*n'k* 1056.
 S. -*n'y* 1056.
 -*nd* 1066.
 -*ndy* 1068 sq.
 -*ng'ry* 1126.
 B. -*nk'r'k* 1126.
 Chr. B. -*nt* 1066.
 -*ny* 1056-8.
 -*nyk* 997.

 -*p'* 1137.
 B. -*p'k* 1137.
 -*p'r* 1116. 1129.

 B. -*rmyk* 1105.

 B. -*s'k* 1112.
 B. -*st* 1112.

 -*stn(y)* 1118.
 Chr. -*sy* 1112.

 -*t'* 1069.
 S. -*t'c* 1127.
 **t'ck* 1128 a.
 -*t'k* 1128.
 B. -*t'ny(h)* 1074 a.
 -*t't* 1074.
 -*ty* 1071.
 -*ty'* 1070.
 B. -*tyh* 1070.

 -*w* 1076 (1190).
 B. -*w'c* 1138.
 S. -*w'nh* 1084.
 -*wc* 1080.
 -*wk* 978.
 B. -*wk'* 976 fn.
 -*wn* 1084 sq.
 -*wndy* 1092.
 -*wny* 1086-90.
 -*wx* 1107.

 -*y* 960-70, cf. 992. 1017.
 -*y'* 1111.
 -*y'k* 1110.
 B. -*y'kh* 1111 fn.
 -*y'n* 1049. 1051.
 -(*y*)*'wr* 1119.
 -*yc* 1010 sq.
 -*yck* 1012.
 B. -*yck* 1013.
 -*yδ* 1109.
 -*yk* 977. 994-8.
 B. -*yn'k* 1053 sq.
 -*yn(d)* 1067.
 -*yny* 1052-5. 1058.
 S. -*yt(w)* 1073.

 -*zng'n* 1115.

960. (1) -e from OIr. -aka-, spelled Man. -(y)y(*h*), Chr. -y, B. -(^o)y, -^ow, -k, -^ok, -^okw,¹ *Anc. Lett.* -k, -^ok, -^okw.² On the inflection of these stems v. §§ 1252 sqq.; on the Feminine of adjectives v. §§ 1271 sqq.; on the old *k* reappearing before the suffix -y' and occasionally in other cases, v. §§ 985 sqq.

961. (i) Past Participles, cf. § 531. *wβ_iyy* 'asleep', *ptsytyy* 'arranged', *fryštyy* 'sent, messenger', *nštyy* 'spoiled', *xrtyy* 'passed', *xwsty* 'beaten', &c.

(ii) Present Participles, v. §§ 898-904.

962. (iii) Verbal nouns.

(a) From the Present stem.

(a) Nouns of action. *βyryy* 'attainment, success' *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 5, from *βyr-* 'to obtain'; *γδyy* 'wish'; *prwrtyy* 'time (French *fois*)', § 1327, from *prwrt-* 'to turn'; *x' prwyδ(yy)* 'the striving' (?) *M 280 R* 15, from Chr. *prwyd-* 'to search'; *pšp'ryy* 'advancing', v. *BBB* p. 132; *ptβyδyy* 'λογισμός' from *ptβyδ-* 'to recognize'; *s'cyy* 'duty', v. *BBB* p. 79 bottom.

963. (β) Nouns of instrument. *py'tyy* 'ornament' *M 178 i R* 17. V 30, from *py't-* 'to adorn', v. § 585, c; Chr. *nywnty* 'ἱμάτιον' *i* 5, 9, B. *ny'wnt'k* 'blanket' *VJ* 1129, *ny'wnt'y* ib. 1367, from B. *ny'wnt-* 'to dress, cover', *BBB* p. 76 top.

964. (b) From the Past stem. *prm'tyy* in *m'nprmt'yy* 'φρόνησις' *M* 133, 66. 67 (Nom. and Obl.), from **prm'y-* 'to think' v. *BBB* p. 77 fn. 1; *wy'βrtyy* 'speech', v. *BBB* p. 80 on 662.

965. (c) From the root. *βndyh* 'slave'; *sp'syħ* 'servant', cf. *BBB* p. 97 bottom; S. *ptrydy* 'mixed', v. § 1239.

966. (iv) Substantives. *nδmyy* 'limb'; *βryy* 'fruit'; B. *cytk*, Man. *cytyt* Pl., 'spirit, ghost'; *γ'myy* 'property, wealth', cf. § 399, c; *mrtxmyy* 'man'; B. *nyzβ'n'k*, Man. *nyzβ'nyt* Pl., 'passion'; B. *pr'n'k*, Man. *pr'nyt* Pl. 'living being'; *prxyy* 'reward'; *pxryy* 'planet'; *zurnyy* 'time, period'; *swndyh*, B. *swntk* *SCE* 442, 'liar'; *xwštyy* 'teacher', § 230; &c.

960¹ From the historic spellings in B. texts (note that -*ky* is apparently not attested), Tedesco, *ZII* iv 113 sqq., inferred that -e was the result of **aki* after loss of the intervocalic -k-. Such a loss is unparalleled in Sogdian; it is as well to assume that, all ancient endings having been lost after -k-, -ak became -e as in NPers. The only difficulty lies with the B. spelling -w. One may surmise that -w was taken for an alternative spelling of -kw on the analogy of the pseudo-historic (?) spellings *'un'kw*, *mun'kw*, *w'n'kw*, *c'n'kw*, beside the phonetic spellings *'un'w*, *munw*, &c., for what was pronounced *ōnu*, *munu*, *wānu*, *ēānu*, cf. §§ 1431. 1467. 1595 sqq. [v. Add. p. 308.]

960² Judging by the spellings, the change -ak > -e had not yet taken place at the time of the *Anc. Lett.*

967. (v) Adjectives. *nwšyy* 'immortal'; *škwyz*: 'dry', v. § 412; *ƒrc* Fem., S. *ƒryt T M 389 a V 8*, Pl., "dark", from *ƒryy*, which, as far as attested, always means 'darkness'; *βrzyy* 'long' *M 136 R 2*, B. *βrz'k*, *βrz'y SCE*; *zyrtyh* 'yellow' (?) *M 746 c 5*; &c. [v. Addenda.]

968. (vi) Compound suffix with *bahuvrihis*. *xrywšyy* 'hare' *M 127 V 7*; *qrmyr rytyy* 'red-faced' *M 378, 4*, from *ryt* 'face'; *'sp'krmyt* Pl. 'whose deeds (*krm*) are accomplished' *M 107 ii 18*; *m'n 'nšk'fyy* 'whose mind has been split' *BBB 542*; &c.

(vii) *-aka-* was also added to other suffixes:

<i>-ande</i> 1068.	<i>-karene</i> 1123.
<i>-āme</i> 1099.	<i>-kāre</i> 1125.
<i>-āne</i> 1039 sqq.	<i>-me</i> 1097.
<i>-āvare</i> 1134.	<i>-se</i> 1112.
<i>-āwe</i> 1081-3.	<i>-stane</i> 1118.
<i>-c'nyy</i> 1022 sq.	<i>-te</i> 1071.
<i>-cynyy</i> 1025.	<i>-vare</i> 1132.
<i>-šane</i> 1117.	<i>-vāre</i> 1130.
<i>-šāre</i> 1136.	<i>-wande</i> 1092.
<i>-γōne</i> 1113-15.	<i>-wane</i> 1086.
<i>-kare</i> 1120-2.	<i>-(y)nyy</i> 1052 sqq.

For other suffixes added to *-aka-*, cf. §§ 1017 (*-cyk*). 1103 (*-my(n)c*).

For *-aka-* alternating with other suffixes, cf. §§ 992 (*-āk*). 1044 (*-ānē*). 1057 (*-(e)ne*). 1061 (*-kyn*). 1083 (*-āwe*). 1089 (*-ūne*).

969. (viii) Several heavy stems and compounds have *-aka-* stems beside them. (On light-stem adjectives appearing sometimes with *-e* from *-aka-*, v. §§ 982 fn.1. 1210. 1211. 1216.) **stn* 'constant, permanent', in S. *'pw* *'stny'kh* 'without constancy' 10.120, *'pw* *'stnyh Vim 119*: Man. *'stnyy M 264 A 8. M 591, 8*, *'s[tn]ky M 264 A 7*; B. *'sp'yt* 'white': *'sp'ytk*, cf. *ST ii 576c*, and B. *'sp'ytkh* Fem., *VJ 1106*, Chr. *spyty i 16, 9*; B. *'γwš'nt* 'happy' *VJ 54c*: B. *'γwš'ntk*, Man. *wγšndyy*, v. § 1068; *'yjn* 'worthy': *'yjnddy*, v. § 290; *dynd'r* 'electus' *T ii D 62, 11*, Pl. *dynd'r't* passim: *δ[yn]δ'rryy* Nom., *M 135 ii 5*; B. *kš'yckry* 'farming': B. *kš'yckr'k* 'farmer', v. *BBB p. 72 on 570*; B. *p'δ* 'foot' *VJ 197. 881. SCE 116*, Pl. *p'δt VJ 246. 804. 970. SCE 116*, but Man. *p'δyy M 504, 2. 4. T ii D 79 c 5*, B. *p'δ'y* Nom. *VJ 65b*, *p'δ'k rβ* 'foot-disease' *P 2, 36*, Pl. Chr. *p'dyt ST i* passim, B. *p'δ'yt VJ 779. 803. 1104*; **tāwand* 'powerful' in Chr. *ƒ'wnty* 'power' *ii 4, 10*, perhaps Man. *ƒ'w(n)d't M 372, 22* (out of context), cf. the Elative B. *w'ƒ'w'ntt*, § 1313: Man. *ƒ'w'ndyy* 'powerful', passim; *xw'qr* 'merchant' (§ 392), Pl. S. *γw'krt T ii D 77 (A I) 8*: S. *γw'krytt* ib. 19. Cf. also B. *mrtym'n*, Gen. Pl. of **martoxm* (v. § 1261), against

B. *mrtym'k*, and B. *'py'rh* 'last night' *VJ* 3, against Man. *βy'ryy*, S. *βy'r'k T M* 389 a R 25 'evening' (with different preverb).

970. (ix) A number of nouns without suffix in the Singular have -aka- Plurals. *m'x* 'month': Chr. *m'xyt ii* 4, 40, Man. *mydyt'ly m'xyty M* 815 (*H i b* 8);¹ *myδ* 'day': *mydyt M* 134 ii V 7. *M* 136 R 3, B. *myδ'yt VJ* 1459 (but Chr. *myθt i* 31, 5); *pz't* 'home': S. *'pz'tyt*, v. § 99; *sm'n* 'sky' *M* 134 i V 10. *M* 674, 28, Chr. passim (*sm'nyy*, *BBB* Gloss. s.v., is Acc.): Man. Chr. *sm'nyt* (but S. *sm'nt ST* i 86, 11); *sr-* (light stem) 'head': Chr. *sryt i* 41, 3; Man. *srδδ* 'year' *M* 410, 33, Chr. *srδ*: Man. *srδyt* passim. Cf. also S. *γw'krytt*, § 969.

971. (2) -'.

(i) Man. Chr. -', B. -'kh and -', -h, from *-ākā-.¹ This suffix can easily be recognized whenever it appears with a stem that would count as heavy if it had no suffix. Where such a stem would count as light, the possibility that -' may represent the feminine formative -ā- (§§ 1170. 1175) can only be excluded if an oblique case or a Plural is attested, as in §§ 1262 sqq.

The same spellings as for *-ākā- are found in the loanwords Man. *wyn' M* 135 i 30, S. *wyn'kh T M* 418 R 10, 'lute', from Skt. *vīṇā*, Man. *q'γδ*, B. *k'γδ'kh P* 2, 951, cf. *BBB* p. 65 on 527; cf. also *β'z'* 'arm' *Man. Lett.* i 31, Pl. S. *β'z'[y]t*, v. § 1268, from *bāzu-*, which can hardly contain *-ākā- (similarly Pahl. *bāzā* (H.)), cf. *prs'* § 138.

On the treatment of these stems before another suffix v. §§ 1017. 1062.

972. (a) Verbal nouns. B. *'zyh* 'the fact of being re-born' *P* 2, 130, *L'* *'zy* 'non-existence' *SCE* 563, from *āz(a)y-*, v. § 182 fn.; S. *swc'kh* 'burning' *BBB* p. 92 on b 15; *šm'r* 'thinking, ἐνθύμησις'; Chr. *wydym'p*, B. *wyδ'ynp'h* 'lightning', v. *ST ii* s.v., cf. Man. *wy]dymb' wyδ(f)l't* (restored by H.) *M* 247, 14.

973. (b) Substantives. *'ms* 'obedience' *Man. Lett.* ii 7. 17; *δ'm* 'net' *M* 127 R 12; Chr. *dn't* 'tooth' i 5, 4, cf. Ossetic *dāndāg*, Hübschmann, *ZDMG* 41, 331; *kwc'*, B. *kwc'kh* 'mouth'; *p'št* '?' *Man. Lett.* i 19, cf. § 1268; *pc'w* 'quarrel' *Man. Lett.* ii 15; *p'k'r* 'appearance'; Man. Chr. *wr* 'profit, success' *Man. Lett.* ii 18. *ST* i 47, 5. 10, S. *wrh T ii D* 77 (*A I*) 26, B. *wr'kh SCE* 22. *P* 2, 236; *x'n* 'house' *M* 135 i 28. ii 59; &c.

(c) Alternating with nought. S. *nβ'yr'kh P* 2, 53; *nβ'yr P* 13, 8, 'consultation, counsel', from *nβ'yr-* 'to deliberate', § 676.

(d) On the abstract suffix -y' from *-yākā- v. § 1111. On -m' v. § 1098. Cf. also §§ 1017. 1062.

970¹ Note, however, the -y of S. *m'yy* 'moon' Nom., *T M* 398 a, 398 b.

971¹ Not from *-ākā- (Tedesco, *ZII* iv 141 sqq.), which would have become -ak > -e, v. § 960 fn.

974. (ii) As recognized by H., -' is added to nominal and verbal forms, merely for recitation purposes, in a poetical text, *M* 137; such an addition of -' is common in MPers. (for NPers. cf. Horn, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i² 172 sq.). *pwtyk'h* 'skiff, ferry' R 4, cf. *Sogd.* p. 19 on 15^b; *mwrt'* 'myrtle' (H.) R 14; *'yš'h* 'thou art' V 9; *nywδn'* 'dress' V 10.

975. (3) -k, -ak.

(i) -k.

(a) Light stems. *juwšq-* 'disciple', cf. § 520; B. *mwšk-* 'fly' (*mwšk'*, with incorrect ending, v. § 1182 fn.; *mwšky* Acc. P 2, 390), cf. §§ 113. 165. 247 fn. 2; B. *murzk-* 'short', v. §§ 151. 522, cf. Khot. *mulysga*.

Cf. also *ytqw-* 'bridge' from **haētuka-*, § 518, and S. (')c(š)kw- 'tear' from **asruka-*, § 371.

976. (b) Heavy stems (B. often -k').¹

(a) After consonants. Man. *'xšnyrk* 'sign, characteristic mark', v. *BBB* p. 88 on 758; *mwck* 'teacher' *M* 483, 7 (cf. § 397); B. *mz'yyk'* 'big', v. § 396; *nyrk* 'male'; *pryng*, a part of the face, *M* 142 V 4. 8, S. *pr'yink* *Sogd.* 5 sq.;² *ptxwng* 'murder' *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 19. *ST* ii, Man. *yxwng* 'discerning', § 48, cf. § 121; Chr. *sfr'cq* 'res' *ST* ii; Man. *wzrg* 'great', § 50, B. *wz'rk* *T* iii § 23 (3) ii 6, Pl. *wz'rkt* *VJ* 206; Chr. *xrycqt* Pl., i 19, 12 (thus to be read acc. to H.), Sg. B. *yr'yck'* *Vim* 153, 'prostitute'; *xwycq* 'open, loose' *Man. Lett.* i 25; *zng* 'sort, kind', v. § 164.

976¹ While B. -'kk stands for -dk (v. §§ 982 sq. 989), -k' stands for final -k after consonants or ā, ī ē, ī. Final -' is not used, as far as I can see, after a silent k (§ 960) or after heavy stems in -ak (§§ 982-3).

(i) After consonants: *'yšnyrk'* 'sign' *Dhy* 226; *'ny'zmk'* 'different' *SCE* 12. 67; *'ps'yink'* N. of a bird, *SCE* 142; *'pyštr'yck'* 'future', § 373; *'sβr'ck'* 'res' *SCE* 179. *Vim* passim; *'ywzmk'* 'similar' *SCE* 9. 65. *DN* 16. 19; *cntrp'r'yck'* 'internal' *Dhu* 53; *'wycck'* 'open, loose' (thus nearly always); *mwck'* 'teacher' *Vim* 67. *DN* 66; *nyrk'* 'male' P 2, 353; *prw'yck'* 'previous' *SCE* 65; *ptyunk'* 'murder' *SCE* 421; *Rbk'* 'great' *Dhu* 76. *T* ii *T* 14 (= **wz'rk'*); *snk'* 'stone' *VJ* 780. 1266; *zr'nk'* 'deliverance' P 2, 10.

(ii) After -ā-: *'ynt''k'* 'bad' *SCE* 117; *'mīwz''k'* 'teacher' *T* M 389 a R 39; *'pcm''k'* 'haughty' *SCE* 405; *'wy''k'* 'place, spot' *SCE* 542. *Dhu* 84; *'zr''k'* 'in vain, lost' *VJ* 1326.

(iii) After -y-: *'kδrycyk'* 'present' *SCE* 493; *'βyk'* 'outside' *Vim* 57. *VJ* 132. 146. 374; *'δrm'yk'* 'connected with the dharma' *SCE* 506. *Vim* 68; *'yw'ncylk'* 'wanting' *VJ* 159; *'šyr'yk'* 'pious' § 994.

(iv) After -w-: *'swk'* 'gazelle' *SCE* 151. 354; *'βyz'wuk'* 'wretched' *VJ* 958. 1382; *'βr'wk'* 'brow' *SCE* 100; *'βrzwk'* 'length' *Dhy* 96; *'γδwk'* 'throne' *VJ* 204. 324. 797. 1308; *'m'n'wk'* 'similar' *T* M 389 a R 12; *'z'nwk'* 'knee' *VJ* 97.

Although in some of these examples -' may be historical spelling of an Ablative, Feminine, or Plural ending, the general tendency is clear.

976² [v. Addenda.]

977. (β) After *i* resulting from contraction, cf. §§ 202 sqq. *δβtyk* 'second' from **dwitīyaka-*; *štyk* 'third' from **θritīyaka-*; Chr. *sfnyq* 'iron' *ii* 5, 17, from **āspanyaka-*, cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP* 12,¹ v. § 1055; S. *swγdyk, sγwdyk* 'Sogdian' from **suγdiyaka-*, cf. B. *sγwdy'n'k*, § 1040. Thus a suffix *-ik* came into use, on which v. §§ 994 sqq.

978. (γ) After *u, ū* (original, or issued from a contraction or a diphthong). Cf. § 998 sq. B. *'swk* 'gazelle', § 976 fn., iv, cf. NPers. *āhū*, Hübschm., *PSt.* 11, Khot. *āska-*, Bailey, *BSOS* viii 118; **yw rδwk* 'sincere', v. § 423; Chr. *bž'xwq* 'miserable', v. § 391; *γδwk* 'throne'; Chr. *γztwq* 'saliva' *ii* 1, 25; *δ'rwk* 'wood'; *j(n)wwq* 'knee', § 264; *jwk* 'sound, safe' < **drūka-* < **druwaka-*, v. § 285 and *BBB* p. 61 on 516; *m'rwk* 'similar', Pl. *m'rwkt* *M* 771, 4; Man. *n'zwk* 'dear, beloved' *T ii D* 66, 1, 6. *T ii D* 207, 30, B. *n'zwk* *VJ* 64. 1387, cf. Parth. *n'zwg*, Ghilain, 59, NPers. *nāzūk*; *nyδβnwk* 'damage' *BBB* 588; *pjwq* 'abortion', v. § 379; *smwq* *Sogd.* 35, 10; *srwq* 'speech' from **srauka-*, cf. Av. *srauah-*, v. *Sogd.* 45 bottom; *tpsnwq* 'annoyance' *Sogd.* 48, 6; *tprwq* *Sogd.* 47, 2; *w'yw(k)* *M* 127 R 12, *w'ywq* *M* 373, 2, 'hunter', cf. MPers. or Parth. *w'ywg* *BBB* 101, from Av. *vā(y)-*, v. H., *Kaw.*, 68 fn. 2; Chr. *y'twq* 'sorcerer' *ST ii*; B. *z'rwk* 'knee' *VJ* 374, from **zānuka-*; Man. *z(n)w(q)* 'chin, jaw', § 375. On. B. *βrzwk* 'length' v. § 999. [*w'ywk*, cf. Oss. *ūcəyug* 'giant'.]

979. (δ) After *ā*. On the suffix *-āk* v. §§ 989-93. OIr. *-ā-* stems. *zβ'k* 'tongue' from Av. *hizvā-*, cf. Oss. *āwzāg*; (?)*ps'k* 'wreath' from Av. *pusā-*, cf. § 171; **my'k* 'happiness' from Av. *mayā-*, and *sy'k* 'shadow, canopy' from Av. **sayā-*, v. § 124.

980. Roots in *-ā-*. Cf. Skt. *pīvah-sphāka-* 'swelling with fat' from *sphāy-*, Whitney, § 1186 a. *pršt'q* *M* 133, 80. *M* 110 i R 9, B. *pršt'k* *VJ* 39^e, 'equipment, armour', from *pršt'y-* 'to prepare'; *pš'q* 'abortion' (cf. H., *Kaw.*, 53) *T ii B*, and passim, from *pš'y-* 'to throw'; *ptm'k* 'measure' from **ptm'y-*, cf. B. *ptm't'y*, *Past Parte.*, *SCE* 155. Cf. also from **χwāhaka-*: *frzw'k* 'chopping' *Sogd.* 31, 23, *pcxw'q* 'obstacle', *pxw'q* 'piece', *yxw'k* *T ii D* 116, 3, S. *γγw'k* *Sogd.* p. 5. *Frg iii* 9, 'part'.

981. (ii) *-ak*.

(a) Light stems. (ə)*stak-* 'bone' (Chr. *stqy* Nom., B. *'stkw(h)* Acc., *'stk'* Pl., v. *BBB* p. 93 on b 37, B. *'stk'* Abl., *P* 2, 370), cf. MPers. *'stg*; *'xšnk-* (*əxšnak-*) 'magnificent', v. § 511.

977¹ Cf. Khwār. *əspanī* (H.). For the dialect pronunciation of inst. of *sp*, cf. NPers. *sefād|sepēd*.

982. (b) -ak added to light stems*, often spelled -'kk in B. texts (Tedesco's 'strong k', *ZII* iv 116 sq. (§§ 40. 43)). 'sptk' 'complete' *M* 116 V 7,¹ beside 'spt-' (§ 1192); Man. '](s)pwrn'k 'complete' *T ii D* 163 b i 5; γδβk *'bitch', v. § 239; Chr. qbnq (only Chr. form attested), B. kβn'kk *VJ* 1463. 1475, 'little', against Man. B. kβn-, Man. kβn (v. § 1211); Man. šyrq, B. šyr'kk 'good, beautiful',² beside šyr- (v. §§ 1208 sqq.). *[The whole forming a heavy stem.]

983. (c) -ak added to heavy stems (B. -'kk).¹ ryncck *M* 136 passim, ryncq *M* 617 ii 29, Chr. ryncq, rync'q i 30, 9, B. rync'kk, 'small, child'. Cf. also γyšcnk, § 1021.

984. (iii) -k or -ak.

(a) *w*w qnck 'small girl' *BBB* e 22 (for *w*w used with a Fem. v. § 1427 sq.); *zyrtk* *'old man' (?) *M* 760, 6;¹ with unclear ending, Chr. s't ywp'tyqy 'ōlos' i 70, 11 < i p't, § 1327.

985. (b) The k of -aka- stems reappears in non-final position:

(a) Regularly before the abstract suffix -y', § 1111.¹ *frnxwnd(t)ky* 'bliss' < *frnxwndyy* 'lucky, blissful'; *pt'srtqy* 'being frozen' *Sogd.* 21, 13; *t'wndqy* 'power' from *t'wndyy*, § 969; *wyγr'tky* 'watchfulness' from *wyγr'tyy*; &c.

986. (β) Before the Oblique ending. Man. only *wy'h'nw'zky* 'in the assembly' *M* 117, 7 sq., cf. Chr. 'w'zy, B. 'nw'z'k, § 658.

987. (γ) Before the Plural ending. Man. only *pt'qrktyy* Obl., 'pictures', v. *BBB* p. 93 on b 40.

988. (iv) Except where final k is preceded by a consonant (§ 975 sq., possibly also § 984) or ī (§ 977), ũ (§ 978), ā (§ 979 sq.), the reason for its preservation is not clear. With some words it may lie in a special function attached to the suffix. Thus diminutives may be recognized

982¹ Cf. B. 'sptk *VJ* 38. 63; in B., however, an *-aka- stem *əspate* is attested by the spellings 'spt'k, o'ty, o'ty, o'tw.

982² Man. 'wwo šyrk (7) [*T ii D* 167 iii; šyrq jn' i *B* 4981 f 7; šyrq r't 'gift' *M* 133, 43 sq.; B. šyr'kk *yurt ZY* γwcu cšnt 'nice food and drinks' *VJ* 61; šyr'kk nγ'wβn 'clothes' *VJ* 1293; šyr'kk ββm- 'faire la bonne conduite' *VJ* 1343. Cf. Khot. širkā Masc., from *širaka-, širka Fem., v. Bailey, *BSOS* x 579 on 3. Prof. Bailey has also kindly pointed out to me the Comparative širkyerā < *širkatara-. The adjective B. šyr'kk must not be confused with the abstract šyr'k, § 198.

983¹ Sogdianized spelling -k for Parth. -g (= ag) is found in pδw'xtq 'Answer', v. *BBB* s.v., and *mhyšt'k* 'presbyter'.

984¹ The same text has x'n' (fem. article) *zyyr't*[' 'old woman' (?), cf. *VJ* 50 'cw m's'k 'cw *zyrth*, ib. 122 wβyw *zyrth ZY* m's'k, 'old men and old women (?)' (cf. in the latter enumeration šmny šmn'nch, line 120, 'monks and nuns').

985¹ The following examples suggest that the a which preceded -ky', had not been reduced: 'wswytm'n'ky' 'purity of mind' *BBB* 732 sq., *nwš'ky* 'immortality' *M* 264 A 6, *nwwrn'ky* 'lack of belief' *BBB* 634, *wyc'wyqy* 'testimony' *BBB* p. 94 on b 46. On the examples with -gy' v. § 246.

in *rynck* (§ 983), Chr. *qbnq* (§ 982), Man. *qnck* (§ 984), possibly also in *zyrtk* (§ 984) and *γδβk* (§ 982), cf. NPers. *-ak* for diminutives, Horn, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i² 175.

989. (4) *-āk*. Cf. § 979 sq.

(a) Added to verbal stems. *γρβ'k* 'wise'; *γnd'k*, B. *γnt'kk*, *γnt'k'*, 'bad', cf. Bal. *gandag*, Parth. *gnd'g* 'stinking'.

990. (b) Western Iranian loanwords, or words possibly influenced by WIr. forms. Chr. *trs'q*, S. *trs'k*, 'Christian', cf. NPers. *tarsā*; Man. *nywš'k* 'auditor', Parth. *ngwš'g*; *nw'k* 'melody', MPers. *nw'g*; *mwj'k* 'teacher, bishop', proper Sogdian *mwck* (§ 976).

991. (c) Words of unclear formation. *'wł'k* 'place, region'; *fr'k* 'early, in the morning';¹ *pcm'k* 'haughty'; *srwj'ky* '?' Sogd. 27, 13; S. *šn'kk T M 393 ii R 13. P 2, 894*, Man. Pl. *šn'qt M 579, 3* (unclear context); B. *ływ'kk* 'child'; *wjk'k*, (')*wj'k*, 'letter of the alphabet', v. § 472; *wy'k* 'place, spot'; *yp'k* 'anger'.

992. (d) *-āk* alternating with *-e*. Man. *kwrδ'k* 'shirt' *M 137 V 12*; Chr. *qwrty*, cf. H., *BSOS viii 585 fn. 3*, Benv., *BSOS ix 513 sq.*

993. (e) *-āk* alternating with nought. Man. *cšnd'k* 'drink', beside Chr. *cšnt*, B. *cš'nt*, v. *BBB p. 74 on 592*.

(f) On *-n'k* v. § 1059.

994. (5) *-ik*. On its origin v. § 977.

(i) Derives adjectives and nouns from nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

(a) Adjectives. *'pyk* 'aquatic', cf. NPers. *ābi*; *'ftmyk* 'first', v. § 1331; *'njmnyq* 'belonging to the assembly'; B. *'sp's'ykt n'β* 'service-people', cf. *'sp'syħ*, § 965, v. *BBB p. 97 bottom*; *βjyk* 'sinful'; *cxš'ptyk* 'relating to the commandments' *M 891, 2*; B. *δ't'yk* 'just' *SCE 32*, cf. *δ'tcyq* § 1017; *δ'rmyk M 882, 16*, *δ'rmyq M 410, 42*, B. *δrm'yk*, 'relating to the dharma'; *fcmbδdykt* Pl., 'denizens of the world' *Kaw. V 10. 23*, cf. Chr. *fcmbdcyq* § 1014; B. *γ'γ'ykth* Pl. 'source-' *VJ 1445*; Man. *ktyβryk BBB p. 71*, S. *ktyβryky T ii S 20 i R hl.*, 'worldly, household-', cf. Parth. *kdybr*, NPers. *kadēvar*, H., *BSOS ix 84*; B. *nwš'ykh* 'of eternity' *Vim 118*, cf. B. *nwšmync* § 1103; *p'ryyk M 765 d 1*, Pl. *p'rykt T ii B R 11*, Chr. *p'ryqt B 49, 20*, 'other', cf. MPers. *'b'ryg* v. Horn, *Np. Et.*, 266 (H.); *p'w'tyk* 'relating to the place of origin', § 99; (')*sk'tryq* 'more, higher', v. § 1287; B. *snk'yk(w)* 'relating to the *saṃgha*' *SCE 165 sqq.*; B. *š'ykn'yk* 'de cour' *VJ 1420. 1422*, from *š'ykn* 'palace'; B. *šyr'yk* 'pious' *Vim 69. 70*; *tmyq* 'dark, hellish', cf. Chr. *tncyq* § 1014; Man. *wnyq* 'overcome', § 897 fn. 2, from *wana*.¹

991¹ [v. Addenda.]

994¹ [v. Add.]

995. (b) Nouns. Man. *'nd(ry)kt* Pl. 'eunuchs' *T i D 51*, B. *'ntrykt Vim 156*, *'ntr(°)yk(w) SCE*, from *antar*; $\delta](y)nykt$ *M 904 i 9*, S. *dyn'ykty T M 389 a V 25*, Pl. 'believers', cf. Pahl. *dīnik* (on *dynmy(nc) v. § 1103*); Man. *kncyk* 'girl' from **knc*, v. § 247 with fn. 1; *qyšykt M 140 V 9*, S. *kyšyky*, Pl. 'heretics', v. *Sogd. 5*; *p'šyk* 'hymn', cf. Parth. *b's'h*; Man. *pwtyk'h* 'skiff, ferry', v. § 974; *rwcyk* 'provisions' (H.) *M 399, 2. 5*, cf. NPers. *rūzi*.

996. (c) Names of peoples, cf. *swydyk*, § 977. Chr. *pryš'yq* Pl. 'Pharisees' *i 45, 11*; *swryktyy* Pl. 'Babylonians' *Man. Lett. ii 15 v. H., BSOS x 941 fn. 3*; Chr. *ysr'ylyqty* Pl. 'Israelites' *i 8, 9. 32, 18*. In the *Nāfnāmak (Sogd. 8 sqq.)* S. *'kwcyk* 'Kuchean', *γwδnyk* 'Khotanese', *p'rsyk* 'Persian', *swt'yk* 'Sogdian'.

997. (ii) A group of adjectives is derived from verbal nouns in OIr. *-(a)na-* (cf. §§ 1026 sqq.).¹ Man. **frkyrnyk* 'indifferent', v. *BBB p. 74 on 605*; Chr. *pyrnyq* 'faithful' *i 44, 4*, from *pyr-* 'to believe'; Man. *wyδ'snyq* 'admirable' *M 178 i R 12*, from B. *wyδ's-* Chr. *wyδ's-*.

Not quite certain are B. *'st'nyk* 'messenger'² *VJ 1384*, cf. Pašto *astājai*, id., *āstawul* 'to send', *ĒVP 12*, Sanglechi *āstay-* 'to send' *IIFL ii 382*; Chr. *b'w nygw* 'sufficient' *i 8, 12*, from **bāw-* 'to be complete' (H.), S. *prβ'rnykw pwtik Anc. Lett. ii 47*, *prβ'rnyk* ib. 43, meaning not clear, but possibly connected with *prβyr-* 'to explain'.

(iii) On *-cyk* v. §§ 1014 sqq.; on *-myk* v. § 1104; on *βy'nyk* v. § 1042.

998. (6) *-ēk*. Forms Present Participles in Chr., v. § 897.

[(6^a) *-ky*, distributive suffix, v. *Trans. Phil. Soc. 1948, p. 63.*]

(7) *-ūk*. *-wk* resulting from the addition of *-k* to *-u-* stems, &c., has been treated in § 978. Here only a reference to B. *βrzwk* 'length' § 999, and the double suffix *-cnwk* § 1024, is required.

(8) *-ku*. Metathesis of *-uk* (§ 978). Examples under § 423.

999. (9) *-kw*, *-kwy*, B. also *-kwy'*, suffix of extension. It may be similar in origin to No. 8, but the details are not clear. B. *pδkw VJ 60^e*, Man. *pδkwy T ii D 116, 8. 19. 23. 24*, S. *pδkwy T ii D 79 (2) V 6*, B. *pδkwy' Dhy 96*, Accusative in all clear passages, Man. *pδkw M 498 c 2*, possibly Nominative, 'width'; Man. *βrzkwy M 372, 17*, *βrzkwy T ii D 116, 8*, 'length', but B. *βrzwk' Dhy 96*, from *βrzyy* 'long', § 967; B. *δβ'nzkwy T iii Š 23 (3) ii 8*, Man. *δβ'nzq'wyy v. BBB*

997¹ Viz. from OIr. *-aniya(ka)-*. The original function of this suffix seems to consist in expressing a possibility or necessity in the passive, 'trustworthy (*pyrnyq*, as against *prm'n i 44, 1*), admirable, to be sent', cf. the Khotanese Participle of necessity, formed from verbal nouns in *-āna- + -ya(ka)-*, v. Konow, *Saka Studies*, 58; with the latter the long vowel of S. *wyn'ncy(k)* 'visible' (§§ 1006. 1014) may possibly be compared, if from a verbal noun **waināni-* with a *k-* suffix (cf. § 247).

997² [v. Addenda.]

s.v. (by analogy to the suffix *-wyj*, § 1082) 'thickness', from **δβnz* 'wide, thick', cf. § 1290.

1000. (10) -č.

(i) From OIr. -č. *nm'c* 'reverence', cf. MPers. Parth. *nm'c*, NPers. *namāz*, &c.

1001. (ii) From OIr. -k-. *mrc* 'death' from Av. *mahrka-*, v. § 249; B. *r'ync* 'cubit', Man. **knc* 'girl', B. *zm'wrc* 'ant', v. § 247; *stryc* 'female', v. § 248.

1002. (iii) From OIr. -ti-, cf. § 275. Verbal nouns, cf. those in -cy, §§ 1007 sqq. Man. *xryc* 'the act of buying', v. H., BSOS viii 587; possibly **k/xšyc*, cf. § 343; B. *c'm'kh pyδ'r y'βch* 'because of my going away' *VJ* 1412 sq.; Chr. *przšy'qc* 'lamentation' *ii* 3, 53, from $\sqrt{\chi s i}$ (cf. § 1084) + *krti-*? (connexion with $\sqrt{\textit{kar}}$ suggested by Lentz, Gloss., s.v.); similarly Chr. *pcyp'qc* ib., with an obscure first part of the compound (cf. *BBB* p. 92 on b 17), and; with Oblique ending, Chr. *cn y'b'qcy B* 49, 14, from Man. B. *y'β-* 'to rove, go abroad'. Here perhaps also B. *βyzβ'rc(yh)*, cf. § 1008.

1003. (iv) Of unclear origin.

(a) Adjectives and adverbs. Man. *r'δc* 'on the way', B. *r'δct* Pl., v. *BBB* p. 89 on a 1, cf. B. *r'δcyk* § 1014; **nāfč* 'a national, member of a community',¹ from *nāf* 'people', cf. *n'fcyk* § 1015; S. *wyδβ'γcty* Pl. 'preachers' *BBB* p. 87 line 4, from *wyδβ'γ* 'homily, explanation', cf. B. *wyδβ'γcy* § 1006; B. *prt'mch* 'pronus, prone' *VJ* 205. 274. 1027. 1278, *prt'mcy* ib. 1080. 1308 (always with *w'pt* 'fell'), perhaps from **partama-*;² B. *krnw'ncw* 'skilful', Man. *grnw'ncy* 'skill', from **krnuwāni-*, v. § 1032, cf. B. *wyn'ncy*, *pr'δ'ncy*, § 1006.

1004. (b) Substantives. *γwnc* 'colour' *M* 664, 24; *'ndwxc* 'sor-row', cf. § 396; Man. *'nxwnc*, Chr. *'xwncy* (Abl.) *B* 49, 22, Man. Chr. *'xwnc* (preverb *awa-*)¹ *M* 900, 8. *ST ii* 5, 15, 'struggle, fight'; *pwrc* 'debt', v. § 487.

1005. (v) Feminine of heavy-stem adjectives and participles in -e from -aka-, v. § 1273. Here may be mentioned some which have been substantivized, viz. Chr. *spnync* 'iron' (cf. § 1055), B. *'pkynch* 'crystal', v. Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 131, Man. *z'tyβrc* 'womb' *M* 452, 5, v. *BBB* p. 73.

1003¹ Attested through (1) Chr. *γw'm (wy'm) n'fc* 'guest', v. § 421; (2) B. *n'βc'n'y* 'local, national' *SCE* 258, v. § 1040; (3) B. *n'βc'kh (nāfča?)* 'country' *Vim* 144. *Frg iii* 6; (4) *nāfčya* 'country', B. *n'βcy* *Vim* 140, *n'βcyh* *Vim* 105, *n'βcy'kh* *Vim* 101. *SCE* 565, *kyr'n n'βcy'kh z'yh* 'land of the border-countries (Chin. *pays [d'au delà] des frontières*)' *SCE* 395.

1003² [v. Addenda.]

1004¹ Differently H., *BBB* p. 63 on 519.

1006. (11) -cy.

(i) **Adjectives from nouns.** Only B., often as a side-form of *-cyk*. Origin not clear. *βwcy* 'sufficient', cf. *βwcyk*, § 1014; *myδ'ncy* 'middle' *ST ii*. P 2, 49, from *myδ'n* subst. 'middle, waist', cf. Chr. **myδ'ncyq* § 1014, and NPers. *miyānjī*, v. Lentz, *ZII* iv 296; *pr''δ'ncy šwt* 'skwn 'is being sold' *VJ* 1289, from *parādan* 'selling', v. § 122; *ptz'ncy* 'kalyānamitra' (Weller) *Vim* 73, from *ptz'n* 'recognition',¹ cf. the verbal noun B. *ptz'ncy* § 1008, and B. *ptz'ncyk* § 1014; *srcy* 'chief' *SCE* 539, 'anuttara' *Vim* 55, *srcy ptm'wk* 'overcoat' ib. 87, *srcy* . . . *dyβty* . . . *c'δrcyk* 'firstly, secondly, lastly' *SCE* 420 sq., cf. B. *srcyk*, § 1014; *wyδβ'γcy* 'eloquent' *SCE* 503. 535. *Vim* 2, cf. S. **wyδβ'γc* § 1003; *wyn'ncy* *Vim* 101. 102. 109. 112. 124, *wyn'nc'y* ib. 127, *wyn'wcy* *Dhu* 27, 'visible', from **wyn'n* (v. §§ 997 fn. 1032),¹ **wyn'w* (v. § 1075), cf. *wyn'ncyk*, *wyn'wcyk*, § 1014.

(ii) **From adverbs.** B. *c'δrcy* 'lower' *ST ii*, cf. *c'δrcyq* § 1014; B. *prt'mcy*, § 1003, may be merely an oblique case of *prt'mch*.

1007. (iii) **Old verbal noun in -ti-**, cf. those in -č, § 1002. Man. *fr'wycyh* 'forgetfulness', B. always with *wn-* 'to forget', v. § 382.

1008. (iv) With a number of verbal nouns in S., it is not clear whether they have *-cy* added to the Present stem or are ancient *-ti-* nouns. They have been collected by Lentz, *ST ii*, s.v. 'nd'yšcy.

(a) **Nouns of action.** *c'wn 'nd'yšcy pyδ'r* 'because of rejecting' (mistranslation of the Chinese original, v. *BBB* p. 87 on 753);¹ *'w ptz'ncy tys-* 'to enter into recognition' *Vim* 156, from *ptz'n-* 'to recognize' (cf. *ptz'ncy* 'kalyānamitra' § 1006); *wytr'nt ZKn rustmy 'škrky* 'they went to chase Rustam'; cf. also B. *'βyzβ'rcyh²* 'misery' *SCE* 396 (v. S. *'βzβ'r'k* § 1132).

1009. (b) **Gerundive.** *γrβcy* 'one must know'.¹

1010. (12) -yc.

(a) **Nouns.** *βndktyc* Fem. 'prison', v. *BBB* p. 96 on b 75, cf. Wakhi *ktič* 'hut'; *δrtyc* 'dung', v. *Sogd.* 29 sq.; *qyštyc* 'cornfield'; Chr. *qwpwtyc* 'pigeon', Man. **wr'γyc* 'crow', v. § 1186 fn. 1.

1011. (b) **Adjective.** Man. B. *'mtyc* 'true' *M* 286 i 15. *M* 591, 15, S. *'mtyct* Pl., *T M* 389 a R 33, B. also 'truly', v. *BBB* p. 76 on 614.

(c) **Feminine suffix**, v. §§ 1275 sqq.; on *-myc* v. § 1103.

1006¹ It is possible that *ptz'ncy* was shortened by haplogy from **patzānān-* (cf. § 475), in which case it would form a special group with *wyn'ncy*.

1008¹ [But cf. MPers. *hnds-*, Parth. *'nd's-* 'leave, abandon' H., *BSOAS* ix 83.]

1008² *'βyzβ'rch* in *BBB* p. 78 on 634, is a misprint.

1009¹ [Cf. Man. *prβyrc[y]* ? 'one must tell' *JRAS*, 1945, 155, No. 6.]

1012. (13) -yck.

(a) Diminutives, -ičak. Cf. NPers. -ize (Horn, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i² 181). *tšycq* 'spade' (H.) *Man. Lett.* i 18; perhaps *xwšycq* [q *Man. Lett.* i 17 'reservoir' (?), B. *γwš'yck* SCE 528.

1013. (b) Adjectives, -ičk (cf. § 976 n.). Only B., usually with a form in -cyk beside. Metathesis from -cyk, §§ 1014 sqq., cf. Khwār. *stamūtsk* 'first' (H.). *βykp'ryck*, *βykp'rcyk*, 'external', *cntrp'r'yck*, *cntrp'r'cyk*, 'internal', v. BBB p. 80 bottom; *prw'yck* 'former, previous' SCE 65, from OPers. *paruva-*; *pyrnm'yck*, *Man. pyrnmcyk*, id., v. BBB p. 87 bottom; *pyštr'yck*, *pyštrcyk*, 'future', v. § 373; *ϑ'y'yck* 'stealthily' VJ 339, from *ϑ'yh* 'thief' ib. 239 [Cf., for the meaning, Arm. *galt* etc., Hübschmann, *A. G.* 431].¹

1014. (14) -cyk.

(i) Nominal suffix, making adjectives.

(a) S. *''mnkcyk* 'true' ST i 86, 7. 87, 22, from *''mng*, id., v. BBB p. 76 on 614; *''ykwncyq* 'eternal' M 635 i 12, from *''ykw* 'eternally', v. § 423; (*''ny'mcyq* 'final' M 378, 3, from *'ny'm* 'end'; B. *'sk'tmcyk*, v. § 1296, cf. *skycyk* § 1017, and *'sk'tryq* § 994; *'skwncyk* 'present, contemporary', v. § 635 fn. 2; B. *'wt''kcykt* Pl. 'local' VJ 57; B. *β'wcyk* 'sufficient', cf. BBB p. 68 on 546, and Chr. *b'w nyqw* § 997; B. *β'yyst'n cykt* Pl. 'living in the β.' VJ 1005; *βykyck* 'external'; *c'δrcyq* 'low(est)' M 178 ii V 28, and passim, cf. B. *c'δrcy*, § 1006 ii; *cyndrcykt* Pl. 'internal' BBB; B. *δ'mcyk* 'worldly' ST ii, cf. B. *δ'mc'n'k* § 1022; *δwkyq* M 337, 1, B. *δwkyk* P 2, 47, 'worldly', from *loka*; B. *δy'ncyk* 'dhyāna-like' T M 422, 2; Chr. *fcmbdcyq* 'worldly' i 81, 14, Man. [*fc*m]δcyk T ii D 12, 2, B. *'βc'npδcykt* Pl., ST ii, cf. *fcmbdyk* § 994; *ftmcyk* 'first', v. § 1331; B. *γrcyktyh* Pl. 'mountain-' VJ 1444; B. *γw'ncyk*(?) 'necessary, wanted' VJ 127. 159; *jmncyq* 'timely'; Man. *qδrycykt* Pl., T ii D 139 ii 16, B. *'kδrycyk* SCE 493, 'present', from *kδry* 'now'; Chr. *qntcyqt* Pl. 'urban' ii 5, 42; *n' kry'cyq* 'untimely' *Man. Lett.* ii 11, from *kry* 'sequence', v. § 1120; Man. Chr. *m'ncyq* 'intentional, spiritual' T ii B V 16. ST ii 2, 20; Man. *m'xjmncyk* 'taking place on Mondays'; Man. B. *my'kyk* 'happy', v. § 124; Chr. *myd'ncygy* 'mediation' ii 6, 37, cf. B. *myδ'ncy* § 1006; *myyδcyq* 'diurnal'; *nymyδcyk* 'taking place at noon', v. § 81, 3; S. *p'šcyk* 'relating to the fast, the service' (H.) T M 389 a V 33; *pc'yycyq* 'useful' from *pcyy'y* 'profit', v. § 199; *n' pδkyq* 'unlawful' *Man. Lett.* ii 11, cf. B. *pδkmync* § 1103; *pty'mcyk* 'final' M 107 i 51, from *pty'm* 'end', 1013¹ In DN (= P 5)55, read *trzmncyk* inst. of Gauthiot's *trzmn'yck*. Cf. § 1144.

v. *BBB* p. 98 on c 16; B. *ptz'ncyk Dhu* 137, Pl. *ptz'ncykt Vim* 62 'kalyānamitra, spiritual adviser' (Weller), from *ptz'n* 'recognition', cf. *ptz'ncy* § 1006; B. *r'δcyk* 'on the way' *T 1 M* 421, 5, cf. *r'δc* § 1003; *rwzšn'yrdmncykt* Pl. 'belonging to the paradise'; Chr. *sm'ncyq* 'heavenly'; Man. *](s)ngcyk zyrn* 'gold in the stone' *T i D (Par. 41)*, cf. B. *snk'yn'k* § 1053; B. *srcyk* 'superior' *SCE* 199, cf. B. *srcy* § 1006; B. *tymcyk* 'seed-' *Dhu* 29; Chr. *tmycy* 'hellish' *ii* 5, 39, cf. Man. *tmyq* § 994; *wštm'xcyk* 'paradisial' *M 129 V* 14. *M* 849, 4; Man. *wyn'ncyk M* 358, 7. *M 910 ii* 5. *T ii D* 12, 8, S. *wyn'ncyk T M* 389 a R 31 (cf. Man. *wyncyk*, § 475, but also § 1018), Man. Chr. *wyn'wcyq*, passim, 'visible', cf. B. *wyn'ncy*, *wyn'wcy*, § 1006; *xšpncyk* 'nocturnal', v. § 945; Man. *xwrsncyk T ii D* 116, 34, *xwrsnck M* 857 V hl., 'eastern'; *yxwngcyqy'h* 'discernment' *Sogd.* 31, 7; cf. also the examples in § 1013. [Man. *[t]yw'qcyk* 'childish' (?) *T i D (Par 42)*, cf. Chr. *tyw'q mync* § 1103.]

