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Habibullah Tegey was arguably the world’s foremost authority on the Pashto language. He was a native Pashtun and holder of a PhD in linguistics from the University of Illinois. As a Professor of Pashto at Kabul University, he published numerous articles and papers on the grammars and literatures of both Pashto and Dari. In the United States, he was for many years a senior editor of the Voice of America’s Pashto service, where he received a number of accolades and awards for his programs about and in Pashto. He died in 2005.
Gernot Windfuhr is Professor of Iranian Studies (emeritus) at the University of Michigan, USA. He is an internationally recognized expert in Persian linguistics, Iranian languages and related areal linguistics as well as pre-Islamic Iranian religions. His publications include a monograph of the state and history of Persian grammatical studies, a grammar and analytical dictionary of Sangesari, a Persian textbooks series, numerous theoretical and descriptive studies of verb systems, Iranian dialects, as well as studies on the cosmology, philosophy, and ritual of Zoroastrianism and other pre-Islamic Iranian religions.

Yutaka Yoshida is Professor of Linguistics at Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University, Japan. His main interest is Sogdian and other Iranian languages once spoken along the Silk Road. He is well known as a decipherer of the Sogdian materials recently discovered in China. He has also published all the Sogdian texts preserved in Japan, among which is one brand on two pieces of sandalwood imported to Japan as long ago as 1300 years before. He is unique among Iranists in studying Iranian words transcribed in Chinese characters.
Sixteen colleagues have contributed to this volume: In addition to this editor, these include Prods Oktor Skjærvø, Yutaka Yoshida, Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, and Ronald E. Emmerick for the Old and Middle Iranian languages; John R. Perry, Ludwig Paul, Ernest N. McCarus, Carina Jahani and Agnes Korn for the West Iranian languages; Barbara Robson, Habibullah Tegey, D. (Joy) I. Edelman, Leila Dodykhudoeva, and Elena Bashir for the East Iranian languages; and Charles M. Kieffer for the Southeast Iranian languages. In collaborating with these colleagues, this editor did aim to attain as much equal sequence and coverage of the topics as possible in each chapter. Admittedly, that hands-on approach sometimes proved challenging for both parties, but was appreciated by others, and gratitude is due to all contributors for their patience.

The present volume could only appear because of the generous help in the editorial tasks by a number of these colleagues. Greatest gratitude is due to Prods Oktor Skjærvø, both for his advice and assistance in editing several chapters, and for his hands-on data-processing expertise and the availability of his data bases.

Work on this volume began some twelve years ago. Sadly two dear colleagues passed away, Ronald E. Emmerick in 2001 and Habibullah Tegey in 2005. In addition, the project encountered repeated critical challenges that threatened its completion. Most recently, it was only by the extraordinary gracious collaboration of Carina Jahani and Agnes Korn who, in spite of numerous other commitments, accepted the challenge of composing the chapter on Balochi in just a few months, that this volume could finally appear.

My fond appreciation goes to a good number of my former students at the University of Michigan, including Donald L. Stilo, Iraj Bashiri, David J. Peterson, and Karl J. Krahnke, and their enthusiasm and inspiration during work on earlier dialectological projects. For the present project doctoral student Rev. Harry Weeks assisted the project with his sophisticated editing and typesetting of earlier drafts, until his untimely death in 2005. I am likewise grateful for those students who diligently worked on the multiple aspects of the project during its various phases, most recently doctoral student Robert Haug who produced the excellent four essential maps for Chapter 2 on the typology of the Iranian languages.

The original impetus for this volume came from a letter in December of 1996 sent by Jonathan Price, then Commissioning Editor at Curzon Press (since merged with Routledge/Taylor & Francis). Once the project got started a couple of years later, he also worked with me editorially until 2005 and earned my lasting gratitude. I am equally grateful for the cordial cooperation with successive editorial teams who took his place following the commercial mergers. These include most recently Senior Production Editor Geraldine Martin, Editorial Assistant Samantha Vale Noya, and, at Swales & Willis, Production Managers Colin Morgan and Richard Willis, and copy-editor Thérèse Wassily Saba for their stellar efforts during the production phase of this volume. I would also like to thank all editorial teams who have collaborated with me on this project for
their patience during delays that occurred over the years. Finally, I am grateful to Routledge/Taylor & Francis for assuming the editorial costs involved in preparing this volume.

Geriot Windfuhr
Ann Arbor,
April 27, 2009
ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS I: JOURNALS, COLLECTIVE WORKS, ENCYCLOPEDIAS

AoF  Altorientalische Forschungen. Berlin.
AKM  Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Wiesbaden.
AO  Archiv Orientální. Praha.
CSI  Cahiers de Studia Iranica, Paris.
GGA  Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, Göttingen.
Iazyki mira I  Iugo-zapadnye iranskie iazyki (Southwestern Iranian languages), 1997.
Iazyki mira II  Severo-zapadnye iazyki (Northwestern Iranian languages), 1999.
Iazyki mira III  Vostochnoiranskie iazyki (Eastern Iranian languages), 2000.

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### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MO</td>
<td>Le Monde Oriental. Uppsala.</td>
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<tr>
<td>NTS</td>
<td>Norsk Tidsskrift for Språkvidenskap. Oslo.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Opyt I</td>
<td>Fonologiya, evoliutsii morphologicheskogo tipa (Phonology, evolution of morphological type).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opyt II</td>
<td>Evoliutsii grammaticheskikh kategori (Evolution of grammatical categories).</td>
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<td>OS</td>
<td>Orientalia Suecana. Stockholm.</td>
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<td>Osnovy I</td>
<td>Drevenuiranskie iazyki (Old Iranian languages), 1979.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Osnovy II</td>
<td>Sredneiranskie iazyki (Middle Iranian languages), 1981.</td>
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<tr>
<td>StII</td>
<td>Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik. Reinbek bei Hamburg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>StIr</td>
<td>Studia Iranica. Paris.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TPhS</td>
<td>Transactions of the Philological Society. Oxford.</td>
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### ABBREVIATIONS II: LANGUAGES

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<td>Aramaic</td>
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<td>Arm.</td>
<td>Armenian</td>
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<td>Az.</td>
<td>Old Azeri dialects, Iranian</td>
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<td>Bact.</td>
<td>Bactrian</td>
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<td>Baj.</td>
<td>Bajelani (Gorani dialect)</td>
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<td>Bal.</td>
<td>Balochi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Br.</td>
<td>Brahui</td>
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<td>Casp.</td>
<td>Caspian dialects</td>
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<tr>
<td>Centr.</td>
<td>Central (Plateau) dialects</td>
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<tr>
<td>ComBal.</td>
<td>Common Balochi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Digor</td>
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ABBREVIATIONS III: GRAMMATICAL TERMS

Note: These abbreviations may appear in capital letters or in lower case with period.

1, 2, 3 person (with s and p)  ABS absolute
1st pers. first person  ACC accusative
2nd pers. second person  ACT active voice
3rd pers. third person  AD(ESS) adessive
A accusative  ADJ adjective
ABL ablative  ADDR address

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<td>agent</td>
</tr>
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<td>agreement</td>
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<td>allative, allative function</td>
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<td>animate</td>
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<td>AOR</td>
<td>aorist</td>
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<td>article</td>
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<td>attribute</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>beneficiary, benefactive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tajik)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>any consonant</td>
</tr>
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<td>clause, clause linker</td>
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<td>classifier</td>
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<td>conditional</td>
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<td>CNJ</td>
<td>conjunct verb</td>
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<td>conjunction</td>
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<td>collective</td>
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<td>copula</td>
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<td>distant/remote past</td>
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<td>Object; objective</td>
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<td>Quotative (particle; verb forms)</td>
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<td>Potentialis, potential construct</td>
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<td>PRES</td>
<td>Present</td>
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<td>PR.PRT</td>
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<td>Pronoun</td>
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<td>PT</td>
<td>Past</td>
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<td>PTCP</td>
<td>Participle</td>
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<td>Retroflex</td>
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<td>resultative</td>
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<td>singular; subject</td>
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<td>SG/SING</td>
<td>singular</td>
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<td>source</td>
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<td>subjunctive; subject</td>
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<td>suffix</td>
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<td>superlative</td>
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<td>TAM</td>
<td>tense, aspect, and mood</td>
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<td>temporal clause</td>
</tr>
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<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic (particle)</td>
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<td>TR/TRANS</td>
<td>transitive</td>
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<td>uvular</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>any vowel; verb, verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VA</td>
<td>verbal adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VB</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vel.</td>
<td>velar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sigla**

- *: reconstructed form
- °: form cited without prefix, suffix, or enclitic
- <: from
- >: becomes
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE IRANIAN LANGUAGES

Gernot Windfuhr

1 OVERVIEW

The Iranian languages constitute the western group of the larger Indo-Iranian family which represents a major eastern branch of the Indo-European languages. With an estimated 150 to 200 million native speakers, the Iranian languages are one of the world’s major language families. The present volume thus relates linguistically most closely to four other volumes in the Language Family Series: genetically to The Indo-European Languages and The Indo-Aryan Languages, areally to the latter as well as to The Turkic Languages and The Semitic Languages, and typologically to all four of them due to adjacency and partial symbiosis.

Following an overview of the typology of the Iranian languages and selected topics, this volume provides detailed descriptions of principle Iranian languages from Old Iranian to New Iranian. In terms of descriptive orientation, it aims to present the typological dynamics of the Iranian languages through time and space. In terms of coverage, each chapter addresses issues on all linguistic levels including not only an overview, writing systems, phonology and morphology, but also phrase, clause, and sentence level syntax, and pragmatic aspects, which are all documented by examples with close interlinear translations and comments. That is, the overriding focus is on how these languages “work”, highlighting on each level significant typological features. As such, the volume is complementary to the Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum (1989), edited by Rüdiger Schmitt (see CLI in the List of Abbreviations, I.), which, with its focus on the phonological and morphological levels, will stand as the standard reference work for many years to come. In fact, several contributors to the present volume also contributed to the Compendium (Skjærvø, Emmerick, Windfuhr, Kieffer).

The orientation towards typology reflects the appearance of an increasing number of publications on Iranian typology and linguistic universals on all levels, which necessarily encompass diachrony and diatopy, by a growing group of specialists in Iranian linguistics and of general linguistics working on Iranian languages, an orientation originally spearheaded, among others, by Joy I. Edelman (e.g. 1968). Also, comprehensive studies of individual Iranian languages and language groups have been published, a good number of them by contributors to this volume, and comprehensive series on Iranian languages have appeared, such as the two volumes of the Opyt istoriko-tipologicheskogo issledovaniia iranskikh iazykov (1975), the six volumes of the Osnovy iranskogo iazykoznaniia (1979–1997), both edited by Vera S. Rastorgueva, and the three volumes dedicated to Iranian languages of the Iazyki mira. Iranskie iazyki (1997–2000), edited by Andrei Kibrik (for these see Opyt, Osnovy, Iazyki mira in the List of Abbreviations, I.).
recent overviews of the Iranian languages and the symbiotic non-Iranian languages are Skjærvø (2006) and Windfuhr (2006), respectively.

This volume does not include descriptions of all Iranian languages, but only of 16 languages of the many, as representatives for the following characteristics: (1) the three historical stages of documentation, Old, Middle, and New Iranian; (2) the four main dialectological groups, North-West Iranian, South-West Iranian, East Iranian, and South-East Iranian; (3) geographical location. Specifically, modern South-West Iranian is represented by Persian and Tajik; North-West Iranian is represented by Zazaki, Kurdish, and Balochi; East Iranian is represented by Pashto, Shughni, and Wakhi; South-East Iranian is represented by Parachi. Geographically, Kurdish represents the (north) westernmost expansion of the Iranian languages just as diametrically opposed Balochi represents their south-easternmost expansion, and the Pamir languages with Shughni and Wakhi represent the north-easternmost Iranian languages. Regrettably, Ossetic could not be included.

Overall, the coverage of languages in this volume can be seen as representing the center and the outer circle of Iranian, the latter in contact with non-Iranian languages and thus marked by Randsprachen as well as interference phenomena, anchored on two chapters: Chapter 3 on Old Iranian which represents the foundation of the Iranian languages, and Chapter 8 on Persian and Tajik which represents the superstrate language over the Iranian expanse and beyond, both as the literary language and through its regional varieties and vernaculars. Finally, in terms of morphological complexity, Persian represents the least inflectional languages, while two languages represent the most highly inflectional languages: Zazaki among the West Iranian languages and morphologically even more complex Pashto among the East Iranian languages.

In terms of descriptive strategy, a number of chapters discuss closely related languages jointly and thereby highlight their comparative dynamics. These include: Avestan and Old Persian in Chapter 3 (Skjærvø); Middle Persian and Parthian in Chapter 4 (Skjærvø); Khotanese with Tumshuqese in Chapter 7 (Emmerick); Persian (Windfuhr) and Tajik (Perry) in Chapter 8. The dynamics of “Common” Balochi in relation to a great number of varieties, rather than an arbitrarily selected “Standard” one, is discussed in Chapter 11 (Jahani and Korn). Chapter 14a on the complex Sprachbund of the Pamir languages (Edelman and Dodykhudoeva) precedes the description of its dominant language, Shughni, in Chapter 14b (Edelman and Dodykhudoeva); Wakhan Wakhi and Hunza Wakhi are contrasted in Chapter 15 (Bashir). The other chapters, while focusing on individual languages, likewise provide notes on dialectology: Middle Iranian Sogdian in Chapter 5 (Yoshida) and Khwarezmian in Chapter 7 (Durkin-Meisterernst); Modern Iranian Zazaki in Chapter 9 (Paul); Kurdish in Chapter 10 (McCarus); Parachi in Chapter 12 (Kiefler); Pashto in Chapter 13 (Robson and Tegey).

Like the chapters on the Old and Middle Iranian languages, the chapters on the modern languages reflect the present state of research and are innovative in their detail, and specifically in their syntactic and typological coverage within the framework of a book chapter. A particular kind of innovation is the daring decision by the authors of the chapters on Sogdian and Khwarezmian to use phonemic transcription throughout in addition to transliteration.

Finally, not discussed in this volume are challenging recent studies that, with due caution, investigate the correlation of regional gene pools of contemporary populations with language groups and language shifts (rather than populations shifts) for which small elites are often sufficient, as shown for example in the study of the origin of the Kurdish- and Zazaki-speaking populations by Hennerbichler (forthc.).
BIBLIOGRAPHY


CHAPTER TWO

DIALECTOLOGY AND TOPICS

Gernot Windfuhr

1 INTRODUCTION

Today the Iranian languages are spoken from Central Turkey, Syria and Iraq in the west to Pakistan and the western edge of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China in the east. In the North, its outposts are Ossetic in the central Caucasus and Yaghnobi and Tajik Persian in Tajikistan in Central Asia, while in the South they are bounded by the Persian Gulf, except for the Kumzari enclave on the Masandam peninsula in Oman.

Historically, the New Iranian stage overlaps with the Islamization of Iranian-speaking lands in the seventh century CE. The Middle Iranian stage began in the third century BCE. The oldest stages go back to the beginning of the second millennium BCE. The oldest physical document of Iranian is the Old Persian inscription by Darius I. of 522 BCE on the rock face of Mt. Behistun near Kermanshah along the highway that leads down from the Iranian plateau into Mesopotamia.

1.1 Origins: The Central Asian component

For the following section, cf. also Windfuhr (2006b) and the Introduction to Chapter 3.

Research during recent decades suggests that the Proto-Indo-Iranians originated in the eastern European steppes (Pit-Grave culture, ca. 3500-2500 BCE). From there they apparently moved eastward to the southern Ural steppes and the Volga (Potapovo culture, 2500-1900 BCE), then further on to Central Asia (Andronovo culture, from 2200 BCE onwards). At that stage they appear to have already formed two groups: the Proto-Iranians in the north, and the Proto-Indo-Aryans in the south. They came into contact with the proto-urban population of the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC), also known as the Oxus Culture), which had ancient connections to northwest India, Elam and northern Mesopotamia. They assimilated, gained prominence, and transformed it, thereby attracting non-Indo-Iranian elements. In the process they had developed a new type of social structure, called the khanate, which was ruled by a landlord (khān) residing in fortified farmsteads (qala).

After 2000 BCE, most of the later Indo-Aryans moved southeast probably via Afghanistan into the Indian subcontinent (Panjab), and also southwest via the Iranian plateau into northern Mesopotamia (Mitanni kingdom), probably under pressure from the Iranians to their north. The later Iranians moved into and across the Iranian plateau, both carrying the new social structure with their languages, with a lasting impact on the socio-political structures of Iran and Afghanistan, and the subcontinent.
Linguistically, these cultural contacts with the non-Indo-European languages of the proto-urban civilization in lower Central Asia left distinct shared layers of loanwords in the lexicon of Indo-Aryan and Iranian (Lubotzky 2001).

The Iranians on their part can probably be correlated with the subsequent so-called Yaz I culture in the BMAC complex, which reflects major cultural changes towards a more rural society after 1500 BCE. They apparently remained in Central Asia, and only by the end of the second millennium BCE began to spread over the Iranian plateau.

MAP 2.1 ANDRONOVO, BMAC AND YAZ CULTURES

By the second half of the eighth century BCE, Iranian Median and Persian tribes (Mada and Parswa) had already been long established among the original non-Iranian speakers of the Zagros mountain ranges of Iranian Kurdistan, according to the records of the Assyrian ruler Shalmaneser III (r. 858–824 BCE). Minorsky (1957: 78) recognized that the name of the tiny village Qal’a Paswe near Solduz in Kurdistan retains the memory of the Iranian settlements (cf. also Zadok 2001; 2002). The successors of the Parswa tribes who settled in the southwest of the Iranian plateau created the Achaemenid Empire (ca. 558–330 BCE) which, beginning with the Sasanian period (224–651 CE) and thereafter, ultimately resulted in the dominance of Persian over the Iranian expanse. While the Iranian plateau was increasingly Iranianized, the Iranian tribes known as Scythians by the Greek and as Saka by the Achaemenids remained in the wide expanses
MAP 2.2 MEDIAN EMPIRE (CA. 700 – CA. 558 BCE)

MAP 2.3 ACHAEMENID EMPIRE (CA. 558–330 BCE)
to the north, ranging from the Southern Russia to Central Asia and beyond, and became the predecessors of the Middle East Iranian languages, and of the surviving modern languages, including Ossetic. However, Scythian and Saka groups also invaded the Median Kingdom from southern Russia as early as the later 8th century. Numerous later incursions are known, to which belong the subgroups who settled in Zranka, later Sistan, in the two centuries straddling the common era during Parthian rule. The name Saka is still reflected in a good number of locations, including the province of Sistan < *Sakastan, and probably Sangesar < ?*Saka-sar(-) (for Scythians invasions of NW Iran and Media in the early 8th century BCE, and Scythian loans in Old Persian, cf. Lubotsky 2002).

MAP 2.4 SCYTHIA DURING PARTHIAN PERIOD (CA. 247 BCE – 224 CE)

1.2 Ancient non-Iranian contact languages

For western Iran, the main identifiable non-Indo-European languages are located along the Zagros Mountains: (1) Hurro-Urartian, which is a linguistic isolate, but may be remotely related to the Northeast Caucasian languages, in Azerbaijan and Iranian Kurdistan; (2) the linguistic isolate Kassite in the central Zagros; and (3) Elamite further south, possibly remotely related to Dravidian as mentioned. In terms of political and tribal entities, these correspond to the kingdoms/regions of Mannea, Parsua, Ellipi, Elam, and Anshan.

In the North, the languages along the western Caspian littoral probably included speakers of South Caucasian languages, and those along the eastern littoral may have belonged to an assumed so-called Central Asian linguistic continuum. On the central plateau and probably in Kerman province, at least some languages may have been related to Elamite and to the Dravidian languages towards the east.

Little is known about the non-Iranian speakers whom the Iranian speakers
encountered on their way into and across Iran. In the east, in Baluchestan and further east in the Gandhara/Kabul region and Arachosia/Kandahār, the Iranians were most likely still in contact not only with speakers of Ind o-Aryan, but also with speakers of Dravidian during the second half of the second millennium BCE.

The following synoptic table correlates the diachrony of the Iranian languages up to the New Persian period with those of Indo-Aryan and the major non-Indo-European languages with which they intersected at various stages. Omitted from the tabulation is Dravidian because of the uncertain information, and Greek.

**TABLE 2.1: TIMELINES OF IRANIAN AND INTERSECTING LANGUAGES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BMAC</th>
<th>INDO-ARYAN</th>
<th>IRANIAN</th>
<th>ELAMITE</th>
<th>ARAMAIC</th>
<th>AKKADIAN</th>
<th>HURRIAN-URARTIAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early I-A</td>
<td>Vedic Stage</td>
<td>Old Iranian</td>
<td>Old Elamite</td>
<td>Proto-Aramaic</td>
<td>Old Bab/Ass</td>
<td>Old Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vedic Stage</td>
<td>Middle Elamite</td>
<td>Young Av</td>
<td>Old Avestan</td>
<td>Old Aramaic</td>
<td>Neo-Bab/Ass</td>
<td>Mid Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500–1000</td>
<td>1500–1000</td>
<td>1500–1000</td>
<td>1500–1000</td>
<td>950–600</td>
<td>1500–1000</td>
<td>1500–1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Vedic</td>
<td>Middle Vedic</td>
<td>Young Av</td>
<td>Old Avestan</td>
<td>Old Aramaic</td>
<td>Neo-Bab/Ass</td>
<td>Late Hurian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000–500</td>
<td>1000–600</td>
<td>1000–600</td>
<td>1000–600</td>
<td>600–200</td>
<td>1500–1000</td>
<td>1500–1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Indic</td>
<td>Middle Avestan</td>
<td>Early Middle</td>
<td>Old Avestan</td>
<td>Achaemenid</td>
<td>Mid Bab/Ass</td>
<td>Late Hurian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 BCE</td>
<td>500 BCE</td>
<td>600–300</td>
<td>Old Avestan</td>
<td>Achaemenid</td>
<td>1000–550</td>
<td>850–600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle I-A</td>
<td>Young Av</td>
<td>Middle Iranian</td>
<td>Neo-Aramaic</td>
<td>Achaemenid</td>
<td>Neo-Bab/Ass</td>
<td>Late Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New I-A</td>
<td>Old Avan</td>
<td>Middle Persian</td>
<td>Late Elamite</td>
<td>Late Elamite</td>
<td>Late Bab</td>
<td>Late Hurian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700 CE</td>
<td>&gt; Parsua/Medes</td>
<td>700 CE</td>
<td>Khuzi</td>
<td>1000 CE</td>
<td>[600 BCE</td>
<td>850–600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3 Listing of Iranian languages

In overview, the Pre-Islamic languages include well-documented Avestan and Old Persian and two language groups, Median and Scythian/Saka, with only onomastic documentation, while Middle Iranian includes six well-documented languages.

There are a multitude of New Iranian languages. While the overall grouping of these languages has been well established, the internal dialectal divisions of the more extensive language groups in Iran are increasingly better understood due to renewed extensive fieldwork, and data bases. That is the case in particular in regard to the relationship between Northern vs. Central and Southern Kurdish, and the re-assessment of earlier division of Balochi (Jahani and Korn, cf. Chapter 11). More recent yet is the recognition of the distinction between Northern Talyshi vs. Central and Southern Talyshi; the separate
MAP 2.6 THE IRANIAN LANGUAGES

1. Sangesari
2. Semnani
3. Sorkhe’l-Lazgerdi
4. Shushtari-Dezfuli
5. Bandari dialects
Hyphens = scattered locations

6. Minabi dialects
7. Kumzari
8. Khuri dialects
9. Sivandi
10. Ormuri

11. Parachi
12. Yaghnobi

KD = Kurdish
PR = Local Persian varieties
PT = Pashto
TJ = Local Tajik varieties
TT = Tati

BJ = Bajelani (Gorani)
BL = Balochi
status of Eastern Gilaki vs. Western Gilaki; the distinction among the dialects of Mazandaran. (cf. Stilo 1981; 2001; 2005; 2006; ms.), and the four-fold division of the Central Plateau dialects (for the latter cf. also LeCoq 1989b; Windfuhr 1992a). Sharper dialect boundaries have been highlighted, such as those between Talyshi and Gilaki (Stilo), and between the Larestan dialects, which have a number of Tatic features, and the Fars dialects (Windfuhr 1999; 2004).

The following list of the Iranian languages and their sub-groups is arranged according to diachronic, geographic, and dialectological parameters. The sub-groupings of the modern Tatic, Caspian, and Central (Plateau) languages mostly follow Stilo.

Notes on terminology used here:

Northwest = conventional cover term for all of West Iranian languages other than Southwest Iranian
Northeast = conventional cover term for Iranian languages north of Iran and Afghanistan
distinct = locally confined, largely or partially distinct from surrounding group
isolate = remnant in non-Iranian language group
onomastic = only onomastic documentation

OLD IRANIAN
_Southwest_: Old Persian
_Northwest_: Median, onomastic
_Central_: Avestan
_Northeast_: Scythian/Saka, onomastic

MIDDLE IRANIAN
Middle West Iranian
_Southwest_: Middle Persian
_Northwest_: Parthian

Middle East Iranian
Bactrian
Sogdian
Khwarezmian (Khwārezmian), also Choresmian
Khotanese and Tunhuqese (Khotānese)
Middle Scythian and Sarmatian, onomastic

NEW IRANIAN
WEST IRANIAN
NORTHWEST IRANIAN, TIER 1
Upper Zagros and Central Plateau Group
Zazaki, endonym Dim(i)li (Zāzākī)
Kurdish
Northern Kurdish, called Kurmanji (Kurmānji)
Central Kurdish, called Sorani (Sōrānī)
Southern and Southeastern Kurdish
Gorani (Gōrānī), also Gurani
Auroman group, in Kermanshah area, Iran (Hawrāmān)
Bajalani, in Mosul area, Iraq (Bājālānī)
**SOUTHWEST IRANIAN**
Persian and Varieties
Persian
Tat Persian, in SE Caucasus (Tāṭ)
Khorasani Persian (Khorāsānī)
Varieties on both sides of the Iran-Afghan border
Afghan varieties, incl. Dari and Kaboli (Kāboli), etc.
Tajik (Tājjik ~ Tājjikī)

**PERSIDE GROUPS, SOUTHERN ZAGROS AND FAR**
Shushtari and Dezfuli, distinct
Lori-type languages
Fars dialects (Fārs)
Sivandi, distinct
Davāni, distinct (Davānī)

**NON-PERSIDE GROUPS, LARESTAN AND GULF**
Larestani (Lārestānī)
Gulf Group
Bandari
Minābi (Minābī)
Bashkardi
Kumzari, on Masandam peninsula in Oman (Kumzārī)

**NORTHWEST IRANIAN, TIER 2**
Tātīc Group (Tātīc)
Talyshī (Tālīshī, also Taleshī)
Northern
Central
Southern
Tātī, also called Azari (Tā̄tī, Āzarī)
Northern
Harzānī, isolate in NE Azerbaijan
Keringānī, isolate in N Azerbaijan (Keringānī)
Western
Khōīn dialects, Zanjan province
Southeastern
Khalkhal dialects, in Eastern Azerbaijan
Upper Tarom dialects in Zanjan province (Tārom)
Rudbar dialects in Sefid Rud Valley, transitional to the Gilaki (Rudbār)
Eastern
“Southern” Tātī, in Ramand district of Qazvin
Eshtehārdī, in Karaj district of the Central [Tehran] province (Eshtehārdī)
Dialects N and NE of Qazvin

**Transitional clusters, Tafresh region east of Hamadan and south of Save**
Vafsi-cluster
Ashtānī (Āshtānī), Kahāki, Amore’ī (Āmure’ī)
Alviri-Vidārī
Central (Plateau) Dialects
Northwestern
Northeastern
Southwestern
Southeastern

Eastern Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan
Khuri dialects (Kurdish features), in Kavir Desert
Balochi (Balōchī, also Baluchi)
Western
Southern
Eastern

Caspian Dialects
Galeshi, spoken by mountain herdsmen along the Alborz (Gāleshi)
Gilaki
Western
Eastern
tTāleqāni-Tonkaboni, etc., transitional (Tāleqāni, Ton(e)kāboni)
Mazandarāni, former name Tabari (Māzandarānī)
Gorgāni, extinct since 16th century (Gorgānī)

Semnan Area
Sangesari, distinct
Semnani, distinct (Semnānī)
Sorkheī and Lasgerdi (Lāsgerdi) with Aftari, distinct

East Iranian
Pashto
Pashto proper (Ch. 13)
Northwestern
Northeastern
Southwestern
Southeastern
Wapetsi Pashto, in SE

Pamir Area
North Pamir Group
Yazghulāmi (Yazghulāmi) with Wanji, extinct (Wānji)
Shughni-Rushani group, fuller term Shughnānī (Shughnānī) including
Shughnānī with Bajuwi, Barwozi, Rushani, Khufi, Bartangi, Roshorvi, and Sarikoli, in
Chinese Xinjiang-Uygur province
Ishkashimi group
Ishkashimi proper (Ishkāshemi), Sanglichī and Zebaki (extinct)
Wakhi Varieties
Wakhi, distinct
Related to the other three
Yidgha and Munjī

Southeast Iranian
Parachi (Ch. 12) (Parāchī)
Ormulū (Ormulū)
NORTH IRANIAN
Yaghnobi, in NW Tajikistan (Yaghnâbi)
Össetic, in central Caucasus

1.4 Predecessors of Modern Iranian languages

Evidence for medieval stages mainly of numerous Western Iranian languages and dialects in particular are found in relatively brief, often poetic, citations in Classical and Early Modern Persian sources.

In general, even without any pre-modern evidence, the modern languages can safely be assumed to continue lost local and regional languages. For example, the modern languages of Azarbaijan and Central Iran, located in ancient Media Atropatene and Media proper, are “Median” dialects, even though Old Median is known mainly from Medisms in Old Persian. The traditional term Pahlav/Fahlav for dialect poetry and other samples of locales in western Iran found in medieval Persian sources reflects the Parthian period in these regions.

In addition to the continuation of Middle Persian in New Persian, three small modern languages show significant grammatical and lexical reflexes of other documented Middle Iranian languages: In Iran, Sangesari of the Semnan group shares a distinct set of features with Khwarezmian. In the east, Yaghnobi in Tajikistan continues a dialect of Sogdian, and Wakhi in the Pamirs shows distinct reflexes of Khotanese and Tumshuqese Saka. In fact, Wakhi is an example of the repeated invasions of Saka since antiquity.

Little is known about the languages that were erased by the progression of varieties of Persian into eastern Iran and much of western and central Afghanistan, and the expansion of Pashto inside Afghanistan (cf. Kieffer 1989). Only Southeast Iranian Parachi and Ormuri still survive in a few islands, but are threatened by extinction (see Map 2.6 and Chapter 12 Parachi). That they represent remnants of once continuous language areas, Parachi in the north and Ormuri in the south, is suggested not only by toponymy, but also by linguistic features. In particular, the retention of initial voiced stops (unlike their fricativation in other Eastern Iranian groups) suggests earlier transitional contact somewhere in central Afghanistan with non-Perside, i.e. “Northwest”, Iranian language groups, now also erased. At the same time, morphology and morpho-syntax reflect successive contacts with Pashto for Ormuri, and for both contact with Indo-Aryan Dardic languages, and later superstrate interference from Afghan Persian varieties.

1.5 Modern non-Iranian contact languages

Bilingualism and even multilingualism are the norm in many regions, given that Persian is the superstrate language, and that varieties of Azeri Turkic are widely used as the language of the bazaar. Identity therefore is determined by complex intersecting layered patterns of cultural, ethnic, and linguistic affiliations.

There were two successive periods of major overlays of speakers of non-Iranian languages over most of the Iranian linguistic ground. Both covered the entirety of Greater Iran from the western to the eastern regions, including Greater Khorasan, Afghanistan and Central Asia. The first was the Arabic overlay which began before Islam and continued for the next few centuries. The second was the Turkic overlay which began in the eleventh century.
MAP 2.7 MODERN NON-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

AC = Central Asian Arabic
AR = Arabic
AF = Farsi Arabic
AK = Khorasan Arabic
AM = Armenian
AZ = Azeri-Turkic
BR = Brahui
DR = Dardic
GE = Georgian
KY = Kyrgyz
MA = Mande-Aramaic
NA = NE Neo-Aramaic
NR = Nuristani
RO = European Romani
TC = Turkic Central
TM = Turkmen
TR = Turkic
TS = Songori Turkic
UZ = Uzbek
Literary Arabic, as the administrative and literary superstrate during the early centuries of Islam, and as the language of the Qur'an, left an indelible impact on Persian and, through it, on virtually all language of Greater Iran, prominently in their lexicon, but also in morpho-morphology. However, due to a millennium of assimilation, the local Arabic overlay in the heartland and hinterland of Iran is now reduced to a few pockets in eastern Iran (as well as northern Afghanistan and Central Asia). Quite distinct is the situation of the southwestern regions and along the littoral of the Persian Gulf in direct contact with, or close to, the Arabic-speaking regions of Iraq and the Gulf states.

Turkic

In terms of numbers, of a present population of ca. 70 million, Turkic speakers constitute an estimated nearly third of the total population of Iran (compared to Persian with ca. 50 percent). Once Turkic speakers had settled first in Greater Khorasan in the northeast, then in Azerbaijan in the northwest, and then mostly from there in Fars in the southwest, they began to overlay the Iranian languages. Historically and geo-linguistically, this triangular pattern of Turkic settlement repeated the pattern of the original Iranian settlement some two thousand years earlier.

These expansions during the last millennium resulted in the Turkicization of most of the Iranian-speaking areas in Azerbaijan, leaving a few Iranian-speaking pockets, as was the case in many of the Tati-speaking areas in western Iran, including the areas along the Alborz up to Qazvin and the areas east of the Zagros mountains. Moreover, dynasties of original Turkic speakers ruled the country for most of the second millennium, most importantly the Safavids. As such, Turkic has had a distinct impact on Persian and other Iranian languages, both in the lexicon and grammar, particularly in the border provinces in contact with Turkic in the northeast and the northwest of Iran and beyond. Here may also be mentioned groups of Altaic Mongols who settled in Iran, mainly on Iranian Kurd estan, and throughout Afghanistan, including the now Persian-speaking Hazara in Central Afghanistan and the groups called Mogholi (cf. Kieffer 1983 and 2003), and linguistically left some traces in the Persian lexicon.

Indo-Aryan

In the east, Iranian languages have been in continued contact with speakers of Indo-Aryan. All of these show various degrees of Indo-Aryan features on all linguistic levels and the lexicon and, significantly, typological shifts. In particular, Dardic and Nuristani languages have been in long contact with the Pamir languages, in a multilingual Sprachbund.

Dravidian

Brahui is spoken in Iranian Baluchestan and in the adjacent areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The language is the northernmost remnant of the Dravidian languages which are now found mainly in the southern Indian subcontinent, but prehistorically may once have been more widely found in Iran. This is suggested in particular by the possible
distant relationship between Proto-Elamite and Proto-Dravidian. It is therefore not unlikely that the unknown ancient non-Iranian languages in the South of Iran from Elam to India may have included Dravidian speakers.

**Minor linguistic groups**

These include small communities of Neo-Aramaic speakers, both Jewish and Christians, in Iranian, Turkish and Iraqi Kurdistan, and Neo-Aramaic Mandeans in Khuzestan, now largely reduced by emigration, and small communities of Armenians in northern Azerbaijan and in Esfahan, close to which exist small rural Georgian communities. European Romanis, deported some 200 years ago from Bulgaria, then part of the Ottoman Empire, are found in two villages near Qazvin and Khorasan.

## 2 PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 Early Iranian dialects

The basic dialect division of the Iranian languages today goes back to the earliest stages of Iranian (cf. also Chapter 3 Old Iranian, sections 1.2 to 1.4). A primary development in the shift from Indo-Iranian to Proto-Iranian included the shift of the palatal affricate pair \( \dot{\text{i}} \dot{\text{j}} > \text{ts dz} \). Proto-Iranian further split into at least four distinct Iranian dialect groups, defined by the divergent developments of the palatal clusters \(*\text{cw}/*\text{jw}\), and further by the absorption of the semivowel \( \text{w} \) in the diametrically opposite NE and SW groups. The two "upper" dialects are correlated with the regions/languages of the Black Sea/Ossetic and the Tarim Basin/Khotanese-Tumshuqese, and two "lower" dialects with central Old Iranian regions/Avestan, and Fars in the southwest/Old Persian. The Scythian development here is that reflected in Ossetic.

**TABLE 2.2: THE FOUR OLD IRANIAN DIALECTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Upper Tier</th>
<th>Lower Tier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NW Ossetic</td>
<td>NE Khotanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(*\text{cw})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(\text{ts}w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(\text{sf})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(\text{fs})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2 West Iranian consonantal developments

The basic differentiation of the West Iranian languages into Northwestern and Southwestern, i.e. Perside, dialects was pioneered by Tedesco (1921) and Lentz (1927). Following a number of other studies, including Hadank (edited posthumously by Selcan 1992), MacKenzie (1961) outlined basic internal relationships between the dialect groups, followed by Windfuhr (1975). Among more recent studies with focus on phonology, LeCoq (1989) suggested a detailed modified classification. Paul (1998: 170) showed major phonemic isoglosses of the main West Iranian dialect groups. Korn (2003: 59) showed the
major isoglosses that determine the position of Balochi, followed in the same volume by Paul's (2003) pendent on major lexical isoglosses. All authors duly include caveats, emphasizing the provisional nature such studies.

The following table of selected West Iranian phonological isoglosses is arranged from Northwest Iranian to Southwest Iranian. For ease of comparison, the table is doubly framed by their Middle and Old Iranian pre-forms. The sequence of dialects and features is arranged to best visualize the patterns, and does not follow the probable historical sequence of the innovations, such as the one suggested by Korn (2003) which is: Old Iranian, (1) $ts$; (2) $dz$; (3) $tsw$ (and $dzw$, not included here) (4) $th$; late Old Iranian and Middle West Iranian (5) $rdz$, (6) $rd$; (7) $dw$; (8) $hw$; (9) $lw$. Compare also Map 2.6 Iranian Languages. Shifts towards Southwest Iranian are marked by underlined capital letters.

In overview, except for $rz$, $rd$, this table shows that by and large the sets of innovations form a continuum from Parthian-type to Middle Persian-type changes:

1. Zazaki and Gorani are the least innovative in relation to Parthian.
2. The middle group constitutes a fairly unified set, except for the late lateralization of $rz$ and $rd$ to $l$ in the latter three groups.
3. Balochi, and more so Kurdish, are transitional to Persian:
4. $lw$: Zazaki and Balochi have $w$, and the remainder mostly has reflexes of $hu$, with variation in the Central dialects and Balochi.

### TABLE 2.3: SELECTED WEST IRANIAN ISOGLOSSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*Indo-Iranian</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>Čw</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>Š</th>
<th>-tw-</th>
<th>Sw</th>
<th>Dw</th>
<th>Jř</th>
<th>Rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Proto-W Iranian</td>
<td>Dz</td>
<td>Tsw</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>Ts</td>
<td>-tw-</td>
<td>Hw</td>
<td>Dw</td>
<td>Rdž</td>
<td>Rd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### NORTH-WEST

Avestan &nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&nbsp;&n...
(5) The contraction of these clusters to laterals does not correlate as well as the other columns with the sequence of innovations, suggesting intersecting isoglosses or typologically independent change.

Overall then, from Zazaki and Gorani downward to Persian, the dialects are successively less "archaic", each subgroup accumulating additional innovations. At the same time, Persian has been increasingly the superstrate language, and as such may have most directly affected dialect groups in contact with it at various historical periods. This was probably the case with the "transitional" Northwestern pair, Balochi and Kurdish, which have the Southwestern features *tsw and *dr > s, *hw > h. Kurdish, in addition, also shares *dv > d and *hw > xw with Persian (where later xw- > x-). As convincingly argued by Korn (2003), the two must have acquired those features when in contact with Persian for a considerable period of time, longer for Kurdish because of the additional two features (for such contact cf. also MacKenzie 1961 and Windfuhr 1975).

2.3 Innovations: SW drift vs. NW

The successive innovations are essentially cluster reductions. Of the nine clusters discussed, the contraction of r-clusters may be less significant given that lateralization may occur as independent innovations.

Of the remaining seven clusters, more than half, i.e. four, are Cw-clusters. In all of these w is lost in the Southwestern dialects. That development is opposed to the Northwestern innovations where (1) the labial is retained with partial devoicing, and (2) initial consonants tends to be lost. These innovations can be seen as divergent drifts that began with tsw and ultimately extended to the other three. Windfuhr (1972: 58–59) formulated a "tendency" rule, which also included loss of w in the clusters pwlbw and gw (not included in the table here).

The phonotactic conditions for the SW-NW divergence appear to be the position of the articulatory focus in these clusters: in the SW on the initial component, but in the NW on the final component of the cluster. This conclusion is also suggested by the Old Persian and Parthian "orthographies", that is, their representation of the cluster *h-w:

It is spelled <uv> in OP. (similar OP. <θuv>, <duv> for *θ-w, *d-w) which suggests /hu/. But in Parthian it is spelled <wx> which points to /wʰ/ as suggested by MacKenzie (1967: 26 n. 29).

In fact, the same articulatory conditions may account for the NW–SW divergence in other clusters as well, beginning with the divergent four-fold Early Iranian changes discussed above (see Table 2.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2.4: SW vs. NW IRANIAN CLUSTER REDUCTIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 THE IRANIAN LANGUAGES
2.4 East and West Iranian

The developments in the East Iranian languages show a subset of changes identical to those of the Northwest languages. But the dental w-clusters and tr do not, and may presuppose splits prior to the Iranian fricativation of preconsonantal stops. In turn, Sangesari and the two Southeast languages Parachi and Ormuri diverge in their palatalization of the tr-cluster, as shown schematically in Table 2.5 (cf. Skærvø 1989: 377):

**TABLE 2.5: SOME EAST vs. WEST IRANIAN CLUSTER REDUCTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pr-Afr.</th>
<th>*ts</th>
<th>*dz</th>
<th>*tsw</th>
<th>*tr-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>sp</td>
<td>tr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NW Ir.</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>sp</td>
<td>tr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW Ir.</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>sp</td>
<td>tr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Ossetic; (2) Wakhi; (3) Ossetic; (4) Yaghnobi; (5) Wakhi; (6) Pashto; (7) Yagzhulami; (8) Shughni group; (9) Sanglichi-Ishkashimi; (10) Yidgha-Munji; (11) Parachi.

Sims-Williams (1989: 168–169) and Steblin-Kamenskii (1992) highlight various major phonological developments from Old Iranian to common Middle and New East Iranian. These mostly involve word boundaries and clusters and may be arranged as follows (note that they do not apply to Southeast Iranian Parachi and Ormuri).

1. In initial position the voiced stops become fricative: OIr. #b > β ð γ (with various further changes).
2. There is widespread, though widely varying, palatalization of consonants.
3. Contraction of clusters is distinctly more prominent than in WIr (and similarly, palatalization of vowels).
4. The phonetic clusters of the palatal affricates become dental, but not in Sogdian: OIr. ð > ts dz (further > s z).
5. The voiceless fricatives f x become voiced before t: OIr. ft xt > βd (> ud) yd.

In West Iranian, similar isoglossic changes occurred under various conditions across large regions (cf. Windfuhr 1989b: 253–254).

Cluster lenization: (1) Throughout West Iranian both *ft, *xt > ht > t, and further changes, e.g. Bakhtiari (Lori-type) raf-t-am > rahd-am ~ re-m ‘I went’. Moreover, initial *fr, *xr > (h)r in most of West Iranian, except Kurdish, Gilaki and Mazandaran, and Persian and Perside in the SW (for a map, cf. Azami and Windfuhr 1972: 199).

Fronting of palatals ð > ts dz: More recent, it is found in the central NW in contact with Turkic (Stilo 1994, with map).

Initial clusters: The modern reflexes of Middle and Early New Iranian #CC-clusters show a distinct areal distribution: insertion of a short vowel, CVC-, along the Zagros, including the NW tier 1 from Kurdish, Zazaki to the SW Fars and Larestan dialects, as opposed to initial vowel, VCC-, elsewhere, e.g. sVmā vs. Vǐmā ‘you-p’. In the east, Balochi does allow initial clusters, as do most East Iranian languages.

2.5 Stress

The only modern Iranian language to have retained phonemic stress is Pashto. In West Iranian, a major change from Old to Middle Iranian was the loss of phonemic stress due
to the shift of stress to the penult or antepenult syllable. Thereby, derivational as well as inflectional formants and endings were contracted, and inflectional classes in the nominal and verbal systems were reduced to the nominal \(^*\text{a-}\) declension and the thematic \(^*\text{a-}\) conjugation, or were lost. Similarly, contractions occurred in East Iranian, notably in nominal and verbal forms with the formant of OIr. \(^*\text{-aka}\).

Initial vocative stress is found throughout Iranian and inherited from Indo-European, but is also found in symbiotic Turkic and Semitic.

3 MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

3.1 Gender and animacy

Gender retention is found in most Northwest Iranian and in East Iranian languages. In West Iranian, these include the languages along NW Iranian tier 1: Zazaki, N Kurdish, Gorani, and along the NW tier 2: Talyshi, Tati, the northwestern Central dialects, and Semnani and the enclave Sangesari. In East Iranian they include Pashto, the North and South Pamir groups, except the enclave Sarikoli, Wakhi, and Ormuri. Gender is lost in all SW Iranian, that is, all Persian varieties, Central and Southern Kurdish, Caspian Gilaki and Mazandaranı, and Baluchi, and East Iranian Ossetic and Yaghnobi, and Southeastern Parachi. The degree of gender retention varies. For example, plural gender is retained only in Pashto and Ormuri.

Noteworthy is the masculine plural marking of complement clauses in Pashto (see Chapter II, section 3.1), and in Zazaki the feminine marking in both 3s and 2s feminine endings which reflects the origin of the present stem in the OIr. present participle in \(^*\text{-ant} + \text{copula} (see 3.5 below).

In addition to natural gender marking, classificatory gender marking contrasts masculine = abstract vs. feminine = concrete in Talysh-Tati and Sangesari, while feminine includes collectives and animals in Khwarezmian and Shughni (for the complex system in the latter see Chapter 14b, section 3.1.1.1c).

Kinship and a few related terms have the grammaticalized oblique marker -r in Zazaki, Tati, Talyshi, Sangesari, e.g. Zaz. mii/mii-r 'mother'.

Common Iranian is the human-animacy distinction in interrogative and related pronouns, e.g. Persian kiln 'who/what' and iin-ke/iin-ce 'he who, that which', inherited from Indo-Iranian.

Inherited from Indo-European is plural agreement in the verb for animates, but singular marking for inanimates. This rule is optional in Persian, and other modern languages, which allow for plural marking for inanimate individuation (already Middle Persian).

Semantic classification is found in spite of loss of gender marking, expressed by specializations of alternate plural markers. Thus, in Persian, human may be morphologically distinguished by pl. -ān (< OIr. gen. pl. \(^*\text{-ānām}\)) vs. the generalized plural marker -hā. It may optionally be the literary plural marker of humans, larger animals, birds, and trees, and dual marker for body parts, e.g. może-g-ān-e u 'her eyelashes'. In the Pamir languages, human groups and a few other animate sets have differential plural markers (see Chapter 14b). In Parachi, human is distinguished in the genitive (oblique) singular -ān vs. -ēka, and the existential verb. In Sogdian, human distinguishes animate pl. -št vs. -rt. Similar marking is found elsewhere.
3.2 Cases and personal enclitics

For the following cf. also Windfuhr (1990).

The eight-case system of the Old Iranian a-declension was generalized. By or during the Middle Iranian period, a binary direct vs. oblique case system emerged. The latter marker is the outcome of the fusion of the case endings into a single case marker, mostly -e or -i in the singular, phonetically from the masculine genitive-dative, and plural -an from the masculine genitive plural *-anam in a large number of languages. As a fused case opposed to the unmarked direct case, the oblique continued the functions not only of the genitive-dative, but also those of other non-nominative cases, including the function as marker of the innovative ergative agent (for which see section 4.3).

In a number of languages, the singular oblique marker was generalized and attached to the plural marker, here shown with the examples of languages with plural markers other than *-an (for Balochi, see Chapter 11, Table 11.11, for Hunza Wakhi see Chapter 15, Table 15.3, and for Sogdian Chapter 5, Table 5.5):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Balochi</th>
<th>Hunza</th>
<th>Wakhi</th>
<th>Late</th>
<th>Sogdian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>Sg. Pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL1</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL2</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-an-a</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>ay -i</td>
<td>-an-i</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-ev-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A distinct feature of the Iranian languages is the set of personal enclitics inherited from Old Iranian. These function as person markers in all oblique cases, including possessor, indirect object, direct object, and the ergative agent, just like the generalized oblique case (see section 4.3 below).

Therefore the loss, or absence, of these enclitics is both historically and typology of major significance, and can best be accounted for only by the assumption of strong and lasting substrate typology. As shown in Map 2.8, it is found in northern West Iranian, beginning with Zazaki and Northern Kurdish, the Northern Tati isolate Harzani, then further east along the Caspian shore in Talyshi, Gilaki, Mazandaran, also in Semnani and Sangesari. It is likewise found in Tat Persian, isolated in the Republic of Azerbaijan and Dagestan (see also Map 3, "Pronominal possessive forms in Iranian and non-Iranian languages" in Stilo 1981: 163).

These Iranian groups are typologically quite distinct from each other; in particular they include a variety of Persian. Given the fact that the same absence of pronominal enclitics is found in South Caucasian, it is apparent that this Iranian isogloss is a substrate feature that continues the effects of the pre-Iranian Caucasian (for possible Caucasian substrates in earlier Iranian languages on the eastern Caspian shores, now mostly Turkic, cf. Windfuhr 2006: 383–384).

3.3 Deixis

A distinctly eastern feature is triple vs. binary western deixis, with the exception of Yaghnobi and Ossetic, and Yazghulami adjacent to Tajik. Speaker orientation is copied into a triple quasi-pronominal system of ich-, du-, er-deixis in Pashto (Chapter 13, section 3.1.3.1), Ormuri, and is found already in Late Middle Iranian Khotanese (Chapter 7, section 3.2.1.2).
3.4 The verbal quincunx system

The history of the parameters and axes of the verb systems from Old Iranian to Modern Iranian shows a cycle from a five-member quincunx to varying Middle Iranian systems back to a quincunx (Windfuhr 1980, 1986, 1987). The development is shown here with the example of Persian.

The inherited fundamental and primary verbal parameter of the Early Old Iranian system is triple aspect which intersects with the binary tense parameter of present and past (marked by the augment a-). It is centered on the perfective aorist:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early Old Iranian</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective PR</td>
<td>Present system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective AOR (a-PR)</td>
<td>&quot;Aorist system&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resultative-stative PF (a-PF)</td>
<td>&quot;Perfect system&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In time, this triple aspect system was reduced to forms of the "present" system, i.e. imperfect present and imperfective past, leaving only a few forms of the aorist and the perfect. With their loss, the highly complex inherited system was reduced to a single imperfective stem, distinguishing present vs. augmented imperfect: PR vs. a-PR.

Concomitantly, however, the vacated aorist and perfect ranges of the system were partially filled by the innovation of a new perfective system based on the adjectival completive participle in -tā plus the present and past copula, with both intransitive and transitive verbs (see Chapter 3, Old Iranian, sections 7.4.2.2 and 7.4.3.2).

In Middle Persian, the resulting four-member system of two imperfective and two perfective forms was extended by replacing the copula with the stative verb ēst- 'to stand'. The outcome was a six-member system with a triple aspect axis and a binary tense axis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle Persian</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective raw-</td>
<td>present imperfect (later lost)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective raft COP</td>
<td>preterit past preterit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resultative-st. raft ēst- COPL</td>
<td>perfect pluperfect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, the adverb hamē, lit. ‘forever’ (see 3.4 below) expressed ongoing and progressive action as well as continuing state, while its pendant bē (homophonomous with the adverb bē ‘out, away’) expressed the singularity of an event in present and past, and assumed inchoative or future connotation with the present stem (see Chapter 4 Middle West Iranian, sections 4.4.8.1 and 4.4.8.3).

In Early New Persian (h)amē- and bē- were continued, but the periphrastic resultative ēst-forms were replaced by extended forms based on the verbal adjective in -tag (< *-tak-ka-). bi- and mē- could still occur with these verb form, and neither was obligatory. The core system in terms of frequency was the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENP</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective mē-raw-</td>
<td>inchoat.-fut. singularity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective bi-raft-</td>
<td>gen. present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked raw-</td>
<td>gen. past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resultative-st. raft-a COP</td>
<td>raft-a būd-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subsequently the system was restructured by the coalescence of the unmarked forms with the perfective forms by the fifteenth century.
In the present, the perfective *bi*-form assumed distinct subjunctive function, alternating with the unmarked general present form, now opposed to the indicative present-future *mē*-form.

In the past, the general unmarked form subsumed the function of the *bi*-form to express both general and perfective events, now opposed to the imperfective *mē*-past form. It thereby assumed the central role of an aorist in the resulting five-member system.

This core of the system became thus as follows, and has not changed since:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDICATIVE</th>
<th>Pre-Modern</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td><em>mē-rav</em>-</td>
<td><em>mē-raft</em>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td><em>raft</em>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resultative-st</td>
<td><em>raft-a COP</em></td>
<td><em>raft-a bud</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The non-indicative sub-system developed in parallel to the indicative core, using the imperfect and past perfect forms for irreal function, and using the present subjunctive of 'to be' for the perfect subjunctive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NON-INDICATIVE</th>
<th>Pre-Modern</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td><em>bi-rav</em>-</td>
<td><em>mē-raft</em>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td><em>raft</em>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resultative-st</td>
<td><em>raft-a bāš</em>-</td>
<td><em>raft-a bud</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most languages developed similar periphrastic forms already during the Middle Iranian stage. An example is the system of Middle East Iranian Khwarezmian. Note that the following synoptic table (see also Chapter 6, Table 6.15) includes typical grammaticalized particles that mark further aktionsart and modal distinctions.

**TABLE 2.6: SYNOPSIS OF KHWAREZMIAN VERB SYSTEM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New Periphrastic Perfect Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRS perm. FUT perm. PAST conditional PF perm. RemotePF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND + -kām + Impf. -monc- Ind. +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ + -kām Injunc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP –</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ = documented present and future forms which add the permansive particle; – none of these particles.

Verb systems vary considerably. A most rudimentary is that of the Pamir language Shughni, which consists of only four forms: present-future and past, present perfect and past perfect (see Chapter 14b, section 3.2.5). The most complex systems are found in contact with Turkic, including the system of Tajik Persian (see Chapter 8, Table 8.12).

**3.5 Markers of aspect**

Grammaticalizations such as the Persian prefix *mi*- reflect the re-emergence of aspect as a primary parameter of the verb system. In ENP *mē*- was the marker not only of ongoing
and progressive events, but also of continuing state. It originates in OIr. *hama-aiwa- 'same duration, time'. *hama- alone is found in the Khorasani Persian dialect of Shahrud, apparently unique: han-ger-om 'I am taking'; ham is also reflected in the Sogdian and Khwarezmian pre-vocalic imperfective marker m(a)- < ham + augment a- (see Chapter 5, section 3.2.1.2; Chapter 6, section 3.2.5.1a).

Widely found also is the dental marker at-. It occurs in Kurdish as di-~ a(t)-, and as e(t)- in the Central Plateau languages. This at-isogloss further extends down to the Southwest Iranian languages along the Gulf. However, the immediate area of Isfahan has the enclitic -e (< earlier hait, opt. of 'to be'; a detailed discussion these markers is found in Stilo (2007:106–108).

In past forms of many West Iranian languages, the imperfective marker contrasts with the perfectivity ba-. However, in the Caspian languages, but not in the Semnan group, the past imperfective is marked by the absence of ba-, and similarly in Pashto, where perfectivity is marked by w- and by stress-shift with directional preverbs (see Chapter 13, Table 13.20 and Section 3.2.2.3).

A number of Tati varieties such as Harzani, where a Turkic-type locative progressive constructions based on the infinitive, developed into the general present, the original present was downshifted to subjunctive function (see also section 3.5).

By contrast, a distinct archaism from Old Iranian is found in some languages where even the past imperfective continues to be based on the present stem of the verb. These include even heavily Turkicized Talyshi and several member of the Tati group, as well as Gorani, and Yaghnobi in the East. The latter is unique in also retaining the Old Iranian imperfective augment: a-PR-.

### 3.6 Present marker *-ant

A number of language groups differ from all others in their formation of the present indicative. They include: (1) Zazaki (surrounded by Northern Kurdish), (2) the Northern Tati isolate Harzani within Turkic Azerbaijani, (3) Eastern Gilaki and Mazandarani, and (4) several small communities around Semnan, but not the city itself, including Sangesari, Aftari, Sorkhe'i-Lasgerdi (see Map 2.6). The formation originates in an innovative OIr. progressive construction based on the active present participle in *-ant, which later took the place of the regular present based on the present stem, e.g. non-progressive Sang. a vin-and-i 'I see' < *azam wain-ant-ah ahmi. In spite of their separation of the groups today, their original close links, and subgrouping, are shown by shared features, such as contractions, e.g. both Zazaki and Sangesari near Semnan have wâ-and-l wâ-nd- 'be saying' < *wâã-ant- from *wâã- 'to say', while East Gilaki and Mazandarani have gum-me 'I am saying' < *gaub-ant- from the different root *gaub- 'to say'. In Harzandi, the participial *-ant-forms have been downshifted to subjunctive function, and replaced by a new Turkic-type locative progressive construction based on the infinitive +-(n)d- < *andar 'in'.

These observations suggest a former continuum that was eroded by north-migrating Iranian groups, such as the predecessors of the Talyshi-Tati groups, and yet again by the wave of the Turkic overlay.

As shown on Map 2.8, the *-ant- isogloss overlaps with the areas showing loss of the personal enclitics. While the latter is probably due to Caucasian, the *-ant isogloss appears to reflect an earlier Iranian isogloss, for which likely candidates are Scythian/Saka groups incoming through the Caucasus, or Saka incoming from east of the Caspian.
4 SYNTAX

4.1 Word order typology: adjectival noun phrase

Right-branching vs. left-branching typologies of HEAD and MODIFIER intersect the genetic NW vs. SW grouping of Western Iranian. The relative position of adjectives, which tends to be closely aligned with that of dependent nouns and noun phrases is a case in point.

Specifically, right-branching nominal typology is marked by the insertion of a linker between noun and adjective, which may be inflected for number and gender, and even for case as in Zazaki and Northern Kurdish (see Chapter 9, section 4.2.1, and Chapter 10, section 7.2). Left-branching typology is marked by an “inverse ezāfe”, i.e. by the insertion of a linker between adjective and noun. As shown in Table 2.7, there are two tiers: one is shared by both SW Iranian and a number of western NW Iranian groups, the other is confined to the remainder of NW Iranian:

(1) the “Zagros” tier has N-EZ_1 ADJ, which stretches from the Fertile Crescent downward along the Zagros range into Fars and further into southern Iran, and also extends into the center of Iran.

(2) the “Alborz” tier has ADJ-EZ_2 N, which stretches from Azerbaijan along both sides of the Alborz range and, mostly represented by Balochi varieties, further extends into southeastern Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Both tiers contrast with the East Iranian “Hindukush-Pamir” tier plus Ossetic which is marked by the absence of a linker, ADJ N.
TABLE 2.7: THE THREE IRANIAN NOUN + ADJECTIVE TYPOLOGIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Zagros&quot; Tier</th>
<th>&quot;Alborz&quot; Tier</th>
<th>&quot;Hindukush-Pamir&quot; Tier/Ossetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N-EZ, ADJ</td>
<td>ADJ-EZ² N</td>
<td>ADJ N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zazaki</td>
<td>Tat-Persian</td>
<td>Pashto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-o' ADJ</td>
<td>ADJ-e N</td>
<td>ADJ-i N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>Tatic</td>
<td>Yazghulami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-2 ADJ</td>
<td>ADJ-e N</td>
<td>Pamir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurdish</td>
<td>Gilaki</td>
<td>Parachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-e ADJ</td>
<td>Mazendarani</td>
<td>Ormuui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorani</td>
<td>Balochi</td>
<td>Yaghnobi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>ADJ-e N</td>
<td>ADJ N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>Balochi</td>
<td>Ossetic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 = inflected for gender, number, case; 2 = inflected in N Kurdish; 3 = derivational suffix.

Exceptions in West Iranian include Sangesari of the "Alborz" tier. It has ADJ N, which is one of the numerous features reflecting the Eastern origin of this language. However, this construction has assumed indefinite function and is paired with a definite EZ construction which aligns with the "Alborz" isogloss: ADJ-e N. In East Iranian, the exception is -i in Yazghulami, close to Tajik-speaking areas.

4.1.1 Diachrony

The two exceptions to the areal typology just cited, as well as the membership of Tat Persian in the "Alborz" tier, exemplify the well-known fact that word order typologies require no great time depth, and are initially partial. Thus, while in Tat Persian the adjectival EZ has aligned with the "Alborz" isogloss, the nominal EZ has remained unassimilated: N-e N. Nevertheless, the contiguous three tiers with their synchronic triple typology of noun phrase branching imply a long-standing process in West Iranian involving the adaptation of the relative pronoun to a linker in both the "Alborz" and "Zagros" tiers, and order inversion in the latter.

4.1.2 Urartian and Elamite substrates

The two documented non-Iranian languages which the earliest immigrating Persian and Median tribes encountered in the west sometime before the 8th cent. B.C.E. are Urartian at the northern end of the "Zagros" tier, and Elamite at its southern end. Both Urartian and Elamite were right-branching languages. Therefore the Elamite typology has been recognized as the likely source of the innovative Old Persian relative construction N hay-X 'N who (is) X', which in turn is the source for the ezafe in the Perside languages. Similarly, the likely source at the northern end of the "Zagros" tier was the equally right-branching Urartian typology. The process was clearly quite gradual. In both Early Parthian and Middle Persian the descriptive adjective still followed the noun without linker, and only in Middle Persian did the linker -i become generalized. Moreover, in Middle Persian even the left-branching ADJ N is still found side by side the right-branching constructions (cf. chpt. 4 Middle Iranian, sect. 4.2.1):

[weh] dēn  šāh [i wazurg]
'[good] religion' 'king [EZ great] = 'a/the great king'
4.1.3 **Iranian as a “buffer zone”**

The mixed right-branching vs. left-branching adjectival NP typology highlighted above is only part of an extensive set of implicational universals as expressed in Iranian. It is number six of eight isoglosses investigated in a succinct pioneering article by Stilo (2005), who also includes the relative position of demonstrative adjectives, numerals, adverb + adjective, object + verb, relative clause + noun, and object + adposition. Not only is the detailed distribution of this extensive set of isoglosses mapped within the Iranian-speaking areas, but the Iranian isoglosses are also embedded in the wider context of the strictly right-branching typology of the languages to the west, represented by Semitic, and the strictly left-branching typology of the languages to the east of Iranian, represented by Turkic. Stilo could thus show how, overall, the multi-faceted internal dynamics of the Iranian languages reflects the mixed typologies distinctive for a linguistic “buffer zone”.

4.2 Bundling West Iranian isoglosses

Word order typology is thus clearly contiguous, which implies a longstanding process. At the same time, there are a number of other well known isoglosses that are discontinuous, and thus suggest displacements. For Western Iranian most salient is the imperfective and irreal marker *-EN (< ahēndē, the Parthian optative of 'to be'), which is found in Zazaki, Gorani, East Gilaki (but not West Gilaki and Mazandarani), and in Balochi. A lexically salient inventory item with discontinuous distribution is *gaub- in the sense of ‘to say, speak’ in Persian, in both Caspian languages, and in past forms of ‘to say’ in Kurdish, as opposed to *wād- elsewhere.

These features suggest earlier contiguity of the diverse language groups involved, which can be deduced from the bundling of the phonological, morphological and syntactic features discussed so far (ND = *-ant; EN = imperfective/irreal marker; *gaub = ‘to say, speak’; capital letters plus underline = South-West features).

**TABLE 2.8: BUNDLED WEST IRANIAN ISOGLOSSES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Avestan</th>
<th>(Middle) Parthian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N-EZ, ADJ</td>
<td>N-EZ, ADJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zazaki EN</td>
<td>Zazaki EN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorani EN</td>
<td>Gorani EN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Gil. EN</td>
<td>E Gil. EN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochi EN</td>
<td>Balochi EN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-EZ, ADJ</td>
<td>N-EZ, ADJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurdish waʾlgaub</td>
<td>Kurdish waʾlgaub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian gaub</td>
<td>Persian gaub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Persian</td>
<td>Middle Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Persian</td>
<td>Old Persian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 2.8: BUNDLED WEST IRANIAN ISOGLOSSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Avestan</th>
<th>(Middle) Parthian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sp</td>
<td>sp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hr</td>
<td>hr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhw</td>
<td>fhw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hw</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dw</td>
<td>rz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rz</td>
<td>rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-EZ, ADJ</td>
<td>N-EZ, ADJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zazaki EN</td>
<td>Zazaki EN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorani EN</td>
<td>Gorani EN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Gil. EN</td>
<td>E Gil. EN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochi EN</td>
<td>Balochi EN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-EZ, ADJ</td>
<td>N-EZ, ADJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurdish waʾlgaub</td>
<td>Kurdish waʾlgaub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian gaub</td>
<td>Persian gaub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Persian</td>
<td>Middle Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Persian</td>
<td>Old Persian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In terms of word order, the grouping is in sets of three:

(1) N-EZ₂,ADJ: (a) Zazaki; (b) Gorani; (c) Central Plateau. These three are closest to Parthian; (2) ADJ-EZ₂, N: (a) Tatic; (b) E Gilaki (Caspian); (c) Balochi; (3) N-EZ₁,ADJ: (a) NW Kurdish; (b) SW Persian.

In terms of the features EN, ND, and their phonological features, the eight groups are paired:

(1) Tatic and Central; (2) E Gilaki (Caspian) and Zazaki; (3) Balochi and Gorani; (4) Kurdish and Persian.

Assuming that shared features imply earlier adjacency, the following relative positions can tentatively be reconstructed:

**TABLE 2.9: EARLIER LOCATIONS OF WEST IRANIAN GROUPS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADJ-EZ₂, N:</th>
<th>Tatic</th>
<th>E Gil. EN/ND</th>
<th>Balochi</th>
<th>EN</th>
<th>N-EZ₁</th>
<th>Kurdish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Zazaki EN/ND</td>
<td>Gorani</td>
<td>EN</td>
<td>N-EZ₁, Persian gaub</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This rather mechanical re-arrangement of the eight groups reveals a reasonably ordered continuum of isoglosses on both sides of the Alborz range. It may well reconstruct the linguistic situation during Parthian times, and supports suggestions made by various scholars.

**Zazaki**

Its earlier location in the mountainous region of Gilan known as Deylam has long been suggested, reinforced by the endonym Dim(i)li. The Deylamites (Gk. Dolomītai) are first mentioned in Classical sources in the late second century BCE (cf. Felix 1995).

**Balochi**

For historical and linguistic reasons, the origin of this group has long been assumed to have been somewhere “just east or southeast of the central Caspian region, the meeting point of Middle Persian and Parthian” (cf. Elfenbein 1989; a more general North-West Iranian area is suggested in Chapter 11, section 1.1).

**Gorani**

According to MacKenzie (2003) the origin of Gorani was in the Caspian provinces, from where the group that is now in the southern Zagros around Awroman moved first at an unknown early date, while the Bajelan group near Mosul followed later. Later, many Gorani-speaking areas were overrun by Kurdish speakers, leading to a merging of the two languages, as is evident from the differences between the “archaic” Northern Kurdish and the Gorani-influenced Central Kurdish dialects.
Kurdish and Persian

MacKenzie (1961) and Windfuhr (1975) suggested locating Kurdish closest to Persian somewhere in the northeast as well. The comparative phonology in Table 2.11 indicates that Kurdish must have been in contact longer than Balochi.

It remains difficult to assign a more circumscribed northeastern location of earlier Kurdish, and earlier Persian varieties, in contact with the six groups. Kurdish may have been located south of the other Northwest Iranian groups, and north of the Fars languages in the south.

gaub- ‘to say, speak’

Even in the spatial reconstruction above, the distribution of this root is discontinuous, which suggests an earlier configuration with pre-Balochi in contact with pre-Kurdish and pre-Persian. The non-Indo-European Iranian root *gaub- is well attested in Central Asian Iranian, but not in the general sense of ‘to say, speak’. Sarikoli and Wakhi ‘to bark’; Khoto. ‘to dispraise, abuse’, Bactrian ‘to invoke (legally)’; Sogd., Khwar. ‘to praise’ (cf. Cheung 2007: 113–114). Accordingly, the shift to neutral ‘to say’ could indeed have evolved in a pocket in the area between Sogdia and the southeastern Caspian coast.

Any discussion of people movements must recognize the fact that the movement of small groups and elites are sufficient to superimpose their language, even over large regions, while those remaining become subject to language shifts.

4.3 The Iranian ergative construction

One of the typologically distinct features of the Iranian languages is the so-called tense-split ergative. It is morphologically restricted to forms derived from the past stems of transitive verbs. This construction is first documented occasionally in Young Avestan and extensively in Old Persian (cf. Chapter 3, sections 7.4.2.2 and 7.4.3.2). In its "classical" form, the subject/agent (A) is expressed by an oblique case, or by a personal enclitic, while the direct object/patient (P) is expressed by the direct case and person agreement in the verb.

Accordingly, verb forms in the past domain that are based on the present stem were never affected by this construction: (1) One is the past imperfect form which to this day is derived from the present stem, as in Gorani, several Tati-Azari dialects and Yaghnobi. (2) The other is the subjunctive of the perfective-resultative which in all languages has as its auxiliary the present subjunctive form of the verb ‘to be’.

The emergence and decay of the Iranian ergative is well documented. Its emergence is due to the decay and ultimate loss of the OIr. aorist (see section 3.3). Morphologically, it was replaced by one of the innovative periphrastic constructions in Old Iranian, specifically one based on the completive participle in *-tā followed by the inflected copula, to express perfective aspect with both intransitive and transitive verbs. The subject/agent was generally marked by the genitive-dative or the personal enclitics (here N = nominative neuter):

| Old Persian | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|--------------|---------|---------------|
| (adam) | āgma-ta | ali-mi | ‘(I) come-NOM.3sm | am’ |
| N mana | kār-ta-m | (as-ti) | ‘N my.GEN done-NOM.3sn | (is)’ |
| N-mai | kār-ta-m | (as-ti) | ‘N-my done-NOM.3sn | (is)’ |
The use of the genitive *mana* 'my' (also 'me' with gen.-dat. function, see Chapter 3, section 11.3) as well as the use of the enclitic *-mai* with gen.-dat. function are earliest evidence that the genitive(-dative) is the original agent case, and source of the generalized innovatory oblique case in Iranian.

The decay of this construction to morphologically parallel the present tense direct-oblique (nominative-accusative construction) involves various processes: (1) loss of the patient ending; (2) loss of the mobility of the enclitics, with increasing obligatory movement towards the components of the predicate: attachment to the direct object, to the preverbal nominal or preverb, to modal-aspectual-negative prefixes, and finally to post-verbal position; (3) loss of agent marking; (4) loss of enclitic marking. Intermediate stages also show differential object marking, which may result in double-oblique systems. At each stage, there are certain restrictions of occurrence and co-occurrence. Also, the co-occurrence of the enclitics with agentive function together with enclitics in possessive function may result in ambiguity.

It is quite certain that all Iranian language developed the ergative construction: Thus, the Middle Iranian languages still had retained it into their early stages. In Sogdian, the ergative construction was replaced by a periphrastic construction with the auxiliary *dɔr* - 'to hold, keep'(cf. Chapter 5, section 3.2.3.3b). Khwarezmian must similarly have gone through an ergative stage, although the documented texts only have *dɔr*- perfects which is generalized to include the intransitive. Among the modern languages, Ossetic contrasts transitive and intransitive endings: *kɔd-t-on* 'I did' vs. *çed-t-en* 'I went'.

The following table extends the table of West Iranian languages with ergative in Scheucher (2006: 188) to include both the Old and Middle Iranian languages and the East Iranian languages, as well as the languages that have lost such marking. The columns show the three major ways of agent marking: nominal or pronominal subject marked by case ending (OBL), mobile personal enclitics (AS), and fixed enclitics in post-verbal position (VB-ENCL). The agential oblique case is still quite prominent, being lost towards the south; the majority has enclitics, some have both. Note that in three separate areas, Zazaki and Northern Kurdish, northernmost Azari, and in Caspian Gilaki and Mazandarani, the personal enclitics are absent (KD = Kurdish; CPD = Central Plateau languages.

### TABLE 2.10: ERGATIVE SUBJECT MARKING IN IRANIAN LANGUAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>OBL</th>
<th>ENCL</th>
<th>VB-ENCL (only)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avestan, Old Persian</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Middle Persian</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Parthian</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bactrian</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Sogdian</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>later: Past stem + ɔdɔr- 'hold', tr. &amp; intr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwarezmian</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>Past stem + ɔdɔr- 'hold', tr. &amp; intr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zazaki</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurmanji N KD</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group C KD¹</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukri C KD²</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sul./Warm C KD</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorani</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harzani, N Azari</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4 Differential object marking

Given that in those past constructions the direct object/patient was in the nominative and later in the direct case, many languages disambiguated the role of the direct object by the strategy of grammaticalizing selected adpositions. Most of those already functioned to mark other cases so that their use for the direct object was in fact an extension of their functions to differential, or differentiated, object marking (DOM) discussed in detail for the modern languages by Bossong (1985). This holds for adpositional case marking in languages which have lost case inflection.

Differential object marking in Iranian is a response to the loss of inflectional case marking, and grammaticalizes specificity: specific (incl. definite) vs. non-specific (definite or non-specific) direct objects. Languages with a distinct oblique case use this marker, and/or the new markers. Differential marking depends on three interlocking variables: semantic, including the person scale and animacy scale for specificity; syntactic, including tense marking, nominative-accusative and past ergative; and pragmatic discourse prominence (cf. Bashir 2008: 49 on transitional areal and diachronic shifts in Eastern Balochi). Even neighboring and closely related dialects may differ widely in the progression of their ergative decay and their direct object marking.

One of the markers is the postposition ŭa. The three stages of Persian may serve as an example for its development. This marker originates in the Old Persian postposition rādi 'on account of, for the sake of, concerning (cf. Latin ratione). In Middle Persian, ŭa assumed a wide range of dative functions: (1) possessor with the copula, Ŧ-rā pisar-e būd 'to him was a son' (in the absence of a verb for “have”); (2) beneficiary ‘for’; (3) regular marker of the indirect object, in which function it alternated with the preposition Ŧ 'to';
and, as mentioned, (4) occasional marker of the direct object. However, after the loss of the oblique case, the direct object remained regularly unmarked, and only in late texts was it occasionally marked by the postposition ropa, clearly under influence of Early New Persian. All of these functions were continued in ENP. Today, ropa has become the obligatory marker of the specific direct object, both definite and indefinite. This topicalization of the direct object further extended to include that of a pragmatic anaphoric marker, and of a topical marker of temporal and spatial extension: sab-ropa bōs 'stay here (for) tonight'! The indirect object function of ropa, while retained in Tajik Persian, is lost in Iranian Persian. In both, its beneficiary function is preserved in the prepositional barāy/baro-i < MP pad ropa i 'for the sake of'.

The following table shows the marking of the main cases in select Iranian languages (cf. Windfuhr 1990: 36) (PR = verbal form of present stem; PT = verbal form from past stem; A = accusative where direct object is marked by adpositions and/or oblique; N = unmarked; O = oblique; P = oblique only in pronouns; (1) S Tāti Eshtehardi has DO/DD; (2) Some Balochi dialects have retained the ergative; (3) only marked in plural.

**TABLE 2.11: SELECT SYNOPSIS OF DIFFERENTIAL CASE MARKING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>OBL</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>PR/PT</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>-i EZ</td>
<td>-rā</td>
<td>-rā</td>
<td>-napi</td>
<td>DA/DA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ModPersian</td>
<td>-e EZ</td>
<td>be N</td>
<td>-pā</td>
<td>-napi</td>
<td>DA/DA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lori</td>
<td>- (i-) EZ</td>
<td>va N</td>
<td>-(n)pā</td>
<td>-napi</td>
<td>DA/DA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilaki</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>DO/DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazand.</td>
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<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>DO/DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangesari</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>DO/DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zazaki</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>DO/DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorani</td>
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<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>DO/DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>DO/DO</td>
</tr>
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<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>DO/DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S Tāti</td>
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<td>-e</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>DO/DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-e</td>
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<td>-ā</td>
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<td>ma-</td>
<td>-napi</td>
<td>-napi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ma-</td>
<td>-napi</td>
<td>-napi</td>
<td>DA/DA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>-da O</td>
<td>Opā</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>DD-P/OD</td>
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<td>Yazghulami</td>
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<td>-i</td>
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<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>DA/DA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>DA/DA</td>
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<td>-nai</td>
<td>-nai</td>
<td>DA/DA</td>
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<td>-nai</td>
<td>-nai</td>
<td>DA/DA</td>
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<td>-y</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>DA/DA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sarikoli</td>
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<td>-rā</td>
<td>-rā</td>
<td>DA/DA</td>
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<td>Yaghnobi</td>
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<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>DO/DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ossetic</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>DO/DO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Clitics**

Middle Iranian Khwarezmian and Sogdian provide clear evidence for the universal person scale. Thus, as established by MacKenzie (1993: 141), it determines the syntactic
sequence of the personal enclitic chains in Khwarezmian, irrespective of their case function: 1st before 2nd before 3rd person, and, on a higher interlocutionary level, the speaker is first and the addressee in the dative is last; in addition, singular appears to come before plural (see Chapter 6, section 4.2.2.5). Similar 1st and 2nd person hierarchy is found in other languages, such as Eastern Balochi (cf. Bashir 2008: 54–55).

For the syntax of complex predicates, see 4.4.6 ‘Light verb constructions’ in Chapter 8, and similar sections in other chapters.

4.5 Clause complementation

Subordination is either paratactic, or marked by a small set of semantically distinct conjunctions. Many of the lexical and morpho-syntactical features and combinatory options had already developed in Middle Iranian. Typologically significant was the stepwise emergence of a universal complementizer (cf. also Öhl and Korn 2006).

Middle Persian had the interrogative-relative pronouns ké ‘who’ and cé ‘what’, and five simple adverbial conjunctions: ka ‘when’, tā ‘till’, kū ‘where’ and ‘that’, ĕyōn ‘as, in a way that’, agar ‘if’, ē ‘because, for’. These could be combined: tā ka ‘until ~ before (that ... )’, kū tā ‘so that’, ĕyōn kā ‘as if’, and could also form conjunctio nal phrases: tā pēš kā ‘before, until’, az ān ēyōn ‘from that way that’. They could also be introduced by the relative particle ī i ka ‘(which) when’, tā ān ī ka ‘(till that which) when’. Two of these had become generalized complementizers: temporal ka included condition ‘if’ and cause: ‘since/because’, while locative kū also functioned as the complement marker ‘that’. In New Persian, ké and kū merged with ka, which became the general complementizer, modern Pers./Taj. kelki, besides agar ‘if’, tā ‘till’, and čōn ‘as; because, when’; and ē ē ē ērā ‘(that is) because’.

The evolution of the complementizer kelki shows that common Persian participates in another vast isogloss, one that stretches westward from Iran up to the Balkans (see Matras 2002, in reference to the generalized complementizer kū in Kurmanjī Kurdish). Finally, a distinctive ‘eastern’ feature, including Tajik Persian, is the prominence of participial and infinitive nominalization.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES

A. Selected topical references

B. Alphabetical


-- (1989b) 'New West Iranian', in *CLI*, 251–262.


CHAPTER THREE

OLD IRANIAN

Prods Oktor Skjærvø

1 INTRODUCTION*

1.1 The Old Iranian languages

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Marking reconstructed older forms with an asterisk (*) has been dispensed with, as they will be easily recognisable as such by their orthography and by ‘<’ (coming from) and non-reconstructed forms will be marked throughout (OAv., etc.). The asterisk has therefore been reserved for restored (and uncertain) forms. Note the convention ‘-8-’ for the alternating -hd-ʃ-t-s-. Conclusion.
1.1.1 The Old and Young Avesta, Old and Young Avestan

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

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

1.1.2 The oral background of the Avestan text

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

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

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

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

1.1.3 The Avestan alphabet

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

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

The oldest manuscripts of the Avesta are from the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries (Vispered ms. K7a: 1278²; Yasna mss. J2 and K5: 1323; Videvdad mss. K1: 1324, L4: 1323; Xorde Avesta ms. Jm4: 1352), and, from the evidence of the manuscript colophons and mistakes common to all the manuscripts of a text, all go back to single manuscripts for each part of the Avesta that were in existence around 1000 CE.

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

A serious desideratum is a study of individual manuscripts in order to determine the scope of scribal variations in paleography and orthography. Until this has been done, no definitive descriptive orthography, hence also phonology and morphology, of Avestan can be written. Current and earlier descriptions are all, to a large extent, based upon the orthography of K. F. Geldner's critical edition, which is the one most often referred to for
grammatical purposes. It is not a completely 'critical' edition, however, since the relative
importance of the manuscripts was not clear to him during the publication (see his
Prolegomena). The edition can therefore not (as is now widely recognized) be used
directly as the basis for grammatical analysis.

This situation also renders theories about dialect features in Young Avestan doubtful,
such as that of Schindler (1982), who interpreted the different treatments of final -aŋh
(< Ilr. -ans) in terms of dialects, and Hoffmann, who ascribed features such as hyy > x'
instead of huu- (Hoffmann and Forssmann 1996, §6.2) and VβV > VγV to an Arachotian
dialect (ibid., §63cg).

1.1.4 Stages of Avestan

We may represent the history of the Avestan texts after the proto-Iranian stage

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

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

1.1.5 Old Persian

We do not know when or how the Old Persian-speaking tribes came from Central Asia to
south-western Iran, where they are found in the historical period from the ninth century
onward. The extant Old Persian texts all date from the sixth to the fourth century BCE.
They are written in a cuneiform script, probably invented under Darius for the purpose
of recording his deeds. The Old Persian language as we know it from the inscriptions
(sixth–fourth centuries) was already about to change to ‘proto-Middle Persian’, the pre­
decessor of Middle Persian as known from the first century BCE on, as we can see from the
late inscriptions, in which ‘wrong’ orthography, especially endings, are common (Skjør­vø
1999: 158–61). It is therefore probable that Old Persian had already been spoken
throughout most of the first half of the first millennium BCE and had been more or less
contemporary with Young Avestan.

1.1.6 The Old Persian script

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

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

1.1.7 Old Iranian grammars

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

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

It must always be kept in mind that ‘Avestan’ always means ‘the Avestan text as
presented by the manuscripts’. One consequence is that ‘Old Avestan’ does not
necessarily imply that a form is thought to have been spoken by the original speakers; it can also be a form modified by Young Avestan speakers. For instance, it is not likely that Old Avestan had OAv. *ha'lōīm beside YAv. *ha'lōīm = YAv. 'true, real'; it is, in fact, more likely that the 'original' form, that spoken by the composers, was *hašōjam.

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

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

1.2 The phonology of Indo-Iranian

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels and diphthongs</th>
<th>Syllabic liquids, nasals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>$i$</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>$o$</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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Consonants

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<tr>
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<td>$g^o$</td>
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<td>$H_3$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.1 Consonants

1.2.1.1 Hr. Velars

The IE. labio-velars $k^w$ $g^w$ $g^{w_h}$ merged with the velars into one series, $k$ $g$ $g^h$.

1.2.1.2 Hr. Affricates

The IE. palatals $k$ $g$ $g^h$ became the palatal affricates $č$ $č^h$ [ts $dž$ $dž^h$].

The velars $k$ $g$ $g^h$ produced the allophones $k^v$ $g^v$ $g^{v_h}$ before $i$, $e$, $o$, which developed into (post-)alveolar affricates $č$ $č^v$ [ts $dž$ $dž^v$]; when IE. $e$, $a$, $o$ merged into Hr. $a$, the conditioned variants became phonemes.

1.2.1.3 Hr. š ź

Hr. š and ź developed from various sources:
• IE. s (z) became š (ž) after i and u, r and r (<r and l and their syllabic variants), k and g<sub>2</sub>, and p and b<sub>2</sub> (the 'ru(p)ki' rule); this rule also worked after an intervening n, e.g. acc. plur. -išš-, -unšt-, -rns (Av. -išš-, -ištš-);
• The resulting š became voiced ž before voiced stops, but also before vowels, notably in prefixes and before enclitic particles (Ir. duž-, mūž-; yāž-am).
• The Ir. palatal affricates č č j č [č̆, dž, dži] became s and ż before dentals and, probably, after labials.
• š and ž developed in the IE. 'thorn' groups, pč<sub>2</sub>, kč<sub>2</sub>, etc. > Ir. čš, žš, kš, gšž > Ir. š, ž, xš, gž (all Ind. ks).

1.2.1.4 IIr. The laryngeals

The IE. laryngeal H<sub>2</sub> aspirated the (voiceless) stops before vowels (pH<sub>2</sub> > p<sub>H</sub>, tH<sub>2</sub> > t<sub>H</sub>, kH<sub>2</sub> > k<sub>H</sub>).

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

1.2.1.5 IIr. Liquids and nasals

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

The syllabic nasals n and m merged with a and nH and mH before consonants with ą.

1.2.2 Vowels

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

č ě ź ą ə and the corresponding diphthongs ěı, ęı, etc. merged into ą and ąıı, etc.

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

1.2.3 Proto-Indo-Iranian phoneme inventory

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

1.2.4 Ablaut

A distinctive feature of IE. inflection was the qualitative and quantitative ablaut, correlated with stress patterns. While in Indo-Iranian the qualitative ablaut was lost after the merger of ě ę ə, the quantitative ablaut was retained albeit modified by these various developments, and ensuing analogies. The basic vocalic ablaut grades were thus as in Table 3.1.3, but other forms are found, as well, especially in connection with lost laryngeals (examples below).
TABLE 3.1.2: PROTO-INDO-IRANIAN PHONEMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels and diphthongs</th>
<th>Syllabic liquids</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ãi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consonants

Labials  
- p
- b
- bʰ
- y
- m

Dentals  
- t
- d
- dʰ
- ŭ (l)
- n
- s (z)

Palatals  
- ĉ (tš)
- j (dž)
- jʰ

Palato-Alveolars  
- ĉ (tš)
- j (dž)
- jʰ

Velars  
- k
- g
- gʰ

Laryngeal  
- H

TABLE 3.1.3: PROTO-INDO-IRANIAN ABLAUT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>long:</th>
<th>ā</th>
<th>āi</th>
<th>āu</th>
<th>ār</th>
<th>ān</th>
<th>ām</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>full:</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>ar</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zero:</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ī</td>
<td>īu</td>
<td>rī</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3 The phonology of Proto-Iranian

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

- Ilr. interconsonantal ū was lost in Iranian in all positions (with sporadic development, helped by analogy, of anaptyctic vowels in initial consonant groups; see Beekes 1981, Ravøs 1981, Mayrhofer 1981, Pirart 1988);
- Ilr. rH became Ir. ar in most contexts, but sometimes ṛ (Av. ar) (acc. to Cantera 2001, in labial context when unstressed);
- The voiced and aspirated voiced consonants merged: b, bʰ > b; ſ, jʰ > ſ, etc;
- The new aspirated stops pʰ kʰ and unaspirated stops p t k before consonants were spirantised to ĭ ũ x (e.g. kt > xt);
- A sibilant developed in the clusters dental + dental: t-t, d-d, d-dh > t' t, d'd;
- Dentals were lost before slz, šlž, šlž, including in the sequences T₁ šeş T₂ > Š/ŠT; t't, d'd > st, zd, and ĝt, ĝd [ťť, řřť] > řť, řď. This rule also affected voiced aspirated clusters that resulted from 'Bartholomae's Law' (see section 2.3.2.1 b);
- Geminates were simplified, including those resulting from assimilation (s-s > s, z-z > z, s-c > s, jž > ž, d-n > n, p-b > b, etc.);
- Most significantly, also for later vocalic modifications and changes, s > ſ except before stops and n (see section 2.1.2.2).

1.4 Early Iranian dialects

Proto-Iranian split into at least four distinct proto-Iranian dialect groups, characterised, among other things, by the developments of the palatal affricates ĉ, ğ and the groups ĉ, ğ and the groups ĉʰ, ğʰ (see Schmitt 1989: 27–28).
The two dialect groups unattested by texts are:

- **Old Northwest Iranian**, represented by the later Alanic dialects and modern Ossetic, in which initial $p > f$ and internal $rj > l$;
- **Old Northeast Iranian**, represented by Middle Iranian Khotanese and modern Wakhi, in which $c^0$ and $j^0$ were assimilated to $s$ and $z$.

The two attested groups are:

- **Old Central Iranian**, represented by most of the remaining dialects, including Avestan and Median, in which $c$ and $j$ merged with Ir. $s$ and $z$, respectively, but $c^0$ and $j^0$ became $sp$ and $zb$;
- **Old South-West (Perside) Iranian**, represented in historical times by the dialects of Parsa/Fars, including Old Persian, in which $c$ and $j$ merged with Ir. $0$ and $d$, but $c^0$ and $j^0$ with $s$ and $z$. Other Perside developments: Ir. $0 > s$ before $j$ and $n$ (Av. h=Olia-, OPers. hašiya- 'real, true'; Av. araOni-, OPers. arašni- 'ell');
- Ir. $0r$ and $0j > s$ a sibilant $< c >$ of uncertain nature that later merged with $s$ (Av. puOna-, OPers. puca-, MPers. pus 'son'; Av. sraia- 'to lean', OPers. niçəraya- 'give back').

There are numerous ‘Median’ forms in OPers., e.g. asan- stone vs. OPers. oOga 'stone', aspa- 'horse' vs. OPers. asa-. In some instances, the Elamite transcriptions reflect Perside forms not found in the inscriptions (see, e.g. Hinz 1973; cf. section 3.6.3.3). As a rule, the Elamite transcriptions of Old Persian names show the Perside form, while the Akkadian ones show the Median forms, e.g. cića’taxma-, but Elam. ti-is-sa-an-tam-ma = *tićantama, with $c - ç > r - ç$ (cf. Greek Tissaphernēs < OPers. *ćiça-farnah-).

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

**TABLE 3.1.4: EARLY IRANIAN CONSONANT PHONEMES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>r (l)</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatals</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palato-Alveolars</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velars</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharyng.-Glott.</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1.5 Writing systems**

**1.5.1 The Avestan script**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>Ā</th>
<th>Ā (♀)</th>
<th>Ā (♂)</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>Ŭ</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Ė</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>Ō</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>(hm)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ſ</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>δ</td>
<td>δ²</td>
<td>Θ</td>
<td>ι</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g²</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x'</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>η'</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>z̄</td>
<td>z̄</td>
<td>z̄</td>
<td>z̄</td>
<td>z̄</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Not infrequently, especially in the Old Avesta, punctuation is used, incorrectly from our point of view, to delimit morphemes (e.g. plural endings in -b-), in which case sandhi forms are applied (e.g. -a₁bĭs beside -a₂bĭs), and even to split up consonants that the priests pronounced as double, e.g. aēšəm.mahiīā 'of Wrath' (the Pahlavi translation has the correct interpretation) and hām.miīāsā- for hām.miīāsā- (beside hām'miīāsā-)'harness' < ham-jasa-.

For notes on individual letters, see section 2.1.

1.5.2 The Old Persian script

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

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

Short and long ē, ū are spelled <i, u>, preceded by <Ci> and <Cu> signs when they
exist: <Ca-i, Ci-i> and <Ca-u, Cu-u> (exceptionally <Ci> = Ci). Frequently, we find 
<-u-va> for ū (<pa-ru-u->, <pa-ru-u-va-> = parū- 'much'), <i-ya> beside <i> before 
consonant in niyaśādayam <na-i-ya-śa> 'I set down' beside niśādayam <na-i-śa>, 
previously reflecting the development of -iya- > -i-.

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

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

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

Logograms can take case endings (e.g. <XŠ-ha-ya-a> = xāyaḥiya-hayā 'the king's', 
<DH₁-na-a-ma> = dahāyā-nām 'of the lands', <BU-ya-a> = būmī-ya 'of the earth'). 
See also section 2.2.

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 The phonology of Avestan

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

Thus, Avestan phonology is very complex. The exact inventory of phonemes is unclear, 
as the number of phonetic realisations and morphophonological variants is very large, 
though all part of an internally consistent phonological system, in many respects similar 
to those of later East Iranian languages (Morgenstierne 1942).
In the following, the phonologies of Old and Young Avestan are described as they had evolved through many layers of historical and redactory processes down to the end of the Sasanian period, when at least some of the texts were first written down, and beyond, during the written transmission. They are therefore the artifacts of a learned tradition, and can not be assumed to reflect the actual phonological systems of the languages when they were spoken.

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

### 2.1.1 Vowel systems

The letters ą, ą, ą, ę, e, ę, and nasalised q, reflect the development and partial phonemisation of allophonic variants mainly from the basic low pair a, the diphthongs ai, ąi and au, ąu, and r. See Table 3.2.1.

#### TABLE 3.2.1: AVESTAN VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back, rounded</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i ą</td>
<td>u į</td>
<td>ĭ &lt;lią, ą&gt; &lt;uąq&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e ę</td>
<td>ę ą</td>
<td>o į</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a ą</td>
<td>į ą</td>
<td>ą</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syllabic r</td>
<td>r &lt;ąrą&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diphthongs:

- aę
- ai
- ąi
- ao, aą
- au
- ąu

2.1.1.1 Notes on the vowels

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

All Avestan vowels except e and ę are found in initial position, but o and ą only in YAv. oim, ąitum, etc. <aįym 'one' and in a few words where ąı- is from ąi- (e.g. ąifra- for vifra-?).

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

2.1.1.2 Vocalic length

Old Avestan probably maintained the length opposition longest in the high row, at least in part: -iš, -uš vs. -iš, -uš (see de Vaan 2003: §§9, 13).

In Young Avestan (and to some extent in OAv.), the distribution of short and long ąli and ąli may be conditioned by phonetic context (not etymology); it may also be a matter of scribal preferences and local practice at different times. There is therefore no distinction between proto-Iranian short and long ąi and ąu and Avestan contraction products, -im, -um, and -įam all > -iml-im and -um, -um, and -um all > -uml-um (ibid., §§8, 12).

The exchange of vowel length, ąli, ąli, ąli is common and may, at least in some instances, be caused by shifts of accent (ibid., §30.1.1).
In final position, length opposition is neutralised in all three Old Iranian languages. Old Avestan final vowels are long; Young Avestan final vowels in monosyllables are long; in polysyllabic words, we have -a, -i, -u, -e (epenthetic), but -o, -a, and -e (OA). Short a (in OA. also written ą) is an allophone of a before nasals (hənti 'they are') and before uu followed by ilı. Long ą is a phoneme in Young Avestan, since it is a distinctive ending: -ą with allomorph -q.

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

2.1.1.3 Diphthongs

ai. The diphthongs ai and āi are partly in complementary distribution. YAv. ąi is preferred before consonant clusters, except s or š plus one consonant (Fortson 1996), whereas OA. ąi is apparently also found before s and š < šš and šš; döst 'you show' <daić-ši (strongly doubted by de Vaan 2003: 352 n. 436). For Ir. ai, OA. has ąii (ői.) and āi; YAv. aii (e.g. OA. x'ξtōrīă, YAv. x'ξtrāria 'in comfort'). Final ai in monosyllables became OA. ąi, YAv. -e (but yoǐ); in polysyllables, it became OA. ąi and -e (= -e with preceding palatalisation), YAv. -e. Before enclitics, both OA. and YAv. have -ae. ău-; OA. prefers ąi, YAv. ao (many mss. ao), but also ąu in imitation(?) of OA. (de Vaan 2003, §24). In final position, -au became -aò, YAv. -uuò (also OA.) but -ao before enclitic (e.g. YAv. drao-ça 'and in tree'; see Skjærvø, 2005a). The apparent diphthongs ău, ou, and aou are the result of labialisation of ă (see section 2.3.2.4a).

The Ir. and Av. diphthongs āi, āu are indistinguishable in the script from Av. ā + epenthetic ĭ, ĭu.

2.1.1.4 Hiatus

In Old Avestan, long vowels and diphthongs resulting from laryngeal loss remain disyllabic: ā, ā < āa; ā < āa; ā; ām < āam (e.g. plur. gen., opt. 1s); āe, āi < ā; āi < āai.

2.1.1.5 Ir. r

The Ir. syllabic r shows up in the later Ir. languages as r preceded by a vowel that varies according to the phonetic contexts, e.g. ir, ur (de Vaan 2003, §24). Avestan usually has ər followed by an anaptyctic ə, but r after t (OA. ətrąn), and sporadically elsewhere. Young Avestan has ərš for OA. ər’s.

2.1.1.6 Nasalised vowels

All vowels could at some stage be nasalised. Thus, q is a realisation of an and ān before spirants: əzəθa-, and sibilants: vəs < vänst-ı, and of long ā before n or m. nąmə, nąmə.

The two signs for nasalised q may originally have denoted nasalised ā vs. nasalised ą; thus final -ą < -atı may originally have alternated with -ą rather than with -q.

In Old Avestan, the spellings ıuq(n) and uuq before m may represent nasalised ĭ: frika(n)mahī 'we make (you) friendly?' < fri-n-mahi; and tı. huugnumhī 'we press' < hu-n-mahi. Similarly, the nasalised ą is written ąq in OA. mąq (Y. 28.4). Nasalised ĭ and q are written (or became) ĭ and ĭ before sibilant. In Old and Young Avestan, nasalised r is written ərq before š and ą.
2.1.2 Consonant systems

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

TABLE 3.2.2: AVESTAN CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bi-labials</th>
<th>Fricatives</th>
<th>Contin.</th>
<th>Nasals</th>
<th>Sibilants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>(m)</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labio-dentals</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveo-pal.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(r)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retroflex (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(r)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatals</td>
<td></td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velars</td>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palato-velars</td>
<td></td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labio-velars</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottals</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2.1 Notes on the consonants

The letter ṭ probably represented an unreleased stop and was an allophone of /t/ and /tl/ in final and pre-consonantal position: YAv. janaṭ ‘he killed’, OYAv. ḫaēṣa- ‘*guidance’, YAv. ḫaēṣah ‘hostility’. In the manuscripts, ṭ alternates with ḏ: aṭka- and aḏka- ‘coat’, druwaḥbiō and druwaḥbiō < druwaŋant- ‘possessed by the Lie’. – The rare final -gṭ is etymological in OAv. pāṭtiaog-ṭ ‘answering’, yaog-ṭ < yuj- ‘to harness’, but may be a graphic representation of an unreleased final -g in YAv. -huṭ ṭ ‘following’; parag-ṭ ‘away from’ (Hoffmann and Forssman 1996: 99).

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

n was realised as a nasal of uncertain nature written n̄ or n before consonants (in editions, usually normalised as n), except ū and ū. Before ū, possibly also i, n was palatalised to ū (ū), but the letter <n̄> is not consistently used in the manuscripts, e.g. aniiō ‘other’, aniīō, or aniīō, nītzmō ‘nethermost’ or nītzmō; in this description I am adopting the convention aniī- but ainiī-.

h > ŋ(h). Intervocalic h and its palatalised and labialised allophones are usually preceded by their class nasal: āhā- > āghā-, āhīā- > āghīā-, and āhyā- > āghyā-; similarly, -hr > -aṁhr- (usually normalised as -amORG-, but mss. often -aṁhR-). These clusters are indistinguishable from hr. ns clusters: OAv. mōḏhī < mānsī ‘I have thought’. The nasalisation is omitted in a not well-defined subset of words with internal h, often before i loc. sing. manahī ‘in thought’, less often before u: neut. vohu (see section 2.3.1.2). – A similar nasalisation in Old Persian is suggested by Elam. < pat-ti-ya-man-ya-a> for OPers. pattyāvahayat (DB 1.55), but other explanations of the Elamite form are possible, and, if the nasalisation is genuine, the form may be ‘Avestan’ (cf. Av. auuaŋhe ‘to (my) aid’; see Skjærø 1999a: 18–19.)
The Avestan labialised velar fricative *x* is also an allophone of *hy*, alternating with *huu* and the labialised velar aspirated nasal *gy*.

Initial *hy* and *huu* both became *x*- or *huu-*: Av. *x*-flat- ‘sleep’ (*<huu-*) and Av. *x*-à-a- ‘good breathing space, comfort’ (*<huu-à*>), but *huuucción- ‘well-done’ (*<huu-yu*>); OAv. *huu-ù- ‘sun’, gen. *x*-ù-à-ìng, YAv. *hù-ì* (all disyllabic).


In initial *hy- and lmy-*, both became *x*- or *huu-*: Av. *x*-afna- ‘sleep’ (*<hy-*) and Av. *x*aÓra- ‘good breathing space, comfort’ (*<huu-*) and the labialised velar aspirated nasal *hy*.

Initia l *hy- and lmy- both became *x*- or *huu-*: Av. *x*-afna- ‘sleep’ (*<hy-*) and Av. *x*aÓra- ‘good breathing space, comfort’ (*<huu-*) and the labialised velar aspirated nasal *hy*.

The Avestan palatalised velar fricative *x* is an allophone of *hy*, alternating with *huu* and the palatalised velar aspirated nasal *hy*: initially and medially, *x* is common in Old Avestan, but rare in Young Avestan: OAv. *-x*-*, but YAv. *-gy*-: OAv. *nomax-ù-ì*- ‘containing homoeage’, YAv. *baogd@g-ù-ì*- ‘conscious’; remained: OAv. dat. sing. *ahuùiì ‘for the (new) existence’ (*<ahuùiì>), YAv. *a-ù-he*, or became OAv. *-guu-*, YAv. *-gy*-: OAv. *aoghushu–*; YAv. *aoghushant-* ‘strong’. – In Young Avestan, the only examples of intervocalic *x*’ are *kax-àrxa- ‘sorcerer’ (cf. OInd. *kakhorda*), fem. *kaxarì*-, and the country name *harax-ù*- ‘Arachosia’.

* x vs. *hii* and *hii*.

The Avestan palatalised velar fricative *x* is an allophone of *hy*, alternating with *huu* and the palatalised velar aspirated nasal *hy*: initially and medially, *x* is common in Old Avestan, but rare in Young Avestan: OAv. *-x*-*, but YAv. *-hy*-: OAv. *nomax-ù-ì*- ‘containing homoeage’, YAv. *baogd@g-ù-ì*- ‘conscious’; remained: OAv. dat. sing. *ahuùiì ‘for the (new) existence’ (*<ahuùiì>), YAv. *a-ù-he*, or became OAv. *-guu-*, YAv. *-gy*-: OAv. *aoghushu–*; YAv. *aoghushant-* ‘strong’. – In Young Avestan, the only examples of intervocalic *x*’ are *kax-àrxa- ‘sorcerer’ (cf. OInd. *kakhorda*), fem. *kaxarì*-, and the country name *harax-ù*- ‘Arachosia’.

2.1.2.2 Sibilants

The sibilants s and z are common before stops: *spaia*- ‘throw’, *zbaiia*- ‘invoke’ (*<z*), *daste*- ‘is given’, *dazde*- ‘is placed’, and nasals: *snaeza*- ‘to snow’, *vasna*- ‘exchange value, price’, *asman*- ‘sky, stone’; s is occasionally found before other consonants and in final position (Tremblay 1999), where it is the result of dental assimilation: OAv. *dad-ù-*, nom. of t-stems: *tùs*- < *tùt-s*, OAv. *stavas*- ‘praising’ < *stavat-s*, OAv. *a* ‘was’ < *a*.

2.1.2.3 ‘Shibilants’

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

- *ś* = [*s*] with the voiced allophone *ś* (*duś*- vs. *duz*-);
- *śś*, written *śś śś* must have been a palatal(ised) sibilant resulting from the palatalisation of c [*ts*] before *ś*; *čăti-* > Av. *śćăti-* ‘joy’, OPers. *śiyăti-* (cf. Sogd. *śāti*, but Khot. *zāt- [ts̄āṭa-] ‘rich’). The corresponding voiced sound has no letter in the alphabet and probably merged with *ś*: YAv. *drūz*a- (OAv. *drújt*- ‘to lie’); *aži*- ‘dragon’ for aji- (OInd. *ahi-);
- *ś* (*<tr*, see section 2.1.2.1) may originally have been a rhotacised alveolar sibilant, e.g. Av. *maślta*- ‘(mortal) man’ (rendered in Pahl. as *maś*), or, perhaps, a retroflex or lateral affricate or flap (cf. Pahl. *māḥf*), but later a retroflex sibilant.

2.1.2.4 Distribution

Most consonants are found in initial position before vowel; exceptions include the voiced fricatives (and probably f), the velar nasals (*gy* *gy* *gy*), and *ś*.

In final position, we find *m* and *n*, *r*, the dental *ț*, and the sibilants *s* and *ś*. Final *s* is also found in sandhi (see section 2.3.3). The consonants *r* and *s* (in *sandhi*) take *σ* as a supporting vowel as finals (e.g. *dātar*- ‘O creator!’, *kas* te ‘who for you?’).
2.2 The phonology of Old Persian

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

2.2.1 The vowels \( \check{a}, \check{e}, \check{o} \)

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

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

2.2.2 Consonants

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

**TABLE 3.2.3: OLD PERSIAN CONSONANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stops/Affric.</th>
<th>Fricat.</th>
<th>Contin.</th>
<th>Nasals</th>
<th>Sibilants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labials</td>
<td>( p, b )</td>
<td>( f )</td>
<td>( v(i) )</td>
<td>( m )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals</td>
<td>( t, d )</td>
<td>( z )</td>
<td>( r, l )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( s, ç, ç )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatals</td>
<td>( ā, ĵ )</td>
<td>( y )</td>
<td>( (i) )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( œ, (\check{z}) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velars</td>
<td>( k, g )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharyngeal</td>
<td>( h )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2.1 Notes on the consonants

On \( ç < Ir. \check{r}, \check{cr} \), see section 1.4.