1015. (b) Substantivized. Man. *nwyw 'frywncyk 'tyy ywβty'h* 'new blessings and praise' *T ii D* 207, 8 sq., 'frywncyq *kwn-* 'to pray' *BBB* = 'fryw *kwn-* *M* 858, 2, but Chr. adj. 'blessed' *i* 34, 5 (Man. 'frywncyk *frn M* 600, 5, is ambiguous); *nfywncyk M* 117, 3, 'curse', from *nfywn* 'curse' § 1084; B. *n'βcykt* Pl. 'nationals, people' *Vim* 62, Man. *n'fcyk n'fyu* *'own tribe' (?) *M 904 ii* 7, cf. **nāfč* § 1003; *nwpt'fr'wncykt* Pl. 'oubliettes', v. *BBB* p. 88 on 756.

1016. (c) Ethnica. S. *r'kcyk* 'inhabitant of Argi' *Sogd.* 8, 13; *'wcurcyk* 'of Uč(-Turfan)' *M* 1, 110, v. H., *BSOS* ix 568; Chr. *frwncyqt* Pl. 'Byzantines' *ii* 1, 57, 'Byzantine' *ii* 4, 42.

1017. (d) This suffix can be added to *-aka-* stems: Man. *β'rycyk* 'riding animal', B. *β'r'kcyk*, v. *BBB* p. 54 on 489, and cf. § 902; *pš'x'rycyk* 'belonging to the after-meal', v. *BBB* p. 98 sq.; *skycyk M* 674, 23, 'skycyq *M* 178 ii V 32, cf. § 1216; *zwrnncyk* 'belonging to an epoch'. When it is added to *-ākā-* stems, they assume the form they have before the Plural ending (cf. § 1268, and *šm'rykyn*, § 1062), judging by Chr. *x'nycyqty* Pl. 'members of the household' *i* 8, 15, Man. *x'nycyk M* 617 *i* 28, *x'(ny)cykt* ib. 38, from *x'n* 'house'; cf., however, Man. Chr. *δ'ycyq Sogd.* 35, 7. *ST i*, 'lawful', from **δāt* (cf. the compound Chr. *d'tbr* 'judge', and B. *δ't'yk* § 994), against B. *δ't'kh*.

1018. (ii) Future Participles (?) from the Present stem. *qδ' . . . 'yδc mry'rt swmbcyq yw't* 'if any pearls are to be bored' *M 135 i* 45 sq.; *r'yycyq* 'to be wept over' (?) *Sogd.* 39, 15; B. *sy'ntcyk* 'ridiculous' *Intox. Sūtra* 10, cf. Benv., *Notes* ii 241; uncertain is S. *[ZY](β)y kdryh*

γωβω *kwncy**w 'sk[w]nt T i a (6) R 6 sq. 'and they are now due to make you king' (H.); *wyncyk*, § 475, may belong here.

1019. (15) -čāk, in Chr. *mždwc*'q 'gospel', v. § 1128^a.

1020. (16) -čan. Cf. Parth. -cn, *Mir. Man.* iii, s.v. *š'dcn*. Man. *p'šcn xwt'w T ii D 167 iv 5. 7*, *p'šcn xypδ'wnd T ii T 31*, 'the Reverend' (H.), from *p'š* 'respect'; *wx'scn* 'exhausted', v. *BBB* p. 83 on 688, possibly Parth. LW. [(*'zcn*) 'greedy' (?), H., *Tales* 480 n.g.]

1021. (17) -čanak ? Man. *γyšcnk* 'stingy', cf. § 382 fn. 2.

1022. (18) -čāne. Adjectives.

(a) *m'ny c'nyy* 'belonging to, coming from, Mani' (H.) *M 121 R 3*; *m'x c'nyy M 849*, 1, from *m'x* 'moon, month' (H.); *mydc'nyy* 'daily' (?) *T i D 51 (Par. 63)*; B. *δ'mc'n'k* 'worldly' *ST ii*, cf. B. *δ'mcyk* § 1014.

1023. (b) Ethnica. KB *twp'wlc'ny* 'Tibetan', *ctβ'r twyr'kc'ny* 'from the Four-Twyr̄y', cf. H., *BSOS* ix 550 sqq.; B. *sr̄yc'nch knδh* 'the town of Saray (Lo-yang)' *Intox. Sūtra 29* (v. bibliography *ST ii 546*), Fem. of **saray-čāne*; S. *ywyrwc'ny* 'Uyghur', *BBB* p. 91 on a 11.

1024. (19) -čanuk. Only Man. Chr. *z'rcnwq*, S. *z'rcn'()*wk, 'merciful', cf. B. *z'ry(h)* 'pitiful(ly)', and *z'rysy-* § 550.

1025. (20) -cynny. Only in *fr'kcynny* 'in the morning' *M 197 V 5*, cf. B. *βr'k'yδ*, § 1109.

1026. (21) -(a)n.

(i) From OIr. verbal nouns in -na- and -ana-, derived from the root (cf. also -δn, -stn, § 122, and the verbal nouns in -nyk § 997).

(a) Nouns of action. *'ymbn* 'perversion' *M 814 i 8. M 664*, 35; *'βj(y)nyh¹* Acc. 'increase' (H.) *M 617 ii 27*, B. *βz'yn Vim 61*, *βzyn Vim 70* 'offspring, *Nachwuchs*', from B. *βz'y-* § 187; *'nc'n* 'pause, quietude', cf. *'nc'y-* 'to stop'; *'ndysn* 'thought, meditation', v. § 549; *'naw'n* 'breaking (a commandment)' from **ham-χwāhana-*; *'ymbn*, B. *γnp'wnh* (§ 113) 'effort'; *frm'n* 'order'; *pcxwnyy* Obl. 'reproach', v. *BBB* p. 76 on 608; *prβγn* 'gift', v. ib. on 621; *ptškw'n* 'address', cf. *ptškwy-* § 567; B. *swδ swδn* 'in great hurry' *VJ 1092*, cf. H., *BSOS* viii 585 fn. 3; *xwβn-* 'dream', v. § 312.

1027. (b) Adjective. *ywxwyn*, cf. *BBB* p. 105 on f 80, B. *γw'w'y'n P 2*, 301 (*yχwayan*), 'separated, dissected'.

1028. (c) Nouns of place (cf. Bailey, *BSOS* vi 593). *w'crn* 'bāzār', v. § 399; *pršprn* 'ground, floor' *M 178 i R 25*, from **pršpr-* 'to tread'.

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1029. (d) Noun of instrument (cf. Bailey, loc. cit.). *βwδβrn* 'scent-holder' *Sogd.* 52, 9, cf. Av. *zaθrō.barana-*.

1030. (e) Nouns of object. B. *prštrn* 'carpet' *VJ* 847. 1128. 1367, cf. *prštrt-*, Past stem, 'to spread', ib: 847; *nywδn* 'dress' from \sqrt{gad} , cf. *BBB* p. 76 on 616.

1031. (ii) Adjectives or adverbs from nouns. *nykwñ* 'eternally', v. § 423; possibly B. *y'twknnyh* (*yātukanya*, if *n* is correct) 'sorcery' *P* 3, 24, abstract from **yātukana-* 'magic'; *yjn* 'worthy', v. § 155.

(iii) Unexplained is the suffix in *npyyšn* 'grandson', v. § 943.

1032. (22) -ān.

(i) With Present stems.

(a) Nouns of action, from -āni (?), cf. § 997 fn. on **wyn'n* in S. *wyn'ncy(k)*. *γw'n* 'sin', from *γw-* 'to lack'; *jw'n* 'life', from *jw-* 'to live'; **krnw'n* 'skill' in B. *krnw'nc-* 'skilful' (v. § 1003), from *krnw-*, v. *BBB* p. 70 top, cf. S. *krnw'k(δ)stw* 'skilful hand' *T ii D* 93 d V 3; B. *šm'r'n* 'thinking effort (?)' *T iii (Sth.)* 8¹; cf. also B. *prβr'nh* 'chariot' *VJ* 132.

1033. (b) Present Participles. B. *γn'β'nt fntk'm* 'they will be lamenting' *VJ* 1412, from *γn'β-* *VJ* 358. 1111. 1120; B. *r'y'n* 'weeping' *VJ* 49^b. 62^b. 790 (Fem.), Intensive (H.) *r'y'r'y'n* *VJ* 399, Pl. *r'y'nt (rty ZKh r'y'nt zyw'rt'nt* 'crying they turned back') *VJ* 386; Man. *wyδrfs'n* **'blazing'* (H.) *M* 715 c 3, cf. § 439; cf. also *-β'r'n* § 1133. [v. Addenda.]

1034. (ii) Adverbs and adjectives. B. *nym'(r)δ'n* adv. 'together', v. *ST ii* p. 574^a, cf. B. *nym'rδt* adj. Pl., *P* 3, 106,¹ from **hām-ārθa-*, cf. Pahl. *hamahl* (H.);² B. *rnk'(r)n* 'coloured' *SCE* 142. 173; *-zng'n* 'fold', in B. *znkzkn'n* 'of all sorts' *ST ii*, Chr. *γrf znq'nt* Pl. 'many-fold' *B* 49, 7 &c., v. §§ 164. 1327 sq.

1035. (iii) Substantive. B. *pwny'nh* *VJ* 413. 1378, *pwny'nh* *T iii S* 313, 17, 'piousness, holiness', with suffix *-ya* Man. *pwny'nyy'* *M* 134 i V 2, *p](wr)ny'ny'* *M* 143, 18, B. *pwny'nyh*, idem, cf. Skt. *punya* (v. § 363), and its opposite *kt'ny* § 1038.

1036. (23) -ny.

(i) Adverbs, from *-āniyā* (?).

(a) From the Past stem. B. *pcyšt'ny* 'kneeling' *Dhy* 181, v. *BBB* p. 105 bottom, Benv., *Notes* iii 203; B. *npst'ny* 'lying' *SCE* 141.

1037. (b) Otherwise. B. *ryth'nk'm'ny* 'ouvertement, en face' *Dhy*

1032¹ Inserted between lines, apparently as a gloss: *L' šm'r'n L' ptptyn'w'k* 'no thinking effort, no isolation'.

1034¹ *c'wñ wyspn'cw nym'rδt mrym'k prtr* 'better than all men together'.

1034² Abandoning the derivation proposed *BSOS* ix 825 fn. 1.

189 sq., S. 'nkm'ny *T M* 389 c R 5 (without *ryt*), Chr. *ryt* 'ngm'ny' 'παρησία' i 74, 2, v. Benv., loc. cit.

1038. (ii) Substantive. Man. 'kt'nyy, Chr. *qt'ny* i 60, 6. 81, 14 (-ānī), B. 'krt'ny *VJ* 330. *SCE* 228, 'krt'nyh *VJ* 41^b. 335. 367, 'sin', from *kṛta-* with an obscure suffix, cf. its opposite B. *pwny'nh* § 1035.

1039. (iii) Present Participle, from *-ānaka-. B. *βrwz'n'k* 'flying' *SCE* 304.

1040. (iv) Adjectives from nouns designating persons, from *-ānaka-, Fem. -'nc (cf. § 1271), v. also §§ 1043 sqq.

(a) *bw'ny frnyy* 'Buddha-rank' (cf. H., *Sogd.* 62, Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 54 sq.) *M* 129 V 12 sq., B. *pw'tny Sogd.* 64, 13. *ST ii*, *pw't'n'k SCE* 75. *Vim* 105; Chr. *caw'dny 'w'zyt* 'crowds of Jews' i 45, 19, Man. *caw[δ]nc dyyn* 'the Jewish religion' (H.) *M* 904 i 11, from Chr. *cawd ST* i; *cyn'nckndyy* Obl. 'the Chinese town (Turfan)' *M* 1, 55, cf. Schaeder, *Iranica*, 46, Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 94. 271, from *cyn* 'Chinaman' (H.) *Anc. Lett.* ii 17, Pl. Obl. *cynty* ib. iii 20. 35; B. *δrγwšk'n'k nt'c* 'crowd of disciples' *Vim* 71 sq.; S. *mwy'nch dynch* 'the Magian religion' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 28, from **mwy-* 'a Magian', cf. NPers. *muyāne*, Horn, loc. cit. 177; B. *n'βc'ny* 'local, national' from **nāfē*, v. § 1003 fn. 1; Man. *nywšk'ny*, v. § 1643, from *niγōšāk* 'auditor'; S. *pr'mn'nch* 'Brahmanic' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 22; B. *pursnk'n'k SCE* 156, *pursnk'n'y* ib. 160. 185, adj. from *pursnk* 'community of monks'; B. *sywδy'n'k np'yk* 'Sogdian literature' *Intox. Sūtra* 37, from **syγdiya-* 'a Sogdian', cf. *swγdyk* § 977; S. *trs'k'ny ST* i 87, 24, *trs'k'n'k T M* 389 a R 3, from *trs'k* 'a Christian', § 990.

1041. (b) Corresponding to a substantive in -e from -aka-: *mrtxm'nyh kršn* 'human shape' *BBB* b 39 sq., from *mrtxmnyy* 'man', cf. *mrtxmync* § 1054, v. also § 1044.

(v) -'ny in S. 'yšc'ny 'worthy', § 155, is merely the spelling with ' of the suffix -ane from -anaka-, v. § 1052.

1042. (24) -nyk(w), v. § 997.

(25) -ānik. Only in Man. *βγ'nyk M* 135 ii 32. *M* 121, 6, Chr. *by'nyq* i 33, 11. 83, 5, B. *βγ'n'yk VJ* 15, *βγ'n'yk* ib. 92, 'divine', from *βγ-*, cf. Parth. *bg'nyg* and *ymg'nyg*, v. H., *BSOS* viii 588 fn. 3.

1043. (26) -ānč.

(i) This ending, by origin the Feminine of -ānaka-, § 1040, is used for nouns indicating female persons, regardless of whether or not such a noun has a Masculine or an adjective in -āne beside itself.

(a) -ānč is added to the stem of the Masculine. B. *βγnpt'nch*

'sorceress' *SCE* 250. 252, Masc. *βγμπτω SCE* 255. *Anc. Lett.* i 10, v. H., *BSOS* viii 583, cf. *nywš'qpl'nc*, below; *dyn'βr'nc* 'electa' *Man. Lett.* i 18. 30, Pl. *dyn'βr'st* § 260, Masc. *dyn'βr* 'electus'; S. *nywš'k'nch* 'auditrice' *T ii D 93 m R 6*, Pl. *Man. ny[w]š[']k[']štyy* § 260, Masc. *nywš'k*, adj. *nywšk'ny* § 1040; *nywš'qpl'nc* 'chief auditrice' *M 1*, 127, *op'nc* ib. 140, Masc. *ngwškpt* ib. 76. 112, cf. B. *βγμπτ'nch* above; B. *pr'mn'nch* 'Brāhmanī' *VJ* 1242. 1243, also adj., v. § 1040, Masc. B. *pr'mn*; B. *šmn'nch* 'nun' *SCE* 180. *VJ* 120, cf. Mongolian *šimnantsa*, F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, i 47, Masc. B. *šmn-* (light stem) 'śramaṇa'; S. *z'k'nch*, Obl. *z'k'nc'y* 'girl' or 'princess' (H.), *T M* 389 a passim, *Man. z[k]nc* *Man. Lett.* i 26, Masc. Pl. B. *z'kt* 'children', § 399.

1044. (b) The *-(a)ka-* suffix of the Masculine does not appear before *-nc*, cf. § 1041. B. *wp'sy ZY wp's'nch ST ii* 8, 6, *wp's'k ZY wp's'nch DN* 4, 'upāsakas and upāsikās', cf. Mongolian *ubasantsa*, Müller, loc. cit.; *sp'skr'nc* 'girl-servant' *Man. Lett.* i 30. 31, from a hypothetical **kryy*;¹ S. *zwyš'nch* 'discipula'² *BBB* p. 101 on e 22, Masc. *žuxšk-*, adj. B. *šrywšk'n'k* § 1040.

1045. (c) Directly from **nōš* is formed S. *nwš'nch* N. pr. 'the ambrosial one' *Sogd.* 7, 17, cf. *nwšyny* § 1053, and B. *nwš'ykh* § 994.

1046. (d) *pn'nc* 'co-wife' from Av. *hapaθn(i)-* + *-nc*, v. *Sogd.* 17: sq., perhaps under the influence of (*βγn-*, *nywš'q-*) *pn'nc*, § 1043.

1047. (ii) *-nc* is also added to names of places, to form both Feminine adjectives qualifying *kanθ* 'town' and personal names. No corresponding Masculine forms in *-āne* are attested. Cf. Khotanese *-āna*, *-ānya*, with names of places, Bailey, *BSOS* x 923.

(a) Adjectives. B. *wy γwmt'ncw knđyh* 'in the town of Khumdān (Hsi-an-fu)' *P* 2, 1233, haplology of **γwmt'n'ncw*, cf. Gauthiot, *JA*, 1911, part ii, p. 657, Schaefer, *Iranica* 45 sq., Henning, *Trans. Glasgow Or. Soc.* viii 25 fn. 9; *Kabūdān'kaθ*, v. Schaefer, loc. cit.; *Gurgān'j* (scil. *kanθ*), v. Schaefer, loc. cit.; *Man. prw'nc* (scil. *kanθ*) 'Aqsu' *M 1*, 77, cf. Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 482, H., *BSOS* ix 567 sq.

1048. (b) Female persons. *q's'nc* 'kachgarienne' *M 1*, 146, Masc. S. *k's'k* 'kachgarien' *Sogd.* 8, 10, from *Kāš*, v. H., *BSOS* ix 567.

(iii) As a Feminine ending, *-nc* also occurs in the name of the 6th month, perhaps also in those of the 7th and 8th months, v. § 1275.

¹ 1044¹ Actually 'man-servant' is *sp'syh*, § 965.

² 1044² H. now suggests that *zwyš'nch* is a scribal error for *zwy'm'nch* 'hard-hearted', v. *JRAS*, 1944, 141 fn. 7.

1049-50. (27) -yān, from -ya- + āna-.

(i) Adjectives from nouns.

Myhry'nd Pl. 'Mihr's followers', v. H., *ZDMG* 90, 17 fn. 1; *mzny'n dyw M 140 V 10 sq.*, cf. MPers. *mzn*, Av. *māzainya-*, 'monster, giant', v. H., *Kaw.* 54; B. 'sp'dy'nt, Pl., 'soldiers' *P 2*, 194, from *sp'd* 'army'. [Possibly *mdy'n Sogd.* 39, 32. 36.]

1051. (ii) Adverbs. H. comparēs Pahl. *m'tyd'n* 'chiefly' (cf. *JRAS*, 1942, 241), standing for *mātiyān*, from **māt* 'capital'.

(a) B. *ryzy'n* 'at will' *VJ* 1440, from *rēž* 'will'.

(b) B. *γrmy'n* (also Man., *T ii D 66, I, 22.* out of context) 'by way of punishment' *VJ* 424. 947; *wn-* 'to punish' *P 2*, 804, *°krtwδ'r-* Trans. Pret. *VJ* 568. 627. 678. 732. 18^e; *°krt-* 'to be punished' *VJ* 502. 62^a (*γrmy'ny*). 942 sq.; $\sqrt{\text{grām}}$, cf. also Chr. *γrm'wy*,¹ and v. *BBB* p. 78 on 644. [However, the Chinese equivalent of *γrmy'n wn-* in *P 2*, 804, has been rendered by Demiéville as 'to abandon', v. *TSP* p. 186.]

(c) Adjectivized. Chr. *r'zy'nē w'xšt* 'mysterious words' *B 49*, 16 sq., from *r'z ST ii*, 'secret'.

1052. (28) -(y)nyy (-ēne, -(ə)ne).¹ Derives adjectives from nouns, chiefly from such as indicate substances (from **-ainaka-*, cf. NPers. *-īne*, Horn, loc. cit. 181). In other adjectives the suffix may sometimes go back to **-(a)naka-*, *-inaka-*, hence the spelling *-nyy*, which is sporadically also found with adjectives of substance, either as an analogical extension, or as a graphic shortening, cf. § 80. The Feminine, which ends in *-ync* (cf. § 1271), has sometimes been substantivized, v. § 1005. The material is here arranged acc. to the spelling. On the spelling *-ny* v. § 1041v.

1053. (i) *-ynyy*.

(a) Added to the stem of the substantive. Man. *°pky(nyy)* possibly 'crystal' or 'of crystal' *T ii D 79 d 3*, from **āpaka-*, cf. Oss. *avgä*, Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 130, B. *°pkynch* 'crystal', cf. § 1005; B. *°stky'n'y* 'of bone' *SCE* 169, from *°stk-*, cf. § 981; *δ'rwkync* Fem. 'consisting of plants', v. *BBB* p. 57 on 498; B. *γwδ'ynch* Fem. 'consisting of faeces' *P 2*, 962, cf. Av. *gūθa-* (H.); *mrcyny*, Fem. *mrcync*, 'deadly', from *mrc*; S. *nm'δk'ynch* Fem. 'salty', from *nm'δkh*, v. H., *Additions to Sogd.* 7, 20; *nwšynyy* 'sweet' *M 178 i V 20*, from **nōš*, cf. NPers. *nōšīn*, v. S. *nwš'nch* § 1045; Chr. *rīnync*

¹1051¹ *dbzy gy zprē wnty tnp'r pr γrm'wy dštw* 'hunger, which purifies the body with chastising hand (lit. with the hand of punishment)' (?) *B 49*, 28.

1052¹ On the Present Participle ending *-(y)nyy* v. §§ 889 sqq.

Fem. 'jewel-' *ii* 5, 27, Man. *wysprtnynyŕ* Pl. 'covered with all jewels', B. *βt rtnyn'kw VJ* 862, *βt rtn'yynch* Fem., *ib.* 18^b. 345. &c., 'having seven jewels', from *rtn-* § 518; B. *snk'yn'k* 'of stone' *SCE* 237, from *sng*, cf. Man. *sngcyk* § 1014; Man. *syngtync* Fem., *T i* (*Par.* 9), from B. *synkt(škrδ'k)* *SCE* 321, 'jube', cf. Pers. *sinjīd* (H.); *ydynyy* 'shaped' from *yδ-* 'shape' *BBB*; B. *zyrny'n'k(w)*, *yn'y*, Fem. *ynch*, 'golden', from *zyrn*.

1054. (b) The corresponding substantive is an **-aka-* stem. B. *sprymyn'k* 'of flower': B. *sprym'k* 'flower', v. *BBB* p. 72 on 573; *mrtxmyn'c δ'm* Fem. 'human creatures' *M* 140 V 2, cf. *mrtxm'nyh* § 1041: *mrtxmyy*; *n'ktynyy* 'of silver': Chr. *n'qty i* 45, 12. 49, 1, B. *n'kr'kw VJ* 46. 12^c, 'silver'.

1055. (c) The substantive has *-yk*. Man. *spnyyn(y) T ii D* 163 a 8, B. *spn'yn'y SCE* 205, *spn'yynch* Fem. *SCE* 181, 'of iron', Chr. *spnync* 'iron' *ii* 5, 13 (v. § 1005): Chr. *sfnyq*, v. § 977.

1056. (ii) *-nyy*.

(a) Added to the stem of the noun. Chr. *'rsqny 'Zηλωτής* 'i 33, 18, from Man. *'rsk* § 164; S. *c'cn'y* 'inhabitant of Čāč' *Sogd.* 8, 6; Man. *kyrminyy* 'worm-eaten' *Sogdica*, p. 34 on 24, from *kyrm-* (light stem); *rymnyy* 'impure' from *rym*; *wyjtrnyy M* 116 V 5, from Man. *wyjtry T i* (*Par.* 10),¹ meaning unknown. Cf. also B. *kysn'k* 'jungle', v. *Sogd.* 29 fn. 1, lit. 'consisting of bushes'?

1057. (b) The substantive is an **-aka-* stem. Man. *y'tny* 'made of flesh' *BBB* b 78 (end of line), from Man. Chr. *y'ty*, B. *y't'k* (v. *BBB* p. 57 bottom), but cf. B. *y't yw'r'k* 'meat-eater' *SCE* 297; cf. B. *y'tkmync* § 1103.

1058. (iii) *-ynyy* or *-nyy*. *'bjyr'ync* Fem. 'of diamond' *M* 178 i R 25, B. *βz'yryn'y DN* 20, *yn'k* *ib.* 49 sq. *Dhy* 325; Man. *βj[yr]nyh* (H.) *T ii D* 66 c 11, B. *βz'yryn'k Dhy* 326, *on'y ST ii* 545 fn. 8, from Skt. *vajra*; *j'rnyh* 'poisonous' *M* 840 c i 6: *j'rnyy BBB*, from *j'r*; B. *rwδynch* Fem., *SCE* 229; Man. *rwδnyt* Pl., *BSOS* viii 584, 'of copper', from Chr. *rwδ ii* 5, 12, B. *rwδ SCE* 238; *w'tynyy* 'of wind' *M* 549 i 23, 'pneumatic' *Kaw.* K 14, cf. *BBB* p. 81 bottom: *w'tnyy tmb'r T i D* 51.

1059. (29) *-nāk*. Adjectives. Cf. Horn, op. cit. 183 sq. *xwycn'k* 'ill' *Man. Lett.* i 25 = *xw'cn'k M* 760, 17, from *xwyc* 'pain', cf. *BBB* p. 83 on 699 = *xw'c M* 502 p 5. *T i D a* (*Par.* 31); Man. *'ndwxcn'k*, Chr. *'ntwxcn'q i* 72, 4 'sorrowful', from *'ndwxc* § 1004.

1060. (30) *-kyn*. Adjectives.

(a) B. *βyšykyn* 'therapeutic', v. § 949; B. *γ'mkyn* 'rich' *Intox.*

1056¹ [v. Addenda.]

Sūtra 9. *Frg ii*^a 9, Man. $\gamma'mq[yn T ii D 139 i 14]$;¹ Chr. $\gamma'mpqyn$ 'troublesome' *B* 49, 5, v. *BBB* p. 105 on f 79; Chr. $\gamma'nqyn$, B. $\gamma'nkyn$ 'brave', from Man. B. $\gamma'n-$ 'power, skill', cf. *ST ii* s.v., Benv., *Notes* i 31; Chr. $ny'zqyn$ 'poor, destitute' i 75, 14, B. $ny^{(*)}zkyn$ *VJ* 49. *SCE* passim, from Man. $ny'z$ 'need' *T ii B V* 4. *M* 280 R 7; B. $p\delta'yškyn$ 'apparent' *Dhy* 215, cf. § 549, but the meaning of B. $p\delta'yškyn$ (from a verbal noun belonging to the Pres. stem) *SCE* 500, $p\delta'stkyn$ (from the Past Part.) ib. 502, is 'sua sponte'; B. $r'\beta kyn$ 'ill' *SCE* 425, Man. $n' jwq [r'f]qyn 'ty xw'cn[']q$ 'unwell, sick, and ill' *T ii D 79 b 1* sq., from Man. $r'f$ 'disease' passim, cf. B. $r'\beta k'w$ § 1078 † *wrnkyynd* Pl. 'faithful, believing' *BBB* f 81, from *wrn-* 'faith'; Man. $z'wrk'yn$ 'strong' *T ii D 207*, 5, Chr. $z'wrqyn$ i 32, 15, B. $okyn$ *SCE* 17, Elative B. $z'wrkynst$ § 1311, from $z'wr$. [v. Add.]

1061. (b) From *-aka- stems. Chr. $nm'nygyn$ 'penitent', but Man. $nm'nkyn$, from $nm'nyy$, B. $nm'n'k$, cf. *BBB* p. 92 on b 25.

1062. (c) From *-ākā- stems. Man. $šm'rykyn$ 'thoughtful', from $šm'r'$, cf. $x'nycyk$ § 1017, but also $šm'r'k(yn)$ (H.) *T ii D 66 b 32*.

1063-4. (31) -k'n (-a)kān and -k'ny (§ 1065), denote what has reference to a person or entity. Cf. Bailey, *BSOS* vii 74 sq. Man. $ptrk'n$, Chr. $ptrq'n$, 'inheritance, what has reference to the father'; Chr. $qysrq'n$ 'denarius, what refers to Caesar' i 36, 4; Man. $nm'ck'n$ 'homage, what has reference to reverence' *Kaw*. V 14, $nm[']cq'n$ *M* 133, 44, S. $nm'ck'n T ii D 77 (A I)$ 10, Chr. $nm'cq'n ii$ 6, 17 (v. H., *BSOS* x 102 fn. 4).

1065. (32) -q'ny (cf. § 1063). $šmnwq'ny$, Fem. $šmnkw'nc$, § 423, 'devilish', from $šmnw$; Chr. $rmq'ny$ 'ἐθνικός' i 83, 10.

1066. (33) -(*)nd. Chr. $cšnt$, B. $cš'nt$, 'drink', cf. § 993; B. $z'n'nt$ 'attentive, aware of', v. § 550; Chr. $xw'rnł$, S. $\gamma w'r'nt$, adj. 'right-hand', cf. Khot. *hvarandaa-*, Ormuri *xwarincə*, v. § 222; on B. $\gamma wš'nt$ 'happy', and on $*tāwand$ 'powerful', v. § 969; old Participle ending in B. $tunt$ 'violent', v. *BBB* p. 78 on 636, from $*tuwant-$, v. Horn, *Np. Et.* 89.¹

1067. (34) -yynd or -yyn. Man. $'tyyh ii \beta\gamma pšyy p'syynd w'stynd$ 'they appointed two angels as watchers' *M* 178 ii V 30 sq. If $p'syynd$ is Plural, the Singular may be either $p'syynd$ or $p'syyn$.

1060¹ Chr. $\gamma my ii$ 3, 14, cannot belong to $\gamma'mkyn$ as suggested by Lentz. Acc. to H. the Syriac word translated by it could perhaps be restored as $mūm[āyā$ 'scelestus'; this would also fit B. γmy *Intox. Sūtra* 10.

1066¹ Chr. $murf' žwnł ii$ 4, 45, is probably to be read $žwnty$; *BSOS* viii 1. 3. 36, S. $murf'z'w'nty T M$ 389 a R 28, Man. $murf'j'w'ndy M$ 140 passim. Cf. H., *Sogd.* pp. 42. 53.

1068. (35) -ande.

(i) Verbal adjectives, originally Present Participles in *-ant-+aka-*. Man. *βr'zndtyy T ii D 207, 27, βr'znty y T i D (Par. 41)*, 'shining, glowing', cf. B. *βr'z-Dhy 212*; B. *βwδ'ntk* 'scented' *VJ 11*, Fem. Man. *βwδ'ndc M 178 i R 16*, B. *βwδ'ntch VJ 91. 1435*, Pl. Man. *βwδ'ndyt T ii D 139 i 13*, cf. *βwδ* 'scent'; B. *βy'yš'ntk* 'boiling' *SCE 236*, *βy'š'ntcy* Fem. Obl., ib. 235 (scribal error for *βy'yš-?*), from Av. *yaēš-+abi-*, cf. Yaghn. *ēš-* (Klimchitsky, *Zap.*, 1937, 22); B. *cš'ntk* 'thirsty' *Dhy 105*, cf. § 277, and, analogical to it, Chr. *'wšnty i 24, 6. 27, 8. 17*, Pl. S. *wš'nt'yt T i a i 8*, 'hungry', cf. § 210; Chr. *γwnty* 'necessary' *i 38, 5*, from *γw-*; Man. *jwndty* 'living' *Sogd. 39, 27, jwndyy M 134 i V 4*, S. *'zw'nty T ii T 13*, Pl. S. *zw'nty ST i 87, 21*, cf. also *mwr'tjw'ndy* § 1066 fn., from *jw-*; B. *k'm'nty* 'wishing' *DN 75*; B. *m'n'ntk* 'similar, resembling' *SCE 12. Dhy 37*; B. *m'r'nt'yt* Pl. 'complaining, lamenting' or sim., *VJ 191*; Man. *myn'ndyy* 'staying, remaining', v. *BBB p. 129*; B. *n'z'ntk* 'turning round', from Man. *n'j-*, v. *BBB p. 94* on b 60, cf. *n'šnyh* § 266; Man. *t'wndyy* 'powerful' § 969, cf. Man. B. *t'w M 135 ii 12. ST ii 7, 15. Frq iii 27*; Man. *wyšndyy* 'joyful' *M 178 i V 29, &c.*, Pl. *wyšndyt T iii 282, 13*, B. *'γwš'ntk* (not to be confused with Man. *'xwšndyy*, cf. § 416) *P 2, 75*, from *wyš-* 'to rejoice' § 1212, cf. B. *'γwš'nt*, § 1066; Man. *wyn'ndyy T ii D 62, 21*, B. *wyn'nty SCE 550. 560, wyn'ntk P 2, 840*, 'visible, actual, present (opposite B. *γrt'k* 'past'), real, direct', from *wyn-* 'to see'; [z]n'ndyh . . . *wm'tnd* 'had brought forth' *M 110 i V 6*.

(ii) On *'yjndyy* 'worthy' v. § 290.

1069. (36) -t, Elative suffix, v. § 1309.

(37) -t(*) from *-tā-*. Originally abstract suffix, used as a Plural ending (cf. §§ 1184. 1217), v. Tedesco, *ZII iv 151*.

1070. (38) -ty'. From the preceding +suffix *-y'* (§ 1111). Abstracts. Man. (?) *βj'xwty* 'misery, suffering', v. § 391; *qršn'wty* 'beauty' from *kršn'w* 'beautiful' (§ 1076);¹ Man. *ptš'dty* 'joy', v. § 269; B. *šyrwzty* *Intox. Sūtra 38, šyrwztyh Sogd. 61, 27* (v. *Additions*), 'friendship', cf. *šyrwzy* (from **-aka-*) § 57, and B. *šyrwz'yt* § 1073; Man. *wtyy* *M 178 i V 21, wty* *M 617 ii 30*, B. *wtyh SCE 396* 'trouble, difficulties', from **watt-* from **watatā-* (H.).²

1071. (39) -tyy from *-ata-* (cf. Av. *yazata-*) + *-ka-*. Man. *'spsty* 'zealous', abstract *'spstky* § 338, from *ham-spasa-*.

1072. (40) -āt (uncertain), seems to form abstracts. B. *šyrsy'twh*

1070¹ Here, however, the *t* may belong to a stem in *-āwat-*, cf. § 1079.

1070² *pšmty* *kty Sogd. 21, 22*, is surprising, also, because, as far as I can see, *kt-* is not attested in Man. Perhaps scribal error for *pšmty* 'kty'?

'happiness', v. § 550. Not clear is B. $\gamma w p t$ 'kind' (?) VJ 884 (v. § 1551), from $x w p$ 'good, nice, skilful'?

1073. (41) -yt. Abstracts. S. $s r d m' n y t (w)$ 'happiness' *Anc. Lett.*, from B. $s r d m' n$ 'happy' VJ 113: 1044; B. $\delta y r \gamma w z y t$ 'friendship' [*sic*] P 2, 74, cf. B. $\delta y r \gamma w z t y$ § 1070.

1074. (42) -tāt. Abstracts. S. $\delta r w t' t w h$ 'health' *Anc. Lett.*; Man. Chr. $f r y t' t$, B. $p r y t' t$ SCE 306, 'love'; B. $n m t' () t$ 'abuse', cf. ST ii s.v. $n m y' q$.

1074 a. (42 a) B. -t'ny(h). Abstracts. Recognized by H. $' s p' r y t' n y$ 'cleverness' (H.) P 2, 1099; $\gamma t \beta' k t' n y h$ 'wisdom' P 2, 690; $\gamma w r' t' n y h$ 'haughtiness' SCE 72, from a light stem $* \gamma w r -$, cf. Chr. $\gamma w r y' q$ (v. BBB p. 63 on 521). [$< g a r u -$, cf. Pš $\gamma a r a$ EVP 27.]

1075. (43) -āu. (Cf. HMV p. 230 n. 8)

(a) Verbal abstracts. $* w \bar{e} n \bar{a} u$ 'vision', attested through $w y n' w c y k$ § 1014, B. $w y n' w c y$ § 1006, cf. Pahl. $v \bar{e} n \bar{a} \beta$, Bailey, BSOS vii 82.

1076. (b) Adjectives (-āu). From the Nom. Sg. Masc. of -āwan-stems, cf. Bailey, loc. cit. 76. Cf. Oss. -au, Hübschmann, ZDMG 41, 325 sq., Miller, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i, Anh. 92 sq. H. compares Khwār. -āw- in *turkāwīk* 'Turkish (language)'.¹ Cf. also, with further enlargements, -āuč (§ 1080), -āwe (§§ 1081 sqq.), -āuk (§ 1077). $' r t' w$ 'electus', from Av. *ašawan-*; Man. B. $k r \bar{s} n' w$ 'beautiful' from $k (r) \bar{s} n$ 'beauty', $k r \bar{s} n w$ M 760, 7 (end of line); S. $s \gamma w \delta y' w z \beta' k$ 'the Sogdian language' *Sogd.* 61, 25, adverbial Man. $s] w y \delta y' w$ M 169 V hl., $s w y] \delta \delta y' w$ (H.) M 107 i 37, S. $s (w y \delta y) w$ Kaw. H 11, $s w y \delta y' w$ ib. 14, 'no-cornuūcku, Sogdice', cf. S. $s w y \delta y k$ § 977, $s \gamma w \delta y' n' k$ § 1040.

1077. (44) -āuk. Chr. $c n' w q$ 'thirsty', v. § 386.

1078. (45) -kāu. B. $r \beta k' w$ 'patient, ill' SCE. P 2, 32, Man. $r' f k' [w]$ M 502 o 6, from $r' f$ 'disease', cf. B. $r \beta k y n$ § 1060. [v. Add.]

1079. (46) -āut from -āwat-. B. $c y n' w t$ VJ 686, $c y n' w t y$ ib. 740, 'plein d'attente', cf. $c y n' k h$ 'attente' ib. 31^e. 14^d, 511. 579.¹ Ambiguous is S. $' p z n' w t y h$ 'acquaintance' T M 389 a V 3, abstract of $* p z n' w t$ or $* p z n' w$. Cf. also $q r \bar{s} n' w t y$ § 1070 fn. 1.

1080. (47) -āuč, cf. § 131. From -āutya- (cf. §§ 1070. 1075. 1079) ? Abstracts. H. compares Khwār. $x w' h' w c$ 'permission' from $x w \bar{a} h -$ 'to wish'. $\delta \bar{s} t' w c$, $\delta y \bar{s} t' w c$ 'poverty', from $* d u \bar{s} t a w \bar{a} u \bar{c}$ (H.); $j y \bar{s} t' w c$ and $j y \bar{s} t' w c$ 'hatred', cf. BBB p. 77 on 633, and above, § 451; B. $p t p t y n' w c w y$ Obl. 'refractoriness' or 'isolation', v. § 420, cf. B. $p t p t y n' w' k$ § 1082.

1076¹ [v. Addenda.]

1079¹ [Cf. Av. *uštānō.šīnahyā-*].

1081. (48) -āwe, from -āw-+ -aka-. H. compares Khwār. *musur-mānāwak* 'Islam', *juftāwak* 'married state', cf. Pers. *juft* 'pair', also *z'dk'wy* 'state of being a child', *δyn'wy δ'm'wy* 'religious and worldly affairs'.¹ In Sogdian this suffix derives abstracts from adjectives.

1082. (a) B. *'ny'z'nk'w'k* 'difference' from Chr. *ny'zng*, § 85 fn.; Man. *'xšnq'wyh* 'splendour, magnificence' *Sogd.* 17, 23, from (')*xšnk-* 'magnificent', v. § 511; Man. *'yjn'wyy* 'worthiness' from *'yjn*, v. § 290; *'fry'wyyh* 'love' *JRAS*, 1944, 140, fn. 2, B. *'pry'w'k*, from *'fry-*; Chr. *'γrm'wy* 'punishment', v. § 1051 fn.; Man. *'j'm'wyy* 'refinement'¹ from *'j'm*, § 285; B. *'kwzpw'y* 'zeal, energy', from Man. *'kwjpw-* 'zealous', v. *BBB* p. 86 on 727; Chr. *'n'mr'wy* 'humility' *B* 49, 19, from Man. *'nmr-* (§ 512); B. *'nγwβ'w'k* 'excellence' from *'nγwβ-*, § 445; B. *'ptptyn'w'k* 'isolation' *T iii* 8, *pw°* 'without exception, completely' *ib.* 20, *'ptptyn'w'k* *SCE* 277, Chin. 'violence', from B. *'ptptyn*, v. § 1140, cf. B. *'ptptyn'cw'y* § 1080; Man. *'sk'wyh* 'top, height' *M* 178 i R 20, from *'sk-* 'high'; *'spyn'wyy* 'sin', in the Abl. *'spyn'w'* *BBB* f 8, cf. § 1255; B. *'sym'w'k* 'terror', from B. *'symh*, v. *ST ii* s.v., from Av. *'sima-*;² B. *'wrcy'w'k* 'appeasement' *ST ii* 9, 5, from *'wrcy'* 'appeased', v. *BBB* p. 67 top; S. *'yγrt'w'k* 'extension, breadth' *T M* 389 a V 12, from *'yγrt-*, v. § 518.

On *δβ'nzq'wyy* v. § 999.

1083. (b) The corresponding adjective is an -aka- stem. Man. *'wy(r)m(n)'w(y)* 'tranquillity' *Sogd.* 50, 5, B. *'wyrmn'w'k*, from *'wyrmn'y* 'quiet', v. § 893; B. *'y'γ'w'k* 'bravery' *Vim* 97, from Man. *'y'xyy* 'brave', v. § 396.

1084. (49) -wn. Cf. also § 1088.

(i) -wan. Verbal abstracts. Man. *'frywn*, Man. Chr. *'frywn* (cf. § 5 fn.), B. *'prywn* *VJ* 1198, 'prayer, blessing', from Av. *'āfrivana-*, Man. *'nfrywn* 'curse' *M* 118 ii V 12 (v. § 676), Man. *'sfrywn* 'creation', Chr. *'sfrywnt* ii 3, 13, S. *'sβryw'nty* *ST i* 86, 4, Pl. 'creatures', cf. (')*'fryn-* 'to bless', *'sfryn-* 'to create', § 579; S. *'pšš'w'nḥ* *T M* 389 a V 40, Man. *'pšš'w(n)* [*M* 410, 43 'order', from *√stā* (H.)];¹ Man. *'xš'wn* 'ruling power, realm', from OIr. *χšā(y)-*, cf. *BBB* p. 95 sq.; Chr. *'xšywn* ii 3, 52 'lament' (H.), B. *'γš'ywn* *VJ* 184. 276. &c., S. *'γš'ywn* *T ii* *T* 9, cf. Yidgha *xšī-* 'to weep', v. Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii 269, NPers. *šēvan*, v. also Chr. *'prxšy'qc* § 1002.

1085. (ii) -on. *'jyun* (1) 'existence, life, birth', (2) 'son', from *'jy-* 'to be born'. Origin of the suffix not clear. Cf. § 66.

1081¹ [Cf. also Orm. *zwāžāwī* 'sweetness'.]

1082¹ *'j'm'wyy* *'ty pcm'k* *T i* a (*Par.* 53).

1082² [Cf. Benv., *TSP* p. 180.]

1084¹ [v. *BSOAS* xi 725.]

1086. (50) -wnyy.

(i) -wane, from -wana- (§ 1084) + -ka-. Nomen agentis. *xšywnyy* 'king', from *xšy-* 'to rule' *Man. Lett.* ii 16, B. *γšy-* *VJ* 1094. On Chr. *xšwny* v. § 132.

1087. (ii) -ūne. Abstracts from nouns and adjectives. Konow, *Saka Studies*, 62, compares Khot. -auña. [cf. Bailey, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1945, 29 sq.]

(a) In *BBB* p. 68 on 546, Chr. *b'wwny* 'perfection', Man. *βxtwnyy* 'schism', B. *γδ'wny* 'theft', and Man. *qmbwnyh¹* 'ἐλάττωσις', are mentioned. Cf. also Man. *ftrwnyy*, abstract of *frtr* 'more', v. § 473; B. *mst'wny* 'drunkenness', v. *BBB* p. 74 on 591; Man. *f'ywnyy* 'theft', *BBB* p. 100 on e 6; S. *wrcy'wn'k* 'security' *KB* 21, 4, from *wrcy'*, cf. § 1082 on B. *wrcy'w'k*.

1088. (b) With B. *wrc'wny* Acc. 'magic' *Dhy* 310, from Av. *varəcah-*, one cannot be sure whether the Nom. was not **wrc'wn*, in view of Man. *wrcwnkrc* Fem. 'miraculous' *M* 178 ii R 13, and Chr. *wrc wny* 'miracle' i 21, 18 (-ya abstract of **wrcwn*).

1089. (c) Corresponding to an **-aka-* adjective. *ckštwnyy* 'ugliness' *M* 600, 16, from B. *ckšt'k* *SCE* 69, *ckšt'y* ib. 10, Pl. *ckštyt* (H.) *Man. Lett.* ii 7. 8, -ya abstract *ck'(š)ḷ(k)[y]* (H.) *M* 900, 7, cf. § 286; v. also *qmbwnyh¹* § 1087 fn.

1090. (iii) Not clear is the suffix of S. *βrpšwny* 'womb' *ST* i 86, 13, cf. *BBB* p. 73.

1091. (51) -āwand. Denominative adjectives and substantives. Chr. *purc'unt* Pl. 'debtors' i 42, 6, from *purc*, § 487; B. *zrm'w'nt* Pl. 'distressed' *VJ* 213, from *zrm*, § 1093; *xypδ'und* 'owner, lord, master, mister', from *xypδ* 'own', cf. § 231.

1092. (52) -wande or -unde (§ 222), from -wantaka-. *frnxwndyy* 'lucky' from Av. *x'arənahvant-*, *wrcxwndgy* 'miraculosity' from Av. *varəcahvant-*, cf. § 939; B. *nw' 100 βs'n'ywncḥ z'yh* 'a country 900 parasangs away' *VJ* 717, Fem. of **fsānḥunde* < **frasānḥawantaka-* (cf. § 435).

1093. (53) -m.

(i) Primary suffix, from -ma- or -man-. *sn'm* 'bath', Chr. 'baptism', from *sn'y-* 'to wash', cf. *BBB* p. 61 on 515; *zrm* 'distress' *M* 617 ii 30, B. *zrmh* *VJ* 399, Man. *''zrm* 'harm', v. *BBB* p. 53 on 483, cf. B. *'pw ''zr* 'harmless' *P* 2, 29.

1094. (ii) Of unclear origin are *βnd'm* 'punishment', *BBB* p. 79 top, cf. Kharoṣṭhi *aviṃdhama*, Bailey, *BSOS* ix 230, Chr. *xwysm, awsm, 1087¹* Derived from *kmbyy* 'less, short of' (§ 1302), as if this were an **-aka-* stem, cf. §§ 493 fn. 1089.

'care, solicitude', v. § 234, B. *sryβtm VJ* 1493, *sryβt'm Dku* 272. *P* 3, 118, *sr'yβt'm Vim* 20, 'pain, suffering'.

1095. (iii) Ordinals, from *-ma-*. B. only, cf. *-myk* § 1104.

(a) Heavy: *ctβ'rm* 'fourth' *ST ii* 10, 9. 50; *pncm* 'fifth' *P* 2, 1094. 1120.

1096. (b) Light: *wyšmy* '6th' *T M* 422, 4, *wywušwmy P* 2, 1094; *'βtmy* '7th' *P* 2, 330; *'štmy* '8th' *VJ* 885. *Dhu* 231. 254. 264. *P* 2, 331; *nwm'y* '9th' *P* 2, 332; *šmy* '10th' *Dhu* 231. 264. 269.

1097. (54) *-me*, from *-maka-*. B. *δrzm'k SCE*, *δrzm'y VJ* 233. *Vim* 13, 'anger',¹ cf. B. *δrzm'βr'k* 'angry' *VJ* 225. *SCE* 287 (on B. *δrzm'* v. § 1255); *sprγmyy* 'flower', v. *BBB* p. 72 on 573, cf. § 941; B. *šβ'rm'y* 'pudenda', cf. § 441.

1098. (55) *-m'*, from *-mākā-*. Man. *nwyδm* 'invitation' from B. *nw'yδ-* 'to invite', v. § 676; *jγm* 'lie' from *drug-*, v. § 285, cf. B. *zym's'k* § 1112.

1099. (56) *-āme*, from *-āmaka-*, cf. Nos. 57. 58. Verbal abstract: B. *šw'm'k*, *šw'm'y*, 'going' *ST ii* 7.

1100. (57) *-āmande*. Verbal abstracts and Infinitives from the Present stem, cf. Khot. *-āmatā Fem.*, Konow, *Saka Studies*, 43, Bailey, *BSOS* ix 230.

(a) Chr. *'γz'mnty* 'resurrection', from *'γz-* 'to rise', v. § 55; Man. *'nwyy'mndy* 'collecting', cf. § 542; *'nz'n'mndiyyh* 'confession' *M* 769, 11, S. *'nz'n'mnt[γ]* *Sogd.* 65, 28, cf. § 657; Chr. *'šty'mnty* 'ἀνάδειξις' i 32, 17, cf. §§ 567 fn. 657; *'wγz'mndty* 'descending', v. § 55; *'wšt'mntyj* 'existence', v. § 557; *'ys'mndy* 'arrival' *Sogd.* 29, 12; Man. *βyr'mndiyyh* 'success' *T ii D* 66 c 1, from *βyr-* 'to obtain'; *m'nyst'n zp'rt'δ'r'mndyy* 'keeping the college clean' *M* 107 ii 5 sq.; B. *w'δ nyδ'm'nty* 'bed to sit on' *DN* 50, from *nyδ-*, cf. § 545; S. *nyzy'm'nt'k* 'deliverance', v. § 568; Man. *prwyy'mndy* 'alimentation', cf. § 548, b; (*p*)*sy'r'mndyy* 'cooling' *Sogd.* 21, 12; Man. *pšpr'mndyy* 'fixing' *T ii D* 207, 25, from S. *pšpr-* *'to fix, compose, level' *T ii D* 77 (*A I*) 17. 18, Impf. *pšpr* § 616; Man. *ptβs'mnty* 'reading', v. § 52; *ptz'n'mndyjh* 'knowledge, cognition' *Sogd.* 31, 8; *skw'mndyy* 'staying' *Man. Lett.* ii 9; *šw'mndyy* 'going'; *tys'mndyjh* 'entering'; Chr. *wxš'mnty* 'deliverance' i 30, 15, from Chr. *wxš-*, cf. § 343; Man. *wδyr'mndyyjh* 'adjustment', cf. § 219; *qršn'w wyn'mndyjh* 'beautiful to look at' *M* 178 i R 12; Chr. *wyl'p'mnty* 'ἀνατολή' i 31, 11 sq., cf. § 216; *x[w]j'mndiyy* 'wishing' *M* 769, 14; Chr. *z'rysy'mnty* 'mercy', v. § 550 fn. 2; Chr. *zn'mnty* 'bringing forth' i 73, 7, cf. § 578.

1097¹ [*< Av. *aēšma-ka-*, v. *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1945, 138 n.1.]

1101. (b) Man. *qrwn'mndyh* 'acting, effecting' *Sogd.* 36, 16, would seem to indicate that *qrwn* 'making, effect, executing'¹ was used as a Present stem. Cf. H., *ad locum*.

1102. (58) *-āmč*, from **-āmantya-* (cf. *-āmande* No. 57) with loss of *n* acc. to § 334? Same function as Nos. 56. 57. '*skw'mc* 'staying' *M* 125, 11. *M* 776, 2; Chr. *šw'mc* 'going' *B* 49, 25; *ptjy'mc* 'quarrel' from B. **ptzy-* *'to dispute', v. § 200.

1103. (59) *-mync* or *-myc*. The function of this suffix is that of a hyphen. It can be added to *-aka-* stems and *-ya* abstracts. *-my(n)c* adjectives are used indifferently with masculine and feminine nouns, v. H., *BBB* p. 92 top. The Plural is Chr. *-myšt*, v. § 260. For the loss of *n* cf. § 334. Man. *βrxsymync* Fem. (ʹšmʹrʹ), B. *βrysʹkmync* (*mʹn*), 'dissolute', v. *BBB* p. 71 on 568; *zmyc* Fem. (ʹšmʹrʹ) 'greedy'; Man. *xšʹwnmync wrʹ* Fem. 'increase of power' *T i D a* (*Par.* 31); *xšywnymyc* 'royal' *M* 133, 91 (Fem.). 105 (*sndws*, v. *Sogd.* p. 17 on 7^a, 8^a); B. *yncmync SCE* 355 (Fem. *γʹywh*). 560 (ʹʹ*zʹwn*), 'of a woman'; B. *βʹrpʹymync tmyh P* 2, 962 = *βʹrpʹk tmyh SCE* 239 'in the hell of excrement'; Man. *βymyc* ['of God' *T i D*; Man. *dynmyc T ii T* 22, 20 (*γʹβʹky*). *T ii T* 31 (*srđng*), *dynmyc M* 617 ii 27 (ʹβj(y)nyh, cf. § 1026), 'of the religion, of the Church'; S. *dywmyc pckwyr* 'fear of the demons' *T M* 389 a V 26; *xw jwʹnmyc ptβnd* 'life-line' *Kaw.* K 13; *jwkyʹmync* 'safe, sound' *M* 172 V 6 (ʹʹ*jwnd*); B. *nwšmync Vim* 94 (*δrmʹyk*) 'immortal', cf. B. *nwšʹykh* § 994, S. *nwšʹnch* § 1045; B. *pδk-myncw* 'legal' *Dhu* 242; S. *ptyʹmβrymync* 'apostolic' *ST i* 87, 24 (ʹ*ncmn*); Man. *xw rwʹnmyc frʹtry* 'the spiritual welfare' *T ii D* 117, 4; *rwtʹyʹmync* 'shameless, insolent' (ʹšmʹrʹ), v. *BBB* p. 92 on b 10; Chr. *tʹrymync* 'dark' *ii* 2, 21 (*fnʹs*); Man. *tmbʹrmync* 'of the body' *T ii D* 207, 16 (*ptšʹδty*), Pl. Chr. *tmpʹr myšt B* 49, 18 (ʹ*rgt*); Chr. *zprtʹ wʹt mync* 'of the Holy Ghost' *ii* 3, 35 (*yʹn*); B. *yʹtʹkmync γʹ-* 'mountain of flesh' *SCE* 252. 376, cf. Man. *yʹtʹny* § 1057. [Chr. *tywʹq mync* 'having a child', v. *JRAS*, 1946, 180 on 95, cf. [*tʹyʹwʹqcyk* § 1014.]

1104. (60) *-myk*. Ordinals from 4 onwards, v. §§ 1331 sq. Cf. Baluči *-umī*, Geiger, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i² 237 (§ 5, 4), Woss. *-āimag*, Hübschmann, *ZDMG* 41, 325, from *-ma-yā-ka-*. On *-m* in ordinals v. § 1095 sq.

1105. (61) *-rmyk*. **βwrtʹrmyk*, **βwyʹrmyk*, 'patient', v. § 469; *ptsyndʹrmykt* Pl. 'agreeable, acceptable, pleasant' *M* 617 ii 9 (v. § 1243), B. *ptsʹntʹrmyk P* 6, 34, *ptsynʹrmyk P* 7, 134.

1106. (62) *-B. -yγ. -tmʹyγʹ* 'infernal' *SCE* 261; acc. to Benv.,

1101¹ Man. Chr. *qrwn M* 136 R hl. *ST i* 63, 14. 68, 22, Man. *krw(n) M* 670, 15, B. *krʹwny P* 2, 347. [Cf. also Bailey, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1946, 206.]

Grammaire, 95, also **δ'm'yγ* in *δ'm'yγtyh* 'mydry' *VJ* 1205 sq. 'dieu des créatures' (?); on B. 'st'yγ' 'upright' v. H., *BSOS* x 95.

1107. (63) -wx (?). Man. *r'mr'twxβyγy* 'peace-dispensing god', v. *BBB*, Gloss.

1108. (64) B. -γ (?). *γωδk'r't'γw st''γ sr'k* 'orphelins et solitaires' *SCE* 27. Quite obscure. [v. *Addenda*.]

1109. (65) -γδ (-iθ/-θθ). Adverbs. (For pronominal forms with this suffix v. §§ 1402, 7. 1501.) B. *'nywncyδ* 'thus, so, such', cf. Man. *'nywn* &c., § 1113, and *γwnc* 'colour' § 1004; B. *'yγwncyδ* 'just so, just as' *VJ* 39. 198. 1447. *Vim* 32. *Dhu* 26. 32. *ST ii*; B. *'ywnzkyδ* *Dhy* 157 'thus' (Weller), *ST ii*, cf. B. *'yγw znk* 'such' *SCE*; B. *βr'k'yδ* 'soon' *P* 2, 582, from *fr'k* 'early, morning', cf. Man. *fr'kcynyy*, § 1025; Man. *c'fryδδ* 'as many as', v. § 1592; *mδyδ* 'huc' *M* 498 b 1, cf. *mδy* 'hic' § 136; B. *tδ'yδ* 'illuc' *VJ* 1398; *w'fryδδ* 'so, so many', v. § 1592; *w'fyδδ* id., v. § 1594; *wδyδ* 'there' *Sogd.* 50, 7 and passim, cf. Man. *wδy* id., § 136; Man. *ywnyδδ*, Chr. *ywnyt ii* 5, 26, B. *ywn(?)yδ* 'at once', cf. Chr. (*ST i*) *ywny* id., Man. *xyδ ywn* 'instantly, on the spot' *M* 144 V 5, from Av. *yaona-* 'place, spot', cf. Skt. *yoni* (H.).¹ [cf. *Addenda*.]

1110. (66) -yāk, from *-yākā-. Nominal abstracts, from light stems only. Cf. -y' § 1111. *'spty'q*, 'spty'k 'completeness'; Man. *'spwrny'k*, Chr. *spwrny'q*, 'completion', v. § 513; *'xty'k* 'judgement', *xty'k M* 135 i 5, cf. H., *Additions to Sogdica*, 53, v. *xtw* 'judge' § 1190; *βyγ'k* 'divinity'; Chr. *γwry'q* 'haughtiness', cf. § 1074 a; Man. *kwjpy'k* 'energy, zeal', v. § 510; Man. *nmry'q* 'submissiveness', v. § 512; *nmsy'k*, *nmy'k*, 'contempt', v. § 828 fn.; *ršt'y'q* 'truth', § 517; *rwxsny'k* 'light, splendour'; *šxy'q* 'hardship', v. *BBB* p. 103 on f 16. *Sogd.* p. 20 on 21; *tryty'q* 'depression, distress' *Sogd.* 48, 3 (cf. the light-stem comparative *trytryh* § 1284; on *tryty* v. § 948); *xwcy'q* 'niceness' *M* 133, 84, cf. § 504; (*γyγryty'k* 'extension, diffusion', v. § 518; Chr. *zpry'q* 'reverence' *i* 45, 9; Chr. *žwyy'q* 'severity' § 410. Cf. also the end of the footn. on § 1111, and *šyr'k* § 198.

1111. (67) -yā. Nominal abstracts from heavy stems. Originally the same suffix as No. 66, therefore often spelled -y'kh in S. writing.¹ *βycy'h* 'medicine' *BBB*, from *βyc* 'physician' *M* 137 R 2. *M* 655, 12;

1109¹ Chr. *pr* . . . *wsyd ii* 5, 45, means, acc. to H., 'on the instigation of', cf. B. *ws'yδ* 'instigation' *P* 7, 102, S. *wys'yδ'nt* 3 Pl. Impf. 'to encourage' *Rustam* 10, cf. *Benv.*, *Notes iii* 27.

1111¹ Cf. *'stny'kh* 'constancy', against *'stnyh*, v. § 969; *'rt'wy'kh* 'community of the electi' *T M* 389 a V 23; *γwry'ty'kh* 'haughtiness', *Vim* 162 sq.; *γwt'wy'kh* 'kingship' *VJ* 981. 1482; *δp'yry'kh* 'writing' *T M* 389 a V 1; *mntyγβ'ky'kh* 'ignorance' *X I ii* R 22; *ny'wβky'kh* 'community of the auditores' *T M* 389 a V 23; *p'tyβw'n'y'kkh* [sic] 'ruling power' *X I ii* V 20; *py'ty'kh* 'ornament' *Dhy* 91. 256. *Vim* 86, against *py'ty' Dhy* 182. 296, *py'tyh DN* 41. 47. 70;

δpyry'h 'writing'; *'rt'wy*, *δynt'ry* 'state of being an *'rt'w*, a *δynd'r*'; *fr'ry* 'furtherance', v. § 437; *mzyxy* 'greatness'; *p'ryzy* 'excellence' *M* 178 i R 30, from *p'ryz M* 264 *A* 30; and many more. Added to *-yāk* abstracts (only Chr.): *b'gy'gy* 'divinity' *ii* 3, 16; *rwzšny'gy* 'light' *ii* 3, 72; *nyy'gy*, probably 'in a true manner' (Syr. *šryr'yt* having been misplaced (H.)) *ii* 1, 31.

On the *-y'* abstracts of *-aka-* stems, v. § 985. On *wty* v. § 1070. On *'šy*, *'kty*, &c., v. § 948. On the Oblique in *-y'y* v. §§ 1262. 1266.

1112. (68) *-se*, from *-saka-* (?). B. *zym's'k Dhu* 205, *δrym's'k SCE* 247, Chr. *žym syt Pl.*, *ii* 6, 22, 'liar'. [v. Addenda.]

(69) *-(')*st. Elative suffix, v. § 1309.

1113. (70) *-yōne*. Adjectives meaning 'in the manner of, similar to, -like', cf. NPers. *-yūn*, *čigūne*, Horn, op. cit., 192. Originally *-akā-* *bahuvrihis* with OIr. *gaona-* 'colour', cf. Man. *zrywnc Fem.*, *M* 137 R 12. *M* 1, 151, B. *zrywnch VJ* 960, Man. *zrywnyyt Pl. M* 178 i R 31, 'green', and B. *zrywn* 'vegetable' *SCE* 165, from Av. *zairi. gaona(ka-)*, B. *wδγwn β'mk* 'rose-coloured' *Dhy* 145 (cf. Benv., *Notes ii* 226). Cf. also B. *γwn γwn* 'of all sorts' *VJ* 988. 1183, Man. *'nywn* 'similarly', *BBB* p. 104 on f 62, from *ham-gaona-*, *pww 'ny(w)[n T ii D* 66 c 'incomparable', *βγ'n 'nywn* 'king-like', § 1189, B. *'nywncyd* § 1109, *mywn* 'all, altogether' from *hama-gaona-*, *γwnc* 'colour' § 1004.

1114. (a) B. *'nywn'k* 'so, similar' *Vajr* 25 sq.; B. *c'γwn'k* 'qualis?', v. § 1542; B. *nmγwny* 'abused', Chr. *nmγwnqy* 'abuse', v. *ST ii* s.v., and cf. Pers. *namūne*, H., *BSOS* x 102; Chr. *pcxwd γwny* 'abominable' *i* 45, 17, cf. *BBB* p. 76 on 608, Man. *pcxwdγwnystr* comparative, § 1306, from Man. *pcxwd T ii D* 167 *ii* 7 (no context); B. *pry'βγwn'k* 'lovely', v. § 202 fn.; B. *pwšγwn'kt Pl.* 'cat-like', v. *BBB* p. 100 on e 6; B. *rwzγwn'y* 'suitable, gratifying' *Dhy* 215, v. Lentz, *ST ii* 604; B. *w'γwn'k* 'such, so' § 1584, from **awa-gaona-ka-*; B. *wyspywn'y* 'of all sorts'; B. *wzpywn'kw*, *wyzpywn'k* 'terrifying', cf. § 212 fn. 2. [v. Addenda.]

1115. (b) Open compound: B. *ykšy γwn'y* 'similar to a *yakš*.' *VJ* 1043.

(c) Adverbial: Chr. *γrb'q γwny* 'wisely' *i* 43, 15.

(71) *-zng'n* 'fold', v. § 1034. Cf. B. *'ywnzncyd* § 1109.

1116. (72) *-pār*. Adjectives and adverbs, from adverbs of place, cf. Av. *dūraēpāra-*. Man. *xww 'wrδp'r['ékēivos T ii D* 116, 11, *z'rcn'wky'kh* 'mercy' *T M* 389 *a* R. 1. This spelling is also found in *γwβty'kh* 'praise' *T M* 389 *a* V 2. 28 (cf. § 948), and even in *kr'yzy'kh* 'Ecclesia' *ib.* 37, Cf. the S. spellings *pr'kh* beside *pr*' (Khot. *palā*), v. § 1269, *wyn'kh*, *k'γδ'kh*, v. § 971. Genuine *-yāk* is represented by *pwty'k(h)* 'Buddha-ship' *ib.* 38, &c., *myδβy'kh* 'ministership' *VJ* 981. 1173. 1483, *šmny'k* 'monkship' 10, 123, from the light stems *pw-*, *myδβ-* (cf. § 509), *šmn-*.

adverbial S. 'wrδp'r 'par delà' *T ii D ii 169 (a) i V 8*, from Man. 'wrδ 'there', cf. B. 'wrts'r § 461; B. 'wδp'r δwkyh *Dhy 399* 'in the world beyond' (Weller), from B. 'wδ 'there'; S. mrδp'r adv. 'here, en deçà' *T ii D ii 169 (a) i V 9*, cf. mrts'r § 461; cyndrp'r *Man. Lett. ii 8*, B. cntr p'r *Dhu 49*, 'internal, being inside'; Chr. byqp'r 'out' *i 21, 9*, adv.; c'δrp'r adv. 'below' *M 133, 23*.

With further extensions cf. B. bykp'rcyk, cntrp'r'cyk, § 1013, and, perhaps, i p'ryq 'altogether' *Man. Lett. ii 17*, B. 'yw p'r'ryk *DN 10. Intox. Sūtra 13*.

1117. (73) B. -δn'k, from -dānaka- (v. § 122) 'container',¹ in S. cšmδn'kw 'eye-socket' (H.) *T ii T*, and z'kδn'k *SCE 14*, z'kδn'k *Dhu 266* 'womb', cf. MPers. pwsy'n, *BBB p. 73*, NPers. zihdān. [v. Addenda.]

1118. (74) -stan, -stane, from *-stāna(ka)- 'place of', v. § 122, where also on βγyst'n. *Man. (β)wδs(t)n* 'garden' *M 840 b ii 8*, B. βwδstn *Vim 78*, βwδstnyh *Loc., SCE 2*; S. cynstn 'China' *Anc. Lett. ii 18. 30*; δywst(n) 'demon-land' *M 247, 19 (H.)*; B. n'k'stn'k *Vim 80 sq.*, n'kstn'k *P 3, 126*, 'Nāga-place'; B. pr'yβ'k stny kyr'n (thus to be read instead of st'y (H.)) *Chin. 'cloud-place-region' Padm 47*; B. ryz'kh 'stny 'in a *rice-field' *P 2, 1017 (H.)*.

1119. (75) -(y)'wr (?). In the case of *Man. δrjy'wr*, *Chr. žy'wr*, 'heart', v. § 287, the y certainly belongs to the stem. This is not so clear in the case of *Man. krjy'wr* 'wonderful', from *krj* 'wonder'.

1120. (76) -kr, -kry. Connected by *Benv., Notes iii 224*, with *kry* 'time, turn, sequence', cf. B. *kry' Dhu 56. 165* 'in succession (Weller)', *pr kry' pčβ'nty Dhy 30* 'in succession, one after the other (Weller)', *Man. gry' M 134 ii V 13*, n' kry'cyq 'untimely' § 1014. H. compares OPers. čiya^h-kara-, Skt. kāla, sakṛt, kṛtvās, Pers. dīgar and (for myδkryy) rūzgār. The Sogdian examples are myδkryy 'day', v. *BBB p. 84 on 714*, and nwkr 'now, then' (H.). [Cf. *Oss. kar* 'age'.]

1121. (77) -kar 'making, doing', from -kara-, cf. NPers. -gar, *Horn, op. cit. 190. xw'qr* 'merchant', v. § 392. Cf. the abstracts *Chr. 'zd'qry* 'revelation, announcement' *ii 3, 42*, S. rzk(r)y'kh 'rectitude' *Sogd. 2, 5*, B. kš'yckry', § 969.

1122. (78) -kare, *-aka- extension of the preceding. (?)x'sqryy[*t*] *Pl. 'soldiers' Sogd. 27, 25*; "zrmkryy 'hurting'; γw'nkryy 'sinful, sinner'; zyrnkryy[*M 662, 7* 'goldsmith'; 'zprt'qryy[*Pl. 'purifiers' Sogd. 48 bottom; &c.*

On -kare: -kāre v. § 1125.

1117¹ Cf. also *Chr. γwdy*, B. γwδ'k, v. H., *BSOS x 99*, a measure of capacity, connected by H. with Av. gaōdi-, *gaōdana-*, cf. *JRAS, 1944, 143, fn. 3*.

1123. (79) **-karene**, although not a proper suffix, may be mentioned here. It is used in open compounds with the meaning 'who makes, causes'. *γnd'ky qrynyy* 'evildoer' *M* 107 ii 24 sq.; *S. γwyck kryny* 'deliverer' *T* ii *D* 169 (*Stellung Jesu*, 95, 8) V 16; Chr. *pc'w' qrynyt* Pl. 'brawler' ii 6, 23 (v. *BBB* p. 68 on 544).¹

1124. (80) **-kār**. *S.* *'ztk'r Frq* ii^a 25, Pl. *'ztk'rty T M* 389 a V 3, 'nobleman', cf. Pers. *دژ* (H.); Man. *xwδk'r* 'alone', cf. §§ 269 fn. 1336 fn. [v. Addenda.]

1125. (81) **-kāre** from **-kāraka-* 'making, doing', cf. NPers. *-gār*, Horn, loc. cit. 189. *'wyj'q'ryyh* 'evildoer', v. § 219; *mstk'ryy* 'intoxicating', v. *BBB* p. 74 on 591; *psiq'ryy* 'assistant', v. § 99; &c. Alternating with *-kare* (§ 1122), in Man. *qt'ny k'ryty* Pl., *M* 129 R 2 sq., *S.* *'krt'nyk'rch* Fem., *BBB* p. 101 on e 22, against Chr. *qt'ny qr* Voc., i 68, 21, 'sinner'.

1126. (82) **-angāre**, from **-ham-kāraka-*. Qualifying moral behaviour. *'βjng'ryy* 'evildoer, sinful', v. *BBB* p. 63 on 520, cf. Khot. *baśdamggāra* (E), H., *BSOS* x 102 fn. 2; B. *δrγw'nk'r'k* 'lying, deceitful' *VJ* 703; Man. *š[yr]ng'ryy* § 73 fn., Chr. *šyrng'ry* ii 1, 66, B. *šyrnk'r'y* *VJ* 412, *šyr'nk'r'kw* *VJ* 9c, Pl. *šyr'nk'r'tl SCE* 563, *šyr'nk'r'yty Dhu* 32, 'pious', cf. Khot. *šāraṅgāra*. [v. Add.]

1127. (83) **-tāč**. *S.* *'yw t'c* 'the only one' *ST* i 86, 4, *'ywč'ch γw'r'k* 'eating alone' *SCE* 125. Cf. MPers. *'yw t'q*, NPers. *yaktā*, *Sogd.* 24, 9.

1128. (84) **-tāk**, from *√tāk*, cf. MPers. Parth. *-dāg*, Bailey, *BSOS* vii 80 sq., H., *BSOS* viii 587. For Sogdian H. quotes *S.* *mwz't'k* 'gospel-bearer' *T M* 351 (*Stellung Jesu*, Plate ii) R 3, < *mwžt-t'k* (cf. § 1128 a), and Man. *r'δδt'k*, adj., 'setting on the way' *M* 135 ii 9.

1128 a. (84 a) ***-tāč(a)k** in Chr. *mždwc'q* ii 1, 96 'gospel', acc. to H. < **mwžd'c'q* < **mwžd-t'c-q* = MPers. *myzdg-t'c-yh* 'gospel' (Parth. *mwjdg'd'g/c*, &c.).

1129. (85) **-bār**, from **-pāra-*. Man. *tmb'r* and *tmp'r* (*BBB* 487), B. *tnp'r*, cf. § 449, Chr. *tm'r* § 453.

1130. (86) **-vāre**, from *-bāra-(ka-)*. Man. *s(w)γβ'ryy* 'sad' *M* 337, 6, possibly loanword, cf. Parth. *svgb'r*, NPers. *sōgvār*.¹

1123¹ *šyr'krty'krynyy* in the passage quoted *BBB* p. 74 bottom is possibly to be read **krwnyy* (cf. § 1101).

1130¹ Different is B. *'sp'δβ'ry Vim* 136 'army-equipment' (Weller), for which H. compares MPers. *b'rg* 'apparel'. Unclear are the derivatives from *δst-* 'hand': B. *δstβ'r* 's-' 'to seize' *SCE* 375, *cnn δrm'yk δstβ'ry* 'by means of, with the help

1131. (87) -var, from -bara-. Nomina agentis, especially for professions. Chr. *bwžbrt* Pl. 'publicans', cf. § 120; B. *γznβrt* Pl. 'treasurers' *VJ* 106; Chr. *d'tbr* 'judge'; Man. *δyδymβrt* adj. Pl. 'crown-wearing, crowned' *M* 133, 93; **ktyβr* 'householder', v. § 994; B. *kynβr* 'hater, enemy' *Padm* 25.

1132. (88) -vare, from -baraka-. S. 'βzβr'k 'destitute, needy', v. *BBB* p. 78 on 634, cf. B. 'βyzβ'rcyh § 1008; *frnβryy* 'happy' *M* 286 i 4, S. *prnβrck* Fem., *T ii D* 93 h V 5; β'rβry *M* 136 V 12, B. β'rβr'k *SCE* 342, 'carrying a load'; *yp'kβryy* 'angry' *M* 118 ii R 3. 5; &c.

On the substantivized *z'tyβrc* v. § 1005.

1133. (89) -varān, cf. § 1033. 'Feeling'. Man. B. *šyrβr'n* 'happy' *T ii D* 117, 31. *SCE* 11. 19; Man. *βyyjyβr'n* loc. cit. 20, B. *βyzyβr'n* *SCE* 11, *βyzβr'n* ib. 18, 'unhappy'.

1134. (90) -āvar(e). Man. *δyn'βr* 'electus'; B. 'p'βr'y 'dropsical' *SCE* 415.

1135. (91) -dār, from -dāra-, 'holder, keeper'. Man. 'xš'wnδ'r 'ruler'; *δynd'r* 'electus'; Chr. *frm'nd'rty* Pl. 'tutors' i 83 sq., S. *prn'nd'r* 'administrator', cf. H., *Orientalia*, viii 89 fn. 1; B. *n'βδ'r* 'governor' *T iii Š* 23, 6; *w'tδ'r* 'living being'; B. *wβrδ'r* 'Himalaya' *Dhy* 209.

1136. (92) -dāre, from -dāraka-. **nwtδ'ryy* in Man. *nwtδ'rky* *M* 133, 98 sq., occurring in a series between *γβ'ky* and *šy*, from *nwt* 'refuge, protection'; Chr. *b'γd'ryt* Pl. 'farm-labourers' i 19, 17. 21, 7. 13; Man. *δynd'ryy* 'electus', v. § 969; B. *kty'kδ'r'y* 'grhapati' (Weller) *Vim* 126 sq., *kty'kδ'r* Voc., ib. 60. [v. Addenda.]

1137. (93) -p'k, -p', 'protecting'. B. *pyδp'k* 'elephant-guardian' *VJ* 48^b. 61^b. 203; Man. (*w*)*mndp* Voc., *T ii D* 66, 1, 10 'frontier-guard' (?).

1138. (94) -wāč from \sqrt{wak} . B. *zntw'ch* 'mry' 'singing bird' *SCE* 179, cf. H., *BSOS* x 105 [now also *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1945, 161].

PREFIXES

1139. Conspectus.

'w-, 1140.

c-, 1146.

cš-, 1146.

cw, 1144^a.

δ(y)š-, 1146.

fry-, 1 45.

j-, 1146.

jyšt-, 1147.

of the dharma' *Dhu* 33, Man. *δstβry nyy's*- *M* 129 R 8 sq. (obscure context), B. *δstwβry* 'handwriting' *ST ii* 8, 11 (Acc.), *δst'wβry* 'manuscript, handwriting' *Intox. Sūtra* 33 (Obl. acc. to Lentz, *ST ii* 546 fn. 3). [Cf. *δst(w) βr*- *Kaw.* C 5.]

mnd-, 1150-4.
n'-, 1155-60.
nw-, 1161 sq.
ny-, 1148.
nyš-, 1149.
 (°)*p'*-, 1163.
pr-, 1141.

pr(w)-, 1142.
pš'-, 1143.
pt-, 1140.
 (°)*pw-*, 1164-6.
tr-, 1144.
w'-, *wt-*, 1166.

1140. (1) *w-* 'co-', from *hāmō-*, v. § 351.

(2) *pt-* 'in', v. *BBB* p. 81 on 674. Man. *ptmydyy* 'daily'; S. *ptzmnw* 'in time'; B. *ptptyn* 'opposed, separate'; *ptnwyy* *δβtyk* 'again, de nouveau' *M* 591, 3 sq.

1141. (3) *pr-* 'into'. Chr. *pr dst wn-* 'locare', lit. 'to make handed over' i 19, 17.¹

1142. (4) *pr(w)-* 'after', from *aparam*,¹ v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 242 fn. *prw frwxšpδ*, acc. to H. 'the latter part of *frwxšpδ*' (lunar mansion); *pršnxyt* Pl. 'small branches', lit. 'sub-branches', cf. § 342 fn. 2; cf. also *prtxyz Sogd.* 25, 26, adverbial, 'after the setting' (?).

1143. (5) *pš'*- from *pasča*, cf. § 373, 'after', cf. *BBB* p. 98. *pš'xryy* 'after-meal'; *pš'γγyw* and *pš'γγwy* (Nom.) *T i D* (*Par.* 23) 'after-self, deputy'; S. *pš'sry* 'occiput' (H.) *T ii T*; B. *pyšmwrdw* 'after death', v. § 138 fn.; *pš'bwtyt* *M* 599, 14, *pš'pwtyt* *T ii D* 66, 2, 12, Pl. 'after-Buddhas' or 'those who come after Buddha' (?). [v. Addenda.]

1144. (6) *tr-* from Av. *tara-*, 'against, beyond'. B. *trβytw* 'untimely, against fate' *P* 2, 32 (H.); B. *trny'my* 'untimely' *P* 3, 72 (H.); S. *trzmnw T ii D* 213 (*A* 5) i 14, *trzmnyh DN* 82, *cnn trzmnycyk DN* 55 (cf. § 1013 fn.), adv. 'untimely'.

Forming a kind of superlative, B. *trw'rc* 'ultra-miraculous' or 'very strong' *Dhu* 291.

1144 a. (7) *cw*, opposite to the preceding, in B. (°)*cw zmny(h)* 'at the right time' *P* 2, 1133. 1189 (H.).

1145. (8) *fry-*.

(a) 'hu-'. Man. *fryrw'n*, v. *BBB* p. 77 fn. 3.

(b) 'φλο-'. B. only, common in the *SCE*, perhaps as a Chinese calque.¹ *pry 'sprym'k* 'one who likes flowers' 138; *pry βrz'y*

1141¹ *pr* here is not used as a preposition, since it is not followed by the Acc. **dstw*. The parallel passage 21, 12, has the unclear spelling *dwstw*.

1142¹ Also used independently as an adverb: B. '*prw* then' *SCE* 44. 283. *Vim* 21. 104. *Dhu* 67. 192, '*pr'w Dhu* 197, *kšry 'prw* 'from now on' *DN* 74, S. *cnn 'prw myš* 'in future' *T M* 393 ii R. 3.

1145¹ Where the noun has the *-*aka-* ending, one might consider the whole to be a bahuvrīhi, 'one to whom flowers, &c., are dear'.

ny'wδn'y 139 sq., *pry rnk'n ny'wδnw* 142, 'who likes long (coloured) garments'; *pry w'r'γn'y 't pry δrwnp'δ'y* 'who likes hunting-hawks, who likes bow and arrows' 134 sq.

(c) 'fain'. B. *pry 'nyr'mn'y* (Pres. Partc.) 'who likes to slander' *SCE* 145.

1146. (9) OIr. *duš-*, *duž-*. *δ(y)št(°)wc* 'poverty', B. *δštwn*, *cštwn* 'poor', *ckšt-* 'ugly', v. § 286. *jkryy* 'sinful', v. § 287.

1147. (10) *jyšt-* 'duš-', in *jyšt'rw'ndy*, *jyšt'm'ncy'h*, 'bad-intentioned attitude', v. *BBB* p. 75 on 606, cf. § 451.

1148. (11) *ny-* '(with)out'. Man. Chr. B. *nyz'wr* 'weak', cf. Parth. *nyz'wr*, *Mir. Man.* iii, s.v.; B. *nykr'n* 'apart from (*cnw*), except, beside' *Dhy* 122. 158, Man. *nykyr'n M 840 c ii 1* (no context), from *kyr'n* 'side, direction' (v. § 111), cf. the following.

1149. (12) *nyš-*. Same function as the preceding, cf. MPers. *nyjd'd* 'unjust'. Chr. *nyšqr'n* 'out' i 4, 8, B. *cym'yδ nyškyr'n* 'apart from that' *T M* 422, 6.

1150. (13) *mnd-*. Privative. Adjectives (often attested only through the *-y* abstract), with the exception of B. *mntw'ry* 'absence of rain' *Padm* 42.

1151. (i) From nouns.

(a) *mnd'ndyqy* 'lack of function' *M 130 i R 3*; Chr. *mntz'wry* 'weakness' *ii 3, 6*.

1152. (b) With *-aka-* enlargement. *mndm'ncy* 'carelessness', v. *BBB* p. 67 on 541; *mndfrnqy* 'unhappiness' *M 343 V hl*.

1153. (ii) From adjectives.

(a) *mndyrβ'k* 'ignorant'; *mndzprt*, *mnozprt* (v. § 454), 'impure'.

1154. (b) Enlarged by *-aka-* (?). *mndxwpyy* 'improper', Acc., *BBB* b 11. 28 sq., Obl. ib. 661.

1155. (14) *n'-*. Cf. NPers. *nā-*, Horn, loc. cit. 193, Khwār. *n'm*, *n' n'mk*, *n' n'myδ'r*, 'fulān' (H.). General privative prefix.

(a) With substantives: B. *n' mrtym'yt* 'not-men' *DN* 6; *n' ny'my'h* 'untimely' *M 765 k 4*.

1156. (b) With adjectives (including *bahuvrihis*): *n' 'γt frn* 'unlucky' *M 765 k 5*; B. *L' 'spt srδ''k* 'whose years are not complete' *SCE* 14; *n''spt'srwšyy* 'whose obedience is not perfect'; *n'βrt-pxwnyh* 'who does not tolerate reproaches'; *n'jwq* 'unsound, unwell' *T ii D 79 b 1*; *n' kry'cyq* 'untimely', v. § 1014; **n'kt'rk* 'inactive' *Sogd.* 29, 7. 9; *n' pδkcyq* 'unlawful', v. § 1014; *n' wym'ncyk* 'invisible' *T ii D 12, 8*; *n' xwp* 'not good' *M 697, 5. T ii D 79, 3, 6*.

1157. (c) With a Present Participle: *n' yrβ(yyny)yt* Pl. 'ignorant' *T ii D 62, 23.*

1158. (d) With the Past stem or *-aka-* Past Participle, *n'*- forms a negative Future Participle: *n'yrβtyy* 'incomprehensible' *T ii D 66, 1, 13*; *n' wyyt* 'invisible' *T ii D 117, 28 sq.*; B. *L' δβ'γšt* 'unobtainable' *VJ 241. 243*; *L' βyrt*, id., *Dhy 292.*

1159. (e) With a Present stem, *n'* is found in Man. *zmb n' yrβ* (or *yrβy*) 'knowing no limits, immeasurable' *T ii T 22, 22*, negative of **zmbyrβ*. Cf. also B. *L' β'r* 'not riding' § 902 fn.

1160. (f) *n'* forms a bahuvrīhi with a following substantive in S. *L' γwstw'nyβt* 'one who does not practise confession' *XI i R 6.*

1161. (15) *nw-*. Privative, cf. Khot. *anau* (Reichelt and H., v. *BBB* p. 78 top), and NPers. *نوسپاس*, *JRAS*, 1894, 490. Mostly *-aka-* stems.

(a) Adjectives: *nwβznyy* 'shameless', *nws'cy* 'unsuitable', **nwwrnyy* in *nworn'ky* 'lack of belief', B. *nw'scy'n'k* 'unworthy'.

1162. (b) Substantives: *nwptfr'wncykt* Pl. 'oubliettes', cf. § 1015; B. *pr nw yrβ'w VJ 381*, *cnn nw yrβ'y* ib. 393, 'in ignorance'; Man. *nwryjyy* 'dislike' (*'ndwxc 'tyy n°* 'sorrow and d.' *M 378, 11 = M 410, 36*, *pw n°* 'without d.' *T ii D 66, 2, 20*). [B. *nwryzy P9, 122.*]

1163. (16) (°)p(°)-, from *apa-*. Privative. Chr. *pd'ty* adj. 'unrighteous, unlawful' *i 43, 18 (Obl.) 44, 3 (Acc.)*, B. (°)*pd'ty* adv., *VJ 946. SCE 102. 146*, Chr. **pd't* 'injustice' in *pd'tqry* 'unjust' *i 43, 14. 44, 3. ii 6, 9*, cf. Pers. *balād*, H., *BSOS x 102*; B. *p'krtyh* 'non-action', or 'undone', *VJ 192*, from *apa-+aktya*.

1164. (17) (°)pw- 'without'. Prefixed to substantives, verbal nouns, and adjectives, the whole word acting as

(a) Adjective: *pw 'mb'r* 'insatiable', v. *BBB* p. 98 top; *pw 'ry M 135 ii 33*, B. *'pw 'ry Vim 38*, 'priceless, invaluable'; *pw w s'k pw w ptšm'r* 'countless' *M 378, 12*; B. *'pw kws 'pw kyr'n* 'infinite, unlimited' *P 3, 48 sq.*, Man. (p)*w kws kyr'n*, *Sogd. 27, 6. 10*; *pw [z](r)cnwq* 'pitiless' *M 133, 26 sq.*, S. *pwz'rcn'wkw* *BBB* p. 92 on b 15; &c.

1165. (b) Substantive (rare): *pw'nwt* 'lack of protection' *BBB* b 77; *pw ptčšy* 'unseizability' *Sogd. 29, 5.*

1166. (c) Adverb, viz. *pw* is treated as a preposition: *prw fry'wyyh pw w jyšt'wc* '(they live) in love, without hatred' *JRAS*, 1944, 140 fn. 2; *pw'nc'n* 'continuously, without interruption' *M 140 R 10*. Construed with **hačā* in S. *pw c'β'* 'without thee' *T ii D ii 169 (a) i V 10.*

(18) *w'-, wt-*, Elatives, v. § 1309.

NOUN INFLEXION

Cf. Tedesco, *ZII* iv 94 sqq. See conspectus, § 1270

1167. The light-stem endings developed from the OIr. *-a-* stem inflexion.

Heavy stems had at first one ending only, viz. *-t* for the Plural. Later, the light-stem Gen.-Dat. ending *-y* was extended to heavy stems as a general Oblique ending, which was sometimes used also for the Accusative.

By analogy *-y* could then sporadically replace the older Accusative and Ablative endings of light stems (cf. § 1174. 1197. 1200).

LIGHT STEMS

Substantives

A. Singular

1168. (1) Nominative.

(i) *-y*, Masc., from **-ah*, v. § 402. Man. *βγγy* 'god'; B. *cšmy* 'eye' *VJ* 878; S. *γzny* 'treasure' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 9; *jwxšqyy* 'disciple' *M* 655, 2. 25; Chr. *ptry* 'father'; S. *smwtry* 'ocean' *T ii D* 77 (*A* 1) 29; *tmy* 'hell' *M* 110 ii R 7.¹

1169. (ii) *-w*.

(a) Neuter, from *-am*, v. § 349. B. *δtw* 'wild animal' *VJ* 313. 949. 968.

(b) Masc., v. § 1190.

(c) Fem., Man. *wδw* 'wife', v. § 506.

1170. (iii) *-j*, Fem., from *-ā*. *xšp* 'night'; *δwył* 'daughter' *M* 760, 7; *wjp* 'terror', § 510; *wn* 'tree' *M* 904 i 13.

1171. (2) Accusative.

(i) *-w*.

(a) Masc. (with * possibly Neuter or Fem., since no Nom. occurs), from *-am*, § 349. S. *'zr'wšcw* 'Zarathuštra' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 26; *βznww* (*) 'shame'; *cšmw* 'eye' *BBB* 657; *cxrw* 'wheel' *M* 178 ii V 32; *δβrw* 'door' ib. R 30; *δstww* 'hand' *M* 370, 5; S. *γznw*

1168¹ *tm-* is treated as a Feminine below, § 1181; uncertainty of gender, being an old Neuter (H.). Vacillation (Masculine:Neuter) is shown by *wrn-* 'faith' (Nom. *-ww* *M* 133, 59, but *-yy* *M* 14 V 1, *-y* *M* 664, 15), from Av. *varəna-*, Masc. The gender of the word for 'blood', too, is not settled: Nom. Chr. *ywnzy* i 81, 14, B. *γwrnw* *VJ* 278. 783, Acc. *zwrnyy* Man. *Lett.* i 21. 29. ii 13, *γwny* *BBB* f 59, Man. *ww yzwrnw* *T ii D* 139 i 8, B. *ZKwł wγrnwł* P 2, 476. It is possible that the ending *-y*, here, represents *-i*, *-im*, of the stem Av. *voḥunt-*, Fem., while the forms with *-w* go back to a Neuter Av. *voḥuna-* (in compounds; cf. Man. *ywzn* 'pšyyk' 'blood-spilling' *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 18).

'treasure' *T ii D 4*; *mδw* 'wine' *M 130 i R 1*; *S. srw* 'head'; *wyšw* 'joy' *M 178 i R 7*; *wqrw* (*) 'kind, species' *M 778, 12*; &c.

1172. (b) Neuter. *δtw* 'wild animal' *BBB 512*.

1173. (c) Fem. (cf. § 350). *wnw* 'tree' *BBB a 7*.

1174. (ii) -y, Masc. *cxyy* 'wheel' *M 178 ii V 16*; *mryyy* 'bird' *T ii D 79 c 4*; *ptryyh* 'father' *M 143, 4*; *smwtryy* 'ocean' *M 137 R 3*; *wyšyy* 'joy' *JRAS, 1944, 140 fn. 2*; *xwštryyh* 'camel' § 517; &c.

1175. (iii) -, Fem. B. 'βyz' 'evil' *VJ 318. 1328* (but 'βyzy *VJ 311*); Chr. *dxšt* 'plain, desert'; Man. *rwr* 'medicine'; *wfr* 'snow' (for its being Fem., cf. H., *BBB pp. 57. 72 bottom, Morgenstierne, IIFL ii 262*, and *S. wβrh P 13, 22*); B. *wnh* 'tree' *Frg ii^a 23*.

1176. (3) Vocative. -. Man. βy' 'god'.

1177. (4) Genitive-Dative.

(i) -y. Masc., from -ahya. 'spyy' 'horse' *JRAS, 1944, 143, 19*; βyyy 'god'; γryy 'mountain' *Kaw. G 22*; *jwxšqyy* 'disciple' *M 655, 11*; *mryyy* 'bird' *T ii D 79 c 5*; *tmyh* 'hell' *M 372, 3*; *xwštryy* 'camel', § 517; &c.

1178. (ii) -y', Fem. 'βjy' 'evil' *M 107 ii 23* (not certain); Man. *cyny* 'silk' *BBB 527*; B. *wδwyh* 'wife' § 506; B. *wnyh* 'tree' *Frg ii^a 11. 12*.

1179. (5) Ablative.

(i) -'.

(i) Masc. (from -āt, cf. § 280). βy' 'god';¹ *but'h* 'Buddha' *M 370, 12*; cf. *DN 68*; *δβr'h* 'door' *T ii D 117, 21*; *δst* 'hand' *M 672 ii 13*; *myš'h* 'sun' *T ii D 66, 2, 4*; *p'tr* 'father' *T ii D 79, 1, 11*; *t'm* 'hell' *M 135 ii 7*; &c.

1180. (b) Fem. B. 'βyz' 'evil' *VJ 102. 40^b. 60^b. SCE 548*; B. *δyšt* 'plain, desert' *VJ 315*.

1181. (ii) -y', Fem. Chr. *byžy* 'evil' *ii 5, 21*; *tmy* 'hell' *M 118 i V 2, 1*; *tmyh* *M 549 i 22*, cf. § 1168 fn.; B. *wδyh* 'wife', § 506; *wjppy'h* 'terror', § 510; *wny* 'tree' *M 904 i 3. 4. 6*.

1182. (6) Predicative Instrumental, -' from -ā. With light stems noticed, so far, only in B. (leaving aside the Past Participle in the Potentialis construction, § 881 fn. 1); for adjectives v. § 1201; for heavy stems v. § 1223.

It is used for the nominal predicate in sentences like 'to become a ...', 'to be born as a ...', &c., cf. the identical use of the Russian¹

1179¹ Exceptional negligence *cn fryšt y βyy M 135 ii 34* with Gen.-Dat. ending; cf. also § 1200.

1181¹ v. § 1681.

1182¹ [and Ossetic, cf. Bailey, *Trans. Phil. Soc. 1946, 204 sq.*]

Instrumental. Examples from the *SCE*:² 'sp' 'horse' 371, *γr* 'donkey' ib. and 161, 'mry' 'bird' 179, *mry*' 155, *kp*' 'fish' 156. 353, *kyrm*' 'snake' 145, *wyrk*' 'wolf' 137.