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

Elamite, Akkadian, and other transcriptions attest to etymological, but unwritten sounds, e.g. preconsonantal \( n: < ba-da-ka-> \) for \( bā'īdaka \) 'bondsman', cf. MPers. \( bandag \); \( ciqātaxma-, \) proper name, Elam. \(<zi-\check{i}-šā-an-tak-ma>, \) Akk. \(<śi-it-ra-an-tah-ma>\) (for Median \( citranaxma\)); sequence \( 'u: 'iwaipašiya \) 'self', Av. \( x'taēpdōiia-, \) MPers. \( xwēbaša. \) In some cases, the various transcriptions are inconclusive, e.g. \( a'uramzadā, \) Av. \( ahura-mazdā- \) (\( YH.\)), Elam. \(<u-ra-maš-da>, \) Akk. \(<ū-ra-ama-az-da, a-hu-ru-ma-az-da-\>\), Greek \( ορμαζδ, Hormezd\), MPers. \( Ohrmazd, Hormezd\). Before \( m, h \) could be written or omitted (e.g. \( a'miy \) and \( ahmiy \) 'I am'). Note also morphophonological variation such as pres. \( ha'ītaxša- \) 'be diligent', imperf. \( ham-a-taxša-\).

In final position, the only allowed (written) consonants (other than \( y \) and \( v \) ) are \( m \) and \( s \), perhaps also \( s \). The spread of \( -s \) as the ending of the 3s and 3p in \( akunau-š \) 'he
did/made' (Av. aksra'nao-?) and similar forms, however, indicates that the corresponding forms of a-stems in fact had no consonantal ending (see Allegri and Panaino 1995).

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

2.2.3 Late Old Persian

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

Among the (orthographic-)phonetic peculiarities of the post-Old Persian stage note (see Schmitt 1999): <Cy> for <Ciy>: nayāku-, abayapara; use of ɨ or iy to write long ē: paradayām for pardēd(?) (MPers. pāṭēz); contraction of iyā > ē in marēshyā (A’?); st for št in nistāya; loss of final consonants and their preceding vowels in edings, as evidenced by the indiscriminate use of short and long vowels and omission of final m.

2.3 The morphophonology of Avestan and Old Persian

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

2.3.1 Vowels

Most of the alternations in the vowels derive from the conditioned variants of a and ā before h and nasals and ḫ and y/ū. For details, see de Vaan 2003, Chapter 6.

2.3.1.1 Centralising of a, ā > a (ā)

ah > a (ā). Ir. h caused centralising of a preceding a: OAv. amōhmaidī 'we have thought'; vacā 'speech' (but mostly -ā reintroduced from YAv.?). In Young Avestan, the a remained in initial and medial position (reintroduced into the OAv. text: ahmaq 'us'), and final -ah became -ā (occasionally ā: nəmād 'homage'); in sandhi, the a reappears: -ā-sā.

aN > aN. Short a was centralised before nasal, in more positions in Old than in Young Avestan; – initial: OAv. šnōti 'no going', ūmauwan- 'powerful' (YAv., āniiti, amaunwan-); in final: OYAv. -ūn, -ān.

Final -an-h > Ir. -agh: In Old Avestan, this became -āṅg, notably in the thematic acc. plur. daēwā-āṅg 'old gods' and the n-stem gen. sing. x-āṅg 'sun' (<huy-agh). In Young Avestan, it probably became nasalised ō which developed variously to ō and -q: acc. pl. yazat-ō 'gods', aēsma-ō 'firewood', gen. sing. bar'maq 'barsom'; final -uō in turn
became (ur)u; acc. plur. daēwa- (daēu), gen. sing. hū (<luη-û), etc. (see also Hoffmann 1970; de Vaan 2003: 492–93).

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

āN > əN. Long ā was centralised to ə before nasal in a few Old Avestan words: xūsēm ‘may I be’ and strēm, gen. pl. of star- ‘star’ (both disyllabic < -a'm). In both Old and Young Avestan, āN alternates with -əN in the manuscripts.

ay- > ənu-. Ir. ay became ənu sporadically in initial position: OAv. ə vaocat ‘he has said’, YAv. suuraz- ‘not producing’; and when followed by il, OAv. kāuuitār- ‘the word/title of kauui’, YAv. suvuiišta- ‘richest in life-giving strength’, huuānhowiim ‘comfort’ (<huuānhowiim).

2.3.1.2 Rounding of a, ā > ə or ə

a + u. YAv. a became o before (primary or secondary) (udū (aw) in the following syllable, regularly before r: poর’u- ‘much’ < paru, poর’uua- ‘earlier’ < paruwa-, also when the u was the result of contraction: poর’rum < paruṣam (see Kellens 1986), sporadically elsewhere: OYAv. vohū ‘good’ (but vānu, vohā-), vohāi- ‘blood’, YAv. moyu- ‘*Magian’.

ā in labial context. Change of a > ə or ə (also ə > ə) is found in Old Avestan, sporadically in Young Avestan, when a is in multiple labial context: apō mā vs. apā; YAv. dat. plur. "ruor’bi<i < uruaan- ‘soul’; dat. sing. māuuiia ‘*for me’ (OAv ma’biuia); note also dəb’n’ao- ‘deceive’ (2 syllables; OInd. dabhno-), duz’əb’i ‘making bad invocations’ < duz’zəbāh- (<juu-uə). In Young Avestan, final -iuo for -iuu is found in a few cases, e.g. instr. sing. bāzuua ‘arm’. OAv. hōidōi < haē0a- ‘*cordonwork’, with ōi for aə, may be the result of assimilation.

ā + u. Labial umlaut of ə is found especially in Old Avestan when followed by ə (y) in the next syllable: u-stems: jiiōtitum < jiiātu- ‘*livelhood’.

a + r. The sequence -a + r- (a + ər-) in derivatives of fra-ər- ‘move forth’ gave OYAv. -ər-: frōr’tōit ‘moving forth’, frōr’nao- ‘send on its way’; the OAv. abl. sing. frōr’tōiš ‘from moving forth’ may show assimilation.

2.3.1.2a Old Avestan initial ə-d- < a-lā-

In several words with initial ə caused by one of the above processes, the original a-lā- were reintroduced: ə-dū for *ādū < *ādu ‘? by u-umlaut; ə-nū for anu’a‘along’, centralised before nasal or by u-umlaut; ə-nāh < āhā instr. sing. of āh- ‘mouth’, centralised before nasal or before h, ə-nū < auuua ‘down’, by labial assimilation.

2.3.1.3 Raising of a, ā > e

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

ja became ye-, -iie-, -jē (<-ai):

• before palatal consonant: OYAv. iljiōjah- < 0jajah- ‘danger’;
• in final after h, r, s in some words: ahe 'his' < ahja (also gen. sing. ending -ahe); dre 'Aryans' < arja; nase 'perish!' < nasja;
• jaN became jeN when followed by i, t, or jē: 1s pres. ind. act. -iemi < jāmi subj. -iemi < -jēni, mid. -iene < -jēnē (<-jēnai).

2.3.1.4 Combined centralising and raising and rounding of a

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

• after the palatals c j (but a was sometimes restored): OAv. hacōnā 'company' (instr. sing.), beside OYAv. hacīntē 'they follow', YAv. raocana- 'window' vs. raocīnaunānt- 'bright';
• jaN and yaN regularly became OAv. jāN, yāN or jiN, yūN (the a occasionally remains), YAv. jaN or jiN, yuN: OAv. yūm, YAv. yim 'whom'; OAv. nom.-acc. dual yōmā 'twins', YAv. yima- 'Yima' (but OAv. yimas-cīt 'also Yima'), OAv. dīrīsmā, YAv. dīrīman- 'Airīman'; YAv. pa'rum < paru'um 'before, in front'; – in final syllable, Old Avestan often preserves the ū (yūm, -iūm; always -iūm, yōng, -iūng; -ūuŋ), but contraction of jūm > ūm is frequent: OAv. amiūm 'other', YAv. d'ūm, YAv. haxūm (<-ājum) 'company', OAv. hūōlīsm and hūōm 'true, real', YAv. hūōm. Contraction to ūm is found only in the 2nd plur. mid. ending -dūm.

jaN and yaN after vowels: Young Avestan regularly has contraction, Old Avestan sporadically: ajiN > aēN, ājiN > āiN, ijiN > iN (IN): OAv. aūēm 'this one', YAv. aēm, 3rd plur. pres. inj. -aēN < -aijan. In the 3p opt. of aiiia-stems, -aijan became -aiiaēn, occasionally preserved in the manuscripts, but most often replaced by -aiiaēn (Skjærvø 1998: 191).

ayuN > aoN (āuN), āyuN > āuN, uyuN > ūN (uN): OAv. kar'naon (<-ayan) 'they shall make', YAv. karūnaun; YAv. baon 'they became'; YAv. adāunta (<dauua-) 'they spoke deceiving words'; OAv. tuaūm < tuaum 'you', YAv. tum, YAv. bun < buyan 'they shall become'; YAv. aū < ayāph 'them'.

The sequences -aium, -aiyam, and -aujam were simplified to YAv. -aēum, -ōlīum (-oaiiium), or -aēn: vaiu- 'Vaiu'; acc. vaēm; daēwaa-: acc. daēwum, naēwāaa- 'discarding the old gods': acc. vidōlīum, haōiia- 'left': haōiium, hōiīm, hōīm.

Combined labialisation and palatalisation is seen in YAv. pa'ōrim 'first' < paryījam (OAv. pa'ōruam, trisyllabic).

The forms with a are frequently restored, especially in certain morphological categories; thus, YAv. 3p -aiiia- more frequent than -aēn. OAv. jant before i, ē (<-ai) remained or became iēnt, uuānt remained. In Young Avestan, jant became -iēnt- (usually after c, j, sibilants, and θ), but was often retained, and its a could then be raised to e: -ie'nti, -iēnte. YAv. yant became -iūnt-, but adjectives in -ga'hant- have analogical -ga'hant- beside regular -ga'hant-.

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

2.3.1.5 Shortening of a and lengthening of a

Ir. ā is shortened in Old Avestan under phonetic conditions, for rhythmic reasons, or as a result of stress movements: before i or uu, in the gen. plur. ending -anapr, in the preverb ā-, in initial syllable when an enclitic was attached to the word, in antepenultimate or
earlier syllables or when the word was unaccented (?): a-iiaghā ‘you shall request’ < ā-yā-; a-xštaj ‘he will stand by’ < ā-; abistas-cā ‘and to them’ < ābitas; uštānām vs. uštānā < uštāna- ‘life breath’. It is shortened in Young Avestan in similar environments.

Ir. a is frequently lengthened in Old Avestan in initial syllables, occasionally in non-initial syllables: nom. plur. kauuias-cli < kauui- ‘poet’; - after ii: 3rd sing. inj. mid. maniitā ‘he thinks’ < -jata; - after uic: instr. sing. x’šnuuānt- ‘containing the sun’; – sporadically elsewhere: gen. plur. hātqm < hant- ‘being’.

Ir. a is lengthened in Young Avestan in initial syllables: aiia < aja: xstauuiio vs. xstauui- (ethnic ‘name) and sporadically elsewhere.

For details, see de Vaan 2003, Chapter 2.

2.3.2 Consonants

2.3.2.1 Assimilation and dissimilation

2.3.2.1a Voice assimilation

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

Devoicing affected unaspirated voiced stops before unvoiced sounds, mainly t and s, š:
Av. baxta- ‘shared’ (< 1Ir. b'ak-ta < b'ag-); Av. vistta- ‘found’ (< 1Ir. yit-ta- < vid-), baxša- ‘distribute’ (< 1Ir. b'aks-a < b'ag-). On the analogical replacement of bd, etc. with pt, see section 2.3.2.1b.

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

- affricates: OAv. 2p inj. 0bār’s-dūm < 0bār’s- ‘to fashion’ (< 1Ir. 0yārē-);
- sibilants: OAv. zī ‘be!’ < ah-ls-; mazdā- ‘all-knowing < placing (all) in (his) mind’ < mas-dā- (< mās-); – nīz-bor’ta- ‘removed’ (< nīs- + bor’ta-); duž-zaotar- ‘evil libator’ (< duš- + zaotar-).

Final š was voiced before vowels and voiced consonants and before suffixes (see also section 1.2.1.3: OAv. ŋčo-uxōa- ‘straight utterance’ (but YAv. ars-uxōa-); duž-ōbra- ‘with bad (constricted) breathing space’; ašdā- ‘water container’ (< āfšas- + dāna-).

2.3.2.1b ‘Bartholomae’s law’

A special case of assimilation is ‘Bartholomae’s law’, according to which an 1Ir. final voiced aspirate of the stem passed both its aspiration and voice on to an initial t or s of an ending, so as to produce clusters of the type, e.g., -bšt- > -bdšt-, gšt-z > gšt (with ruki, see section 1.2.1.3). The resulting clusters remain in Old Avestan: 1Ir. augšt- ‘to present oneself (as), say’ had 3s augšt-ta > aog-dšt-a > OAv. aogdšt-a and 2s augšt-sa > aog-ššt-a > OAv. aogššt; from 1Ir. ajšt- ‘to convey’ we have yaššt-tra- ‘conveyor, draught animal’ > yaj- dšt-ra- > OAv. važdrš; 1Ir. dadšt-ā- ‘place’ had 3s mid. dadšt-tai > dadštī-št-tai (see section 1.3 > OAv. datštē ‘it is placed’ (vs. 1Ir. dadtai ‘it is given’) > datštai > OAv. dastē, YAv. daste);
IIr. $d^8ab^-$ (\(> d^6ab^\)) 'deceive' had the desiderative stem $di-d^b^sa^-$ \(> di(d)b^z^a^-$ \(> OYAv.\) $di^\theta^a^-$ 'seek to deceive' (but OInd. $dipsa^-$ with elimination of $\tilde{z}$).

In Young Avestan and Old Persian, these groups remain only in isolated words: YAv. $ub^d^b^a^-$ 'woven' \(< ub^b^a^-\) (\(< yab^b^\)); OAv., OPers. $azd^a^-' known' (OInd. $addh^a-$), but most often they are analogically replaced by unvoiced groups: YAv. $a^oxta^-, va^st^a^-' draught animal', $d^a^p^a^t^a^- 'deceived' (for $dab^d^a$), $g^r^f^a^- 'grasp' (for $grb^z^a^-' 'seize'); YAv., OPers. $b^a^s^t^a^- 'bound' (OInd. $b^a^d^d^h^a-$).

2.3.2.1c Geminates

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

Analogically restored forms are frequent, e.g. YAv. $vi^s-har^z^a^- 'abandonment of the villages' for $vi^s-ar^z^a^- \(< vi^s^- + har^z^\)$.  

2.3.2.1d Dissimilation

Dissimilation in point of articulation is perhaps to be seen before $\theta$ in vahma- 'hymn' if from va(- (pres. ufiia-) 'weave', and daxma- 'burial mound', if from dafina- < $d^b^a^b^\$ - 'construct' (cf. Gk. taphos, Hoffmann 1975: 338; Skjærvø 2005b).

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

2.3.2.2b Voiced stops $b d g$ and voiced spirants $\beta \delta \gamma$

The voiced stops $b d g$ and the voiced fricatives $\beta \delta \gamma$ are in complementary distribution in both Old and Young Avestan.

In Old Avestan, the Iranian voiced stops $\beta \delta \gamma$ are all allophones of $b$ and $d$ before $\tilde{z}$: $dif\tilde{z}^a^-$, $ay\tilde{z}a^nu^nu^ma^- '??; otherwise the voiced stops remain unchanged; $\beta$ replaces $\gamma$ after $\theta$, and $\delta$ replaces $\theta$ after $x$ and $f(x\tilde{\delta}, x^\theta; f\delta, f^\delta)$.

In Young Avestan, the Iranian voiced stops remain regularly only initially and after nasals and sibilants (\(z \tilde{z}\)), sporadically also in other words. Elsewhere they become the voiced fricatives $\beta \delta \gamma$: $a^\theta^\theta^\theta^- 'preverb' (OAv. $a^\theta^b^i^\theta$), $dy\tilde{\theta}^a^- 'daughter' (OAv. $dug^\theta^d^a$), $dri^y^u^- 'poor' (OAv. $dri^g^u^-)$; $\gamma$ is also found initially before nasals and sibilants: $\gamma^\nu^\nu^- 'woman' (OAv. $g^\nu^\nu^-)$, $\gamma^m^a^t^a^- 'gone$, $\gamma^\theta^z^a^\theta^- 'flow'. Finally, $f$ and $x$ are voiced before $\tilde{z}$: $a^\theta^\theta^\theta^\theta^\theta^\theta^- 'water container', v\tilde{\theta}^\theta(\tilde{\theta}^\theta)\tilde{b}^\theta^i^\theta^\theta$, and $\delta$ is an allophone of $\theta$ in the groups $f\theta r$ and $x\theta$, see section 2.3.2.1d.

Later changes. The resulting Young Avestan voiced fricatives are all subject to further
contextual and chronological, possibly also dialectal, changes and variations: β tends
to become γ > uu: viāuātīh ‘shining’ < vi-ā-ññ- < bā- ‘to shine’, aumāra- ‘to bring’
(<ā-ññra-). In turn, γ may combine with preceding a to form the diphthong ao: aβtī ‘to’ >
audī > aoi (mss. aōi, ao∂, etc.; aōdβtīa- ‘not to be deceived’: sing. nom. masc. aōaβtō, but
acc. aōaβtuīm.
δ vs. θ: Sporadically, δ alternates with θ, notably in forms of vaēθ- (vaēθ-) ‘to know’ and
in pres. daβa- (dolβa-)< dē- ‘to give, place’, sporadically elsewhere.

γ is lost before y and sporadically before w: YAv. drūaγnt- < drūγnt- drγuαnt-);
raγnt- ‘fast’ < rayγit- (fem. of rayγu); raom < rayγum, moγrum < maγrum ‘Merv’, but driγum,
moγu” (see Skjærvø 1997b).

2.3.2.3 Consonant groups and anaptyxis

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

Stop + stop:
- initial: OAv. pt- in ptar- ‘father’ (nom. ptā, p’tā; acc. p’tarām, p’tarām), db- in
d’bītā ‘? ’(<dyītā); k- in ḫkaēša- ‘*guidance’; YAv. p’tar’ta- ‘winged’; – in Young
Avestan, pt- in ptar- has been replaced by p’t- and db- by ḫb-; – other groups have
been simplified: db > b-: bitīm ‘second(ly)’ (<dbitīm, but ā-tbitīlā-ābitīm ‘a
second time’); ḫr. pt-, ḫt- > t-: YAv.: tūriā- < ptyu’a-uncle’, turiā- (<ktyu’a, cf.
cαρu’s‘fourth’; but ā-xtu’rīm ‘a fourth time’);
- medial: OAv. ḫsk’ti- ‘following*’ (<ā-skīti-); gen. plur. ḫug’dṛqm < ḫug’dar-
‘daughter’; YAv. hapta ‘seven’; ḫkγa- (aokhka- ‘coat’; ubda- ‘woven’; YAv. ā-tbitīlā-
ābitīm ‘a second time’.

Stop + non-stop:
- initial, common: + continuants: OYAv. br-, etc.; + glides: dī-, daγ-; OAv. also +
fricative: d’j-; + nasal: OAv. g’n, g’m-, d’m-; — in Young Avestan less common:
dj > j-; g, g’m- > y’n, y’m-, dm- > nm-.

Fricative/sibilant + continuant, common:
- initial and medial: fr-, fī-, fś-, sr, zr-, yż-, f’dr (<fdr) and medial x’dr (<xdr): OAv.
fr’ṣa-, YAv. fṛṣa’- ‘filled with (life-giving) juices’; YAv. fś̄n’ha- ‘to hail’, OAv.
fs̄int- ‘cattle tender’; OAv. sṛṣoṣa-, YAv. sroṣa- ‘readiness to listen, Sroṣa’;
OYAv. z̄’rradāinti- ‘reliance’; YAv. yṣara- ‘flow’;
naγ’drō < naptar ‘grandchild, scion’.

Two fricatives + consonant. Initial groups of two fricatives (fricative + sibilant) +
consonant are found occasionally: OAv. dat. sing. f’drōi < ptar- ‘father’, f’srati- ‘?’; YAv.
fs’āna- ‘(woman’s) breast’, xṣuwa- ‘sixth’, xṣnīman- ‘favour’, xṣmākom ‘your
(plur.)’.

Final groups with ś or t: kṣṛf’s ‘body’, vāxś ‘word’; vaxṣt ‘he has grown’.
Final -t is, from a synchronic perspective, sometimes dropped after a sibilant.
Historically, we must distinguish between two cases: 1. -t-t > -t’-t > Av. -s-t: OAv.
“rūraost ‘howled’ < *raud-t; YAv. nāist ‘scorned’ < nāid-; 2. -sś-t > Av. -sśś: OAv. āś
'was', ws 'he has overcome' < vān-s-t; xšnās 'he has favoured' < -š-t. The -t was then reintroduced by analogy: OAv. cōīš-t 'he has pointed out', vaxš-t, YAv. tāš-t 'he fashioned' (Tremblay 1999).

2.3.2.3a Groups at morpheme boundary

Groups found only at the morpheme boundary include in principle all combinations of any final group + C or any initial group: dat.-abl. vāyzulu-biō < vak-lvac- 'word', frādat-fsau- 'cattle-furthering', 0rafsc-ca 'and satisfaction', afš-tacin- 'flowing with waters', afš-cilbra- 'containing the seed of water', karfš-xar- 'body-eater'; fraor-tfraxšnin- (a mind) with foreknowledge of and turned toward the reward(?)

2.3.2.3b Anaptyxis in Old Persian

Anaptyxis is found in OPers. only in groups containing d in the vicinity of u. d'ruva- 'healthy, whole', sug'da- vs. sug'da- 'Sogdian'.

2.3.2.4 Palatalisation and labialisation of consonants

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

Palatals + i. The alveo-palatal consonants c, j usually remained before i, e.g. ci- 'who, what?', but were palatalized before vowel:
- cɪ > ʃ(i)ɪ: YAv. ʃ(ii)ātī- 'happiness' < čjātī- (also OPers. šiyātī-); fem. apašī 'backwards' < apācī;
- jǐ, ji > ž, ũ (rare): YAv. druža-: OAv. drujiia- 'to lie'; ažī- 'dragon' < aji- (OInd. ahi-).

2.3.2.4a i- and u-epenthesis in Avestan

i-epenthesis occurs regularly before r, dentals, and labials and in consonant groups: Av. 'rīxta- 'left', OAv. gĎtǐ 'come!', 1p mid. ending 'madē; YAv. stāti 'praises', vana'ntū- 'victorious' (fem.); 'ōtējāb- 'danger'; āʿf, ābī, āe'biō; - between compounds: tarōdītī- 'carboat'; - in consonant groups: dat.-abl. plur. vāyzbiō (< vāk- 'word'); d'rime 'in peace and quiet' (< arnē, cf. armaē); - vocalic ě: mirīia- 'die' < mr-ja-;

u-epenthesis. This occurs regularly before r. YAv. 'rūraod- 'howl', a'rūša- 'rosy white', po'rā- 'much'; OAv. pa'ruuiia- 'first'.

Combined i- and u-epenthesis. This occurs before r. YAv. pa'riia- < paryja- 'first'; pa'ρī- < paryr-, fem. of po'ru- 'much'; - vocalic ě: tūriia- 'father's brother; fourth' (< (plk)trjia-), dat.-abl. plur. nūruuiō, nuriuiō 'for the men' (< nr-ţiō < nr-bjah).

2.3.2.4b Dissimilation of iļ and uļ to āi, ai and uļ

In a further development, the sequences iļ (iij) and uļ (uļ) resulting from epenthesis were dissimilated to āi, ai (aļ, ai) and uļ (uļ): OAv. anāti- 'non-going' ( < an-iţi; cf. xīticā 'and good going'); addiiaī 'shall she see' (< dīdīa?).

On absence of epenthesis due to stress, see section 2.3.4.
2.3.2.4c Epenthesis in Old Persian

Possible examples of epenthesis include pašiyā 'before' (MPers. pēši if from pašjā(k)) and yāu′-māni- and yāu′-'māni- 'in control(?)' if from yau′-man- 'harnessing' (<yaug-; several other interpretations have been proposed, see, e.g. Hoffmann 1975: 56–57, 1976: 633 n. 20).

2.3.2.5 Glides

The glides—initial y-, v- and intervocalic ī, ī— are in complementary distribution.

ī, u > ī, uū. Both postconsonant and postvocalic ī and ī were apparently realised (by the time of our mss.) as ī and uū (including uū > uû), written īi and uū; note OAv. ōi-i = YAv. ai-i for ai-i. In Old Persian, < iy, uv > is written for postconsonant (i)ī, (i)ū.

α-υC > aoC or ōuC at the morpheme boundary (reduplication, prefixes): Av. perf. stem vaon- < ya-yll- < lalā- 'to win', OAv. vānum- *winner'; YAv. vaox'ah- 'having spoken' < ya-yk-yah- < vak- 'speak'.

Initial υii > ii and υυ- (<*uβ>) > uu. These are rare and are often written y- (i-), v- in the manuscripts: teiuν (teii-, Y. 42.6), subj. of the perf. stem ii-aii- < ai- 'go' (cf. OInd. iyāy-), uua (uya) < u ya 'both'.

iy and uj. These groups (also with y < β and u) survive occasionally in the manuscripts (only uuu, no examples of uii?), but sometimes were resolved by anaptyxis (or dissimilation?): initial, viemī and vīiemī < vi- 'pursue', y′uua = y′uua (y′uua < yu′u- 'youth'); medial, hau′nii, hau′ninia-ca 'left (hand)' (cf. fem. haoiiā-); dru′nīas-ca (<dru′nī- fem. of dru′nu- 'poor'; see Skjærvø 1997: 20-3).

du. The initial cluster du shows up variously (see section 2.3.2.3): OAv. duu′ešah- 'hostility', du′bīiia- 'be hostile', YAv. tba′šah-, tbišia-, but perf. diduu′eša 'I have been hostile'; OAv. dū′biia- 'second', YAv. bitiia-, but ṣtiβitii `a second time', OPers. dvitiya-. Intervocalic dy: 2nd plur. mid. -dyam > OAv. -dūm, YAv. -stām; YAv. u′r′dīa- 'upright', beside x′duu-.

0u. The cluster 0u became Av. 0β: ratus 'model' vs. gen. radoβo, but loc. gātuu < gāτu < gāτu- 'place'.

In Old Persian, the 0 also spread to the rest of the paradigm: xrate- 'intelligence' (MPers. xrad) and xrahur-, but only gādu- attested (MPers. gāh).

2.3.2.6 Simplification of consonant groups

Certain consonant groups lose one consonant. The loss may have been early (e.g. earlier than the I1r. ri(p)ki rule) or late: OYAv. diβa- 'seek to deceive' <di-ibža- (OInd. dipsa-); OAv. loc. plur. nafšī < napt(1)-stū < napt- 'grandson'; YAv. 'fšn- 'with . . . breasts' (cf. fšnā-'breast'); YAv. sōd- vs. sōstar- 'false teacher' (see also section 2.3.2.1a).

Final -ast-s regularly became Av. -as (xuas 'how great?'), but appears to have been simplified to -as-s early enough to develop like I1r. -as-s in the nom. sing. of active present participles > proto-Ir. -aŋ (OInd. -ān before vowels): YAv. jāšiaq and frāmrū (<mr̥uŋaŋh); the YAv. nom. sing. ending -o may then have been substituted for -ā. (Schindler 1982 proposed dialect influence in these forms.)
2.3.3 Sandhi

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

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

- before enclitic Ir. -ca, -cit: OAv. manas-ca ‘and thought’, gaēōs-cā ‘and living beings’, yimas-cīt ‘even/also Yima’; YAv. mithras-cīt ‘even/also Mithra’, haomas-ca ‘and the haomas’, vīspīs-ca ‘and all’; OPers. (with -s-c- > -š-c-): manaš-cā ‘and thought’, kašt-cīy ‘anybody’;
- before enclitic pronouns and nouns: OAv. yōngs-tā ‘whom you’, YAv. ōy’matas tūrohe (proper name).

In compounds: OAv. rānīō. skōr’-tī ‘joy-making’ (<-as-k-); YAv. drājas-kanā ‘den of the Lie’; OPers. vāhgyaz-dāta-, proper name: ‘given as the better (of the two)’.

Final -t was probably assimilated to following sibilants and affricates, but in Avestan it was restored as -t; in Old Persian, it was also analogically replaced by -s-c: YAv. at-cīt, yat-cīt; OPers. acīy, yacīy, but anīyaś-cīy, avaś-cīy, cīs-cīy.

2.3.3.1 Anaptyxis in sandhi

Anaptyxis in sandhi occurs after OAv. final -m before fricative or sibilant: yēm’ spāšdā ‘whom you regard’, hēm’ fraštā ‘he consulted with’; – after final -s-l-s before consonant: OAv. vasaś-xšaṭra- ‘having command at will’, YAv. us’ hīṣṭon ‘they stood up’, nēmūs’ tē ‘homage to you!’; yas’ ōḥām ‘(half) -sandhi: < yas + ōḥām for *yas tuuqām), aḥjaś’ tanuūo ‘of this body’.

2.3.3.2 Final vowels and diphthongs in sandhi

Before enclitic -cē, vowel quantities may change and, at least in Old Persian, original quantities reappear: OAv. sawaś-cā vs. sawā ‘life-giving strengths’, x’rīt-cī ‘and good going’ vs. smōt-t ‘non-going’; – YAv. maštiō-ca vs. maštiī ‘mortal men’, etc.; – OPers. mana-cā vs. manā ‘of/to me’; avahya-sūdīy ‘on account of that’ vs. avahyā.

In Avestan, monophthongised final diphthongs reappear: taē-cīt ‘they too’ vs. OAv. tōi, YAv. tē; YAv. drao-ca ‘and in tree’ vs. *druuō.

2.3.4 Stress-related alternations

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

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

Epenthesis appears to be omitted in words with enclitics: OAv. en-z’ti- (<an-e’ti-) vs. x’-
zi-ti-ca; buuad-til ‘they shall become’ vs. buuanti-cä; ma’di-madi- as ‘and we think’ vs. va’ro-
madi ‘may we *classify’; YAv. firu-dati-ca ‘and he furthers’, višati-ca vs. višati ‘twenty’ (see
de Vaan 2003: Chapter, 7).

Absence or presence of anaptyxis in Old Avestan may depend on stress patterns: uša’rū
(<uš-hr‘ev) vs. ušaruieti; ariiamnā vs. ariiamnænas-cä; aro’z-jiš vs. aro’z-jičiš.

The (pre)aspirated/unvoiced allophone of r before p, k, t (r>p, r>k, r>t >j) is apparently
limited to syllables which bore the stress in proto-Avestan: acc. kahrpm ‘body’ vs.
hukar’pta ‘having a good body’; mahrka ‘destruction’ vs. amar’çit ‘absence of destruc-
tion’; aša- ‘Order’ vs. astuucç.ør’ta- ‘he through whom Order will have bones’, acc. ašim
‘reward’ vs. ar’tim-ca < ar-im-ca (P. 39) beside ašim-ca, bāšur- ‘rider’ < bar’tar- vs.
bar’tar- ‘carrier’ (corresponding to bara- mid. ‘ride’ vs. act. ‘carry’). For details, see de
Vaan 2003, §29.

2.3.5 Metro-phonology

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

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

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

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

2.3.5.1 Disyllabic long vowels and diphthongs

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

Nouns: neut. h-stem dā = da’d ‘gift’; Han-stem maqura = maqura ‘keeper of the maqura’
(<manitra-Han-, but obl. maqurin- < manitra-Hn-); gen. plur. -qm(-m) (always
disyllabic); -ārmatī ‘humility’ has a disyllabic initial ā- (cf. OInd. arāmati-).

Verbs: subj. da’dī = da’dī ‘he shall give/place’ (<daH-ati; but dada’tī ‘they give/place’
<da-dH-ati < da-dH-nī).

Compounds: f’raśacstrāi = fraša’uštrāi, vištāspa- = višta’aspa-, d’jamāspa- =
djāma’aspa-, all proper names, but spiḥama- ‘Spitamid’ < spiha-Hma- ‘having fattened
strength (Hama-)’, d’ršgātiu- < darga-Hnu- ‘giving a long life span (ātiu-)."
Between preverb and verb: āliat = ā-ajat 'he shall come', ātte = ā-ittē 'to come', ātilōi = ā-tiōī 'I request'.

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

2.3.5.2 Siever's law

I Ir. ĵ and ĵy after consonant were realised as ĵ and ĵy or ĵij and ĵuy according to whether the preceding syllable was light or heavy: if ĵ and ĵy were preceded by short vowel plus one consonant (light syllable), the phonetic realisation was ĵ and ĵy; if ĵ and ĵy were preceded by a syllable with a long vowel or diphthong plus one or more consonants or by short vowel plus more than one consonant (heavy syllable), it was ĵij and ĵuy.

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

- after light syllable, disyllabic: ufīa- 'weave' < uf-ja-, mor'ōdīu- 'death' < mrt-ju-;
- after heavy syllable, trisyllabic: vaēpīa- 'a *trembler' < yaip-īja-, maśīa- 'mortal man' (< mart-īja-).

The endings in -dū-, however, apparently do not cause Siever's Law: OAv. vidūīē '(in order) to know' (< yiduāi, light) mor'ngduīē '(in order) to be destroyed' (< mng-duāi, heavy; there are no examples of the 2p ending -dūm < -dyam after consonant in metrically unambiguous positions).

In Young Avestan, there are many exceptions: suffix -tuua-, -OPa- (see section 4.6.2): maśOPa- 'that ought to be thought' < man-ōya and fraUas"OPa- 'that ought to be sent forth in sacrifice' (for āp-uyant-); -tu-stems: gen. plur. yādžam < yatu- 'sorcerer' (for jat-uya- am-).

2.3.6 Phonological changes associated with inflection and endings

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

Important vowel changes include a, ā > e (see section 2.3.1.3); -an- > -en and -in- and -ajaN- > -ajaN and -ajaN- > -aon (see section 2.3.1.4).

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

Spirantisation of voiceless stops (P/b, k/g); nom. sing. āf-š < ap- 'water', vāx-š < yak- 'word' drux-š < drug- 'cosmic' Lie; loc. plur. af-su < ap-; aor. 1p jaux-madi, past part. jux-ta- < jauq- 'harness'; weak perf. stem ēa-xr- < kar- 'do', ēa-xn- < kan- 'love', ci-ciT- < kait- 'distinguish'.

Palatalisation of velars before I Ir. e, i; acc. sing. yāc-am < yak-; pres. jan-lgn- 'strike down', aor. jam-, past part. gmata- < gam- 'come'.

Dental assimilation: pres. act. 3s das-tai < da-d-t, Pro, dab-dai < da-dh-t, imp. act. 2s das-di, mid. 2p das-si < da-d-w < da-d 'give', dō- 'place'; inj. 3s nāis-t, imp. 2p nis-ta < naid- 'scorn' (but nāis-mi analogical for *nāis-mi); past. part. yis-ta- < yaid- 'find', bas-ta- (analogical for *baz-dä-), bandh- 'bind'.

Assimilation of voiceless stops before (Hr. aspirated) voiced stops: instr. plur. abiš < ap-biš; ada-biš < aṣt- ‘bone’; – before ẑ: aug-ẑa < aug-.

Assimilation of sibilants: nom. sing. haryatās- < haryatāt- ‘wholeness’; pres. 2s vaši < vač-sī (vaš-sī) < vač- ‘wish’; imp. mid. 2s frač-sya < frašya < parc-Ifrač- ‘ask’.

Voice dissimilation of x0 > xo is found, e.g. in tar-stems: f-qr-ai > fdr-ōi < ptar- ‘father’; perfect 2s: qa-yax-ōa > vauuax'ōa < wak- ‘speak’; and in the suffixes -őa-, -ōra-: vax’ōra- ‘speech organ’.

Modifications of Hr. c and j: plur. acc. ašn-ah < asan- ‘stone, heaven’; pres. 3s vaš-ti, 2p uš-ta < vač-; OAv. arš ‘straight’ (adv.) < Hrjš (cf. aršzu- ‘straight’ adj.); sing. instr. baršn-ā < barj3an- ‘height’.

Modifications of Hr. s (z): nom. sing. vāx-s < yak-, loc. plur. af-šu < ap-; loc. plur. anj3ahu < anj3ah-hu ‘in constrictions’; pres. 1s ah-mi, 2s ah-ī, 3s as-tī, 3p h-anti, imp. 2s z-di < ah- ‘be’; pres. inj. 2s bar-a-h < ‘you carry’, opt. 2s bar-ai-s; imp. mid. 2s -Syā: pres. Av. vāsa-t’ha < vā-sa- ‘request’, dasya < da-d-sya < dā- ‘give’; aor. kr-śya, pres. kr-nu-śya < kar- ‘do’; s-aor. inj. mid. 1s mag-h-i, 3s man-s-ta < man- ‘think’; imp. 2p țrā-z-dya; 3s act. 3p stā-h-at < stā- ‘stand’; subj. 3s nai-š-a-t < nai- ‘lead’; perf. stem hu-śyat- < huyp- ‘sleep’.

3 MORPHOLOGY I: NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pronouns have several endings not found in nouns.
3.1 Nouns

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

3.1.1 Gender

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

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

- fem.-neut.: YaAv. *zaqārā*- 'libation'; *pāṣaṇā*- 'battle'; OP. *'unarā*- 'skill';
- YaAv. neut. *a*-stems frequently have fem. plur., e.g. sing. *nmānām* 'house', plur. *nmānā*;

See also section 3.1.3.1 Derived feminines.

3.1.2 Number and case

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

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

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

3.1.3 Stem classes and declensions

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

Diachronically, several of the ‘vowel’ stems are laryngeal stems, with *ā < ā* or *aH*, *ī < iH*, and *ā < uH* and are still declined as consonant stems. The feminine *ī*-stems fall into two groups, the so-called *vrki*-type, with the invariant formant *-iH-* (> *-ic*, *-iV*), and the so-called *devi*-type, with ablauting formant *-i/-į- < -iH-/-jaH-. The feminine
The a-declension apparently acquired several features from this type, including the voc. sing. in -ai and the element -fà-

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

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

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

3.1.3.1 Derived feminine adjectives and nouns

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

Some a-stem adjectives, notably those denoting material, have ‘vrkf-type’ feminine forms: YAv. mānītwa-a- ‘belonging to the world of thought’, fem. mānītwa-ī; zarānēn-a- ‘of gold’, fem. zarānēn-ī, OPers. ŏdē’gān-a- ‘of stone’, fem. ŏdē’gān-ī; female patronymics in Av. ŏfār-ī ‘daughter of’.

The u-stems and consonant stems have ‘devf-type’ feminines with zero grade of ablauting suffixes: YAv. pūr-u- ‘much’, fem. pād-ī; pār-u- ‘backwards’ < *apāc-ī < apānk- (only example).


Fem. (and neut.) forms of i-stem adjectives are declined as i-stem nouns: masc., fem., neut. āhūr-ī- ‘belonging to Ahura Mazda’.


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

3.1.4 Protero-, hystero- and holo-kinetic declensions

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

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

3.1.5 Case endings

The basic case endings as reconstructed for proto-Iranian are set out in Tables 3.3.1–2. Note, again, the convention -S = -h₁-š₁-š. Laryngeals are not always noted.
For actual Avestan and Old Persian endings, see on vowel and consonant changes (see sections 2.3.1-2). Note in particular assimilations between final consonants of stems and initial S- and b- of endings.

Note also that the new YAv. abl. forms are formed by replacing the proto-Av. gen. ending -S by -t: ga'ri- 'mountain': Ir. gen. garai-š → garai-t > garōi-t; nar- 'man': Ir. gen. nr-š → nr-t > nar'-t); bar'sman- 'barsom': Ir. gen. barsman-h → abl. barsman-t > bars'man (the ending reappears before the postposition -a. vaesm-and-a 'up to the entrance hall').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 3.3.1: CASE ENDINGS: CONSONANT STEMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA   n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA   n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
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<tr>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA   n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIAb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.5.1 The zero ending

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

- nom. sing. masc. h-, r-, and ai-stems, which also drop the final consonant: YAv. *na=re.man-ā* (<-āh) 'having manly thoughts', OAv. *p-tā < p-tar-* 'father', *d'riš-mā < d'riš-man-* 'A'riaman', kauu-ā 'kauui, poet';
- nom.-acc. sing. neut. n- and r-stems have zero grade of the formant: nā-mā 'name' < nā-mn, aii-ar* 'day' < ai-r;
- nom.-acc. plur. 'neut. h-, r-, and r-stems have lengthened grade: YAv. nā-mān 'names', OAv. aii-ār* (YAv. aii-ān), vaxii-ā < yahī-āh 'better things';
- loc. sing. neut. n/m-stems also have (apparently) lengthened grade beside -i: OAv. caš-mān 'in the eye' (also caš-mān-ī), OYAv. dām 'in the house' (YAv. also dām-ī).
### TABLE 3.3.2: CASE ENDINGS: VOWEL STEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel stems</th>
<th>a-stems</th>
<th>ū-stems</th>
<th>ū-stems</th>
<th>i-lai-stems</th>
<th>u-lau-stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sing.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>-a-O</td>
<td>-ai-O</td>
<td>-i-O</td>
<td>-ai-O</td>
<td>-au-O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>-a-h</td>
<td>-ā-O</td>
<td>-i-ō</td>
<td>-i-s, -ā-ō</td>
<td>-u-ś, -ā-u-ś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>-a-m</td>
<td>-ā-m</td>
<td>-î-m</td>
<td>-i-m, -ā-lm</td>
<td>-u-m, -ā-y-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAn</td>
<td>-a-m</td>
<td>-î-m</td>
<td></td>
<td>-i-ō</td>
<td>-u-ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>-a-bja</td>
<td>-ā-ḥā-h</td>
<td>-iḥ</td>
<td>-a-ś, -i-ah</td>
<td>-au-ś, -u-ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>-āt</td>
<td>-ā-t</td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td>-a-t</td>
<td>-au-t, -u-āt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>-āi (ā' āi)</td>
<td>-āi (ā' āi)</td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td>-a-āi, -i-āi</td>
<td>-au-āi, -u-āi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ā (āj-ā)</td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td>-u-ā, -u-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>-āi</td>
<td>-ā-āi</td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td>-u-ā, -u-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plur.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NV</td>
<td>-ā (-āhāh)</td>
<td>-ā-h</td>
<td>-īs</td>
<td>-a-ah, -i-ah</td>
<td>-au-ah, -u-ah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>-a-ṁ</td>
<td>= N</td>
<td>= N</td>
<td>i-ṁ</td>
<td>u-ṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAn</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td>-ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>-ān-ā'ām</td>
<td>-ān-ā'ām</td>
<td>-i-n-ā'ām</td>
<td>-i-n-ā'ām</td>
<td>-u-n-ā'ām, -u-a-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAb</td>
<td>-a-bja'h</td>
<td>-a-bja'h</td>
<td>-i-bja'h</td>
<td>-i-bja'h</td>
<td>-u-bja'h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-āiś</td>
<td>-ā-bijaś</td>
<td>-i-bijaś</td>
<td>-i-bijaś</td>
<td>-u-bijaś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>-a-ṣu</td>
<td>-a-ḥu</td>
<td>-i-ṣu</td>
<td>-i-ṣu</td>
<td>-u-ṣu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAV</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAn</td>
<td>-ai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>-a-ā'ām</td>
<td>-a-ā'ām</td>
<td>-i-n-ā'ām</td>
<td>-i-n-ā'ām</td>
<td>-u-n-ā'ām, -u-a-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIAb</td>
<td>-a-bja'h</td>
<td>-a-bja'h</td>
<td>-i-bja'h</td>
<td>-i-bja'h</td>
<td>-u-bja'h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>-a-āh</td>
<td>-a-ā'ah</td>
<td>-i-bja'h</td>
<td>-i-bja'h</td>
<td>-u-bja'h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

#### 3.1.5.2 Endings in b-

Several endings have an original initial b- (see Tables 3.3.1-2; pronominal forms, see Table 3.3.5). In Young Avestan, the forms with b are common in all positions, but must be due to analogy, as the forms with -b- are phonetically expected only after consonant (-pbiś, -zbiś, etc.). After vowels, b became b > y (uũ), which is still frequently preserved (see Skjærvø 2007a): dat.-abl. plur. xštauwi-biš < xštauwi-, a mythological people, vōyinā-uitō < vōyinā- (a kind of natural disaster, flood?), rasma-uitō (<rasman- ‘battle line’); note also the pronominal dat. sing/plurs. māuštō < māuštō 'for me', etc.; - dat.-abl.-instr. dual bāzu-be < -bā < bāzu- ‘arm’; - instr. plur. -biś > -yīś (*-oīś): vayūbiś < vayhu- ‘good’. The forms vayūbiś < vayūbiś, instr. vayūbiś < vak- ‘word’ must have replaced forms such vay-yūbiś and *vay-yūbiś > *vayuuiō and *vayuuiś.

The n-stem forms such as nāmōniś < nāman- ‘name’, ašaoniś < ašauvan- ‘Orderly’ I believe are analogical replacements for nāmuuiś, ašaauuiś (see Skjærvø 2007a).

The expected forms of the ah-stems, *-az-biś and *-az-biāh, were replaced by -ābiś, -ābiāh, as if -ah + biś.
3.1.5.3 Added -ā

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

In the loc. sing./plur. we find the particle in all three languages: OAv. (only sing.) xōdrōitā ‘in good breathing space'; YAv. gātauw-ā, OP. gādāw-ā ‘in place'; YAv. gātušu-ā, OP. dahystušātā ‘among the lands'.

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

3.1.6 Individual declensions

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

3.1.6.1 The i- and u-stems

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

The forms are distributed somewhat differently in Old and Young Avestan; thus, some masc. u-stems have gen. sing. from -auš in Old Avestan, but from -yauh in Young Avestan: OAv. xrat-šuš, pas-šuš; YAv. xroDβ-š, pas-yuš < xratu- ‘wisdom', pasu- ‘sheep'; OAv. instr. sing. xratu, YAv. xroDβ-t. The masc. pasu- ‘sheep' also has the irregular nom.-acc. plur. pas-yuš (OInd. acc. plur. pašvas).

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

A special hysterokinetic i-stem is raȉ- ‘wealth' < raH(today), which has the two stems raȅ < raH- and rāi, (shortened rai-).< raH.

3.1.6.2 Monosyllabic and polysyllabic ai- and au-stems

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

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

Old Avestan also has hītō-au- ‘*cord-master' with nom. sing. hītō-au-š, acc. sing. hītō-cl̂-m, and proterokinetic YAv. abl. sing. hītō-ua-ʔk (??).
TABLE 3.3.3: ai- AND au-STEMS, PROTEROKINETIC i- AND u-STEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>ai-stems endings</th>
<th>au-stems endings</th>
<th>Old Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-āu-š</td>
<td>daḫiuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>kauā</td>
<td>kauām</td>
<td>daḫhaom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>kauām</td>
<td>daḫhauš</td>
<td>daḫayāuš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>daḫhayum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
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Proterokinetic i-stems

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<th>Plur.</th>
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<tbody>
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Proterokinetic u-stems

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>-i-ah</td>
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</table>

3.1.6.3 Holo-kinetic stems

These include the following stems:

- the laryngeal stem pəntā-lpaḏ- 'path' (<pant-ah, pnt-H-): nom. sing. pant-ā (<pant-ā-h < pant-ah-s) acc. sing. pant-qm, instr. sing. paḏ-ā (<pant-H-ā);
- a few nouns with stem formant -Han-: marta-Han- 'accompanied by death(?): nom. plur. mart-ān-ō (<marta-Hān-as), gen. sing. mar-ōn-ō (<mart-Hn-as);

3.1.6.4 r-stems

The masc. r-stems have nom. sing. with lengthened grade of the formant and zero ending. The r-stems comprise the following (relatively few forms attested):
words denoting kinship: OAv. pʰi₆tar-, YAv. pítar-, mātar-, OAv. dugʰar-/YAv. dugʰar-, x’ar’har-, brātar-, naptar- 'grandson', as well as nár- 'man'; these have full grade -ar- in strong cases and zero grade -rlr- in weak cases;
- agent nouns in -tar-: pātar- 'protector', dātar- 'maker, creator', as well as star- 'star' have lengthened grade -är- in strong cases.

Both types behave partly like vowel and partly like consonant stems: nom. sing. -ā; hysterokinetic sing. gen. -rah, -rai (YAv. piOro, OAv. f’orō, YAv. dāorō, dōre); acc. plur. -ār, – acc. plur. -nā (OAv. narš); proterokinetic gen., dat. sing. -rā: OAv. narś, YAv. narś; sāstarā < sāstar- 'false teacher' (weak stem sādr-).
ätar- 'fire' was probably originally a neuter r-stem, with nom.-acc. sing. *ātr, to which masc. endings were added: nom. ātr-ā, acc. ātr-am > Av. ātarā, ātrom (Hoffmann and Narten 1989: 73 n.126).

3.1.6.5 Stem-formants containing n

These comprise the stem formants -an-, -jan-, -yan-, -man-, -ant-, -yant-, -mant-, -ank, -jank-.

In the zero grade of the formant, the n when between consonants is vocalised to n, producing the alternations -ān-l-an-l-n-l-ā; -ānt-l-ant-l-at-; -ānk-l-ānc-l-āk-l-āc- (-ac-), -iānk-l-iānc-l-īk-l-īc-.

3.1.6.5a Stems in -an-
YAv. f. xšapan- 'night' and m. asan- 'stone, sky': sing. nom. xšapa, acc. xšapanom, asānēm, gen. = plur. acc. xšafnō, ašnō, plur. loc. xšapōhuwa (<xšapalh + -a).

3.1.6.5b Stems in -jan-
The masc. and fem. jan-stems have nom. sing. in -jā > Av. -je: m. fragrasiān- (proper name): sing. nom. fragrapase, acc. fragrasiānēm (only forms); – f. kaniajan- 'young woman': sing. nom. ka’ane, acc. ka’nīnēm, gen. = plur. nom. ka’nīnō (sing. gen. also kanīnō).

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

Example: ašāuan- m. 'righteous': sing. nom. ašāuā, acc. ašāuanom, sing. gen. = plur. acc. ašaunō and ašaunō (<-yan), plur; dat.-abl. ašaunabiō (<-tē); manōrāHan- 'keeper of the mašrā': sing. nom. mašrā = mašrāh (<manōrā-Hā), dat. mašrāne (<manōrā-Hn-ūi).

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

Because of the morphophonological vagaries of Ir. y, the yan-stems are sometimes no longer recognizable as such, e.g. Av. span-Ispa-Istm- 'dog' < xuyên-IcC-Icun-; *ruOyan- 'entrails' < ruOyan-; – YAv. aðrāyan-, a kind of priest: strong stem aðrāwān- week stem aðrāwun-

The voc. sing. of yan-stems ends in -um (-əm), with the final -n apparently assimilated to the preceding u(ə): ašāum < ašaum 'Orderly', yum < yuyan 'youth', aðraom < aðrayan, Orizafēm < Ori-zaf-yān 'three-mouthed'.
3.1.6.5d Stems in -ant-

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

The nom. sing. varies: adjectives have YAv. -ō and forms from -anh, pronouns and present participles -as (see section 2.3.2.6). Acrostatic presents have the weak stem throughout (OAv. stauaas < stāq-nt-s < stēu- 'praise').

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


3.1.6.5f Stems in -Hank, -iHank-

Most of these are derived from preverbs denoting direction, but also from other words. They have various unusual features: sing. nom. in -s with loss of the velar (cf. ant-stems): neut. sing. nom.-acc. in -g"t; palatalisation in sing. acc., plur. nom.: sing. nom. parag- 'away < parān(k)-s, neut. parag' (see section 2.1.2.1); sing. acc. niia(1cim « -cam) 'downwards', plur. nom. niīncēd.

3.1.6.6 Stems in -ah-, -jah-, -yalz-

Most of the all-stems are neuter (cf. Gk. genos, etc.) and masculine only in compounds. They take the full grade throughout, except in the plur. nom.-acc. (manā < -āh ‘thoughts’) and masc. sing. nom. nāre manā ‘with manly thoughts’.

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

3.1.6.7 Neuter rln-stems

The archaic heteroclitic neut. rln-stems have r-stem nom.-acc. sing. and r- or n-stem nom.-acc.plur.: aītar- ‘day’, gen. sing. aīkt (<-apht), nom.-acc. plur. OAv. aītār, YAv. aīq; OAv. luuaar <sun>, gen. x̂sng, YAv. hū (disyllabic <hu-<ar, hu-<apht>). Note OAv. rāzar- '*straightness’, sing. instr. raśnā; Old Persian *vazar- ‘greatness’ (in vazar-ka- ‘great’), sing. instr.-abl. vaśnā ‘by the greatness (of Ahuramazdā)’.