1183. (7) Locative, -y'. Masc. and Fem. 'xšpy' 'night' (Fem.) *M* 147. *M* 148 passim; *βny*' 'temple'; *δbry*' 'entrance' *Man. Lett.* i 29; *δsty*'h 'hand'; Chr. *dxšty*, B. *δγštyh* (Fem.) 'plain, desert' i 32, 16. 58, 10. *VJ* 800; *pšny*'h 'town' *BBB* 698; *sry*' 'head' *M* 802, 11; *smwtry*' and *swmtry*' 'ocean', v. §§ 505. 512; *tmy*' 'hell' *M* 118 i V 3; *wfry*' 'snow' (Fem., cf. § 1175) *BBB* 496; *ywy*' *'barley' (H.) *M* 746 c 13; &c.

B. Plural

1184. (1) Nominative-Accusative.

(a) -t', cf. § 1069. Chr. B. *cšmt*' 'eyes'; *δbrt*' 'gates', passim; *δst*' 'hands', from **δast-tā*;¹ *tmt*' 'hells' *M* 128 V 7; Chr. *pštr*' 'fathers'; B. *ykšt*' 'yakšas', v. § 511; &c.

Fem. *wnd*' 'trees' *M* 178 i R 30.

1185. (b) -, from -ā. B. 'stk' 'bones' *SCE* 83. 271; S. *βγ*' 'gods' *Anc. Lett.* iii 23; B. *cšm*' 'eyes' *SCE* 253. 508; *δbr*' 'gates', § 1676.

1186. (c) -yšt. Masc., Fem., and Neuter, but only of animate beings.¹ Connected by Gauthiot, *MSSL* xx 75, with Wakhi -išt, cf. *IIFL* ii 487. For the sake of convenience, the examples where -yšt acts for the Oblique, and those where the Oblique ending -y is added, are included in the following list. *Man.* 'qwtyšt' 'dogs' *T ii D* 62, 22, 'yštyy Obl. ib. 19; *βγyšt*(t), Obl. *βγyštyy*, 'gods'; *δδtyšt*' 'wild animals' *T ii T* 22 R 10; B. *γδyšt*' 'thieves' *SCE* 312; *kpyšt*' 'fishes' Nom. *M* 127 R 9, 'yštyy Acc. ib. 13;² Chr. *qrmyšt*' 'snakes' i 6, 9; *Man.* *kwyšt*[' 'giants' *Kaw.* G 12; *mryyšt* *BBB* 511, &c., *mryyštyy* Obl. *T ii D* 62, 18, B. *mry*'yšt Nom.-Acc. and Obl. *SCE* 105. 262, 'birds'; S. *pwtyšt*' 'prophets' *T M* 389 a V 23, 'Buddhas'

1182² Although some of the light-stem -y endings of the *SCE* (so far unaccounted for) can be recognized as Predicative Instrumentals, there still remain a few which presumably merely display misuse of -y (-h) by wrong extension from the cases to which it belongs. Cf. e.g. 'pš' 'sheep', *špšh* 'louse', 'ββh' 'flea', *mwyšk*' 'fly' Gen., 364 sq.; *kp*' 'fish' Acc., 240 (but *kpw* 85); *wyr*' 'husband' Nom., 174.

1184¹ Or belonging to § 1185; thus Tedesco, loc. cit. 153.

1186¹ Chr. *qwpwdy*[š]t' 'pigeons' i 6, 9, is, of course, the ordinary Plural of *qwpwtyc* i 61, 13, B. *kp'wtych* *SCE* 163. 175. 351. Similarly *w(r)γ(y)y(š)[ty* 'crows' *M* 399, 8, identified by H., presupposes a Singular **wrγyc*. The Singular of Chr. *bzyšt* may have been *bz-* or *bzyc*, v. Tedesco, loc. cit. 152 sq. Otherwise Tedesco was wrong in contesting Bartholomae's assertion of a Plural suffix -yšt for animals.

1186² From this Plural, a freak Singular *kpyš* was made *ibid.* 9, but the same text also has *kpyy*.

VJ 104. &c., Obl. Man. *pwtyšty* BBB d 1; S. *wðyšth* 'wives' § 506; Chr. *wyrqyšty* 'wolves' Obl., i 6, 8; Man. *ykšyšt* 'yakšas' § 511.

1187. (d) B. -y', -yh, in *'spyh* 'horses', *'γwštryh* 'camels', v. Tedesco, loc. cit. 153, cf. also *'spy* VJ 164, *γh* *'spyh* Nom. Vim 64, perhaps *'kwyh* 'dogs' SCE 226.

(e) On the Plural of *ðwyt-* 'daughter' v. § 1231.

1188. (2) Oblique.

(a) -ty'. *ðbrty'h* 'doors' BBB 648; *ðsty'h* 'hands' M 133, 32; *γty* 'mountains' Kaw. G 21, &c.; *juwšqty'h* 'disciples' T ii D 62, 17; B. *ykšty* 'yakšas' § 511.

Fem.: *undy* 'trees' T ii B R 4.

(b) -yšt(yy), v. § 1186.

1189. (c) -'n, from *-ānām*, Gen. Cf. also §§ 1207. 1230. 1261. *βγ'n*, in formulae like *βγ'n βxłm* 'devātideva', v. § 1295, *βγ'n xšyyδ* 'lord of the gods' T ii D 66 c 9 sq., *βγ'n 'nywm* 'king-like' (H.) used in addressing ecclesiastics, T ii D 207, 23. T ii T 31 (on *βγ'n* (°y, °w) in the *Anc. Lett.* cf. H., ZDMG 90, 198); B. *γr'n γwł'w* 'king of the mountains' P 6, 47.

Fem. B. *'rur'n mwck* 'pkyn'y rð'y'p'k γwł'w 'Bhaiṣajya-guru-vaidūrya-prabha-rāja' P 6, 2 and passim.

C. Old u- stems

1190. Old u- stems that have not adopted the -a- stem inflexion, remain uninflected: *šmnw* 'Ahriman'; *rtw* '10 seconds'; *xłw* 'judge' Nom. M 135 i 34 (B. *'γł'w* SCE 374), Acc. ib. 4. 16, cf. the abstract *xły'k* § 1110.

On the inflexion of the -ū- stem OIr. *wadū-*; v. § 506 fn.

(Light-stem) Adjectives

A. Singular

1191. (1) Nominative.

(a) -y, Masc. B. *'ks'y*, *ks'y*, 'thin' VJ 39^a. 544; S. *'ny* 'other' T M 393 ii R 21. *Anc. Lett.* ii 35; B. *ðbty* 'second', *pry* 'dear', v. Tedesco, loc. cit. 105 adn. d; B. *mryy* 'straight' SCE 65; B. *murzky* 'short' § 522; Man. Chr. *rwšny(y)* 'luminous' M 14 V 6. ST ii 2, 11; Chr. *γrty* 'wide' § 518.

1192. (b) -w, Neuter. *'sptw* 'complete' M 776, 12; *šyrw* 'good things' M 617 i 4; B. *'nyw* 'other' VJ 948.

1193. (c) -, Fem., cf. Tedesco, loc. cit. 148. B. *murzk* 'short' § 522; B. *purh* 'full' VJ 877; *rwšn* 'luminous' M 178 i R 19; B. *šyr* 'good' VJ 1054; B. *wyš* 'joyful' VJ 1238. 1403; *xwc* βw[šδ 'nice smell' M 521 b 31 (but Chr. *xwcy bud* ii 3, 66). [v. Add.]

1194. (2) Accusative.

(i) -w.

(a) Masc. B. 'βyzw 'bad' *SCE* 272; Man. Chr. B. (ʔ)nyw 'other';¹ 'spurnw 'complete' *BBB* f 53 (possibly Neuter); B. γwcu 'nice' *VJ* 61. 1294. 1440; B. mryw 'straight' *VJ* 1497; Man. šyrw *BBB* f 88. *T i D* (*Par.* 27), B. šyr'w *SCE* 189. 346, 'good'; Chr. wyspw 'all' *i* 47, 2.

1195. (b) Neuter. B. kβnw 'little' *VJ* 958; šyrw 'good' *M* 178 *i* R 27; wyspww 'all' *BBB* 482.

1196. (c) Fem. (cf. § 350). Chr. (ʔn)yyw 'other' *i* 8, 7 (v. § 1194 fn.); wyspw 'rk 'every work' *M* 135 *i* 24 sq. (quoted § 695; possibly Nom.; another copy, in Sogdian writing, *T M* 418 R 7, has wyspḥ 'rkḥ). 27.

1197. (ii) -y, Masc. mrzyy kun- 'to straighten' *M* 118 *i* R 12 sq.; rwxšnyy 'luminous' *M* 672 *ii* 14; Man. šyryy 'good' *Kaw.* V 5, Chr. šyry *i* 12, 5. 38, 5 (but cf. § 1210); šxy(y) 'hard' *Kaw.* G 36; xwcy 'nice' *M* 117, 14 = *M* 765 k 12.

1198. (3) Genitive-Dative, -y. B. 'ny 'other' (cf. § 1199 fn.) *SCE* 39. *ST ii* 7, 27; šyry 'good' *BBB* 627 (Fem.).

1199. (4) Ablative.

(a) -ʔ. B. 'ny¹ 'other' *SCE* 4. *Frg iii* 47; δβty 'second, other', v. § 1336; kβn', in kβn' kβnw 'little by little' *M* 134 *ii* R 12 sq.; rwxšn' (Fem.) *T ii D* 66, 2, 11.

1200. (b) -y (cf. § 1179 fn.). rwxšnyy (Masc.) *BBB* f 80.

1201. (5) Predicative Instrumental, cf. § 1182. B. 'ks' 'thin' *SCE* 76; B. wyš' 'joyful' *VJ* 41. 945.

1202. (6) Locative, -y'. Man. Chr. wyspy' 'every' *M* 178 *ii* V 5. *ST ii*.

1203. (7) Vocative, -ʔ. rwxšn' *BBB* b, passim; fry' 'dear' *ib.*, fryḥ *M* 674, 14, B. pryḥ *VJ* 309 (but pry *ib.* 24*).

B. Plural

1204. (1) Nominative-Accusative.

(a) -t'. B. 'ksth 'thin' *VJ* 1264 (v. *JRAS*, 1942, 100); Man. 'xšnkt', S. 'γšnkt', 'splendid', v. § 511; γsnd' 'smelling', v. § 516; nmrt' 'meek, soft', § 512; rwxšnd'ḥ 'luminous' *M* 178 *i* R 5; šxt'ḥ 'hard' *Sogd.* 17, 21.

1194¹ (ʔ)nyw is used for the Nom. Masc. Sg. in *ST i* 47, 12. *VJ* 957. 1011. *Frg iii* 47, for the Acc. Pl. in *M* 135 *i* 47.

1199¹ B. 'ny' is used for the Genitive in *SCE* 129. 274, for the Dative in *VJ* 1011.

1205. (b) -'. B. 'ny' 'other' *ST ii* 10, 31 (on the normal Plural of 'ny- (and of *fry-*), v. § 494); Man. *cn* 'thirsty' (?), v. § 386; *mrx* *r'γł* 'flat plains' *M 715 c* 8; B. *wyš* 'happy' *VJ 4* a.

1206. (2) Ablative, -t'. *cn ii rwxšnd* [*BBB f* 46, [*cn*] *rwxšndt* *wrındty T ii D 66 c* 14, 'luminous chariots'. Cf. also Chr. *qštrt*, § 1300.

1207. (3) Old Genitive in -ān, cf. §§ 1189. 1230. 1261. *fry'n frytr M 172 R* 3, S. *pry'n(h) prytm(h) T ii T* 10 sq. *VJ 251 sq.* 300. 1149, 'dearest of the dear', cf. § 1297.

No other forms have been noticed for the Oblique.

C. Remarks on some light-stem adjectives

1208. (1) *šyr-* 'good'. The following forms should be distinguished:

(a) The light-stem inflexion given above, to which the adverbial use of B. *šyr'w VJ 302*,¹ and the abstract *šyr'k*, v. § 198, belong.

1209. (b) *šyr* without ending, not to be confused with the adverb *šyr* 'very'. Frequent in B. as a Neuter, cf. *VJ 11* a. 28^b (not clear). 878. *SCE 20. 554. Dhu 43. 56.*

1210. (c) With *-*aka-* suffix. *šyryyh M 143, 30*, Chr. *šyry ii* 6, 20, Acc. Neuter; Man. Chr. *šyryt M 915, 11. ST i* 63, 12. Here possibly also the Acc. Sg. Masc., above, § 1197.

(d) With suffix -*ak*, v. § 982.

(e) With suffix -*ik*, v. § 994.

1211. (2) *kβn-* 'little', also occurs without ending, both as an adjective (*BBB d* 7) and as an adverb (ib. c 16). On *kβnk* v. § 982. The adverbial B. *kβny* (cf. Benv., *Notes iv* 515), possibly also Man. *qβnyy BBB d* 10, may represent an -*aka-* stem. The comparative is *kmbyy*, v. § 1302.

1212. (3) *wyš-* 'joyful'. The same light stem also serves as a substantive 'joy' (cf. § 517), and as a Present stem 'to rejoice' (*M 834 ii* 2. *M 617 ii* 28. *VJ 36. SCE 53*. Cf. also Chr. *γwš-*, B. 'γwš-, Man. **wγwš-*, § 213 fn. 1). The base is, acc. to H., *gaš-* (cf. Ghilain, 58, H., *BSOS x* 509).

1213. (4) The stem of *βyj-* 'bad' (cf. § 179) also occurs as a Fem. substantive 'evil', cf. §§ 1175. 1178. 1180 sq.

1214. (5) *wysp-* 'all' has partly a pronominal inflexion (cf. *JRAS, 1942, 98 sq.*,¹ to which add some of the following references. Cf. also § 1568):

¹²⁰⁸ *rtj šn šyr'w prm'y šryty* 'please look after them well' (wrong Gauthiot).

¹²¹⁴ I am not so sure, now, that the B. examples of *wyep* without ending,

Abl. Chr. wyspn'.

Gen.-Dat. Man. S. wyspny² M 137 R 13 (unclear passage). *T ii D 93 e R 3* (Sogd. script). *VJ 396 SCE. Locative: P 3, 94.* B51

Pl. Nom. Man. B. wyspy Kaw. K 3. SCE 490. 543. Padm 1. 9. 38.

Pl. Obl. B. wyspyšnw.

However, in Man. and Chr., *wyspw* is used not only in the Acc. Sg. (v. §§ 1194-6), but also in the Nom. Sg. Masc. (*BBB f 77. ST i 10, 11*), the Gen. Sg. (*M 172 R 4*), the Abl. Sg. (*M 107 ii 7*), the Nom. Pl. (*M 776, 9*), the Gen. Pl. (*M 118 i V 9*), the Abl. Pl. (*M 178 ii V 25* (quoted § 1657). *T ii D 66 d ii 3*).³ Cf. the extended use of (')*nyw* § 1194 fn., B. 'ny' § 1199 fn.

1215. (6) The stem (')sk- 'high, loud' (cf. the forms collected § 99), is used in the following way:

(a) The adverb Man. 'sk' *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 22, from Av. *uskūt* (v. Tedesco, *BSL*, 1925, 151), is loosely employed as an adjective in Chr. (*sq'*) and B. (Nom., *SCE 71. 294*; Acc., *ST i 16, 6. ST ii 4, 13. VJ 15. 95*). Its comparative and superlative are the adverbs 'sk'tr (§ 1285) and *'sk'tm, adjectivized respectively by the addition of -yk (v. § 1287) and -cyk (v. § 1296).¹ On its Elative v. § 1315.

1216. (b) The *-aka- stem Man. B. 'sky(y) is used as an adjective in *Kaw. K 8* (Abl.). *T ii D 116, 14* (case not clear), and more or less adverbially in *VJ 861. SCE 166*, and in the expressions Man. *pr 'skyy, (pr) 'skyy s'r*, 'upwards', passim. From it the adjective (')*skycyq* was derived, v. § 1017.¹

HEAVY STEMS

1217. Their normal inflexion consists of the Plural ending -t (cf. § 1069), and the ending -y (cf. § 1167) which can, but need not, be added to the Singular or Plural in the Oblique and the Accusative.

In the few Vocatives attested, the ending -' seems to be the rule. Of two other examples with -', one may be interpreted as a Predicative Instrumental (§ 1223), the other as an Ablative (§ 1224).

quoted there, are not as justified as šyr and kβn are. Cf. also *Anc. Lett.* iii 6 'βyz misfortune'.

1214² Used for the Nom. Pl. in *VJ 112. 128* (?).

1214³ Hence the Oblique B. *wyspwy Vim 124*, as if the stem were *wyspw-*.

1215⁴ In the passage there quoted, however, B. 'sk'tmcyk is also possibly an adverb.

1216⁵ Cf. also the place-name اسكيفن 'the high temple' (H.), Barthold, *Turkestan*, 135 sq.

The endings *y* and *-ʾ* have been borrowed from the light-stem inflexion.¹

There is no difference between Masculines and Feminines in Man. and Chr., but in Sogdian writing Feminines are usually marked by a final *-h* (*ʾyh*, *ʾth*, *ʾtyh*).

Heavy-stem adjectives showing no ending in the Plural, can be considered as virtually having the old Plural ending *-ā*.

Substantives

1218. (i) Singular.

(1) **Nominative-Accusative.** *mrtyy* 'man'; *rwzšn'γrdmn* 'paradise' (Fem.) *M* 178 *i* V 3. 8; *sm'n* 'sky' *M* 134 *i* V 10. *M* 674, 28. *M* 178 *ii* V 13; *wrtñ* 'chariot' *T* *ii* D 66 *d* *ii* 6; *z'ur* 'strength' *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 5; *z'yy* 'earth' Fem.; &c.

1219. (2) **Accusative in -y.** *δ'myy* 'creation' (Fem.) *BBB* b 83; *γδwkyy* 'throne' *M* 358, 2; *sm'nyy* 'sky' *M* 178 *ii* R 16. 19. 21.

1220. (3) **Oblique without ending.** *w'crn* 'street' *M* 135 *i* 19 (*w'rcn'y* in another copy of this text, in Sogdian writing, *T* *M* 418 R 3); *w'xš* 'word' *Man. Lett.* *ii* 17; *z'δmurδw* 'saṃsāra', quoted § 138 fn.

1221. (4) **Oblique in -yy.** *'njmnyy* 'assembly', *'unglywmy* 'Evangelium', *δynyy* 'religion', *BBB*; *rwzšn'γrdmn'y* 'paradise' (Fem.) *M* 178 *i* R 11; *rwzšny'kyy* 'light' *M* 674, 22; *sm'nyyh* 'sky' *M* 178 *ii* V 11; *wrtñyy* 'chariot' *M* 129 V 6; *z'wryy* 'strength' *M* 134 *ii* R 9; &c.

1222. (5) **Vocative.** *mrt'y* 'man' *T* *ii* D 117, 26; B. *pr'mn'* 'Brahmin' *VJ* 34^a. 66^a; *fry' rw'n* 'dear soul' *BBB* b 97 (but *fry' rw'n* *ib.* 66. 81; *fry' br't* 'dear brother' *BBB* f 3); Chr. *ryncq* 'child' *i* 31, 6; Chr. *xypθ'wn't* *i* 37, 21. 47, 4, *xwdw*, B. *γwt'w*, *ST* *ii*, 'lord'; B. *γwyštr* 'chief' *DN* 74.

1223. (6) **Predicative Instrumental** (cf. § 1182). *'ynyy βγy'k δyn'βr* . . . *pcytd'rm* 'as an electus I have received this divinity' *BBB* b 43 sqq.

1224. (7) **Ablative (?)**. *δβ'm]bn' nβnd* *M* 712, 8 (restoration certain) 'with his wife'.

1225. (ii) Plural.

(1) **Nominative-Accusative, -t.** *'wt'kt* 'places' *M* 178 *i* V 32; *δyn'βrt* 'electi' *Man. Lett.* *i* 6; *srδngt* 'chiefs' *Man. Lett.* *ii* 16; *wrtñd* 'chariots' *M* 129 V 4; &c.

1217¹ The light-stem ending *-yšt* (§ 1186) has been erroneously applied to a heavy stem in B., v. § 1230 a.

1226. (2) Accusative in -ty. *nγwš'ktty* 'auditores' *M* 894 i 10.

1227. (3) Oblique in -t. *tmb'rṭ* 'bodies' *M* 810, 12; B. *pr''m'nt* 'Brahmins' *VJ* 202; S. *sm'nt* 'skies' *ST* i 86, 11.

1228. (4) Oblique in -ty. *'ptyy* 'waters' (Fem.) *BBB* 495; *srδngty* 'chiefs', § 1669; &c. Cf. also *-yštty* § 1186.

1229. (5) Vocative. Chr. *xwṭ'wṭy* 'my lords' *ii* 4, 42; B. *pr''mnty* 'oh Brahmins!' *VJ* 151. 8^b.

1230. (6) Old Genitive in -ān, cf. §§ 1189. 1207. 1261. B. *βyc'n* *γwṭ'w* *P* 9, 77 sq. 92. 95 'a Harley-Street man' (H.); Man. *δyn'n* *'xšyδ* 'Lord of religions (Jesus)' *T ii D* 66, 2, 10; *δyw'n* *'sp[δ* 'army of demons' *M* 500 m i R 6; B. *γ'wzn'n* *γwṭ'w* 'king of gazelles' *Dhy* 36; B. *pyδ'n* (^{oh}, ^{ow}) *γwṭ'w* 'king of elephants' *VJ* 68. 170. 175. 227. 422; S. *swyδyk'nw* 'Sogdians' *Anc. Lett.* (cf. H., *ZDMG* 90, 198).

1230 a. (7) -yšt, erroneously extended from the light-stem inflexion (cf. § 1186), in B. *γw'r'yšth* 'sisters', *Nom. P* 2, 927.

1231. (8) Plural of *βr't* 'brother' and *δwyt-* (light stem) 'daughter' (cf. § 944): *βr'trt* *Nom. M* 617 *ii* 25; *βr'trty* *BBB* f 41, *βr'trtyy* *M* 778, 2, *Obl.*; S. *δwyrth*, *δγwtrt*, *Obl. δwyrty*, *T ii D* *passim*.

(Heavy-stem) Adjectives

A. Singular

1232. (1) Nominative.

(a) Masc. *'yjn* 'worthy' *BBB* f 78; *škwrd* 'difficult' *ib.* 5; &c.

1233. (b) Fem. *xns* *δyz* 'a strong fortress' *BBB* p. 104 on f 57.

1234. (2) Accusative.

(a) Masc. *'yjn* 'worthy' *BBB* b 42; *pyrnmcyk* 'original' *BBB* 755; *mzyx* 'great, big' *BBB* *passim*; &c.

1235. (b) Fem. *m'ncyq* *šm'r* 'intentional thought' *T ii B* V 16 sq.

1236. (c) Ending -yy. *sγtm'nyy* *δβn* *ptyy'p* 'a doubt took every one' (H.) *Man. Lett.* i 27.

1237. (3) Oblique.

(a) No ending. *wny* *mzyx* *'xšywnyy* *zrw'βγγy* *pyrnms'r* 'in front of the great god Zurvān' *M* 178 i R 1 sq.; *wnyy* *γrβ'k* *'ty* *fryyrw'n* *'δyy* 'by any wise and soul-loving person' *M* 135 *ii* 44 sq.; *wy* *c'δrcyq* *sm'nyh* 'in the lower sky' *M* 178 *ii* V 28; S. *'yw* *cnn* *δβtyk* 'from each other' *T ii D* 2; &c.

1238. (b) Ending -y. No Man. or Chr. examples are at hand.

For S., cf. *'yw cnn δβtyky* 'from each other' *T ii D 77 (A I) 37*; *cnn tnp'rmncy š't'wyy'kh pyδ'r* 'because of the happiness of the body' *JRAS, 1944, 137, 3*; *cywyδ mnt* (39) *'zpr'ty r'βyh* 'from this impure disease' *T M 389 a R*; *'myn š'wy ZK š'w ptwry* 'the black reward for the black (action)' *ST ii 10, 7*.

1239. (c) Ablative Fem., -. Quite exceptionally, at the end of a line, in *cn [pt](r)yδδc''* (6) *wny' M 904 i*, 'from the mixed tree', Fem. from S. *ptrydy T ii D ii 169 (a) i V 4*, cf. § 965. The line preceding *ptryδδc''* has *cn t'rc w[ny](?)* 'from the dark tree'.

B. Plural

1240. The following examples include the Plural of *-aka- stem adjectives and participles, as well as of *fry-* 'dear' and *'ny-* 'other' (cf. § 493 sq.).

(1) Nominative.

(i) No ending (cf. § 1217).

(a) **Attributive.** *zβnd pc'w'kryy w'xštt* 'words causing the comrades to quarrel' *BBB 543 sq.*; *' wyn'ndyy mryyšt' tyh' qwtyšt* 'actual birds and dogs' *T ii D 62, 21 sq.*

1241. (b) **Predicative.** *kyy tyh . . . nwšyy 'skwnd* 'which are immortal' *M 178 i V 6*; *myδcyk jmnd' mzyx xnd ty' xšpyk jmnd' rynck* 'the hours of the day are long and the hours of the night short' *M 136 V 4 sqq.*; *'ty jmnd' ryst'r ty msy'tr βndskwn* 'the hours become shorter and longer' *M 14 R 6 sq.*; *frnxwndyy šm'x kyy tyšy (p)'rynyy ty yβ'ryny wm[?](s)δ* 'oh happy you who have been nourishing and *taking care of him!' *M 617 i 23 sq.*

1242. (ii) -t.

(a) **Attributive.** *wcytyt 'rt'wtt ty wrnkyynd nywš'kt* 'chosen electi and believing auditores' *BBB f 81*; *δydyμβrt' 'jwnd* 'crowned sons' *M 133, 93*; Chr. *γrft' dyt* 'many people' *i 29, 8*; S. *'nytt γw'krytt* 'other merchants' *T ii D 77 (A I) 19*; &c.

1243. (b) **Predicative.** *βnd š'twxt* 'they will be happy' *BBB f 84*; *t'wndyt xnd* 'are powerful' *M 178 i V 25*; *prš'tyt qršn'wt ty pystyt xnd* 'are decorated, beautiful, and adorned' *ib. 26 sq.*; *nyz'wrs(tr)l tyh prγrt'ym* 'we are weaker and wearier (cf. § 1285)' *M 635 i 3 sq.*; *š'nwxt zprt ptynd'rmykt xnd* 'are happy, pure, and pleasant' *M 617 ii 9 sq.*; *š't wysprtnynytt xnd* 'are covered with all kinds of jewels', v. H., *BSOS viii 584*; *βwδ'ndyt wβym* '(if only) we were nice-smelling' *T ii D 139 i 13*.

1244. (2) Accusative.

(i) No ending.

(a) **Attributive.** *šmnwq'ny nyzβ'nył*, v. § 1245; S. *pr mywn βr'wm'y'n 'wł'kt ZY knđt* 'in all Byzantine provinces and towns' *T M 389 a R 35*. [*βr'wm'y'n*, conceivably with Plur. ending (H.).]

1245. (b) **Predicative.** *šmnwq'ny nyzβ'nył . . . ptywstyy ny jytwδ'rm* 'I have not kept the devilish passions turned away' *BBB 639 sqq.*; *m'yδ c'nw 'tyfn xwty prwyrty š'twx 'ty šyrm'nyy* 'so that it may make you happy' *BBB f 60 sq.*

1246. (ii) -t.

(a) **Attributive.** *ptynył tmb'rt* 'fleshly bodies' *BBB 564*; *'ww rwđnył βyyšt* 'copper gods' *BSOS viii 584*; *'nyt . . . δβr* 'other doors', v. § 1676; Chr. *nył bntyty* 'other servants' *i 20, 3*; *βwyt'r-mykt rw'nd* 'patient souls' *M 378, 13*; S. *yrβt yw'wt ZY . . . p'mpwštth 'ty yw'yntth* 'many kings and queens' *T M 389 a V 35 sq.*; Chr. *yrftyšt* 'many things' *i 37, 4*; &c.

1247. (b) **Predicative.** *qr'nd kwn* 'make them clean' *M 178 ii R 1*.

1248. (3) Oblique.

(a) **No ending.** *'skwncyk xwyšttry* 'the present superiors' *Man. Lett. ii 11*; *iv mzyx yrty* 'four big mountains' *Kaw. G 21*; *c'wn tmyg yrty* 'from the hellish mountains' *M 118 i R 17 sq.*

1249. (b) -t. *'skwncykt xwyšttry* 'the present superiors' *Man. Lett. ii 10*; *cn w'ndt tmykt dywtty* 'from those hellish demons' *M 178 ii V 17*; *wnyy ptynyyt tmb'rtty* 'flesh-bodies' *M 140 V 5*; *p'wndyy mzyxt yrty'h*, v. § 1641; *nyjynyt βyyštty* 'emanated gods' *M 118 i V 9*; &c.

1250. (c) -ty (rare). S. *rm yypđty* [sic] *mr''zt* 'with his assistants' *T M 389 a R 23*; substantivized, *zprttyy 'nwł 'ty zyrttyy ''p'y* 'protection for the pure ones, meditation for the wise' *M 172 R 5*.

1251. (4) **Vocative.** Chr. *fryt br'trtty* 'dear brethren' *ii 6, 18*; S. *pryty* 'dear ones' *T ii D 77 (A I) 34*.

*-aka- Stems

1252. Normally the Singular has *-yy* throughout, except for *-y* in the Vocative, and occasionally in the Ablative. The Plural has *-yt(y)*. B. texts sometimes have an Oblique ending *-yy*, and Plurals in *-t* and *-n*. On the *-aka-* stem Plural of Singulars without suffix, v. § 970; on the Oblique in *-kyy* and the Plural in *-kt*, v. §§ 986 sq.

1253. (i) Singular (apart from the ordinary *-yy*).

(1) Vocative. Man. *xšywn* 'lord' *M* 410, 5. *M* 891, 7, Chr. *xšywn* *ii* 5, 5; Man. *nfryt* 'accursed' *T* i *D*; Chr. *y šyrqt bnt* 'oh good servant' i 47, 6; Chr. B. *z'p* 'son' *ii* 5, 1. 3. *VJ* 24^a (but *z't* *VJ* 1095).

1254. (2) B. Oblique in *-yy*. *ptrβ'y* 'stick' *DN* 11 (*ptrβ'k* ib. 72); *nđm'y* 'limb' *DN* 28; perhaps *wš'y kyr'n* 'East' *Dhy* 113, which, however, could also be the Oblique of an **-ākā-* stem (cf. § 1266). Cf. also § 905 fn.

1255. (3) Ablative in *-y*. *cn* *''δ'h*, v. § 1562; *spyn'w* 'sin', v. § 1082; B. *δrzm* 'anger' *SCE* 326, cf. § 1097.

1256. (ii) Plural.

(1) Nominative-Accusative.

(a) *-yt*. *mrtxmyt* 'men', *cytyt* 'ghosts', &c., *-yty* i *TM* 393

1257. (b) B. *-t* = *-ët* (H.). *mrtym'tt* *SCE* 526. 531; *'sp's'tt* 'servants' *Dhy* 90.

1258. (2) Oblique. *mrtxmytyy*, *cytytyy*, &c.

1259. (3) Vocative.

(a) *-yty*. Chr. *nfrytyty* 'accursed ones' i 26, 6; B. *z'tyty* 'children' *VJ* 1103.

1260. (b) B. *-tty* (possibly Voc. Sg.+Pl. ending). *z'tty* 'children' *VJ* 1098. 1106; *šyr'nk'r'tty* 'pious ones' *Dhu* 81.

1261. (4) Old Genitive in *-ān* (cf. §§ 1189. 1207. 1230). B. *mrtym'n yw'w* 'king of men' *VJ* 1048 (cf. § 969, end).

**-ākā-* Stems, and heavy stems in *-y* of different origin

(cf. § 971)

1262. Nom. and Abl. *-y*, other Oblique cases *-y*, Acc. *-y* or *-y* (rare), Pl. *-yt* or *-t* (rare). The Oblique of *-y* stems (v. § 1111), usually not expressed, can be marked by the addition of the ordinary Oblique ending *-y* to the final *-y*, when its omission would lead to syntactical confusion. This procedure is also sporadically used with the *-y* nouns described in § 948, and with other nouns in *-y*.

1263. (i) Singular.

(1) Nominative-Accusative. All the examples quoted § 973.

(2) Accusative in *-y*. *x[']nyy* *M* 110 *ii* V 7, Chr. *x'ny* i 31, 16, 'house'.

1264. (3) Ablative. *q'γδ* 'paper' *BBB* p. 65 on 527; *jn* 'knowledge' *M* 133, 57; *šm'r* 'thought' *M* 133, 82; *γrδ* 'neck' *T* *ii* *D* 62, 7.

1265. (4) Oblique.

(a) -y. Man. (ʼ)ms(y)y 'obedience' *T ii D 66, 1, 26*; Chr. x'ny 'house' *i 36, 16*; Chr. p'tq'ry 'appearance, face' *i 31, 8*; Chr. qwcy 'mouth' *i 48, 18*; B. δ'm'y 'net' *P2, 273*.

1266. (b) -ʼ+-y. βwrt'rmky'y 'patience', γrβ'ky'y 'wisdom', *BBB 636 sq.*; S. p'tk'r'y 'appearance' *T ii D 93 h V 6*; Chr. wr' 'y' 'profit' *i 49, 2*; Man. šyry 'k'ty'y *BBB 627*, S. šyr'krty'y *T M 389 a V 12*, 'good deed, merit' (Nom. šyr'k(r)ty').

1267. (c) The Gen. q'γδy' 'paper' in *BBB 527*, may have been prompted by the preceding c'ny'.

1268. (ii) Plural.

(1) -yt. δndyt 'teeth' *M 142 V 5*, B. δn'yt *VJ 546*; Chr. x'ny't 'houses' *i 42, 6. ii 3, 27*; S. β'z[']yt 'arms' *T M 389 a R 14*; B. p'štyt *Frg iii 51. 56* (Sg. Man. p'št', § 973), meaning not clear [cf. H., *BSOAS xi 728*].

1269. (2) -ʼt-. 'ms'tyy p'tšystyy 'bound in obedience(s)' *M 116 R 8*; B. pr't' (with wrong -ʼ) 'banners' *Dhy 98* (Nom. Sg. pr'ʼ, cf. *Benv., Notes ii 224*).

1270. Conspectus.

A. Light-stem substantives and adjectives

		Masc.	Fem.		Neuter
			Subst.	Adj.	
Singular	Nom.	-y 1168. 1191	-ʼ 1170. 1193		-w 1169. 1192
	Acc.	-w 1171. 1194	-w 1169		-w 1172. 1195
	Voc.	-y 1174. 1197	-ʼ 1175		
	Gen. Dat.	-ʼ 1176. 1203			
	Abl.	-y 1177. 1198	-y' 1178	-y 1198	
	P.I.	-ʼ 1179. 1199	-ʼ 1180. 1199		
	Loc.	-y 1179 fn. 1200	-y' 1181		
		-y' 1183. 1202			
		Substantives		Adjectives	
Plural	Nom.-Acc.		-t' 1184. 1204		
		-yšt 1186 -y'šty B. -y' 1187	-ʼ 1185. 1205		
	Obl.	-ty' 1188		-t' (Abl.) 1206	
			-ʼn 1189. 1207		

B. *The other stems*

		<i>Heavy</i>	<i>-aka-</i>	<i>-ākā-</i>
<i>Singular</i>	Nom.-Acc.	- 1218. 1232-5	-y 960	▷ 973
	Acc.	-y 1219. 1236	-y 960	-y 1263
	Voc.	▷ 1222	▷ 1253	
	General Obl.	- 1220. 1237	-y 960	-y 1265
	Abl.	-y 1221. 1238	B. -y 1254	▷y 1266
	P.I.	▷ (Fem.) 1224. 1239 ▷ 1223	▷ 1255	▷ 1264
<i>Plural</i>	Nom.-Acc.	-(Adj.) 1240 sq. 1244 sq. -t 1225. 1242 sq. 1246 sq. (B. -yšt 1230 a)	-yt 1256 B. -yt 1257	-yt 1268 -t- 1269
	Acc.	-ty 1226		
	Voc.	-t(y) 1229. 1251	-yty 1259 B. -tyy 1260	
	Obl.	-(Adj.) 1248 -t 1227. 1249 -ty 1228. 1250 -n 1230	-yt 1249 -yty 1258 -n 1261	-ty 1269

Feminine of *-aka- stem adjectives

(On *-aka- adjectives not changing in the Feminine, v. § 1643)

1271. The ending *-yy* of the Sg. Masc. is replaced by *-c* with light stems, *-c* with heavy stems, v. H., *BSOS* viii 586, *BBB* p. 56 fn. 1, and, on the origin of this ending, above, § 247 fn. 4.

A final *-t* of the stem need not be spelled before *c*. A final *-n* of the stem is sometimes dropped before *c*, cf. § 334.

1272. (i) *Light stems*. *ktc* 'done' *BBB* e 14, Masc. *ktyy*; *stftc* 'cruel', Masc. *stftyyh*, v. § 157; *prwsc* 'turned' *T i D* 51, Masc. *prwstyy*; *ptrysc* 'mixed' *M* 178 ii V 22, Masc. *ptrystyy*; *ptsyc* 'arranged' *M* 178 i V 7, B. *ptsytc*, Masc. *ptsytyy*; *šwkc nftc*[h] 'dry and moist' *BBB* 486, Masc. *šqwyy ty nftyy* *BBB* f 59.

1273. (ii) *Heavy stems*. *nyttc* 'whole, all' *M* 178 i V 2, S. *yc*, Chr. *yc*, cf. § 335; *wswyc* 'pure' *M* 178 i R 10, *wswztc* *M* 429, 2 (cf. § 56), Masc. *wswytyy*; Chr. *brync* 'having', v. § 891; *δrwkync* and [δr]wqyc 'vegetable', v. § 334, Masc. **δrwkynny*; *frnawndc* 'happy', Masc. *frnawndyy*; B. *γwδynch* 'faecal', v. § 1053; *-krc*, Fem. of *-kryy*, in *ryjqrc*, *NPr.*, *M* 1, 143, *wrcunkrc* 'miraculous' *M* 178 ii R 13, &c.; *mrnc* 'deadly', Masc. *mrncny*; *nktync* 'of silver' *M* 137 V 15, Masc. *nktynny*; *nwšc* 'immortal', Masc. *nwšyy*; *ptw^c* 'dry' *BBB* 491, Masc. *ptwtyy*; *prc* 'dark' v. § 967; *w[š]nc* 'old, worn out' *M* 521 a 2, Masc. *wšnyy*; *wyδwc ync* 'widow', § 931, Masc. **wyδwyy*;

Chr. *xšwnc* 'queen' *ii* 1, 16. 28, Masc. Chr. *xšwny* 'king' *ST ii*; *zrywnc* 'green', Masc. *zrywnyy*, v. § 1113; *zyrnync* 'golden' *M 137 V 14*, Masc. B. *zyrnyn'y*; &c. On *ptryδδc* v. § 1239. Cf. also the Feminines in *-nc* mentioned in §§ 1040. 1043-1048.

Special Feminine endings

1274. (1) The names of the months occurring in Sogdian texts appear to be Feminine adjectives referring to the substantive *m'x* 'month',¹ usually implied, while the forms quoted by al-Beruni are substantives² (v. H.'s comparative list in *Orientalia*, viii 94).

1275. Hence, the following can be recognized as Feminine adjective endings:

(a) *-c*, in *βγk'nc* No. 7, *''b'nc* No. 8.

(b) *-yc*, in *n'wsrδyc* No. 1, *nysnyc* No. 3, Uyghur *ps'kyc* No. 4, *šn'xntyc* No. 5, S. *mz'ygyntych* No. 6, S. *tymych* No. 10, Man. *jymtyc* No. 11, (°)*xšwmyc* No. 12.

(c) *-c* alternating with *-yc*, in [*xwrj*]ncm'x *Sogd.* 27, 20: *xwrjncyc* No. 2; *βwyc*: *βwycyc* No. 9; *myšβwyc*: *myšβwycyc* No. 10.

(d) *-nc*, in *xz'n'nc*, *γz'n'nc*, No. 6, possibly connected, acc. to H., with Pers. *xazān* 'autumn'.

While (d) should be the Feminine of a suffix **-ānaka-*, the other three are not clear. (c) representing *-ič*, may be considered an early form of the Feminine suffix *-č* < **-ikā-* for Masculines in **-aka-* (cf. § 247 fn. 4). (b) may be the same as (c), or else represent *-i/ēč* (cf. §§ 1276 sq.?). (a) could be the same as (c), or, perhaps more likely, as (d), by haplogly from **βγk'n'nc*, *''b'n'nc*.

1276. (2) *βγpwryc* 'divine virgin', Pl. *βγpwryšt* (§ 260), S. **pwryc* 'virgin', Fem. of *βγpw* and **pūr* or **pūre* respectively, v. *BBB* p. 73.

1274¹ While *m'x* 'moon' appears to be masculine (B. *ZK rγwšny m'γ Dhu* 268), there is no further clear evidence to indicate the gender of *m'x* 'month'. In Sogdian writing it sometimes has a final *-h*, but more often not. Examples noted are:

m'yh Dhu 229. 231. 269.

m'γyh Intox. Sūtra 35.

m'γ Dhu 231. 248^{bis}. 254. 255. 264^{bis}. *VJ* 38.

m'γγ Dhu 239.

m'γw Dhu 229 (*Anc. Lett. m'rw*).

OIr. *māh-* 'month' is masculine, but Khot. *māstā* 'month' is Feminine (*E* 25, 201), and so is Pašto *miyāst* (*Morgenstierne, EVP* 49).

1274² With the exception of *'b'nc* No. 8 = Man. *''b'nc*, and, perhaps, of *'šn'xnd'* No. 5, *mzyxnd'* No. 6, and *zymd'* No. 11, which may have a Feminine ending *-d*. Al-Beruni knew also the adjective forms in *-č*, cf. Salemann, *Izv.*, 1913, 1133 fn. 10.

1277. (3) *δyw'styyc(y) δ'myy*, Loc., § 1439, *δyw'styc δ'm M 664, 27*, 'demoniac creation, world of demons'. To be separated from the NPr. S. *δyw'styc*, cf. H., *Orientalia*, viii 88.

1278. (4) *w' mywn xwrmztyc δ'm*, Acc., 'the whole creation of *xwrmzty'* JRAS, 1944, 142, 4 sq.; not necessarily Fem. in *x[wr]mztyc kwtr* 'family, descendants of Kh.' M 358, 4.

1279. (5) Contamination of the normal Masculine and Feminine endings of the Pres. Partc. *-əne* and *-ənč*, has produced the Fem. Partc. Chr. *wyθrbnync (wiθarβənənč)* i 37, 4, from **wyθrb-* 'to worry'. Such a formation may have been encouraged by Feminines like *-kr'nc* from *-kryy*, § 1044.

Comparative and Superlative

1280. Apart from a few special old forms, the suffixes are: *-tr*, added to light and heavy stems, but not to *-aka-* stems.¹ Comparative and (rarely) superlative.

1281. *-str*, added to heavy stems (including **-aka-* stems) only (on Chr. *fry str* v. § 1297). Comparative and superlative. This suffix derives, acc. to H., from the OIr. comparative of adjectives in *-ah-*, cf. Av. *parō.arəjastara-* and others. For other Iranian languages cf. Khwār. *sn'dk-'str (snādakistar)* 'cleaner (more washed)' (H.), and Parth. *'sk'drystr T ii D 129*.

1282. *-'tr*, *-ātar*. Cf. MPers. *thm'tr BBB*, Parth. *qs'dr, ms'dr, Mir. Man. iii*. In Sogdian this suffix is only used after *y*, v. §§ 1291 sqq., which at least in three of the examples concerned is the *y* of the OIr. comparative suffix *-yah-*.

-tm. Superlative.

1283. The inflexional elements added to the comparative (superlative) in *-tr-* of light stems, are, as far as attested, *-y* for the Nom.-Acc. Singular (v. § 1284), and *-t'* for the Plural (v. § 1286). In the other comparatives and superlatives the only inflexional mark is the Plural ending *-t*.

A final *t* of the stem is not spelled before the *t* of the suffix, cf. § 81, 3.

1284. (1) *-tr*, comparative.

(a) Light stems. *ptsytryy* 'more adorned, better equipped' T ii K (So. 64), belonging to the Past Partc. *ptsytyy; rwxsndryy*

1280¹ On *msyδr* v. § 1298. **-aka-* Past Participles, when used as adjectives, often have a comparative made directly from the OIr. Past Participle, v. § 531 fn., and cf. e.g. *ptrstr* (§ 1285) with *skrtystyr* (§ 1288).

M 264 A 25, from *rwæšn-* 'luminous'; ¹*trytryh* 'more depressed' *Sogd.* 17, 20, belonging to the Past Partc. *trytyy* (cf. the abstract *trytyq*, § 1110); S. ²*trytry* 'swifter' *T M* 389 a R 2. 5, acc. to H. from a light-stem adjective **traχ-* < **taχra-* (*ñtak*); B. *yrytry*, *yryrtry*, 'wider', from *yryt-*, v. § 518.

1285. (b) Heavy stems. ³*sk'tr*, adv., 'more, further', lit. 'higher', from ³*sk'*, v. § 1215; Man. *yw'tr*, Chr. *yw'tr*, from *yw* 'one', v. § 1318; B. βδ . . . βδ . . . βδ'tr 'tantôt . . . tantôt . . . tantôt' *Vim* 128-30; *δwr'tr M* 857, 3, B. *δwr'tr Dhy* 108. 119, 'more distant', from *δwr*; *γyrt'r* 'later', adv., *BBB*, from *γyyr* 'late', adv., *M* 127 V 6. *M* 579, 7; *n'mr'tr* 'sweeter', § 1306, from *n'mryh*, v. *BBB* p. 97 top; B. *pnr'tr* 'nearer' *VJ* 924, from B. *pnr't*; *pyrt'r't*, Pl., 'wearier' (H.) v. § 1243;¹ *pršt'tr* 'better prepared' *T ii K* (*So.* 64), belonging to the Past Partc. *pršt'tyy*; *ptršt'r* 'more exalted', § 1306, belonging to the Past Partc. *ptršt'tyy* 'erected' *Sogd.* 52, 6, cf. Chr. *ptrzt'y* 'high' i 45, 16 (on the rhythmic value of *ptršt-* v. § 176); *škwrd'tr* Pl., *T ii D* 117, 43, from *škwrd* 'difficult'; B. *twy'tr* 'quicker' *VJ* 799. 1072, from *twy*, v. § 254; Chr. *xw'tr*, § 1306, from Man. *xw't* 'weak'; Man. *zprt'r* [*T ii K* (*So.* 64), from *zprt'* 'pure'. [v. Addenda.]

1286. (2) -tr, superlative. *βyjtr'ty stštr't* 'most wicked and cruel', v. § 1641, from *βyj-* (light stem) and **stštyyh* (**-aka-* stem, cf. § 1280 fn.); cf. also *kšt'r't*, § 1300. [v. Addenda.]

1287. (3) -tr + suffix. ³*sk'tryq M* 617 i 26, *sk'tryk T ii D* 167 iii 7, 'higher, more', adj., cf. § 1215.

1288. (4) -str.

(a) Comparative. B. ³*βz'γkwstr* 'more wretchedly', v. § 423; Man. *βystr*, Chr. *bystr* 'further away', from *βyk*, v. § 463; *c'dr'str*, *c'str* 'lower, under', from *c'dr* 'below, under', v. § 459; Chr. *γrb'q str* 'more reasonable', § 1306; *ny'zngstr* 'different' *M* 264 A 6; *nyz'wrst'r't* Pl., 'weaker', v. § 1243; Chr. *pc'yy str* 'more salutary', v. § 199; *pcxwδywnystr* 'more revolting', v. § 1306; Man. Chr. B. *pyrnmstr* 'before, formerly' *Man. Lett.* ii 17. *ST ii* 1, 92. 10, 21, cf. also § 1305; *rystr* 'smaller';¹ *skrtyst(r)* 'more triumphant' *Sogd.* 35, 13, from *skrtyy T ii D* 207, 27. [v. Addenda.]

1289. (b) Superlative. ³*γrtyst'r* 'most fertile' *Sogd.* 29, 6; *βjng'rystr't* Pl., 'most sinful' *M* 178 ii V 18; *γw'nkryyst'r jkryyst'r*,

1285¹ The positive is *pryt* 'weary' *BBB* 713 (differently H: 3 Sg. Pass. Pret.). Cf. § 529, 5.

1288¹ From **ryt*, or **rytyy*? Cf. Pahl. *rētak* 'young', Bailey, *BSOS* vii 70 sq. H. (who regards *rystr* as shortened from **rynckstr*, v. *BBB* p. 134^a) also points out the abstract B. *rytry* P 6, 192, *rytryh P* 12, 33, opposite to *prtry'kh*.

id., *BBB* 554 sq.; B. *knpy'strh* 'particularly short' *P* 2, 433, < *knpy*, § 1302; S. *wrcy'str* 'most soothing' *X* 1 i V 21, from *wrcy* 'appeased'.

1290. (c) Comparative or superlative. *frtrstr* *M* 894 i 4, from *frtr*, v. § 437, cf. Parth. *'frdrystr* 'prior', H., *BSOS* ix 80; *mndyr-β'kstr* *M* 655, 1, from *mndyrβ'k* 'unwise'; B. *γwy'rstr*, v. § 1303, from B. *γwy'r* *Dhu* 90, cf. S. *γwy'r γwy'r* 'in detail' *X* 1 i R 3 sq. *P* 3, 29. 97; B. *'yw pyrnmstr*, v. § 1305; Man. *δβnstr* *T* i a (*Par.* 51), from **δβnz* 'wide, thick', cf. B. *w'δβ'nz* § 1310, Man. *δβ'nzq'wy* § 999.

1291. (5) -'tr, cf. § 1282. On *'sk'tr* v. § 1215.

(a) *fry'tr* *M* 116 R 9, context not clear. Either from *fry-* 'dear', or side-form¹ of

(b) *fy'tr* 'more'. Cf. § 321.

1292. (c) Man. *msy'tr* 'longer', quoted § 1241, B. *msy'tr* 'greater' *VJ* 234. *Dhy* 86, cf. Av. *masyah-*. On *msydr* v. § 1298.

1293. (d) Chr. *mzy'trt' yšty* Pl., 'greater things' *B* 49, 24, cf. Av. *mazyah-*.

1294. (e) *šy'tr* 'sweeter' *M* 137 R 11 (on the ending v. § 974), B. *šy'tr* 'delightful' *DN* 50. 70. Origin not clear, the -' may belong to the stem of the positive. [v. Addenda.]

1295. (6) -tm. Man. *βy'n βxtm* (Abl.) § 254, B. *βy'n βytm*, 'godliest of the gods', used to translate Skt. *devātideva* (on the rhythmic value of *βxtm*, v. § 528); B. *nyytm* 'deepest', cf. *BBB* p. 104 on f 56. On S. *prytm* v. § 1297. [v. Addenda.]

1296. (7) -tm + suffix. B. *'sk'tmcyk* 'highest' or 'most' *P* 3, 104, cf. § 1215. Cf. also *ftmcyk* and *'ftmyk* 'first', § 1331.

1297. (8) Special forms.

(i) The comparative and superlative of the light stem *fry-* 'dear', are the heavy *frytr* from **fryatara-*, S. *prytm* from **fryatama-*, quoted § 1207, cf. § 493 sq. The superlative Chr. (*fr)y str* i 79, 7 (contrary to § 1281) is a late analogical form. On *fry'tr* v. § 1291.

1298. (ii) Chr. *msydrd* Pl., ii 3, 33, Man. *msydr* *M* 337, 3, 'presbyter' (cf. § 269 sq.), from the *-aka- stem B. *m's'y* *VJ* 1132, *m's'k* *VJ* 50. *SCE* 31, *m's'kw* *VJ* 837, 'old', seemingly contrary to § 1280, can be explained as due to dissimilation from **msystr* [or as *LW* ? (H.)].

1299¹ In *T* ii *D* 207, 23, where one expects the usual hendiadys, *'sk'tr fy'tr* 'more', the MS. has *'sk'tr f[.]'tr*, with a gap requiring two letters, surmounted by a dot. To be restored *f[ry]'tr* ?

1299. (iii) Three old superlatives have been extended by the suffix *-tara-*.

(a) B. *βr'yštr* 'more' or 'most' *Dhu* 279, from Av. *fraēšta-*.¹

1300. (b) Man. *kštr̥* Pl. Nom. or Acc., *M* 116 R 10, Chr. *qštr̥* Pl. Abl., *i* 26, 3,¹ superlative of B. (*)*ks-* 'small, thin', from Av. *kasišta-*.

1301. (c) Man. *xwyštr*, B. *γwyštr*, Man. Chr. *xwštr*, 'superior, presbyter', from Av. *hvōišta-*, v. § 230.

1302. (iv) Man. *kmbyy* 'imperfect, mean, less, short of one's duty' *M* 116 R 4, Pl. *kmbyt* *Man. Lett.* ii 15, *ii qmbyy xxx* '28', v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 243, B. *'yw knpy L* '49' *P* 6, 106. 111. 133. 134. 138. 140. &c. (ref. by H.), B. *knpy βw-* 'to be scarce, short',¹ explained by H. as from OIr. **kambiyah-* (v. § 493 fn.), comparative of *kamna-* (Sogdian *kβn-*, v. § 1211), cf. Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, 88 (Differently Benv., *Notes* iv 516). On the abstract *qmbwnyh* v. § 1087 fn. On the superlative B. *knpy'strh* v. § 1289.

1303. (9) Superlative other than by means of a suffix.

(i) With the prefix *tr-*, v. § 1144.

(ii) By prefixing to an adjective, or a comparative (superlative), *cw*, *δprm* (§ 1567), or *'yw*. This construction is not found in Man. or Chr.

(a) *cw*, cf. H., *BBB* p. 81 on 674. S. *cw γrβw (p'zy) w'γš* 'quam plurimis (paucissimis) verbis'; B. *cw γwy'rstr* 'très exactement' (Benv., *Notes* ii 238), cf. § 1290. Cf. also the employment of *cw* in § 1144^a.

1304. (b) *δprmh c'drcyk'* 'tout à fait inférieur' *SCE* 209; *δprm prtr*, v. § 437 fn. 1.

1305. (c) *'yw pyrnmstr VJ* 60^b. 383. *P* 2, 80, 'as soon as possible, first of all', v. Benv., *Notes* iv 510.

(iii) The Elative *i*, v. § 1310.

1306. (10) The second term of a comparison is introduced by *cn* or Chr. *qd'*, if it is a noun or a pronoun, by *c'nw*, if it is a clause.

(a) *cn. cn s't βγ[yšty . . .] ptrštr* 'more exalted than all (other) gods' *M* 264 *A* 13 sq.; *cn škr' n'mrtr* 'sweeter than sugar', v. *BBB* p. 80 on 662; *cywyδ pcxwδγwnystr* 'more revolting than this' *M* 140 *V* 11 sq.; Chr. *xw'lr . . . cn p'try* 'weaker than his father' *ii* 5, 11;

1299¹ Cf. Man. *fryštwrz* *NPr.*, *M* 1, 82, 'the most miraculous one'? But *fryšt* could also be the Past stem of 'to send'.

1300¹ Misquoted in *ST* ii, 587^a top. In Freiman, *Sbornik*, 38, No. 19. B 16, read *kštr* instead of *kstr* 'inferior' (H.).

1302¹ Personal construction, cf. Benv., loc. cit., 515 sq., v. §§ 1549 sq.

Chr. *γrb'q str . . . cn . . . 'žwnt* 'more reasonable than the children' i 43, 16.

1307. (b) Chr. *qd'. sdwm 't . . . γmwr' z'y pc'y y str bw'q' . . . qd' xyd kθ* 'it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha, than for that city' i 5, 2 sq., cf. § 199.

1308. (c) *c'nw.¹ frtr c'nw . . . xwcy xwr't xwryy* 'better than eating nice food' *M 117*, 12-14; *B. prtr . . . c'n'kw* 'rather than', v. § 1692 (cf. also § 822, 2).

Elative

1309. (1) This formation, to which a cursory reference was made by Benveniste, *Notes* iv 517 sq., is used for placing a deictic emphasis on the meaning of an adjective or adverb. Three types can be distinguished:

- i. The adjective (adverb) is preceded by *w'*-, from the demonstrative stem *awa*-.
- ii. *-(')st* is added to the adjective (adverb) prefixed by *w'*-, or by its correlative *c'*-, cf. § 1582.
- iii. The suffix is *-t*, the prefix is as in ii, except before *s*, where it appears as *wt*-,¹ from Av. *avat*, Neuter of *avant*-.²

1310. (2) Elative i. Prefix *w'*-. S. *w' z'ry γn'βy* 'he lamented so pitifully' *T ii T 10*; B. *w' δβ'nz* 'so wide' *P 2*, 1018, cf. § 1290; S. *w'wyspw* 'so complete' *T iii 263 i 13*, *w'wspyw Anc. Lett.* (v. *BBB p. 73*; on the following *wyspdr* v. § 440 fn.).

1311. (3) Elative ii. Suffix *-(')st*.

(a) Prefix *w'*-. B. *w' z'ry'st γn'β'y* 'she lamented so p.' *VJ 1111*; B. *w' βyz'nk'r'k'st* 'so very sinful' *P 7*, 119 sq.; B. *w'βyz'γwksth* 'so unhappy' *VJ 822* (v. *JRAS*, 1942, 99); B. *w'] z'wrkynst* 'so strong' *T iii Š 23 (2) ii 2*.

1312. (b) Prefix *c'*-. B. *c' z'ry'st* 'how pitiful' *VJ 1100*; B. *c' βyz'γwksth* 'how unhappy' *VJ 825*.

1308¹ Cf. Pers. *agar pādīšā dīde zwāhad zi-man . . . ma-rā zwārtar čun si farzand-i zwēš na-binam* 'if the king should ask my eyes from me, it would be of less account to me than if I should not see my three daughters' *ŠN 6* (Vullers i 69), 136 sq. (*zān ki* variant of *čun si*).

1309¹ As there are no adjectives beginning with *s*- amongst the examples for the Elatives i and ii, one cannot say whether the replacement of *w'*- by *wt*- takes place also in these two types. It is unfortunate that the end of the gloss MPers. *cyyrtwm . . . (w)'* [*Sogd.* 36, 18, is missing, since the adjective used was most probably *skrtyy*].

1309² From which derives Sogdian *wntn*, which is used like the Elative particle *w'*- in S. *wntn z'ry γn'β(y) T ii T 4 = w' z'ry*, § 1310. Cf. § 1609.

1313. (4) Elative iii. Suffix *-t*.

(a) Prefix *w-*. B. *w'βr''kt* 'so early' *VJ* 1088; B. *w'pryt VJ* 1378, *w'βryt VJ* 1455 'so dear'; B. *w'p'r'γzt Dhu* 292. *T iii S* 313, 10, *w'pry'zt* [sic] *Vim* 42, 'so excellent'; Man. *w' p'tzm'ndt* 'so fed up' *T ii D* 62, 3 sq.; B. *w'šwβtt* 'so close, narrow' (H.) *P* 2, 1016; B. *w'v'w'ntt* 'so strong' *Dhy* 216; B. *w'twyt* 'so quick' *T iii S* 313, 9, cf. § 254. [*w'pryt*, v. *Addenda*.]

1314. (b) Prefix *c-*. B. *c'* (827) *βyzt VJ* 'how bad' [sic], cf. Man. *β'βyjt γrm* 'how badly hot' *M* 674, 6; *c'twxt* 'how fast' *M* 635 i 9, from *twy*, cf. § 254.

1315. (c) Prefix *wt-*. B. *wtsp'ytt* 'so white' *Dhy* 209. 221. 258, from B. *'sp'yt*, cf. § 969; B. *wtsk'tt* 'so high' *P* 2, 1020, from *'sk'*, cf. § 1215.

NUMERALS

Cardinals

1316. (i)

- 1 Man. *'yw*, Chr. *yw*, B. *'yw*, v. §§ 1317-19.
- 2 Man. B. *'δw BBB* c 7. *VJ* 374. *SCE* 189; Man. B. *'δw' BBB* 673. *M* 684, 15. *O¹* 4. 14; Man. B. *δw' M* 127 R 12. *VJ* 96, Chr. *dw' i* 9, 6. 45, 7; Man. B. *δyβnw*, B. *δβnw* 'both'; compound form B. *δyβ-*; v. § 1320.
- 3 Man. *'δry M* 137 V 12, *'δryy M* 502 I 7, B. *δry*, Chr. *šy*.
- 4 Man. Chr. *ctf'r*, B. *ctβ'r*, v. § 295; compound form B. *čarθ-*, v. § 440. *št' r* *βστΠ*
- 5 *pnč*; on *pnž* v. § 65.
- 6 Chr. *xwšw i* 15, 3, B. *wγwšw VJ* 33, v. § 417 fn. 1. [v. *Add.*]
- 7 B. *'βt VJ* 7, and on top of folio 7 R (ed. p. 178¹); otherwise Man. B. *'βt* or *'βt'*, but only before *myδ* 'day' (for 'week'), and in compounds, where the *-'* of *'βt'* could be a compound vowel, and *'βt-* could stand for *avda*. Cf. Man. B. *'βtkyšp-*, § 147, B. *'βtrtn'yynch* 'having seven jewels' *VJ* 18^b, B. *'yw 'βt myδ* 'one week' *Dhy* 33, against Man. *k|w w'βt' myδ pr[m* 'for one week' *T ii D* 66 b 5, B. *'βt' myδ VJ* 874, S. *'βt' LLPW* '7000' *T ii D* 79 (2) R 6.
- 8 B. only. *'št VJ* folio 8R top (ed. p. 182¹), *C 'št* '108' *Padm* 45. 47; otherwise cf. *'št wkry* 'consisting of eight types' *Dhu* 255. 256, *'št LLPW* '8000' *T iii S* 313, 2, against *'šp RYPW* '80.000' *ST ii* 9, 14. 15. [*C 'št* also *P* 8, 62.]
- 9 B. *nw' VJ* ed. p. 186.¹ Cf. also B. *nw' 100 VJ* 717, *nw' nw't* '99' *P* 7, 14. [*nw LLPW nw RYPW* '99.000' *P* 8, c 4.]
- 10 Man. *δs' M* 796 i 16, Chr. *ds' i* 47, 5. 8, S. *δs T ii D* 79 (2) V 4. 5.

1316¹ [Benv.'s ed. pp. 9. 12. 16 respectively.]

- 11 Chr. [ywt]s_{nw} Acc. i 53, 3.
 12 Man. δw'ts Nom., *M* 14 V 17, Chr. dw'ts_{nw} Abl., i 78, 14, cf. § 1318.
 15 Man. pnc'ts^wh *T* ii D 66, 1, 16. 16 xw's'nt's 85TII
 18 Chr. š'ts i 41, 3.
 30 Man. šys *M* 548, 1. 40 š't'ns 85TII
 50 Chr. pnc's i 43, 10, B. *pnc'snw.² 60 xw's's'ty 85TII
 70 Man. 'β't *M* 178 i V 29.
 80 Chr. š't' i 43, 13.
 90 B. nw't *P* 7, 14.
 100 Chr. stw Nom.-Acc. i 43, 9. 12; Abl. Man. st' (quoted § 1667), B. rm st' 'with 100' *T* i a (2) 3; compound B. stp'δ'k 'centiped' *P* 6, 9.
 200 Chr. dwyst ii 1, 82; B. 'δwy 100 *VJ* 5^c, 'δw 100 *VJ* 62^e.³
 300 Chr. šyst ii 1, 82.
 1000 z'r.
 10.000 βrywr, v. § 362.
 100.000 Man. C z'r *T* ii D 139 ii 5.

1317. (ii) 'yw.

(a) 'yw is used in several compounds and idioms: B. 'yw 'yh 'always' *DN* 76. *P* 2, 165; B. prw 'yw 'pc't 'at once', v. § 179; B. 'yw'rδkw 'sincere', v. § 423; 'yw c'f 'several', v. § 1586; B. 'yw γwncyδ 'just so, just as', v. § 1109; 'yw q't'm 'any', v. § 1554; 'yw mywm 'altogether'; i p'ryq 'altogether', v. § 1116; *I* p't, v. § 1327; 'ywp'zky', *Man. Lett.* ii 16, not clear; B. 'yw pyrnmstr 'as soon as possible', v. § 1305; B. 'yw st'γ sr'k, v. § 1108; S. 'yw t'c 'alone', v. § 1127; 'yw wšyy 'alone', v. § 299; B. oznk 'such', v. § 1109.

(b) On 'yw in enumerations, v. § 1332.

(c) On 'yw δβt- 'each other', v. §§ 1334-6.

1318. (d) The comparative of 'yw is used in kδ)(^o)m 'yw[tr 'which (of several)' *Sogd.* 54, 10, Chr. yw ywtr 'one by one, singly' i 42, 6. ii 6, 17, ywtr cn wyšnt 'one of them' ii 1, 64, ywtr cn dw'ts_{nw} 'one of the Twelve' i 78, 14.

¹³¹⁶ B. *ILPW* 'δwy *C* 50nw, Obl., *DN* (= *P* 5) 3, viz. *z'r 'δwyst pnc'snw, '1250', where -nw had been overlooked by Gauthiot.

¹³¹⁶ Thus to be read instead of δ'w, which I regret to have overlooked in *JRAS*, 1942, 99, where the following misprints in Gauthiot's edition of the *VJ* should be added: line 171 read γwt instead of γwt'; line 56^b read t'β'kh instead of t'm'kh†; line 204 read 'yw instead of 'yw; line 255 read 'wyn instead of wyn; line 47^c read 'wswytp'zn instead of wswytp'zn. [Cf. now also Benveniste, *TSP*, 166 sqq.]

† [m corrected *prima manu* into β]

1319. (e) The Accusative of 'yw has the nominal ending -y in Chr. *ywy i* 45, 8. 9; the Oblique possibly occurs with the pronominal ending in B. 'ywn, v. § 179 fn.

1320. (iii) While 'δw, (?)δw' represent OIr. *duw-* (on the loss of the endings cf. § 501; v. also § 161), the compound form B. *δyβ-*,¹ and *δ(y)βnw*,² go back to OIr. *dwi-* (cf. §§ 239. 430). The ending -nw connects the latter with Lat. *bīnī*, &c. (cf. Gauthiot, *Gramm.* 120).

1321. (iv) *δuwātas* '12', from **duwādas-*, with *t* through dissimilation, or perhaps under the influence of *štas* '18' (§ 478); *pančtas* '15', by analogy.

1322. (v) -nw in Chr. [*ywt*]s*nw* '11', *dw'tsnw* '12', B. **pnč'snw* '50', may be the old Gen. Pl. ending -(a)nām from -ānām, cf. § 350.

1323. (vi) *šys* '30', *pnč's* '50', from the Nom. Av. *θrisas*, **pančāsas*.

1324. (vii) Of compound numerals not entirely expressed in symbols, there are very few examples. Cf. B. *nw' nw't* '99', the example quoted § 1316 fn. 2, B. *C 'št* '108', Man. *ii qmbyy xxx* '28', B. 'yw *knpy L* '49', v. § 1302, B. *30 wγwšw* '36', v. § 1327.

1325. (viii) A numeral indicator (like NPers. *našar*, &c.) is possibly Chr. *xwštyq i* 36, 8 (H.), but the passage is not clear.

1326. (ix) Cardinals, not ordinals, usually followed by Man. *syty'*, B. *sytyh*, *Anc. Lett. syth*, are used in dates for the days of the month, cf. *BBB* s.v. *syty'*,¹ and, without this addition, B. *cnn 'prtmy m'γh xv k'w 'tšrty m'γw xv prm Dhu* 229.

1327. (x) 'Time', French '*fois*', is rendered by *prwrtyy* (recognized by H.), cf. § 962 (*i°* 'once' *S 40 i R 2*; *tym i°* 'once more' *Man. Lett. i* 29; *ii°* 'twice' *ib.* and *M 640, 1* (direction in a MPers. hymn)), B. *y'wr* (cf. *VJ 793. 1298. 1427*, and *wγwšw y'wr wγwšw 30 wγwšw βwt* '6×6 = 36' *Dhu* 18 sq.), and exceptionally by B. *znk'n* (*z'yh wγwšw znk'n šn* 'the earth trembled six times' *VJ 999*); cf. also *i p't* 'once (only)', *BBB* p. 102 on f 6.

1328. (xi) Apart from the use mentioned in § 1327, -*zng'n* (on which v. also § 1034) preceded by cardinals is used with the meaning of '-fold', v. *BBB* s.v.

¹ 1320¹ Not clear is the spelling Chr. *db'm'ngy' i* 3, 21, 'doubt', against S. *δβm'nky' pr wr(n)[w T ii D 91, 6* (= Parth. *dym'ngyft* (H.)).

² 1320² Used for natural pairs, such as eyes (*VJ 277. 1372*), breasts (*VJ 1028*), feet (*Dhy 35*), or if a couple of things has just been referred to, as in the Man. passage quoted by H., *BSOS* viii 584 bottom [= *Tales 473, 48*].

³ 1326¹ Similar to *syty'*, but not attested in connexion with dates, is Man. *xrty* 'passed', v. H., *apud* Rachmati, *T.T.* vii 61.

1329. (xii) A relation between numerals is expressed by *pr* in Man. 'yw *pr* z''r 'ty 'yw *prw* *brjwr* *M* 635 i 1 sq. (cf. Parth. 'yw 'c *hz'r'n* *ü* [*dw*]c *bywr'n* *T* ii *D* 129) 'in the relation of one to a thousand', cf. H., *Kaw.* 60 fn. 1, and B. 'yw *pr* *δw* 'doubly' *Dhy* 41.

1330. (xiii) Distributives are formed by repeating the cardinal. For examples v. § 1676 sq.; cf. the distributive repetition of nouns, § 1633. [On *-ky*, distributive suffix, v. § 998.]

(xiv) On the use of the Singular and the Plural after cardinals, v. §§ 1662-74.

(xv) On the forms of the symbols, v. F. W. K. Müller, *SPAW*, 1926, 8.

1331. Ordinals.

	Directly from OIr. as attested in the Avesta	Sogd. suffix -m	Sogd. suffix -(m)yk	Otherwise
1st	Man. 'fīm-, Chr. fīm-, B. (')prtīm-, S. 'βtīm-	..	Man. 'ftmyk ¹ B. 'prtmyk ²	Man. (')fīmcyk ³ S. 'prtmcykω ⁴
2nd	Man. δβty-, B. δβty- and, more often, δyβty-	..	Man. δβtyk, ⁵ δβtykω ⁵	Chr. dbtyq, S.
3rd	B. 'šty-, 'tšrty-, cšty-	..	Man. štyk, 'štyk, Chr. štyq, B. 'tšrtyk, ⁷ cštyk, ⁸ 'cštyk ⁹	
4th		B. ctβ ⁹ rm ¹⁰	Man. ct ⁹ rmyk, B. ctβ ⁹ rmyk, B. cβ ⁹ rmyk ¹¹	
5th		B. pncm ¹⁰	Man. B. pncmyk, Man. pñjmyk ¹²	
6th		B. wγšmy ^{13,23}	B. wγšmyk, ¹⁴ S. wγwšwmykω ¹⁵	
7th		B. 'βtmy ¹³	Man. 'βtmyk, Chr. 'btmyq, B. 'βtmyk ¹⁶	
8th	B. 'štmy ¹³	..	B. 'štmyk ¹⁷	
9th	B. num'y ¹³	..	Man. numyq, ¹⁸ B. n'umyk ¹⁹	
10th	B. δsmy ¹³	..	Man. δsmyk, ²⁰ B. δsm'yk ²¹	
19th	..	..	Chr. nušmyq ²²	

1332. (i) Other ordinals are attested only as symbols followed by *-myk*. On this suffix cf. § 1104.

¹ *M* 107 ii 5.

² *ST* ii 7, 11.

³ *BBB* f 68. *M* 110 i R 10. *M* 549 i 12. Cf. Khwār. *famūtsk*, § 1013.

⁴ *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 16.

⁵ Cf. §§ 430, 977.

⁶ *T* ii *T* 17.

⁷ *VJ* 244. On the spelling v. Lentz, *ST* ii 577^{a-b}.

⁸ *Frg* v 4.

⁹ *P* 3, 31. On the spelling cf. § 286 fn.

¹⁰ *V*. § 1095.

¹¹ *V*. § 442.

¹² *V*. § 67.

¹³ *V*. § 1096.

¹⁴ *P* 2, 329.

¹⁵ *T M* 393 ii *V* 22.

¹⁶ *P* 3, 89.

¹⁷ *P* 3, 99.

¹⁸ *T* ii *T* 22, 14.

¹⁹ *P* 3, 110.

²⁰ *T* ii *T* 22, 16.

²¹ *P* 2, 333.

²² *V*. *Sogd.* p. 46.

²³ [Add B. 'γwšmy *T* ii *T* m 6].

(ii) In enumerations, the ordinal 'first(ly)' (cf. *ftmc[yk]* . . . *δβtyk*, *M 110 i R 10-V 2*, B. *'βtmw* . . . *δβtyw* . . . *'tδrtyw VJ 375* sqq.) can be expressed by the symbol *i* (*i* . . . *δβtyk* . . . *štyq*, *M 127 R 9* sq., *i* . . . *δβtyk*, *M 655*, 11. *T ii D 117*, 45), presumably standing for *'yw*.¹ For B. cf. *ST ii 10*, 7. 49. *P 2*, 323; cf. also B. *srcy* § 1006.

1333. (iii) The inflexional forms of *ftam-* (cf. §§ 178. 318) have been collected by H., *BBB* p. 77 on 626. To B. *'prtmy* add Man. *'ftmyy* 'at first' *M 178 ii R 9*.

1334. (iv) For the inflexion of *divdy-* (v. § 430) cf.

(a) Ending *-y*. Only B.: *dyβty* 'second' Nom. (cf. § 1191) *VJ 1340* (v. § 1618). *O¹ 17*, *δβty O¹ 15*; 'secondly' *ST ii 10*, 8. 26. 50; *δβty* 'again' *T iii S 313*, 8, *'w dyβty* 'again' *DN 83*; *'yw dyβty pryw* 'dear to each other' *SCE 56*; *'γw 'yw ZKn dyβty nm'cyw βr'ynt* 'they paid homage to each other' *VJ 896* sq.; *'wyn dyβty myδ* 'on the following day' *VJ 90*. 867. 1442.

1335. (b) Ending *-w*. Man. B. *δβtyw* 'again'¹ *M 117*, 4. *M 136 R 11*. *VJ 290*. 1068 (*dyβtyw*); 'secondly' *VJ 376*; Man. [*'yw*] *kwu δβtyw s'r* 'to each other' *T i D (Par. 28. 37)*.

1336. (c) Ending *-y*. Man.] *cn δβty* *M 857*, 3; *i δβty* *'pryw* 'with each other' *T ii B R 17* sq.; *'yw wnyy δβty* 'to, against each other' *M 178 ii-V 23* sq.; B. *'yw c'wn δβty* 'from e.o.' *Frg iii 46*.¹

1337. (v) For the inflexion of *štyy-* cf.

(a) Ending *-y*. B. *cšty DN 83*, *'tδrty VJ 1070*, 'for the third time'.

(b) Ending *-w*. B. *'štyw* 'third' Nom., *P 2*, 325, *'tδrtyw* 'thirdly' *VJ 377*.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

1338. (i) 1st Singular.

(1) Man. B. *'zw*, Chr. (?)*zw*, Nom., cf. § 85.

(2) B. *'zwty VJ 389*, *'zwZY SCE 545*, from *'zw+OIr. uta*.

1332¹ The cardinal is ordinarily used for 'first' in enumerations also in MPers., Parthian, and Persian (H.).

1335¹ Also Man. *δβtyk* is used for 'again', *Man. Lett. ii 17*. *M 136 V 9*. *M 591*, 4. 6.

1336¹ In Chr., where the light stem *divd-* does not occur, the reciprocal pronoun is formed with *dbtyq*: *yw cn dbtyq i 22*, 21, [*yw*] *qw dbtyq s' i 52*, 15. This also happens in Man., cf. *BBB 735*. Of special interest is Chr. *xwdbtyq* 'with each other' *ii 5*, 15, which is hardly to be divided into *xw* and *dbtyq* (Lentz, s.v.), but rather into *xwd-dbtyq*, the first element, 'one' or 'each', being the same as in Chr. *xwd xwdq'r* 'alone', v. § 269 fn. Acc. to H., *xwd-* is in both cases the compound form of *xwtyy* 'self'. In B. we also find *'ny-* 'other' for the reciprocal pronoun: *ZK 'nyw 'wyn 'ny' VJ 1011*, *γw 'nyw c'wn 'ny' Frg iii 46* sq. Cf. B. *γδnyw SCE 55*, where *γδ-* is, acc. to H., an ideogram for *'yw* (Aram. *ħad*).

1339. (3) *mn*'.(a) Acc. *M* 127 V 8.(b) Obl. *M* 776, 2. V. also § 1392.1340. (4) Chr. *mñ'y* i 71, 1, viz. *mn*' + Acc. ending, cf. *šm'xy*, Acc., ib. 4. 5.1341. (5) *tāmā* (Preposition 't' (§ 1632) ?), Acc. Man. *t'm'h* *T ii D* 117, 34, *t'm'* *M* 135 i 19, Chr. *t'm'* ii 2, 23, B. *t'm'* *VJ* 50^b. 306. 328, and *t'm'kh*. *VJ* 1456 (cf. Reichelt, *ZII* iv 242); defining the enclitic pronoun, Chr. 't *my* . . . *t'm'* ii 3, 19, B. *ZY my t'm'kh* *VJ* 1137.1342. (6) *parāmā* (Preposition *pr*).¹ S. *pr'm'k* 'to me' *T ii D* 93 c V 5.1343. (7) *čāmā* (Preposition **hačā*). Man. B. *c'm'* *BBB* f 88. *VJ* 1076, B. *c'm'kh* *VJ* 190, S. *c'mk* *Anc. Lett.* ii 39, 'from, by, me'; reinforced by *cn*, Man. Chr. *cn c'm'* *BBB* 538. 644. *ST ii* 3, 17. *c'w*

1344. (8) Enclitic.

(a) *-my*. Acc., 'tmy *M* 127 V 13; Obl., 'rtmy *BBB* 642, B. *p'rZY my* *VJ* 434.1345. (b) B. *-my*, Obl., 'PZY 'my *VJ* 18. 173 sq.1346. (c) *Anc. Lett.* *-m*, cf. § 500. Acc., 'PZY*m* iii 9. 12, *kδZYm* ib. 11; Obl., 'XRZY*m* i 3. 5. iii 19.1347. (d) B. *-mc* (with **hačā*). *rtymc* 'from me, by me' *VJ* 177. 5^b.1348. (e) B. *-mδ* (with **hada*). *rtymδ βy 'yw pr'mn 'yt* 'and to me, Madam, a Brahmin came' *VJ* 1075 sq. (differently Gauthiot and Benv., *Grammaire*, 153).(f) S. *-mβc*, *-mβt*, v. § 1359 sq.

1349. (ii) 2nd Singular.

(1) Man. Chr. B. *tyw*, Nom.; with OIr. *uta*, B. *tywty* *VJ* 1268, *tywtn* *O*¹ 13.(2) In poetic texts, *tw* is attested. *tw 'yš* 'thou art' *T ii D* 66, 1, 11, (*tw*) *'yš* *M* 137 R 1; with OIr. *uta*, *twwt* . . . 'yš'h *ibid.* V 8 sq. (not quite certain).1350. (3) *tw*'.(a) Acc. *M* 137 V 2 (v. § 807). *M* 776, 12 ([*pr t*]w) *cwpr* 'on top of you', possibly also *VJ* 301.1351. (b) Obl. *tw*' *δ'βrw* 'I gave to you' *M* 130 ii R 4; *δn tw*' *pryw* 'with you' *M* 776, 2; *VJ* 425. V. also § 1393.¹ 1342¹ *parā-* (against *prwyδ* &c., § 1404) by analogy to *čā-* (§ 1343).

1352. (4) *tāfā* (Preposition 'v (§ 1632) ?), Acc. Man. *vʹf* *Kaw.* C 12; S. *vβ* *BBB* p. 62 on 517³. *T ii D ii 169 V 2*; B. *vβkh VJ 56^b* (v. § 1316 fn. 3). 60^b. 304. 1145. 1451; S. *vβk T ii D 79 (I) R 2*; *vβk Anc. Lett.* *Itʹʹʹʹ ʹʹʹʹ*

1353. (5) *parāfā* (Preposition *pr*, cf. § 1342 fn.). Man. *prʹfʹh M 617 i 32*, Chr. *prʹfʹ ii 4, 10. 6, 40*, S. *prʹβk T M 389 a V 8*.

1354. (6) *čāfā* (Preposition **hačā*). S. *pw cʹβ* 'without you', v. § 1166; S. *cʹβk(h) T M 389 a R 2. V 9. VJ 1406.* *cʹʹʹʹ ʹʹʹʹ*

1355. (7) Enclitic.

(a) Man. *-f*, S. *-β* (cf. §§ 297. 500). Acc. *ʹrtf BBB b 91*; *ZKZYβ Anc. Lett.* iii 2. *V 2*; Obl. (Dativus ethicus) B. *rtfβ VJ 711*.

1356. (b) Man. *-fy(y)*, S. *-βy*. Acc. *ʹrtfyy BBB b 86, ʹtʹyʹh* ib. 98, S. *rtβy* and *ZY βy T ii D ii 169 (a) i R 9*; Obl. *ktʹy M 117, 9, qʹtʹyy M 591, 20*, B. *rtʹy βy* (Dat. eth.) *VJ 603*.

1357. (c) *Anc. Lett.* *-t. ʹPZYt*, Dat., iii 5.

1358. (d) *Anc. Lett.* *-βc* (with **hačā*). *ʹXRZYβc* 'from you' iii 5.

1359. (e) *Anc. Lett.* *-mβc. ʹXRZYmβc* 'to me from you' *iv 3*.

1360. (f) *Anc. Lett.* *-mβt* (with 'v (§ 1632) ?). *ʹXRZYmβt* 'I (by me) to you' (?) *ii 52*.

1361. (iii) 3rd Singular.

(1) *xw(w)* (cf. § 1398) 'he', *BBB f 35. M 144 R 1. T ii D 62, 3*; Chr. *xʹ* 'she' *ii 3, 2*.

1362. (2) *hunx* 'he' *M 118 i R 13*.

1363. (3) *wny* (v. § 1399. 1444), Obl. *wny ʹpryw* 'with him' *BBB f 34 sq.*; *cn wny pyδʹr* 'because of him' *M 659, 2 sq.*; v. also § 1394.

1364. (4) Chr. *wyʹ* 'her', Acc. *i 4, 6. 37, 1. 3, ii 1, 62*, Gen. *i 73, 7. 8*, Dat. *i 36, 16. 72, 6*, Abl. *i 38, 6*.

1365. (5) *šw*, B. also *ʹšw (VJ 1a). Dʹʹʹʹ. 1ʹʹʹʹ*

(a) Acc.

(a) Not enclitic. *BBB f 53. M 133, 12*.

1366. (β) Enclitic. *BBB f* passim.

1367. (b) Obl. (enclitic). *M 178 ii R 9. M 135 i 34*.

1368. (c) *-šwpr. ʹtyšwpr ʹyjn* 'worthy of it' *BBB f 78; VJ 1009*.

1369. (6) *šy(y)*.

(a) Normally Obl.

(a) Not enclitic. *BBB p. 64 on 525²; šyy cwpr* 'over it' (possibly Acc. ?) *M 133, 57 sq. 96*.

(β) Enclitic. Very common.

1370. (b) Acc. (enclitic). Man. *M* 760, 20. *T* ii *D* 62, 8; B. *Vim* 109.

1371. (c) *-šypr*. B. *ZKZY šy pr Vim* 81.

1372. (7) *-š* (cf. § 500). Not Man. Chr. *'tš* Acc. Fem. ii 3, 1; Obl. Chr. *ibid.* 11 (Fem.), S. *'PZYš Anc. Lett.* iii 2, &c.

1373. (8) B. *-šc* (with **hačā*). *VJ* 14^c. 51^d. 491. &c.

1374. (9) *-šd* (with **hada*). Man. *'rtšd T i D (Par. 35)*; B. *ZKZY šd SCE* 49.

1375. (iv) 1st Plural.

(1) Man. Chr. *m'x*, B. *m'γw*. Nom.-Acc., v. *ST* ii s.v. (cf. also Chr. *'ym'x*, § 778); Obl., v. *ibid.*, and cf. *VJ* 323. *ST* i 86, 10, and *m'x 'pryw* 'with us' *Man. Lett.* ii 9. Not clear *m'xnc Anc. Lett.* [v. Addenda].

1376. (2) *mn*, S. *'mn*.

(a) Not enclitic (only Chr.). *ST* ii 1, 41 (Obl.). 45 (Acc.).

1377. (b) Enclitic. Acc. *'tymn M* 134 i R 2. 7; Obl. *'[r(ty)mn M* 635 i 11, S. *ZY 'mn T i a (6) V* 4.

1378. (c) S. *-mnc* (with **hačā*). *Anc. Lett.* ii 32. [v. Addenda to § 1375.]

1379. (3) B. *-n'*, Acc., *p'rwtyn n' VJ* 1285, v. *JRAS*, 1942, 100.

1380. (v) 2nd Plural.

(1) Man. Chr. *šm'x*, Man. *'šm'x*, B. *šm'γw*, S. *'šm'γ*, v. § 157, for all cases. Chr. *šm'xy* Acc., cf. § 1340.

1381. (2) Man. *-fn*, B. *-βn*, enclitic. Acc. *'tyfn BBB* f 60, B. *rty βn VJ* 1093; Obl. *VJ* 1098. 1103; *'rtfn M* 399, 7 (unclear context).

1382. (3) B. *-βy*, enclitic. Obl. *VJ* 1100; with *pr, rtyβy pr* *ib.* 1094.

1383. (4) *Anc. Lett.* *-tn*, Dat. (Plural of politeness), *i* 11. *iv* 6.

1384. (vi) 3rd Plural.

(1) Not enclitic.

(a) *wěšand* (cf. § 1399 fn.).

(α) Manichean. Nom. *wyš'nd M* 617 ii 6. *Man. Lett.* i 22; Obl. *wyšndyḥ pyδ'r* 'because of them' *ib.* 25; Abl. *cn wyšndyyḥ* 'from them' *Kaw.* G 17. Cf. also § 1396.

1385. (β) Christian. *wyšnt*, Nom. *i* 27, 16. 30, 7. 36, 14. 43, 16. &c.; Acc. *ib.* 11, 2. 20, 4. 5. 41, 3. &c.; Abl. *ib.* 9, 2. 47, 2; *wyšnty* Gen.-Dat.-Abl.; Acc. *ii* 6, 6.

(b) *wěšan*, Obl., v. § 1396.

(c) *měšand(e)*, v. §§ 1396. 1480.

1386. (d) *šand*. Chr. *šnt* Acc., *ii* 2, 19, cf. B. *š'ntt* Nom.. 'these' *VJ* 23^b.

(e) *χā*. B. *ZKh* Nom., *VJ* 129. 356. 783. &c.

1387. (2) Enclitic.

(a) *-šn*. Acc. *M 178 ii R 2. V 19. T ii D 62, 16, &c.*; Obl. *M 178 i R 3. V 27, &c.*; B. *-šn pr*, v. § 1628, b.

1388. (b) B. *-(^o)šw*. Acc. *VJ 60. 42^c*.

1389. (c) *-šy*. Obl. *ʔšy M 118 i R 15. V 7, 62 ntqšy - ʔšw 60.*

1390. (vii) Personal pronouns in the Nominative can be replaced (or reinforced) by *xwtyy* 'self'.

1 Sg. *BBB 502. VJ 569. 628. 939*; (^o)*zw xwtyy Kaw. C 14.*

2 Sg. *BBB b 63. M 127 V 8. M 137 R 2.*

3 Sg. *BBB 559. f 60. VJ 39^c. 955.*

2 Pl. *VJ 1376.*

3 Pl. *M 118 i R 2. Man. Lett. i 23.*

1391. (viii) A possessive relation is expressed by means of the Genitive of the personal (demonstrative) pronoun, sometimes reinforced by *xypd* 'own' (cf. § 231), or by means of *xypd* alone, when referring to the subject.¹

1392. 1 Sg. *mn' w'xš* 'my words' *T ii D 117, 30*; *i . . . mn' xypdd wm'(^o)t* 'one was my own' *M 130 ii R 3*; B. *γypd γ'n'kh* 'my house' *VJ 15^d sq.*; *VJ 1049. 1176 sqq.*

1393. 2 Sg.¹ *tw' rwβ* 'your mouth' *M 137 R 6 sq.*; *tw' xw'r* 'your sister' *M 760, 16*; *pr tw' γryw cwpr* 'on your person' *M 776, 10*; *i . . . tw' xypdd wm't* 'one was your own' *M 130 ii R 4 sq.*; *xypd βr't* 'your brother', v. § 285 fn. 1; *ST ii 4, 8. 9. 6, 46*; *VJ 1136.*

1394. 3 Sg. *cn wny rw'nyy* 'from his soul' *BBB f 39*; *wnyy ʔjwnd* 'his sons' *M 264 A 21*; *wnyy xypdd jwxšqty'h* 'to his disciples' *T ii D 62, 17*; *cn xypd frnyy* 'from his own *Noūs*' *M 133, 46 sq.*; *δn xypdd ʔjwndt* 'with his sons', v. § 1659.

1395. 1 Pl. v. *ST ii s.v. m'x.*

2 Pl. *wny xypdd γrywyy prš'tδ'rδδ* 'you have prepared for yourself' *M 134 i V 2 sq.*; S. *ZK γypd δstw* 'your hand' v. § 1557.

1396. 3 Pl. *wyšn xš[y]wnyy* 'their master' *M 635 i 6 sq.*; *wyš'ndy dyn'βr'nc* 'their nun' *Man. Lett. i 20*; *myš'ndyy xypd rw'n* 'their soul' *Man. Lett. ii 6*; *myšndy xypd i 'sp'skr'nc* 'a girl-servant of theirs' *Man. Lett. i 29 sq.*; *w' xypd 'rk* 'their own tasks' *Kaw. K 3*; *cn xypdd pty'ry* 'because of their negligence' *T ii D 115, 2 sq.*

¹³⁹¹ *γypd* has a Plural in S., v. § 1250.

¹³⁹³ A proper possessive pronoun 2nd Sg. has been recognized by H. in S. *tw'xky Anc. Lett. iii 21. 23. 24* (Reichelt's *swznky*), v. § 822, 2.

1397. In Man. the enclitic personal pronouns are less frequently used for the possessive than in B., but there are a few examples, cf. *'rtšn xw . . . ptmwk* 'and their dress' *M 178 i V 29*, *'rtšy xw nr[t* 'and its trunk' *M 664, 25*.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

(Cf. Tedesco, *ZII* iv 95 sqq., H., *BBB* p. 70)

Introduction

(See conspectus, § 1501)

1398. (a) Most demonstrative pronouns have their place among two suppletive systems and extensions derived from them.

(b) First suppletive system.

Stem *x-*. *xw* from *hau* for the Nom. Masc.; *x'* from *hā* for the Nom. Fem. (also used for the Nom. Pl.).

1399. Stem (-)w-. *'ww* or *ww*, contracted B. *'w*, from *awam* for the Acc. Masc.; *w'* for the Acc. Fem. (also used for the Acc. Pl.); *wy* and *wy'* for the Loc.; *wnyy* from **awana* for the Gen.-Dat.; *wyšn(d)* from *awaišām*¹ for the Plural.

1400. (c) Second suppletive system.

Stem *y-*. *yw* from **ayam*, for the Nom.

1401. Stem (-)m-. (*'*)*mw* from *imam* for the Acc.; *'my*, *'my'*, *'myn*, for the Obl.; *myšn(d)* from **imaišām*, for the Plural (cf. § 1399 fn.).

1402. (d) Extensions.

(1) *-ne* from **-nakā-*, added to *xw* and *yw*.

(2) *-na* from **-nākā-*, added to *x'*, *w'*, **m'*, **y'*, for the Feminine Singular.

(3) *-nd*, added to *x'*, *w'*, **m'*, **y'*, for the Plural.

(4) *-nu*,¹ added to *'w* and *mw*.

(5) *-naχ*, added to *xw*.

(6) *-ənd* (cf. Khot. *ttanda-*), found with the stems *w* and *m* when

¹³⁹⁹ With the ending adapted to the enclitic pronoun *-šn*, v. H., *ZDMG* 90, 198, cf. also § 350. The addition of the Sogdian Plural ending *-t (-d)* to the Obl. *wyšn* (§§ 1396. 1447) and *myšn* (§ 1479), made it possible to use *wyšnd*, *myšnd*, in the Nom.-Acc., cf. also the Nom.-Acc. Chr. B. *šand*, § 1386. From *wyšnd*, *myšnd*, a new Obl. (and Acc.) *wyšndy*, *myšndy*, was formed in the usual way.

¹⁴⁰² The origin of this extension, which also appears in *w'nd*, *mw'nd*, and *c'nw* 'as', is not clear.

prefixed by a preposition ('prepositioned') or by a simple pronoun belonging to the same stem (§§ 1459. 1487).

(7) *-iθ* (cf. § 1109), found with the stems *w* and *m*, when prepositioned.

1403. (e) The demonstratives *xyδ* (§ 1420) and *wyδ* (§ 1452) may be combinations of the stems *x* and *w* with the demonstrative *'yδ* (§ 1500). As, however, the nature of their final *-δ* (Chr. *-d* in *ST ii* and *B 49*) is not known, *wyδ* is treated in the following description as being the form underlying the prepositioned pronouns *pariwiθ*, &c.

(f) The demonstrative *'ynyy* (§ 1499) occupies a place by itself.

1404. (g) The *-y-* connecting the various prepositions with the pronominal stems *-wyδ* (§§ 1453 sqq.), *-wnd* (§§ 1460 sqq.), and the Pl. *wyšn* (§§ 1449 sqq.), is, acc. to H., an analogical extension from the prepositioned forms of the corresponding stems *-myδ* (§§ 1482 sqq.), *-mnd* (§§ 1487 sqq.), from *-ima-*; cf. especially the forms with the preposition *pr* (*prym-* from **upari-ima-*).

	Description			
1405. (i) Stem <i>x-</i>				
(1) <i>xw</i>	<table border="0"> <tr><td>(a) Simple, 1405-9.</td></tr> <tr><td>(b) <i>+naχ</i>, 1410.</td></tr> <tr><td>(c) <i>+ne</i>, 1411-14.</td></tr> </table>	(a) Simple, 1405-9.	(b) <i>+naχ</i> , 1410.	(c) <i>+ne</i> , 1411-14.
(a) Simple, 1405-9.				
(b) <i>+naχ</i> , 1410.				
(c) <i>+ne</i> , 1411-14.				
(2) <i>x'</i>	<table border="0"> <tr><td>(a) Simple, 1415-17.</td></tr> <tr><td>(b) <i>+na</i>, 1418.</td></tr> <tr><td>(c) <i>+nd</i>, 1419.</td></tr> </table>	(a) Simple, 1415-17.	(b) <i>+na</i> , 1418.	(c) <i>+nd</i> , 1419.
(a) Simple, 1415-17.				
(b) <i>+na</i> , 1418.				
(c) <i>+nd</i> , 1419.				
(3) <i>xyδ</i> , 1420-2.				