3.1.6.8 Stems in laryngeals

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

Before endings in vowels, the lost laryngeal left a hiatus, e.g. mazdH- ‘omniscient’: acc. sing. mazdH-am > OAv. mazdām (3 syllables); gen. sing. mazdH-as > mazda’ah, OAv. mazdā (3 syllables) > YAv. mazdā (2 syllables); -OPers. nom.-acc. plur. aHōgainīya̰b < iHāh ‘of stone’; -tamaH- ‘body’: gen. sing. tamaH-ah, OAv. tamaHas̱. See also on pantaH in section 3.1.6.3.
TABLE 3.3.4: EXAMPLES OF STEMS IN STOPS

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
ap* & \text{ap-‘water’, } yak* & \text{voice, word}, \text{ drug- ‘(the cosmic) deception’, } x\text{n}u\text{t- ‘*satisfaction’, } n. \text{ ast- ‘bone’, } stut- ‘praise’, \text{ ‘*bht-‘carrying, riding’, fem. derivatives in ‘*-tâ-}:
\end{array} \]

Sing.

\[ \text{NV} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{āf-š} \\ \text{ap-ah} \\ \text{ap-ah} \\ \text{ap-ah} \\ \text{ap-i} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{yax-š} \\ \text{yâc-ah} \\ \text{yâc-ah} \\ \text{yâc-ah} \\ \text{yâc-â} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{drux-š} \\ \text{druj-ah} \\ \text{druj-ah} \\ \text{druj-ah} \\ \text{druj-â} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{x\text{n}u-s} \\ \text{stat-ah} \\ \text{stat-ah} \\ \text{stat-ah} \\ \text{ast-i} \end{array} \]

NAn

\[ \text{G} \quad \text{ap-ah} \quad \text{yâc-ah} \quad \text{druj-ah} \quad \text{stat-ah} \]

Ab

\[ \text{D} \quad \text{ap-ah} \quad \text{yâc-ah} \quad \text{druj-ah} \quad \text{stat-ah} \]

I

\[ \text{L} \quad \text{ap-ah} \quad \text{yâc-ah} \quad \text{druj-ah} \quad \text{stat-ah} \]

Plur.

\[ \text{NV} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{āp-ah} \\ \text{ap-ah} \\ \text{ap-ah} \\ \text{ap-ah} \\ \text{ap-ah} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{yâc-ah} \\ \text{yâc-ah} \\ \text{yâc-ah} \\ \text{yâc-ah} \\ \text{yâc-ah} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{druj-ah} \\ \text{druj-ah} \\ \text{druj-ah} \\ \text{druj-ah} \\ \text{druj-ah} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{stat-ah} \\ \text{stat-ah} \\ \text{stat-ah} \\ \text{stat-ah} \\ \text{ast-i} \end{array} \]

NAn

\[ \text{G} \quad \text{ap-ah} \quad \text{yâc-ah} \quad \text{druj-ah} \quad \text{stat-ah} \]

DAb

\[ \text{I} \quad \text{ap-ah} \quad \text{yâc-ah} \quad \text{druj-ah} \quad \text{stat-ah} \]

L

\[ \text{Dual} \quad \text{NAV} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{āp-ā} \\ \text{ap-ah} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{yâc-â} \\ \text{yâc-ah} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{druj-â} \\ \text{druj-ah} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{stat-ah} \\ \text{stat-ah} \end{array} \]

\[ \text{G} \quad \text{ap-ah} \quad \text{yâc-ah} \quad \text{druj-ah} \quad \text{stat-ah} \]

DIAb

\[ \text{L} \quad \text{ap-ah} \quad \text{yâc-ah} \quad \text{druj-ah} \quad \text{stat-ah} \]

3.1.6.9 Other consonant stems

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

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

The two m-stems zam- ‘earth’ and ziiam- ‘winter’ have sing. nom. za and ziiâ and weak stems z˝m- (monosyllabic, -sm- in compounds) and zim- (often confused in the mss.); – dam- ‘house’ has gen. sing. OAv. dôn (>) dam- (>) dam-s), YAv. loco sing. dam- (>) dam- (>) dam- (>) dam-.

3.1.6.10 Suppletive stem-systems

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


3.2 Adjectives: comparative and superlative

The comparative and superlative of adjectives (including participles) and adverbs is made either with the suffixes -îjah- and -îsta- or with the productive type -tara- and -tama-. The
suppletive type Eng. good vs. better, is attested in OPers. vaz̄anka- 'great', maž̄ištâ- 'greatest'.

The comparative/superlative in -tara/-t)ma- is made from the (weak) stem of adjectives or adverbs and with appropriate sandhi before the ending: YAv. ama-uaas-tara-|t)ma- 'more/most powerful' (<uaas- < ynt-t-); hušās-toma- < hušâh- 'giving good gifts'; yâskor-s-tara-|t)ma- < yâskor-t-t- 'performing (well) at the audition'; YAv. taurawatiq-toma- < ʻitiq-t- 'overcoming, victorious'; YAv. hubao̰i-tara-|t)ma- 'more/most fragrant'; OPers. apa-tara- 'farther'; YAv., OPers. fra-tara- 'ahead (of)', Av. fra-toma-, OPers. fra-toma- 'foremost'.

The comparative/superlative in -iiah/-ista- is made from the root in the full grade. Adjectives with suffixes lose these: Av. ak-a-: aš-iiah- (<a[ḛ̂]ỵa̰-), ac-ištâ- 'more/most evil'; bû-ri- 'plentiful': bao-iiah-, dbō-ištâ- < dy-); drij-iu- 'poor': draği-istâ-; span-ta- 'life-giving': span-iiiah-, span-ista-; drug-yant- 'possessed by the Lie': draj-iiah-, draji-istâ. Forms from pres. parts. (or verbal nouns) include bâr-ištâ- 'who carries most often' < bar-o̰nt- 'carrying', OPers. tauw-ţ̣ỵah- 'mightier' < tu-nu-ra-t- 'who has power'.

Forms from roots with laryngeals we have forms such as the following: Av. dar²ya- 'long' (<dr²-ga-); drij-iiah-, drij-ištâ- (<draHG-); ād-ra- 'needy' (<n Ha-r-ra-); nôd-iiah- (<n Ha-o̰-); po'ru- 'much' (<prH-ua-): frô-iiah-, fraeštâ- (<prnHa-jah-, praHista-).

A few adjectives have both kinds of superlative, but with different meanings: OAv. po'ru-t)ma- 'in highest numbers'; sp;)̣lta. t)ma- 'having the name sp;)̣lta- in the highest degree(?); YAv. aâa-tara- 'worse (for sb.).'

Double superlative: YAv. draği-istô-toma- 'the poorest of the poor'.

3.3 Adverbs

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

• underived: Av. moṣ̌a 'soon, quickly'; OAv. nû, OYAv. nûrm, OPers. nûram 'now';
• nom.-acc. neut. sing. of a noun or adjective: OYAv. vasô 'at will' (<vasah- 'will'); YAv. daršâl, OPers. daršâm 'vigourously'; YAv. po'rum 'in front', OPers. paruwm 'before';
• abl. and loc. sing.: Av. dûrâl, OPers. dûradâs 'from afar'; Av. dûrê 'in the distance', OPers. dürâaiy (apty) 'far (and wide)';
• ending -S (Schindler 1987): OAv. ʻar's, YAv. ʻar's 'straight' (<Htît-ş);
• compounds: YAv. voûk, kâr'tâm 'as it is done', OPers. pasâwa (<pasâ-aw) 'afterward'.

Adverbs of place and manner are made from adjectives, pronouns and preverbs with suffixes: -0ra, -0a, -0a, -dât (OPers. -da), and -tah, e.g.: Av. ya-trâ 'where'; kâ-0â 'how?'; OAv. a-0 tô then', OPers. aâvâ- 'there'; YAv. a-0âl 'from there', OPers. dûra-daś 'from afar'; Av. aib[t-0 'all around', OPers. a'ma-ta' 'from that (place)'.

Comparative and superlative: bâdâ 'sometimes, *again and again', sup. bâdô-istêm, fra- forward': comp. fra̰aram, sup. fra̰râm.

See also section 9.1.2.2 Adverbial ămređita compounds.

3.4 Pronouns

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

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

**TABLE 3.3.5: 1ST AND 2ND PERSON PERSONAL PRONOUN**

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<tr>
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<td>hūm</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td>ma-na</td>
<td>tāyā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>ma-ut</td>
<td>hūa-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>ma-bjā(h)</td>
<td>tā-bjā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
<td>hūa(f)i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>2nd pers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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**TABLE 3.3.6: 3RD PERSON PRONOUNS**

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<td>*ha, *ha-h</td>
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<td>ta-m</td>
<td>tā-t</td>
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<td>a-hjā-āh</td>
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<td>a-hm-āt</td>
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**Dual**

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<td>tai</td>
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<tr>
<td>G</td>
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<td>a-š-u</td>
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**Diagonal**

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**Diagonal**

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<tr>
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<td>tā</td>
<td>tai</td>
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</table>
There are three 3rd-person demonstrative pronouns: ha- (ša-)šita-,*i-* (hi-*ši-,* di-), and a-.* Some forms are poorly attested and difficult to classify.

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

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

3.4.2 Possessive pronouns (adjectives)

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

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

3.4.3 Demonstrative pronouns

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

• 1st-person deixis (near-deixis): ima-ša- and xša-lašta- ‘this’ (Latin hic, Spanish este);
• 2nd-person deixis (unclear): OAv. huudšana- ‘that near you’, also ‘derogatory’ (cf. Latin ēste, Spanish ese);
• 3rd-person deixis (far-deixis): haia-xalama- ‘that (over there)’ (Latin ille, Spanish aquil).

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

3.4.4 Relative pronoun

The relative stem is ja-, with nom.-acc. neut. OAv. hiiaft (with h- of unclear origin), YAv. yaft (rarely hiiaft). In Old Persian, ja- was univerbated with the demonstrative pronoun ha-šita-: haya-šitaya- (cf. Adiego Lajara 2000). See Table 3.3.8.

3.4.5 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

The stems ka-šita- and ci- serve as interrogative pronouns (see Table 3.3.8) and, with enclitic -ca and -cīl, repeated, or negation, as indefinite pronouns: Av. kas-cīl ‘whoever’, OPers. kaš-cīl, ciš-cīl ‘anything’; kataras-cīl ‘each (of two)’; ka- ka- ‘each and every’;

– negative and preventive: noīš kas-cīl, naē-cīl ‘not any’, mō-cīl ‘let not any’.

Indefinite relative: OAv. yō ... ciš-ca (sing. m.), yōī ... caialas-ca (plur. m.) ‘whoever’, yō ... ci-ca (plur. n.) ‘whichever’, yahnāī ... kahnāicīl ‘to whom-so-ever’.

3.4.6 Reflexive pronouns and reciprocity

These are OYAv. x’a- and YAv. hamua- ‘own’; YAv. x’a āepašiia- ‘own’; OPers. ʿuvapišiya- ‘self’, ʿuvapišiya- ‘own’. The meaning of tanū- ‘body’ sometimes comes close to ‘own body, self’.
### TABLE 3.3.7: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Near-deictic (1st pers.) dem. pron im-a-la-:</th>
<th>Far-deictic (3rd pers.) dem. pron haulaya-:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>ajan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>im-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>a-hjä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>a-hm-äät</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>a-hm-äität</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>a-näät</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>a-hm-äitàt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plur.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>ima-äät</td>
<td>im-äät</td>
<td>im-ääh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>im-ääh</td>
<td>im-ääh</td>
<td>ayt-aäh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>a-š-äam</td>
<td>a-š-ääh</td>
<td>ayt-a-š-aäh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAb</td>
<td>aï-š-bjäh</td>
<td>aï-š-bjäh</td>
<td>ayt-š-bjäh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>aï-š</td>
<td>aï-š</td>
<td>ayt-š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>aï-šu</td>
<td>aï-šu</td>
<td>ayt-šu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAV</td>
<td>im-äät</td>
<td>ayt-aäh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>aï-š-bjäh</td>
<td>ayt-aäh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIAb</td>
<td>aï-š-bjäh</td>
<td>ayt-aäh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Far-deictic (2nd pers.) dem. pron haulana-</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>heu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>anät(?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### 3.4.7 Pronominal case endings

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

There is at least one OAv. fem. sing. form in -aëč: x’aëč° 'own' (cf. latin hae-c).

### 3.5 Adpositions

Old Iranian has pre- and postpositions. Some of these are only prepositions, some are also preverbs, and some are derived from nouns, adjectives, or adverbs or particles. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish between adverbs, preverbs and adpositions. For examples, see section 5.4 Uses of Cases.
### TABLE 3.3.8: RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative pronouns:</th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N</td>
<td>j-ah</td>
<td>j-a-t</td>
<td>j-a</td>
<td>k-ah, č-š</td>
<td>k-at, č-č</td>
<td>k-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>j-am</td>
<td>j-a-t</td>
<td>j-a-m</td>
<td>k-am, č-š-m</td>
<td>k-at, č-č-t</td>
<td>k-a-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>ja-hja</td>
<td>ja-h-jah</td>
<td>k-a-hja, č-ahja</td>
<td>k-a-h-jah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>ja-hm-ät</td>
<td>ja-h-jät</td>
<td>k-a-hm-ät</td>
<td>k-a-h-jät</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>ja-hm-äi</td>
<td>ja-h-jäi</td>
<td>k-a-hm-äi</td>
<td>k-a-h-jäi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td>ja-hm-ai</td>
<td>k-a, ka-nä</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>ja-hm-i</td>
<td>ja-h-jäi</td>
<td>k-a-hm-i, č-ahmi</td>
<td>k-a-h-jä</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plur. N            | j-ai | j-a | j-a | k-ai, čajah | k-a, či |
| A                 | j-ajh | j-a | j-a-h | k-ajh | k-a |
| G                 | j-ai-s-ä'am | j-a-h-ä'am | k-a-š-ä'am | k-a-h-ä'am |
| DAb               | j-ai-bjah | j-a-bjah | k-a-bjah |
| I                 | k-aš | j-a-hu |
| L                 | j-ai-su | j-a-hu |

| Dual NAV         | jär | jai |
| G                 | ja-jär |

**Old Persian**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. N</td>
<td>haya</td>
<td>tayã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>tayam</td>
<td>tayã</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAb</td>
<td>tayanã</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plur. N | tayãy | tayã, tayãy |
| A        | tayã | tayã |
| GD       | tayãšãm | tayãšãm |

### 3.6 Numerals and measure

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

#### 3.6.1 ‘One’ to ‘four’

‘One’ is expressed by the stems *aiya*- and *ha*-*šm*- (see section 3.6.3.1):

- **cardinal:** Av. *aēuua-, OPers. *aiwa-;*

‘Two’ and ‘both’: The number ‘two’ is expressed by the stems *d(u)ja*- and *dyi*- (OAv. *dēbi-, YAv. *bi-*):
• cardinal: YAv. duua, fem., neut. duuiie, duuaēo (i.e. diya, diái);
• ordinal: OAv. d"bii"-iia-, YAv. bii"-iia-, OPers. dui"-iia-;

For ‘both’, OAv. has nom.-acc. masc. ubā, fem., neut. ubē; YAv. nom.-acc. masc. uua, fem., neut. uie < uīya, uīai); OPers. nom.-acc. masc. ubā.

YAv. also has the indecl. uuaēm ‘both’ (Olnd. ubhayam).

‘Three’: The stem is 0ri-:

• cardinal: nom. masc. 0rāiiō, fem. tišrō, neut. 0ri;
• ordinal: Av. 0ritiia-, OPers. citiya- ‘for the third time’.

‘Four’: The stem is 0drdrær-lcatur- (YAv. caOrūē in compounds):

• cardinal: nom. masc. caOdrærō, fem. catagrō, neut. catura;
• ordinal: YAv. tūrö-ia- (<ktryja-, cf. 0ar-ixii rim ‘a fourth time’).

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

### TABLE 3.3.9: DECLENSION OF NUMERALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>aeuūo</td>
<td>òiium, òim</td>
<td>aeuua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>duia</td>
<td>òiium, òim</td>
<td>aeuuuq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>aeuuuhe</td>
<td></td>
<td>aeuuuajh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>aeuuuamōt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>aeuua</td>
<td></td>
<td>aeuuuia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>aeuuuami</td>
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<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>duua</td>
<td>duuiie, duuaēo</td>
<td>duuiie, duuaēo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>duiaeibiia</td>
<td>duiaia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>0rāiiō</td>
<td>0ri</td>
<td>tišrō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>0rīš</td>
<td>0ri</td>
<td>tišrō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>0raiqm</td>
<td>0ri</td>
<td>tišrōq, tišranqm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAb</td>
<td>0ribiiō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Four</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>caOdrærō</td>
<td>catura</td>
<td>catagrō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>caturō</td>
<td>catura</td>
<td>catagrō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.2 The remaining numerals

The cardinals ‘five’ to ‘ten’: pañca, xšiwaš, hapta, aštu, naurā, dasa; these have thematic gen. forms (pañcanqm, naurnanqm, dasanqm).
The ordinals (only YAv.) of '5' and '6' are characterised by the root vowel uc pux̂a-, xšuwa-. 'Seventh' has the formant -0a-: hapta-0a-; 'eighth' to 'tenth' the formant -ma-: ašṭa-ma-, naøu-ma-, dasø-ma-.

Most of the numerals ‘11’ to ‘19’ are known only from the ordinals, which were identical with the cardinals: aeuuan-dasa-, duua-dasa-, Ori-dasa-, caOru-dasa-, paøca-dasa-, xšuwaš-dasa-, hapta-dasa-, ašṭa-dasa-, naøu-dasa-.

'20' is visàitì. '30' to '50' are compounds with °satəmr. Ori-satəmr, caβfar°-satəmr, paøca-satəmr. '60' to '90' are fem. ti-stems: xšuwaš-ti-, hapta-0ti-, ašṭa-ti-, naøu-ti-.

'100' and '1,000' are neut. a-stems: sata-, hazaøra-, with mixed plur. forms: tišrû sata, caβfərø sata, naøu hazaøra, etc. '10,000' is neut. baøuvarîn.

Comounded numerals are represented by paøca-va visàitì '25', Oriías-ca Oriisqš-ca '33', paøca-ca hapta-ti- '75', naøu-ca naøu-ti '99'.

Higher numerals include duie naøu-ti '180' (two 90) and naøu-ca . . naøuaitîš-ca naøu-ca sata naøu-ca hazaøra naøuašš-ca baøuvar '99,9999', which is the highest Av. number, there being no word for '100,000'.

3.6.3 Derived numerals

3.6.3.1 Multiplicatives

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

- 'once': YAv. ha-καrm, OPers. ha-karam; cf. Av., OPers. hama- 'one and the same';
- 'twice': YAv. biš, biž-uuag; ='thrice': YAv. oriš, oriž-uuag; = 'four times': YAv. caOruš;
- 'six/nine times': xšuwaž-0iía, naøm-0iía;
- the tens: visàitì-uuá, oriš0-βá, etc.

3.6.3.2 'th time'

The '2nd–4th time' are formed from the ordinals with the prefix 0a-: 0a-šbitulâ-ðbitùm, 0a-0ritìm, 0a-xtûrûm.

3.6.3.3 Fractions

Fractions are made with the formant -0uøa-: Ori-šuua-, caOru-šuua-, paøta-øhøa-, hapta-0huua-, ašṭa-0huua-. The same formation is attested for Old Persian by Elamite texts: < ši-š-0mø = *ci-suva-, <ša-ši-s-ši-s-0mø = *caçušuva-, <aø-s-du-0mø = *ašta'0uva-, etc. (Hoffmann 1965).

4 MORPHOLOGY II: VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

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

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

Verb stems are classified as 'thematic', ending in -a, and 'athematic', ending in other vowels and diphthongs or in consonants. Athematic verbs are frequently thematised.
Most personal endings are the same in the two classes (the 2nd sing. act. is a noteworthy exception), with morphophonological changes in athematic verbs in clusters resulting from contact between the final consonant of the stem and the initial consonant of the ending.

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

### 4.1 Stem classes

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

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

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

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

- zero grade of the root + full grade of the ending: Av. plur. -*ṇṭi, -ṇ, opt. -*iṅ, -iṅṅ, etc. (e.g. *h-ṇṭi, h-iṅṅ < ah- 'be');
- full grade of the root (or reduplication) + zero grade of the ending: -*ḍi, -aṭ, -iṅ, -iṅṅ, etc. (e.g. *داد-ḍi < *داد-āṭ < -ṇṭi, -ṇ, *داد-ḍi*).

#### 4.1.1 Present stems

**4.1.1.1 Athematic present stems**

Athematic present stems include the following:

1. root stems: Av. *ah-las-th-* 'be', *a-li-* 'go', *jan-lja-lgn-* 'smash, strike'; OPers. *ah-las-, a-li-, jen-;
2. reduplicated stems:
   - stems with ‘light’ reduplication *CV*-, Av. *da-dā-lada-dā-* 'give, place', *hiḥak-liḥč-* 'follow' (with *hiḥak-* for *hi-ṣak-* < Sak-); OPers. *da-dā-;
   - ‘intensive’ stems with ‘heavy’ reduplication *CVC*-: Av. *zao-zao-lzao-zu-* 'keep calling', *car-kar-arcer-kar-* 'keep praising';
3. stems with *n*-infixes:
   - *na-C-l-n-C-* stems: Av. *ci-na-h-ličč-* (<*ci-n-š-*) ‘assign’ (< *kaiš-ličč-);
   - *nān*-stems (<*na-H-l-n-H-*): YAv. *zi-nā-lzi-n-* 'take away', OP. *di-nā- (<*ji-na-H-l fī-n-H-*)

...
• nau̯nu-stems: Av. ʃru-naolnu- 'hear' (<sr-na-u-ln-u- [or sru-nau]- < sru-); Av. kər'-nau̯nu- 'do, make', OPers. kunau- (<kr-nau-lnu- < kar-).

4.1.1.2 Thematic present stems

Thematic present stems include the following:

1. stems in a:
   • root in zero grade: Av. mər'-za- 'wipe', OPers. əm(r)da- (or marda-, MPers. māl-);
   • root in full grade: Av. bara- 'carry', bauua- 'become', OPers. barə-, bava-;
   • root in long grade: Av. frāda- 'to further';

2. stems in ja (see also section 4.1.1.4):
   • root in zero grade: Av. miriia-, OPers. məriia- 'die' (<mr-ja-);
   • root in full grade: Av. spasiia- 'spy on', OPers. jadiya- 'ask for';

3. stems in aja (see also section 4.1.1.5):
   • root in zero grade: Av. saə-aiia- 'appear', OPers. əad-a-aya- (<ənd-aya- < (s)cand-);
   • root in full grade: Av. daeos-aiia- 'show', OPers. ətar-aya- 'cross (river)';

4. stems in -āja- with root in zero grade: gər'ruu-āia- 'seize', OPers. garb-āya- (cf. YAv. garə'βnā-);

5. stems in -sa- (OInd. -cha-, IE. -sko-)
   • root in zero grade: Av. ja-sa- 'go' (for *gasa- < gn-sa- < gam-), tər'-sa- 'to become afraid'; OPers. ə-ya-sa- 'take' (<jam-), tər-sa-;
   • roots in long ā: Av. yā-sa- 'request', OPers. xšnā-sa- 'know' (<jnā-, cf. Latin, Greek gnō-sk-);

6. stems with n infix: Av. kər'-nta- 'cut' (<kənt-); YAv. viñda- (<vaid-), athematic OAv. vi-na-d-);

7. reduplicated stems:
   • with 'light' reduplication: Av. bi-sta- 'stand', OPers. (h)i-sta- (<St-St-a-, stā-); OAv. əiia- 'implore' (<i-y-a- < yā-);
   • with 'heavy' reduplication (intensive): Av. ja-γna- 'smash to smithereens' (<gan-l JAN-);

8. desiderative stems in -Sa- with reduplication: OAv. dī-dray-za- 'to wish to hold firmly' (<drang-ldrng-), OYAv. diʃə- 'seek to deceive' <d(-d)b-za- < di-db-hə- (<d'abh); YAv. zi-xšnā-gha- 'wish to know' (<jnā-); mi-mar'x-za- 'wish to destroy' (<mar-).

4.1.1.3 The future stem

A future stem is formed with -Sja- added to the root in the full grade. Old Avestan has only two forms: vax-siia- 'speak' and sao-siia- 'revitalize'. Young Avestan has a few, including: sao-siia- and the irregular bu-šiia- 'become'. There are no Old Persian forms attested.
4.1.1.4 Passive stem

A passive stem is formed with the suffix -ja-, with the root in the zero or full grade: YAv. kir-iia- 'be done, be made', OPers. kar-iya- (<kṛja-), YAv. bār-iia- 'be carried' (<bār-).

See also section 4.3.1.

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

4.1.1.5 Causative stem

A causative is formed with the suffix -aja- to the root in the lengthened (or full) grade. It usually corresponds to a passive or intransitive present: sru-nau- 'hear' vs. sru-iia- 'be heard' vs. srāv-aiaa- 'make heard' > 'recite, sing'; su-iia- 'be revitalized' vs. sauου-aiaa- 'revitalize'.

4.1.1.6 Denominative stem


4.1.2 Aorist stems

There are the following principal types of aorist stems:

- the root aorist: Av. jam-lga-lgm- 'go, come' (pres. jasa-), Av., OPers. dā-id- 'give, place' (pārs. da-dā-);
- the thematic aorist: Av. taš-a- 'fashion' (pres. tāš-);
- the s-aorist: Av. stā-h- < stā- 'stand, place', nai-š- < nai-(ip)- 'lead' (pres. naiia-), varš- < var'z- 'produce' (pres. var'ziiia-), OPers. dar-š- < dar- 'to hold' (pres. dāraya-);
- the reduplicated thematic aorist: Av. va-oça- < ya-uc-a < vac- 'to speak' (pres. mrao-);
- suppletive systems. Av. va-oça- (pres. mrao-), dars- 'see' (pres. valena-).

Some verbs have both root- and s-aorist forms, e.g. Av. man- < māh- 'think' (pres. maniiia-).

4.1.3 Perfect stems

The perfect stem is formed by reduplication, with the exception of ād-lād- (invariable) 'say' and vaēd-<vaēď-(vaēdθ-) 'know'. The vowel of the reduplication syllable varies:

- a, i, or u, in harmony with the vowel of the root (velars are palatalized before a and i): ca-kān- 'love', ci-kaēđ- '*point out', 'ru-raod- 'howl', OPers. ca-ixr-, weak stem of ca-kār- < kār- 'do';
- rarely ē: dā-dar's- < vaēn-ldars- 'see';
- roots in initial ā- have long āː: āp- 'reach', āgh- < ah- 'be' (<a-ah-);
- the root ai-li- has perf. stem i:j-ai-: YAv. ii-āe- (i-āē- < aē- 'go').
4.1.4 Suppletive stem systems

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

4.1.5 Periphrastic formations

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

4.2 Moods

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

4.2.1 The subjunctive

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

4.2.2 The optative

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

In Old Persian and, sometimes, in Young Avestan, the optative can take the augment to produce the preterital optative: YAv. a-uuāen-ōiš ‘(whenever) you saw’, nišābāi-ōiš ‘you would seat (me)’; OPers. avājan-īyā ‘he would kill’, a-kunav-ayātā ‘they would do’ (see section 7.2.2.2).

4.3 Voice

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

4.3.1 The passive in -ja-

More commonly, the passive (‘it is done, he is killed’) is expressed by the special present stem in -ja- (YAv. -iia-, OPers. -iya-). In Avestan, this form normally takes the middle endings; in Young Avestan, active endings are also well attested (in Old Persian 3rd person -iti and -tait are indistinguishable <-i-/>).
4.3.2 The 3rd singular passive in -i

A special Indo-Iranian 3s passive form was made from the aorist stem with the ending -i (OAv. -i, YAy. -i): OAv. srāu-i ‘has become renowned’. In Young Avestan, this rare form was made from the present stem (ja`n-i ‘was smashed’, a`r`nāu-i ‘was sent on its way’) and from the perfect stem (ā`d-i ‘is/was said’).

4.4 Person marking (endings)

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

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

The 1st person endings of the dual and plural are parallel: act. primary -yahi, -mahi, secondary -ya, -ma; middle secondary -yadi, -madi, YAy. -ma del-ma’de.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present indicative</th>
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<th>Present/aorist imperative</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Athematic</td>
<td>Thematic</td>
<td>Athematic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Active</td>
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<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-mī</td>
<td>-ā, -ā-mī</td>
<td>-am</td>
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<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-Sī</td>
<td>-a-hī</td>
<td>-S</td>
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<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-tī</td>
<td>-a-tī</td>
<td>-t</td>
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<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-mahi</td>
<td>-a-mahi</td>
<td>-ma</td>
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<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-āla</td>
<td>-a-āla</td>
<td>-ta</td>
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<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-anti, -ati</td>
<td>-a-niti</td>
<td>-an</td>
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<td>aor. -an, -at</td>
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<tr>
<td>1d</td>
<td>-yahi</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-āya</td>
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<tr>
<td>3d</td>
<td>-tah</td>
<td>-a-tah</td>
<td>-tam</td>
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<td>Middle</td>
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<td>1s</td>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>-i</td>
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<td>2s</td>
<td>-Sai</td>
<td>-a-hai</td>
<td>-Sa</td>
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<td>-tai, -ai</td>
<td>-a-tai</td>
<td>-ta</td>
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<td>-ntai, -atai</td>
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<td>3d</td>
<td>-aithai, -aithai</td>
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<td>-aithai</td>
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<td>TABLE 3.4.2: VERBAL ENDINGS 2. PERFECT, PLUPERFECT</td>
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<td><strong>Perfect</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pluperfect</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Active</strong></td>
<td><strong>Middle</strong></td>
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<td>Sing.</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ai</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>-(\theta)a</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>-a-t</td>
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<td>Plur.</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>-r</td>
<td>-rṣ</td>
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<td>Dual</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 3.4.3: VERBAL ENDINGS 3. SUBJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subjunctive</strong></td>
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<thead>
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<th>TABLE 3.4.4: ‘TO BE’</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Pres.</strong></td>
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<td>1s</td>
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<tr>
<td>1d</td>
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<tr>
<td>2d</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In the athematic 3rd person pres. and aor. mid., a few forms lack the / in the sing. and have forms with / in the plur.: OAv. pres. ind. sing. is-ši ō ‘desires’, aor. imper. sing. t-šat-um, uc-šan ‘let it be given, spoken’, pres. imper. plur. jōm-šan ‘let them be smashed!’, xērš-šqan ‘let them be bled!’; YAv. pres. ind. 3rd sing. and plur. mru-ši ‘is said’ (<mru-š-), mru-ši ‘they are said’ (<mruo-lmru-); niyn-e, niyn-ši ‘is/are smashed down (upon)’ (<jan-l), see Hintze 2005); āgh-ši ō ‘they sit’ (but 3s āste < āh-), sōi-relsa-ši ō ‘they lie’ (but 3s sae-te).

4.5 Preverbs

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

4.6 Nominal forms of the verb

4.6.1 Participles

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

4.6.1.1 Present, future and aorist active participles

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


4.6.1.2 Perfect active participles

The perf. part. act. is made with the formant -yahu-: OAv. vid-uuah-vid-uš- ō ‘knowing’, YAv. vid-uuah-vid-uš- ō ‘knowing’ (see section 2.3.2.2b) ja-yam-uš- ō ‘having gone/come’ (<gam-). Note the conditioned changes (Skjærø 1997a): voax-yah- ō vaokuš- ō ‘having spoken’ (< ya-uk-yah- < vak-), vaauun-uuah- ō vaunuš- ō ‘having won’ (<van-), yōīl-βah- ō yaět-uš- ō ‘having taken up one’s position’ (<yat-), tars-uuah- ō ‘having fashioned’ (<ta-š-yah- < tas-).

Two types of adjectives resemble the perfect participle and have similar functions, with -u- and -yan-: OAv. vid-u ō ‘knowing one’, vā-un-u ō ‘winner’, YAv. za-z-u ō ‘winner’; OAv. ci-ciō-βan- ō ‘who understands’, YAv. yōīl-βan- ō ‘standing ready’.
4.6.1.3 Middle participles

The middle participles of thematic verbs end in Av. -ömna- (aiia-stems: -aiiamna-), OPers. -ämna-, those of athematic verbs, including the perfect, regularly end in Av. -âna-.

4.6.1.4 Past participles in -ta-

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

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

4.6.2 Verbal adjectives in -ôa-, -ôba-, -iia-

The 'participles of necessity', expressing 'that which ought to or can be done', are formed with the suffixes -ôa- (-ôa- by internal sandhi): ux-ôa- 'that ought to be spoken'; -ôba- (-tòa- by internal sandhi): vax-ôôa- 'that ought to be spoken; or -iia-: karô-iia- 'that ought to be ploughed'. The suffix -iia- could also be attached to nouns: yâsn-iia- 'deserving of sacrifices' <yâsna-.

4.6.3 Infinitives

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

The infinitives in -díiâi can be made either from the pres. stem: athem. (root in zero grade) OAv. ja-díiâi 'to strike' (<jân-), YAv. da-z-díiâi (<da-d'-díâi) 'give, establish', them. YAv. vaza-díiâi 'drive'; or from the aorist stem: aor. stem. athem. OAv. dar-d'-díiâi 'hold (up)'.

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

- exclusively OAv.: -ôii: p-ôii 'protect' (<pâ-); -ôla: viô-ûiiê 'know' (<yid-yai); -uuanai, -manai: vîid-uuanôi 'know'; -ôsai: athem. nûsê 'to obtain' (<nâs-ûai); them. srâuulâie-ôhê 'recite';
- both OAv. and YAv. (rare) are infinitives in -tai: OAv. gat-tôi 'go' (for ga-tôi < gam-), i-tô 'go', OYAv. mrû-tê 'speak', s-tôi 'be' (<âh-);
- only YAv., the infitive in -tai (identical with the dative of an action noun in -iî): ux-têe 'to speak';
- only OPers., the infitive in -tanaiy, made from the root in the full grade: bar-tanaiy 'to carry', car-tanaiy 'to do' (<kar-).

5 SYNTAX I: WORD ORDER AND CLAUSE STRUCTURE

5.1 Word order

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

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

Adpositions follow enclitic pronouns they govern:

\[ \text{YAv. } ka\vec{a} \,[n\, auui] \,\tilde{aj}as\tilde{a}t \,nm\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}, \,pa'\tilde{ti}\tilde{s} \]

‘when will our home-lord come [to us]?’ (Yt. 17.10).

Enclitic postpositions will seek the second place in the clause:

\[ [\tilde{a}sm\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}m \,auui] \, \tilde{f}ra\tilde{s}\tilde{u}s\tilde{a}n\tilde{i} \]

‘sall I go forth [to heaven]?’ (Yt. 17.57),

vs.

\[ m\tilde{a} \,[auui \,\tilde{a}sm\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}m] \, \tilde{f}ra\tilde{s}\tilde{usa} \]

‘do not go forth [to heaven]!’ (Yt. 17.60).

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

\[ \text{YAv. } [\tilde{a}\tilde{e}\tilde{w}\tilde{u}m\tilde{a}] \, v\tilde{a} \,[auui \,\tilde{x}\tilde{a}p\tilde{a}n\tilde{a}m\tilde{a}] \]

‘or [for one night]’ (Yt. 8.11).

5.1.2 Preverbs

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

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

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

In Young Avestan, a verb can, apparently, have two preverbs, e.g. \text{pa'\tilde{ti} \,a\tilde{u}u\tilde{a} \,jasa}– ‘to come down *in return’.

Examples:

• joined to the verb in main and subordinate clauses:

\[ \text{OAv. } a\ddot{i}a\ddot{n} \, n\ddot{\text{o}}t\ddot{\text{t}} \, \ddot{\text{e}}r\ddot{\text{s}} \,[\ddot{\text{v}}\ddot{\text{i}}-\ddot{\text{i}}\ddot{\text{u}}\ddot{\text{a}}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{a}}] \ldots \]
\[ hi\ddot{u}\ddot{a}\ddot{t} \, \ddot{e}d'\ddot{a}o\ddot{m}\ddot{a} \ldots \,[\ddot{u}\ddot{\text{p}}\ddot{\text{a}} \,ja\ddot{s}\ddot{a}\ddot{t}] \]

‘they did not [discriminate] correctly between these two, because deception [came over] them’ (Y. 30.6);

• separated and fronted:

\[ \text{YAv. } [\ddot{p}\ddot{a}\ddot{\ddot{t}}i] \, \ddot{m}\ddot{\text{a}}m \, \ddot{e}r'\ddot{\text{z}}\ddot{u}\ddot{d} \,[\ddot{p}\ddot{\ddot{r}}\ddot{\ddot{\text{a}}}\ddot{\ddot{g}}'\ddot{\text{h}}'] \]
\[ ye\ddot{z}\ddot{i} \, \ddot{m}\ddot{\text{a}}m \,[\ddot{p}\ddot{\ddot{a}}t\ddot{t}, \ddot{p}\ddot{\ddot{r}}\ddot{\ddot{\text{a}}}\ddot{\ddot{\text{g}}}'] \]

‘[consult] me [in turn], O upright (Zarathustra)! . . . if you [consult] me [in turn]’ (V. 18.7);

\[ \text{OAv. } [\ddot{\ddot{\text{a}}} \, z\ddot{i} \, d'm\ddot{\text{n}}\ddot{\text{a}}m \ldots \,[\ddot{\text{d}}\ddot{\text{a}}\ddot{\text{t}}] \, \ddot{d}u\ddot{\text{s}}\ddot{i}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{a}\ddot{c} \]

‘for he [has placed] the home [in] . . . and difficulty’ (Y. 31.18);
YAv. yezi-ca hē [hqm] tafnō [jasāt]
‘and if fever [comes (and joins) with] her’ (V. 7.70);

- post-verbal:
  OAv. xraosṇtam upā
  ‘let them be howled upon!’ (Y. 53.8);

- one preverb for two forms of the same verb:
  OAv. yā zi [ātā jāŋghatī]-cā
  ‘namely, (those things) that [are (now) coming] (ātā < ā aētī)
  and (those) that [shall come] (ā . . jāŋghatī)’ (Y. 31.14);

- two preverbs for one verb:
  YAv. ā tē ajhe fra-ca stuie-pres. ind.
  ‘for this I am assigning myself by my praise (ā-stuie?) to you and utter your praise
  (fra-stuie)’ (Y. 1.21);

- preverb minus verb:
  OAv. [apānō] daragō,jiītūm
  [ā] xusorom vajhāsh managhō
  ‘[having obtained] (ā-apānō) long life,
  having (obtained) (ā) the command of good thought’ (Y. 33.5);

- with change of preverb (and verb?):
  kaōa drujm [nīs] ahmāt ā [ʿnāšāmā] /
  tāng ā [auuā] yōi asruštōs parʿnāphō
  ‘how we shall [take away] here from us the Lie,
  (and) [(bring it) down] upon those who (are) full of refusal to listen’ (Y. 44.13).

5.1.3 Repetition of preverb in tmesis

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

OAv. [frō] spantā ārmātē l aśā daēnā [fra-daššāiā]
  ‘[launch forth], O Humility, (our) vison-souls through life-giving Order!’ (Y. 33.13);

YAv. [auuā] mē āziš . . aŋhuqm [auuā-dārˈnāq] sadaieti
  ‘that āzi (= ?) appears (to be) [ripping off] my life thread’ (V. 18.19).

5.2 Topicalisation: ‘raising’ and ‘lowering’

Departures from the basic word order are frequent, most often for metrical reasons, but also for emphasis of various kinds (see also section 10 Stylistic features).
‘Raising/fronting’ and ‘lowering/backing’ of the main constituents are quite common.
In addition, in the Old Avestan and Young Avestan metrical texts, word order to a large extent depends on the exigencies of the metrical units, although similar tendencies in Old Persian show that it is also a feature of elevated style (cf. Hale 1988).

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

5.2.1 Raising of verb

OAv. [ahmī] mazdā anaēsō ... kamnānā ahmī
‘[I am], O Mazdā, weak ... of few men I am’ (Y. 46.2) [chiasmus];

YAv. [jamiāt] vō vaghaot vaŋhō
‘may there come to you (what is) better than good!’ (Y. 59.31);

OPers. [ātāy] dārayavauš xšāyadiya
‘King Darius [announces]’.

5.2.2 Raising of direct object

OAv. yašt [ratūm] ahurō vaēdā
‘how the Lord knows [the model] (to be)’ (Y. 31.2);

YAv. mā yauue [imaṭ nmmām] xšādārauṭ xšarṅō frazaḥīt
‘may not ever Fortune providing comfort leave [this house]!’ (Y. 60.7);

OPers. [xšačam] hauv agarbāyatā
‘[the royal command] he took for himself’ (DB 1.41-42).

5.2.3 Lowering of subject

OAv. āwūs ... hōntū ... [rātaiō]
‘let there appear ... [gifts]!’ (Y. 33.7);

YAv. ə dim pārqṣat [zaraḥuṣtrō] ‘Zarathustra asked him’ (Y. 9.1).

5.2.4 Lowering of direct/indirect object

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

OAv. əlā āt yazamādē [ahuram mazdām]
‘thus, in this manner we are sacrificing [to Ahura Mazdā]’ (Y. 37.1);

YAv. yas kṣrerāoṭ aŋhe xšadrāoṭa l a-marṣanta / pasu vira] [8 + 8 syllables]
‘... that he (= Yima) made during his reign / imperishable [cattle and men]’ (Y. 9.4);

OPers. yadiy imam dīpim vaināhay [imai]-vā [patikarā]
‘if you see this inscription or [these pictures] ...’ (DB 4.72–73).
5.2.5 Lowering of adverbial complements

**YAv.** mā ẓam vaēnōt [ašibīa]
‘may he not see the earth [with (his evil) eyes]’ (Y. 9.29);

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

5.3 Special types of clauses

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

5.3.1 Questions

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

- without interrogative particle:
  
  **OAv.** vīduē zī nā mruīāt
  ‘for may a man tell the knowing one?’ (Y. 51.8);

- with interrogative pronouns:

  **OAv.** [k5] vā ašā āfraštā [kā] spəntā ārmātīš
  ‘[who] has either consulted with Order, (and) [with whom] (has) life-giving Humility (consulted)? (Y. 51.11);

  **YAv.** [kuua] hē aošō vīndāma
  ‘[where] shall we find death for him?’ (V. 19.46);

- with interrogative particle, including ka[t] and -nā, approximately ‘I wonder’:

  **OAv.** [ka[t] mōi urwā isē chāhīā awaŋhō
  ‘does my soul, I wonder, control anybody’s help (at all)?’ (Y. 50.1);

  k5m[-nā] mazdā mauatē pāittum dadā
  ‘whom, [I wonder], do you, O Mazdā, give as protector to one like me?’ (Y. 46.7);

- disjunctive questions:

  vərənawātē məziiō
  vīduō vīduē mraotū
  ‘[whether] the sustainer of Order [or] the one possessed by the Lie will *retain for himself the greater (reward),
  let him who knows say to the one who knows!’ (Y. 31.17);

  **YAv.** [katarm] aōram aōarənəm [vā] paraiiāt
  gaēənaqam [vā] asərənō awəti
  ‘should the priest go away to (do) priestly studies,
  [or] should he help as *overseer of the livestock?’ (Her. 3).
5.3.2 Exhortations and commands

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

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

5.3.3 Parenthetical clauses in the nominative

Parenthetical clauses in the nominative are found in Avestan:

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

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

upa.taçaṣ ar'duūsūra anāhīta ka'nīnō kahrpa srīrāiia . . .
[raēuwa cihr̥m] azātaiā
'Arduū Sūrā Anāhītā came running in the body of a beautiful young woman – [(her) seed (being) wealthy (= of wealthy seed)] – high-born' (Yt.5.64).

5.3.4 Reported speech

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

object of verbs of speaking, thinking, etc.:

OAv. oītā cistī [hunō pāa ārāhīiā mazdā]
'by this insight: [He is the father of Order, the all-knowing one]' (Y. 47.2);

YAv. yāt *aēšō yō apsr'nātiukō . . .
aoxtō vā hē aoxtē [*0̥f̥q̥t̥ pairī *aṭ̥ha]
'when this child . . .
or having been spoken to says to him: [I shall stay with you]!' (Her. 7);

OPers. yadi-maniyāt̥ y [šīyāta ahāniy jīva utā marta grtavā ahāniy]
'If you shall think: [Let me be happy both (while) alive, and (after I am) dead let me be blessed] . . .' (XPh 46–50).

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

[taya] amaniyāy [kunavāniy] ava-may visam ucāram āha
'[whatever] I thought [I shall do] that all was easy for me' (DSI).
The Avestan particle *uiti* precedes or follows reported speech:

**OAv.** yaiia spaniia *uiti* mrauag yôm ognom 1
[nôît nêm manâ . . . nôît daenâ noi uruqînô hacîntê]
'of which two the life-giving one thus shall say (to him) whom (you know to be) the Evil one:
[Neither our thoughts . . . nor vision-souls, nor souls go together'] (Y. 45.2);

**YAv.** [âî vô kas-çî maštinîm]
*uiti* mraoag ahurô mazdâ .
[âî așâuın zaraduśtra xar'nô ax'ar'tam isâeta]
'[therefore may each of you men]
- thus said Ahura Mazda –
[O Orderly Zarathustra, seek the unseizable Fortune!'] (Yt. 19.53).

In Young Avestan, *uiti* is often found with aoojana-: *uiti aoojana-, uitiiaojana- ‘thus saying’:

yô aooxta ahurâî mazdāî uitiiaojanaô
[ahura mazda mainîîo spîništa . . . ]
'who said to Ahura Mazdâ thus saying:
[O Ahura Mazdâ, most Life-giving Spirit . . . ]' (Yt. 8.10).

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

yôî vâighosê a managhô šiîtêntê
yôîcâ [*uiti*]
'the male (deities) who dwell with good thought,
as well as the female ones who ["dwell with good thought"]' (Y. 39.3).

6 SYNTAX II: NOMINALS

6.1 Specificity and reference

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

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

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

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

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

Nominaive-accusative:

YAv. \( [višpom imat yat juiō aŋhuš] - \text{nom.} \)
'[all this, the living existence]' = 'this entire living existence' (H. 2.2);

\( [θβqum] raṭum aiiiese yešti [yim zarαuštrum] - \text{acc.} \)
'[you, Zarathustra], I harness by my sacrificing as model' (Vr. 2.4);

\( yō paδriiō [gādā] frasrāwaiat \)
'[all this, the living existence]', 'this entire living existence' (H. 2.2);

\( [yā paŋca] - \text{acc. spitāmahe . . . zarαuštrahe} \)
'[you, Zarathustra], I harness by my sacrificing as model' (Vr. 2.4);

\( haomō [taμ-ciŋ yim kαραšanīn] - \text{acc. apa.}xδiμηm nišāδaiat \)
'[my army] crushed that [conspiratorial army]' (DB 2.25–26).

6.1.1.1a With invariable yat

YAv.

\( [puδrēm yat pouṛušaspahe] - \text{acc.} \)
'[the son of Pourušaspa]' (Yt. 5.18);

\( cuat [aētaija apō yat armaēštaia] - \text{gen.} \)
'how much [of this standing water]?' (Y. 6.30).

6.1.1.2 Antecedent inside the relative phrase

YAv. yat upaihacaŋ [yim yimam xšaētom huŋqibαŋ] - \text{acc.} \)
'[that he followed [splendid Yima of good herds]' (Yt. 19.31);

OPers. imā dαbαyāνa [taŋyaŋa maŋa dātā] - \text{abl.-inst. apariyay} \)
'these lands behaved [according to my law]' (DB 1.20)

6.2 Number

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

6.2.1 Neuter plural

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

\( \text{OAv.} \; [yā] \ldots [aasištā] - \text{p/nt. doŋtō l waŋšaŋtē} \)
'giving [(those) which] (are) [the worst (things)] / to the blazing (fire)' (Y. 32.4);

\( \text{YAv.} \; [vaŋhu] - \text{p/nt.-ca} \; [vaŋhās] - \text{p/nt.-ca āŋriṇāmi} \)
'I invite as (guest-)friends [good] and [better (things)]' (Y. 52.1).
6.2.2 Dual

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

Two singular items:

OAv. aṭ . . . [aḥuah . . . fīrāmā] . . .

mē uruā gāuš-cā aziā

‘thus, we two were there presenting ourselves as guest friends’;

my soul and that of the fertile cow’ (Y. 29.5).

A special form of the dual is the ‘elliptical dual’:

YAv. [hāwamanaiās]-du/gen-ca aštia [frašūtaiā]

‘and [of the mortar (and pestle) moved forth] in Orderly fashion’ (Y. 27.7);


stri-ca nārītas-ca

‘from two men (= a man and woman) two men] are born: female and male’ (V. 2.41).

6.3 Grammatical concord

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

6.3.1 Gender

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

OAv. vi. nūnāsā [ya-s/f. kara-pō, tās- cā-s/f. kwašās-cā]

‘ruined are [what (are) the words karapan and kauui]’ (Y. 32.15);

[yqm] dā . . . [xšniśmy bhiat ‘ruuatiom . . . ] tat nē vaocā

‘[the *favour-s/f. which you (first) established . . . the deal-nt. which (you have)] . . .

speak that-nt. to us’ (Y. 31.3).

6.3.2 Dual determinants

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

YAv. staomi [maēgōm]-s/m.-ca [vārōm]-s/m.-ca

[yā j-du/m. tē kōhrem [vaxšāiāt]-3du

‘I praise [the fog and the rain, which make] your body [grow]’ (Y. 10.3).
To express ‘both X and Y’, Avestan uses the construction ‘both: (namely) X and Y’, where ‘both’ is OAv., OPers. ubā, YAv. uwa or the invariable pronoun uwaem (<ubh ajam):

*OAv. ubē-du/ʃ. haaruās-s/ʃ.-cā ... amor tatās-s/ʃ.-cā*

‘both wholeness and immortality’ (Y. 34.11);

*YAv. uwaem x'arōqm-s/nt.-ca vastrām -s/nt.-ca*

‘both food and clothing’ (Y. 55.2);

*OPers. utā vištāspa-s/m. utā aršāna-s/m. ubā ajīvatam-3du*

‘Hystaspes and Arsames were both alive’ (XPF 19–21).

### 6.3.3 Plural subject and singular verb

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

*OAv. [sax'ār]-p/nt. . . . [yā]-p/nt. zi [vā-wi'ar'zōī]-3s . . . [yā]-p/nt.-cā [var'sātē]-3s*

‘[the *verses], namely (those) [which have been produced] and (those) [which will be produced]’ (Y. 29.4);

*YAv. [vār'ziatam]-3s-ca iōa [vohu vāstria] -p/nt.*

‘and [let good pastures be produced] here’ (Vr. 15.1), but

*kīna [tā dādra]-p pātī [harmjasōnte]-3p*

‘where [are those gifts *totalled*] in turn?’ (Y. 19.27).

### 6.4 Uses of the cases

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

#### 6.4.1 Nominative

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

with copula:

*OAv. yāzōm zauuštiāŋhō išō*

‘you (all are) the fastest invigorants’ (Y. 28.9);

*YAv. hantī . . . ratauūō*

‘seven are the models’ (N. 84);

*OPers. hamaranakara a'nīy 'ušhamaranakara*

‘(as) a fighter, I am a good fighter’ (DNb 34);
with verbs of thinking, declaration, etc.:

OAv. \( \text{at hōi [aōji zara\-hu\-strō]} \)
‘thus, [I declare myself to him (as) Zarathustra]’ (Y. 43.8);

YAv. \( \text{nmām hō [man\-i\-ēta para\-da\-ōō]} \)
‘[he may think] (of himself as) [giving] a house’ (V. 18.28);

OPers. \( \text{[frata\-ra man\-i\-ā\-y] afu\-vā\-yā} \)
‘[I consider myself superior] to fear’ (DNb 38).

6.4.1.1 The Old Persian nominative naming phrase

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

\[ \text{I martiya-s/m. [martiya nāma]-s/m. cč\-ca\-xrai\-š pu\-ça-s/m.} \]
\[ \text{[kuganakā nāma]-s/nt. vardanam-s/nt. pārsai\-y avadā adā\-rā\-yā} \]
\[ \text{ha\-rē udapatatā ī\-vā\-jā\-y} \]
‘one man [Martiya by name] son of Cincaxri, [Kuganakā by name] a town in Persia, there he was staying, he rose up in Elam’
= ‘one man called Martiya, son of Cincaxri, who was staying in the town of Kuganakā in Persia, rose up in Elam’ (DB 2.8–9);

\[ \text{[kā\-pi\-šakā\-nī\-š nāmā]-s/ft didā-s/ft avadā hamaranam akunava} \]
‘Kāpišakānī by name, a fortress, there they fought the battle’
= ‘they fought the battle at a fortress called Kāpišakānī’ (DB 3.60–61);

\[ \text{hacā [pirā\-va nāma ra\-ta]-s/nt.} \]
‘from: [Nile by name, a river]’ = ‘from the river Nile’ (DZc 9).

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

\[ \text{sao\-shi\-ūs [vər\-t\-ra\-ja n\-q\-ma]} \]
‘the Revitaliser [Obstruction-smasher by name]’ (Yt. 13.129).

6.4.2 Vocative

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

OAv. \( \text{[f\-ra\-s\-ao\-s\-t\-rā] a\-d\-rā tū . . . i\-dī} \)
‘[O Fraša\-s\-t\-r\-a], you, go there!’ (Y. 46.16);

YAv. \( \text{kō [nar\-rō] a\-hī . . .} \)
\[ \text{a\-zm ah\-mi [zara\-hu\-strā] ha\-omō} \]
'who, [O man], are you? . . .
I am, [O Zarathustra], the haoma' (Y. 9.1–2);

OPers. [martiyā] hayā auramazdāhā framsānā hauv-taiy gasta mā țadāya
'[O man], do not let Ahuramazdā's command seem evil to you!' (DNA 56–58).