(1) Man. Chr. *xw*, B. (')*γw*.

(a) Simple form. Widely used for the Nom. Sg. Masc. of the article, also as personal pronoun (cf. § 1361). The following are special or exceptional cases.

(a) Acc. Sg. *xw βrīpdy'h ptyz'nww* 'I recognized the knowledge' (?) *M 230 R 1* sq. (poetic text); *xww prxyy . . . δβrtyy γwłk'm* 'it will be necessary to give the salary' *M 135 i 43* sq.; *xww wyn' jnyy* 'to strike the lute' (Fem.) *ib. 41*; B. *rtγ γw 'γδ'kw βyr* 'obtain thy wish' *VJ 52^o* sq. Not clear is the function of *xw* in *xii xii xw δbrt' pty's'c'nd*, quoted § 1676. [v. Addenda.]

(β) Nom. Fem. *xw qnygrwšn kwndyskwn* 'the Virgin of Light makes' *M 140 R 9* sq.

1406. (γ) Nom. Pl. *xww δyn'βrł* 'the electi' *M 110 ii V 4*; *xw qyšykt* 'the false teachers' *M 140 V 8* sq.; Chr. *xw n'ft* 'the people' *ii 4, 35* sq.; B. *'γw mγδβł* 'the ministers' *VJ 1423*; B. *'γw* 'they' *VJ 1264*, v. also Tedesco, loc. cit. 98.

1407. (δ) Preceding other demonstratives. *xw wyš'nd s't* 'they all' *M 264 A 20 sq.*; Chr. *xw xwny myn'bry* 'that strong one' *ii 5, 16*; B. *γw 'yδ w'β w'tδ'r* 'these so many animals' *Frq iii 45*.¹

1408. (ε) Vocative. *VJ 1140*.

1409. (ζ) In B. texts, *'γw*, placed at the end of a sentence, has the value of 'is', 'are', v. Salemann, *Izv.*, 1913, 1137, Benv., *Grammaire*, 67 sq. Cf. *VJ 1504 sqq.*, where the subject is successively in the Masculine, the Feminine, and the Plural, and *'γw* is preceded by *γγδ*. H. compares the identical use of *ol* in Turkish (e.g. *T.M.* iii 9 No. 4, 13. 18). In Chr. *xw* is not used with this predicative function. For Man., one might compare *ky 'ty xw 'fšnyh n'mryh j'r* 'who is *spreading sweet poison' *BBB b 84 sq.*, and *'yny myšyy βγ[y] bwnmrg xw w'styy* 'this is the basic number of the sun' (H.) *M 767 i 9*.

1410. (b) Enlarged by *-naχ*. Man. *xwnx*, *hwnx* (v. § 63), B. *γwn(²)γ*, 'that, that one, he (v. § 1362)', Nom. Sg. Masc., B. also Nom. Pl. (*VJ 1509*).

1411. (c) Enlarged by *-ne*. Man. Chr. *xwny(y)*, B. *γwn'kw* 'that'.
(a) Usually, Nom. Sg. Masc. Cf. *BBB e 2. 9. M 655, 23. VJ 1232, &c.*

1412. (β) Nom. Sg. Fem. *Man. Lett.* i 27.

1413. (γ) Acc. Sg. and Pl. *'tyy xwnyy δw' . . . kpyštyy ny'tδ'rt.²ty xwnyy . . . kpyy nyy ny't δ'rt* 'and he caught those two . . . fishes, but that . . . fish he did not catch' *M 127 R 12 sqq.*

1414. (δ) Ablative. *cn xwnyy n'xryy* 'zodiacal sign' *M 767 i 2 sq.*

1415. (2) Man. Chr. *x'*, B. *γh*.

(a) Simple form. Article, personal pronoun (cf. § 1361).

(a) Nom. Sg. Fem. *x' rwxšn'γrdmn* 'the paradise' *M 178 i V 7 sq.*; *'ix' wr'* 'and the profit' *M 280 R 8*; *x' pysws* NPr., *T ii B V 14*; &c.

1416. (β) Nom. Pl. Masc. *x' dywt* 'the demons' *M 178 ii R 17*; *x' γrβ'kt* 'the wise' *M 135 i 60*; *x' γrt* 'the mountains' *T ii D 116, 15*; &c.

1417. (γ) Nom. Pl. Fem. *x' wnd'* 'the trees' *T ii D 267, 20*.

1418. (b) Enlarged by *-na*. Man. *x'n* Nom. Sg. Fem., *M 178 i R 19. M 760, 8*.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Not clear in its context is B. *γwn'k γw δβ'r p'r'm'yt* 'that *dāna-pāramitā*' (H.) *VJ 1462*, hardly Genitive, as suggested by Reichelt, *ZII iv 244 fn. 2*.

1419. (c) Enlarged by *-nd*. Man. *x'nd*, Chr. *x'nt*, Pl., 'those'. Nom. *M 178 i R 2*; Acc. *ST i 21, 11*; Acc. or Obl. *ST ii 6, 19*.

1420. (3) Man. *xyδ*, Chr. *xyd*, B. *γyδ*, 'that (same), is, idem' (cf. § 1403), often in connexion with a relative clause.

(a) *pr xyδ γnd'k βjyq 'šm'r* 'through these (just mentioned) evil thoughts' *BBB b 18 sq.*; *xyδ 'xšywnyy βγγy* 'that same god' *M 264 A 21. 24*; *xyδ nγ'myy* 'at that time' *Man. Lett. ii 14*; Chr. *xyd nγ'm* 'at that time, then' *ii 2, 15. 3, 21*; Man. *xyδ ywnyδ zwrnyy* 'at that very moment' *T ii D 66 b 26*; Man. *xyδ ywn*, v. § 1109.

1421. (b) Connected with a relative. *δβtyw xyδ 'dyg s'r 'zwrt' cn qy' rwβyy nyjty* 'goes back again to that very person from whose mouth it has come out' *M 117, 4 sqq.*; *xyδ ykšyy . . . ky* 'that *yakša* who' *BBB 555 sq.*; Chr. *xyd qt 'is cui' i 33, 14*; Chr. *xyd 'yc [qt]* 'id quod' *i 49, 9*; &c.

1422. (c) Preceding other demonstratives. *yysw' pr xyδδ xwnyy βwt* 'the moon is in that one' *M 767 i 6 sq.*; B. *γyδ wy'wnt zmnw myδ'ny* 'at that time' *ST ii 9, 14*; v. also B. *γyδ 'γw*, § 1409.

1423. (ii) Stem (-)w-.

(1) (')w(w) { (a, b, c) Simple, 1423-30.
(d) Enlarged by *-nu*, 1431.
(e) Prepositioned by *pr*, 1432.

(2) w' { (a) Simple, 1433-6.
(b) Enlarged by *-na*, 1437.
(c) Enlarged by *-nd*, 1438.

(3) *wy* 1439 sq.

(4) *wy'* 1441-3.

(5) *w(y)ny*, *'wyn*, 1444-6.

(6) *wyšn(d)* 1447-51.

(7) *wyδ* 1452-8.

(8) *-w(y)nd* 1459-65.

(1) OIr. *awam*.

(a) Man. *'ww (awu)*.

(a) Acc. Sg. Masc. of the article. Very common.

1424. (β) Acc. Pl. *'uw ps'kt* 'the garlands' *Kaw. V 15*; *'uw . . . βγγšt* 'the gods' *BSOS viii 584*.

1425. (γ) Ablative. *cn 'uw š(yrk)ty* 'from that pious' *Kaw. V 21*.

1426. (b) Man. *ww (wu)*.

(a) Acc. Sg. Masc., *passim*.

1427. (β) Acc. Sg. Fem. *ww* δ'm 'the creation' *T ii D* 267, 19; *ww qnck* 'the child' *BBB e* 22 (v. comm. ib. p. 101).

1428. (γ) Fem. Sg. Acc. or Dat. *prδβn p̄tys'cnd ww rw'nsp'syy* 'they damaged the religious duties' *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 8 sq. (the text goes on: 'r̄ty c'nw x' rw[ns]p'syy p̄tyszsy' 'and when the rel. duties (Fem. Sg.) are performed').

1429. (δ) Nom. Sg. Masc. *T ii B V* 12.

1430. (c) B. 'w (ō).¹ Acc. Sg. *VJ* 31^b. 794. &c.; Acc. Pl. *VJ* 56.

1431. (d) Enlarged by -nu. Man. B. 'wnw, B. 'wn'w, 'wn'kw (cf. § 960 fn.1). Nom.-Acc., mostly Neuter, 'id'. Man. 'wnw *cw T ii D* 115, 1. *T ii D* 116, 6, B. 'wn'kw 'cwty *VJ* 247, 'id quod'; 'wnw s't̄ 'id omne' *M* 399, 13; B. 'wn'kw *ST ii* 7, 6. 10, 38, 'wnw ib. 9, 12 'id', 'wn'w 'sβr'ck 'eas res' ib. 7, 1; Man. 'wnw xcy 'is this' *M* 108 R 5 (unclear); B. 'wn'kw w'γš, Acc., 'ea verba' *VJ* 818. 1372; B. 'wn'kw r'δwh 'along that road' *VJ* 103 (parallel passages *w'n'kh r'δ(w)h*, v. § 1437); S. 'wn'kw β'r'ycyk, Nom., v. § 1536.

1432. (e) Prepositioned by pr, Man. S. *prw*, S. 'prw, v. § 1625. *prw* is generally used as a prepositioned article (like Italian *del*, &c.); the demonstrative value of its second element is still alive in B. 'ywywncyδ *prw*' *PZY* ... 'similar in this respect that ...' *T iii* 263 i 20 sq. 29.

1433. (2) w³.

(a) Simple form. Only Man. Mainly Acc. Sg. Fem. and Acc. Pl. of the article.

(a) Acc. Sg. Fem. *w* ... 'rk 'the task' *Kaw*. K 3; *w* ... δ'm 'the creation', v. § 1278; *w*' 'nyttc ruwxšn'γrδmn 'the whole paradise' *M* 178 i V 2 sq.; &c.

1434. (β) Acc. Pl. *w* m̄r̄txmy[y](t)[yy] 'the men' *Kaw*. G 8 sq.; *w* δyδ[ym'ty] ps'k 'the diadem and the crown' *T ii D* 167 iii 13.

1435. (γ) Nom. Sg. Fem. *w* rwc *prwsty* wβyy 'the day may have turned' *Man. Lett.* ii 6.

1436. (δ) Preceding other demonstratives. *w* m'n' 'fcmδδ, Acc., *BBB* p. 70 (quoted § 719).

1437. (b) Enlarged by -na. Only B., cf. *VJ w'n* 538, *w'n'kh* 450. 43^b. 50^c, *w'n'kw* 654, throughout with r'δ-, Acc. Sg. Fem., 'along that road'; *w'n'kh z'yh* 900 sq.; *w'n'kh šm'r'kh* 1025 sq.

¹⁴³⁰ Cf. the ideogram *ZKw* (= 'w, article), used for the *oh* particle 'oh' (= Man. 'wh *BBB* Frg b) in *VJ* 1040.

1438. (c) Enlarged by -nd. Man. *w'ndt* Pl. Obl., *BBB* p. 70; *'rtxw w'n(t)t* [(?) *Kaw.* V 16.

1439. (3) Man. *wy(y)*, B. *'wy*. Man. B. Locative of the article, B. also Gen.-Dat.

(a) Locative. *wyy rytyy* 'on the face', Fem., *T ii D 167 iii 3*; *wyy dywtyy(h)* 'x's *myd'nyy* 'during the fight against the demons' *M 247*, 2 sq.; *wyyh mγwn dyw'styyc(y)* *δ'myy* 'in the whole world of demons', Fem., *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 6; *wyy ytgwy* *tyys'nd* 'they walk on to the bridge' *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 21. For B. v. Tedesco, loc. cit. 97, also *SCE* 131.

1440. (b) Gen.-Dat. Sg. (Fem. acc. to Tedesco) *VJ 221. 309*, and Tedesco, loc. cit., 96; Pl. *VJ 202. 220*, and Tedesco, loc. cit. 97.

1441. (4) Man. Chr. *wy'*, B. *'wyh*. Man. B. Locative of the article, B. sometimes Gen.-Dat., Chr. general Oblique of the Feminine personal pronoun.

(a) Locative. Man. *wy' rytyy* 'in front' Fem., *T iii 282*, 14; *wy'h 'nw'zkyy* 'in the assembly', v. § 986; *wy' tmy* *cyndr* 'in hell' *M 110 i V 3*; *wy' dnyy cndr* 'in the Church' Fem., *BBB* f 90; *wy' srδy* 'in a year' *M 140 R 4*; Pl. *wy' sm'nyty* 'in the skies' *M 178 ii R 29*; &c.

1442. (b) Dat. Pl. *VJ 51^b. 64^a. 676*.

(c) Chr., Fem. personal pronoun, Obl., v. § 1364.

1443. (d) Enlarged by -wnt (v. § 1459). B. *γδ wy'wnt*, Loc., v. § 1422; *wy'wnty'*, Loc., *SCE* 90 (cf. H., *BSOS* viii 585 fn. 3); *wy'wnt 'zwnyh* 'in that birth' *P 2, 477*.

1444. (5) OIr. *awana.

(a) Man. *wnyy*, *wynyy*, Gen.-Dat. Sg. (Masc. Fem.) Pl. (Masc.) of the article. Also Gen.-Dat. Sg. of the personal pronoun, v. § 1363. Chr. *w(y)ny* Obl. and Acc. of the personal pronoun Masc.

1445. (b) B. *'wyn*. Gen.-Dat. Sg. Masc. of the article. *N. P. i.*

1446. (c) Enlarged by -wnt (cf. § 1459). B. *wnyw'nty prnp'r* *Vim 100* 'illius causā'¹ (Weller); B. *wn'ywnty pwsysty* *L' γwt wnty ZKZY* 'he cannot eat that Bodhisattva who' *T iii 263 i 22*.

(d) Prepositioned by **hačā*, čon, v. § 1610, 2.

(e) Prepositioned by **hada*, δon, v. § 1622.

1447. (6) S. *wyšn(wh)*, Man. *wyšn* (v. § 1396) and *wyšnd*, Chr. *wyšnt*, cf. § 1399 fn., article and personal pronoun, Plural.

(a) B. *wyšn(wh)*, v. Tedesco, loc. cit. 97, *Anc. Lett. wyšnw*, 1446¹ Cf. *VJ 167 sq. prnp'r 'ytym . . . 'PZY* 'ea causa venimus, ut . . . '.

ZKyšnw, *ZKyXMw* (v. H., *ZDMG* 90, 198), used for the Gen.-Dat.-Abl. of the article.

(b) The Chr. examples are personal pronouns throughout, v. § 1385.

1448. (c) The Man. examples are used as personal pronouns (v. § 1384) and for the article, cf. *wyšnd fryštyt* 'the angels' Nom., *Kaw.* G 3, *wyšnd fryštytyy* Acc., ib. 4 sq.; *wyšnd ii z'tyt* 'the two sons' *M* 794 c 2. Man. *wyšn* is exceptionally Nom. in *Kaw.* E 15.

1449. (d) Prepositioned by pr. *prywyšn tmb'r* 'in their bodies' *M* 178 i V 28, where another Man. copy of the same text has *pr wyšn tmb'r* (*T ii D* 139, 20).

1450. (e) Prepositioned by *hačā*. Man. *cywyšn ky' 'ty* 'from those, whose' *T ii D* 139 i 6; B. *cywyšnw* 'propterea' *VJ* 812 sq.; *cywyšnw mrtym'tt* 'from men' *SCE* 520; S. *cywyšn p'r'ykt dywty* 'from the other demons' *Kaw.* H 15 sq.

1451. (f) Prepositioned by *hada*. B. *dywšn* [*T iii Š* 23 (3) ii 7].

1452. (7) Man. B. *wyδ*, Chr. *wyd* (cf. § 1403) v. Lentz, *ST ii*, s.v.

(a) Simple form. Used for complements of time and for the Acc., 'that, this'. *wyδp't(y)* 'this time', v. *BBB* p. 102 on f 7, *wyδp'ty(y)* 'then' *M* 135 ii 28. *Kaw.* G 8. *T ii B R* 7, *pts'r wyδp't* 'then' *M* 178 ii R 4; Chr. *wyd n'y'm*, Chr. *wyd žw[mny]* ii 4, 32 (v. H., *BBB* p. 58 on 505), B. *wyδ zmnnyh*, B. *wyδ zmnw* *DN* 62. 86 (v. § 512 fn.), 'at that time, alors'; *wyδ frm'[n* 'that order' *M* 916 b 5 (out of context); B. *wyδ pts'r'k* 'the (that) skull', Acc., *Frg iii* 88; *wyδ ptškw'n* 'the (that) message', Acc., *VJ* 1415 (wrong Lentz, loc. cit.); cf. also Chr. *wyd'yty*, B. *wyδ'yty*, 'then', Lentz, loc. cit.

1453. (b) Prepositioned by pr. *prywyd* 'in it, there, thus' *BBB* 581. *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 4. &c.; *prywyd s't* 'for all this' *BBB* 532, &c.; *prywyδδ z'y* 'on that Earth' *M* 178 i R 24; *prywyδδ 'dω* . . . *dywł* 'into the two demons' *T ii B R* 8 sq.; *prywyδ w'xš* 'in this speech' *Man. Lett.* i 23; *prywyδδ mzyx prδ(β)[n* 'in this great peril' *M* 674, 21; Chr. *prywyθ fry'n* i 81, 11 sq., B. *pr'ywyd pry'nk* *VJ* 973 'in this manner'; B. *pr'ywyδ yw'nh* 'because of this sin' *VJ* 4^a; *pr'yw(?)yδ zmnwh* 'at that moment' *VJ* 819. 1015.

1454. (c) Prepositioned by *hačā*. *cywyδδ* 'after this' *M* 129 R 7, *cywydy(y)* 'afterwards' *BBB* c 18. d 3. 5. 9. &c., *cywyδ yyrtr* 'posthac' *BBB* f 12. 32, Chr. *cn cywyθ pyštrw* id., i 82, 5; *cywyδdyh* 'from it' *M* 178 i R 27, Chr. *cn cywyθ* id., i 34, 4, Man. *cwn cywyδδ* 'from those' *M* 118 i V 4; S. *cywyδ* 'from there' *T M* 389 a V 32, Man. *cywyδdyy βyks[?r]* 'outside it' *M* 128 V 8, *cywydyy βystr* id.,

T ii D 116, 22; Man. *cywyd pyδ'r p'rtly*, Chr. *cywyθ pyδ'r qt ST i*, *cywyd pyδ'r m't ii 3, 11*, B. *cyw'yδ pyδ'r (P)ZY*, Man. (c)*ywyd p'rwtlyh M 372, 29*, *cywyd p'[rwtly T ii D 63 a 14*, 'propterea quod, for, because'; *cywyd pyδ'r M 136 R 1*, B. *cyw(?)yδ pyδ'r VJ 943. 1494. SCE 99*, 'because of this'; *c'wn cywyδδ rrtly* 'from those mountains', v. § 1681, *cywyδδ rwxšny'ky* 'from this light' *M 129 V 11*, S. *cywyd . . . r'βyh* 'from this disease' *T M 389 a R 38*, B. *cyw'yδ 'δcw* 'from such things' *VJ 955*.

1455. (d) Prepositioned by hada. *δywyd 'kt'nyy* 'for that sin' *BBB f 24*; *δywyd x'n[yy]* 'in that house' *M 760, 5*; B. *δyw'yδ myδ* 'on that day' *VJ 1063*; *δyw'yδ mrtymty* Dat. Pl., *VJ 137*.

1456. (e) Prepositioned by k(w). Man. *kw kywyd unx[r* 'to that voice' *T ii D 117, 32 sq.*; *kwu qywyd [M 399, 1*; B. *pr'yγt kyw'yδ . . . δγsth* 'he arrived in the plain' *VJ 830*.

1457. (f) Prepositioned by OIr. anā or anu. B. *nyw'yδ pčβ'nty* 'in succession to it' *Dhy 80*, cf. *BBB p. 97 on b 88*.

1458. (g) Prefixed by zy-. Man. *zywyδδ*, v. *BBB loc. cit.*

1459. (8) -w(y)nd, cf. § 107.

(a) B. *wy'wni(y)*, v. § 1443; B. *wn(?)yw(?)nty*, v. § 1446.

1460. (b) Prepositioned by pr. *prywynd jmn(w) Kaw. V 7*, Chr. *prywnť ny'm ii 5, 33*, 'at that time'; Chr. *prywnť 'w'zy* 'in this crowd' *ii 4, 8 sq.*; Chr. *qt prywnť* 'by which' *i 31, 11*.

1461. (c) Prepositioned by hačā. *cywnd mrt's'r BBB b 42 sq.*, Chr. *cywnť mc' ii 1, 82* 'from then till now, since then'; Chr. *cn cywnťy prcy* 'postea' *ii 5, 30*; B. *cyw'nty 'pyštrw* 'thereafter' *SCE 282*; Chr. *cn cywnť* 'from them' *ii 3, 66*; B. *cyw'nt zr'ysty* 'he is delivered from them (or it)' *SCE 340*; B. *cyw'nty pyδtyh 's'nt* 'ils prendront de ces éléphants' *VJ 3^b*.

1462. (d) Prepositioned by hada. Chr. *dywnť 'w'qy* 'in that region' *ii 5, 33*; B. *δyw'nty mγδβy ZKw ptškw'nh* 'the suggestion by that minister' *VJ 262* (wrong Gauthiot); Chr. *pr dywnť wy'q* 'in that place' *ii 1, 96*; Chr. *pr dywnť myθ qryť* 'in those days' *i 33, 9*.

1463. (e) Prepositioned by k(w). Chr. *qw qywnť wy'q s'r* 'to that place' *ii 2, 12*; Chr. *qwynt s'r* 'to that one' *ii 1, 25*. Cf. § 411.

1464-5. (f) Prepositioned by OIr. anā or anu. B. *nyw'nty* 'about it, to that one, by that one', v. *BBB p. 97 on b 88*; cf. also B. *nyw'nt mrtly . . . 'krt'k'sty* 'by that man was made' *T iii S 313, 7*, *nyw'nt mrtym'k* 'to, for that man' *ib. 16. P 2, 39*.

1466. (iii) Stem (-)m-.

- (1) (ʔ)mw { (a) Simple, 1466.
(b) Enlarged by -nu, 1467-9.
(c) Prepositioned, 1470-2.

(2) mʔ-, 1473 sq.

(3) ʔmy, 1475. [*my* v. *Addenda.*]

(4) ʔmyʔ, 1476 sq.

(5) ʔmyn, 1478.

(6) myšn(d), 1479-81.

(7) -myδ, 1482-6.

(8) -mnd, 1487-91.

(1) (ʔ)mw, prepositioned -(ʔy)m, from *imam*.

(a) B. ʔmw, Acc. Sg. of the article, *SCE* 560. 563. *ST ii*; B. mw *ST ii*; Acc. Pl. B. ʔmw γβ RYPW RYPW pwʔyšt 'many myriads of Buddhas' *Vim* 102 sq.

1467. (b) Enlarged by -nu (cf. § 960 fn. 1) 'this'.

(a) Acc. Sg. Followed by Masc. nouns, Man. *munw BBB* 665. c 39. d 11. &c., B. *munʔkw VJ* 21^b. *SCE* 344, B. *munʔw ST ii* 8, 5, Chr. *munw* ib. 4, 27. 5, 24; followed by Fem. nouns, *BBB* e 10. *VJ* 318; alone (Neuter), *ST ii* 4, 18.

1468. (β) Nominative. Chr. *munw ʔγdy* 'this prayer' *ii* 4, 11 sq.; in Man., only before quotations or enumerations, cf. *iii pʔsyk munw βwt (xcy) BBB* c 43 sq. d 13, 'the three hymns (to be sung) are the following', *δwʔts ʔndmyyt munw xnd* 'the 12 limbs are as follows' *M* 14 V 17 sq. Cf. *myšʔnd*, § 1481.

1469. (γ) Oblique (ʔ). Chr. *munw yʔtwq xypt fnʔs* 'this sorcerer's deceitfulness' *ii* 4, 11.

1470. (c) Prepositioned by pr.

(a) B. *prʔym wysprδ nʔβcyʔ myδʔny Vim* 141 sq., *prʔym wysprδ nʔβcʔkh* ib. 144, 'in every country'.

1471. (β) *prm ʔrc βndktyc* 'in this dark prison' *BBB* b 75; *prm ʔfcmβδ* [sic] *M* 498 c 4, B. *prm βumh VJ* 226, *prm δʔmh Vim* 126 'in the world'; B. *prm kršn* 'on the (= his) beauty' *Vim* 87; *prm CWRH* 'towards the body' *SCE* 182 (Cf. *BBB* p. 54 on 490²).

1472. (d) Prepositioned by Av. *pasča*. B. (ʔ)pyšm 'according to', v. § 373.

1473. (2) mʔ-.

(a) Enlarged by -na. Acc. Fem. Man. *mʔnʔ*, v. § 1436; Abl. *cn mʔnʔ*[. . .] *pyδʔr M* 428, 9 sq. (not certain). E. *mʔnʔkh Vim* 126

1474. (b) Enlarged by -nd. Acc. Pl. Chr. *mʔnʔ ʔγdy* 'these things' *ii* 6, 18; B. *mʔnt ʔywʔkt* 'these children' *VJ* 1268.

1475. (3) B. 'my, Gen.-Dat. of the article. *m'γw 'my wγwšw RYPW 'ynch 'nyw z'tk nyst* 'for us, the 60-000 women, there is no other son' *VJ* 361 sq.; 'my n'βy γwyštry 'leader of the people' *SCE* 486.

1476. (4) S. 'my', Locative of the article.

(a) Simple form. 'my' δ'my 'in the world' *T ii D ii* 169 (a) i V 10.

1477. (b) Enlarged by -mnt (v. § 1487), Loc. and Dat. 'my'mnty 'zwny 'in this life' *Dhy* 142; 'my'm'nty 'with regard to this' *ST ii* 10, 24; 'my'mnty 'krtyh 'for such deeds' ib. 41 sq.; 'my'm'nty mrtym'k 'for, to, such a man', Dat. eth., *SCE* 549 sq.

1478. (5) B. 'myn, Gen.-Dat. of the article. *SCE* 110. 128. *ST ii* passim.¹ *Dhu* 37. 39. 54.

1479. (6) B. myšn(w), Man. myš(?)nd, Chr. m(y)šnt. Article and personal pronoun, Plural, cf. § 1399 fn.

(a) B. *myšn Vim* 118, *myšnw Vim* 52. 107. *SCE* 103. 115. &c., Gen.-Dat.; *myšn Dhu* 47. *SCE* 106, *myšnw Dhu* 42, Acc.; always article.

1480. (b) Chr. *myšnt i* 13, 3, *myšnt ii* 1, 34. 2, 18, 'those, they', Nom.; *mšnt ii* 3, 39, Acc.; *myšnty ii* 2, 17, Gen.

1481. (c) Man. *myš'nd xnd* 'are the following' *BBB* b 7 sq. (cf. *mwnw*, § 1468); *myš'nd pnc prβynd* 'these five gifts' Nom., *BBB* p. 76 on 621; *myš(?)ndy(y)*, Gen. of the personal pronoun, v. § 1396.

1482. (7) -myδ.

(a) Prepositioned by pr. *prymyδ* 'for, because of, this' *BBB* 552; Chr. *prymyθ wrnymsqn* 'in this we believe' i 75, 15; Man. *prymyδ . . . δyny frn* 'on the Glory of the Religion' *BBB* 533 sqq.; Chr. *prymyt γnl'qryt* 'to these sinners' ii 6, 29; Chr. *prymyθ frγn'* *ST i* passim, Man. *pr 'ymyδδ frγn'* *M* 430, 4 'in this manner'; S. *prymyδ pc't* 'this time', v. § 179.

1483. (b) Prepositioned by hačā. *cymyδyy* 'of it' *BBB* d 2, *cymyδδyy* 'out of that, daraus' *M* 118 i R 7; B. *cnn cym'yδ'y* 'thereby' *Vim* 127; Chr. *xwrθ' cn cymyty* [sic] 'eat of it' i 81, 9, *cymyθ* 'from it' ib. 13; Chr. *cymyθy pyδ'r* 'therefore' i 21, 18. 80, 6, B. *cym'yδh pyδ'r Vim* 73 sq., *cnn cym'yδ pyδ'r Vim* 36. *ST ii* 10, 40; Man. *cymyδδ 'fcmδδδy* 'from this world' *M* 617 i 6; Man. *cymyδδ tmb'ryyh* 'of, from, this body' *T ii D* 62, 3; B. *cym'yδ r'βty* 'of such diseases' *P* 2, 41.

1484. (c) Prepositioned by hada. Chiefly Dative. *δymyδ w'xš*

1478¹ Gen.-Dat. in all passages (against Lentz, s.v.).

'in, to, this speech' *Man. Lett.* ii 17; *δymyδδ mrγγyštuy* 'to the birds' *T ii D* 62, 18; *δ[y]myδ . . . s'rβγγy cyndr* 'in this tower' *M* 133, 13 sq.; *S. δym'yδ z'k'ncyh* 'to this *girl' *T M* 389 a R 31.

1485. (d) Prepositioned by k(w). *S. kw kymyδ [s']r X I ii R* 8.¹

1486. (e) Prepositioned by OIr. *anā* or *anu*. *nymyδ tmb'ry* 'in this body', v. *BBB* p. 97 on b 88.

1487. (8) -*mnd*.

(a) *B. 'may'm(?)nty*, v. § 1477.

(b) Prepositioned by *pr*. *prymynd* 'in these (the following)' *BBB* b 74; *S. prym'nt z'y* 'on this earth (Fem.)' *T ii D ii* 169 (a) i V 7.

1488. (c) Prepositioned by *hačā*. *Chr. cymnt šyry* 'from this bliss' *ii* 6, 34; *B. cym'nt 'δcw* 'of these things' *VJ* 1364. With Plural ending, *B. cym'ntšnw* 'from them' *Vim* 68.

1489. (d) Prepositioned by *hada*. *pr δymnd ii mydyt(y)* 'on these two days' *M* 136 V 7 sq.; *Chr. pr s't dymnt 'wt'qt* 'in all these regions' *ii* 3, 44 sq.; *B. δym'nty γryh* 'on this mountain' *VJ* 948.

1490-1. (e) Prepositioned by k(w). *B. kym'nt γrw s'r* 'to this mountain' *VJ* 947.

1492. (iv) Stem *y-*.

(1) *yw*, from *ayam*. [Differently Bailey, *TPS* 1945, 19]

(a) Simple form. Article.

(a) *Nom. Pl. yw pystyy 'zšnkt' γrt'* 'the adorned splendid mountains' *M* 178 i R 28 sq.; *B. yw r'δct mrtym'tt* 'the men on the way' *SCE* 528 sq.; *B. yw šw'm'k 't L' šw'm'y pδkh . . . 'nt* 'the dharmas of change and not-change are' *ST ii* 7, 26 sq.

1493. (β) *Nom. Sg. B. yw γw'r'nt* 'the right-hand one' *O¹* 5. 7.

1494. (γ) *Acc. Sg. S. prwh y(w) γypδh mntγrβ'ky'kh* 'in (your) own foolishness' *X I ii R* 21 sq.

1495. (b) Enlarged by -*ne*. *Man. ywnyy fšy'ws* 'this gentleman', *Nom.*, *M* 135 i 18; *ywny prβ'r* [. . .] *xcy* 'this *explanation¹ is . . . ' *T ii D* 139 ii 11; *ywny xcy yxw . . . 'this is the . . . ' ib.* 4; *B. ywn'k*, *Nom. Sg. SCE* 199, *VJ* 1475, *Loc. SCE* 68, cf. also *ST ii*, s.v.

1496. (c) Prepositioned by *pr*. *Chr. pryw* 'towards him, on him' *ST i* passim.

1497. (2) *y'-*.

(a) Enlarged by -*nā*. *Nom. Sg. Fem. S. y'n'kh 'βc'npdh* 'this

¹485¹ Uncertain context.

¹495¹ V. *Kaw.* 68 fn. 3.

world' *X I ii V 1*, *y'n'kh r'zh* 'this secret' *ib. 22*, *B. y'n'kh pryšnh* 'this sign' *VJ 1032*.

1498. (b) Enlarged by -nd. Pl., 'these'. Chr. *y'nt ST i*, Nom.-Acc. passim; Abl. 18, 6. 26, 3. 36, 8; *y'nt s't* 'all this', Acc., 45, 11; Chr. *y'ntt* Nom., *ii 6, 23*; *B. y'ntt* Nom., *ST ii 7, 8. VJ 1245. S sq*

1499. (v) Man. 'ynyy, Chr. 'yny, 'this'. H. compares Skt. *ena.* Nom. Sg. *M 767 i 9. M 591, 12. ST i 16, 19. ST ii 5, 5*; Nom. Pl. *ST ii 1, 56. 6, 4*, Man. 'ynyy *ii* 'these two' *M 640, 2*; Acc. *BBB b 43. ST i 43, 16. 47, 10. ST ii 1, 84*, Man. 'ynyy *ctf'r βγ'y'q* 'these four deities' *M 670, 6 sq.*

1500. (vi) Man. *B. 'yδ*, Chr. *yd* 'this', from **aita-*, v. Benv., *Grammaire*, 131 fn. Nom. Sg. Masc. *M 635 i 14*; *B. 'yδ cšmy wyny 'γw* 'this is obvious' (H.) *VJ 364*; *B. γw 'yδ w'β w'tδ'r*, v. § 1407; *B. 'yδ rwrh* (Fem.), Acc., 'this medicine' *Frg iii 62*; Chr. *yd 'yšt* 'these things' *B 49, 14. 23.*

1501. *Conspetus (see overleaf).*

RELATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS

1502. (i) *ky* (beside it Chr. *qt* in *ST i*)¹ 1503-7.
 (ii) *ky'*, Oblique, 1508 sq.
 (iii) *cw*, Neuter (beside it Chr. *qt* in *ST i*)¹ 1510-13.
 (iv) *B. kt'r* 'which' 1514.
 (v) *kw* 'where' 1515 sq.
 (vi) *kurd* 'where' 1517.
 (vii) *ckn'c* 'unde' 1518.
 (viii) *kδ* 'when' 1519.

With the exception of Chr. *qt*, these forms are frequently strengthened by the enclitic *'ty*. Some syntactic peculiarities of relative clauses are treated in §§ 1678-83.

1503. (i) *ky*.

(1) Nominative. *nywš'kt ky . . . ptz'n'nd* 'auditores who recognize' *BBB f 82 sq.*; *fryt'kt kyy . . . šyry 'kty'y prwyjnyy xcy* 'love, which is the nourisher of good deeds' *BBB 626 sq.*; *cw xcy kyy xwrtyy bwtškw* 'what is that that is being eaten' *BBB 759 sq.*; Chr. *mn' tmb'r qy 'wxsty bwtq'n* 'my body which will be destroyed' *i 81, 10 sq.*

1504. (2) Accusative. *tmp'r . . . ky ptmwytyy δ'rmskw* 'the body which I am wearing' *BBB 487 sqq.*; *cw purc 'ty' zynyy ky pcxšm skw* 'what loan and deposit (are these) which I receive?' *BBB 763*

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¹ This conspectus does not include *'yny* (§ 1499) and *'yδ* (§ 1500). The indications as to gender, number, and case are only general, for details v. the sections referred to.

Demonstrative Pronouns¹

x	m	y
zw 1405 ʒw-ZK z' 1415 ZKh .. .. .. .. .. .. ..	.. ʒmy. my .. B. (ʔ)mw 1466 .. S. ʒmh .. B. ʒmy 1475, ʒmyn 1478 .. S. ʒmy' 1476, (ʔ)my 1466 (Add.) ʒmyh .. prm 1471, B. prʒym 1470 B. (ʔ)pyšm 1472 ..	B. yw 1493 yʒ Chr. pryw 1496 cyw
x' 1416 sq. ʒxh	myšnd 1480 sq. ʒmy Chr. mšnt 1480 .. myšndy 1481, B. myšn 1479	yw 1492 ʒNt
xwny 1411 sqq. x'n' 1418 .. x'nd 1419 xwnx 1410 xyš (?) 1420 sqq. .. .. .. .. ..	.. m'n' 1473 .. mwnw 1467 .. Chr. B. m'nt 1474 prymyš 1482 ʒ. pr'ymyš cymyš 1483 .. šymyš 1484 .. S. kymyš 1485 .. nymyš 1486	ywny 1495 *y'n' 1497 Chr. B. y'nt 1498
..	B. ʒmy'mnty 1477 prymynd 1487 .. Chr. cymnt, B. cym'nt(šnw) 1488 .. šymnd 1489 .. B. kym'nt 1490 .. [B. nym'nt P passim] ..	.. .. .. .. .. ..

sqq.; *wysł'w ky kδ'rm* 'the oath which I have taken' *T ii D 66 b 35*.

1505. (3) Oblique. *'qwtysł . . . kyy 'ty . . . mnd'yrβ'ktł δβr'ndskwn* 'dogs to which the fools give' *T ii D 62, 22 sqq.*; *wšłm'x kyy . . . 'šyy ny yrβty 'zβ'β* 'the paradise, whose flavour no one knows' *T ii T 22, 23 sqq.*; B. *z'p 'ky 'PZY my 'yw w'βr''kt 'nyz um't rty 'ky wsn γβt'ym* 'oh children, for whom I used to get up so early, and for whose sake I toiled' *VJ 1087 sqq.*

1506. (4) + 'ty.

(a) Man. *ky(y) 'ty*. Examples in the prec. sect., and §§ 1678. 1680.

(b) Chr. *qyt. qyt c'nw . . . twžymłqn* 'quippe qui tribuerint' *ii 6, 20*; *γnł'q qyt tw' . . . šqrtyq'n* 'the wicked one who will lead thee' *ii 6, 44 sq.*

(c) B. *'kyty VJ 124. 236. 337. &c.*; *kyZY; ZKZY SCE*.

1507. (5) Used as a relative conjunction. *γf srδył wβ' kyy xii 'naxrtyh 'xš'wn s't nyjlyy* 'it was many years since the rule of the twelve zodiacal signs had finished completely' *M 767 ii 4 sq.*

1508. (ii) *ky'*, cf. *BBB p. 88 on 758*.

(1) *ky' xw qyštyc* 'whose cornfield' *M 133, 88 sq.*; *cn qy' rwβyy*, v. § 1421; Chr. *pr qy' cwpr* 'on which' *ii 1, 49*.

1509. (2) + 'ty.

(a) Man. *kyy' '[ty]šyy*, v. § 1685; *cywysn ky' 'ty*, v. § 1450.

(b) B. *'ky' ZY DN 9*.

(c) S. *ky'wt Anc. Lett. ii 49*. (Obl. or Acc.)

1510. (iii) *cw*.

(1) *frm'n cw . . . pł'γwšłtδ'rnd* 'the order which they had heard' *M 135 ii 33 sqq.*; *γryw jywndy cw xwrδ'rt* 'what of the Living Soul he has eaten' *M 107 i 49 sq.*; *wysp'rδyy łkwšł cw wynyy . . . ryj 'nxyjł* 'everywhere he looks out for that which excites his desire' *BBB 565 sq.*; Chr. *pr rwł zmb' cw žygrnt dwnbys* 'on the bank of the river which they call the Danube' *ii 1, 20*; Chr. *cw w'xš xnt cw w'byysq ływ* 'what words are (these) which you are saying' *ii 1, 39*; B. (')*cw δr'w pł'yγwš(w)* 'the rumour which I heard' *VJ 509. 577*.

1511-12. (2) + 'ty.

(a) *cw xcyw cw 'ty xwrδ'skwn* 'what is it that you are eating?' *BBB f 76*; *xwtyh xcyw x' δβ'r cw 'tyh . . . płcxšnd* 'this is the gift (Fem. ?) which they receive' *M 144 R 2 sqq.*

1513. (b) B. *'cwty. p'rZY my tym w'β 'sty 'cwty tw' δβ'r δβ'r'm k'm* 'I have still so much that I can give you' *VJ 434 sq.*; *cw ZYmy . . . L' w'β'y 'cwty 'krty* 'why don't you tell me what has happened?' *VJ 293 sq.*

1514. (iv) B. *kt'r*, cf. Russian *который*. *ty* 'δcw 'sty *kt'r* ZY 'my βγδ'y *k'm* 'there is still something which you might give me' VJ 1131 sq. [Benveniste: 'will you give (it) to me?']

1515. (v) *kw* 'where'.

(1) *z'yh* . . . *kw* *rw*δ *pty*rwδ 'the ground, where vegetation grew' BBB 578 sqq.; *'yny* 'fcmδ . . . *kw* *m'x* 'skwym 'this world where we are' M 107 i 9 sqq.

1516. (2) + 'ty.

(a) 'wrδ *kw* 'ty *x* 'fryštyt' 'skwnd 'there, where the angels are' M 178 ii R 24 sq.; 'ws' šw'm *skwn* *kw* 'tmyy β'rycyk škr't 'I am going there, where the mount may be taking me' M 127 V 12 sq.; *kw* 'ty *w*dyyd 'wherein' M 178 i R 4.

(b) B. 'kuty VJ 43^b. SCE 91; (')*kw*ZY VJ 193. 12^b. 17^b. 1117.

1517. (vi) Man. S. *kwrδ*. *kwrδδ* 'where' M 108 V 9; S. *kwrδ* *wy*'ky ZY . . . βwt *k'm* 'in the place where . . . will be' X 1 i V 20 sqq.

1518. (vii) *ckn'c*, from **hačā* + *kn'c* (v. § 1536), 'unde'. [*p*]'mpwšt *ckn'c* . . . 'jwnd 'jyind 'a queen from whom sons are born' M 133, 92 sqq.; *xw* i [*rw*xšny'*k*] *ckn'c* 'ty *xw* C z'r cr'y *p*[*tsw*]xsty 'the one light, from which the hundred thousand lamps are lit' T ii D 139 ii 4 sq.; B. 'yw 'wt''k *ckn'c* 'PZY 'ytsδ 'the country whence you have come' VJ 152.

1519. (viii) Man. B. *kδ* 'when'. BBB d 7. *Frg* iii 49, &c.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS

1520. (i) *ky*, usually Nominative, 1521-3.

(ii) *ky*, Oblique, 1524.

(iii) *cw*, Neuter, 1525-30.

(iv) *kw*, 'where', 1531 sq.

(v) *kwrδ* 'where' 1533 sq.

(vi) Chr. *qd* 'when' 1535.

(vii) *kδ'm*, *kt'm* 'which' 1536 sq.

(viii) *kn'c* 'whence' 1538.

(ix) *ckn'c* 'whence' 1539.

(x) Chr. *c'f* 'quot' 1540.

(xi) B. *c'βr* 'quot' 1541.

(xii) B. *c'γwn'k* 'qualis' 1542.

(xiii) *c'nw* 'how' 1543.

Except when used as conjunctions, interrogatives are rarely followed by 'ty, unless the latter is used to support a following enclitic pronoun.

1521. (i) ky.

(1) Nominative. 'rtf pr . . . tmb'r . . . kyy p's'y 'who has thrown you into the bodies?' BBB b 52 sqq.; B. 'ky γrβty 'who knows?' VJ 303; B. tyw ZY 'ky 'yš 'who are you?' VJ 929.

1522. (2) Oblique. kyy w'st prw srowšyft 'whose service has it entered?' BBB f 75.

1523. (3) +'ty. kyy 't'fy k[wn]' 'ww tw' . . . cšmw kwr 'who has made your eyes blind?' BBB b 57 sq.; kyy 't'fyh ptyryš 'who has dragged you out?' BBB b 98.

1524. (ii) ky'. pr ky' 'xšnyrk [']skw'm 'in whose sign am I?' BBB 758 sq.; ky' y'ty xwrnyy xcy 'whose flesh and blood is it?' BBB 762 sq.

1525. (iii) cw.

(1) 'what'. cw 'rq γrβyy 'what work do you know?' M 135 i 22; cw xcy 'what is it?' v. § 1511; cw pwrc 'what obligation?' v. § 1504; Chr. cw nwqr 'what now?' i 58, 5; B. 'cw 'p'y 'what do you think?' VJ 1466; B. 'cw n'mt 'γw 'w't'k 'what is the country called?' VJ 151 sq.; B. tw' 'cw βyš'n 'what shall I give you?' VJ 425; indirect, Chr. 'zy[ndy] qē pr cw fr'n' byrt'y qty 'narrative: in what way was . . . found' ii 1, 14 sq.

1526. (2) 'why'. ST i 54, 16. Cf. § 1528.

1527. (3) +'ty.

(a) 'what'. B. cwty 'krty 'what has happened?' VJ 286; Chr. pr cwty ny 'wstyd'ry 'why (lit. what for) did you not put?' i 48, 22.

1528. (b) 'why'. B. cw ZYmy L' w'β'y, v. § 1513; B. 'cwZYpw (or 'cwtyp) . . . 'prs'y 'why should you ask' = 'how much less', cf. Benv., Notes ii 228.

1528 a. (c) Man. cwt(?) :qn'c frm'n . . . [?]ksnd . . . cwtšn . . . 'tx' prwy(δyy) 'whence do they *take their orders? what is their [aim] and striving?' (H.) M 280 R 13 sqq. (poetic text, meaning uncertain).

1529. (d) Used as a particle introducing a question. Cf. Yaghn. cūte, v. Klimchitsky, Zap., 1937, 23.

(a) Chr. cwt 'nonne'. cwt qd'c p'fs'ty ny 'yšt' 'have you never read?' i 21, 15; cwt xwysm nyst' tw' 'oū μέλει σοι;' i 37, 21; cwt 'ly' . . . 'yš 'are you not Elias?' i 58, 5; cwt'ny 'isn't it?' i 9, 6, 52, 15.

1530. (β) B. cwty, cw ZY. cwty ZKh z'kt tδ'yδ 'γ'nt kt'r ZY L' 'have the children arrived there, or not?' VJ 1398 sq.; cw ZY βn γw 'By murty 'has your father died?' VJ 1281 sq.

1531. (iv) kw 'where, how'.

(1) *r'tyy hunx* 'βcr kw syxw'y y kw βyr 'where did he take the materials from, where did he find them?' *M* 118 i R 13 sqq.; Chr. *qw byrt butq'n* . . . *qw* 'šybdy stysq 'where can it be found, where has it been hidden?' *ii* 1, 79 sq.; B. *ZKh t'yw* 'kt . . . *k'w* 'krt'nt 'how did the children fare?' *VJ* 1067.

1532. (2) +²ty. B. *'kwšy* 'γw ptšm'r 'krt' β'y 'how can his (reward) be counted?' *SCE* 516.

1533. (v) kwrδ 'where'.

(1) Man. *'kwrδδ* is possibly interrogative in *M* 127 R 3.

1534. (2) With the postposition -s'r, B. *kwrts'r* *VJ* 774, B. *'kwts'r* *VJ* 407. 4c. 59c, 'quo?', cf. §§ 301. 461 fn.

1535. (vi) Chr. qd' 'when', *i* 27, 17. 18.

1536. (vii) Man. kδ'm, kt'm, B. kt'm, Chr. qd'm (cf. § 269).