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

[ăi țița vo'ru.gaoiaiote]
'O Mițra, who provide wide grazing grounds, . . .' (Yt. 10.42).

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

tūm [țița vo'ru.gaoiaiote]
'you, [O Mițra, who provide wide grazing grounds], . . .' (Yt. 10.94);

but one in the acc. by another acc.:

ă [0ță țărəm] țăraïeti
'I sing (of) [you, the fire = O fire], a song of praise' (Ātaš Niyāyišn 2).

6.4.3 Accusative

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

6.4.3.1 Direct object and predicate of direct object

OAv. [rataș] sănghați țarmațis
'Humility is announcing [the models]' (Y. 43.6);

[spântom] at [0ță] . . . mâjăhī
'thus, I (now) think of [you (as) life-giving]' (Y. 43.5);

YAv. țăl yimô [imqm zqm] vișăwuîați
'then Yima made [this earth] go to the sides' (V. 2.11);

[xșăiamnəm așăuanəm] dăăiata'
place [in command the sustainer of Order]!' (Y. 8.5);

OPers. dărayavaș imam dwarkîm . . . akunaș
'Darius made [this gate]' (XPa 11–13);

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

6.4.3.2 Direct objects with nouns and adjectives expressing actions

Nouns and adjectives expressing actions frequently take accusative objects:

OAv. vohă xșăarəm [va'rim bāgəm] țăh.țarîstom
'the good command (is) the best bringer of [a well-deserved portion]' (Y. 51.1);
YAv. sraošō ... [drīpum] ərātō.tamō
'Sraoša, the greatest protector of [a poor (man)]' (Yt. 11.3);

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

6.4.3.3 Double accusative

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

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

OAv. duš.sastiš ... apō [mā ĕštīm] əiiautā
'the one of bad announcing ... robs [me of (my) wish]' (Y. 32.9);

OPers. [xšaqtam taya] guamāta ... adinā [ka"būjiyam]
'[the royal command (of) which] Gaumāta ... robbed [Cambyses]' (DB 1.43–48).

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

višāraēm zarābahštra aom asmanom ...
[yīm] mazdā vaste [vaghanom]
'I held out yonder sky, O Zarathustra,
[which] Mazda wears (as) [(his) garment]' (Yt. 13.2–3);

yā [aēšn̄m] ... [x̣ar̥m] yiāntī
'(Sraoša), who strikes [Wrath a wound]' (Y. 57.10).

6.4.3.4 Accusative with impersonal verbs

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

with vārnava- 'believe':

māmīn̄vam naiy vārnnavataiy
'me/you it does not believe' = 'I/you do not believe';

with kāma ah- 'wish':

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

6.4.3.5 Adverbial accusative

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

OAv. [aēšṭm̄n̄] hōnduwarēntā
'they would scramble together [to Wrath]' (Y. 30.6);
YAv. (few certain examples):

\[
\text{drime [gātūm] hē niśhīdāēta (V. 9.33)}; \\
\text{he should sit down quietly [in] his [place]}.
\]

OPers.\text{ avam adam frāišayam [arminam] (DB 2.30)}

\text{'him I sent [to Armenia]'}

\text{ but}

\text{adam frāišayam . . . [abiya avam] (DB 3.12–14).}

6.4.3.6 Accusative of length of time, space and measure

OA\text{v. viśpā atiār-}p/n\text{t. (Y. 43.2)}

\text{for all (his) days (Y. 65.5 = Yt. 5.5)};

YAv.\text{ ḥqmīnām-ca zaiianām-ca (Yt. 65.5)}

\text{throughout both summer and winter (Y. 65.5 = Yt. 5.5)};

\text{[varcālim pantan] azdē}

\text{(she = the cow) is driven [along the road of captivity] (Yt. 10.38)};

OPers.\text{ [XL araśnīs] baršnā (DSf 26)}

\text{[forty cubits] in depth (DSf 26).}

6.4.3.7 Accusative 'of respect'

This accusative (like the instrumental) expresses 'with respect to' and is often used with

\text{superlatives and in figura etymologica (see section 6.4.7 lc).}

OA\text{v. vohū u xušiā managhā . . . [tanim]}

\text{grow [in body] by good thought! (Y. 33.10)};

YAv.\text{ yat as [ašm] ašamastānīm (Yt. 19.79).}

6.4.3.8 Accusative with adposition

Numerous adpositions govern the accusative. When they govern more than one case, the

\text{function of the accusative is similar to that of the accusative in general (e.g. motion toward):}

\text{Av. ašdīrī 'beneath'; - antar, antar-}ca, OPers.\text{ aťar 'between'; - Av. abī, aūūi, aot; OPers.\text{ abiya 'to', etc.}; - Av. āpi 'after, throughout'; - OPers.\text{ pariya 'about'; - pašīyā 'before'; - Av. pći, OPers.\text{ patiya (patiš) 'on, at, against' etc.; - Av. para 'before'; - OPers.\text{ paraš 'beyond'; - Av. pasca, OPers.\text{ pasā 'behind, after'; - Av. tarā, tarāsca 'across, over'; - Av.\text{ upa, OPers. upā 'in, at, under (during the reign of); - Av. updī, OPers.\text{ upariy 'over, on, above, compared to'.}}}}}

6.4.3.9 Young Avestan nominative for accusative

In Young Avestan, whole phrases in the nominative, especially plural, often occupy

\text{positions in the sentence which would require them to be in the accusative. This is no}

\text{doubt an effect of the oral transmission:}
6.4.4 Genitive

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

6.4.4.1 Possessive genitive

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

**OAv.** ![Example](example1.png)

‘the [head]-smasher [of the old gods]’ (Y. 57.33).

See also section 10.5 Figura etymologica.

6.4.4.2 Subjective and objective genitive

Subjective and objective genitives represents ‘transformations’ of sentences of the structure SV or OV > Ngen N:

**OAv.** ![Example](example2.png)

‘in search [of Order]’ < ‘he seeks order-DO’ (Y. 28.4);

**YAv.** ![Example](example3.png)

‘by [his]-S/gen. sacrifice [of = to the gods-DO/gen.]’ < ‘he-S sacrifices to the gods-DO’ (Y. 57.3);

**OPers.** ![Example](example4.png)

‘king [of/over lands]’ < ‘king rules the lands’ (DNa 8–11).
6.4.4.3 Defining or descriptive genitive

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

Descriptive genitive:

**YAv.**

[vīšō sīrāiā] ṭhraētaonō
'Thraetaona [of a vigorous house]' (Y.9.7);

 vazrām . . . [zarōī āitāghō] frahixtam
'a cudgel . . . cast [in tawny bronze]' (Yt. 10.96).

'Forensic' genitive:

**OAv.** yada [aēšqm] kaēnā janurātī [aēnagheyn]
'when the retribution comes [for these sins]' (Y. 30.8);

**YAv.** hāuāanta [aēetahe ūiao0nahe] vor'ziqān
'they should perform equal (penalties) [for this action]' (V. 15.14).

6.4.4.5 Partitive genitive

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

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

**YAv.** yātau4ō [mašiiānqm]
'sorcerers [among men]' (Yt. 8.44);

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

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

**YAv.** yat vā mašiiō [mašiianqm xšudranqm] para gaš'ruvaiie'ti
'or when a man receives [(some) men’s semen]' (V. 8.32).

6.4.4.6 Genitive with adjectives and verbs

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

**OAv.** yōī [a-sruštōiš] pavalnāghō
'who, full [of refusal to listen]' (Y. 44.13);
6.4.4.7 Genitive with adpositions

A few adpositions govern the genitive, some of them also other cases:

OPers. anuv ‘according to’; – Av. pāṭi ‘on, with, in return for’; – para ‘before, in front of’; – pasca, OPers. pasā; – OPers. rādīy ‘on account of’.

6.4.5 Dative

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

6.4.5.1 Indirect object

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

OA v. kahmām mā 0barzādām
‘[for whom] have you carved me?’ (Yr. 29.1);

aṭ mā .. [mazōi magāi, ā] pāṭi zāntā
‘so . . . acknowledge me [for the great gift exchange]’ (Yr. 29.11);

YAv. yā aom puḍrōm barāṭi [aniāhmāi arsānāi] varštām
[pāṭe] upa.barāṭi
‘(the evil woman) who bears that son produced [for another male] (and then) presents (him) [to (her) husband] (as his)’ (Yr. 17.58);

OPers. [aniyakhyāī] asam frānayām
‘[for another] I brought a horse’ (DB 1.87).

This dative can be governed by a compound:

YAv. vāstrābār’ahēca [gauve huḏājhe]  Hawthorne
‘and of the one by whom grass is brought [to the cow giving good gifts]’ (Yr. 1.9).

6.4.5.2 Final dative

The dative of inanimate nouns can express purpose (final dative), often in connection with a verb of movement and together with a dative of the person for whose benefit it happens, the dativus commodi:
OA v. kuṭra [m or′zdikā] axšata
‘where will (someone) stand by [for (= to show) mercy]?’ (Y. 51.4);

ā mōi [raf′drāi] zuuēng jasatā
‘come to (my) calls (acc. of goal of motion) [for support] for me!’ (Y. 28.3);

Y A v. ahmāi jasati [awuajhe]
‘he comes [for help] for him’ = ‘he comes in order to help him’ (Yt. 10.87).

6.4.5.3 Dativus commodi

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

Y A v. cē [yimāi] [xšaōrāi] ḏrisatō.z′ma hōŋjasōnta
‘then [for Yima] [for (his) command] three hundred winters came together’ (V. 2.8);

[a blu wā′hibiō] imā zaōrā
‘[for the good waters (are)] these libations’ (Y. 22.2);

O P ers. imā dahayāva tayā [manā] *patiyāša
‘these (are) the lands which came [to me]’ (DB 1.13).

This dative is also used to refer to future time:

parō. asnāi aγ′he
‘for (the duration of his) future existence’ (Āfr. 3.7).

6.4.5.4 Dative with nouns and adjectives

The same dative is found with nouns and adjectives (‘good for’, etc.) and interjections (ušta ‘wished-for-things, good luck’, namō ‘reverence/homage to, hail!’, sādram ‘bad luck for!’, O A v. aunu, Y A v. ānuuīta ‘woe to!’):

OA v. huuō [*rušaēbiō] sqeūto
‘he is life-giving [for the meager ones]’ (Y. 29.7);

Y A v. ušta buuāt [ahmāi na′re]
‘may there be wished-for things/good luck [for this man]!’ (Y. 62.1).

6.4.5.5 Dative of agent

The dative is found with verbal adjectives in -iia-, -oia-, or -obha- (-tuua-), meaning ‘which should be done by somebody’:

OA v. aτ tā vaxšiā išŋtō
yō mazdāthā hīaṭeī [vidue]
‘thus, I shall speak, O (you) who wish to come, those (words) which should be paid attention to, even when [by someone who knows] (them)’ (Y. 30.1);

Y A v. miōrō yō nōit [kahmāi] aištī. draoxbō
‘Miōra, who (is) not to be deceived [by anybody]’ (Yt. 10.17).
6.4.6 Ablative

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

6.4.6.1 Ablative of separation

OAv. yā ātā rānā'āšāsāt ašāhūā
‘which shall keep them [from the sight] of Order’ (Y. 32.13);

āntarā vāsīng drāguuattā [haxmāng] ‘mūnīē
‘I am banning [from (their) following] all those possessed by the Lie’ (Y. 49.3).

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

YAv. [ātahmāt pudrāt] mīmārēxāsāt a
‘rid yourself [of this child] by destroying it!’ (V. 15.14);

ablative of separation plus parō ‘before, away from’:

YAv. hō nōtī . . . frānāmāte [0bāēsāt (parō daēuweēbiūō)]
‘he does not yield [(before the old gods) to (their) hostility]’ (Y. 57.18).

6.4.6.2 Ablative of comparison, difference and preference

This ablative is found with comparatives, with anīia- ‘other’ (tends to become a mere particle ‘other than’), and with verbs:

comparison:

YAv. vātō . . . hubāoēsī hubāoē sītarō [anīaēbiūō vātēbiūō]
‘a fragrant wind more fragrant [than other winds]’ (H. 2.7);

OPers. frārara maninyāy [afuvāyā]
‘I consider myself superior [to fear]’ (DNb 38);

with anīia-

OAv. anīisām [0bāhūmad ādras-cā managhas-cā]
‘other [than your fire and thought]’ (Y. 46.7);

YAv. anīēs [0bāsā yāt zaradūstrāt]
‘(to anybody) other [than you, Zarathustra]’ (V. 2.2).

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

YAv. uyīra zaosā [bīshītanbīūō]
‘those with strong(er) desires [than those hostile (to us)]’ (Yt. 13.31).

6.4.6.3 Ablative of time or place throughout which

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

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

OAv. d'bi 'as far as ... is concerned, to the extent one can' — YAv. ad'dri' (just) under; — OPers. anuv 'along, on (river)' — Av. a, YAv. -a 'all the way to, at (chez), out of, throughout' — haca 'from, in accordance with, on the part of' (also with 'fear') — OAv. hanar 'without' — YAv. mat 'with' — pa'dri 'from, away from, without' — pa'ti 'from on the top of, at, beside, without' — Av. parô 'before' — YAv. parag' 'aside from' — Av. parô, parê 'before, in front of, from, because of' — YAv. pasca 'after' — upôri 'in, throughout'.

6.4.6.5 Young Avestan ablative = genitive

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

haca [hauuaiids' tanuuo]
'away from [one's own body]' (V. 10.5) [cf. auui xa'epaiDiãs' tanuuo- p/acc. in section. 6.5.4.1];

fraq [atiaaghô] frasparat
'he jumped forth (away) [from the metal (pot)]' (Y.9.11).

6.4.7 Instrumental

The instrumental expresses means/instrument and accompaniment.

6.4.7.1 Instrumental of means

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

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

OAv. kô [ya] mə uxšie'ti nar'fsa'ti 0fåat
'who (is he) [through whom] the moon is (now) first waxing then waning' (Y. 44.3);

YAv. yô aššmam [sto'r0fåata snu0ša] ... jânti
'he who smites Wrath [with a stunning weapon]' (Y. 57.10);

OPers. imâ dahayâva [tayanâ] manâ [dâtâ] aparîyâyä
'these lands behaved [by/according to (that) which (is)] my [law]' (DB 1.23).
6.4.7.1a **Instrumental of space through which**

OAv. tōm adwānām . . . daēnā . . . [yā hū kār'tā] . . . *rūnāxšāt*

‘that road . . . [along which, well made], the vision-souls have walked’ (Y. 34.13);

YAv. *hunar* [quna paθa] aʾēti

‘the sun goes [along yonder path]’ (Yt. 13.16);

OPers. [viθīš-cā] *tayā-dīš* gaumāta haya *maguš adīnā*

*adat kāram gaōava avāstāyam*

‘and [throughout the houses/towns] which Gaumāta the Magian had taken from them,

I settled the people (back) in its place’ (DB 1.65–66).

6.4.7.1b **Instrumental of reason and cause**

OAv. vaŋhūs [qwitš] manaḡhō

‘[on account of not finding] a good thought’ (Y. 34.9);

YAv. yō gādā asrāwātī [qstā va tarō,mātī vā] ta mum pirī̄eti

‘he who (goes) without reciting the Gāthās [out of evilness or scorn] forfeits his body’

(N. 41).

6.4.7.1c **Instrumental of respect**

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

OAv. ārma’tīš vasāš l [utāīiti tiqūīsī]

‘Humility (the earth) has grown [with respect to *texture (and) *tension]’ (Y. 34.11);

YAv. [ama] ahnī aŋwawast̄omō

‘[in force] I am the most forceful’ (Yt. 14.3);

OPers. utā [abiš] nāviyā āha

‘and it (the Tigris) was *deep [with waters] (= in spate)’ (DB 1.85–86).

6.4.7.1d **Measure and price**

OAv. f'rašīm [vasnā] ha'ūšīm dā ahūm

‘you have (now) made the existence “juicy” (filled it with vitalising juices) [in

(exchange) value]’ (Y. 34.15);

YAv. ʾimām zām višāwāya [aḏwā ʿōrišwā] ahūm māṣīhēnī

‘he made this earth go apart (to make it) [by one-third] larger’ (V. 2.11);

OPers. XLR araś̄šī [baršnā]

‘forty cubits [in depth]’ (DSf 26).

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

month name (X) in gen.-dat. + māhāyā ‘of the month’ + numeral (Y) + raucabiš

*θakata āha*

‘of the month of X, by Y days, (the days) had passed’ = ‘on the Yth of X’,
but
month name (X) in gen.-dat. + māhayā I rauca+ əakatam āha
'of the month of X, one day had passed' = 'on the first of X'.

6.4.7.2 Instrumental of accompaniment and dissociation/deprivation

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

6.4.7.2.2 Accompaniment

OAv. aðrā tī [ar'drāš] idī
'you, go there [with the (heavenly) arbiters]!' (Y. 46.16);

YAv. [x'ar'əaēbiō] pascaēta āstaianta
'afterward they should approach [with foods]' (V. 3.18).

6.4.7.2.2b Dissociation/deprivation

OAv. parīs vā [vīspāš] əavox'mā [daēuwaš]-cā
'we have (always) said you (are) beyond [others], both [old gods] and ...' (Y. 34.5);

YAv. vī [daēuwaš] ... sarān mruīē
'I forswear the company [with the old gods]' (Y. 12.4).

6.4.7.3 Instrumental with adpositions

A few adpositions govern the instrumental, some of them also other cases: Av., OPers. hadā/hadā 'together) with'; – Av. haōrā 'in the same place as, together with'; – maq 'together) with'; – pətī, OPers. pətīy 'at, close to, in, throughout'; – pasca 'after'.

6.4.7.4 Case replacements

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

yō yūdīēti ... [haōa daēuwaēbiiō]
'who fights ... [with the old gods]' (Y. 57.17).

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

'whom [all the creatures] of the Life-giving Spirit recall' (Yt. 8.48).

6.4.8 Locative

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

OAv. [0βahmi] à [dqm] nipiţjhê
‘you are (now) guarding (it) there [in your abode]’ (Y. 49.10);

YAv. x‘ahmi dqm x‘ahmi ciōre
‘in his own house, in his own lineage’ (Vr. 14.2);

[frāiūre aiiqn] bauudtii hubaôrō
‘On a future day he becomes lucky’ (Aog. 53);

OPers. pasāva-diš auranazdā manā [dastayā] akunauš
‘then Ahuramazdā placed them [in] my [hand]’ (DB 4.35).

6.4.8.2 Locative of prize won

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

OAv. yōi zaznti [varghau srauwhi]
‘who shall be leaving (the others) behind = win [in (the race for) good renown]’
(Y. 30.10);

YAv. zazuś [vīspaēšu varghuśu]
‘having won [in (the race for) all good things]’ (P. 26);

tā yuōiaēnti pašanāhu [hauwe asahi ūlhrēca]
‘(the fravashis) fight in battles (each) [for (her) own place and settlement]’ (Yt.13.67).

6.4.8.3 Locative with adpositions

A few adpositions govern the locative, some of them also other cases:

OAv. dēi ‘in, on, regarding’; – OAv. ā ‘in, on’; – Av. ākā ‘in the presence of, in view of’
(Skjørve 2005a: 203–5); – OAv. pārī ‘among’; – Av. pātī ‘on; at, in return for’; – YAv. upa ‘in’.

6.5 Uses of pronouns and pronominal forms

6.5.1 Personal pronouns

6.5.1.1 1st and 2nd persons, tonic forms

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

OAv. [azōm] -cī ... [0βqm] mājihē ...
‘[I] for my part (now) consider [you] ...’ (Y. 29.10);

YAv. [tūm] nō āhraom zaotae-ste ... [azōm] ...
‘[you], O priest, (are ordered) to be our libator ... (while) [I] ...’ (Vr. 3.7);
OPers. [adam] dārayavaux xšāyātiva vazarka
'[I] (am) Darius, the great king' (DB 1).

6.5.1.2 3rd person

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

6.5.2.2a ha-, ta-

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

OAv. [huuō] [t̥ing] frō.gā . . . carat
'he shall make [them] the lead bulls' (Y. 46.4).

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

YAv. [hō] zī asti . . . yō ahurō mazdā
'for [he] is . . . , (he) who is Ahura Mazda' (Vr. 2.7);

kō [hō] āghat . . . yō . . . [hō] bā āghat . . . yō
'who may [he] be . . . who . . . will be [he] . . . who' (V. 7.78–79).

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

6.5.2.2b The oblique pronominal stem a-

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

OAv. [ahmā]-cā xšādṛā jasaṯ
'and [to him/this one] he shall come with command' (Y. 30.7);

YAv. sruuaēna [aēšam] safāghō zaraniia
'benailed are [their] hooves, golden' (Y. 57.27).

6.5.2.2c i-, hi-/shi-, di-

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

OAv.,
• proleptic:

yōi [im] f'rašīm kar'naon ahūm
'(those) who shall make [it] perfect, (this) existence' (Y. 30.9);
• anaphoric:

\[ a[t \text{ hi}] \text{ [a]ii\text{a}] fraaru\text{ar\text{t}a}\]
\( '\text{but [she] chose among [those two]}' \) (Y. 29.7);

• both proleptic and anaphoric:

\[ nöit \text{ t\text{a}} \text{ [i\text{m}]} xśnău\text{s} vă\text{pi\text{o}} \ldots zara\text{u\text{st\text{v\text{m}}} \ldots} \]
\[ h\text{i\text{a}}\text{t} \text{ [h\text{öi}]} \text{ [i\text{m}] \ldots zëi\text{s}’n\text{ë} vă\text{z\text{a}}\]
\( '\text{the *trembler did, for (all) that, not favour [him], Zarathustra, when [his] two draught animals (were) *angry at [him]}' \) (Y. 51.12);

YAv. pascaëțta [diś] fraspaie\text{ti mi\text{ðr\text{o}}} 
\( '\text{then Mi\text{ðra casts [them (masc.)] away}' (Yt. 10.43); \)

OPers. xšaça\text{m} \ldots adam[-\text{šim}] gă\text{d\text{av\text{a}}} avă\text{st\text{ă\text{y\text{a}}}y\text{a}} 
\( '\text{the royal command . . . I set [it] down in its place' (DB 1.61–63);} \)

\[ abi\text{car\text{îs}} \ldots tayă[-\text{diś}] ga\text{um\text{ă\text{t\text{a}}} . . . ad\text{în\text{a}}}\]
\( '\text{the pastures that Gaum\text{ă\text{t\text{a}}} had taken [from them]}' \) (DB 1.64–66).

OPers. sing. -\text{šim} is also used as instr. -\text{abl.}:

\[ k\text{ăra[-\text{šim}] hacă d\text{ar\text{ra\text{m}}} at\text{arsa}}\]
\( '\text{the army/people feared [him] strongly}' (DB 1.43–53). \)

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

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

6.5.1.3a Nominative

OAv. nŭźd\text{om} mazd\text{ă} yehi\text{a} [t\text{u}] dâ\text{r\text{r\text{m}}} 
\( '\text{the fee whose depository [you] are, O Mazd\text{ă}}' \) (Y. 34.13);

\[ a[t \text{ y\text{ũs}]} dâ\text{eu\text{w\text{a}}} vĭśpă\text{ghö ak\text{ăt} manan\text{g\text{hö} st\text{ă cî\text{r\text{r\text{m}}} \ldots}}‘\text{but [you], O old gods, are all the *seed (issued) from an evil thought}’ \) (Y. 32.3);

YAv. à [t\text{u}] mĕ a\text{et\text{a\text{i\text{a}}} za\text{o\text{ro\text{rai\text{a}}} fra\text{ń\text{h\text{a}r\text{\text{oï\text{i}}}z}}} 
\( '\text{then may [you] partake of this my libation}' \) (Yt. 5.91).

6.5.1.3b Accusative

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

OAv. aśă ka\text{t} [0βă] dăr\text{’sănă} 
\( '\text{shall I see [you] through Order, I wonder}' \) (Y. 28.5) [aśă raised];

\[ ź\text{uu\text{š} [nă] am\text{t\text{ar\text{’}}} hăn\text{t\text{u} . . ră\text{t\text{a\text{i\text{o}}} \ldots}}\]
\( '\text{let gifts appear among [us]}' \) (Y. 33.7)
YAv. aoi [məm] ... stūōi yaθa [mā] ... stauaun
'praise [me] ... like they will praise [me]!' (Y. 9.2);

mā ciš pa'rūuô bû'dīūaeta [nō]
'may no one notice [us] first!' (Y. 9.21) [octosyllabic verse];

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

6.5.1.3c Genitive-dative

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

YAv. ašāia [nō] pe'tī jamīāt
'may he in (re)turn come [to us] in Orderly fashion!' (Y. 7.24);

OPers. vašna auramazdāha utā[-mai]
'by the greatness of Ahuramazdā and [me]' (DB 4.46).

6.5.1.3d Ablative

OAv. yō [θbaβ] ... arsūtām ... yazāt āpā
'I who shall sacrifice away [from you] lack of listening' (Y. 33.4);

OPers. tayā hacā[-md] ātarsa
'. . . which feared [me]' (DPe 9).

6.5.2 Possessive pronouns

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

OAv. [mī "ruuā] gūs-cā aziiā
'[my breath-soul] and that of the fertile cow' (Y. 29.5);

nōt [nāmān]... hacintē
'[our (= your and my) thoughts] are not in agreement' (Y. 45.2);

tōm [ahmākāiš azdīš]-cā uštānāiš-cā yazamaide
'to him we are sending our sacrifice together with [our bones] and life breaths'
(Y. 37.3);

YAv. [yōsmākām yasnāi]-cā ... [ahmākām hauuaŋ'hāi]-cā
'for [your sacrifice], for [our] *well-being' (Y. 14.1).

6.5.3 Demonstrative pronouns

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

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

\[
\text{YAv. \{imam\} haomam... \alpha iise ye\'sti}
\]
‘by my sacrificing I harness [this] haoma’ (Y. 22.1-2);

\[
\text{usta bui\'at \{ahmai\} nu\'re}
\]
‘may there be wished-for things [for this man]’ (Y. 62.1);

\[
\text{\alpha ntar \-ca druwan\'am \a nn\r\'utu \{ai\ia\} \a ntar \.u\'xu\'ti}
\]
‘he forswore the Lieful One with [this] forswearing: . . . ’ (Y. 19.15);

\[
\text{pa\'ti t\'e . . . \{im\}\ sru\'a va\'e\'i\a\'i\a\'i\a\}i\a\}
\]
‘to you I exhibit [these] nails’ (V. 17.9);

\[
\text{OPers. m\a m aumazd\da p\a tuv h\a c\a g\a s\a t\a}
\]
\[
\text{ut\a\-ma\i ya\'il ut\a \{im\a\} da\h\a y\a\um}
\]
‘may Ahuramazd\a protect me from evil, both my house and [this] (my) land!’ (DNA 51-55);

\[
\text{ava \{ah\h\y\a\y\a\} dipiy\a na\i y nipi\'stam}
\]
‘that is not written in [this] inscription’ (DB 4. 47-52).

6.5.3.2 The near-deictic a\h\e\s\-la\h\e\-

In its general use in the ritual and narrative texts, this pronoun overlaps to some degree with ima-la-

\[
\text{YAv. \{a\h\e\t\a\h\} a\g\h\u\a\o\\a ya\'t\a ast\w\a\u\'\a\i\t}
\]
‘in [this] bony existence’ [the existence of living beings with bones];

\[
\text{\{a\h\e\t\a\\} vaca m\a d\a i\a\a i\a\a y\h\a\a ha}
\]
‘intoxicate yourself with [this] word!’ (Vr. 8.1).

It is frequently used with 2nd-person deixis:

\[
\text{YAv. \{a\h\e\t\a\h\\} zao\r\a p\a\i ti ju\i\a\a t\a n\a\a a\h\u\r\a\e a\h\u r\a h e}
\]
‘may [this] libation (of yours) arrive, yours, O lady of the Lord’ (Y. 68.1);

\[
\text{\{a\h\e\t\a\h\\} -ca t\'e vaco}
\]
‘and [these] words of yours’ (Yt. 14.46).
The majority of occurrences of this pronoun is in the legal texts. Most of the contexts are of the type 'how should this/these X(s) behave in the case of this Y? The meaning of the pronoun is therefore very often 'the X in question, this X we are discussing, the aforementioned X'. The pronoun seems sometimes to be close to ha- in function, cf. hō zī astī and aēšū zī astī, probably with just a slight difference in deixis:

YAv. caiiō æ‘t [æ‘tae] raocē aγlōn . . .  
yōi aiuma ā raocaii‘ente [aēτaē’suwa] varrfśuwa  
yō yimō kār‘nāaō  
'but which were [these] lights  
that shine hither in that way in [these] *enclosures  
that Yima made?' (V. 2.39);

OPers. mām auramazdā pātuv . . .  
[aita] adam auramazdām jadīyānī [aita] - māy auramazdā dadātuv  
'may Ahuramazdā protect me . . .  
[this] I ask Ahuramazdā for; may Ahuramazdā give me [this]!' (DNA 51–55);

contrasting aēta- vs. aiuma-

YAv. mā mē [aētaa] Ẓaōraii‘a fraq‘harantu . . .  
nōṯū [aiuma] Ẓaōra tah. više yā māwōōia fraq‘harantī  
'let them not partake of [this] libation of mine . . .  
I do not accept [those] libations of which they partake for my sake' (Yt. 5.92–93).

6.5.3.3 The demonstrative pronoun huuō, ana-

The pronoun huuō can have 2nd-person deixis (cf. Jamison 1992, Watkins 2000):

OAv. “ruuāzištō [huuō] nā . . . pēti, jamiiā  
'[you there], who gladden (us) the most, may you *in return come to us' (Y. 36.2).

The pronominal stem ana- may have 2nd-person and 3rd-person deixis, with contextually derogatory reference:

OAv. [anāiš] vā nōīṯ . . . aṣam-cā yānāīš zar‘naēmā  
'may we not anger you, as well as Order and (your) thought, the best, with [those] requests (to you)' (Y. 28.9);

[anāiš] ā manahūm ahūm mar‘ngduīī  
'by [those] actions/utterances [(of yours)] you are destroying (here and now) the existence of thought' (Y. 53.6);

YAv. aōda ażām-cq . . . daeuuaaīš sarwem vīmruiīē  
yādā [anāiš] vīāumruiūtā  
'and thus do I too renounce union with the old gods,  
like (Zarathustra) used to renounce (union) [with them]' (Y. 12.6).

6.5.3.4 The far-deictic aiuma-

In addition to its local-temporal deixis (see on ima- and aēta-, above), this pronoun can refer to well-known facts in the other world. In Old Persian, it also serves as emphatic or anaphoric 3rd-person pronoun (see also section 6.4.1.1):
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**6.5.4 Reflexive pronouns**

Examples:

**OA v.** yöng [x'ā] “ruuā [x'ā]-cā xraodat daēnā
‘whom [their own] breath-soul and [their own] vision soul will make *shudder’ (Y. 46.11);

**YAv.** [x'a] daēna niś'rinuitā acištā ap'he
‘may [his own] vision soul give him over to the worst existence!’ (V. 5.62);

**O P e r s.** [uvaipasiyahayā] dāršam x̱ayamma a'niy
‘I am firmly in command [of myself]’ (DNb 14–15);

**uṭā pārsam uṭā mādām . . . [hauv] ąyasatā
‘(it was) [he] (who) took both Persia and Media’ (DB 1.46.–47);

**tayaiy paruva x̱ałyōiyā yātā āha [avašam] avā naiy astiy kartam yādā manā . . . kartam
‘the former kings, for as long as they were – [they] have not done as much as I have done’ (DB 4.50–52).

**6.5.4.1 Use of tanūr- ‘body’ as ‘self’**

In all three languages, tanūr- ‘body’ is used in the sense of ‘own body, self’:

**OA v.** auuaenatā . . . auuar'nā vieiūahitā namām naraśm narām [x'a.xiūiī tanu'uīī]
‘observe . . . the *preferences of discrimination (made) man-by-man [for his own body]’;

**YAv.** auui [x'aepātiīiūīī tanu'uīī]
‘upon [[their) own bodies]’ (Yt. 10.23);

**O P e r s.** dārayavaus haya manā pītā pasā [tanūm] mām mašštam akunauš
‘my father, Darius, made me the greatest after [[(him)self]’ (XPf 30–32).
6.5.5 Reciprocal expressions and 'other'

Reciprocity is usually expressed by repeating aniia-‘one . . . (an-/the) other’ (cf. Jamison 1997; see also section 4.6.10):

OAv. ašā vā [aniio anim] viiuneghatī
‘(travelling) through Order, let [one] of you *illuminate/overcome [the other]= [one another]’ (Y. 53.5);

YAv. vaēšqin [aniio aniehe] urnuunem aifī. vaēndṭī
‘of whom [one] looks at the soul [of the other]’ (Yt. 13.84);

OPers. [aniya aniyan] naiy jāṭiṭy
‘[the one] does not kill [the other]’ = ‘they do not kill one another’ (DSe 35–36);

[aniyan] uṣabārim akunam [aniyahayā] asam frānayam
‘[the one = some] I mounted on camels, [for the other = for some] I brought a horse’
(DB 1.85–87).

6.5.6 Interrogative pronouns

Examples:

OAv. [ciš] ahī [kahiiā] ahī
‘[who] are you? [whose] are you?’ (Y. 43.7);

YAv. [kō] mām yazāte . . . [kahmāi] tawādātum azām baxšāni
‘[who] will sacrifice to me? [to whom] shall I give health of (his) body?’ (Yt. 10.108).

6.5.7 Indefinite pronouns

Examples:

OAv. af ḫuwiō . . . [kas-ciť] afā huzāntuș
‘thus, he there . . . [whoever] by (his) Order (is) of good lineage’ (Y. 49.5);

YAv. [kum-ciť] vā hubaoštōtmanam "ruwaranam
‘or [whichever] of most fragrant plants’ (V. 8.2);

[kajhe kajhe] apayāṭre
‘in [each and every] outlet’ (Yt. 5.101–2);

[kajhe kahiiā-ciť] druwaṭqm
‘[of each and everyone] of the ones possessed by the Lie’ (Y. 61.4);

pita puOras-ca . . . [kataras-ciť]
‘father and son [each]’ = ‘both father and son’ (Y. 9.5).

With relatives:

OAv. tācā . . . ašāmune cōiš
[yā] zī [cīcā] vahistā
‘and those (things) you assigned to the sustainer of Order, namely, [ whichever] are the best ones’ (Y. 47.5);
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ustā ahmāī
[yahmāī] ustā [kahmāicīt] . . . mazdā dāiūt ahurō
'wished-for (things are) in the wish for him,
[to whomever] Mazdā Ahura shall give (them)' (Y. 43.1).

Negated:

OAv. aēšem aēnayham [naē-cī] viđuāt aojōi
'of these sins I declare I know [none] (at all)' (Y. 32.7);

[mā cīš] aō vō . . . gūštā
'but let [no one] among you keep listening to' (Y. 31.18);

[kaš-cīy nāy] adjaršnās [cīš-cīy] 0a'stanaiy
'there was no man . . . nor anybody of our family, who . . .
no body dared say anything' (DB 1.48-49, 53).

Without particle:

OAv. kudda vēdā yezī [cahīiā] xēaioiā
'when shall I know whether you are in command [of anything/anybody]' (Y. 48.9).

6.6 Uses of the numerals

The numerals '100' and higher take the genitive plural of a following noun:

YAv. [catakrō parānā] viđāraiiōtīš awui paθqm kataras-cīt
‘you should hold out [four feathers] toward each of the (four) roads’ (Yt. 14.44);

nauuatīm [upāzanantam] upāzōtī aśpae aśtraiia
‘he shall administer ninety [strokes] with the horse-whip!’ (V. passim).

The nom.-acc. sing. of ordinals (in OPers. with patiy) is used in the meaning of ‘for
the -th time’:

OAv. nōt [dēbitūm] . . . ahūm mapāśištāt
‘not [a second time] should he destroy the existence’ (Y. 45.1);

YAv. [paœrīm/bitūm0ritūm] x'arānō apanomata
‘[a first/second/third time] the Fortune turned away’ (Yt. 19.35-37);

OPers. [patiy cītyamduvītyam] hamīcīyā hāegnmatā
‘the conspirators having gathered [for the third/second time]’ (DB 2.43, 57-58).

6.7 Uses of comparative and superlative

6.7.1 Comparative

Comparison (‘than’) is expressed by comparative + ablative (see section 6.4.6.2) or com­
parative + yāda (see section 8.2.3.6).
6.7.1.1 Comparative + positive in contrasting pairs

The comparative is used together with the positive of another adjective to form a contrasting pair, in which the first member in the comparative is depicted as superior to the second member in the positive: 'X'er and Y' = 'X and, on the other hand/in contrast, (the poorer) Y' (Humbach 1991, I § 15.2.1):

OAv. yaiš (spaniš) -comp. *suti mrawat yəm (anגrəm) -pos.
‘of which two, [the life-giving one] shall tell (him),
whom (you know as) [the Evil one]’ (Y. 45.2);

OPers. haya [tauviyā]-comp. tayam [skauδim]-pos. naiy ja‘tiy
‘[the mighty one] does not kill [the poor one]’ (DSe 37-44).

6.7.1.2 Comparative in compounds

The comparative is found in an elliptic type of compounds: ‘...-er than (those of) X’:

YAv. bāzawua *auruša aspō. [staoiiiehš]
‘arms, white (and) [thicker] (than those) of a horse’ (Yt. 5.7).

As the first member of a compound, a comparative may be replaced by the positive, but maintain itsrection:

YAv. [uyra]. zaoš [tbišiüöbiö]-abl.
‘(the fravashis) with [strong(er)] desires [than those hostile] (to us)’ (Yt. 13.31);

auwi dānumq... yə hətiti [paovriiō]. dāta [paovriiō]. fraδbəršta
ašnuat-ca ašnuat-ca
‘those creations that (were) those established [first], fashioned forth [first]
(= earlier) than the sky, the water . . . ’ (Vr. 7.4) [cf. para, parō ‘before’ + abl., see section 6.4.6.4].

6.7.2 Superlative

The superlative is most commonly used to present something as possessing a quality in the highest degree, ‘the most A’, or to single out one thing/person from others of the same class: ‘A is the biggest of all A’s’ (see section 6.4.4.5).

The superlative is also used in contrast to an adjective in the positive or to depict something (in the superlative) as vastly superior to another thing (in the positive; Humbach 1991, I § 15.2.2):

OAv. yō drəguuδ -pos. acištā vasəziio1
ašn maniūš [sponištō] -sup.
‘you, [who are possessed by the Lie], would perform the worst (words/actions);
[the most life-giving] spirit . . . ’ (Y. 30.5);

yō vā [kasšuš] -pos. aŋnaghu ã [mazištqm] -sup. ɯɨɐmaitε bůjim
‘or (someone) who for a [small] sin shall incur the [greatest] expiation’ (Y. 31.13).
7 SYNTAX III: THE VERB

The Iranian verb has the categories of tense and aspect, mood, and voice. Finite forms have the categories of number and person, while non-finite forms behave like nouns (infinitives) or adjectives (participles).

The negations, Av. nō dai, ŌAv. naēdā, YAv. naēdā, nānau, OPers. naīy, mainly negate statements and mā (mādā) commands and exhortations.

7.1 Tenses

The main difference in syntax between Old Avestan, on the one hand, and Young Avestan and Old Persian, on the other, is in the use of the tenses, while that of the moods is largely the same.

The Old Avestan verbal system is based upon the opposition of the present (imperfective) aspect, which is indefinite (durative, repetitive), vs. the aorist (perfective) aspect, which is definite (punctual, ingressive, terminated); that of Young Avestan and Old Persian is based mainly upon the opposition present vs. past.

The common past narrative tense is the present injunctive (augment-less) in Young Avestan and the augmented imperfect in Old Persian.

In Avestan, an action can be characterised as definitely having taken place in the past by the optional use of the augment. In Old Persian, the augment is an intrinsic part of past tenses.

The state reached after a past event is expressed in Avestan by the perfect in its old function of resultative-stative.

In Old Avestan, the aorist expresses, on the one hand, anteriority in relation to the present or preterite, on the other punctual or ‘immediate’, both incipient and concluding, action vs. ongoing or unfinished action, expressed by the present.

In both Young Avestan and Old Persian, repeated or habitual past action (cf. English ‘he would go’) can be expressed by the optative. It then takes the augment, regularly in Old Persian and occasionally in Young Avestan (see section 7.2.2.2).

Thus, all three Old Iranian languages possess the following basic tenses:

• present: ‘he does, he is doing’;
• preterite: ‘he did, he was doing’;
• perfect: ‘he has (always, never) done’ or ‘he did/it was done/it happened and now is’ (present perfect);
• pluperfect in the function of preterite of the present perfect ‘he had done and now was,’ etc.

The future is usually expressed by the subjunctive (in Old Avestan by the subjunctive of the present or aorist depending on the aspect), but also by the special future stem in -hia-l-šīa-.

7.1.1 Present indicative

The present indicative is the tense used to describe events that are currently taking place, whether they always take place or only now. It is also the ‘performative’ tense (especially in the 1s and 1p), used, notably, in ritual contexts to describe the actions in the process of being performed by the speaker or someone referred to by the speaker.
It is used in main (declarative, interrogative) clauses and subordinate clauses of actions or situations that obtain in general (also eternal truths), but with focus on their current or incipient validity; actions or situations that obtain at the moment of utterance, e.g. during the performance of the ritual; and other actions or situations that are concurrently taking place:

OAv. *kō yā mā [uxšii'ēti nōr'f sa'ti] 0βaτ
'who (is he) through whom the moon [is (now)] first [waxing] then [waning]' (Y. 44.3);

aēβιτō yōi 'ruuātāš drūjō ašahiiā gaēōdā [vīmōr'νcātē]
'... to those who by (their) deals with the Lie [are (now) destroying] the living beings of Order' (Y. 31.1);

ahiīā [yāsā] nāmaghā ... vāhētuś xratūm manahō
'in homage to him, I [am (here and now) asking] for the wisdom of good thought’ (Y. 28.1);

YAv. vasō.xšaOrō [ahi] haoma ...
pe'uxudām [par'sah] vācīm
'[you are] in command at will, O Haoma ...
[you are asking] a word correctly spoken' (Y. 9.25);

apām napās' tā āpō ... sōlOrō.baxāt [vī.baxātī]
'Apām Napāt [distributes] those waters distributed by settlements' (Yt. 8.34);

[nāismē] daēuād (for daēuā)
'I (herewith, by my utterance) [blame/scorn] the old gods' (Y. 12.1);

aiiaōzdīia pascaēta bauuāntī
'after that they become ritually impure' (V. 3.14);

OPers. sakā tayaiy xaudām tigrān [barā'tīy]
'the Scythians who wear a pointed hat' (DB 5.22);

martiya taya patiy martiyām 0ātīy ava mām [naiy varnavatiy]
yātā ubānām hadugām [āxšnavatiy]
'I [do not believe] what a man says against (another) man
until I [hear] (= have heard) the testimony of both (of them)' (DNb 21–24) [cf. section 6.4.3.3];

aita adam yānam [jādīyāmīy] auramazdām
'this I [am requesting] of Ahuramazdā (as) a request' (DPd 20–21).

7.1.1.1 Av. present indicative with 'before' = past

OAv. *parā 'before' and YAv. *pa'ruua - 'former, earlier' sometimes transfer the action of the present indicative into the past:

OAv. drūjō āīses [hōis.piūā] tamauā [parā]
'in the *harness of the Lie [you (plur.) *very much fattened] (your) bodies [before = of old]' (Y. 53.6) (hōis.piūā: intensive hai-śpī- < spī- 'fatten')?

YAv. yōi [pa'ruua] miθram [družiini]
'who [betrayed] Miθra [before]' (Yt. 10.45).
7.1.1.2 Young Avestan, Old Persian present asti for imperfect

In both Young Avestan and Old Persian, asti is occasionally used instead of the (rare) imperfect:

*YAv.* kauwaēm x'arəmō ... yazamē de ...
*yaf* [asti] ahurahe mazdā, yada dāmān dēdeqt
'we sacrifice to the Fortune of the poets ... which [was] Ahura Mazda’s when he set in place the creations (Yt. 19.9–10);

*OPers.* yadā taya adam xšāyaṭiya abavam
[asti] a'ītar aīta dhāvāva ... ayauda
'when I became king there [were] among these lands (some that) were in turmoil’ (XPh 29–32).

7.1.1.3 Old Persian present for continuing state

In Old Persian, the present is found with adverbs denoting time in the past to express states that still obtain in the present:

*hacē parwiyatāh āmātā [a'mahēy]*
'from the beginning [we have been] distinguished' (DB 1.7–8).

7.1.2 Present injunctive and imperfect

7.1.2.1 Present injunctive

In Old Avestan, the present injunctive is used for general (durative or iterative) actions or states typically taking place either in the divine or the human sphere, mostly without specific time reference ('does' or 'would do, used to do'):

*mazdā [dadāt] ahurō háruwatā amoś'tātas-cāl būrōš ā ...*
'Ahura Mazda [(always) gives] out of (his) plenty of wholeness and immortality' (Y. 31.21);

*adā tašā gūš [pēś'sat] aśēm*
'then the fashioner of the cow [will (usually) ask] (or: asked?) Order’ (Y. 29.2);

*tā [dsb'naotā] maśim hūjīātōš*
'thereby [you (plur.) deceive] mortal man of good living’ (Y. 32.5).

7.1.2.2 Narrative past

The common past narrative tense is the present injunctive (augment-less imperfect) in Young Avestan and the augmented imperfect in Old Persian. It also provides the background description for actions in the present injunctive. The Old Avestan texts contain too few examples of the augmented imperfect to give a precise idea of its use, but it may simply transpose descriptive and repetitive present indicative actions and states into the past. Evidence in Old Avestan for the use of the present injunctive as past narrative tense is uncertain:

*OAv.* kadā [ajēn] mūrōm ahīā madahīā
'when [did] the urine of his intoxication [(use to) smash] ...?' (Y. 48.10);
"OfJoi [as] ārmātiš
'Humility [was] with you' (Y. 31.9);

YAv. yō [as] vər’ōrajstomō
'who [was] the most obstruction-smashing' (Y. 9.15);

ār [mrəo] ahurō mazdā
'then Ahura Mazda [said].

In Old Persian, the (augmented) imperfect is a narrative tense referring to actions and events in the past, both successive actions and events and actions and events anterior to other actions and events in the past:

iyam gaumāta haya maguš [a-duːrjiya] avarō [a-0a'ha]
'this (picture represents) Gaumāta the Magian; he lied (and) said thus' (DBb);

yadā ka’bājiya mudrayam [a-shiyava] pasāva . . .
'when Cambyses [had gone] to Egypt, then . . .' (DB 1.33);

auramazdā-maiy upastām [a-barā] yātā ima xṣaçām [ham-a-dārayaï]
'Ahuramazdā [bore] me aid until [I (had) consolidated] this empire' (DB 1.24–26).

7.1.2.3 Negation and prohibition

The negated present injunctive expresses commands and exhortations to all persons, sometimes coordinated with the imperative:

• 1st person:

OPers. hacā aniyanā [mā tərsam]  
'[let me not fear] another!' (DPe 20–21);

• 2nd person:

YAv. [mā] dim [pəɾ’sō] yim pəṛsahi
'[don’t ask] him whom you are asking!' (H. 2.17);

OPers. pədīm tayām rāstām [mā avehwərdə]
'[do not leave] the straight path!' (DNb 58–60).

• 3rd person:

OAv. [mā] ciš at və dəwVuiau maqras-cə [gəštə]
'but [let no] one among you [keep listening] to the poems of the one possessed by the Lie!' (Y. 31.18);

[mā] aumidua a’pē [d’bəuwaia1]  
'[may no] one who does not know [keep deceiving] (us) hereafter!' (Y. 31.17);

YAv. [mā] ciš [barə] æewu yag’ristom  
'[let no] one [carry] alone what is dead' (V. 3.14).
7.1.3 Future in -Ši-a-

The functions of the future are similar to those of the prospective subjunctive, indicating imminent future, intention, or obligation. In Old Avestan, the rare future is found in strophe-initial statements only:

\[
\text{aš [frauwaxšiia]}
\]

'and so [I shall proclaim]' (Y. 45.6);

\[
\text{YAv. nōt huškō huškāi [sraššiire]}
\]

'dry (matter) [shall] not [be mixed] into dry (matter)' (V. 8.34);

The future is often contrasted with the past and present:

\[
\text{YAv. aēšqm uxdanqm . . . yāš yauwa fra-ca vaœce}
\]

\[
\text{fra-ca mruite [fra]-ca [vaxšiire]}
\]

'of these utterances which (instr. for nom.) have ever been uttered, are being uttered, and [will be uttered]' (Y. 19.10).

Here, Old Avestan uses the aorist subjunctive (see Y. 29.4 in section 6.3.3).

7.1.4 Aorist

7.1.4.1 Aorist indicative

The augmented aorist denotes the immediate, completed, past (Hoffmann 1967, 153–55). The few Old Avestan forms are used about divine utterances, ritual acts and oral tradition, in statements and in questions:

\[
\text{ahurahiia zi aš vē mazdā}
\]

\[
\text{yasīūm-cā vahm-cā vahištām [a-māhmēdi]}
\]

'for, thus, [we have thought] (= made up our minds about) the sacrifice and hymn (as) the best (thing) for you (all)' (Y. 35.7);

\[
\text{nū ziš cašmnī [vī-ā-dar-sēm]}
\]

'for [I] just now [caught sight] of it in (my) eye' (Y. 45.8);

\[
\text{aš tā maniū pa-ruiūē}
\]

\[
\text{yā yāmā x’safnā [a-sruaṭtēm]}
\]

'thus, those two spirits/inspirations in the beginning, who [have been heard of] (as) “the twin sleeps” (= sleeping twin foetuses)' (Y. 30.3).

7.1.4.2 Aorist injunctive

While the temporal reference of the Old Avestan present injunctive is relatively clear, that of the unaugmented aorist injunctive is more difficult to determine. The main problem is whether a given form refers to action already completed at the time of the ‘now’ or whether it is just starting. The aorist injunctive probably does not refer to an action that took place at a specific moment in the past, but, at most, to an action that took place at an unspecified time in the past, e.g. for the first time, ‘aorist of creation’.

It is often accompanied by present indicative or present injunctive or even periphrastic constructions with the present participle, which give the context in which the aorist injunctive took or has taken place.
7.1.4.2a Aorist injunctive expressing anteriority

The function of anteriority (to the main verb) is seen clearly in a few instances in subordinate clauses:

\[\text{aṭ} əbā mēṣēhī pā'ruūm mazādā yazūm stōi . . .}
\[vag̣hōsē p'tarēm manag̣hō}
\[hīaṭ əbā [hēm] caśmaṇī [ə'graḅom]}

'thus, I (now have begun to) think-aor.inj. of you as being the first, O Mazdā, . . .
(yet) youthful, father of the good thought –
since [I have (just now) grasped] -aor.inj. you in (my) eye’ (Y. 31.8);

hīaṭ mēzdēm zarāduštrō magauaабīīō [cōišt] parā
garō d'mānē ahūrō mazādā jasat paurūiō

'the fee which Zarathustra [had assigned]-aor. inj. before to the participants in the gift exchange,
in the House of Song, Ahura Mazdā (always) comes-pres. inj. (forward for/with it as) the first (in line)’ (Y. 51.15).

7.1.4.2b Aorist injunctive expressing future

There is one (apparent) instance of an aorist injunctive being accompanied by a future time reference (future perfect):

\[yastā daēu̲u̲ng aparō . . . [tarē,mašt]}

'(he) who, on account of that, in the future [shall have despised] the old gods’
(Y. 45.11).

7.1.4.2c Contrasting aspects of present and aorist injunctive

In Old Avestan, present injunctive and aorist injunctive forms are often contrasted, with clear aspectual difference:

\[aiiā nōi tērō [visiitā] daēu̲u̲ng-cina̲h]
\[hīaṭ īś d'boomā . . . upā,jasat]
\[hīaṭ va'rūndō acistōn manō]

‘especially the old gods [did] not (then) [discriminate]-aor.inj. correctly between these two,
because deception kept coming over-pres.inj. them, so that they would prefer-pres.inj. the worst thought’ (Y. 30.6);

\[aṭ-cā hōi [scaṇtā] . . . yasnaas-cā]
\[. . . dāţhō ər'zūš paōō l]
yam daēnām ahūrō saošiianātō dādāt

‘and so [let them (now) start pursuing]-aor. imp. . . . the sacrifices (to him), (Mazdā,)
. . . (which are) the straight paths of the gift (awaiting) the vision-soul which Ahura (always) establishes-pres. inj. (as) that of the revitaliser’ (Y. 53.2).

7.1.4.2d Mythical events

The aorist injunctive is used to describe mythical events, as well as human actions in the past. This use of the aorist injunctive is found in cosmological contexts, often to denote the first occurrence of an act, later repeated in the sacrifice:
kas-nā x’ōng strôm-cā [dāt] aduānām
‘who, I wonder, (first) [established]-aor.inj. the road of the sun and of the stars?’ (Y. 44.3);

yaōa tuā i ahura.mazda [mōnghā]-cā
vaocas]-cā [dās]-cā [varō]-cā yā vohū
adōā tōi dad’mahī-pres. ind.
‘in the same way that you, O Ahura Mazda, (for the first time?) [thought] them [spoke], [established], and [produced]-aor.inj. (those) which (are) good (thoughts, etc.), in that way we are (here and now) establishing-pres. ind. them for you’ (Y. 39.4).

7.1.4.3 Negated aorist injunctive to express prohibition

The aorist injunctive is used with the prohibitive negation mā to express ‘do not (start)!’, often coordinated with the imperative:

OAv. huxšadārā xšāntam
[mā] nō duš². xšadārā [xšānta]
‘let (now)] those of good command command-aor.imp. (us)!
[let not] those of bad command [(now) command]-aor. inj. us!’ (Y. 48.5).

7.1.4.4 Young Avestan and Old Persian aorist

The Young Avestan and Old Persian examples of aorist indicative and aorist injunctive may be imitations of Old Avestan:

YAv. dāt [masta] yimā
‘then Yima [thought]-aor.inj.’ (V. 2.31);

OPers. baga vazqrka auramazdā haya imām būmim [a-dā]
haya avam asmānaam [a-dā]
‘Ahuramazđā is a great god, (he) who [set in place]-aor.ind. this earth, who [set in place] yonder heaven’ (DE 1–11);
imā dahayāva tayā adam [a-daršiy]-aor.inj.
‘these lands that I [got hold of]’ (DPe 5–10).

7.1.5 Perfect

The function of the perfect in the oldest Indo-European languages was to express the state obtaining from a past action or event. In Avestan, this function is found with verbs of perception and verbs of state, as well as of transitive verbs.

The perfect has a few subjunctive forms, as well as a pluperfect. The optative forms are commonly used in conditions contrary to fact (see sections 8.2.2.6, 8.2.4.2c).

7.1.5.1 Perfects without present

The two perfects ād- ‘say’ (OInd. āh-) and vaēd- have no corresponding presents:

OAv. āt tōi vispōng angrōng ašāumō [ādar³]
‘thus, [they say/claim] (that) all the evil ones (are) followers of Order’ (Y. 43.15);
YAv. nāēcišt ůda zaradūśtra sūš
yaēdā hīm [ādar'-] maštīāka
‘there is no “vitalisation” here, O Zarathustra, (such) as humans [say] it (= refer to it)’ (FrD. 3, see Hoffmann 1968);

[vaēdā]-ca taē caikaēdā-ca
āī āsāum zaradūśtra mana xradābā-ca cisti-ca
‘I [know] and am aware of that, O Orderly Zarathustra, by my wisdom and insight’ (Yt. 1.26).

7.1.5.2 Perfect expressing resulting state

The perfect indicative is used to indicate the result of a preceding action or state and is often used in ‘ever/never’ statements.

Perfect of intransitive and medio-passive verbs:

OAv. yōi ... [nōit] frasaiūv vāŋhūš [cāxnar< (kān-) ] manāghō
‘those who ... [have never taken pleasure] in the questioning of (their) good thought?’ (Y. 44.13);

YAv. *frēna āŋhqm nasumn̂m
yō paēiti ālā z'mā [ēri0ar< (<ra10- )]
‘on account of the great quantity of the corpses that [have (ever) died (and now lie dead) all over this earth’ (V. 5.4).

Perfect of transitive verbs:

OAv. ā mā aēx'mō hazas-cā rōmō [ēhiśātiā (<hai- )]
‘wrath and violence, restraint [have bound] me (and now keep me bound)’(Y. 29.1);

YAv. yō nō [daā] yō [tataša] yō [udruite]
‘(he) who [has made] us, who [has fashioned] us, who [has *compiled] us’ (Y. 1.1);

yō [nōit] pascaēta [huśx'afa (for *hu-šyafa < ḫyap)]
yat maniiū čāmān ḫāḏīām
‘(Sraosa ... ) who [has never slept]
(ever) since the two spirits would set in place (their) creations’ (Y. 57.17).

7.1.6 The past perfect/pluperfect

OAv. taēcīt ... yōi ḍrōguawōtā mazbīś [ci-kōit-ēr'< (<kai-) ]
‘those too ... who [had (always) distinguished] those possessed by the Lie with great (brilliant gifts?)’ (Y. 32.11) [see Jasanoff 1997];

YAv. nīś tat paēti drūxš nāšēte yaēj abīcit [ja-ym-a古怪 (<gam- )]
‘the lie will be dispelled and destroyed there to the very place whence [it had come]’ (Yt. 19.12).

7.1.6 The verb ‘to be’ and noun clauses

Both the subject and predicate of ‘to be’ are typically in the nominative:
YAv. mošu tať [ās] nōīt dar’-’yom
‘quickly that [was], not long’ (Yt. 5.65);

Occasionally, adverbs can be used as predicates with ‘to be’ (see Hoffmann 1952):

OPers. kāra pārsa . . . [kamnam āha]
‘the Persian army . . . [was] (just) a few] (men)’ (DB 2.18–19).

7.1.6.1 The copula

A 3rd singular copula is often gapped, sometimes also the 3rd plural or infinitive, occasionally other persons when the subject is an expressed pronoun:

OAv. huuō zī drōgašt
‘for that one (is) possessed by the Lie’ (Y. 46.6);

kat vō xśādram
‘what (is) your command?’ (Y. 34.5);

YAv. kaiia aţj ā hatauō
‘which (are) its models?’ (Y. 19.18);

OPers. tayalī paruvam xśādliyā āha
‘who had been kings before’ (DB 1.9–10).

7.1.6.2 The existential verb

This present indicative astī usually expresses existence, but is also used in contexts where it could not easily be omitted or is emphatic. In Young Avestan, it is found in the following instances: fronted, in relative-subordinate and interrogative clauses, in some expressions with superlatives, after fronted demonstrative pronoun or adverb (many of these after zī), and occasionally elsewhere. The use of the 3p haŋti is similar.

7.1.6.3 Possession

The existential verb can take a genitive to express possession:

OAv. cī ahī [kāhīā] ahī
‘Who are you? [Whose] are you?’ (Y. 43.7);

YAv. [yejihe] vaēm māhi
‘[whose] we are’ = ‘to whom we belong’ (Vr. 11.13);

OP. manā auramazdā [COP] auramazdāha adam [COP]
‘mine (is) Ahuramazdā, Ahuramazdā’s (am) I’ (DSk);

[daŋrayavahuš] puča aniyai-cy [‘ha’ti]
‘[Darius’s were] other sons, too’ = ‘Darius had other sons, too’ (XPf 28–29).

7.2 Moods

The Old Iranian moods were used much as in other ancient Indo-European languages. The principal innovation was the use of the optative to denote habitual past action in
Young Avestan and Old Persian. In both Young Avestan and Old Persian, ‘irrealis’ is expressed by the perfect optative.

7.2.1 Subjunctive present and aorist

The subjunctive is the tense used to refer to the future, and so denotes intention, prospective action and exhortation. In general, the deliberative subjunctive is used in questions and in a variety of subordinate clauses. The aorist subjunctive has the same functions as the present subjunctive, but with the difference in aspect. The negations are nōīt and mà (negative instructions). On the use of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses, see section 8.2.2.1 (relative clauses) and section 8.2.3 (adverbial clauses).

7.2.1.1 The subjunctive in main clauses

7.2.1.1a 1st person

The 1st person subjunctive usually means ‘I/we want to do, may I/we do, let me/us do’, indicating intention or impending action:

*present:*

OAv. yauuōī vīspāī fraēštāghō [āḥāmā]  
‘for an entire lifespan [let us be] (your) dearest friends!’ (Y. 49.8).

*aorist:*

taṭ nāsācīt [var’sānē]  
‘that [I am about to produce] for us’ (Y. 51.1);

aṣā kāt ūbā [dār’sānī]  
‘[shall I see] you through Order, I wonder?’ (Y. 28.5);

YAv.  

*present:*

azōm tē gaēthā [frōōχiiēni] azōm tē gaēthā [var’dāiēni]  
‘I [shall further] your herds, I [shall make] your herds [grow]’ (V. 2.5);

*aorist:*

aṣā sraēštā [dār’sāma] ūβā haxma  
‘[shall we (now get to) see] company with you, O haoma, through most beautiful Order?’ (Y. 60.12).

OPers.  

*present:*

ṣīyāta [ahanīy] jīva utā mārta ḫartāvā [ahanīy]  
‘[let me] be happy (while) alive and blessed (after I am) dead!’ (XPh 47–48).

7.2.1.1b 2nd and 3rd persons

The 2nd and 3rd person subjunctive refer to the future in various modes:

*present:*

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OAv. hā nā "[aghāt]
'she [shall be = belong] to us' (Y. 32.2);

kadā yauū huū "[aghāt]
'when [shall he ever be] (there)?' (Y. 29.9);

YAv. awada tē "[aghāt] vaţhô
'thus for you [shall be] the better (reward)' (V. 18.7);

aorist:

OAv. kōi... rāmām [dānte < da'antai)]
kāng ā vaṭhāūs [jimāt < jam-lgam-] managhô cistiš
'who [will obtain] peace?
to whom [will come] the insight of good thought?' (Y. 48.11);

YAv. [bun (<bu'ān)] gaēthâ amarântiš
'the creatures [shall become] indestructible' (Yt. 19.12);

mā ciš mē āghām zaodranm [frāg'hārāt] yō nōit...
'[let] not anyone [consume] these libations of mine who is not ...' (Yt. 10.122).

7.2.2 Optative present and aorist

The optative is the mood of the imaginary and thus mainly expresses wishes, prescriptions, imaginary comparisons or examples, irreal conditions and comparisons. The optative of the aorist is used like that of the present, but with the difference in aspect. For the use of the optative perfect, see 8.2.2.4, 8.2.4.2c.

On the use of the optative in subordinate clauses, see sections 8.2.1 (that-clauses), 8.2.2.1 (relative clauses) and 8.2.3 (adverbial clauses).

7.2.2.1 Optative in main clauses

The optative in main clauses expresses wishes and exhortations. These are distinguished when negated: nōit negates wishes and mā exhortations. In questions, the optative expresses ability, potentiality, and permission:

present:

OAv. aōā tū nā gaiias-cā astoṇtās-cā [śiiā]
'and so [may you be] our life and boniness!' (Y. 41.3);

nōit dʰbitūm duš.sastiš ahūm [maršiiāt]
'[may] the one of bad announcing not [destroy] a second time (this) existence!' (Y. 45.1).

OAv. kalā mazdā rānīi. skor"tīm gqm [iś"sōīt]
'how [might] he, O Mazdā, [try to obtain] (by prayer?) a joy-bringing cow?' (Y. 50.2);

YAv. vasō.xšārōr [hīiāt] ašaua
'[may] the Orderly [have] command at will!' (Y. 8.6);
‘afterward the Mazdayasnians [shall not plough] that earth nor [release] water (upon it)” (V. 6.2);

**OPers. auramazdām [yadaša]**
‘[you should sacrifice] to Ahuramazdā!’ (XPh 50–51);

daiva mā [yadayaša]
‘the daivas [shall not be sacrificed to]!’ (XPh 38–39);

**aorist:**

**OAavr. ‘ruuāzištō huuō nā . . . [pātī jamiā]**
‘(you) there, who gladden (us) the most, [may you] *in return [come] to us’
(Y. 36.2);

kaθā ašā druśm [diuqm] zastāiū
‘how [might I deliver] the Lie into the hands of Order?’ (Y. 44.14);

**YAv. vasas-ca tā . . . [xšaša] hauwanqm dāmanqm**
‘and at will [may you] [rule over] your own creations’ (Y. 8.5);

[buiiama] tē śōōrō, pānō
mā [buiiama] śōōrō, rīcō
‘[let us be] for you those who stay in the settlements!
[let us not be] those who leave the settlements!’ (Yt. 10.75);

**OPers. auramazdā-taiy ja’tā [biyā]**
utā-taiy taumā mā [biyā]
‘[may] Ahuramazdā [be] your striker (= strike you),
and [may] there not [be] family to you (= may you have no family)’! (DB 4.55–59).

### 7.2.2.2 Optative of past action in Young Avestan and Old Persian

The optative is used in Young Avestan (with or without augment) and Old Persian to express habitual or repeated action in the past (see Hoffmann 1976: 605–19):

**YAv. zaradhūstrō ahunām vārim [frasrāwuiōit] . . .**
ápō vaŋ’hiś [frāiazaētu] . . .
daēŋqm māzdaiaīsnīm [fraor-naēta]
‘Zarathustra [would (= used to) recite] the Ahuna Vairiia . . .
He [would sacrifice] to the good waters . . .
He [would choose] the vision-soul of those who sacrifice to Ahura Mazdā’
(V. 19.2);

**yō bōda . . . [a-uuariōit] vācin (<a-barait)**
‘who at times [would lift up] his voice’ (Yt. 10.73);

**OPers. yaθā-šām hacā-ma alaθa ya vaθā [a-kunavaya’tā]** (thematic optative)
‘as was said to them by me, thus they would do’ (DB 1.17–24);

**kīrām vaiy [avājaniyā]** (<ava-a-)
‘he [would kill] the people in large numbers’ (DB 1.50–53).
7.2.3 Imperative

The imperative is used only in positive statements to express a command or an exhortation. The person the command or exhortation is addressed to is frequently in the vocative. In Old Avestan, a distinction is made between the present imperative: ‘keep doing!’ and aorist imperative: ‘stop/start doing!’.

Negative commands or wishes are expressed with the injunctive (see section 7.1.2.1) and the optative (see section 7.2.2.1).

aorist:

OAv. vohā [gədī] managāhā
[dādī] aśā dā (<da'ah) dar'gāiūū
‘[come (now)] with good thought!
[give (now)] with Order the gift of a long lifespan!’ (Y. 28.6);

present:

OAv. ā ī ["uaenū] ahūrā
[keep looking] hither at it, O Ahura!’ (Y. 46.2);

[traīū] iš duwaśū . . . mośuca [astū]
‘[let them be] (men) of bad virility! [let them be *howled upon]! . . .
[let] *torment [huddle] them off, and [let it be] soon!’ (Y. 53.8);

YAv. [apa] druș [nase] (<nasiia)
[apa] druș [duwara] [apa] druș [vinase]
‘[disappear], O Lie!
[run away], O Lie! [lose yourself], O Lie!’ (V. 8.21);

[x'arata] narā aētām mitađām
‘[eat], O men, this myazda!’ (Y. 8.2);

x'ar'0anam hē ["bar'9uNtam]
‘[let] (some) of the (best) foods [be brought] to him!’ (H. 2.18);

mā hē auu pāôm [auua.hišta]
mā gātūm [nipə'9iiaš'ha]
‘[do not direct] (your) foot in her direction!
[do not lie down] on (her) bed!’ (Yt. 17.57);

mā cim gər'zān̄a [pərə-iaNtu] hac̄ ahmāt nnänāt
‘[let them not leave] this house complaining about anybody’ (Yt. 13.157);

OPers. [para-idiy/para-ita] avam kāram [jadianjatā]
‘go forth! crush that army!’ (2s/2p imp.) (DB 2.20–21, 3.14–15);

ava-taiy auramazdā b ucāram [kunaNtu] . . .
ava-taiy auramazdā [nika'tuN]
7.3 Middle, passive, causative

7.3.1 Middle

The middle of transitive verbs most often has passive meaning: YAv. aza-, act. ‘leads, takes (away)’, mid.: ‘is led, taken away’; vaêna- act. ‘sees’ vs. mid. ‘is seen’, etc.

More rarely, the middle denotes that the action is being performed in the interest of the subject (e.g. paca-, act. ‘cook (for someone else)’, mid.: ‘cook for oneself’; var’daiia- act.: ‘increase (trans.), enlarge’, mid.: ‘increase (intrans.), grow’.

Note the intrans. hisüta-, act. ‘go and stand’, mid. ‘stand, be standing’.

Middle with passive function:

YAv. aâ ë mâ maniü nudity 
/jâ y mâ x’afnâ [asruatuqm] 
‘thus, those two spirits/inspirations in the beginning, which [have been heard of (aor. du. 3p)] (as) “the twin sleeps”’ (Y. 30.3);

YAv. im(k) tanum í y mâ [vaëna’t] huraoôa 
‘this body, which [is seen] to me (to be) beautiful’ (Y. 11.10);

[va’r’ziiataq]-ca’ôa vohu vâstriya 
‘and [let] good pastures [be produced]-pres. imp. 3s here!’ (Vr. 15.1) [cf. section 5.3.3];

OPers. ima frasam taya [vainataiy] 
‘this perfection that [is seen]’ (DNb 1–2);

Middle with reflexive, etc., function:

YAv. aiffi vastra [yâghaiiy’ha] frâ zasta [snaiiy’ha] 
‘[put on your (sing.)] clothes! [wash your (sing.)] hands!’ (V. 18.19);

zam caxrom [kêr’nauuâne] 
‘[I shall make] the earth [my] wheel’ (Yt. 19.43);

â’t azzm tanüm [agüze] 
‘then [I hid]-aor. 1s mid. [my] body’ (Yt. 17.55);

OPers. avaöô xçaçam [agarbûyata] 
‘thus [he took] the royal command [for himself]’ (DB 1.42–43).

7.3.2 Passive

The passive, including passive middle forms, passives in -iia-, and 3s aor. in -i, is almost exclusively used when the sentence has no agent or the agent of the sentence is not expressed:

YAv. yaôâ aniiie yazatâghô [yazînte] 
‘the way (the) other deities [are sacrificed to]’ (Yt. 8.11);

kahe nó iša nqma [âydriiy] 
‘whose name among us [will be welcomed] here in song?’ (Yt. 13.50);

OPers. vayam haxâmanîšiyû [ôahayûmahay] 
‘we [are called] Achaemenids’ (DB 1.7);
yaka haca ga'darā [ābariya] (or: a-bariya)
'the sisso wood [was brought (or: carried)] from Gandhara and Carmania' (DSf 34–35).

3s passive in -i:
OAv. vahištā īšē [srāuũ] zaradastrahē l spitāmahia
'the best *ritual [has been heard of] (= become renowned) (as that) of Zarathustra / Spitama' (Y. 53.1);
YAv. yat turō jōnti fragrase
'when the Turian Frangrasian was struck (down)' (Yt. 19.93).

7.3.2.1 Passive with agent
Very occasionally, passives are construed with agents (see also section 7.4.2.2 on the past participle).
OAv. passive with agent in the instrumental or with preposition haca:
yā zi [vāmar'zoi ... daēmāiš-cā mašīaš-cā]
'yes, those that [have been produced ... by old gods and men]' (Y. 29.4);
yā išudō [dadentē] dāranqam [hacā ašāunō] / 'the *dues in gifts that [shall be given] [on the part of (= by?) the sustainer of Order]' (Y. 31.14).

In Old Persian, the agent is expressed by (one repeated example of each) the genitive-dative, by the preposition haca, or (possibly) by the postposition ādiy (see Skjærvø 1985: 215):

utā-[ʃam] auramazdā naiy [ayadiya]
'and Ahuramazdā [was not sacrificed to by them]' (DB 5.15–16);
taya-ʃam [hacā-ma aḏahiy] ava akunava
'what [was announced] to them [from (= by) me]; that they did' (XPh 17–18), cf.
*taya-ʃam adam aḏaham ava akunava
'what I said to them, that they did' (DNa 36–37);
nai-mā kāma taya skauOis [tunuva'tahyā rādiy mīa kariyais] 'it is not my desire that a weak (man) [should be done wrong on account of/by a mighty (one)]' (DNb 8–9).

7.3.2.2 Old Persian alternatives to passive with agent
In Old Persian, passive with agent is avoided by using impersonal 3rd person plural constructions (cf. Middle Persian, Ch. 4, section 4.3.5.3):
OPers. utā ciça'taxmam [aḡerbāy] ānaya' abiy mām
'and [they seized] Ciçantaxma (and) [brought] him to me' (DB 2.87–88), cf.
hauv ačina basta ānayatā abiy mām
'that Āchina [was brought] bound to me' (DB 1.82–83).

Alternatively, the agent can be circumscribed:
taya ištiš [ašan-L] kāra haya bābirwiyā hauv akunauš
'that the brick [was pounded] (into shape): the Babylonian contingent, it did (it)'
(DSF 29–30).

7.4 Participles

Participles are construed as adjectives, usually attributive or in apposition, sometimes as predicates.

7.4.1 Present, future, aorist, and perfect participles

The present and aorist participles differ only in aspect.

7.4.1.1 Present participles

OAv. yō vā [xšāiaqs] a-daš drītā [ašiapt kém] ... vēcō [hāa]
'or (he) who (because) [being in command], (by) having placed (him) there (in his home)
would keep (someone) [coming] to (him) . . . [being] discriminating . . .' (Y. 46.5);

fraēšiāmāhī . . .
[s'runuatas]-cā [a-s'runuatas]-cā
[xšaiants]-cā [a-xšaiants]-cā
'we send (our) presentations forth,
both toward [those who listen] and toward [those who do not listen],
toward [those being in command] and toward [those not being in command]'
(Y. 35.4);

YAv. ātarm; . . . yazamāde taxmām [hōntām] rāāčstām
'we sacrifice to the fire, [being] a firm charioteer' (Y. 62.8);

OPers. X māhyā [jiyamnam] pāty
gate of the month of X at [the waning]
(DB 2.6 2).

The present participles can be used with 'to be(come)' (see also section 8.2.4.2e):

OAv. aq . . . ahuū . . . [frīrāmnā] ahurāī ā
'thus, we two were there [presenting ourselves as guest-friends] to the Ahura'
(Y. 29.5);

YAv. nōtāq dim yauu azaṃ . . . bitim vācim [pāti, pār'sōmnā] baunu
'I shall never be [asking] him another word' (V. 18.29);

OPers. manahā υbuipašiyāhyyā dārsām [xšayanna] d'miy
'by (my) mind I am strongly [controlling] myself' (DNb 14–15).

In Young Avestan, present participles in apposition with the subject are used with maniita-, sōšaia-:

nnānām hō maniita [para, daθō]
'he may think (of himself) [as] having given] a house' (V. 18.28);
"ā dim vātō [upa.vāuō] saδaietī
‘then a wind seems (to be) [blowing toward] him’ (H. 2.7).

7.4.1.2 Other participles

Aorist:

OAv. ačištā [dɔntō]
‘(even) [giving] what are the worst (things)’ (Y. 32.4);

YAv. fraša hqm.rāzaiata ātars̆ . . . uši awuša [maghānō]
‘he stretched himself forward, the fire, (suddenly) [thinking] as follows’ (Yt. 19.47);

future:

YAv. haomanqm-ca [haršišišmanqm] yōi haršišišente
‘and of the haoma (plants) [being about to be filtered], which are being filtered’
(Vr. 12.1);

perfect:

OAv. [vīduā] [vīdušē] mraotū
mā [v-ujduā] a’pi d’hōwaiaq
‘let him [who knows] say [to the one who knows]!
may no one [who does not know] keep deceiving (us) hereafter!’ (Y. 31.17);

yehiā “ruāx rāoātī . . . ašahiā [nāsuā] (<na-ns-) paṭō
‘whose soul will *shudder, [having lost] the paths of Order’ (Y. 51.13);

yas-tē . . . zhaiā . . . [apānō] (<ap-) dar’gō,jūn̆tim
‘I, who shall be invoking you . . . [having obtained] long life’ (Y. 33.5);

YAv. vispa’biīō haca ar’zaešbiīō [vauamuŭ] pā’ti jasa’ti
‘he returns, [having won], from all battles’ (Y. 57.11-12);

aijhe haxaiiō frāišente . . . naēha.čit *miṭā [vāok’tāphō] (<yak-lyac-)
‘his companions will go forth, [having] never [said] anything wrong’ (Yt. 19.95);

šātām dašāti “ruwānēm ašaonō [rīrīdānahe] (<raī)-
‘he makes happy the soul of the Orderly one [who has died]’ (P. 23);

narām ašaunamēm [dašrāmēm] (<dar-) hūnatōmca . . .
‘the Orderly man, [who has held up] his well-thought (thought) and . . .’ (Vr. 2.5);

perfect participle contrasting with the present and past participles:

OAv. . . . hu-war’estanqm . . . wər’zišišmanqm- cā vāuwar’zanqm-cā
‘of (deeds) well done, both those being performed and [those having been performed]’ (Y. 35.2).

7.4.2 Past participles in -ta-

The past participle in -ta- is commonly used in Young Avestan as apposition, in which case it refers to an action that was completed before the action or state indicated by the
main verb of the clause or by present participles. Also when used as an adjective, it sometimes retains this temporal function:

\[ YAv. \ [\text{fra-stor-täh}] \ \text{pati bar'smon} \]
\[ [\text{uz-dätäh}] \ \text{pati haomāt} \]
\[ rasciñtāt \ \text{pati ēbraț} \]
\[ srōmāinmān \ \text{pati ahumāt vāriāt} \]
'beside the barsom [spread out],
beside the haoma [set up],
beside the blazing fire,
beside the Ahuna Vairiia being recited' (Yt. 10.91, Āfr. 4.5);

\[ auwāt \ldots \text{hanjamamō} \ldots \text{bar'snuo auwaĩhe ašnō} \ [γ'matam] \]
\[ \ldots \text{yazamaide} \]
'to yonder gathering [having come (together)] upon the height of yonder sky
\[ \ldots \text{we sacrifice}' (G. 2.8);

OPers. duvaray-āmaly [basta] adāriya
'he was held [bound] at my gate' (DB 2.75, 89–90);

\[ hamiriya \ [ha'-gmta] \ [para-ītā] \ldots \]
\[ hamaranam akunava \]
'the conspirators, [having come together] and [gone off] . . .
fought the battle' (DB 2.37–39).

7.4.2.1 Medial-reflexive function of the participle in -ta-

The past participle sometimes has medial-reflexive function and can take a direct (inner) object:

\[ YAv. \ [\text{ā-stūtas}-cā] \ [\text{fra-uar'tas}-cā} \]
\[ āstūiē humātam manō \]
'[having assigned myself by my praise] and [having made my choice]
(having spoken the āstūiē and the frauarānē)
I assign myself by my praise to well-thought thought' (Y. 12.8) [<ā-stau- and fra-yar-, both middle];

\[ upa.taca \ldots \text{aoora [paiti.śmuxta]} \]
'she came running, [shod] in shoes' (Yt. 5.64).

A past participle is frequently combined with a verb from the same root, see section 10.5 Figura etymologica.

7.4.2.2 Past participle with copula

In Young Avestan, the past participles are occasionally used with the copula and sometimes with a personal pronoun (rarely a noun) in the genitive indicating the agent:

\[ YAv. \ \text{kaďa nō kē ašāum} \ [agato \ (\text{<ā-gam-})] \]
\[ ñōliajaghom ahum ā \]
'how [have you come], O Orderly one, to us,
to (this) existence without danger?' (V. 19.31);
"cuuñtöm zruññm maníaaua stis [dáta as]"
'for how long [had] the existence in the world of thought [been established]?' (FrV. 2.19);

"máníin ahe yaña ná satñm-ca . . . paršaññm [ni-jatñm híjñt]
'just as if a hundred and . . . ears of grain [were to be (lying) smashed down]' (Yt. 13.71);

with agent:

YAv. yat [mè] aauuññm daëwainasnanñm [ni-jatñm]
yya vàsññm a varšaññm bárámi
'that [by me is smashed down = I have smashed down]
as many sacrificers to the old gods as I carry hairs on the head' (Yt. 5.77);

yezica [hè] aniia aya šiiáoñña [fra-warrña]
pdítña hè sèiña
'if [for/bym are performed = he has performed] other evil deeds, (then) the penalty for it (is) absolved' (V. 3.21);

agent with attributive past participle:

yái káñña [for káñño] [an-upaëta (<upa-i-) mašiññnm]
'the girls [not yet approached by men]' (Yt. 17.55).

7.4.3 The Old Persian perfect

In Old Persian, the old perfect indicative appears to have been lost and been replaced by constructions of past participle and copula with agents. This new perfect, like the old perfect, expresses the result seen in the present of a past action or event. It is often used to 'sum up' past events told in the imperfect (see Lazard 1976: 184–86, Skjervø 1985).

There are forms of both transitive and intransitive verbs. As the past participle of transitive verbs has a passive meaning ('done, killed'), the perfect construction in these instances is formally passive.

There is no active perfect construction corresponding to the passive one, so the construction corresponds to both active and passive constructions in the present and imperfect.

7.4.3.1 Without agent

When the past participle is from an intransitive verb, the perfect corresponds to an active imperfect; when it is from a transitive verb and the agent is not expressed, it corresponds to a passive imperfect:

intransitive verb:

pársaháyá mártiyaháyá dáraiy arátiš [pará-gmatá]
'the Persian man's spear has gone far away' (DNa 43–45);

transitive verb:

ava ahyápáyá dípiyá náiy [ni-píštam]
'that [has] not [been written (is not written)] in this inscription' (DB 4.47);
"much perfect work [had been ordered], much [has been made]" (DSf 56–57);

'much else too [has been done]' (DB 4. 46–47);

7.4.3.2 With agent

If an agent (noun or pronoun) is expressed, it is in the genitive-dative, and the perfect corresponds to an active imperfect. The only examples are with kartam 'done, made', and the construction is formally identical with possessive constructions in which kartam means 'work, achievement' (there may have been a difference in word order):

'they have not done as much as I have done in one and the same year' ('their achievement is not as much as what I achieved in one and the same year') (DB 4. 51–52).

7.4.4 The Old Persian potential construction

There are a few verbal constructions in Old Persian involving a past participle + forms of kar- 'do' and bau- 'become' that express either completion of a past event or the feasibility of a past event. These constructions are commonly referred to as 'potential' constructions (see also section 8.2.2.6 Conditional relative clauses):

active:

'yata [kartam akunavam]

' until [I had finished (doing)]' (DNa 51, XPf 45–46);

passive:

'yata [ka'tam abava]

'when it had finished being dug (DSf 25).

7.5 Infinitives

7.5.1 Infinitive with intentional verbs

Infinitives either depend upon a verb or are used independently to express the purpose of an utterance or an action. They are used with vas- 'wish', vīsa- 'be ready', hācāia- 'induce', verbs meaning 'order', etc.:
7.5.2 Infinite with verbs of speaking and thinking

Verbs meaning 'think, speak, see' can take a direct object plus infinitive ('accusative with infinitive') as the transformation of a S + V clause; the infinitive of 'to be' can then also take an accusative predicate (see also Gippert 1985):

**OAv.** ὤν ὁ χρόνος ἀναλυόμενος ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡθοποιία ἡθοποιίας

'he wishes [to make heard] for us poems of praise' (Y. 29.8);

**YAv.** ὑπὲρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκλεπτυνομένου· ἐκλεπτυνεῖ τὴν αὐτοκράτειαν τῆς ἐκλεπτυνομένης ἡθοποιίαν

'that I shall induce...

Zarathustra [to help] the vision-soul [along with his thought]' (Yt. 5.18);

**OPers.** utā-diš atāvayam [bartaṇaïy]

'and I was able [to bear] them' (DNb 46-47);

ima stānam hauv niyaštāya [kāṭaṇaïy]...

pasāva adām niyaštāyam imām dipim [ni-paštanaïy]

'and he gave the order [to dig] this niche.
then I gave the order [to write] this inscription' (XV 20–25).

7.5.3 Independent use

Infinitives are used independently to express purpose, in which case the subject/direct object of such an infinitive may be in the dative:

**OAv.** at ōthi mārghi... yazīm [stōi]

'thus, I think of you [to be = as being] youthful' (Y. 31.8) [< 'I think: you are young'];

**YAv.** aṣṭamān tē [āfītēdīiāī] mraomī

'I tell you a sustainer of Order [(is) to be obtained] (from a sustainer of Order)
(Y. 71.13) [< 'I tell you: a sustainer of Order is obtained'].

7.6 Verbal adjectives of necessity/gerundives

See Dative of agent (section 6.4.5.5).
8 SYNTAX IV: COMPLEX SENTENCES

8.1 Coordination

The usual method of coordination is by way of conjunctions. The most common exceptions are various kinds of parataxis and repetition.

8.1.1 Parataxis

Both coordination and, in Old Persian, subordination can be expressed by parataxis:

YAv. visa’ti dim frayraiiid – no.i* frayraiiieti
‘he declares himself ready to wake him (and then, but) does not wake him’ (N. 1);

OPers. avaiy ma daustâh biyâ – ufrowthâ-diâ parsâ
‘you should not favour them (and = but) punish them well!’ (DB 4.69).

With existential verb:

uta aniya-s-ca ãha – duškarta am akâriya
‘and there was other matter as well (and it = that) had been made badly’ (XPh 41–42);

astiy a’tar aitâ dahayáva . . . – ayauda
‘there were among these lands (and they = some that) were in turmoil’ (XPh 29–32).

In Old Persian and ‘post-Old Persian’, the verbs ‘to send’ and ‘to command, order to do’ can be construed with an unmarked clause:

pasâva adam frâśâyam uvjam – hauv âçina basta ânayatâ abiy mam
‘then I sent (an order) to Elam (and) that A<;ina was brought bound to me’ (DB 1.82–83);

niyastayam – hauv araxa uta martiya . . . uzmayâ-patiy akâriya’tâ
‘I issued (an order) (and) that Araxa and the men . . . were impaled’ (DB 3.91–92).

8.1.2 Repetition

In Avestan, nominals, verbs, preverbs, prepositions and negations are often repeated instead of being coordinated by conjunctions (frequent in incantations):

adjectives:

YAv. asista nû aighat haca visa’t gauś buiiat
asistom âçom asistom narš ašaonô aojô
asistô ãûûriš ãkaçô
‘may the cow now be not cut off from this town,
(not cut off =) nor the Order, nor the strength of the Orderly man,
nor the *guidance of Ahura Mazda!’ (Y. 60.3);

verbs:

nase *da’uui druxš nase daeûuô. cilêre
nase daeûuô.frakurste nase daeûuô.fradooite
apa druxš nase apa druxš duwara
apa druxē vī- nase apāxzhore apa-nasiiehe
Get lost, deceiving Lie! Get lost, you demon-spawn!
Get lost, you demon-dragged-forth! Get lost, you demon-made!
Disappear, O Lie! Run away, O Lie!
(Run) away and lose yourself, O Lie!
You disappear in the northern (direction).

pronouns:

OA v.  kaṭ tōi rāzar
kaṭ vaṣi kaṭ vā stūtō kaṭ vā yasnāhīā
'what (is) a *straight utterance for you?
what do you want: what of praise or sacrifice?' (Y. 34.12);

YA v. imaṭ vō āpō ja'diemen
imaṭ z'mō imaṭ 'ruuāra imaṭ anmēzā spoṇīa
'this I request from you, O waters,
and from you, O earths, O plants, and O Life-giving Immortals' (Y. 65.12);

preverbs:

nī tē zāre maḍom mruiē
nī amōm nī ver'ūraynōm (etc.)

nī taṭ yada . . . vasō.xsāṭrō frascarāne . . .
nī taṭ yada ta'ruuaieīi . . .
'I call down your intoxication, O tawny one,
your strength, and obstruction-smashing . . .
(I call it) down so that I may go forth commanding at will . . .
and so that I may overcome . . .' (Y. 9.17–18);

prepositions:

para aamājhe aśnō dāphōīī
para āpō para z'mō para 'ruuāraiā (etc.)
'before the establishment of yonder sky,
of the water, of the earth, and of the plant . . .' (Y. 19.8);

negations:

OA v. nōi nā manā l nōi zōnghā nōi xratauwō l
naēdā var'nā l nōi uxdā naēdā šīuowl'hā l
nōi daēnā l nōi 'ruuqno . . . hacintē
'neither our thoughts, announcements, guiding thoughts,
preferences, utterances, actions,
vision-souls, nor breath-souls go together' (Y. 45.2);

YA v. mā buitiama ŝōṭrō.'ricō . . .
māda yaṭ nō ugra.bāzāuś niuānāt
'may we not be those who leave the settlements . . .
nor indeed (may it happen) that a strong-armed one should *conquer us' (Yt. 10.75);

OPers. naiy āha martiya naiy pārsa naiy māda
naiy amāxam taumāyā kaś-ciy
‘there was no man, either Persian or Mede or indeed any of Our family’ (DB 1.48–49);

\[\text{abi} \text{mām dāhuyāum mā ājamiyā} \]
\[\text{mā hainā mā dusīyāram mā drauga} \]
‘against this land may there not come an enemy army, famine, or the lie!’ (DPd 18–20).

8.1.3 Conjunctions

8.1.3.1 Coordination

The coordinating conjunctions are \text{utā} and enclitic -\text{ca} ‘and, as well’, which coordinate words (and their epithets), clauses or sentences. Common coordinations include the sequences A B-ca and its extension A B ... C-ca and \text{uta} A uta B. Combinations include \text{uta} ... -ca, uta ... uta ... -ca, -ca ... ca ... ca ... uta ‘and also, as well’. For Old Persian, see Klein 1988.

Connecting sentences:

\[\text{YAv. vaghūs sravā} \ldots \text{hū-} \text{ca} \text{idā yōitūtā astu} \]
‘good Sraosha \ldots \text{and} let him have taken up his position here’ (Y. 27.6);

\[\text{OPers. manā auramazdā upastām baratuv} \ldots \text{uta imām dāhuyāum auramazdā pātuv} \]
‘let Ahuramazdā bear me aid, and let Ahuramazdā protect this land!’ (DPd 13–16).

In Old Avestan, the form A B\text{ca} # C may be possible at the cesura:

\[\text{ā mā [aēš-mō hāzas-ca # rāmō] ⁹hiśāiīā} \]
‘[Wrath and violence, (as well as) restraint] keep me tied up’ (Y. 29.1).

The sequence A-ca ... B-ca can take an adjective or a pronoun, or it can itself be the subject or direct object of a verb or be governed by adpositions:

\[\text{OAv. aqē} \text{hōi scantū managhi} \text{} \text{uxbās šiaoθanāścā} \ldots \]
\[
\text{[kauuacā vištāspō zaradaštriš spitāmō f'-rašaōstrašcā]} \\
\text{‘and so \text{let them follow} with thought, utterances, and actions ...} \\
\text{[Kauui Vištāspa, a Zarathustra-follower (and) Spitamid, and Fraša-uštra]}’ (Y. 53.2);

\[\text{YAv. imq} \text{[haomqs-ca miiazdqs-ca zaohras-ca]} \]
‘these [haomas, myazdas, libations]’ (Y. 4.1);

\[\text{antar}’ \text{[maqhom-ca huar'-ca]} \]
‘between [the moon and the sun]’ (Yt. 6.5);

\[\text{OP. aita-maiy aruvastam upariy} \text{[manaš-cā uši-cā]} \]
‘This is my ability in [thought and understanding]’ (DNb 31–32).

Occasionally OPers. utā introduces a main clause after a subordinate clause with the function of accommodating an enclitic pronoun:

\[\text{OPers. imā uvnrārā tayā \ldots utā-diś atāvayam bartanaīy} \]
‘these (are) talents which \ldots \text{(and} \text{I was able to carry them}’ (DNb 45–47).
8.1.3.2 Disjunction

The disjunctive conjunctions are enclitic vā ‘or’ and tonic at vā ‘or else’, negated YAv. nāmā ’or not’, ‘nor’.

The sequence A B-vā (A B-vā C-vā) is most common with clauses, but relatively seldom found with single words. Other sequences include A vā B vā (C vā), X vā A B vā, A vā at vā B (see also section 5.3.1 Questions):

OAv. vandavī vā vāngāv vā vānār vā
‘(who) are winning, shall (now) win, or have (always) won’ (Y. 39.2);

yā vāasojo vahšāti x’vā at vā vār-zāniiō 1
a’riiaamnā vā
‘(he) who is best for the sustainer of Order #
either through (his) *family or else (as) a member of the *household
or by (his) *community’ (Y. 33.3);

YAv. us vā hišti nī vā pdòïiamnē
‘standing up or lying down’ (Yt. 1.17);

OPers. yadiy imām dpim vaināhav imai-vā patikarā
‘if you see this inscription or these images’ (DB 4.72–73);

negated:

uzgar’ptät po’ti draonūt nāmā uzgar’ptät
‘at the drōn lifted up or not lifted up’ (V. 5.26);

kā hē asti ciño . . .
nāmā hē asti ciño nāmā hē asti āpvar’iš
‘what is the penalty (etc.) for it? . . .
there is neither penalty for it, nor is there expiation for it’ (V. 3.38–39).

8.1.4 Coordinating particles

These are sentence-initial, -medial and -final.

8.1.4.1 Sentence-introductory at, ē’t

These are the two most common particles in Old and Young Avestan and, according to the context, may be rendered as ‘and, then, but’, and similar. They can be followed by a temporal clause introduced by OAv. hiia’t, yadā, YAv. yat ‘when’. Enclitic at is typical of the Yasna Haptayhāiti (Y. 35–41). They are also used as adversative particles:

OAv. sraotā gūš.āš . . .
āt tā maniiūt pa’ruuič . . .
at-cē hiia’t tā hēm maniiūt jasaētam . . .
‘listen with your ears . . .
Then, those two spirits in the beginning . . .
and then, when those two spirits come together’ (Y. 30.2–4);
"as well as", \(\text{at-va}\) ‘or else’:

\( \text{fööroi . . . pdööiae-ca væstriiae'bilö at-ca x'aețauë} \)

‘to (her) father and husband, to the foragers,

\(\text{as well as the *family}' (Y. 53.4);\)

\( \text{yasnum . . . x'smăwataö} \)

\(\text{at va așă staomiiă vacă} \)

‘the sacrifice to one like you (pl.),

\(\text{or else, by (my) Order, words of praise}' (Y. 33.8);\)

enclitic \(\text{at}:\)

\(\text{apă at yazama'dē} \)

‘and so we sacrifice (to) the waters’ (Y. 38.3);

\( \text{sraștaq m at toî kohripm kohriqmp awwađaimahă} \)

‘thus, as your form, the most beautiful of forms, we are making known . . .' (Y. 36.6).

\(\text{YA}_{\text{av.}} \quad \text{a'ī}:\)

\(\text{a't ya't mîdrm . . . frăadqmn . . . a't din daqmn} \)

‘then, when I brought forth Miðra . . . then I established him’ (Yt. 10.1);

advversative \(\text{at}, \text{a't}:\)

In Old Avestan, all examples of \(\text{at}\) introducing a second ‘half-line’ and several introducing ‘verse lines’ (exc. \(\text{at va}, \text{at-ca}\)) appear to have adversative function, occasionally also when enclitic. \(\text{YA}_{\text{av.}} \quad \text{a't}\) often has adversative function, notably in conditional clauses introduced by \(\text{a't yezi} (\text{Vid.}), \text{yezi} \quad \text{a't} (\text{Nir.}):\)

\(\text{YA}_{\text{av.}} \quad \text{aciștō droguuatqm # at așăunē vașištqmn mânō} \)

‘the worst (existence will be that) of those possessed by the Lie #

\(\text{but for the sustainer of Order (there will be) best thought}' (Y. 30.4);

\(\text{YA}_{\text{av.}} \quad \text{vispe z'i amie mađaghō aëșma hacînte . . .} \)

\(\text{a't hō yō haomahe mađo așa hacâte} \)

‘for all other intoxications are followed by Wrath (i.e. darkness and night),

\(\text{but the intoxication of the haqomâ is followed by Order (i.e. light and day)'} (Y. 10.8);

\(\text{mā ciș barat aëmō ya't 'ristm} \)

\(\text{a't yezi šē barat} \)

‘let no one carry alone what is dead;

\(\text{but if he carries alone something that is dead . . .' (V. 3.14);}\)

\(\text{yō gădō srașuatieti . . .} \)

\(\text{yezi hannaeb'ībīa uṣībīa d'hi.ś'runna'jīt raufrīș} \)

\(\text{yezi a't nōt hannaeb'ībīa uṣībīa . . .} \)

‘he who recites the Gāthās . . .

\(\text{if} \text{he can hear (them) with his own ears, (then) he satisfies the (ritual) models,}

\(\text{but if he cannot hear (them) with his own ears . . .' (N. 8).} \)
8.1.4.2 Emphatic particles

These include Av. ū (combines with various other particles for emphasis); Av. -cū, OPers. -ciy 'even, self, just, exactly' (OAv., YAv. at-ci, at-ci, OPers. aciy 'even then, so'); Av. -cinā (<-cana) 'especially, even'; tū (used with imperative and optative); and vōi "definitely":

OAv... yazandādē vahhās-cā ū vah'hās-cā ū '... we are sacrificing to both the good male ones and the good female ones' (Y. 39.3);

YAv. adā a'dā coi ū (< ca-īt) zarathustrā... viāmrusīta 'and in that very manner, Zarathustra would renounce...' (Y. 12.6);

vispām ā ahmad yādīt (yādā-īt) upa jasōt 'ristqin tanūm 'just until when he might come upon the dead body' (V. 6.27);

OAv. azōm-cū 'I for my part' (Y. 29.10);

tal nā nū-cū var'sānē 'that best (action/command) I am just now about to produce for us' (Y. 51.1);

OPers. yādā paruvam-āy 'just like before' (DB 1.63);

OAv. at-cū aēbūtā vahštā yōi... 'but also as the best things to those who...' (Y. 31.1);

YAv. yat-cū tanūm apaiešti at-cū dim nōit rāsāientē 'even when it reaches the body, even then it does not harm him' (Yt. 10.2);

utā viśtāspa utā aršāma ubā ajīvatam āciy... dārayavaum... xāyādīvam akunāš 'both Viśtāspa and Aršama were (still) alive. but, *even so, he made Darius king' (XPf 19–24);

OAv. aiiā nōit or's viśiūdā dēsūn-cinā 'especially the old gods did not discriminate rightly between these two' (Y. 30.6);

YAv. mā aša kapha-cinā þ po'ti, jime 'may *I not come up against any such at all!' (Vr. 22.2);

OAv. luxšārastū nā nā vā nāri vā xšaētā 'may a man or a woman of good command command us!' (Y. 41.2);

ātarš vōi mazdā ahurahiiči ahi 'you are definitely “the fire of Mazdā Ahura”?' (Y. 36.3).

8.1.4.3 zī 'for'

The enclitic particle zī is an explanatory particle used in main, subordinate, and parenthetical clauses with the general meaning of 'for, namely'. Av. yezi, which in Young Avestan is in complementary distribution with yeči zī, may be from *yei zī (see section 8.2.4 Conditional clauses):
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OAov. ať toi aghan... toi ā dātā hamaēstārō
‘and they shall be... for they (have been) made/established as opponents’ (Y. 48.12);

nū āt (<zi ī) ... viadārōm
‘for I just now caught sight of’ (Y. 45.8).

YAv. nōt āhni pi’ti nēri duaa manīi rōna auuastāγhať
‘for not shall over this man the two spirits take up a firm stance (of competition)’
(V. 7.51–52).

See also section 5.3.3 Parenthetical clauses.

8.1.4.4 Responsive bā, bōt

The particle is found once in the Yasna Haptaγhāiti, but more frequently in Young Avestan, where it is often used in answers to questions or as emphasis:

OAov. luxšadrōtamāi bā ať xšaṭrōm... dad’mahicā
‘yes, for (you) having the greatest command,
we then establish the command’ (Y. 35.5);

YAv. ciōra vō buiār’s masānā... ciōram bōt (<bā ī) yūzm-cit x’ar’nō...
‘may your *greatnesses be brilliant!... yes, and may you, too, give brilliant munificence...!’ (Ny.3.11).

8.1.4.5 OAv. ōbat, YAv. bāða ‘*sometimes, *again and again’

OAov. kō yā mā uxšiēiiti narṣṭatī ōbat
‘who (is he) through whom the moon is (now) first waxing then waning (is again and again waxing and waning?)’ (Y. 44.3);

YAv. hānti bāða māuuiiicīt caibśărō aršōna
‘even I have *again and again/at times(?) four males’ (V. 18.31).

8.1.4.6 Interjections

The interjections are ustå ‘hail! good luck!’ , nēmō ‘hail!’ , OAv. auuōi, YAv. auuōiiā, bāuōōiiā, and sādram ‘woe!’ , which take the dative, and YAv. āi ‘O!’ , which takes the vocative.

8.2 Subordination

Subordinate conjunctions are usually derived from the relative pronominal stems (OAov. hiia-, ya-; YAv. ya-; OP. ya-, taya).

8.2.1 Substantival that-clauses

These function typically as the subject or direct object or appositions to the subject or direct object. The mood is according to the meaning:
Relative clauses are the most frequent subordinate clauses in Old Avestan and probably in Young Avestan and Old Persian. They are adjectival and are often coordinated with adjectives.

A relative clause can precede, follow, or include its antecedent, which can be overt (explicit) or gapped (omitted) or just implied by the verb. It can be next to the antecedent or separated from it. The antecedent can be a noun or a (personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite) pronoun. The antecedent and the relative pronoun can be in the same case or in different cases, the antecedent usually being in the case demanded by the syntax of the main clause and the relative pronoun in the case demanded by the syntax of the relative clause, but case 'attraction' (assimilation) also occurs.

Like adjectives, relative clauses can be 'substantivised' and take the place of a noun and so by themselves function as subject, direct object, etc. ('he who'-clauses). An antecedent or resumptive 'dummy' pronoun may be present, which, by its case, shows the syntactic function of the relative clause: 'I saw him who killed the dragon', '(the one) who killed the dragon, him I saw'. In Old Persian, the 'he who' clauses were standardised and produced a new relative pronoun haya-, taya-(cf. Adiego Lajara 2000).

As in other early Indo-European languages, the antecedent of the relative may be located inside the relative clause (included) and may be in the same case as the relative pronoun. Such relative clauses may originate from interrogative or indefinite clauses: 'which man killed the dragon?', 'whichever man killed the dragon' > 'which man killed the dragon went away' (see also Kellens and Pirart 1990, Chapter 2 on relative clauses).
See also section 6.1.1 The Young Avestan and Old Persian connecting relative and the relative particle.

8.2.2.1 The use of moods and tenses in relative clauses

All tenses and moods are used in relative clauses, but the functions of the moods can differ slightly from those in main clauses:

subjunctive present:

OAv. [yə və mazdā ahurā pārijasāi] vohā manayhā
'I [who shall circumambulate you (pl.)], O Mazdā Ahura, with (my) good thought' (Y. 28.2);

YAv. aŋ-ca tōi væm xiiūmā [yōi îm f'ražūm kār'naon] ahūm
'thus, also: may we be those [who shall make it perfect], (this) existence' (Y. 30.9);

subjunctive aorist:

OAv. hātqm huuō aøjīshō
[yahmai zaumīng jīnā 'kārdūs ā]
'he is strongest of (all) who are [for whom I shall come (<ā jam-) to (his) calls (even if they are) weak'] (Y. 29.3);

optative present:

OAv. [yə hūm ahmāi vāstraucātūm stōi usiāt] (someone) [who might wish her and (her) pasture to be for him] (Y. 50.2);

optative aorist:

[taʃ ahiīa [yə tă upā,jamīamā] taunua-cā haxōmā
'that of this (one) [by which we may come to that], (namely) your company and ...' (Y. 40.2).

8.2.2.2 Old Avestan relative clauses

The Old Avestan relative clauses are particularly difficult to parse, partly because of the poetic word order and partly because of frequent ellipsis of antecedent, verb, etc.

8.2.2.2a Relative clause precedes the main clause

Antecedent implicit in verb with overt resumptive pronoun:

[yə ... ašm nipājēh manas-cā vohā yawaētētē] l tuuām ... frō mà sīsā
'[(you-sing.) who are guarding Order and good thought for the duration of a lifespan,] teach you me!' (Y. 28.11);

[yā frauawaxšiā] yezi tā dūh hglīiā
'(the words) [which I want to pronounce] – for if they (are) true in this manner' (Y. 44.6);

[yə və ... pārijasāi ...] mā bhūd āswūd ahūm ... aśiaptā
'for (you) to give to me, [who shall circumambulate you], the spoils of both existences' (Y. 28.2).
Antecedent implicit in verb without overt resumptive pronoun:

\[
\text{[yōī mōī ahmāī sarəə̞m dqa (da'ım-3p) câlias-cə-S upā jinəə̞m-3p hauruəə̞-ə̞tā\text{\texttt{\textemdash}}} \]
\[
\text{[\texttt{\textemdash}whosoever shall give readiness to listen to this one of mine], they shall come to wholeness (and) immortality'} (Y. 45.5);

\[
\text{[yēhiā mōī . . . vahis̱ə̞m yəṉe̞ pə̞tî j-DO vaèdā mazdâ ahūrō \texttt{\textemdash}(he)[in return for whose sacrifice the best (accrues) to me], Mazdā Ahura knows (him')} (Y. 51.22).

Antecedent included in relative clause with overt resumptive pronoun:

\[
\text{[yō mətā ašə̞ orızə̞] hunō . . . \text{[\texttt{\textemdash}the libator who (is) straight by (his) Order], he . . . ' (Y. 33.6);}

\[
\text{[yās-ça tu̯ı g̱ṉa . . . væriā] tā yazame̞dē \texttt{\textemdash}[and the women who (are) your well-deserved ones], those we are sacrificing (to)}' (Y. 38.1).