(1) 'quis, qualis'. *'t'x* wr' 'st'y k't'm 'and the advantage is which?' *M* 280 R 8 (poetry); *qδ'm* dywt xnd kyy xwr'ndskwn 'what demons are these that one is eating?' *BBB* 761 sq.; S. *kt'm* ZY γ[c]y 'wm'kw β'r'y cyc k yZY . . . trytry ycy 'which is that riding animal that is swifter?' *T M* 389 a R 1 sq.

1537. (2) 'uter'. Chr. *qd'm* cn cymnt dw' 'which of these two?' *ii* 1, 73; B. *kt'm* γwrm 'sk'tr¹ γwny 'kyty . . . *kt'r* ZY γwn'y 'kyty . . . 'which earth is more? The one which . . . or the one which . . .?' *VJ* 1466 sqq.

1538. (viii) kn'c, from *kana* + *hačā*. Man. *qn'c* 'unde?' in the passage quoted § 1528 a; B. *cnn* *kn'c* 'unde?' *VJ* 3c.

1539. (ix) ckn'c, Chr. cqn', from *hačā* + *kanāč*. B. *ckn'c* 'unde?' *VJ* 150. 406; Man. *cqn'c* pyδ'r *M* 135 i 38, B. *ckn'c* pyδ'r *T iii* (*Sth.*) 13. 19, Chr. *cqn'c* pyδ'r *ii* 4, 42, 'why?'

1540. (x) Chr. c'f, B. c'β (cf. §§ 1585-7). Chr. *c'f* ptyqn 'yšt'γw 'how much do you owe?' *i* 42, 7; B. *c'β* 'βs'ny *ZKh* z'yh 'how many parasangs away is the country?' *VJ* 152 sq.

1541. (xi) B. c'βr (cf. § 1589). *c'βr* w'tδ'rt 'st'nt 'how many living beings are there?' *ST ii* 7, 30.

1542. (xii) B. c'γwn'k (cf. also § 1583). *c'γwn'k* *ZKw* m'n 'wst'y mn 'how shall we dispose the mind?' v. § 721; *c'γwny* *ZK* γwny *ZKZY* w'tδ'r γwynty 'qui animal appellatur, qualis est?' *Dhu* 43 sq.

1543. (xiii) c'n- 'how' (cf. §§ 1595-1602). Man. *c'nw* *M* 178 *ii* R 6 (v. § 719). *T ii* *D* 66 b 35; B. *c'n'kw* *VJ* 211. 321; Chr. *c'ny* *i* 67, 3. 15, *c'n* *ii* 1, 83. 85. 3, 10. [v. Add. to § 960 n. 1 (p. 308).]

INDEFINITE (AND RELATIVE-INDEFINITE)
PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS

1544. (i) *ky*, 1545.
 (ii) *cw*, 1546-52.
 (iii) *kδ'm*, *kt'm*, 1553 sq.
 (iv) *kw*, *kwδ-*, *kwrd*, *kδ'c*, 1555-9.
 (v) *āδ-*, 1560-9.
 (vi) *ēδ-*, 1570-6.
 (vii) *nēδ-*, 1577-9.

V. the synopses in §§ 1580 sq.

1545. (i) *ky*. B. 'kyty γtw''δprm 'whoever' *VJ* 124 sq. For Man., cf. § 1683.

1546. (ii) *cw*, B. also *cwty*, 'whatever' (cf. also § 1303). The following noun is frequently in the Plural, in which case the verb (often in the Subjunctive) can agree either with the noun, or with *cw*.

(1) Noun in the Singular. *cw šyr'kty' kwndyy* 'whatever good deed he does' *BBB* f 36; 'tyfn *cw t'w' ty z'wr β'tk'm . . . 'ndwxsd'* 'strive with all your strength (lit. whatever strength will be to you, strive)' *M* 135 ii 12 sqq.; B. *cw''δcw* 'whatever' *VJ* 503; B. 'cw *ZY . . . δštwn ny''zkyn 'skw'ty ZY 'cw m's'k . . . cw kwr . . . rty'γw mrt mrt . . . šw'ty* 'whatever there be of poor and destitute people, whatever old, whatever blind ones, let each of them go' *VJ* 49 sqq.

1547. (2) Noun and verb in the Plural. *cw βγyšt't' skwnd* 'whatever idols there are' *BSOS* viii 584; S. *cw mγδβlth . . . um'l'nt* 'whatever ministers there were' *T* ii *T* 4.

1548. (3) Noun plural, verb singular. B. *cw 'wyh n'βy pr'mnt 'skw'z* 'whatever Brahmins there were amongst the people' *VJ* 58; 'cw . . . βγ'yšt' skw'z 'cw cyt'yt 'cw pr'ykth' cw¹ pr'mn 'whatever gods there were, whatever spirits, fairies, Brahmins' *VJ* 1111 sqq.

1549. (4) No noun.

Verb singular. B. *rtyšn cw knpy γ't* 'whatever is short for them' *VJ* 80; *cwty βn ryz't* 'whatever pleases you' *VJ* 180.

1550. Verb plural. B. *rtyšy 'cw knpy γnt* 'whatever is short for him' *VJ* 53; 'cwty βn γw'ncyk' γnt 'whatever is necessary to you' *VJ* 159.

1551. (5) With B. ''δprm. 'cw''δprm 'w δrm 'any dharma' *SCE* 535; 'cw'zp'rt *ZY* γwp't''δprm ryz 'any pure and kind (? , cf. § 1072) desire' *VJ* 883.

1552. (6) With B. γtw "δpr̄m. 'cw γtw "δpr̄m wnt̄y 'whatever he does' SCE 439; cw̄ty śn γtw "δpr̄m ryz'ty 'whatever may please them' VJ 87; cw̄ty śn γtw "δpr̄m $\gamma w'ncyk$ w̄m't 'w. was necessary to them' VJ 127; 'cw 'PZY γtw "δpr̄m $\gamma wyz'nt$ 'w. they wished' VJ 111.

1553. (iii) Man. kδ'm, kt'm, B. kt'm, cf. § 269.

(1) *pr* kδ'm 'n̄xr 'in whichever zodiacal sign' M 767 i 5; q̄'m "δyy, BSOS viii 584, q̄'m 'ydyy, BBB p. 68 on 545, 'whoever'; B. *prw* kt'(°)m wy"̄k "z'yt 'in whichever place he is born' SCE 501. 519; B. kt'm ZYβn ryz't 'whichever you like' VJ 25^b; Man. kδ'(°)m 'yw̄t[r, v. § 1318.

1554. (2) *i* kδ'm w'x̄s 'any questions' BBB 611; 'yw q̄'m δynd'ryy 'to any electus' ib. f 29.

1555. (iv) Adverbs.

(1) B. 'kw. kt'm "z'wn w'tδ'r 'kw 'skw't 'whichever living being, wherever it be' VJ 531.

1556. (2) B. 'kwδ. 'kwδ . . . 'zβ'k n̄sk'w'y 'wherever you pull out your tongue' DN 32.

1557. (3) S. kwrδ. *kw*δ ZY śm'γw ZK $\gamma y p \delta$ δstw 'wst'yd rty 'wrδ 'zw . . . kun'n ZKwh prtry'kh 'wherever you put your hands, there I shall heal' T M 389 a R 16 sq.

1558. (4) B. kwδpr̄m. 'kwδpr̄m ZNh 'βc'npdyh 'skw't 'as long as the world lasts' P 2, 91. [cf. H., BSOAS xi 716 on 91.]

1559. (5) kδ'c 'ever', only in the negative. Man. kδ'c . . . ny *T ii D 139 ii 7. M 178 i R 32. V 31, Chr. qd'c . . . ny i 21, 15, B. kδ'c . . . L' VJ 1115 sq., 'never'.*

1560. (v) āδ-.

(1) Man. "δyy, Chr. (°)'dy, B. "δ'k, '(ali)quis'.

(a) $\gamma r \beta'k$ 'ty fryyrw'n "δyy 'wise and soul-loving ones' M 135 ii 44 sq.; *pnd* fryy śyrxwzyy "δyh 'relatives, dear ones, and friends' ib. 62 sq.; 'nyw "δyh 'somebody else' BBB 522. T ii D 63 c 5; *xyδ* "δyy s'r 'to that one' M 117, 4 sq.; Chr. [xw]ny 'dyy 'that one' i 61, 16; 'dyy 78, 11. 13 (Obl.); *wyspw* 'dy 'everybody' i 10, 11 sq.

1561. (b) Negative sentences. "δyy ny $\gamma r \beta ty$ 'no one knows' T ii T 22, 25; Chr. ny 'dy 'nobody' i 73, 12; Chr. 't̄ przbr̄t' 't̄ ny *yw'dy* w'bysq t̄yw 'you are not telling a single parable' i 75, 12 sq.; Chr. *tw' p̄tr̄t'* . . . 'dy x̄sywnȳt̄ ny m't̄nt̄ 'none of your fathers was a king' ii 5, 7; B. "δ'k n̄wš'k nyst 'nobody is immortal' VJ 226.

1562. (2) Man. "δ', Abl. (§ 1255): *cn* "δ'h, v. § 1620.

1563. (3) "δyt, Pl. γrf "δȳtyy, Acc., 'many people' BBB e 4. 7.

Chr. γrft 'dyt' i 29, 8;] 'dyt qt' 'eos qui' i 53, 4; 'yny zprtt' 'dyt' 'these saintly ones' ii 6, 4; zprtt' 'dyty Obl., ii 6, 46 sq.; pyrmcyqt' zprtt' 'dyty Obl., 'earlier saints' ii 6, 19.

1564. (4) Man. 'c, B. 'δcw (not attested in Chr.), '(ali)quid, res'. Cf. Yaghn. iyāč 'anything', from i 'one' + *āč.

(a) pr vii zng'n 'c 'in seven sorts of things' M 264 A 4 sq.; B. cw 'δcw 'whatever', v. § 1546; wyspw 'δcw 'everything' VJ 126. 137; 'nyw 'δcw γwyz'yδ 'ask for something else' VJ 177 sq.; 'nyw 'δcw wyspw 'everything else' VJ 561; cyw'yδ 'δcw cwty wty γw'y 'from whatever he was eating himself' VJ 955.

1565. (b) Negative sentences. tw' xw'r 'c xw'cn'k nyyst 'your sister is not infirm in any way' M 760, 16 sq.; B. 'δcw γw'nh 'krch nyst 'no offence has been done' VJ 392.

1566. (5) B. 'δ'ycw 'something' SCE 162. 201. Secondary formation, made up as a positive to B. nyδ'ycw, § 1579. Lentz's explanation (ST ii, s.v. 'yc) is not convincing.

1567. (6) Compounds.

(a) B. 'δprm 'cumque'.

(α) 'kyty γtw 'δprm, v. § 1545.

(β) 'cw 'δprm, v. § 1551.

(γ) 'cw γtw 'δprm, § 1552.

(δ) Used for the superlative, v. § 1304.

1568-9. (b) With wysp-, cf. JRAS, 1942, 99. B. wysp 'δcw Nom., 'everything'; Man. cn wyspn'c T i D (Par. 42), B. cnn (c'wn) wyspn'c(w) Abl., 'everything' and 'every', cf. B. wyspnycw, § 1576; S. 'δnn wyspn'δ mrt'zmk 'with everybody, anybody' Anc. Lett. iii 2 sq., B. δ'wn wyspn'δ byty'rtt pr'yw 'with all the Vidhyādharas' Padm. 40, cf. Reichelt, ZII vi 206, who considers -(')δ to represent OIr. hada.

1570. (vi) ēδ-, v. BBB p. 68 on 545.

(1) Man. 'yδyy, S. 'yδ'k (only KB, v. H., loc. cit.), '(ali)quis', 'nyw 'yδyy 'someone else', q't'm 'yδyy 'whoever'.

1571. (2) Man. 'yδyt, 'yδyt, Pl. xyδ 'yδyt 'these people', v. BBB loc. cit., 'yδyyt s'r 'to some people' T i D; Obl. γf 'yδytyh 'many people' BBB 545.

1572. (3) Man. 'yδc, 'yδc, 'yc; Chr. 'yc; B. 'yc, '(ali)quid, res'.

(a) Man. *i w'nw* 'ydc 'such a thing' *T ii B V 2*; 'δw' 'ydc 'two things' *M 372, 30*; *pnc* 'yδdc '5 things' *M 134 ii V 13*; *γrf* 'yc 'many things' *T i D 20 (Par. 43)*; 'ydc δβyš 'some temptation' *BBB f 13*; *xw wyspw šyrw* 'ydc 'every good thing' *M 178 i R 27*; 'fcm̄b̄dyyh' 'ydc 'mundi res', v. § 1680; 'ydc mry'rt̄ 'any pearls', v. § 1018.

1573. (b) Chr. 'yc 'something' *i 48, 21*; *xyd* 'yc 'id' *i 49, 9*; *w'nc'nw* 'yc *qt̄*, v. § 1595; *sq'tr cn wyspn'* 'yc 'more than anything' *B 49, 27*; *wyspw mn̄tzprt̄y* 'yc 'all-sorts of rubbish' *ii 4, 33*.

1574. (c) Negative sentences. Man. 'ydc mry'rt̄ *nyy swmbt̄* 'he does not bore any pearls' *M 135 i 12 sq.*; 'ydc n' ps' 'don't ask anything' *M 880, 11*; Chr. *symwn* 'yc *ny qt̄ qt'rt̄* 'Simon could not do anything' *ii 4, 3 sq.*; B. 'yc *wrcy'w'k L' byr'nt̄* 'they do not obtain any appeasement' *ST ii 9, 5*.

1575. (4) Chr. 'yct̄, 'yšt̄ (cf. § 260), Pl. of the preceding. *y'nt̄ 'yšt̄(y)* 'those things' *i 30, 6. 76, 6*; *m't̄ 'yct̄* 'such things' *ii 6, 42*; *pr γrf̄tyšt̄* 'περὶ πολλά' *i 37, 4*; &c.

1576. (5) Compound. B. *cnn wyspnycw* 'of every(thing)' *VJ 877. 882*, cf. *wyspn'c* § 1568.

1577. (vii) nēδ-. Negation+ēδ-. Not attested in Man. or Chr.

(1) nēde 'nemo'. *nyδ''k Vim 97*; *nyδk Anc. Lett. ii 8*; *rty šy nyδ'y L' pyrt* 'and nobody believes him' *SCE 455*.

1578. (2) nēč 'nihil'. *nyδcw nyst* 'there is nothing' *VJ 23^c. 8^d*.

1579. (3) nēδēč 'nihil, nullum', contamination between nēde and ēč. *nyδ'yc* 'by no means, in nothing' *Vim 50*; *nyδ'yčh* adj. Fem., *P 2, 141*; *nyδ'ycw . . . nyst SCE 397*.

1580. Conspectus for the distribution of the derivatives from āδ- and ēδ- in the three dialects.

		Man.		Chr.		B.	
		āδ-	ēδ-	āδ-	ēδ-	āδ-	ēδ-
Masculine	Sing.	'δyy 1560-2	'yδyy 1570	'dy 1560 sq.	..	'δ'k 1561	KB 'yδ'k 1570
	Plur.	'δyt 1563	'yδyt 1571	'dyt 1563	..	..	..
	Neg.	..	..	..	..	..	<i>nyδ'y</i> 1577
	Com.	..	..	..	..	<i>wyspn'δ</i> 1568	..

Conspectus (*continued*).

		Man.		Chr.		B.	
		āδ-	ēδ-	āδ-	ēδ-	āδ-	ēδ-
Neuter	Sing.	"c 1564 sq.	'yδc, 'yc 1572 1574	..	'yc 1573	"δcw 1564 sq. "δ'ycw 1566	"yc (rare) 1574 1566
	Plur.		..		'yct, 'yšt 1575	..	..
	Neg.	..	..	..	..		nyδcw 1578 nyδ'yc(w) 1579
	Com.	wyspn'c 1568	..			wyspn'c 1568	wyspnycw 1576
Otherwise		..		..		"δprm 1567	..

1581. Conspectus for pronouns and adverbs having more than one function.

(A. = adverb, C. = conjunction, P. = pronoun, Pa. = particle.)

	Relative	Interrogative	Indefinite	Other
{ ky	P. 1503-6	P. 1521-3	P. 1545	..
	C. 1507			
{ ky', P.	1508 sq.	1524	..	..
{ cw	P. 1510 sq.	P. 1525, 'why?' 1526	} P. 1546-52	Man. C. 'if' ¹
{ cut(y)	P. 1512 sq.	P. 1527, 'why?' 1528, Pa. 1529 sq.		
{ kt	P. (<i>ST i</i>), ² and C. 'that'	..	..	C. 'if' ³
{ kt'r	P. (B.) 1514	..		Man. B., C. 'whether, or, either'
{ kδ/t'm	..	P. 1536 sq.	P. 1553 sq.	'either' VJ 532

¹ Cf. §§ 1693 sq.² *qt* is used as a relative pronoun (cf. § 1502), instead of *qy* and *cw*, throughout *ST i*, except in the fragment with dialect peculiarities (*T ii B 35*, cf. above, § 738), p. 81, and the text in Sogdian writing, pp. 86 sq., where *qy* and *ky* are found. In the other *ST i* fragments, *qy* and *cw* only appear as interrogatives. Cf. Telegdi, *JA*, t. 230 (1938), p. 230.³ Chr. (*i* 42, 2. 44, 3. 83, 16. *ii* 6, 45), Man. (only *M 127 V 8*), B. (*kt L' VJ 1075*, *kt'n* ib. 1447, 'if not'), beside B. *kδ*.

	Relative	Interrogative	Indefinite	Other
{ (<i>kn'c</i> , A.) <i>ckn'c</i> , Chr. also <i>cqn'</i>	..	1538	..	..
	P. and A. 1518	A. 1539	..	..
{ <i>kδ'</i>	A. (C.) 'when' 1519	A. 'when ?' 1535	..	C. Chr. 'or' ⁴ , Man. B. 'if'
{ (<i>kδ'c</i> , A.)	..	..	'ever' 1559	..
{ <i>kw</i> , A.	1515 sq.	1531 sq.	1555	..
{ <i>kwδ</i> , A.	1517	1533 sq.	1557	..
{ (<i>kwδ'</i>), A.)	..	..	1556. 1558	..

⁴ Chr. *qd'* 'or' = Man. B. *kt'r*.

CORRELATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS

1582. Of the two correlative stems, the demonstrative is *w-*, the relative *c-*, but the correspondence is not always between types with the same formative. They are often used independently, when a correlative is not required.

These two stems occur with the same function in Ossetic. H. compares *wa-nābārūg* 'so unusual' (Miller, *Oss. Wtb.* iii 1260), *wantson* 'so easy (*āntson*)' (ib.), *watsäg* from *ātsäg* (loc. cit. 1267), *wa-* 'such, so' (loc. cit. 1247), with the Sogdian Elative prefix *w'-* (§ 1309) [cf. also *calīnmæ*, *ualīnmæ* (etc.) 'while, then']; Prof. Bailey kindly gave me a reference to *tsavār* 'what kind': *wavār* 'such', corresponding to B. *c'βr*: *w'βr*. [v. now Bailey, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1945, 7.]

c'-: *w'-*, for the Elatives ii and iii, v. § 1309.

B. *c'γwn'k*: *w'γwn'k*, 1583 sq.

c'f: *w'f*, 1585-8.

B. *c'βr*: *w'βr*, 1589 sq.

B. *w'βry*, 1591.

c'fryδ: *w'fryδ*, 1592. [B. *w'p/βryt*, v. Add. to § 1313.]

B. *w'βy*, 1593.

w'fyδδ, 1594.

c'nw: *w'nw*, 1595-1607.

S. *c'prm*: *w'prm*, 1608.

cndn: *wndn*, 1609.

1583. (i) B. *c'γwn'k* 'qualis': *w'γwn'k* 'talis'.

(1) *c'γwn'k*. *c'γwn'k šm''r't prywyδ pryh wynn'ncy βwt* 'as he thinks it, so it will become visible' *Dhy* 199. As an interrogative, v. § 1542.

1584. (2) *w'γwn'k*. *°n'y 'PZY SCE* 191, *°n'k KZNH 'PZY* 200, 'such that'; *°n'k βr'trt* 'such brothers' ib. 36; *°n'y''z'rtk* 'so worried'

VJ 286 sq.; ZKh *prm'nh w'γwnch*, Fem., 'the order is such' VJ 1406; *o'nk s'cl ptβr'wt* 'thus one must remember' T ii S 23, 8.

1585. (ii) c'f 'quot, quantum': w'f 'tot, tantum'.

(1) c'f.

(a) c'f *wγt' wβt'* 'how much should be said' BBB d 2; c'f *šw' w'fyδδ r'lw w jmnw o myyδ o m'x oo 'ty srδδ o kys'tskwn* 'as much as has passed, so many minutes, hours, days, months, and years it decreases' M 767 ii 2 sq.; c'f *myδδ xrtyy 'styy* 'as many days as have passed' M 767 i 1; Chr. c'f *qt qθ'ryšt'* 'whatever (as much as) you have done' i 26, 2; Chr. c'f *žmnw qw prm* 'as long as' i 83, 21; B. c'β *'wyh n'r'kh . . . ny's'y* 'any pomegranate she took' VJ 1020 sq.

(b) Interrogative, v. § 1540.

1586. (c) 'yw c'f 'some, several, more'.¹ i c'f *srδyt* 'several years' *Man. Lett.* ii 9; *x' 'yw [c]f mrtxmyt'* 'many people' T ii D 115, 1 sq.; Chr. *yw c'f 'πόσω μάλλον*' i 8, 15. [v. Addenda.]

1587. (d) c'f c'f 'complete, all round'. c'f c'f *grwš* 'he traced (a line) all round' BBB e 24; B. c'β c'β *tkwš-* 'to look round' P 7, 196; *'XRZY šn pr c'β c'β zyryn'y prδ'ys δšt'y γ'y* 'and a golden wall surrounded them (cf. § 859)' VJ 14^b; B. c'β c'β *'βt' y'wr prw'rt'y* 'he should turn round himself seven times' *Frg iii* 34 sq. [v. Add.]

1588. (2) w'f. w'f [*m]zyx γw'n* 'so many great sins' M 130 ii V 2 sq.; w'f *znng'n βjyk 'kty'h* 'so manifold sins' BBB e 11; w'f *prδβ'n'h* 'such a danger, so many dangers' (?) M 857, 1; Chr. *mn w'f bwž'xq d'rtsq* 'is holding (= making) us so unhappy' ii 1, 45 sq.

1589. (iii) B. c'βr 'quantum' w'βr 'tantum'.

(1) c'βr. c'βr . . . *γwm'r w'β'y* 'however much he consoled' VJ 1114 sq. Interrogative, v. § 1541.

1590. (2) w'βr. w'βr *'γw ptwry βwt* 'so great is the reward' SCE 515; w'βr *KZNH ZY* 'so many that' *Dhy* 213; 'so much' P 2, 76.

1591. (iv) B. w'βry. *'γw w'βry δβ'r* 'the so much giving' VJ 817.

1592. (v) c'fryδδ 'quot, ut': w'fryδδ 'tot, ita'. w'fryδδ *swš xrt'yh βwt c'fryδδ ptšm'r wβyh* 'as many degrees have passed, as have been counted', v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 239; w'f[ry]δ . . . c'nw M 264 A 25, B. w'βryδ . . . c'n'kw P 2, 64 sq., 'ita . . . ut'.

1593. (vi) B. w'βy. ZKh w'βy *'krtyh* VJ 192, ZKw w'βy *pwmy'nyh* VJ 1325, 'such great action (virtue)'; w'βy *γwrmh . . . 'cwZY* 'so much soil as' VJ 1464 sq.

1586¹ This is the meaning of the simple *čaf* in Yaghnobi.

1594. (vii) *w'fyδδ* 'ita, tot'. Chr. *w'fyd* 'ita' i 81, 11, *w'fyd* . . . *w'nc'n* ii 2, 11, *w'fyd* . . . *mydc'nw* ii 5, 8 sq. 32, B. *w'β'yδ* . . . *c'n'kw* ZY VJ 1474. 1476, *w'β'yδ* . . . 'PZY VJ 367, 'ita . . . ut'. For Man. v. § 1585.

1595. (viii) *c'nw* 'ut': *w'nw* 'ita'. On the B. spellings cf. § 960 fn. 1. Combined in Chr. *w'nc'nw* 'just as' i 22, 21, *w'nc'nw* 'yc q̄t' 'according to what (lit. such a thing as)' i 29, 11, *w'nc'n* *frm'd't* *pwtŷy* 'as the Scripture said' ii 1, 33.

1596. (I) *c'nw*. Cf. Chr. *mydc'nw* 'as' ii 5 passim.

(a) *c'nw frm'yt* 'as he says' BBB passim.

1597. (b) *myδδ c'nw* *pr* 'xš[p]' 'by day, as well as by night' M 684, 14.

1598. (c) Chr. *wyd'rnt* . . . *dbry c'nw* *xwycq* 'they saw the door (as) open' ii 3, 71.

1599. (d) *c'nw* (*'ty*) 'when', v. BBB s.v.; for B., cf. VJ 215.

1600. (e) B. *c'n'kw*, often followed by ZY or 'PZY 'since, *puisque*' VJ 468. 526. 26^a. &c.

1601. (f) Chr. *c'nw* 'while' ii 1, 31.

1602. (g) 'except, but'. B. *'nyw nyst c'nw* 'PZY 'there is nothing else but' VJ 948. 957.

(h) 'than', after *frtr*, v. § 1308.

(i) Interrogative, 'how?' (Chr. *c'n*, *c'ny*), v. § 1543.

1603. (2) Man. Chr.(ST i).B. *w'nw*, Chr. (ST ii) *w'n*, B. *w'n'w*, *w'n'kw*.

(a) 'so'. *w'nw* 'škwrd *w'βt* 'so heavy' BBB f 28.

(b) B. *w'n'w c'nw* ZY 'ita ut', v. § 1685.

1604. (c) Introducing direct speech, usually followed by *kt* or '*ty*'.

(a) Without any verb for 'to say'. *δst(w) βr* *w'nw* '*ty* '[*zw* '*tfly* *płxw'yn* 'he laid hands on him (saying): I shall kill you' Kaw. C 5 sq.; *pr* *płškw'n šw* *w'nw* *q̄t* *frm'y* 'went to address him (saying): give order . . . ' BBB e 15 sqq.

1605. (β) With verbs for 'to say' or the like. *w'nw* *ptyškwyy kt* 'thus he said:' M 135 i 17; *w'nw* *nyštymškw'n* '*ty* 'thus we suggest:' M 617 i 25 sq.; *w'nw* *γrβ* '*ty* 'know thus:' M 591, 21 sq.

1606. (γ) Without *kt* or '*ty*'. *w'nw* *w'β* i '*ty* [*fy*] . . . *s'št* 'thus he said: first you must . . . ' M 655, 11; B. *w'n'kw* *δr'w* *ptywšt* *δ'r'm* (*w'yn*) *šβ'y* *γwt'w* . . . 'thus I have heard a rumour: to king Šivi &c.' VJ 488 sq.

1607. (d) Followed by *kt* or *'ty*, 'so that', v. §§ 1686. 1690.

1608. (ix) S. *c'prmw* 'as long as': *w'prmw* 'so long', *Anc. Lett.* ii 25. 27.

1609. (x) *cndn* 'quantum': *wndn* 'tantum' (Cf. Chr. *wnm* 'so' *ST* ii, and above, § 1309 fn. 2). B. *cntn* *'PZY* *γnt'kk* *'β* *ZY* *'wyn wntn* *γw'w* *'γw* *tymy* *pr''δ'ncy* *šwt* 'how great was the sin, that (= if) the offspring of such a king is being sold' *VJ* 1287 sqq.; *cndn* *w'xšt* 'what important (or: how many) words' *Man. Lett.* ii 7; *wndn* *γnd'k* *šxy'q* . . . *'ty* 'such a bad crime, that' *BBB* f 16; *wndn* *rtyny* 'so many (or: such) jewels' *M* 372, 21; *'wntn* *'šy* 'of such memory' *Sogd.* 21, 4 (on the spelling *'w-*, v. § 210 fn. 3).

PREPOSITIONS

(i) OIr. *hačā*, 1610-21.

(ii) OIr. *hada*, 1622 sq.

(iii) *rm*, 1624.

(iv) OIr. *upari*, 1625-8.

(v) *kw*, 1629-31.

(vi) *'t'*, 1632.

1610. (i) OIr. *hačā*.

(A) Forms.

(1) *Anc. Lett.* 'c.

(2) Combined with the article (§ 1444), *čon*, cf. Müller, *ST* i 90 fn. 2. *Man. Chr. Anc. Lett.* *cn*, B. *cnn*,¹ *'cnn* (*VJ* 43^c), *Man. cwn*, B. (and *Man.*, v. § 16 fn.) *c'wn*, from *hačā* + *awana*.

(3) Combined with demonstrative pronouns: *cywyδ*, *cymyδ*, *cywnt*, *cymnt*, *cywyšn*, v. §§ 1404. 1501.

(4) Combined with personal pronouns: *c'm'*, § 1343, *c'f'*, § 1354.

1611. (5) Combined with other words: *c(y)ndr* 'inside' (*antar*); *c'δr* 'below, under' (*adari*); *cwpr* 'on top, over' (*upari*); B. *cn'yty*, *cn'lyt*, and *cnsty*, *cn'nsity*, *cnnsty*, 'completely', v. § 475; *ckn'(c)* 'unde' (*kana*), v. § 1581; *Man. cn'wxy* *cnm'ny*, v. §§ 11. 337; S. *cs't* 'from all', *cγwr wrtn* 'from the sun-chariot', *T* i a (H.).

(6) Enclitic. S. *-mc* § 1347, *-βc* § 1358, *-šc* § 1373, *-mβc* § 1359, *-mnc* 1378; (c) *kn'c*, v. § 1581.

1610¹ The pronoun contained in B. *cnn*, has still demonstrative value, 'from them', French 'en', in B. *rtv* *c'β* *γw't* *rtv* *cnn* *prm''yδ* *'yt* 'please take as many of them as you like' *VJ* 179, *rtv* *cnn* *šm'γw* *'yw* *'s'yδ* 'take one of them' *ib.* 24^b sq., *rtv* *cnn* *'γw* *'yw* 'one of them' *O*¹ 16. Otherwise *cywyδ*, &c. are used in such cases. The reason for the B. spellings *cnn*, *šnn*, with double *n*, is unknown.

1612. (B) Employment. Construed with the Ablative.

(1) 'from'.

(a) *BBB* b 44. e 20. &c.(b) With *s'r* postponed. B. *c'β'kh s'r* 'from you' *VJ* 1406, *cnn p'yw s'r* 'obviam, from in front' *VJ* 404. Cf. *VJ* 1010. 1347. 1386. *SCE* 70 sqq. 292 sq. *Ḍuq. 273*(c) Man. *cn . . . βyq* 'except' *M* 910 ii 8 sq. *T* ii *T* 22, 23 sqq., B. *cnn . . . βyk'* 'out from' *VJ* 132. 146.(d) With *βyks'r* 'out' postponed, v. *BBB* s.v. For B., cf. *VJ* 1028. 1257.(e) Man. *cn βry'h c'drs'r* 'down from the aether' *T* ii *D* 117, 24 sq. Cf. *VJ* 1027.

1613. (2) 'because of'.

(a) *BBB* 605 sqq. *VJ* 811. 1104. &c.(b) With *pyδ'r* postponed. Very common.1614. (3) General definition of time or space. Chr. *cn flm'* 'at first, before'; Man. *cn ''γ'zyh Kaw. G* 24, Chr. *cn ''γ'z* ii 5, 7, 'at the beginning'; B. *c'wn 'γšpyh* 'at night' *SCE* 381; Man. *cn xwrfxyz kyr'n* 'westwards' *Kaw. G* 20 sq.; Chr. *cn wny s'pł qyr'n* 'on his left-hand side' i 26, 5; S. *cn γypδ 'ptr'¹ γw'r'nt* 'on his Father's right-hand side' *ST* i 87, 19.1615. (4) 'on, about', Lat. 'de', in book titles. *cn pš'qt dywtyy* 'on the Nephilim-demons' *Kaw. p.* 68.1616. (5) Instrumental. Chr. *cn γztwq* 'with saliva' ii 1, 25; B. *cnn tryh krth t's-* 'to cut with a sharp knife' *P* 2, 115 sq.; cf. also *SCE* 86.1617. (6) Partitive. B. *cnn wys' rwp'* 'he picked grass' *VJ* 965; *cnn myδ'kw . . . ''yt* 'to fetch fruit' ib. 971 sq.; cf. also ib. 1037.1618. (7) With comparatives, v. § 1306. Cf. also B. *c'm'kh dyβty* 'secundus a me' *VJ* 1339.1619. (8) With Infinitives, constituting a kind of supine, v. Benv., *Notes* iii 210. Cf. *BBB* 657-62. f 4. On *cn*+Past Infin.+*k'ry*, v. §§ 932-4.1620. (9) Agent. *cn ''δ'h sfrytyy 'tyh [']frytyy nyx xcyh* 'has not been created by anybody' *M* 264 *A* 8 sq.; *cn c'm' γ'ndyy 'k'ł'* 'should have been irritated by me'¹ *BBB* 644 sq.; *cn mn' qyr'n . . . prytyy 'k'ł'* 'should have been missed by me' *BBB* 745-7.1621. (10) Otherwise. *frkyr- cn* 'to be indifferent to' *BBB* p. 741614¹ Ablative, inst. of Genitive, by attraction.1620¹ [Or: should have become angry over me (H.)]. *el. Fr. II*

bottom; B. *c'wn wyspyn'c 'pw 'ps'yδ* 'with everything plentiful' SCE 37 sq.; *cnm y'tk ptzm'nħ* 'loathing meat' P 2, 681.

1622. (ii) OIr. *hada* 'with', in § 1623 also 'to'.

(1) With the article (§ 1444), *don*, cf. Müller, *ST* i 90 fn. 2. Man. *dn*, Chr. *dn*, B. *δnn*, *Anc. Lett.* 'δnn; Man. *δwn*, B. (and Man., v. § 16 fn.) *δ'wn* and *δwn* (*T iii* § 23, 16), from *hada*+*awana*. Frequently used with the postposition *pryw* (§ 1627, 7). Cf. §§ 1659 sq.

1623. (2) With demonstrative pronouns. *δywyδ*, *δymyδ*, *δywnt*, *δymnt*, *δywšn*, v. § 1501.

(3) Enclitic. B. *-mδ* § 1348; *-šδ* § 1374.

1624. (iii) *rm* 'with', S. only. Often with the postposition *pr'yw* (§ 1627, 7). Construed with the Abl. in B. *rm wyš'* 'with joy' SCE 41 [and in *'ywštry rm 'ywštr' pr'w* P 3, 183 sq.].

1625. (iv) OIr. *upari*. (Ya. cl. *Κηρομου*, HMY)

(1) *pr*, in all dialects. Construed with the Accusative.

(2) Combined with the article, Man. S. *prw*, S. *'prw* (*Kaw.* H 1), followed by the Accusative (v. Waag, *Abh. Kunde d. Morgenl.* xxii, 6, pp. 86 sq.), cf. § 1432.

1626. (3) Examples.

From BBB: *pr β'γt* 'in gardens' 568; *pr . . . z'y'y* 'in(side) the earth' 486 sq.; *fšqwxł- pr* 'to press into' 603 sq.; *pr mzyx xnsy* 'in great safety' f 57; *'spł- βw- pr* 'to be accomplished in' 648 sqq.; *pr wyspww jmnw* 'at all times' 482 sq.; *pr 'mtycy* 'acc. to truth' 613 sq.; *prw rw'n* 'for the sake of the soul' f 14; *xwsndy' jyt- pr* 'to rejoice over' 519-24; *šm'r- pr* 'to plot against' 511-13; *'yw'nkryy x- pr* 'to sin against' 684-8; *prw . . . nw'rtł* 'against the exhortations' b 8 sq.; &c. Cf. also § 1329.

Chr. and B. *p'txš'wn bw- pr* 'to rule over' i 47, 7; *ptxw'y- pr xyr* 'to kill with the sword' ii 2, 7; *w'b- pr* 'to speak about' i 58, 9. 60, 7; *pr 'cw δβr'y k'm* 'for what (at what price) will you give?' VJ 1334; *wyd's- pr* 'to be surprised at' i 63, 9. VJ 1006. 1010; *'z'n- pr* 'to profess' i 10, 12. 13; *rtyšn . . . pr cšmt' pt'yz'n* 'he recognized them by their eyes' VJ 1264; &c.

1627. (4) Combined with demonstrative pronouns, *prm* (*pr'ym*), *prywyδ*, *prymyδ*, *prywynd*, *prymynd*, *prywyšn*, Chr. *pryw*, v. § 1501.

(5) Combined with personal pronouns, S. *pr'm'k*, § 1342; *pr'f'h*, v. § 1353.

(6) Combined with OIr. *hačā*: *cuwr* 'above, over'.

(7) Combined with *ēw* 'one': *pryw*, postposition, 'together with', v. § 132.

(8) Enclitic. B. *-βypr* § 1382; *-šwpr*, § 1368; *-šypr* § 1371.

1628. (9) With postpositions.

(a) *pr* . . . *s'r* 'towards'.

(b) *pr* . . . *cwpr* 'over' *M* 776, 10. *ST ii*. *VJ* 1465. 1478. B. -šn (-šw) *pr cwpr* *VJ* 18^b. 345.

(c) Chr. *pr tmy' cyntr* 'in hell' *i* 9, 6.

1629. (v) *kw*, B. 'kw and k'w, 'to', cf. for the meaning MPers. 'w = Sogdian *kw*, *Sogd.* 50, 6. Frequently with the postposition *s'r*.

(1) Motion (proper and figurative). *kw w myδ'n šwt* 'goes to the waist' *M* 142 V 2; *γt *kw mrtzmyyt s'r* 'he came to mankind' *M* 129 R 7 sq.; *kw šy'h s'r ny'ny* Impt., 'remember', lit. 'take to your mind', *T i a*; Chr. *qw . . . s' qt-* (or *bw-*) 'zum . . . werden' *i* 21, 17. 72, 5; B. *pry'w'k k'w* 'love for' *SCE* 319 sq.; Man. *kw . . . s'r nm'c βr-* 'to pay homage to' *BBB c i9-22*; *kw . . . s'r 'frywncyq kwn-* 'to pray to' *BBB e 25 sq.* Hence *kw* has come to be used as the normal Dative particle.

1630. (2) Locative, only B. 'kw šβk'wš *knδh* 'in the town of Š.' *VJ* 938. 1230, v. also *SCE* 2.

1631. (3) With *prm* postponed, 'until, up to', local and temporal.

(4) With *cntr* postponed. B. 'kw *knδh cntr tys'nt* 'they entered the town' *VJ* 856 sq..

(5) Combined with demonstrative pronouns, *kywyδ*, *kymyδ*, *kywnt*, *kymnt*, v. § 1501.

1632. (vi) 't(?) 'to(wards)'. *Anc. Lett.* 't. Man. 't only in addresses, e.g. *T ii T 31*. It is this preposition which is possibly combined with the personal pronouns 1st and 2nd Sg. in *t'm* § 1341, *t'f* § 1352, S. -mβt § 1360.

PART 4

POINTS OF SYNTAX

1633. (i) Gemination of nouns, adjectives, adverbs.

(1) Distributive (cf. also §§ 1330. 1676 sq.). *zwrnyy zwr[nyy]* 'from time to time' *Sogd.* p. 19 bottom; *pr zwrnyy zwrnyy* 'in each period' *BSOS* viii 585; *nym nym* 'fifty fifty' *T ii D* 63 b iii 3; *ryt ryttyy* 'in many respects', v. *BBB* p. 78 on 642; *B. kws kws* 'everywhere' *VJ* 19^b; *B. 'kšn 'kšn* 'at every moment' *P* 2, 121; &c.

1634. (2) Intensive. *'ykwun 'ykwun* 'per omnia saecula saeculorum' *M* 178 i V 6; *z'ryy z'ryy tkwšt* 'looks with ever so great sympathy' *M* 794 b 4; *šyrš'yr* 'very much' *Kaw.* E 5.

1635. (ii) Synonymous hendiadys. Very common. Usually asyndetic. Cf. the hendiadys of Sanskrit+Khotanese words treated by Bailey, *BSOS* x 899 sq.

(1) Substantives. *num pšk* 'ritual law'; *ywk fs'k* 'teachings' *M* 891, 15; *(p)w kws kyr'n* 'unlimited' *Sogd.* 27, 6; *r'fy y xwycy myd'nyy* 'in disease and pain' *BBB* 699; *'x's 'wxwnc* 'struggle' *M* 900, 8; *wr' fr'ryy* 'furtherance' *M* 617 ii 26 sq.; *pyšyt' ndmyt* 'limbs' *M* 776, 9; *dn . . . γznyy γr[']m[y]* 'pryw' 'with treasures' *T ii D* 66 b 29; *'xšyδ 'ty xw'w* 'lord' *M* 178 ii V 13; &c.

1636. (2) Adjectives (adverbs). *s't wyspw* 'all' *M* 135 i 26 sq.; *'sk'tr fy'tr* 'more' *BBB* 553; *γnd'k βjyk* 'sinful' ib. b 19; *γw'nkryyst'r jkrystr* 'more sinful' ib. 554 sq.; *xw's'δ t's'δ* 'exhausted' *BBB* 714 sq.; *n' γrβ(yyny)yt [']ty mnd'γrβ'kt* Plur., 'ignorant' *T ii D* 62, 23.

1637. (3) Verbs. *'zyrm δβ[y]šm* 'I hurt' *BBB* 483; *γrβt[y] 'tyh ptz'nd* 'he knows' *M* 264 A 18.

1638. (iii) Etymological hendiadys. *zryšttyy p'tryšttyy* 'torn', &c., v. *BBB* p. 56 on 492; *zwrt' prwrttyy* 'turning to and fro', v. *BBB* p. 69 on 557, also *'wrt' nwrtyy*, § 410 fn. 1, cf. § 902; *wzty frwzty*¹ 'flies about' *M* 521 b 29; *'ywšt ptywšt' kt-* 'to become excited', v. § 929.

1639. (iv) Group inflexion. In a series of (usually asyndetically co-ordinated) words in the last one is inflected. Cf. *BBB* p. 78 on 642. [v. Add. p. 308.]

(1) Nouns in the Oblique. *rw'n tmb'ryh* 'soul and body' *M* 598, 15; *xwr m'xy[y] t'xyyz* 'the setting of sun and moon' *T ii D* 12, 4;

1638¹ Light-stem ending *-ty* (inst. of **frwzt*) under the influence of *wzty*.

wny βγγυššt' tyyh mrd'spnd' ty pwtyštyy pyrnm s'r 'in front of the gods, the elements, and the prophets' *T ii D 117, 5 sqq.*; &c.

1640. (2) Nouns in the Plural. *cn 'nxr pxyty βyq* 'with the exception of fixed stars and planets' *M 910 ii 8 sq.*; *nšyrt mryšt' 'pyk δtw z'yxyzyy pr'nyšt'* 'wild animals, birds, aquatic animals (inst. of *δtyšt'*), creeping animals' *BBB 511 sqq.*; *frnw'xš(yqš)* *T ii D 66, 2, 14, frn w'xšyqtyy T ii D 207, 7*, corresponding, acc. to H., to MPers. *farrahān ud wāχšān*, v. *BBB p. 11*.

1641. (3) Adjectives. *p'wndyy mzyxt γrt'y'h* 'powerful great mountains' *M 118 i V 3*; *pystyy 'xšnkt' γrt'* 'adorned and splendid mountains', v. § 1492; *w'xšyq 'ty tnygyrdšt'* 'spiritual and material' *M 802, 10*; *βyjt'rt' ty stštrt'* 'most wicked (inst. of *βyjt'rt'*) and cruel' *M 178 ii V 18 sq.*; *γrf qrt'r βjyqš nyzβ'nyyšt'*, v. § 1658.

1642. (4) In compound tenses, the auxiliary may refer to several participles.

The best example is seen in the colophon of the *Intox. Sūtra*, v. § 486 fn. 1. For Man., cf. *wrysty p'tmwytty 'sty* 'is mixed and dressed with' *BBB 560*; *βjyk ryjyy prδwt'y 'tr xwrndy jβ'ty 'ktym* 'I have been inflamed by evil wishes, bitten by voracious fires' *BBB b 14 sqq.*; *nynty βstyt 'skwnd* 'are taken (inst. of *nynty*) and bound', v. § 539 fn. 4.

1643. (5) The occasional failure of *-aka- stem adjectives to take the Feminine ending, can be regarded as a special case of group inflexion.

(a) The adjective precedes the noun. *'fryty z'y'y* 'blessed earth' *M 583 i V 7. 17*; in *BBB Frg b: mrcyny 'šm'r* 'ἐνθύμους of death' 5 sq., *nywšk'ny x'nyy* 'an auditor's house' 38 sq., *x' y'tny tmb'r* 'fleshly body' 78, *šmnwk'nyy δ'myy* 'devil's world' 83.

(b) The adjective is postponed, cf. § 1647.

1644. (v) Position of attributive adjectives.

(1) As a rule, a single adjective precedes the noun to which it refers.

Exceptions. *βγγy nwy'y* 'new-moon' (cf. H., *BBB s.v. βγnwyy*), passim, as a compound *βγnwyy T ii D 66 a* passim, *βγnw' Abl. T ii D 140, 5*; *'z δgywδ't'* 'the demoniac *Āz*' *M 133, 10*; *'wh βγ' rwxš'n' fry' rw'n* 'oh luminous god, dear soul' *BBB Frg b* passim; *krš'n γ[r]β zng'n* 'manifold shapes' ib. 51, possibly modelled on a Parth. original.

1645. (2) More than one adjective qualifying a noun, may

(a) precede it, cf. *n' nγ'myh n' 'γt frn nyw 'δyy* 'someone else who is untimely and unlucky' *M 765 k 4 sq.*;

1646. (b) follow it, cf. *'ty wnd' βryyβrynyyt' zrywnyyt* 'fruit-bearing green trees', *Sogd.* p. 34 on 24;

1647. (c) take the noun in between, in which case heavy or *-aka-* stems, if postponed, need not take the Feminine or Plural endings any more than if prefixed (cf. §§ 1240 sq. 1244 sq. 1643), v. *BBB* p. 56 on 492. *ptw'c z'y'y zryštlyy ptryštlyy 'nšystlyy pšystlyy* 'dry, torn, trampled earth' *BBB* 491 sqq.; *m'γwn dyn p'syt' xš'wn p'syt' rwxšnl' 'γlmzyn t'wntyy z'wrk'yn* 'all luminous, armoured, powerful, strong guardians of Church and realm' *T ii D* 207, 3 sqq.

1648. (vi) **Appositions.** Postponed, if general class words, prefixed, if special designations.

(1) **Postponed.** *xw mr'z mrtyy* 'the hireling' *M* 135 i 15 sq.; *'rt'w dyynd'r mrtyy* 'electus' *T ii D* 62, 11, cf. *B. dynd'r mrtym'k Dhu* 270; *m'x wrtn kw xwr wrtn s'r pcwj't* 'the moon-chariot will be driven to the sun-chariot' *T ii D* 66 d ii 5 sqq. (cf. § 541, k); *pš'qt dywtty* § 1615, *pš'q dywtty* *M* 129 R 11, 'abortion-demons'; *'wnglywn npyk* 'the Gospel-book' *M* 116 R 13; *cn bwtyštt' xšywnytyh* 'from the Buddha-lords' *T ii D* 66 c 15 sq.; *Man. smyr γr-*, *B. sm'yr γr-*, 'the Sumeru-mountain', *Kaw. G* 22. *T ii D* 116 passim. *VJ* 1001. *Vim* 34; *B. intr'k γrw* 'Mount Dandarak' *VJ* 264 sq.; *B. šβk'wš knδh* 'the town of Śivaghosa', § 1630; *Chr. 'wršlm qt* 'the town of Jerusalem' *ii* 1, 16; *B. šβ'y γwt'w* 'king Śivi' *VJ* passim; &c.