Antecedent included in relative clause without overt resumptive:

\[
\text{[yō məḏ̱rā vācə̞m . . . barə̞tî j-S . . . zarə̞də̞stə̞rō \texttt{\textemdash}the poet who is lifting (his) voice], . . . (he is I/He) Zarathustra'} (Y. 50.6);

\[
\text{[hi̯at mə̞ḏ̱ nə̞dam zarə̞də̞stə̞rō maγavuə̞biō cə̞îst parə̞ j-INSTR . . . ahūrō mazdə̞ jasə̞t pauruuiō \texttt{\textemdash}[the fee which Zarathustra assigned before to the masters of the gift-exchange], (with that) Ahura Mazdā comes (forward as) the first (in line)}' (Y. 51.15).

8.2.2.2b Relative clause follows the main clause

Overt antecedent preceding the main clause:

\[
\text{kō [yō mə̞ ux̱šiitii nə̞rə̞saiii 0̱βa̱t] \texttt{\textemdash}who (is he) [through whom the moon is (now) first waxing then waning]?'} (Y. 44.3);

\[
\text{a̱č̱m mōī idā vistō [yō nə̞ a̱č̱uū̱ sə̞s̱ṉa̱ g̱u̱šatā] \texttt{\textemdash}this one (is the one) found by me [who alone has listened to our ordinances]'}' (Y. 29.8);

\[
\text{sə̞nu̱tə̞ mazdə̞ ahūrō [yēhiā vahmē̞ voẖu̱̱ fra̱s̱i̱ manap̱hā] \texttt{\textemdash}let Ahura Mazdā listen, [in whose hymn I have (now) asked my good thought]'}' (Y. 45.6).

Antecedent overt and included:

\[
\text{xə̲ḏsṟə̞m-cə̞ . . . [yə̲ xə̲ḏsṟə̞ gṟu̱hmō hi̱s̱sa̱t] \texttt{\textemdash}and (their) command . . . [a command by which the *glutton *seeks a seat]'} (Y. 32.12–13).

Without overt antecedent:

\[
\text{hi̯at . . . u̱štə̞ [yō a̱č̱ə̞m də̱ḏṟé]-DAT \texttt{\textemdash}that . . . wished-for (things for him) [who upholds Order]} (Y. 51.8);
hiiaç-câ gârš ja'diââi mraoi[yê dîraosm saocaiiaâ auûô-J-AG
‘and when the cow is mistreated to (the point of) being smashed (by him) [who
“purifies” (by burning) the haoma]’ (Y. 32.14).

Antecedent implicit in the verbs:

anûîš vâ nôît . . . yânûîš zar*naêmâ-lp . . . [yôî . . yôiî’t mâ-lp]
‘may we not anger you with those requests (to you), [we who have taken our places]’
(Y. 28.9);

dâûî-2s mûi [yê gqm taûô-2s]
‘give me (now), [you who fashioned the cow . . .]’ (Y. 51.7);

vâr*stûm-3s [hiiaç vâsmâ fraûô.tionm (COP 3s)]
‘let (that) be produced [which is most perfect in exchange value]’ (Y. 50.11).

Antecedent included in relative clause:

aî yûs daûwûa ñspâûghô akâj manaûhô stâ cilîtrem [yas-câ vâ maș yazåtê]
‘but you, O old gods, are all (of you) the *seed (issued) from an evil thought,
and (so is) [the great one who is sacrificing to you]’ (Y. 32.3);

qum kaûûa vûšâsppô . . . nasat . . . [yqum cistîm . . . mûûa]
‘Kauui Vištâspa *reached that (insight), [the insight which he thought]’ (Y. 51.16).

Relative clause coordinated with noun or adjective:

OAv. [vâstrïiût vâ.] âîtê [yê vâ nôît aŋqat vâstrîiû]
‘to come [to the forager] or (to him) [who shall not be a forager]’ (Y. 31.9);

ahuûa [astûuwât-cû hiiaç-cû manaûhô]
‘of both worlds, both the one with bones and (the one) which (is) of thought’
(Y. 28.2).

8.2.2.2c Case attraction of relative pronoun

There are a few instances in Old Avestan in which the relative pronoun appears to have
been assimilated to the case of its antecedent, which may or not be present. We may
distinguish between two cases:

1. The verb comes after the relative clause and may be considered as part of both the
main and the relative clause:

vahïstam ôfâ . . . [yêm aʃa vahïstâ hazaošm ahuram] yâsû
‘you the best-DO (one), [whom-DO of the same pleasure as the best Order, (you) the
Ahura-DO] I ask for . . . ’ (Y. 28.8).

2. A verb may be supplied in the relative clause, e.g. ‘whom (I know as),’ ‘whom (X said
to be):

yaiia spaniia *u’ti mraauat [yêm angrêm]
‘of which two the life-giving one shall tell (him) [whom (you know/said to be) the Evil
one]’ (Y. 45.2),
8.2.2.3 Young Avestan relative clauses

The Young Avestan relative clauses show several of the general features of the Old Avestan ones, although, on the whole, they are less complex. They may precede or follow the main clause, and the antecedent and resumptive may be overt or not.

8.2.2.3a Relative clause precedes main clause

Antecedent included in relative clause:

[yqm ašaun vaq’him ašaiqmn vaedio] tqm druua ahauad
'[the Orderly fashion which the Orderly one knows to be good], (of) that the Lieful one is ignorant' (Vr. 22.2).

8.2.2.3b Relative clause follows the main clause

Overt antecedent outside relative clause:

ci t amatu vaco ās ahura mazda [yat mē frāunaocō] ‘which was yonder word, Ahura Mazda, [which you said forth to me]’ (Y. 19.1).

Antecedent not overt:

tom aoi tbaešā īša pa’tiiauatu
‘ōtiejā īša [yō t daabo]’
‘ōtiejā yanta [yō daa]’
‘by (this) invigorant let the hostilities go back against him [who has established them]’
‘(and), by (this) invigorant the dangers (against him) [who has established them] let the dangers go (to him) [who has established them]’ (Y. 65.8).

Antecedent included in relative clause:

rašajti haomahe maḇō [yō . . . haomām vaanda te mašiēō] ‘the intoxication of the haoma energises [the man who honors the haoma]’ (Y. 10.8).

8.2.2.3c asti ya- ‘here is/some of which’

Young Avestan relative clauses with asti (asti yā, etc.) express ‘some ... others’ (cf. Middle Persian ast i, Ch. 4, sections 5.2.2.8 and 5.3.4):

hazayəmn *Danuəaninigm asti yō gauasnahe snāuuiia jiia . . . 
hazayəmn *īšuqm . . . asti yā aghaena spar’a’ya
‘a thousand *bows, well-made, some of which have strings made of sinews of gazelles . . . ’

Yt. 10.128–29).
8.2.2.4 Old Persian relative clauses

In Old Persian, the relative clause most often follows its antecedent and is often embedded in the main clause:

\[ \text{dārāniyām hačā spardā utā hačā bōxtrīyā abāriya [taya idā akāriyā]} \]

‘the gold [that was wrought here] was carried from Sardis and from Bactria’ (DSf 35–37).

Resumptive not overt:

\[ \text{martiyā [tayā-śaiv fratamā anušīyā āhatā] avāja} \]

‘the men [who were his foremost followers] (those) he killed’ (DB 3.74–75).

Resumptive overt:

\[ \text{dārayavāum [haya manā pita] avam xšāyaṭiyam akunauš} \]

‘Darius, [who (was) my father], him he made king’ (XPf 22–24).

Antecedent nominativus pendens:

\[ \text{imā dahgyāvā [tayā adam agorbāyam] . . . adam-śām patiyaxšayaiy} \]

‘these countries [which I seized . . .] I ruled over them’ (DNa 16–19).

See section 6.1.1 The Young Avestan and Old Persian connecting relative and the relative particle.

8.2.2.5 Indefinite relative clauses

Indefinite relative clauses are introduced by indefinite pronouns or a combination of relative and indefinite pronouns. The relationships between pronouns and antecedents are the same as for relative clauses:

\[ \text{OAv. maniītīm zaraṭuśtrō var'ntē . . . [yastē ciś-cā spānīstō]} \]

‘Zarathustra chooses the inspiration [which is your most life-giving] = ‘. . . whichever inspiration . . .’ (Y. 43.16);

\[ \text{[yōi mōi ahmāi s'raošm dēn caiias-cā] upā. jīmōn . . .} \]

‘[whosoever shall give readiness to listen to this one of mine], they shall (now) come to . . .’ (Y. 45.5);

\[ \text{aṭ huūō . . . [kaś-cīt aṣā huṣṇītūś]} \]

‘thus, he there is . . . [whoever by (his) Order (is) of good lineage]’ (Y. 49.5);

\[ \text{uṣṭā ahmāi [yahmāi uṣṭā kalhvāicit . . . mazdā dāīät altūrō]} \]

‘wished-for (things are) in the wish for him, [to whomever Mazda Ahura shall give (them)]’ (Y. 43.1).

8.2.2.6 Conditional relative clauses

The only example (OPers.) has the perfect optative potential:

\[ \text{OP. nāiy āha martiyā . . . [kaś-cīy} \]

haya avam gaumātam . . . xšaṣṭam dītam caxriyā-3s-perf. opt.]
‘there was no man at all . . .
who could have taken the royal command from that Gaumâta’ (DB 1.48-49, 53).

See also section 8.2.4.2c Conditions contrary to fact.

8.2.3 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses typically function like adverbs, modifying a verb or a clause. Most of them are introduced by adverbial forms of the relative ya-: OAv. *hiiat, YAv. *yat, OPers. *taya and *yadā ‘as, how’ (most common); local Av. *yadārā ‘where’, OPers. *yadā-tyaṇa; temporal OAv. *yadā ‘when’, YAv. *yaṇa, and others.

8.2.3.1 Clauses of time


Tenses and moods are mostly as in main clauses:

8.2.3.1a Old Avestan

*aht-cā [hiiat tā hōm maniīū jasaētōn-pres. inj.] pa'rōnuīm dazē
thus, also: [whenever the two spirits come together], (then) one *receives for the first time’ (Y. 30.4);

*hiiat us . . . naptiiēšū nafīcū . . . *jān-aor.inj. . . (<gan-t < gan-t)
‘when he has come up among the *great-grandchildren and grandchildren] . . .' (Y. 46.12);

OAv. *yadā aēšām kaēnā jamādī] . . .
‘when the retribution has come for these (sins)’ (Y. 30.8).

Note the verb-less time clauses; whether the gapped verb is the copula cannot be verified:

*yā mazdāōā [hiiat-cīt vīduōe]
‘(the words) to which attention should be paid, [even when (it is) by a knowing (man)]’ (Y. 30.1);

*yadā tā aghēn [hōnkōrtā hiiat]
‘how those shall be [when (they are) at the *accounting (<hōnkōrtī-)i]’ (Y. 31.14).

8.2.3.1b Young Avestan

*yat-cīt ahī-pres. ind. raṃnuīo ašāum upa karśūnīr yat arzahī] . . .
‘[O Orderly Rašnu, just when you are over the continent (of) Arzahī] . . .’ (Yt. 12.9);

iśuwa-cīt . . . aśomnū. vīdō *bauvainti
*yada grantō . . . mitōnītī mitōro
‘even the arrows will not find their targets
[when Miôra dwells angered]’ (Yt. 10.39);
yauuata gaiia iuñama-pres. ind. ‘as long as we two live’ (Yt. 15.40).

[yat astuwat.e reti fraxstagte-pres.subj. haca apat kasaati] . . .
‘when Astuwat.e reta shall stand forth from the Kasaaoiia Sea . . .’ (Yt. 19.92);

niiñi vajho ahmañi šiaoiiñanam ver·zií′eti
[yadot puorah . . . frn naežam nasum pacati-pres.subj.]
‘he performs a deed no better than
[when one cooks the corpse of one’s son on a spit]’ (V. 16.17);

tam yazata pauuru . . .
[yat dim usca uzdaugnaiat-inj. . . oraetaonó]
‘to her Pauruuo sacrificed
[when Oraetaona tossed him up in the air]’ (Yt. 5.61).

Preterital optative:

[yat tum d′nim aunaenoiš] . . . ḫi tum niš hēšiš
‘[whenever you would see . . .] then you would sit down’ (H. 2.13);

. . . [yauuata xšaiti huuq0βó yimó]
‘[for as long as Yima ruled]’ (Y. 9.5).

8.2.3.1c Old Persian

[hakaram-maiy ušiy gádavá histaatiy-pres. ind./ . .
/adakaiy fratara maniyaqy afuváyá
[yaqiy viñamiy-pres.ind. hamiciyam] yadá [yaqiy nano yavamiy-pres.ind.]
‘once it stands (firmly) in place in my mind’. . .
then I feel more beyond fear
[when I see something conspiratorial than [when I do not see (it)])’ (DNb 34-40);

utá-[taiy yává taumá ahiaty-pres. subj./
aurasdá-taiy dauštá biyá
‘and, [for as long as there is strength to you = you have strength],
may Ahuramazdá favour you’ (DB 4.71-79);

auramazdá [yaqy avain-impf. iñám bümim] . . .
‘Ahuramazdá, when he saw this earth . . .’ (DNa 31-32);

[yadá taya adam xšáyadiyá abavam-impf.] astiy . . . [see section 7.1.1.3]
‘[when I became king], there was . . .’ (XPh 29-32);

viyaxanahayá máha[yá] XIV raucabiš ṣakatat áha [yaqiy udapatai-impf.]
‘it was on the 14th of the month of Viyaxana [when he rose up]’ (DB 1.38);

[yáta adam bábirauv aham-impf.] . . .
‘while I was in Babylon . . .’ (DB 2.6);

[yadá kašujiya baridiyam avája-impf. (<av-α-ja>).
‘[when Cambyses had killed Smerdis] . . .’ (DB 1.31-32).
8.2.3.2 Clauses of place

The usual conjunction is Av. yaūrā; YAv. also yašt... paiti ‘where’; OPers. yadā-taya and yadāyā (for *yadāyadā acc. to Schmitt 1994) ‘where’. Indefinite clauses are introduced by YAv. yadāt ‘wherever’ (often indistinguishable from ‘whenever’):

OAv. hiiat a'bi. g'man [yaūrā cintuawā purtus] ‘when they have come to [where the Ford of the Accountant (is)]’ (Y. 46.11);

YAv. nasie'ti... ahmaat haca umānaät āhiti... [yaūrā bāēē upastawi haomahe... baēsawam] ‘pollution disappears from this house [where he ever and again praises... the healing of the haoma]’ (Y. 10.7);

[yadāt dim bāēsītām awin zanqī-subj. sūnū] (sūnū-acc. for spānī-nom.) ‘[wherever most often dogs will notice him]’ (V. 6.45);

OPers. utā a'ētar aitā dahayāna āha [yadā-taya... daīvā ayadiya-impf. ...] [yadāyā puruašu daīvā ayadiya-impf.] avadī... ‘and among these lands, there was (one) [where old gods had been sacrificed to]... [wherever the old gods were sacrificed to], there...’ (XPh 35–41).

8.2.3.3 Clauses of purpose

The conjunctions are OAv. hiiat, YAv. yašt and yadā, OPers. negated mā-taya ‘lest’. The mood is the subjunctive:

OAv. vaxšūā vō... [hiiat dātōng vicaiitudā-2p-subj. adōqas-cā] ‘I shall tell you, [so that you may sort out those according to the rules and those not]’ (Y. 46.15);

YAv. [yašt azom tārwaiani-subj. vispe yātswō pa'rīkās-ca] [yašt mām naeciš tārwaiaṇati-subj.] ‘[so that I shall overcome all sorcerers and witches], [so that no one shall overcome me]’ (Yt. 1.6);

OPers. avahaya-rādiy kāram avājanīyā [mā-taya-mām xšnāsātīy-subj.] (xšnāsātīy?) ‘therefore he would kill the people/army: [so that it (they?) will not recognize-subj. me]’ (DB 1.51–53).

8.2.3.4 Clauses of result

The conjunctions are OAv. hiiat, YAv. yašt, OPers. taya. The mood is the indicative:

OAv. hiiat ī d'boomā pur'smanuṅg upā. jasat [hiiat vēr'ñatā-pres. ind. acišom munā] ‘because deception would come over them as they were discussing, [so that they would prefer the worst thought]’ (Y. 30.6);
8.2.3.5 Clauses of cause

The conjunctions are OAv. *hiiaj*, YAv. *yat* and *yaδa*, OPers. *taya* and *yaδa*. The mood is according to sense:

YAv. *yat asti-pres.ind. baβriš sraesța*

'[because the female beaver is the most beautiful there is]' (Yt. 5.129);

*auuaOa saosih/s [yaOa VISP:1111 ahiim astlllW(lt:1117 sauuaiial-pres.subj.]*

'thus (he is called) 'Revitaliser,' [because he will revitalise the entire bony existence]' (Yt. 13.129);

OPers. *avahya-râdî-maiy auramazdâ upastâm abara . . . [yaδa naiy a'rîka ahani-impf.]*

'for this reason Ahuramazdâ . . . because I was not on the Evil One’s side' (DB 4.62–63).

In Old Avestan, a causal clause may be correlated with an instrumental of cause/reason:

OAv. *vaedâ ta* yat yâ ahmi mazdâ anaesô

*mî kamnafšuâ [hiiaj-că kamnâh ahmi]*

'I know that on account of which (= the reason why) I am weak, O Mazda: (it is) because of my lack of cattle [and because I have few men]' (Y. 46.2).

8.2.3.6 Clauses of manner, degree and comparison

The common conjunction is *yaδa* 'as, how, than’. Degree is expressed by Av. *yauvat* 'to the extent that, as long as, until’, *mûnaitôn ahe yaδa* 'as if’, etc.; OAv. *yât* and *ya.tâ* 'to the degree that, as far as’. The moods are as in main clauses.

Manner:

OAv. *kâ istiš . . . [yaδa vâ hahmi-pres.ind.]*

'what (is your) wish . . . [or (for how I sleep)]?' (Y. 34.5);

*yaδa tâ ã . . . mînghâ-că-aor.inj.]*

'[in the same way that you . . . and have thought them]' (Y. 39.4);

*ta 0fhâ porosô . . . [yaδa tâ aghôn-pres.subj.]*

'I ask you . . . [how those shall be]' (Y. 31.14);

YAv. *yaδa vasi-pres.ind. . . . ëda aghô așauna*

'[as you desire] . . . here you shall be Orderly' (Y. 71.16);
uzjamiiq(u) . . . [yaθa hīš fraθaθat-pres.inj.]
'may they come up . . . as he brought them forth' (Y. 55.3);

OPers. [yaθa-šām hacā-ma ədahaya-impf.| avadā akumaŋaŋatā
'[as was said to them by me], thus they would do (preterital opt.)' (DB 1.123–24).

Indefinite manner:

YAv. [yaθa koθa-ca hē zaosō]
'[howsoever his pleasure (may be)]' (Yt. 4.7).

Comparison:

YAv. yā yāskar'istrarā ahmāt [yaθa vaca framrawārei-pres.ind.1]
'who are more effective at the audition [than they can be said forth with words (to be)]' (Yt. 13.64).

'As if'-clauses take the optative:

[mūnaitsiθ na yaθa hazagran naran dīm naran ādār'zaithiŋ-pres.opt.]
'[as if 1000 men were to fetter a single man]' (Y. 8.55).

Degree:

amaut [yāθ huar5 amaut-aur. pass.1] 'as (high) [as the sun has been said (to be)]'
(Y. 36.6).

Indefinite degree clauses take the subjunctive:

OAav. [amaut aŋa tauθa-subj.-cā isāi-subj.-cā]
'[to the extent I by the Order (of my ritual) can and am able]' (Y. 50.11);

[amaut cuaut-ca hē zastaebiθi̇ haŋgaθaruuiq换句话说.1 aŋtauaut ..
'[however much of it they can grasp by the hands], this much . . .]' (V. 6.29).

8.2.4 Conditional clauses

The conjunctions are OAav. hiiat, yezi, YAv. yaqt, yezi (yeidī before zi), OPers. yadī. Real
conditions are expressed by various combinations of indicative, subjunctive, optative and
imperative. The order of protasis (if-clause) and apodosis (then-clause) is irrelevant. See
also Panaino 1989–90.

8.2.4.1 Conditional clauses in Old Avestan

The Old Avestan yezi clauses seem to be 'truth-tests': 'if something is/was/will be true,
then . . . '. The apodosis either contains a statement about the current state of the world or
a request for knowledge, rewards or similar in the imperative:

yā frauaxxiuθ [yezi tā aθa həθiθi (COP)]
aθam śiacoθ'nuθ d'baqdati-pres.ind. ārmāθiθ
'(the words) which I want to pronounce, [if they (are) indeed true in this manner],
then, clearly), by (her) actions, Ārmaitī is *thickening Order' (Y. 44.6);
8.2.4.2 Conditional clauses in Young Avestan

8.2.4.2a yezi-clauses: simple conditions

These take the present indicative or subjunctive and the perfect indicative in ‘if ever’ conditions:

[yəzī vaśī-pres. ind. . . . awwā tbaḵšā te ruwaiaio] . . .
żą ḥamā tām nāmtānī . . . fra mraua-pres. imp. (thematic form)
‘[if you wish to overcome your hostilities] . . .
then say forth these names!’ (Yt. 1.10–11);

yā ahurâhe *xšaiāntō dasinqā upa yuḏīiēntī-pres. ind.
[yəzī aēm bauudā-pres. ind. ašawu-ašnus] . . .
‘. . . who fight at the right side of the ruling lord
[if (= whenever) he satisfies the Orderly ones]’ (Yt. 13.63);

hazalJr>m az>h te zaoOranqam . . . barānī-pres. subj.
[yəzī jum (<juγam) frapatieni-pres. subj. aoi zam] . . .
‘I shall bring you a thousand libations . . .
[if I reach alive the earth]’ (Yt. 5.63);

[yəzī ỏβā diduaeaša-perf. ind.] . . .
ā te aṯhī fra-ca stuiie-pres. ind.
‘[if I have (ever) antagonised you,
for this I am assigning myself by my praise (a-stuiie’?) to you and utter your praise
(fra-stuiie)’ (Y. 1.21).

Alternate conditions are expressed by yezi . . . nauuāt ‘if . . . or if not’:

[yəzī taṭ yaiiata-perf. ind. nauuāt taṭ yaiiata-perf. ind.] . . .
‘[if he has taken up his position or not taken up his position] . . . ’ (Āfr. 3.3).

8.2.4.2b yezi-clauses: hypothetical conditions

These take the optative in the protasis:

[yəzī-ca hō nā paṭṭi. hincīitt-pres. opt.] yō . . .
kuḏa aētāt druṣ̄x parnative-pres. subj. (aētāt druṣ̄x for aetām druṣ̄im)
‘[and if that man were to pour] who is . . .
how shall he overcome this lie-demon?’ (V. 9.47).
8.2.4.2c Conditions contrary to fact

Conditions contrary to fact (irrealis) take the perfect or present optative in the protasis and the perfect optative in the apodosis:

\[
\{\text{yei}d\text{i zi az}m\text{ nö}i\text{t} \text{ddö}i\text{iqm-perf. opt.} \ldots \text{aom står}m\} \ldots
\]
\[
\text{hau pö}r\text{ika} \ldots \text{a}g\text{ähwr}m\text{ a}u\text{a}a\text{hi}söi\text{at-perf. opt.}
\]

'for if I had not set in place yonder star' \ldots

(then) \ldots that witch would have cut off the *thread of life* (Yt. 8.52–54);

\[
\{\text{yei}d\text{i zi mã} ma\text{ši}t\text{äka} \ldots \text{yazai}a\text{nta-pres. opt.} \ldots
\]
\[
\text{frä }\text{nu}r\text{ii}ö\text{ a}f\text{uu}a\text{oi}ö \ldots \text{šu}u\text{iiq}m\text{-perf. opt.}
\]

'for if men were to sacrifice to me,'

(then) I would have gone forth for the Orderly men' (Yt. 8.11).

See also section 8.2.2.6 Conditional relative clauses.

8.2.4.2d \text{yaq-clauses}

In Young Avestan, conditional \text{yaq}-clauses are sometimes difficult to distinguish from temporal clauses:

\[
\{\text{yaq} \text{anusö vif}j\text{ie}t\text{-ti-pres. ind.} \ldots \text{kä hë asti cë}ha
\]

'if/when someone is buggered unwillingly], what is the penalty for that?' (V.8.26);

\[
\{\text{yaq} \text{ah}m\text{i mmä}në \ldots \text{när}k\text{a daxšu}u\text{ut}t\text{i a}g\text{h}at\text{-pres. subj.}
\]

'if/when in this house a woman becomes menstruant]' (V.5.59);

\[
\text{abda-ca îda} \ldots \text{so}d\text{ai}ät\text{-pres. subj.}
\]
\[
\{\text{yaq} \text{î}d\text{a pasö}š \text{a}n\text{ma}iat\text{he} \text{p}ä\text{d}şm \text{væ}näte-pres. subj.}
\]

'and wondrous it will seem

[if the footprint of a sheep should be seen here]' (V.2.24).

8.2.4.2e Periphrasis with present participle

Presumably because not all verbs had perfect optative forms, a periphrasis was used consisting of a present participle feminine accusative [l] + perfect optative of 'to be':

\[
\{\text{yezi-ca aëte nasö}më \ldots \text{nasö}š nàröm ä스타ratïeïntim ājïhät-perf opt.}\]
\[
\text{išar}ä.\text{stätïa më vispö a}ghuś astuä \ldots \text{(no verb)}
\]

'and if these corpses \ldots (if this) corpse would have rendered a man guilty,
then, pronto, my entire bony existence (would be .. .)' (V. 5.4).

8.2.4.3 Conditional clauses in Old Persian

In Old Persian, only the future condition type is attested:

\[
\text{yad}i\text{i}y \text{imän dipim vai}nâkhay-pres. subj, \text{imai-vä pati}kârâ]
\]

'[if you see this inscription or these images], (then) . . . .' (DB 4.72–73).

See also section 8.2.2.6 Conditional relative clauses.
9 LEXIS

9.1 Word formation

Words can be derived in a variety of manners: by prefixes and suffixes and by composition, of which the following is a selection.

9.1.1 Derivation

9.1.1.1 Suffixes

Among the more common, even productive, Old Iranian suffixes are the following:

-a-: Among its many uses, this suffix makes adjectives from nouns (including derived nouns and compounds), often accompanied by full or lengthened grade of the first syllable (vriddhi); when the first syllable has a long vowel, the adjective will be identical with the noun from which it is derived: Av. maniiauua- 'belonging in the other world' < maniiu-; haozqOfJa- 'being of good lineage' < hUZa(1tu-; apa- 'water-logged' < ap- 'water'; updri-z' 'ma- 'who live upon the earth' < ziiam-; - OPers. "ullaipasiya- 'own' < "ul'aipasiya- 'self'; marga­ 'person from Margiana' < margu- 'Margiana'; pArsa 'Persian' < pars 'Persia'.

-i-, -ja-: The suffix -i- and its thematicised form -ja- are used to form adjectives denoting various kinds of appurtenance, notably geographical; they are often accompanied by lengthened grade in the first syllable (vriddhi):

Av. ahflri- 'pertaining to belonging to Ahura (M azda); htiuuani- '(time of day) pertaining to the haoma pressing (halluana-); v,ar''Orayna- 'victorious' < v;w'Orayna- 'victory, god of victory'; - OPers. btigayadi- month name < baga- 'god' + yada-, cf. yada- 'to sacrifice'; - YAv. jdnika- < jdni- 'woman'; mafiiaka- 'man, mortal'; pasuka- 'sheep and goats' < pasu-; ap;1r'na- 'minor child' < a-p;1r'na- 'who has not filled his age'; - OPers. vazc;rka- < vazarln- 'greatness'; arStika­ (or arStika-) 'spear-man' < *(lrSti- 'spear'; k(lrnUvaka- 'workman, artisan' < kC!rnau- 'do, make'.

-na-, -ana-: These suffixes produce various kinds of nouns and adjectives from verb roots: Av. yasna- 'sacrifice' < yaz-; x'afna- 'sleep' < x'ap-; hanjamana- 'assembly, gathering' < ham-gam- 'come together'; pacina- 'cooked meal' < pac- 'cook'; - OPers. "stana- 'place (for ...)' < stā-; avahana- 'settlement, town' < ā-vah-; draujana- 'liar, deceiver' < drauj-; hamarama- 'battle' < ham-ar- 'form ordered (battle) lines'.

-yant- (-mant- after u): This is a very common suffix meaning 'full of, containing': OAv. aoj(1)hllUa(lt- 'strong' < aojah-); - YAv. xratll-n1(l(ll- 'wise'.

-tät-: This is a productive suffix making abstract nouns from adjectives. It is also used to 'quote' or refer to words: Av. ha''ruua-tät- 'wholeness' < ha''ruua-; upara-tät- 'superiority'; OAv. kauui-tät- 'being a kauui, the word kauui' (cf. abstract suffix MPers.
-liz, Ch. 4, section 6.1.2.1); YAv. yawuæ-tât- 'that which is yawuæ “forever”'; rîlîqâs-tât- ‘fact of being rîlîqâs- “dying” (mortal)’. In Old Persian, this suffix may have been replaced by -tâ- (OPers. arâ-tâ- vs. YAv. arâ-tât- ‘rectitude’).

9.1.1.2 Prefixation

Some prefixes are also preverbs, others are used with nominal forms only.

9.1.1.2a Preverbs used as prefixes

Preverbs used as prefixes typically have slightly different meanings from those of the preverbs, e.g.:

apa ‘in the back, backward’ (preverb: ‘back, backward’): apa-kauua- ‘with hump in the back, humpback’;

fra ‘in front’ (preverb: ‘forward, forth’): fra-bâzu- ‘(the length of) the arm held forward’, fra-xznu- ‘with knees sticking out, knobbly-kneed’;

 vi ‘to the side(s), away’ (preverb: ‘to the sides, far and wide’): vi-bâzu- ‘(the length of) the arms held to the sides’, vi-daēua- ‘keeping the demons away, discarding the demons’, vi-xrûmant- ‘(a blow) that causes blood to flow out’.

9.1.1.2b Nominal prefixes

Exclusively nominal prefixes include:

a- (an- before vowel) ‘not, non-, lacking’, used to negate nouns and adjectives (including those made from verbs) and to make adjectives meaning ‘lacking sth.’: OAv. a-drûjîinta- ‘non-deceiving’, YAv. an-âšuwan- ‘not Orderly’, ə-uuiîsta-, ə-uuiîsti- ‘unfound; lack of finding’ (a- + uviîsta-), a-ghuašîmna- ‘not drying out’, a-kara- ‘limitless’;


9.1.2 Compounding

Compounds, as well as their individual elements, can be all kinds of words (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, other compounds): YAv. daïhju-petî- ‘landlord’, vîr’0ra-jaan- ‘obstruction-smasher’; – OPers. daïva-dâna- ‘idol-repository’, tiqra-xanda- ‘pointed-hat = wearing pointed hat’, hamaranâ-kara- ‘battle-doer = battle-fighter’.

Possessive adjectival compounds (bahûvrîhi) are especially common: bar’smô-zastâ- ‘barsom-hand = with barsom in the hand’, hu-xšaôrâ- ‘having good command’.

If one member of the compound is a word that usually contains two parts, only one part can normally be used in the compound: ahura-dâta- ‘Ahura-placed = set in place by Ahura Mazda’, mazda-iiasna- ‘Mazda-sacrifice = someone who sacrifices to Ahura Mazda; compounds consisting of more than two members are probably not of an inherited type: YAv. [draoyô.vâxš].draojišta- ‘who lies [with lying words] the most’.

9.1.2.1 Form of first and second members of compounds

The final vowel of the first member usually becomes ō, whether it as an a-, â-, or an an-stem or an invariable in -a: daēuùô.dâta- ‘demon-established’ (< daēuua-), zruô.dâta- ‘time-
established (<zruvâna-); hâptô.karšvârâ- 'the earth') having seven continents (<hâpta 'seven').

Some adjectives use an i-stem as the first member of a compound, e.g. xšiuğli.išu- 'shooting) vibrating/fast arrows' (<xšiuğla- 'vibrating'), bořzi.gâdâra- 'with loud singing' (<bořzant- 'high, loud').

Nouns as second members of compounds are sometimes in the zero grade, e.g. frâdat.fšu- 'cattle-furthering' (<pasu- 'sheep and goats'), ar'duua-fšin- 'with high bosom' (<fšâna- 'breat'), spîtanâ- 'with fattened (increased) strength' < *spîta-Hma- < ama-).

Sometimes, the first member of a compound is in a case form:

- nom.: YAv. afš.tacin- '(mountains) where water flows' (<afš 'water' nom. sing.), kôrfš.xar- 'body-eating, carrion (bird)' (<kêp-šyar- < hyar-?);
- acc.: OAv. áhûm.biš- 'world-healer', vor'ôrm.jân- 'obstruction-smasher'; YAv. afšm.stut- 'praising Order';
- gen.: z'mas.cîbra- 'earth-seed, having the seed of the earth';
- dat.: yauuâe-sû- 'forever benefiting';
- loc.: YAv. mû̄d̄iiôl.śad- 'sitting in the middle'.

9.1.2.2 Adverbial ânredêta compounds

The so-called ânredêta compounds are adverbial phrases consisting of repeated words: OAv. narâm narôm 'man after man'; YAv. nmâne nmâne 'in house after house'.

9.1.2.3 'Dual' or 'open dvandvas'

These denote a pair consisting of two different objects, which may be singular, e.g. 'firewood and incense', 'Frašaostra and Jâmâspa', or (generic) plural, e.g. 'cattle and men'. In these expressions both nouns are in the dual, so that the expression looks like '2 firewoods, 2 incenses', etc.: OAv. gâuûâ ašt 'a bull and a (fertile) cow'; YAv. âpa uruâre 'waters and plants', saâhauâci ar'nauâci 'the two (sisters) Saâhauvâci and Arnuvâci'.

If one of the items consists of two words, one word is usually dropped: mîdra ahura 'Miôra and Ahura (Mzdâ)', ahuna *d'riitâmana 'the (prayers) Ahuna (Vairiâ) and Aârîtâman (Išiîô)'.

10 STYLISTIC FEATURES

Both in the Old Avestan complex metres and in the Young Avestan octosyllabic metre, syntactic units are frequently confined within a metrical unit, but clauses commonly continue through several units.

10.1 Old Avestan poetic word order

The Old Avestan metre is characterised by strophes divided into 3–5 metrical units ('verse-lines' . . . / . . . ) split into two smaller units ('half-lines') by a caesura (. . . # . . . ).

The most common departure from 'normal' word order involves the splitting up of small syntactic units, for instance, the separation of determinants from their nouns:

- noun + adj.: [gân̄š] vor'zônè [aziâ]

[cow] in *household [fertile] = 'in the *household of the fertile cow' (Y. 34.14);
[Ahurô] vaêdâ / [mazdâ]  
'[Ahura] knows [Mazdâ]' = 'Ahura Mazdâ knows' (Y. 31.2);

adj./pron. + noun:

[0šahmî] mazdâ [vičvîoi]  
'[your] Mazdâ [in discrimination]' = 'in your discrimination, O Mazdâ' (Y. 32.8);

noun + gen.:

[ratûm] ahurô vaêdâ / mazdâ [aUûa jasaiâ]  
'[model] Ahura knows Mazdâ [of these two premiums]' = 'Ahura Mazdâ knows the model of these two premiums' (Y. 31.2).

Often a small syntactic unit, such as noun + adjective/genitive, verb + direct object, or even preverb + verb, is split between two half-lines or lines, especially in Gâdás 2–3, which have first 'half-lines' of only four syllables. The split can take various forms: the terms can remain adjacent to one another, occupy parallel positions, be mirrored, or other; and they can be split between half-lines or verse-lines (enjambement).

Split between half-lines:

"adâ tašã gêšu [paṛ'asat # ašêm]  
'then the fashioner of the cow [asks # Order]' (Y. 29.2);

"hîiât daôšîng vi # caiwotâ addâqš-câ  
'so that you can [dis # criminate] (between those) who are according to the rules and those who are not' (Y. 46.15).

Enjambement:

"maibîîî dâwuoi [ahuûa # . . ./ âiáptâ]  
'for (you) to give to me [of the two existences # . . ./ the spoils]' (Y. 28.2).

'Inverse enjambement' (new clause – or smaller syntactic unit – begins with a single word at the end of a verse-line):

"xšiô / dârâq5m âiîu tómaqhô  
'lamentations, / a long lifespan of darkness' (Y. 31.20);

"vašiîtâ / gauûoi vor'ziśiâtqum  
'let the best (things/pastures) be produced for the cow!' (Y. 48.5).

10.2 Parallelism and chiasmus

Sequences of similar groups of words can be arranged in parallel (A₁, B₁, A₂ B₂) or chiastically (A₁, B₁, B₂ A₂).

10.2.1 Parallelism

Parallelism occurs within or between metrical units (A₁ . . . B₁ // A₂ . . . B₂, etc.) and is found in all three languages:
10.2.2 Chiasmus

In this case, the elements of parallel phrases are arranged in opposite order, 'crossed', as it were.

Verb + predicate/direct object, predicate/direct object + verb:

OAv. [ahmī] . . . [anaēšō] . . . [kannānā] [ahmī]
'[I am] [weak . . . I few-menn'ed] [I am]' = 'I am weak and have few men'
(Y. 46.2).

Adjective/genitive + noun vs. noun + adjective/genitive:

OAv. [kū] [spēntā] [ārmētīš] / [kūbrā] [manō] [vahistām] 'where (is) [life-giving] [Humility]?
where (is) [thought] [the best]?'
(Y. 51.4).

10.2.3 Combined parallelism and chiasmus

OAv. [amanrētātā hā'rumātā] # [spānīštā <manīiū>] . . . /
[twāunūtā utaiīti] # / <managāhā> vohū]
'(give me) [immortality and wholeness] [by (your) most life-giving <inspiration>],
{*tension and *texture} [by (your?) <thought> the good]'
(Y. 51.7).

10.3 Ellipsis in Old Avestan poetry

The omission of key words, mostly verbs, is one of the most intriguing, frustrating, and tantalising aspects of the Old Avestan poetry. The omitted words can sometimes be supplied from the context itself, but very often they must be supplied from the larger context of the poet-sacrificer's world, as manifested elsewhere in his poetry. If the omitted word is to be supplied from a still more general context, we cannot do it.
Repeated verb:

\[ \text{aj kohrpām utāi/o̞tiš dadāt} \]
\[ \text{ārmātiš qnmā} \]
‘thus, *texture gives (him) form,
Humility (the earth) (gives him) breathing’ (Y. 30.7);

\[ \text{yas-tā mantā pa'ruiu̞} \ldots j \]
\[ \text{huu̞u xa̞d̜əb̜a} \ldots aʃəm \]
‘(he) who thought (thoughts) the first . . . J
he, by (his) wisdom, (thought 
[= produced by his thought]) Order’ (Y. 31.7), cf.
\[ \text{y ŋ mantā aʃəm} \]
‘(he) who thought Order’ (Y. 31.19).

Repeated noun and verb:

\[ \text{kaʃ tòi aʃā zhaiel} \text{e auu̞a̞hō} \]
\[ \ldots \text{kaʃ tòi vohō manaŋhāh} \]
‘What help do you have for him when he invokes (you) with Order?
What (help) do you have (for him when he invokes you?) with good thought?’
(Y. 49.12).

Close context:

\[ \text{nā ŋm vispa} \# \text{ciʃ ō zī mazdāhō. dūm l} \]
\[ \text{nōt d"biʃm} \# \text{du. sastiš ahu̞n marə̞iši}i̞āt} \]
‘now, all, pay attention to it (sōngham ‘the (good) announcement’?), for it (is)
brilliant!
let not a second time the one of bad announcements destroy the existence!’ (Y. 45.1),

\[ \text{nī hīm mar"zi}i̞āt \text{0βahīūb maʃrāi}u̞ sōngha}hi̞ūb \]
‘in order for it (the Lie) to be wiped out by the (poetic) thoughts of your
announcement’ (Y. 44.14).

10.4 Formulaic diction in Old Persian

Old Persian prose is characterised by several of the features described above for Avestan.

Word order variation:

\[ \text{avaʃa}̞-ʃiy a0aham paraidiy [avam kāram jadiy} \{\text{haya manā na}i̞ y gaubataiy} \]
‘thus I said to him: “go forth! [crush that army] (which does not call itself mine)!”’
(DB 3.14–15),

\[ \text{avada}̞-ʃiy a0aham paraidiy [kāra} \{\text{haya hamī}c̜ iya manā na}i̞ y gaubataiy} \{avam jadiy} \]
‘thus I said to him: ‘go forth! (that conspiratorial [army] which does not call itself
mine), [crush it]!”’ (DB 2.30–31).

Same formula, different syntax:

\[ \text{ima taya adam akunavam [va}šnā auramazdāha} \} \{\text{hamahay}āyā} \text{θarda} \}
\[ \text{pasvā yādā xšayadīya abavam} \]
‘this (is) what I did [by the greatness of Ahuramazdā] (in one and the same year)
after I became king’ (DB 4.3–5),
vs.
\[\text{ima taya adam akunavam} \{\text{vašnā auramazdāha} \} \{\text{hamahyyāyā 0arda}\} \text{ akunavam}\]
‘this which I did – [by the greatness of Ahuramazdā] – I did (it) {in one and the same year}’ (DB 4.40–41).

10.5 Figura etymologica

This is one of the most common stylistic features especially of Young Avestan and Old Persian and is found in a large variety of forms.

Noun + noun:

\[\text{YAv. baēuar’ diōdr̥anqm viōdīōre}\]
‘ten thousand eyes for the one whose eyes see far and wide’ (Yt. 10.82);

\[\text{cīm haxa haše bard’ti}\]
‘what does the friend carry to the friend?’ (Y. 62.8).

With one noun as first or last member of a compound:

\[\text{dağhōnš dağhun-pa’tīš}\]
‘the landlord of the land’ (Yt. 10.83);

\[\text{ahmāi darzyqm dar’yōjītin’} (\text{give to him longevity}) (Y. 68.11);
\]
\[\text{šōdrō. baxtā vi. haxsāti}\]
‘he distributes (the waters) distributed by settlements’ (Yt. 8.34).

Noun + adjective:

\[\text{YAv. ama ahl11i amauuast;}I11O}\]
‘in force I am the most forceful’ (Yt. 14.3).

Noun + verb:

\[\text{YAv. yānsm vō yāsāmi}\]
‘I am requesting from you a request’ (Y. 65.11);

\[\text{fōhīs . . . pa’ti awuu. pašt}\]
‘one shall *nail (him) with *nails’ (V. 4.51).

With suppletive forms:

\[\text{YAv. cīm aētaiia paîtī. vaca paitiūānraot}\]
‘*what did he answer by this answer?’ (Y. 21.4).

Verb + past participle:

\[\text{YAv. hādr̥a. tarśta brāghaite}\]
‘he frightens them (so that they are) frightened then and there’ (Yt. 10.101);

\[\text{yō hīštle maniui. stātā}\]
‘(the sky) which stands stood in the world of thought’ (Yt. 13.2);

OPers. \[\text{haya vinādlayati} \text{ anu-dim vinastahyā āvalōq parsāmīy}\]
‘he who does harm, according to the harm done, I punish him’ (DNb 25–26).
Note especially expressions for ‘doing/treating well/badly’, etc.:

- **YAv. **_yaθa hu-hər-tō barāte_ 
  ‘when he is carried well-carried = well treated’ (Yt. 10.112);

- **OPers. **_avam hər-tam abaram_ . . .
  _avam hər-frastam aparsam_ 
  ‘him I carried well-carried (= treated well) . . .
  him I asked well-asked (= punished well)’ (DBI.20–22);

- **taya duś-kartam akariya_**
  ‘that which was done badly-done = had been done badly’ (XPh 42–43).

## 11 SAMPLE TEXTS

### 11.1 Old Avestan

**Yasna** 28 is the first poem of the first Gāthā (the Ahunauatī Gāthā) and follows the Ahunavairīa, which is the introductory strophe to the entire collection. The metre of the Ahunauatī Gāthā is relatively free compared to those of the other Gāthās: strophes contain three ‘verse-lines’ divided into two ‘half-lines’, the first of which, with few exceptions, has seven syllables, while the second varies, mostly between 7 to 9 syllables, but some more or less.

**Y. 28.6**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Syllables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vohu gōdī manaphā dādā ašā dā (da’ō) dar’gāiūn</td>
<td>7 + 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ər’sukaiś tū uxdēś mazdā zaratuštrāi ajoṣslaŋwast raŋ’nō</td>
<td>7 + 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aluṁbii-cā alurā yā d’bīšwataś duvačśā ta’ruuuatāma</td>
<td>7 + 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Come with (your)/on account of (my) good thought! Give through (your)/on account of (my) Order the gift which bestows a long life span!

By (your) capacious utterances you, O Mazda, (gave) support with strength to Zarathustra.

(So) give to us, too, O Ahura, (support) by which we shall overcome the hostilities of the one hostile (to us = the lord of darkness)!

**Y. 28.6a**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Syntax</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gōdī &lt; ga-di (&lt; gādī)</td>
<td>‘come!’</td>
<td>root aor. imper. 2s act.; pres. stem.</td>
<td>jasa- &lt; ja-ca-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manaphā &lt; man-ah-ā</td>
<td>‘thought’</td>
<td>al-stem neut., instr. sing.;</td>
<td>&lt; man- to think’, cf. manju-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dādā &lt; dā-dī</td>
<td>‘give!’</td>
<td>root aor. imper. 2s act.; pres. stem.</td>
<td>&lt; dá-dā- (&lt; daH-H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ašā &lt; ari-ā</td>
<td>‘Order’</td>
<td>a-stem neut. instr. sing.;</td>
<td>&lt; r- to fit (together);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dar’gāiūn &lt; dargāji (&lt; drHga + Ḥjiu)</td>
<td>which bestows a long life span</td>
<td>u-stem adj., acc. neut. sing.;</td>
<td>adjectival compound</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Y. 28.6b

\(\tau_r^*\text{šu}a\text{iš} < \text{rš}-\text{āiš}: \text{capacious': a-stem adj., instr. plur. neut.}\)
\(\text{tū} < \text{tū 'you': pers. pron. 2s, nom. enclitic; tonic }\text{tu}a\text{m (see Y. 28.11b).}\)
\(\text{uxdāiš} < \text{uxd}-\text{āiš 'utterance': a-stem neut., instr. plur.; }<\text{vak-}l \text{ vač- 'speak' (cf. Y. 28.11b).}\)

\(\text{nazdā} < \langle\text{nazd}'a\text{H}: \text{who places (all) in the mind, the all-knowing one': masc. }\text{ā-stem (aH-stem), voc. sing.; adjectival compound }<\text{mas }(<\text{mns} \text{ 'mind'} + \text{dā- }(<\text{d}'a\text{H}) \text{ 'to place'.}\)

\(\text{zarahuštrāi} < \text{jarahuštr-āi 'to Zarathustra': a-stem proper name, dat. sing.; adjectival compound }<\text{zarar-}? \text{ 'old(?)} + \text{uštā- 'camel'; cf. }\text{fraša}u\text{štrāa- (see Y. 28.8b).}\)

\(\text{aújōhuuqt} < \text{aujah-yt }(<\text{aujah-}ynt) \text{ 'strong': }\text{yant-stem adj., acc. sing. neut.; }<\text{aujah- ' (bodily) strength'.}\)

\(\text{raf}^*\text{nō} < \text{rafn-ah 'support': ah-stem neut., acc. sing.; }<\text{rap- 'to support'.}\)

Y. 28.6c

\(\text{ahmēbiui̇} < \text{ahma-bjā 'to us': pers. pron. 1p dat.-abl.; obl. stem }\text{ah-ma-} < \text{nah}, \text{cf. }\text{nī < nah 'us' (gen.-dat. enclitic).}\)
\(\text{-ča 'and, too': enclitic.}\)
\(\text{ahur-ā 'lord': a-stem, voc. sing.}\)
\(\text{yā < i-ō: rel. pron., instr. sing. neut.}\)
\(\text{duhišuatu} < \text{duiš-yah-at }(<\text{ynt-ah} \text{ 'hostile': }\text{yant-stem adj., gen. sing. masc.; }< \text{root noun }\text{duiš- 'hostility'.}\)

\(\text{duēu̇šâ < duēs-āh 'hostility': ah-stem neut., acc. plur.; }<\text{duēs- 'be hostile'; note }\text{figura etymologica.}\)

\(\text{tāruwaii̇āma} < \text{tary-ajā-ma (tr}Hya-\text{) 'we shall overcome': }\text{aja-stem pres. subj. 1p; }<\text{tar- (}<\text{tarH- 'to pass over, cross', cf. }\text{OInd. }\text{ti}r\text{va-} < \text{tr}Hya-.}\)

Y. 28.8

\(\text{vahištam }\text{0βā vahištā yām ašā vahištā hazaos̄om}\)
\(\text{ahurōm yāsā vūnuṣ naroī f'rāša}u\text{štrāi (}<-\text{a}vō \text{= }-\text{a}-\text{u}) \text{ maβiācā}\)
\(\text{yaēbius-cā} û rāgha}hōi vīspā yaoē vaghǔuș mana}hō\)

\(\text{You the best, (I ask) for the best (things), (the one) whom (I know) has the same taste as best Order,}\)
\(\text{(you), the Ahura, I ask, (once) having won, for the hero Fraša-uštra and for me,}\)
\(\text{and (for those) to whom you shall give it for the entire life span(? of (someone of) good thought (or: time span of good thought??).}\)

Y. 28.8a

\(\text{vahištam }< \text{yah-ist-am }< \text{yah-u-: superl. acc. sing. masc.}\)
\(\text{0βā }< \text{0y-ā: pers. pron. 2s, acc. enclitic.}\)
\(\text{vahištā }< \text{yah+ist-ā 'best (things)': acc. plur. neut.}\)
\(\text{yām }< \text{j-am: rel. pron. acc. sing. masc.}\)
\(\text{vahištā }< \text{yah+ist-ā: instr. sing. neut.}\)

\(\text{hazaos̄om }< \text{ha-jauš-am 'having the same taste (as) + instr.: a-stem adj., acc. sing. masc.; adjectival compound }<\text{ha- }(<\text{h}r̄) \text{ 'same'} + \text{jau}ša- 'taste'.}\)
Y. 28.8b

ahurām < ahur-am: acc. sing. masc.
yāsā < jāc-ā 'ask for, request': a-stem pres. ind. 1s; < jā-sēa- < jā-
vāunus < yā-un-u-ś 'winner': u-stem adj., nom. sing. masc.; adjectival derivative of the
perf. stem ya-un- < yan- 'to win'.
narōi < nar-ai < nar- 'man': r-stem masc., dat. sing.
ʃraʃaʊstrāi < fraʃaʊ-strāi: a-stem proper name, dat. sing. masc.; adjectival compound
< fraʃa- 'fat' + uʃtra- 'camel'.
meʃbiā < ma-bja: pers. pron. 1s dat.; cf. OInd. mahya-m.

Y. 28.8c

iī < i-t: pers. pron. 3s acc. neut., referring to 'best things' neut. plur.
rāgphāhōīī < rāh-a-hai 'you shall give': s-aor. subj. 2s mid.; < rā- 'to give'.
viʃpāī < uʃc-āi 'all': a-stem pronominal adj., dat. sing. neut.
vaʃc < ja-ʃ-ai < ə̃u- (see Y. 28.6a) 'time, life span': u-stem neut., dat. sing.
vaŋhāiīī < yah-aw-s < yahu- (see Y. 28.6a): gen.-abl. sing.
manahgī < man-ah-ah (see Y. 28.6a): gen.-abl. sing.

The three times repeated vahīsta- 'best' leads up to vahu- manah- 'good thought' (the
divine inspiration, the new sunlit sky, . . .), as the desired result of the ritual; it alliterates
with vaunu-, implying victory over the forces of darkness. The mention of fraʃaʊ-strā-
alludes to Ahura Mazda's reward: making the new existence fraʃa- 'filled with the juices
of fertility and life'.

Y. 28.9

anais vā nōi ahurā  mazdā aʃem-cā yānais zar"naemā 7 + 10
manas-cā hīaț vahīstom yōi vā yōiṭmā das"mē stutqam 7 + 9
yāzīm zuwištīaghō tō xsaarēm-cā sauawjīghn 7 + 9

May we not anger you (pl.), O Ahura Mazda, and Order with those requests (to
you),
and (your) best thought, (we) who have taken up (our) positions at the *fulfillment
of (our) obligations* (to you in the form) of praises!
You are the fastest offerings and the command over the life-giving strengths.

Y. 28.9a

anais < an-aiš < ana- 'those (adressed to you)': dem. pron., instr. plur. neut.
nōi < na-it 'not': negation.
aʃem < art-am (see Y. 28.6a): acc. sing.
yānais < jān-aiš 'request': a-stem neut., instr. plur.; < jā- (see Y. 28.8b).
zar"naemā < jar-na-i-ma (<jar-na-) 'may we (not) anger': a-stem pres. opt. 1p;
thematised fromʃar-na-iʃar-n- < ʃar-na-H-ʃar-n-H- (<ʃarH-), cf. OInd. hṛ-n(ī)-mid.
Y. 28.9b

*manas* < *man-ah* (see Y. 28.6a): acc. sing.
*hia-t* < *h-jat*: rel. pron., nom. sing. neut.
*yahist-am* < *yahist-am* (see Y. 28.8a): nom. sing. neut.
*yah* < *y-ah*: rel. pron. nom. plur. masc.
*daa* < *daa* < *dace*-ma- ‘at the fulfillment of obligations’(?): a-stem masc., loc. sing.; < *dace* ‘to fulfill one’s obligations (to give gifts for gifts)’, cf. OInd. *dâs*-.
*stutaq* < *stutaq*-a < *stut*- ‘praise’: root noun masc., gen. plur.; < *stau*-l-*stu*- ‘to praise’.