1649. (2) **Prefixed.**

(a) The apposition is qualified by an adjective or noun. *mzyx 'xšywnyy zrw'βγγy* 'the great lord Zurvān' *M* 178 i R 1; *mrcync šm'r' 'z 'Āz*, the ἐνθύμησις of death' *T ii B* R 7 sq.; *'δw' pš'qt dywt' šqlwn 'tyy pypsw* 'Š. and P., the two abortion-demons' *ib.* 8 sqq.; *rw'nyh γr'myy gryw jywndg* 'the Living Soul, the soul's treasure' *BBB* 679 sq.

1650. (b) Nouns of relationship, in the *VJ*. *ZKk wdwh mntr'yh* 'his wife Mandri' 285. 291; *'zw ZY 'ym 'γw šβ'y γwt'w z'tk swδ''šn* 'I am king Śivi's son S.' 18^c sq.; *ZKn wyry pr''mn* 'to the Brahmin, her husband' 1244; *γw 'By šβ'y γwt'w* 353 sq., *'γw ny'k šβ''y γwt'w* 1312 sq., 'king Ś., his father (their grandfather)'.

To this group also belongs *'γw wyspyδr'y swδ''šn* 'the crown-prince S.' 349 sq.

1651. (vii) **Number of the predicate.**

(1) As a rule, the number of the predicate agrees with that of the subject, viz.

(a) both are in the Singular, or

(b) both are in the Plural, or

(c) there is more than one subject, and the predicate is in the Plural, cf. *myyδδ 'ty 'xšp' prw xii xii jmnw ptšm'r 'skundskn* 'day and night are each counted as having twelve hours' *M 14 R 9 sq.*

1652. (2) Construction *ad sensum*.

(a) Subject singular, predicate plural. *c'nw n'f ['](n)wznd* 'when the congregation assembles' *M 197 V 5 sq.*; B. *'yw 'yškth . . . p'lyyws'nt* 'the harem heard' *VJ 270 sq.* *

1653. (b) Subject plural, predicate singular. *x'xsryyt . . . kyy 'ty 'mbyrt' w' . . . rwxšn'γrδmn* 'springs which fill the paradise' *M 178 i V 1 sq.*

1654. (c) Hendiadys. *γryw n'syy qmbwnyh' 'ktyy* 'spoiling and deterioration of the soul took place' *BBB 546 sq.*

1655. (d) Two nouns closely connected, forming a unity in the mind of the speaker. *δyyny frn 'ty whmn'n zyndg'n kyy . . . 'wjysty [']sty* 'the Glory of the Religion and the Living Vahmans, who have descended' *BBB 534 sqq.*; *xw xwr 't x[w] m'x . . . prwt* 'sun and moon turn' *M 280 R 10 sq.*

1656. (3) If the subject is qualified by a numeral, the predicate is in the Plural or in the Singular, acc. to whether the subject has the Plural ending or not, cf. §§ 1662 sqq.

(a) Plural. *δw'ts 'nδmyyt mwnw xnd* 'the twelve limbs are the following' *M 14 V 17 sq.*; *iii kp[yš't] wm't('nd)* 'there were three fishes' *M 127 R 9.*

(b) Singular. *ii βyyny 'sty* 'there are two temples' *T ii D 117, 45*; *xw C z'r cr'γ p[tsw]xsty* 'the hundred thousand lamps are lit', v. § 1518.

1657. (4) With 'all' and 'many', the predicate is more often in the Plural, even when the noun is in the Singular.

(a) Plural. *cn wyspw δywtty ky 'ty . . . βstyt xnd* 'from all the demons who have been fettered', v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 232 fn. 6; S. *ZK wyspy rw'n ZY prwrty s't . . . βrkst'k ynt* 'all souls and Fravashis have been cut off' *JRAS*, 1944, 137 adn. 7; Chr. *m't wynt' wyspw 'dy* 'so that everybody should see' *ii 4, 9*; Chr. *wyspw 'dy . . . spxš'znt* 'everybody worshipped' *ii 5, 34*; cf. also *SCE 490. 543* (against 542). *Padm 1. 9. 38.* Man. *γ]rf qrt'rt dywt kyy 'ty . . . [skw]nd* 'many cunning (v. § 249 fn.) demons, who are . . .' *T ii D 139 i 3*; Chr. *'wštnt γrf s'nt* 'many enemies stood' *ii 1, 20*; Chr. *γrf srd qnt* 'many years have passed' *ib. 81.*

1658. (b) Singular. *mn'h wyspw pyšyt 'ndmyt . . . dyštyy (x)[cy]y* 'all my limbs have been . . . built' *M* 776, 8 sqq.; *'ty šyy rrf qrt r βjyqt nyzβ'nyyt p'šyyt 'styy* 'and many cunning (v. § 249 fn.) sinful passions are his guardians' *M* 133, 18 sqq.; *rrf srdyt wβ* 'it was many years' *M* 767 ii 4; *rrf γwnc . . . xcy* '(ei) *sunt multi colores*' *M* 664, 24 sq.

1659. (5) With 'cum'.

(a) Plural. *wyspw 'rk cw xwrmzł'βy dn xypdδ 'jwndt 'krłwd'rnd* 'all the work which Kh. and his sons did' *M* 110 i R 3 sqq.; *'rty xww xwrmzł'βy] dwn mrδ'spnd . . . 'wxš'nd* 'and Kh. with the elements descended' *M* 110 ii R 8 sqq.; *xw 'βtkyšpy xwł'w dn 'rd'w'n m't 'γ'znd nβyr't* 'the Spiritus Vivens and the Mother of Life began to deliberate' *M* 178 ii R 4 sqq.

1660. (b) Singular (rare). *xw'qr dn z'tyy ('tyh) t'wndyy γznyy r[r']m[yy] 'pryw . . . nyjyy* 'the merchant left, with his son and huge treasures' *T* ii D 66 b 28 sqq.

1661. (viii) Collective Singular. *wn'r'mayy βry xwrtδ'rnd* 'they ate the fruits of the orchard' *T* ii B R 1; *cn wndy' βryy xwrt* (Infinitive) 'eating the fruits from the trees' ib. 4; *c'nw rw'ndyy n'm [jyy]rty wβ't* 'when the names of the souls are pronounced' *BBB* c 14 sq.; *mry r'γ* 'groves and plains' *M* 178 i V 3; *'rtšn jyk' nyyst prywyšn tmb'r* 'and they have no defect on their bodies' ib. 28; *'ty βry' šyškyy βrty* 'the air carries drops' *T* ii D 267, 15 sq.

1662. (ix) Nouns after cardinals. Although there appears to be some uncertainty whether the Singular or the Plural should be used, the following tendencies can be observed.

(1) Nouns of time and measure, and such as are often used with numerals, are nearly always in the Singular. Exceptions below, §§ 1667. 1671. *rtww* '10 seconds'; *jmnw* 'hour' *M* 136 R 3 sq. 5. *M* 796 i 27; *myδδ* 'day' *M* 796 i 13 sq.; B. *m'γ* 'month' *VJ* 38; *srd* 'year' *M* 142 R 6; *styr* 'στατήρ' *M* 746 c 7; Chr. *pcm'r* 'pound', *γwdy* 'βάρος', *p'r* 'κόπος'; *fswx* *M* 178 ii R 27, 28, *fs'x* *T* ii D 116, 28, *fn's'x* ib. 26. 31, B. *'βs'ny* *VJ* 118. 409. 61^c, 'parasang'; *pr* ii *wqrww* *M* 778, 12, *'dw* *wkr(w)* *M* 697, 4, B. *prw wγwšw . . . wkry* *SCE* 119 sq., *pr x wkkry* *Dhu* 265, 'sort, kind, species'.

1663. (2) Nouns habitually connected with a certain numeral, also prefer the Singular. *pnc δ'rwkync δ'm pnc ptync δ'm* 'the five vegetable creations, the five fleshly c.' *BBB* 498 sq.; *pnc prβ'yn* 'the five gifts' *BBB* 621; *vii 'frywn vii b'šyk* 'seven prayers, seven hymns' *BBB* 684 sq.; *pnc cxš'pδδ* 'the five commandments' *M* 14 V 20; *ctf'r qyr'n* 'directions' *M* 178 ii R 23; *δs' sm'nyy* 'skies' ib. 16. 19;

xii 'nax' ty vii paxryyh 'the 12 zodiacal signs and the seven planets' *ib.* V 21.

1664. Exceptions. *vii paxryyt M 767 ii 12*; v. also below, §§ 1668. 1672.

1665. (3) The Plural prevails.

(a) With nouns not so frequently associated with numerals or a given numeral. *Lxxx z'r pjuqt* 'eighty thousand abortions' *T ii B V 7 sq.*; *ii z'tyt* 'sons' *M 794 c 2*; *x' CC dywt* 'the 200 demons' *Kaw. K 7*; *iii kpyšt* 'three fishes', quoted § 1656 a; *iv fryštyt* 'angels' *Kaw. G hl.*; *xiv tmt'* 'hells' *M 128 V 7*; *pnc nyzβ'nyt* 'passions' *M 915, 12*; &c.

1666. Exceptions are not uncommon: *pnc 'njmn* 'the five gatherings' *BBB d 1*; *ii βypšyy* 'angels (god-sons)' *M 178 ii V 30 sq.*; *ii βr't* 'brothers' *M 794 b 6*; *xxxii knδ* 'towns' *Kaw. G 22 sq.*; *βrywr plk'r* 'appearances' *T ii D 139 ii 14*; v. also § 1656, b.

1667. (b) In the Oblique.

(a) Against § 1662. *cn γrβ β[r]ywr srđytyy mrt's'r* 'since many myriads of years until now' *JRAS 1944, 144 n. 3*; *s(t)* (Abl.) *srđyyt γrtr cn . . .* 'one hundred years later' *T ii D 66, 2, 20*.

1668. (β) Against § 1663. *xii 'naxrtyh 'xš'un* 'the rule of the twelve Anxars' *M 767 ii 4 sq.*; *wyny x sm'nytyy* 'skies' *M 178 ii R 25 sq.*

1669. (γ) Otherwise. *prw iii srđngty nw'rt* 'against the exhortation by the three chairmen' *BBB b 8 sq.*; *cn pnc pwtysty* 'from the five Buddhas' *BBB d 1*; *pnc δβrty'h* 'doors' *BBB 648*.

1670. (δ) Exceptions. *cn pnc prβγnyh BBB p. 76 on 621* (in agreement with § 1663).

1671. (c) If beside the numeral there is an adjective or apposition, or a pronoun in the Plural.

(a) Against § 1662, but in agreement with § 1667. *myydcyq xii jmndy' xii rttw kw xšpncyk xii jmnđ' s'r βjyt skun* 'the 12 ratus of the 12 hours of the day are added to the 12 hours of the night' *M 14 R 1 sqq.*

1672. (β) Against § 1663. *mys'nd pnc prβynd* 'these five gifts', § 1481.

1673. (γ) Otherwise. *iv mzyx γrty'*, v. § 1248; 'δw' *rwxsnt'h wrtn[d* 'the two luminous chariots' *M 684, 15*; *vi 'xšywnyt βgyšttyy* 'six lordly gods' *T ii D 66, 2, 2 sq.*; 'δw' *pš'qt dywt*, v. § 1649; *iii zwrnycykt pnc bwtyšt* 'the five Buddhas belonging to the three periods' *H., BSOS viii 586 top.*

1674. (δ) Exception. 'δryy z'r wftyy kwrd'sk '3000 woven shirts' *M* 137 V 12.

1675. (x) Nouns with distributive numerals. The object counted is usually in the Plural (note in the examples below, the old Plural δβr', cf. § 1185), except, of course, after 'yw 'yw 'each'. Where the Singular occurs, it is in agreement with the two rules given for cardinals, § 1662 sq.

1676. (1) Plural. 'naxrtyy z[r'] z'r s[rδy]t 'the millenia of each zodiacal sign' *M* 767 ii 8 (title); *pr wyspw sm'nyy xii xii xw dbrt' pty's'c'nd* o. o. 'rtms tym 'nyt iv iv δβr' *pr ctf'r qyr'n s'r mns'c'nd* 'they fixed 12 gates to each sky, and, moreover, towards each of the four directions they placed another four gates' *HR* ii 97, 3 sqq.; 'rtpr xii xii δβr' *ky 'ty wy' sm'nyty 'skwnd* o. *pr 'yw 'yw δβrw vi vi pδynd* (Pl.) *mns'c'nd* o. 'rty *pr 'yw 'yw pδynd* (Sg.) *qwn'nd xxx xxx w'crnd* 'and to each of the twelve gates which are in the skies, they fixed six thresholds, and for each threshold they made thirty bazaars' *ib.* 97, 12-98, 4.

1677. (2) Singular. *z'r z'r srδδ* '1000 years each' *M* 767 ii 10; *myyδδ 'ty 'xšp' prw xii xii jmnw ptšm'r 'skwndskn*, v. § 1651; *δn pnc pnc r'tyy pryw* 'each with five gifts' *M* 14 V 3 sq.

1678. (xi) Relative clauses.

(1) In Man., *ky* is sometimes reinforced by *xwty* 'self', to express identity; this is a calque of MPers. 'y *xwd*, e.g. *Mir. Man.* i 199, 30. *kyy 'ty xwty 'ycy BBB* b 77 sq., *cw 'ty xwtyh xcy M* 135 ii 22, 'which is', *kyy xwtyy xcy M* 771, 3. *M* 796 i 28. *M* 14 V 6; &c.

1679. (2) The relative pronoun usually stands at the beginning of the clause. Sometimes, however, it immediately precedes the verb, like the interrogative pronoun (cf. § 1521, and § 1693 for *cw*). *mys'ndyy wšyitt ky wβ'nd* 'those who were their *spies' (H.) *Man. Lett.* ii 12.

1680. (3) *ky* (or Chr. *qt*), as a relative particle which is taken up by a personal or demonstrative pronoun, can be used for the Oblique of the relative pronoun (which otherwise is *ky*', v. § 1508 sq.). *xw 'ymbn kyy rw'nd prywyδδ nyntyty βstyt 'skwnd* 'the perversion in which the souls are imprisoned and bound' *M* 814 i 7 sqq.; *kyy 'tyšyy wyy sk'wyh* 'on (towards) whose top' *M* 178 i R 20; *kyy 'tyšn xw βryy* 'quorum fructus' *ib.* 31 sq.; *kyy 'tyšn 'fcmδdyyh 'yyδc pδwfsyynyy βwt* 'quibus (scil. corporibus) aliqua mundi res haereat' *BBB* p. 80 on 664; Chr. *spncyrspn qt šy 'xyž't xypθ'wnt* 'the manager whom his master raises' i 40, 1 sq.

1681. (4) In the following sentence, an attribute of the noun to

which the relative pronoun refers, is taken into the relative clause, causing the noun to be repeated with the ending it had before: *c'wn cywyyδδ γrty' ky p'skyr'n tmy' βyk t'wndyy mzyxt γrty'h wm't'nd* 'from those mighty and great mountains which were outside the northern hell', lit. 'from those mts, which, outside the n. hell, were mighty and great mts' *M 118 i V 1 sqq.*

1682. (5) Sometimes a demonstrative pronoun to which the relative refers, is left out in the main sentence. *'ms' frm'y 'krtyy ky pyrnmsr st'nd* 'please pay obedience to those who were before (or those who are foremost, cf. § 780)' *Man. Lett.* ii 17; *ky k'syy δwm δ'ryy δrtyc s[p]nyy s'r škrtyy*, v. *BBB* p. 102 on f 8.

1683. (6) When hypothetic or concessive, *ky* is followed by the Subjunctive or Optative. *ky k'syy δwm δ'ryy* 'he who holds a pig's tail', v. prec. §; *wyspw xwrynyy ky 'tyšwpr 'yjn ny y β't* 'any eater who should not be worthy of it' *BBB* f 77 sq.; *kyy kunyy iii s'δ jw't* 'who does (it) will live (only) three years' *M 142 R 6 sq.* Cf. also §§ 1687. 1689.

1684. (xii) Optative. Apart from its normal function of expressing a wish, the following may be mentioned.

(1) Exhortative. *'ndwxzyy* 'he should strive' *BBB* p. 71 on 567-76. Used for the Imperative in the 2nd Pl., v. § 752 sq.

(2) Durative, v. § 638.

1685. (3) Parabolic, cf. *Sogd.*, 34 fn. 3. *qδwttyy . . . wyšpšyyh kyy' [ty]šyy . . . cn γrδ' 'qwytyy 'skwyyh* 'as if a prince, on whose neck . . . were hanging . . .' *T ii D 62, 4 sqq.*; B. *wyδβ'γ w'n'w c'nw ZY 'γw mrtym'kw . . . sγw'y'y* 'the parable is such, as if a man should lift . . .' *VJ 1463 sqq.*

1686. (4) In consecutive clauses. *w'nw 'ty x'n' jy't wβyy*, v. § 884; *w'nw 'ty 'xwšndyy 'skwynd* 'so that they should be content' *M 135 ii 49 sq.*

(5) In hypothetic clauses, v. § 1696 sq.

1687. (6) Relative-concessive clauses, cf. § 1689. *xwnyy mrtzmyy kyy 'ty mwnw w'f zng'n βjyk 'kty'h 'ktyy y't* 'that man, however many evil deeds should have been committed by him' *BBB* e 9 sqq.

1688. (xiii) Subjunctive. On the employment of the Subjunctive in Chr., v. Telegdi, *JA*, t. 230 (1938), 223 sq.

(1) Relative-indefinite clauses. Examples in §§ 1546. 1549. 1552. 1555. 1558.

1689. (2) Relative-concessive clauses, cf. § 1687. *xwmyy mrtxmyy kyw 'ty yrf ynd'k 'kty' qwn't* 'that man, however many evil deeds he should commit' *BBB e 2 sq.*

1690. (3) Final clauses. *w'nw ktly . . . nmy'k 'ty ptydy' nyy qwn't* 'in order that he should not insult you' *M 117, 9 sq.*

1691. (4) Temporal clauses. *kδ' myδ kβn 'skw't* 'when the day declines' *BBB d 7.*

1692. (5) Comparative clauses. B. *prtr m'γw ZKw 'βyz' βr'ym c'n'kw ZY 'wyn 'By' ZKh pwny'nh zrn'kh β't* 'we would rather endure sufferings than that our father's holiness should be in vain' *VJ 1328 sq.*

(6) Hypothetic clauses, v. § 1694 sq.

(7) Used for the Future. Very common.

1693. (xiv) Hypothetic clauses (Realis; on the Irrealis cf. §§ 815-22).¹

(1) Indicative. *cw . . . [']ktwδ'rm* 'if I have made' *BBB 501 sq.*; *xw'sδ t's'δ . . . tmb''r cw δ'rmskw'n* 'if I am keeping my body weary &c.' *BBB 688-92* (note the position of *cw*; cf. § 1679 on *ky*).

1694. (2) Subjunctive. Cf. also § 1683.

(a) *cw . . . [']šm'rtδ'rn* 'if I have thought' *BBB b 8-12*; *'rtkδ' 'yδc δβyš 'ys't* 'if any harm comes' *BBB f 12 sq.*; *qδ' . . . γw't 'rty . . . δβr'h* 'si oporteat . . . da' *M 135 i 45 sqq.*

1695. (b) Without a conjunction. *wjyd w'd cn c'm' yr'ndyy 'kt't* 'should the Holy Ghost have been irritated by me', cf. § 1620; *ty'm ms . . . frkyrnyky' . . . qδ'rmx't* 'again, if I have shown negligence' *M 116 V 8-10.*

1696. (3) Optative. Cf. also § 1683.

(a) *c'nw 'ty . . . zwr'tyy 'ty . . . 'pstwyy* 'if he turns away and disclaims' *BBB f 7-10.*

1697. (b) Without a conjunction, but with an indefinite pronoun. *'yw q't'm dymδ'ryy . . . qrmšwhn βstyy wβyy* 'should the absolution be refused to any electus' *BBB f 29 sqq.*

1693¹ The Opt. B. γ'y is used for the Irrealis in the passages quoted § 771 fn.

ADDENDA

86. Add B. *kyn'k* < ἀκνώκης, Benveniste, *TSP* p. 202¹.
101. Add *Anc. Lett.* ii 27 'ωβϋ < *ubaya*:- 'ωβϋ 'PZY *m'sk* 'PZY *mrkyn'k* 'both (Reichelt's "snow") old and dying' (H.).
120. Beside Chr. *bwž-* we have S. β'z- in β'zkr'm if this word means 'tax-collector', as suggested by Freiman, *Mugh* p. 154.
Initial *ai-* became *i-* in B. *yyδγn* 'glacier', cf. Addenda to § 1117, and *itkw-* < *(h)aituka-, § 126.
132. Add perhaps Chr. *pcqury*, Obl., 'fear' *Giw.* 226, if read correctly (Hansen's Index has *pšqury* or *pšqyry*). Elsewhere *pkwyr*.
147. Add B. βδ'yštk *SCE* 341. *Dhu* 285 'loaded' < *abi-dršta-. On *ǰdarz-* cf. Bailey, *BSOAS* xi 767 sq.
161. Benveniste, *VJ* p. 90, more attractively derives 'pkš- from *upa-kaša-.
299. Add Chr. *žwšy*, B. *δr'wšyh* 'sacrifice', < Av. *zaotrā-*, v. *JRĀS*, 1946, 183.
315. *fra-* turns up as *f(a)-* also before δ in Man. *fδys*, B. *fδ'ys*, 'βδ'ys 'vision, apparition', cf. *Sogd.* 20 on 22 b. B. *pδ'ys* may belong to S. *pδ'yš-*, § 549. On *fra-* > *f-* before *b* see below, *ad* § 621. B. *βzyn* perhaps provides a case of *fra-* > *fa-* before *ž*, v. below, *ad* § 1026.
316. On *fsp'* v. now H., *BSOAS* xii 314. Benveniste has connected B. 'βs'wc- *P* 2, 226, with Chr. *fswyt-*, v. *TSP* pp. 171 sq. The context, however, strongly suggests that 'βs'wc- means 'to cut or pierce'. We thus seem to have evidence of a base **suk-* 'pierce', of which Pers. *sōzan*, Bal. *sūčīn*, Wx *sic*, Khar. *suj'ina(kirta)* (v. Lüders, *APAW*, 1936, 31), &c., 'needle', may be derivatives.
338. Add reference to B. (ʔ)γws'nt and Man. 'xwsndyy', *JRAS* 1944, 142, 6.
351. *-ām-* also became *āw* in B. 'ny'w 'hurry' *VJ* 129, < **ham-gāma-*, cf. Khot. *hamgām* 'quickly', v. Bailey *BSOAS* x 585⁴⁶.
358. *p'r* 'for, but' has an etymological equivalent in Digor *fal* 'but'.
367. In B. *ptšknpy* 'dripstone' š after *pati-* is expected.
466. Another case of *dm* > *dv* can be recognized in B. *nyrdβ'y*, *nyrdβ'k* 'scorpion' < **drdma-ka-*, cf. Pš *laram*, v. Morgenstierne, *EVP* p. 107. On the interchange of initial *d*: *n* cf. H., *BSOAS* x 949 n. 4. H. points out that Khwār. *δrmcyk* 'scorpion' also belongs here.

526. Benveniste, *VJ* p. 94 ad 40^d, justly remarks that B. *nyrk-* in *nyrkčšmy* 'aux yeux mâles' ought to be 'une épithète de couleur'. This colour cannot, however, be 'blue' (< **nīlaka*, as suggested by O. Szemerényi, *JAOS* lxx (1950) 233 sq.). Years ago, when I put the problem to Professor Bailey, he referred me to Lüders, *AO*, 1937, 136, who has shown that the Brahmin in question had yellow eyes. Though we may, accordingly, prefer the reading *zyrk-*, it is not clear from which OIr. form this adjective derives; only **zaryak-* would satisfactorily account for the presence of both *y* and *k* in the Sogdian word, cf. Av. *zairya(n)k-*.
548. Add Man. *jyyr-* 'to call' and 'to be called' (§ 706).
560. Benveniste, *VJ* p. 93, has made it likely that **pšty-* here means 'to entrust'. This agrees well with the connexion with the name of the 'Avesta' suggested by Henning, *BSOAS* xi 725.
604. Add B. *šywn-* 'to recite (*šywn'y* Inf., *Dhy* 6, v. Reichelt's note) from *šywnw* 'word, speech'.
621. *θvar-* < **fvar-* < *fra-bara-*, v. *JRAS*, 1946, 181 n. 3. The dissimilation of *f* in *fra-* before a labial spirant has, I think, an illustrious OIr. precedent. Henning suggested *BSOAS* xii 41 n. 1, that MPers. *prystr* = *frestr* was a corruption of Av. *xrafstra-*. One notes that if an OIr. (OPers.) form **frafstra-* existed, it might have become *frestr* in MPers.; although Manichean MPers. *frestr* may nevertheless be merely dissimilated from the Zoroastrian form, OIr. **frafstra-* may still happen to have been the original form from which Av. *xrafstra-* was dissimilated. **frafstra-* can be derived from **fra-pt-tra-*. Derivation from *pat-*, the verbal stem most widely used to describe the movements of 'daēvic' beings would be well in keeping with the vague meaning of this very ancient term for hostile creatures.
635. *-sq* in *Giwargis* (only continuous present): 1 Sg. *br'msq* 197, *frm'ymsq* A 28, *γrb'msq* 84, *w'bmsq* 236, *wš'msq* 99, *xwr'msq* 296; 2 Sg. *d'rysq* 263, *šm'rysq* 129, *w'bysq* 197; 3 Sg. **[br]tsq* 82, *stysq* 245, *w'btsq* 83, *žyrtsq* 241. 246.
656. The general rule seems to be that B. has always *an-*, Chr. always *ā-* (except in **mbrz*, § 657), Man. sometimes *an-* and sometimes *ā-*.
- 775 fn. H. now suggests deriving **ycy* < *Anc. Lett.* **yncy(y)*, perhaps belonging to **n-* (§ 785), v. *BSOAS* xii 605 n. 2.
818. I am not yet convinced of the existence of a particle *nm*(^o)*y* 'certainly, really', as argued by Benveniste *Notes in* ~~518~~ *TSP*

p. 205 on 116, *VJ* p. 96 on 1023. The passage *VJ* 1152 sq., *L' nm'y 'y'wšt* offers the greatest objection, since if *'y'wšt* is a finite form it can only mean 'fut tourmenté', and not 'sera tourmenté' as M. Benveniste translates. One therefore suspects that the finite verb is *nm'y*, 2 Sg. Impt., which governs *'y'wšt* as an Infinitive; in the parallel passage *VJ* 1457 sq. the Infinitive is *'pz'rn't*. The required meaning seems to be 'do not have any compunction about troubling my mind'. We are thus faced with a present stem of the same appearance as Man. Chr. *nm'y-* (*nimāy-*) 'to judge', but the meaning differs. It may be that the *VJ* passages have preserved the Pres. stem that belongs to Man. Chr. *nm'ny*, Khot. *nimāna-* 'repentance' (cf. Bailey, *BSOAS* ix 72); the meaning 'to rue, consider with regret' may account for an expression that seems to approach the value of English 'never mind'.

The spelling *nm'y* in *VJ* 1152 assures us that here, and in *VJ* 1457, we have a word ending in *-āi*. The other passages quoted by M. Benveniste have *nm'y*, which may stand for *n()māi*, *n()mai*, *n()mē*, or *n()mī*. In *P* 3, 242. 247 one wonders why, if *mz'yγ L' nm'y w'r't* means 'it should not rain really hard', *nm'y* fails to reappear in line 258; also, *'γ'zy* in line 241 leads one to expect an Optative in the co-ordinated clause, whilst *w'r't* would have to be Subjunctive; here, therefore, one would prefer taking *nm'y* as 3 Sg. Opt. of *nam-* 'to agree' (with *L'* 'to refuse'), v. H., *BSOAS* xii 607 n. 2, *w'r't* as the Infinitive depending on it: 'if it refuses to rain hard'.

In *P* 6, 116 we again need a finite verb to account for the Infinitive *'krty*; here *nm'y* may be 1 Sg. Opt., correlated to *βrny'yγ*: 'thus he believes (*wrnty*, v. H., *BSOAS* xi 735): I will forfeit my life rather than agree (*lit.* rather than that I agree) to commit further evil.'

There remains *nm'y ZY* in the two parallel passages quoted § 818; here, too, there is little to commend translating *nm'y* as an assertive particle, since a word expressing deprecation, apprehension, or regret, is expected. It is conceivable that the Imperative of, or a verbal noun derived from, *nimāy-* 'to rue = to wish that something had never taken place' could be used as an exclamation with deprecatory value 'Heaven forbid that . . .!'

The function of *nmy*, *Dhu* 7, is not clear.

825. Add S. *wγs-* 'to be delivered' (*w'c-/B. wγt-* 'to allow, release, send'): *c[ym]'nty L' pr'št wβ'ym ZY βy[k]s'r L' wγs'ym* 'we shall not be able to escape from it and shall not be released out of it'

- X I ii V 15 sqq. On *pr'št*, Chr. *pryšt-*, Pres. *pryž-* v. H., *BSOAS* xii 612 n. 5.
861. *Giwargis* shows the expected Fem. ending of the 3 Sg. Intr. Pret. in the light stem *nyžt'* 108 (v. *JRAS*, 1946, 181), and, by analogy, in the heavy stems *'γt'* 118, and *'mpst'* 124.
864. The past stem *sat-* of *san-* also occurs, hitherto unrecognized, in Chr. *sty Giw.* 113. 121. Cf. *st'nd* § 780.
866. S. *βst'yym* [*ZY . . pr*]*kyšt'yym* 'we have been bound and imprisoned' X I ii V 13 sq.
868. Add *wm'tsd* quoted § 1241. Cf. *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1945, 141, n. 2.
875. In H.'s opinion these forms are Optatives (ending *-ayand*) used as Preterites, while *-ynt*, § 872, represents *-ēnd*, contracted form *-ayand*. In reading *-ynt* as *-ind* I assumed a secondary development from *-and* (§ 870) acc. to § 107.
- **gafta-*, whence Sogd. *γβt-* (§ 872), seems to reappear in Khot. *gauda* (which may mean 'over-exerted') in the text published by Bailey, *BSOAS* xii 616, 30.
- 877 n. 2. Add S. *s'cδ'rt* 'it was necessary', *Sogd.* 67.
897. In place of the *-yq* Pres. Partc. *Giwargis* uses *-ysq*, *-sq*, *-syq* (cf. *JRAS*, 1946, 182 on *175): *qwnysq*, *brysq*, *'xyrsq*, *mynsq*, *mynsyq*. Since *qwn-* and *br-* are light, *'xyr-* and *myn-* heavy, it is possible that the suffix was *-əs(ə)k* with light stems, *-s(ə)k* with heavy stems, cf. § 889 fn.
940. Add Chr. *zwy* Nom. and Obl., Man. *zwf'* Abl. (*-aka-* stem?), S. *zwβ* 'jaws' < Av. *zafar-*, v. *JRAS*, 1946, 179 sq.
967. *t'ryyh* occurs as adj., 'dark', in *M* 133, 13 (Obl. case).
976. Omit *pryng* which belongs to Av. *sparəha-*, v. Benveniste, *TSP* p. 211 on 55.
991. *fr'k*, Oss. *ragi*, Wx. *v'rök* 'to-morrow', < **frāka-*, v. Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii 547.
994. Cf. B. *wn'yk škr-*, *P* 2, 548, v. H., *BSOAS* xi 720. Add *'xšpyk*, quoted § 1241.
997. H. points out that the Persian LW *ἀρτάβης* 'courier' almost certainly belongs to *'st'nyk*.
1003. B. *prt'mch*. The translation 'en avant, la tête la première' (also in Benveniste's new edition of *VJ*) presumably arises out of a supposed connexion with *'prtm-* 'first'. Against this connexion stands the persistent spelling without initial aleph, which seems to point to original initial *par-*. The context (*prt'mch* invariably occurring

- with *'wpt-* 'to fall', followed by *ZKw 'šyh βyr-* 'to recover consciousness') shows that *prt'mch* means 'in a swoon, unconscious', hence is from **pari-tāmah-* + suffix. Cf. Man. *pt'm*, Khot. *pātām-Sogd.* 47, 1 (with comm.), and, for the meaning, Russ. *обморок* 'swoon': *морок* 'darkness, thick mist, swoon, deception'.
1026. The reading *'βjynyh* is not certain. The word may be *'βjwnyh*, belonging to *βj'w-* § 571. As to B. *βzyn*, H. prefers to connect it with (*'*)*jy-* 'to be born', &c., with the same preverb as in Av. *frazainti-*.
1033. *r'yr'y-*. Cf. OHG *rērēn* 'to bleat, roar, shout' < Proto Germanic **raī-rē₂-*, v. Brugmann, *Grdr. d. Vgl. Gramm.*, 2nd ed., ii 3¹ p. 204.
1056. *wyjtry nxwyδδ* (2 Pl. Impt.) 'pound w.' *T i* (*Par.* 10), out of context. In an enumeration of hells, *P 9*, 30, occurs B. *wyzt'ry* *'w'zh* 'w.-lake' (Man. *'wzyy*, v. H., *Additions to Sogd.* p. 51). Hence *wyjtry* is a substance, and *wyjtrynyy* means 'consisting of, or containing, *wyjtry*'. M. Benveniste failed to find a Buddhist hell that would give a clue to the meaning of *wyjtry*. In the Khot. *Lehrgedicht E* v 61 the *kšāra-natē* 'alkali-river' hell is mentioned. If *wyjtry* is 'alkali', comparison with Iron *izgard*, Digor *yezgard* 'heart-burn, *Sodbrennen*' suggests that in Sogdian metathesis from **wi-žg(a)rtā-* or **wi-γž(a)rtā-* took place. The preverb of the Ossetic word is not clear; perhaps **wi-ā-*? The base appears to be *žgar-/γžar-*. (Khot. *kšāra-natē*, I learn from Professor Bailey, corresponds to Skt. *kšārodakā nadī*, Pali *khārodakā nadī*, on which v. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 200; Professor Henning points out Tibetan 'Höllensmartern in scharfer Lauge', *hDzans-bLun oder der Weise und der Thor*, transl. I. J. Schmidt St. Petersburg, 1843, p. 179.)
1060. *γn-* 'power' cannot be connected with Khot. *agane* (as is done by Benveniste, *VJ* p. 96 on 906), since the latter means 'thigh, breast', v. Bailey, *BSOAS* viii 919.
1076. An Eastern Iranian 'language suffix' *-āu-* is attested by Sogd. *swydy'w*, Khwār. *turkāwīk*, Oss. *avestagau*, *grekhagau*, &c. (cf. Bailey, *TPS*, 1945, 9), Khot. *hvatanaū*, *kasprau*, *ciṃgau* (*E* xxiv 2. 5), *tāgūttau* (v. Bailey, *BSOAS* x 601), all meaning 'in the . . . language'.
1078. Sogd. *r'f* belongs to Khot. *rāhā* 'pain' (Bailey, *BSOAS* viii 135), which can be derived from **rāfa-*.
1108. H. has meanwhile found the correct explanation: *st'γ-* = Pers. ستاغ 'having no young'; *sr'k* 'orphan' < **siraka-*, cf. Church

- Slavonic *sirŭ* (on the other forms v. H., *JRAS*, 1946, 13). Hence 'solitary and single, childless (and) orphaned'.
1109. Add *Giwargis ywn pr wy'q* 111. 152. 232 'instantly, on the spot'.
1112. H. suggests *-se* < *-sah-* or *-saha-* (Nom. Sg. **sahi* > **sai* > *se*) 'speaking', coalescing with *-aka-* stems.
1114. Sogd. *pxwδ* and Parth. *prxwδn* (which may mean 'scorn') are perhaps connected with Oss. *xudīn*. This verb beside 'to laugh' means 'to scoff'; cf. also the derivative *xudinag* 'ridiculous, disgraceful, disgrace'. A meaning distinct from ordinary laughing is seen when the subject is *zærdæ* 'heart'. My Digor friend has *sæ zærdæ dæbæel raxudtæy* or *sæ zærditæ dæbæel raxudtæncæ* 'they became offended at you'. Hence Dig. *zærdixudt*, Ir. *zærdæxudt* 'offence, offended', e.g. *dæ dzurdtæ mæ fæzzærdixudt kodtoncæ* 'your words have offended me'.
1117. Add S. *γzδ'ny* 'tomb' < **azdāna-* 'bone-container' (v. H., *Tales*, 479), B. *yyδγn* 'glacier' < **aixa-dāna-* (Benveniste, *Grammaire*, 201 sq.), cf. Addenda to § 120, and, acc. to H., Man. *m'rδny*, Chr. *m'rδny* 'memoria' < **māθra-dāna-*. H. points out that in *M* 172 *jwundyh m'rδnyy* is 'the Living Record' = 'Sacred Scripture', and the MPers. equivalent, *m'dy'n ywjdhr*, thus contains *m'dy'n* = Pahl. (Inscr.) *m'tgd'n* [so] = Arm. *matean*, cf. *JRAS*, 1942, 241.
1124. H. would recognize OPers. *kāra-* 'people' in *'ztk'r* (on which v. now also *BSOAS* xii 606 n. 9), and separate *xwδk'r* as connected with the words treated in § 1120.
1126. With **-ham-kāraka-* cf. Oss. *-ængard* in *razængard* 'prone'.
1136. In *'nwt* 'support' H. has recognized a descendant of the noun from which OPers. *anušiya-* (< **anutija-*) was derived.
1143. Cf. Oss. *fæsæfsin* 'deputy hostess', *fæson* 'back' (lit. 'what is behind the shoulders'). Oss. *fæs-* is common in *avyayībhāva* compounds, cf. *fæsqus* 'behind the ear', *fæsduar* 'behind the door', Dig. *fæs(a)ræftæ* 'afternoon', &c.
1193. Cf. also *xw[c]ʹ βw[δ]*, H., *BSOAS* xii 318, end.
1285. Add S. *γr'ntr* 'heavier' *Tales* 481, 35, *ʹrtr* 'darker' (cf. § 967) *ibid.*, and *ʹw'ntr* 'stronger' *ibid.* 39. For the meaning of *prγʹ(rʹ)*, originally Past Partc. of *pryc-* 'to leave', H. compares Pers. *mānda* '(1) left; (2) fatigued, worn out'.
1286. Add the light stem S. *zwytttry* 'most severe', and the heavy S. *rytr* 'worst', *Tales* 481, 49.

1288. Add S. *ryncwkstr* 'lighter' and *trykyst* 'bitterer' *Tales* 481, 36 sq.
1294. B. *šy'tr* also in Rosenberg, *Fragm.* ii (*Izv.* 1927, 1380), 11; *šy''tr* twice in the unpubl. B. fragment 10. 119. Acc. to H., extension of OIr. *srayah-*.
1295. O. Szemerényi's suggestion that *wštm'x* contains *wahišta-* + *-tama-*, the superlative suffix, rather than the Acc. *wahištam*, is attractive, v. his paper on *Sogdicisms in the Avesta*, apud F. Alt-heim, *Aus Spätantike und Christentum* (1951), p. 164. The remainder of that paper, however, must be rejected as extravagant.
1313. Benveniste, *VJ* p. 121^a, is probably right in translating *w'p/βryt* by 'tel, si grand', and connecting it with B. *w'βr*.
1316. H. points out B. *wywsšw-nw* '6' *P* 8, 45, cf. § 1322.
1375. *m'xnc* should mean 'we from him or them', *-mnc* (§ 1378) 'by me from him or them', v. H., *BSOAS* xii 605 n. 3.
1405. Acc. to H. *xw* in *xii xii xw δbrt'* is perhaps a mistake for *kw* = distributive suffix. Cf. the distributive *-ky*, *TPS* 1948, 63 sqq.
1466. 1501. Add S. *my* (*Tales* 476, 20), 'my' (H., *BSOAS* xi 736), Loc. Sg. Masc. Fem., and *Anc. Lett. my*, Nom. Pl. Masc. < *imai* (H., *BSOAS* xii 606 n. 3).
S. *cw y' δ'my* 'what in this world' *Tales* 481, 49, is isolated. Haplography of *cw wy'*?
1586. 'yw *c'f*, cf. Pš *yau co* 'several', Lorimer, *Syntax*, § 85. Pš *co* is both interrogative, 'how many?' (cf. *pa co* 'at what (price)?'), and indefinite, 'some'. In the former function it agrees with Sogd. *c'f* (§ 1540), in the latter with Yaghn. *čāf*. Pš *co* should perhaps be derived from an earlier **čāf*, as to 'heat' from **tāf* (cf. Pers. *tāb* < **tāpa-*, beside *taf* < *tafnu-*).
1587. *c'f c'f* may have to be separated from the pronoun *c'f* and connected with B. *prc'βt* 'surrounding' *Dhy* 288, 'enceinte' *SCE* 222.
- TPS* 1945, p. 146, 7. Ir. **wazana-* is found also in Khot. *bahoysana-* 'bazaar', acc. to Morgenstierne < **vahā-vazana-*, v. Konow, *NTS* xi 67.
- P. 146 n. Beside *baravira-* Khot. has *barbira-* *JSt.* 8 r 2. OIr. **baraputra-* suffered reduction in Proto-Khot. as in Sogdian (cf. above, § 164), becoming **barpuθra-*, from which *barbira-*. OIr. **baratpuθra-* had *-at-* treated like the preverb *pat(ī)-* before consonants (Khot. *pa-*); the resulting **barapūθra-*, which no longer suffered

reduction, yielded Khot. *baravira*-. Sogd. *βrpšh* can be derived from either *bara*- or *barat*-.

- P. 147. Inverted *bahuvrīhis* occur also in Ossetic and Pašto. For Ossetic (and 'Scythian') see V. Abayev's important study on the Scythian language in *Осетинский язык и фольклор*, I (Moscow-Leningrad, 1949) 231 sqq., from which may be quoted *astæu-naræg* (beside *naræg-astæu*) 'having a narrow waist', *ūcæng-mard* 'withered', *lit.* 'limb-dead', and *Δάναπρις* 'having deep waters' (= Oss. *don + arf*); a list of Ossetic inverted *bahuvrīhis* is also found in Abayev's *Русско-осетинский словарь* (Moscow, 1950), pp. 612 sq.; cf. also *nom-rimæxst* (from my Digor friend) 'anonymous', *lit.* 'whose name is concealed', for which Abayev, *op. cit.* s.v. *аноним* has Iron *nom-susæg* 'whose name is secret'.

For Pašto cf. *plār-marai*, *zoe-marai* 'whose father (son) is dead', *las-prekarai* 'whose hand is cut off', *starg-wažai* 'with hungry eyes', v. Darmesteter, *Chants populaires*, Cxlviii, Trumpp, *Grammar*, 55.

- P. 147. The etymological identification of B. 'škwch (also P 6, 88) and Khot. *škūta* would permit assigning the meaning 'gullet' to the Khot. word in the passages quoted by Bailey, *BSOAS* x 589¹² (cf. the second passage in S. Konow, *A Medical Text in Khotanese*, 36²⁷ = Bailey, *Khotanese Texts* I 159, 73 v l). The OIr. form may have been **skūti*-.

- P. 148. The order of words in the calendar terms *βγνwy*, *βγγy nwy* (and *m'x nwy* 'New Moon', v. H., *JRAS*, 1945, 153) is peculiar to the names of a number of OIr. deified entities, some of which have become calendar names: cf. Sogd. 'rtyxw, 'rtyw < **Ṛti-wahwī*-, 'rtxwšt < **Ṛta-wahišta*-, 'pwx < *āpō varukhīš*, *mnsṣnd* < *māθrahe spəntahe*, *xšywr* < **xšāθra-warya*-, Khot. *ysama-šsandā* 'earth' ~ **Zama-spantā*- (cf. Bailey, *BSOAS* vii 294), Aram. *mtrwhšt* = **Mīθra-wahišta*-, Av. *vahvī dāityā* (in Christensen's interpretation of 'la *Vahvī* qui a rapport à la loi religieuse', v. *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad*, 25. 71 sq.). Certain names in the Ossetic saga belong to the same type, cf. *Agundæ-Ræsuhd*, *Boræ-Færnug*, *Nikkola-Xuarz*, *Xur-zærin*, *Ærti-xuron*, *Æfsurh* (< **aspa-gra*- acc. to Abayev, *Ос. я. u ф.* I, 233).

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
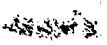
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ADDITIONAL NOTES

96. *twlyy* gives the Sogdian reading of the ideogram *'PZY* in S. texts, *'P*-standing for *t* < *uta* and *-ZY* for *'ty*, in compounds *-wty*. For the coalescence of OIr. *uta* and *uti* in Sogd. *'ty* (v. § 135 above), which helps to explain the use of a derivative of *uti* as a conjunction in Sogdian, one may compare the Pahl. translation of Av. *uta* by *ētōn*, v. Bartholomae, *Zum. altiran. Wb.*, 147. H. H. Schaefer, *ZDMG* 1942, 16 sqq., rightly sought behind (*'P*)*ZY* a Sogdian element additional to Man. *'ty* 'and' < *uta*. This element, however, is not (a)*t* < **yat*, as Schaefer assumed, for on the one hand Man. *'t* regularly stands for 'and', and therefore represents OIr. *uta*, on the other hand the Man. equivalent of B. *w'n'kw* . . . (*'P*)*ZY* in the sense of 'so that' is *w'nw* *'ty*, cf. *VJ* 742.1244 with § 1686 above; *'ty* cannot, of course, be reconciled with OIr. **yat*. That intrusion of *r* should have taken place after a short vowel in *'rty*, as Schaefer suggests, is unlikely, especially in view of the common B. *rty*. S. Konow's connexion of (*'*)*rty* with Khot. *ħade* (*Saka Studies* 138) deserves consideration. Note Schaefer's explanation, *l.c.* 16, of Chr. *m't* (above, § 397 n.) and *p't* from **m'δ-t*, *p'r-t*.

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421. The sentence quoted p. 247, bottom, continues: *cywyδ pyδ'r ZK βγγšth ZKw wy'm'kw z'wr MN m'γw ''s'ntk'm* 'because the gods will take from us the strength to *go about'. Hence *wy'm n'fc* 'guest' < **wi-gāma-* 'traveller', as Oss. *ūazæg*, which H. W. Bailey derives from **wi-wāza(ka)-*? The meaning of **wy'm* Sogd. 60, 14, and *wy[']m* *Anc. Lett.* iii. 7, is too uncertain to be taken into consideration.
900. The simplex of **wryz-* 'to drop' (on which v. H., *BSOAS* xii 309) is attested in B. *ryz- VJ* 1373.
- 960 n. 1. The B. spellings **wn'kw*, *mwn'kw*, *w'n'kw*, *c'n'kw*, are more likely to be genuinely historical, reflecting a period in which both *-naku* < *-nakam* and *-nu* < *-nam* were used as pronominal neuter suffixes. When *-naku* became *-ne* (which perhaps survived in Chr. *c'ny*) it was generally discarded in favour of the *-nu* forms, which were better suited to contrast the (originally) neuter *ōnu*, *munu* with the masc. *xōne*, *yune* and the fem. *xāna*, *wāna*, *yāna*.
1639. Group inflexion of nouns and adjectives is common also in Ossetic (cf. Abayev, *Русско-осетинский словарь*, p. 620, and Bouda, *Caucasica* xi 66 sq.), and is occasionally found in Khotanese; it plays a prominent part in Tokharian syntax, cf. Schulze, Sieg and Siegling, *Tocharische Grammatik*, 205 sqq.