Y. 28.9c

*yuâzâm* < *yuâz-am*: pers. pron. 2p nom.
*zaauvâ* < *jaâv*-âah < *jaâv*-jaâ- ‘most enduring’: a-stem superl., nom. plur. masc.; cf. *zauvâ* (Zây-Vr) ‘strength (of endurance)’ (of horses, feet); cf. OInd. *yaâv*-yaâ- ‘youngest’.
*yâm < *is-ah* (ritual) offering’: root noun masc. nom. plur.
*xâdrom* < *xâdrom*-a < *xâd*- ‘command’: a-stem neut., nom. sing.; < *xâd*- (pres. *xâdâ*) ‘to be in command, rule’.
*sauâyhm* < *caâyH*-â-am ‘life-giving strength’: ah-stem neut., gen. plur.; ablauting *saâyhm* < *caâyH*-l-*caâyH* ‘swell (with life-giving juices)’; cf. *spaânta* (Y. 8.3a below).

Y. 28.11

*viâ* aâs aâm *nipâjâh* manas-cà *vohu* *yaauâêtâtê* 7 + 9
*tiuâm* mazdâ alurâ frô mà *êjahmâj* *vaocaîjâ* 7 + 9
*manâjisâh* hacâ *ôbâh* ûnañhâ yai8 à aqihus *pôruio baawat* 7 + 9

(You) who with/ by these protect your Order and good thought for eternity, you, O Ahura Mazda, teach me to speak according to your inspiration by your mouth (the words/announcements) by which the first existence will be here (every time)!

Y. 28.11a

*yâ < *i-ah*: rel. pron., nom. sing. masc.
*aâs < a- ‘with them/these’: pers./dem. pron., instr. plur. masc.
*nipâjâh* < *ni-pâ-hai* ‘you guard’: root pres. ind. 2s mid.; < *pâ- ‘to protect’.
*vohu < *yah-ur* acc. sing. neut.
*yaauâêtâtê* < *jaayai-tâ-ai* ‘for that which is for a (full) time/ life span, forever’: tât-stem fem., dat. sing.; secondary derivative < *jaayai*, dat. of *aji-âjau* ‘time/ life span’ (see Y. 28.6a).

Y. 28.11b

*tiuâm* < *tu-ya-am*: pers. pron. 2s nom., cf. *ti* (see Y. 28.6b).
*frô sîsâ < fra *cî-(ê)â* ‘teach’: reduplicated a-stem pres. imper. 2s; < *câh-lês* (< *caHs*-l *ÊHs*- lêHs*), cf. OInd. *sâs-šikṣa*.-
mā: pers. pron. 1s acc. enclitic.
0βahmāt < 0yā-hm-āt < 0βa- 'your': poss. pron. 2s abl. sing. masc.
vaocajhē < ya-uc-a-hāt 'to speak': inf. of reduplicated a-stem aor. ya-uča- < yaklyač- (cf. Y. 28.6b).

Y. 28.11c

manīššuš < manj-aun-š 'spirit, inspiration': u-stem masc. abl. sing.; <man- 'to think', cf. manah- (Y. 28.6a); belongs to the other world, 'that of thought'.

cf. <hacā 'from, according to': adpos. + abl.
0βā < 0y-ā < 0ya- 'your': poss. pron. 2s, instr. sing. neut.
š‘mrhā < āh-ā 'mouth': root noun neut., instr. sing. (see section 2.3.1.2a).
yāš < j-āš < j-a-: rel. pron., instr. plur. masc./neut.; + gapped noun.
ā ... bau¬at < ḭ ... ba¬a-t < ā-bau-ibā- 'to come about, come into existence(?)': a-stem pres. subj. 3s; < b‘au-ibū- 'become'.
avshuš < ahu-š 'new life, new world': u-stem masc., nom. sing.
pa‘ruïh < pary-ija-h (<prHu-ja-) 'first, primordial': a-stem adj., nom. sing. masc., cf. prārō 'before' < prH-ah, Olnd. puras.

Y. 53.8

On account of those (actions/words of theirs) let them be there (at the judgement as men) of bad virility! (Let them) be duped and laughable, all (of them)! Let them be booed! By those of good command (= good rulers) let them be smashed and bled! And (but) let him give peace with these to the settled towns! Let that greatest torment drive them off with the chain of death! And let it be soon!

Y. 53.8a

anāš < an-āš < ana-: dem. pron., instr. plur. masc. (see section 6.5.3.3).
ā ... hōntū < ā ... h-antu < ā-ah- 'to be present': root present imper. 3p act.; <ah- 'to be'
duβaαnatnaghō < duβ-yrśn-äh-ah < 0yrśna- or 0yrśnah- 'bad men, unmanned': a-lašh- noun/adj., nom. plur. masc. (-āhah).
dafṣniia < dafṣn-ij-ā 'easily deceptive (?)': a-stem adj., nom. plur. masc.; verbal adj. of necessity < *dafs-š-na- < *dab- 'to deceive' (cf. yesniia-, see section 4.6.2); cf. dībža- 'seek to deceive' (see section 4.1.1.1 no. 8).

Y. 53.8b

zaβiīa < jah-ij-ā 'laughable': a-stem adj., nom. plur. masc.; verbal adj. of necessity < *jah- 'laugh' (not in Avestan), cf. Olnd. hās-.
vīspaglō < yičy-āhāh < yičya-: nom. plur. masc.
xraosêntqum upă < xrausa-ntâm upa < upa-xrausa- 'cry at, boo': a-stem pres. imper. 3p mid.; *xraut'-sêča- < xraud- 'to cry(?).

Y. 53.8c

hxšaôrâis < hu-xšaôr-âis 'who has good command': a-stem adj., instr. plur. masc.; possessive adjectival compound (bahuvrīhi) < hu- 'good' + xšaôra- '(royal) command' (see section 9.1.2).

jâr'tqm < jan-râm < jan- 'to smash, smite': root stem pres. imper. 3p mid.

xrâl'rqm < xrun-râm < xrunâ-lxrun (<xrû-na-H-lxrû-n-H-) 'to bleed' (trans.) < *xrû- (xruH-): nā-stem pres. imper. 3p mid.; cf. xûrû- 'bloody'.

râmqm < râm-ôm 'peace': ô-stem fem., acc. sing.

dadâti < da-dâ-tu < dâ- 'to give': reduplicated athem. pres. imper. 3s act.

sûetibîô < šjat-i-bijah < šjat-Išjat- (<šjînt-) < ēśaî-lêši- 'to dwell, inhabit': pres. part. fem. dat.-abl. plur. with medio-passive meaning 'inhabited'.


Y. 53.8d

îrâti < ûra-tu < ûra- 'to set in motion, send': a-stem pres. imper. 3s act.; reduplicated ijar-li-r-a (<Hr-Har-lHr-Ha-a>) < Hr- 'to move', cf. OInd. ijar-.

îs < i-nâ 'them': pers. pron. 3p acc.

duawsô < duawsa-h 'torment': a-stem masc., nom. sing. huuô < haû 'that': dem. pron. nom. sing. masc. (see Section 6.5.3.3).

dawâsô < dawâs-â 'chain': root noun instr. sing.

mrâţhuos < m rôle-aw-s < m rôle-ju < m rtle-ju 'death' < mr- 'die': u-stem masc. gen. sing. mazistô < majîsta-h < majô- < majH- 'big, great': superl. nom. sing. masc.

mâsî < mâsî 'soon' < mâc-š-: adverb, cf. OInd. makšû, Latin max.

astû < as-tu < ah-: root present 3s imper. act.

11.2 Young Avestan

Y.8.2

x'arata narô aêtôm miiazdêm
yô dim haaghane ašâ-ca frêûtî-ca

Eat, men, this myazd,
(he among you) who has gained it for himself by (his) Order and by (his) sending (it) forth(!)

x'arata < hyara-ta < hyar-a- 'to eat': a-stem pres. imper. 2p.

narô < nar-ah < nar- 'man': voc. plur.
aêtôm < ait-am < aša-latâ- 'this': dem. pron., acc. sing. masc.
miiazdêm < miiazd-am, a kind of food offering: a-stem masc., acc. sing., cf. OInd. niyêdha-.

dim < di-m 'it': pers. pron. 3rd pers., acc. sing. masc. (see section 3.4.1).

haaghane < ha-hâân-ai < han- 'to gain': perf. 3s mid.

frêûtî< fra-rêtî 'sending forth(?)': i-stem fem., instr. sing.; action noun in -ti- < fra-r-
'to set in forward motion'; see section 2.3.1.2.
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Y.8.3

*aṃṣa* spṛṇa daēne māzdaiainasne
vaŋhauas-ca vaŋḥīs-ca zaoṛrās-ca
yō aēšuua māzdaiainasnaēṣuua māzdaiaainsnō aōjanō
aṣhe rōma jīštaiānnō yāōśa aṣhe gēḻā mōṛyōnte
aunī tū dim disiītā yā apas-ca *ruuṛrās-ca zaoṛrās-ca*

O life-giving immortals! O vision-soul of those who sacrifice to (Ahura) Mazdā!
O good (gods) and good (goddesses)! O libations!
(He) who, among these who sacrifice to (Ahura) Mazdā, (while) representing
himself as someone who sacrifices to (Ahura) Mazdā,
(as someone) *seeking victory(?) by a *composition of Order
(yet) by sorcery destroys the living beings of Order,
do point him out, O waters, plants, and libations!

Y.8.3a

*aṃṣa* < a-ṃṛt-ā ‘non-dead, immortal’: a-stem adj., voc. plur. masc.; adjectival com­
 pound < a-, privative prefix + mrta-, past part. of mr- ‘die’.
spṛṇa < ēṛHantā < ēṛHant-ā ‘life-­giving’: a-stem adj., voc. plur. masc.; < ē(u)ṛH (OAv. spōn-) ‘*swelling’ + suffix -ta- ‘being provided with’ < ēyaH- (spā-) ‘swell (with the
juices of life)’ (see Y. 28.9c, above). The *aṃṣa* spṛṇa ‘life-giving immortals’ are six
beings brought forth by Ahura Mazdā during his cosmogonic sacrifice. When Ahura
Mazdā is counted they become the Seven Life-giving Immortals.
daēne < dajan-ai ‘vision-soul’: a-stem fem., voc. sing.; < ḍāy-ldī- (< ḍāy-ldī-ḥīiH-) ‘to
see’, specialised in the meaning of ‘seeing’ in the world of thought, in the beyond; the
vision-soul is also the totality of a person’s good or bad thoughts, words, and deeds and
is represented as a woman, pretty or ugly, accordingly.
māzdaiainas < māzdaiajasn-ai ‘pertaining to a mazda-jasn-’: i-stem adj., voc. sing. fem.;
“vriddhi” derivative < mazda-jasn- ‘someone who sacrifices to (Ahura) Mazdā’,
adjectival compound < (aḥura-) mazdā- + jasn- ‘sacrifice’, cf. yaza- < ja- ‘to sacrifice
(to), offer up in sacrifice (to)’.

Y.8.3b

vaŋhauas < yah-ay-as < yah-u- voc. plur. masc.
vaŋḥīs < yah-y-i-s < yah-u-: derived fem. ī-stem adj., voc. plur.
zaoṛrās < jauōr-ā-s ‘libation’: ā-stem fem. pl. of neut. sing. zaoṛra-, voc. plur.; see
section 3.1.1.

Y.8.3c

aēšuua < ai-śu + ā < a-: dem. pron., loc. plur. masc.
māzdaiainasnaēṣuua < mazda-jasn-aiśu + ā < mazda-­jasn-: a-stem masc., loc. plur.
māzdaiaainsnō < mazda-jasn-ah: nom. sing.
aōjanō < auJ-āna-h < aug-­lauJ- ‘to present oneself as, say’: pres. part. mid., nom. sing.
masc.
Y.8.3d

ašahe < art-ahja < art-oh: gen. sing.
rālma < rālmā < rālma- "composition": a-stem masc., instr. sing. (uncertain derivation and meaning).
fīstaiamnō < fīst-aja-mna-h < fīst-aja- "*seek life/victory(?): aja-stem pres. part. mid., nom. sing. masc.; < fī- 'live' or fī- 'win'(?).
yādūya < jādūy-a < jādūy-a- 'sorcery': a-stem masc./neut. (?), instr. sing.; derivative of jātu- 'sorcerer'.

gaeōdā < gaiō-āh 'living beings': ā-stem fem., acc. plur.; derivative of gai-ī (gaiH-ī jīH-) 'live'.
mārγ-nt-e < mng-tai (mnrnx-tai?) < mŋ-nk- < mřk- 'to destroy': n-infixed athem. pres. indic. 3s mid.; the form appears to be metathesised, but the exact phonetic processes involved are unclear; the OAv. form would have been *mārγ(ŋ)-de.

Y.8.3e

aawi ... disiitata < abi ... dičja-ta < abi ... dič-ja- 'to point at' < daic-lidic- 'point': ja-stem pres. imper. act.
tū < tu: emphatic enclitic particle; see section 8.1.4.
yā < jā-: rel. pron., nom. plur. fem.
apaš < ap-ah < āp- 'water': root-noun fem., voc. plur.
ruuarās < ruwar-āh < ruwar-ā- 'plant': ā-stem fem., voc. plur.

Y.8.5

vasas-ca tū ahura mazdā uštā-ca xšaēša hauuanqm dāmanqm
vāsā ṣāpā vāsā "ruuara vāspa vohī ašacīra
xšaianmām ašauanmām dāiita axšaianmām druuanṭem

May you, O Ahura Mazda, rule at will and according to wish over your own creations!
(May you rule) at will, O waters, at will, O plants, at will, O all good things whose seed is from Order!
Place the Orderly one in command, the one possessed by the Lie out of command!

Y.8.5a

vasaš < yacax < yac-ah 'wish' < yač-luč- 'to wish': ah-stem neut., acc. sing. used as adverb; see section 3.3.
tū < tū: pers. pron. 2s voc. enclitic.

ahura: voc. sing.
mazdā: voc. sing.
uštā < uštā < ušt-i- 'wish' < yač-luč- 'to wish': i-stem fem., loc. sing., action noun in -ti.

xšaēša < xšaia-ša < xša-ē-ša: aor. 2s opt., < xšaja- to rule (over: + gen.); < xša-.

hauuanqm < hay-āna'm < hay-a- 'own': poss. refl. pron., gen. plur. neut.
dāmanqm < dāman-ā'm < dām-an- 'creation': n-stem neut., gen. plur.; < dā- 'to place'.
Y.8.5b

\[ \text{a pä} < \text{āp-ah: voc. plur.} \]
\[ \text{ruuvarā} < \text{ruyar-āh: voc. plur.} \]
\[ \text{viṣpa} < \text{viṣy-ā: acc. plur. neut.} \]
\[ \text{vohā} < \text{yah-ā: acc. plur. neut.} \]
\[ \text{aṣacīrā} < \text{arta-cīrā: 'whose seed is from(?) Order': a-stem adj., acc. plur. neut.; adjectival compound } < \text{arta} + \text{cīrā- 'seed'}. \]

Y.8.5c

\[ \text{xšaia-mmām} < \text{xšaia-mm-am} < \text{xš-aia- 'to rule' < xšā-: a-jā-stem pres. part. mid., acc. sing. masc.} \]
\[ \text{ašaaju-an} < \text{artāyan-am} < \text{artā-yan-lart-āyn- 'Orderly, who sustains Order': yan-stem adj. acc. sing. masc.; <arta + yan-}. \]
\[ \text{dāīita} < \text{dāja-ta} < \text{dā-ja < dā- 'place': ja-stem pres. imper. 2p.} \]
\[ \text{axšaiaammām} < \text{a-xšaia-mm-am 'not in command, not ruling': a-stem adj., acc. sing. masc.; adjectival compound } < \text{a- + xšaia-mma-}. \]
\[ \text{druuam} < \text{drugyant-am < drug-yant-ldrug-yat- (drug-yat-) 'possessed by the Lie': yant-stem adj., acc. sing. masc.; <drug-l druî- 'the (cosmic) Lie' (female principle of deception), together with the Evil Spirit Ahura Mazda's principal opponent. Originally perhaps Chaos. She deceives gods and men as to the true nature of the ordered cosmos.} \]

Y.8.8

\[ \text{rauwas-ca x̱ārām-ca āfrināmī viṣpāiā aṣanōnō stōiš} \]
\[ \text{qzas-ca dužārām-ca ṣfrināmī viṣpāiā druuartō stōiš} \]

I invite the open space and easy breathing of the entire (temporal) existence of the Orderly one.

I invite the constriction and laboured breathing of the entire (temporal) existence of the Orderly one.

Y.8.8a

\[ \text{rauwaś} < \text{ray-ah 'open space': ah-stem neut., acc. sing.} \]
\[ \text{x̱ārām < hu-ār-am < hu-ār-a- (<HuH-ōra-) 'good breathing (space), easy breathing, comfort': a-stem neut., acc. sing.; nominal compound <hu- 'good' + ā-ōra- < anH- 'to breathe'.} \]
\[ \text{āfrināmī < ā-frināmī < ā-frinā-lā-frī-n- (<frī-na-H-lfrī-n-H-) 'to invite as (guest) friend(?): nā-stem athem. pres. ind. 1s act. (performative).} \]
\[ \text{viṣpāiā < viṣy-ā-ā < viṣy-ā-: fem. sing.} \]
\[ \text{aṣanōnō < artā-un-ah < artā-yan-lartā-yn-: gen. sing. masc.} \]
\[ \text{stōiš < stai-š < s-ti- 'duration of' being, (temporal) existence': i-stem fem., gen. sing.; <ah- 'to be'.} \]

Y.8.8b

\[ \text{qzas} < \text{omj-ah 'constriction': ah-stem neut., acc. sing.; cf. angst.} \]
duzādrām < duz-ādr-am < duz-ādra- 'bad (constricted) breathing, discomfort': a-stem neut., acc. sing.; nominal compound, antonym of hu-ādrā-

druwātō < drugyat-ah < drug-yant-ldrug-yat-: gen. sing. masc.

Most of the Young Avesta is written in a basically octosyllabic metre, of which the following text from the hymn to Mithra is a sample. In Yt.10.12, the first line is hypermetric.

Yt.10.12

mīrām vō′ru.gaoiiait tīm yazamade
arš vacanšäm viāxanšm
hazatya.gaošäm hūtāštəm
baēwar.cašmanšm b哈尔zantəm
par′u.vaēdaianšm sūrmən
ax′afənṃ jayəruːuədənəm

We sacrifice to Mithra with wide grazing grounds, of truthful speech, *eloquent, with a thousand ears, well-fashioned, with ten thousand eyes, tall, with broad outlook, strong, sleepless, waking.

mīrəm < mīr-am 'Mithra': a-stem masc. acc. sing.

vō′ru.gaoiiait tīm < yaru-gau-jaut-im 'having wide grazing grounds': i-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.; possessive adjectival compound < yaru- 'broad' and gau-jaut-i- of uncertain exact meaning, cf. OInd. gav-yātī.-

yazamade < yaza-: pres. ind. 1s mid. (see Y.8.3a).

arš. vacanšäm < rs-yacah-am 'of truthful speech': ah-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.; possessive adjectival compound < arš- 'straight, truthful(ly) < Hrj-š (OAv. or 'şy).

viāxanšm < viiāx-an- (4 sylls.) word of uncertain meaning: a-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.

hazatya.gaošäm < hajahra-gauš-am 'having a thousand ears': a-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.; possessive adjectival compound < hajahra- '1000' and gauša- 'ear'.

hūtāštəm < *hu-tašt-əm 'well-fashioned': a-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.; the form with long vowel analogical with the present tāš-ii ‘he fashions’.

baēwar.cašmanšm < ba幼稚-cašm-an-am 'having ten thousand eyes': man-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.; possessive adjectival compound < ba-ıyar- '10,000' and caš-man- 'eye' (neut.).

b哈尔zantəm < brjent-am 'tall': ant-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.

par′u.vaēdaianšm < pr̥u-gaidājan-am 'with broad outlook': a-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.; possessive adjectival compound < pr̥u- (<pr̥uH-u-) 'broad' and uai-dāj-anə-, derivative of uai-dāj- 'see far and wide'.

sūrmən < ār-am (<caH-ra-) 'rich in life-giving strength': a-stem adj., masc. acc. sing. (see Y. 28.9c on sauuaaijəm).

ax′afənṃ, a-hyafn-an- 'sleepless': a-stem adj., masc. acc. sing.; from a- + hyaf-na- 'sleep'.

jayəruːuədənəm < ja-gar-yāh-am 'waking': pf. part. act. of garH-igrā- 'wake'; the diphthong -ær- perhaps substituted for -ao- (de Vaan 2003, §1.7.4.2) but perhaps with vowel metathesis, cf. OInd. jā-gar-.
Who as the first in the other world to be sacrificed to rises over Harā, in front of the immortal sun with fleet horses, who, as the first, seizes the gold-adorned, beautiful heights. From there, he surveys the entire settlement of the Aryans, he most rich in life-giving strength.

**a**

pao'riiţ < pary-iţa-h (see Y. 28.11c): a-stem adj. masc. nom. sing.

maniiauua < manj-a-ah 'of the world of thought: a-stem adj., masc. nom. sing.; <manj- (see Y. 28.1 lc).

yazatō < jaj-at-ah 'being worthy of sacrifices' <jaja- (cf. Y.8.3a): a-stem, masc. nom. sing.

**b**

tarō < tar-a-h 'over, beyond' <trH- 'cross over': prep. + acc.

harqam < har-ām 'Harā' a mountain: ā-stem fem. acc. sing. *āsnaoití (mss. āsnaoití) < ā-sa-naus- 'rise' < ā-sna-: nau-stem pres. indo act. 3s.

**c**

pa'ruua.naēmāţ < parya-naat-āţ 'from in front of': a-stem masc. abl. sing.; compound <pa'ruua- 'before' and naēma- 'half, side'.

**d**

hū < huay-h < hā-yarl- 'sun': yarl-stem neut. gen. sing. yat: relative particle (see section (6.1.1.1a).

d'ruuat.aspha < aryaat-acu-ahja aryaat-acya- 'having fleet horses: a-stem adj. masc. acc. sing.; possessive adjectival compound <aryaat- 'fleet' and acya- 'horse'.

**e**

zaraniō.pišō < jāraanja-pič-ah 'gold-adorned': cons.-stem adj., fem. nom. plur.; adjectival compound <jāraanja- 'gold' and root noun pič- 'paint, adorn', cf. OPers. ni-piθ- 'write'.
f

*bahršnauo (ms. Fl *auua) < bahrjn-aḥ ‘height’: u-stem fem. nom. plur.; this nom.
phrase is used for expected acc.; for the gender and reading, cf. Yt. 18.6 viṣpā bahršnauo
gērīnaμ ‘all the heights of the mountains’.
g)aḫ ūnūti < grb-nā-ti < grb-h-nā-īgrb-h-n- ‘take, seize’: nā-stem pres. ind. act. 3s.; also
gbaauiia. < grbāya, cf. OPers. garbāya- (DNA 15–22b).

g

aōūt < adh-āt ‘from there’;
āōū-axis < ad-dā-ti ‘surveys’ < dāy-īdi- (see Y.8.3a); red. pres. ind. act. 3s.

h

driiō, shāianam < arja-čśaian-am ‘settlement of the Aryans’: a-stem, masc. acc. sing.;
compound of arja- ‘Aryan, Iranian’ and čśaian-ana-, derivative of čśai- ‘dwell, be settled’
(see Y.53.8c).
saauiašō < caH-īšt-ah ‘most endowed with life-giving strength’ (see Y. 28.9c on
saauaŋham): a-stem superl., masc. nom. sing.

11.3 Old Persian

DNA 15–22

a  Oatiy dārayavaus xśāyaōiya
b  vaśna auramazdāha imā dāhāyāva tayā adam agarbāyaŋ apataram hacā pārsā
c  adam-śām patiyaxśayaŋ manā bājīm abaraha
d  taya-śām hacā-ma dāhāya ava akunava
e  dātam taya manā ava-dūś adārāiya

King Darius announces:

By the greatness of Ahuramazdā, these (are) the lands that I seized further away
from Persia.
I ruled over them. They brought me tribute.
Whatever was announced to them from/by me, that they did.
My law held them.’

a

Oatiy < čaŋha-ti < čaŋha- ‘to announce’: a-stem pres. ind. (performative) 3s act.
dārayavaus < dāraja-vah-š: u-stem proper name masc., nom. sing.; nominal com­
ound < dāraja-, pres. stem. of dar- ‘to (up)hold’ and yahu- ‘good (things)’.
xśāyaōiya < xśąjala-jā- ‘king’: a-stem masc., nom. sing.; ja-stem ‘vriddhi’ derivative of
*xśai-aōa- ‘rule’ < pres. xśajā- ‘to rule’.

b

vaśna < uajnā < *uajarln- ‘greatness’: rln-stem neut., instr. sing.; cf. uaj-kar- (vazārka-) ‘great’. 
auramazdåha < ahura-mazdåh + ah < ahura-mazdå: gen. sing.; the gen. sing. ending -ah has been added to the gen. mazdåh < mazdaH-ah.
inä < im-ãh 'these': dem. pron., acc. plur. fem.
tây < ta + j-ãh: rel. pron., acc. plur. fem.
adam < ajam '1': pers. pron. 1s, nom.; Av. azom.
agarbâyâm < a-grb-ãja-m < grb-ãja- < grbâbâb 'to seize': âja-stem pres., imperf. 1s act.; cf. Yt. 10.13 f.
apataram < apa-tara-m < apa- 'away': adverbial acc. sing. neut., comparative.
hacâ < hacâ 'from' (+ instr.-abl.).
pârsâ < pârsât < pârsa- 'Persia': instr.-abl. sing., abl. function.

-šâm 'them': pers. pron. 3rd pers. enclitic, gen.-dat. plur., gen. function.
patiyaxsayaty < pati-a-xšâi-ai < pati-xšaja- mid. 'to rule over': ajâ-stem pres., imperf. 1s mid.
manâ < mana 'me': pers. pron. 1s gen.-dat., gen. function.
bâjîm < bâjî-m 'tribute': i-stem ( masc./fem.?), acc. sing.
abaraha < a-bara-n (error?) < bara- 'to carry': a-stem pres., imperf. 3p; in principle, the form could be read as â-bara- 'to bring'.

taya < ta+j-at 'that which, what': rel. pron., nom. sing. neut.; see section 3.4.4. -ma < -ma-t 'me': pers. pron. 1s (instr.?)-abl. enclitic, abl. function.
adâhaya < a-čâhja-t < čâh-ja- < čâhja- or < čâh-ja- 'to be announced': ja-stem passive of čâgha-, imperf. 3s act.
avâ < ay-at 'that': dem. pron., acc. sing. neut.
akunava < a-ku-nau-an < kr-nau/kr-nu- 'to do': nau-pres. stem, imperf. 3p act.; commonly regarded as an 'allegro' form with kun- < krn-, cf. Av. ksr-nau-, but perhaps analogical (rhyming) with forms such as *srî-nau- (Av. s'runa-).

dâ-tam < dâ-t-am 'law': a-stem neut., nom. sing.; substantivised past part. dâta- 'placed, set down' from dâ-.
dâš < i-šn 'them': pers. pron. 3rd pers., acc. plur. masc.; for *i-š.
adârâya < a-dârâja-t < dârâja- 'to hold (firmly in place)': âja-stem pres., imperf. 3s act.

When Ahuramazdâ saw this earth being in turmoil, then he gave it to me.
He made me king. I am king.
By the greatness of Ahuramazdâ, I set it down in its place.
Whatever I announced to them, that they did as was my wish.
a

auramazdā < ahura-mazdā-h: nom. sing.; Av. ahurō mazdā < ahura-h mazdā-h.

yadā < ya- ‘when’: conjunction.

avaina < a + yaina- < yaina- ‘to see’: a-stem pres., imperf. 3s act.

imām < im-ā-m ‘this’: dem. pron., acc. sing. fem.

būnum < bū-ı-m ‘earth’: i-stem fem., acc. sing.; cf. Av. būni-.

yauđa’taim < jauja-nt-ı-m < jauja- ‘to be in turmoil, be chaotic’: pres. part., derived i-stem fem., acc. sing.; cf. Av. yauza-.

pasāva < pasca + aya-t ‘afterward, then’: adverbial compound < pasca ‘after’ + aya-t ‘that’.

-dim < -dım ‘it’: pers. pron. 3rd pers., acc. sing. fem. enclitic; it is not known whether the form had preserved the long ī, cf. OAv. hım.

manā < mana ‘me’: pers. pron. Is, gen.-dat., dat. function.

frābara < fra-a-bara-t < fra-bara- ‘to proffer, give’: a-stem pres., imperf. 3s act.

b

mām < mām ‘me’: pers. pron. 1s, acc.

xṣayālitam < xṣadlı-jam: acc. sing.

akunauš < a-kunau < a-kunau-t < kunau- ‘to do, make’: nau-pres. stem, imperf. 3s act.

a’miy < ah-mi < ah- ‘to be’: pres. ind. 1s act.

c

-šim < -ṣ-ım: pers. pron. 3rd pers., acc. sing. fem. enclitic; cf. OAv. hım.

gāḍavā < gāḍa + ā < gāṭu- (gāḍu-) ‘place, platform (throne)’: u-stem loc. sing. + postpos. -ā.

niyaṣādayam < ni-a-ṣādaja-m < ni-ṣādaja-, caus. of ni-ṣad- < had- ‘to sit’: aja-stem (caus.) pres., imperf. 1s; the form has been analogically remade from *ni-a-hādaja-.

d

ādaham < a-ogha-m: imperf. 1s act.

kāma < kāma-h ‘wish’; a-stem masc., nom. sing.; this noun takes a personal dir. obj.: mām kāma* ‘I wish’ see section 6.4.3.4.

āha < āha-t < ah- ‘was’: imperf. 3s act.; the form is a thematised replacement for *ās-(t), which would probably have been reduced to *ā in OPers.; the long initial āh-is < a-Hh-.

DNa 38–47

a yadi-pattiy manṭiyāhay taya ciyakaram [āha] *avā dahayāva tayā dārayavaus

xṣayāliya adāraya

b patikārā didiy tayāvī gāṭhum baraṭiy

c ādā xṣānāhay ada-taiy azdā bavātiy pārsahayā martiyahayā dūray ġṛṣṭiś

parāgamatā

d ada-taiy azdā bavātiy pārsā martiya dūray hacā pārsā parataram patiyaṭatā
If, again, you think - ‘How were those lands which King Darius held?’ - then look at
the pictures (of the men) who carry the throne.
Then you will know, then it will become clear to you that the Persian man’s spear has
gone far away.
Then it will become clear to you that the Persian man *defended himself far beyond
Persia.

a

yadi- < yadi ‘if’: conj.
-patiy < -pati ‘in addition’(?): enclitic particle.
manişahay < man-ja-hai ‘to think’: ja-stem. pres. subj. mid.
taya < ta + ja ‘that’: conj., here introducing dir. speech.
ciyakaram < ciya-ka-ran ‘how’ (or ‘how many?’): adverbial compound < ciya- ‘how
much’?) + kara- ‘work’, i.e. ‘of what kind of work is he capable?’.
āha < āh-an < ah- ‘to be’: imperf. 3p act.

b

patikarē < pati-kar-ā ‘pictures’: a-stem masc. acc. plur.; nominal compound < pati +
kara- ‘sth. made to reflect’.
didiy < di-di ‘look at!’; pres. vaina-: imper. 2s act.; perhaps originally an aor. stem.
tayaiy < ta+jai ‘who’: rel. pron. nom. plur. masc.
gādum < gā-j-um < gātu-: acc. sing.; see section 2.3.2.5.
bara’tiy < bara-ni ‘to carry’: a-stem pres. ind. 3p act.

c

adā < ada ‘then’: temporal adv.
xšnāsahay < xšnāc-ā-hi < xšnā-sēa- ‘to know’: pres. subj. 2s act.; xšnā-sēa- < jnā-,
cf. dānā- ‘know’ < jā-nā- (for jn-na-H-).
-talyy < tāy ‘you’: pers. pron. 2s, gen-dat., dat. function.
azdā < azdā ‘known, clear’ (< ad-dā, OInd. addhā).
bavātīy < bay-ā-ti < bau-ibū ‘to become’: a-stem pres. subj. 3s act.

d

martiya < martiya-ha ‘man’: a-stem masc., gen.-dat. sing., gen. function.
dūraíy < dūra < dūra- ‘far’: adverbial loc. sing.; see section 3.3.
grāstī < rāstī ‘spear’: i-stem fem., nom. sing.
parāgnatā < parā-γnatā < parā-gam- ‘to go away’(?); intrans. perf. nom. sing. fem. (see
section 7.4.3.1); cf. YAv. γ’mata-.

e

pārsa < pārsa-h; nom. sing. masc.
martiya < martiya-h: nom. sing.
parataram < para-κ-ān < para-‘beyond’: adverbial acc. sing. neut., comparative.
patiyajatā < pati-a-ja-ta < pati-jan-īn- (< jn- ‘to strike back’, mid. ‘defend oneself’?):
imperf. 3s mid.
King Darius announces:
All this that has been done I did by the greatness of Ahuramazdā.
Let Ahuramazdā protect me from foulness, as well as my house and this land!
This I ask Ahuramazdā for. Let Ahuramazdā give me this!

a) ḏātiy dārayauš xšāyaṭiya

b) aita taya kartam ava visam vašnā auramazdāh akunavam ...

c) mām auramazdām pātuv hacā gastā uta-maiy viḷām uta imām dahāyāum

d) aita adam auramazdām jadiyāmiy aita-maiy auramazdām dadātuv

ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXTS

Avestan texts

Åfr.  Åfrīnagān
FrD. text edited in Hoffmann 1968.
H. Hādōxt nask
Her. Hērbedistān
N. Nīrāngistān
V. Videvdad
Vr. Vispered
Y. Yasna
Yt. Yasht
Old Persian texts

DB Darius at Behistun (Bisutun), large inscription
DBa ... Darius at Behistun, smaller inscriptions
DE Darius at Elvand
DNA, b Darius at Naqsh-e Rostam
DPa ... Darius at Persepolis
DSa ... Darius at Susa
DZa ... Darius at Suez
XPa ... Xerxes at Persepolis
XV Xerxes at Lake Van

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES

Linguistic descriptions

The most recent descriptions of phonology, morphology (and some syntax) are Abaev and Bogoliubov (eds) 1979 (I. M. Oranskiy: overview; S. N. Sokolov: Avestan and OPers; Abaev: Scythian-Sarmation); Schmitt, 1989 (Schmitt: OPers.; Kellens: Avestan); Hoffmann and Forssman 1996; Skjærvø 2006a (pre-history), 2007b (morphology, morphy-phonology). De Vaan 2003 covers a large section of the phonology. The only complete syntax is still the one in Reichelt 1909. Kellens and Pirart 1990 contains select topics of OAv. syntax. Wackernagel and Debrunner 1896–1964 is still indispensable, notably vol. II, 2 on nominal suffixes.

Bibliographies

A comprehensive bibliography of Avestan up to 1967 is found in Schlerath 1968, additional bibliographies are found in the histories of studies listed below. Hoffmann and Forssman 1996 lists bibliographical items for each chapter. De Vaan 2003 also contains an extensive bibliography. For OPers., see Kent 1953 and Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964, as well as Schmitt 1991 and 2000.


**Further readings**


CHAPTER FOUR

MIDDLE WEST IRANIAN

Prods Oktor Skjærvø

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

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

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

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

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

*For reasons of space, Parthian could not be discussed as fully as Middle Persian. All descriptions and examples therefore apply to Middle Persian only, unless explicitly marked as Parthian.
The earliest inscriptions are those on the coins of the Perside rulers and on a silver bowl from the second half of the first century BCE (Skjærvø 1997b). There are royal and private inscriptions by high officials and travelers, most of them from the third century, a few from the fourth–fifth centuries; the earliest ones were bilingual (trilingual) Middle Persian, Parthian, (Greek). There are inscriptions on objects (silver bowls, seals, etc.) from the entire Sasanian period (see Brunner 1974; Skjærvø 1993). The Zoroastrian and Christian funerary inscriptions are from the late Sasanian and early Muslim period (see Gignoux 1978: 14); some are from as far away as India (that on the Thomas Cross from the seventh century, see Gignoux 1995) and Xi'an, China (from 874, see Humbach and Wäng Shiping 1988; Sundermann and Thilo, 1966). The papyri are probably from the sixth–seventh centuries (see Weber 1992, with bibliography pp. ix–x). A large corpus of mostly legal documents on parchment from the seventh century has recently surfaced and is currently being deciphered and studied (see, e.g. Gignoux 1991, 2001, 2002–3 with refs.; Weber 2007 with refs.).

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

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

1.2 Writing systems

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

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

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

In the Pahlavi column, letters in parenthesis are alternative forms: those of <k> and <l> are used in a few arameograms.
### Table 4.1: Alphabets. Parthian and Middle Persian Scripts Derived from Imperial Aramaic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semitic alphabet</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Translit. values</th>
<th>Parthian inscrips.</th>
<th>MPersian inscrips.</th>
<th>Psalter</th>
<th>Pahlavi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>` (alef)</td>
<td>נ</td>
<td>a A</td>
<td>ד ד</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ג ג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>ב</td>
<td>b B</td>
<td>ל ל</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ג ג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>ג</td>
<td>g G</td>
<td>ו ו</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ג ג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>ד</td>
<td>d D</td>
<td>פ פ</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ג ג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>ה</td>
<td>h H</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ג ג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>כ</td>
<td>k K</td>
<td>ב ב</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ג ג</td>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i I</td>
<td>ב ב</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ג ג</td>
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<td>m</td>
<td>מ</td>
<td>m M</td>
<td>ב ב</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ג ג</td>
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<td>n</td>
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<td>n N</td>
<td>ב ב</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
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<td>s S</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ג ג</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>` (ayin)</td>
<td>י</td>
<td>i i</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ג ג</td>
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<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>פ</td>
<td>p P</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
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<td>q</td>
<td>צ</td>
<td>q Q</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
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<td>ג ג</td>
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<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>ר</td>
<td>r R</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ג ג</td>
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<tr>
<td>ס</td>
<td>ס</td>
<td>s S</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td>מ מ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ג ג</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1.2.1 Merger of letter shapes

In the Parthian and Middle Persian scripts derived from Imperial Aramaic, some of the original 22 letters began merging early on, and the Book-Pahlavi script contains only 12 distinct letters, but even these are often ambiguous. In the Parthian inscriptions, `<' (ayin) = r`, `<p> = k`, and `<r = >` are sometimes indistinguishable (e.g. in the Paikuli inscription, `<OBDt> kerd` is often written so as to look like `<kr-d-t>`). In the Middle Persian inscriptions and the Psalter, `<w = r = O>`; and, in Book-Pahlavi, `<n = w = r = O>`; in the inscriptions and the Psalter, `<' (alef)`, `<l>`, `<g>`, `<d>`, and `<y>` were still distinct, but, in Book Pahlavi, `<= l>`; `<g = d = y>`; and in the Psalter and Book Pahlavi, `<s = yy>`. 
In Pahlavi, which is a cursive script, the letters also have variant forms when combined and, in certain words, they take on special forms or the shapes of other letters, e.g. <z> can represent <y = d>; <y = d> can represent <b>; and, so, <z> can represent <b>: <YZLN> for <YBLWN> ‘carry’, etc. This is indicated in transliteration by an underbar: <YBLWN>. In Pahlavi manuscripts written in India, <y> is indistinguishable from <y >. The letter <y> is frequently used for <yy, zd>: <yy > = <yyd> ‘yazdan ‘the gods’; note also <myyt> (or myyt) for <mzdyn> (= mhyst’) ‘Mazdayasnian’ with <t> for <zd> and <yt> for <sn>.

Note that the Aramaic letters <E> (only final), <O (ayin)>, <Q>, and <T> (Aram. <t>) were used only in arameograms (see below). In Pahlavi, they merged with other letters: <E = mw>; <O = w>; <Q = m> (only in <QDM> = abar ‘on’); <T = t> (e.g. Aram. <t>, MPers. inscr. <TB>, Pahl. <TB = td> = new ‘good’).
In the Manichean script, all the letters are distinct and the spelling is near-to phonetic (with a few exceptions: Man. MPers. \( <p> = p \) and \( <f> \); MPers. \( V_z \), \( <Vc, Vj> = \) Parth. \( V^2 \)).

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory and distribution

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

### TABLE 4.4: PHONOLOGY. VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>( i )</td>
<td>( u )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>( e )</td>
<td>( o )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>( a, \bar{a} )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4.5: PHONOLOGY. CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops, Affricates</td>
<td>( p, b )</td>
<td>( t, d )</td>
<td>( \check{c}, j )</td>
<td>( k, g )</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>( f, v )</td>
<td>( s, z )</td>
<td>( s, \check{z} )</td>
<td>( x, \gamma )</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Parthian]</td>
<td>( \beta )</td>
<td>( \delta )</td>
<td>( \check{z} )</td>
<td>( \gamma )</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rounded</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
<td>( xw )</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Parthian]</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
<td>( \check{w} )</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>( m )</td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
<td>( \eta )</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuants</td>
<td>( w )</td>
<td>( r, l )</td>
<td>( y )</td>
<td>( _ )</td>
<td>( h )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1 Vowels

Since the script does not distinguish between \( \check{e} \) and \( \check{i} \), \( \delta \) and \( \bar{a} \), these values can only be determined by etymological considerations and their distribution in early New Persian and modern dialects of Persian (in standard New Persian they have merged into \( i \) and \( u \)), and a few instances remain uncertain.

The existence of the phonemes \( (e) \) and \( (o) \) is suggested by alternate spellings with or without mater lectionis and is also posited for etymological reasons in words such as \( \text{kerd} < \text{kr}t' > \) 'did' (OPers. \( \text{karta} \) with syllabic \( r \), Man. MPers. \( < \text{kyrd} > \), NPers. \( \text{kard} \), dial. \( \text{kerd} \)) and \( \text{ox} < \text{hw} > \) 'mind' (Av. \( \text{aju\'h\'a} \), Man. MPers. \( < \text{wx} > \); see MacKenzie 1967: 23–25). The question remains, however, whether we have any \( e \) and \( o \) contrasting with \( a \sim i \) and \( a \sim u \), respectively, as there do not seem to be any minimal pairs/triples of the type \( \text{kird} \sim \text{kerd} \sim \text{kard} \) or \( \text{widurd} \sim \text{widord} \sim \text{widerd} < \text{wtwl}t', \text{wtl}t' > \) 'crossed over'. 
2.1.2 Consonants

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

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

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

(j) is essentially limited to the initial position and the position after n: panj 'five', Man. MPers. <pnz>. Before voiced consonants, it is indistinguishable from (ζ): dujdeñ ~ duždeñ 'unbeliever'.

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

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

Note also that Manichean Parthian usually writes <wx> where Middle Persian has <xw>, which may indicate an indivisible phoneme x<sup>0</sup>: <wxybyh> "xebeḥ, MPers. xwebaš.

In inscriptive Parthian, initial ē is written 〈ē〉 before i (<šyhr> = Man. Parth. ēhr), which perhaps reflects a local sound change. Another difference between the two dialects is the form of the abstract ending inscr. Parth. -īf = Man. Parth. -if (both probably from *-īf).

2.1.3 Syllable structure and consonant groups

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

Parthian also had the non-initial groups df and šf (not found in Middle Persian):
nidīr- 'hurry' (Pahl. <nswb-> nixwār-); sadf-ān 'beings' (<Skt. sattva), kiśfār 'continent' (MPers. kišvar), padisfār 'honour' (MPers. padtxār).

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

2.2 Non-segmental aspects

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

Words such as anīf and mahīf may have been stressed on the first syllable, since the final syllable was later lost (ānīf, later an; māhīf later meh).

2.3 Relationship between orthography and phonology in Pahlavi

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

2.3.1 Vowels

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

2.3.2 Consonants

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

After vowels and voiced consonants, the unvoiced stops express the corresponding voiced stops: <pŠ> āb 'water', <w l'> wād 'wind', kerd <krt'> 'did', etc. and <c> is used to spell z (but <nc> n); <yc> tēz 'sharp', <nc> ranf 'toil' (Man. <nzn>). In intervocalic and final position after vowels, the voiced stops <b (wb)> and <d (yd), g> spell w and y, respectively: <wb k'> rāvag 'current', <dlwb'> drō(w) 'deceit', mayān <myd'h> 'middle', <mynwd> mēnōy 'the world of thought (the other world)'. 
2.3.3 Historical and pseudo-historical orthography

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

Analogue (also called 'pseudo-historical') spellings are also common. For instance, since old b and d had become v and y between vowels, <b> and <d> were used for any v and y, e.g.: ruvān <lw b h> ‘soul’ (Av. uruvānam), ziyan <zy d h> ‘harm’ (Av. ziiāni-) = Man. <w h>, <zy y h>; since old s and θ had both become h between vowels, h could be written as <h> or <s>: gāh <g h, s h> ‘throne’ (Av., OPers. gāθu-), Man. <g h>; puhl, inscr. <pwhly, pwlsy> ‘bridge’ (Av. pāθu-).<hw> = Man. <pwhl>.

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

In addition, ē is often spelled <yw>: <nywk'> nēk ‘good’, etc., and final -i (-īy) <yd>: <gytyd> getī(y) ‘the world of the living’. In learned words, ọ and ɨ are often spelled <wk>: <ytw>hwkwywk Yatā-ahū-vēryō, an Avestan prayer.

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

2.3.4 Arameograms

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

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

2.3.5 Transliteration and transcription systems

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

Different opinions among scholars then resulted in basically two systems of transcription: one that remained faithful to the actual spelling as seen in the inscriptions and the Psalter and one that was based on the assumption that the spelling was largely historical and did not reflect the actual pronunciation, as evidenced by the Manichean texts. These
two systems were implemented in Nyberg’s Manual (1964–74) and MacKenzie’s Concise Dictionary (1971), respectively, which set the standards for them (see also MacKenzie 1967). Here, MacKenzie’s system will be adhered to throughout with only minor departures. While the differences in transliteration systems today remain small (see Table 4.2), those between the two major transcription systems produce two rather different-looking languages, e.g.: āp ~ āb ‘water’, wāt ~ wād ‘wind’, sakān ~ sagān ‘of Sakas’, māttagdān ~ mātdayān ‘specifically’, hač ~ az ‘from’, mīhr ~ mīhr ‘Mithra’.

The main innovation in MacKenzie’s transliteration system was the use of only capital letters in the arameograms, that is, also <A, E, O> for <‘ (alef), H (H), ‘ (ayin)>, to which Humbach added <Ω> for <‘T>, e.g. <‘AB> vs. <‘B> ‘father’, <‘BYTA> vs. <‘BYT> ‘house’, <‘ZNE> vs. <‘ZNH> (<‘ZNH>) ‘this’, <‘OLE> vs. <‘LH> (<‘LH>) ‘he’, <‘OB> vs. <‘TB> ‘good’.

Another common system, especially in French publications: <‘, H, ‘> = <A, E, O>, <‘h> = <h>, and <‘S> = <C>, e.g. <‘l’h> vs. <‘l’h> rāh ‘road’, <‘RHY> vs. <‘ORYYA> bay ‘god, majesty’, <‘SBW> vs. <‘CBW> xīr ‘possessions’, <‘YSHH> vs. <‘YCEB> kām- ‘wish’. In some personal transliteration systems, <x> is used for <h> and <H> for <E>, e.g. <‘XWH> for <‘HWE> h- ‘be’.

3 MORPHOLOGY

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

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

3.1 Nominal morphology

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

3.1.1 Nouns

3.1.1.1 Gender

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

Feminine gender can be marked by -ag in Middle Persian proper names (Jam and Jamag) and by -ānty (-ēnty) in imitation of Avestan (āhlāw and ahlāvēnγy ‘righteous’). In Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian, -cān denotes female members of a group: nīyōštąγ-cān, Parth. nīyōštąγ-cān ‘hearer female’.
3.1.1.2 Number and case

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'man'</th>
<th>'father'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIRs</td>
<td>mard</td>
<td>pid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBLs</td>
<td>mard</td>
<td>pid-ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRp</td>
<td>mard-ān</td>
<td>pid-ar-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBLp</td>
<td>mard-ān</td>
<td>pid-ar-ān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

3.1.1.3 Definiteness

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

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

3.1.1.4 Address

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

Man. MPers. pɪd-ā-n 'our father!' may be a frozen vocative pɪdā plus the old enclitic 1p pronoun -n.

Parthian

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

Pahlavi has the particle of address ay (hay): ay druwand ‘O wicked (one)!’ (Bd. 30.20).

Man. Parth. ōn <Šv> is a particle of address or means something like ‘hail!’: ōn xwarēd wužarg ‘hail, great sun!’ (Mir. Man. iii, text e 15–16).

3.1.2 Adjectives and comparison

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


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


Simple comparisons are expressed by čiįóm ‘like’, ēdōn čiįóm ‘like’, mānāg (i) ‘like’, and the postposition homān-āg ‘resembling, like’ (also pad homānāg i and ēdōn čiįóm–homānāg ‘just like’).

3.1.3 Adverbs and particles

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

From simple adjectives: xōb-īñā ‘well’; – from compend adjectives: (abē-brahm)-iñā ‘(walking) (without clothes)-ADV’ = ‘(walking) without clothes’, (areš-kāñmag)-iñā ‘(envy-desire)-ADV’ = ‘out of envious desire’; was-īñā ‘much/many-ADV’ = ‘greatly’; (a-frājād-az-īs)-iñā ‘non-diminished-from-it)-ADV’ = ‘so that nothing has been diminished from it’ (Dk. 5.2.1, 7.1.41); (a-padīr-śin)-iñā ‘(non-reception)-ADV’ = ‘without receiving’; – from the reflexive pronouns: xwēş-īñā ‘by oneself’; xwad-īñā ‘of oneself’; – from adjectival verbal forms: verbal noun in -āg: (tuxš-āg)-iñā-tar ‘(striv-ing)-ADV-COMP’ = ‘more diligently’, (dān-āg)-iñā-tom ‘(knowing)-ADV-SUP’ = ‘most
knowingly'; participle in -ag: (zad-ag)-ihā '(strick-en)-ADV' = 'having been struck down'.

3.1.3.1 Adverbs of time, place and manner

These include simple and combined forms:

Time or duration of event: ahiy 'first, originally' (Parth. has); Man. az nox 'from the beginning'; fradom (pad fradomih), nazdist 'first, at first'; abdom 'last, at last' (pad abdomih 'at last, in the end'); nīn 'now' (Parth. awās); ahanūs 'still, yet' (see also section 4.1); hamēn (later hamē), hanēsag, and hambvār 'always', hamēy-ihā 'forever'; Man. and(om) 'for so long'. Adverbial phrases formed with zamān 'time', gāh 'time (of the day)', bār 'time; fāis (Parth. yāwar): (pad) öylān zamān 'at that time', (pad) ham zamān 'at the same time, immediately', andar zamān 'immediately', harw gāh 'every time', pad ēv bār 'once'.

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

Time or location: pēš (ō pēš) 'before, pēšīy 'before, in front'; pas (Parth. paš) 'after, afterward, then, next', az ān pas 'after that, afterward', pasīy (ažlō pasīy) 'after, behind' (Parth. až paš 'behind, after'); - bare nouns: bāmdād 'at dawn', was /rasang zamt g sud 'he went a ground (= distance) of many frasangs'.

Manner of event: ēdōn 'thus, in this way', āwōn (Man. āwōn, Parth. awāyōn), ēd-ōwōn, ēn-ōwōn, ān-ōwōn 'in this/that way'; ōh 'thus, in the usual way'; ēwār 'for sure, certainly' (also ēwār-ihā); saxt 'firmly, intensely'; - adverbial phrases formed with ēvēnag, hangōsīdag 'manner, how', and ēm 'reason': pad ēn lān ēvēnag 'in this/that way', ham-ēvēnag 'in the same manner, likewise'; pad ēn hangōsīdag 'in this manner'; inlham ēm rāy 'for this/the same reason', pad ēlīn ēm 'for this/that reason, therefore'.

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

3.1.3.2 Adverbs formed by repetition

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

3.1.4 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.4.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have full forms and enclitic forms. Case distinctions survive in the 1st singular in both Middle Persian and Parthian and, perhaps, in the 2nd singular in
Parthian. In Pahlavi, cases are only sporadically distinguished, especially in Pahlavi translations of Avestan texts. Table 4.7

**TABLE 4.7: PERSONAL PRONOUNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Middle Persian</th>
<th>Parthian</th>
<th>Enclitic</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DIR OBL</td>
<td>DIR OBL OBL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>an &lt;ANE&gt;</td>
<td>az &lt;ANE&gt;</td>
<td>-Vm</td>
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<td>*tō &lt;LK&gt;</td>
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<tr>
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<td>hō &lt;LHw&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>amāh &lt;LN&gt;</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>asmāh &lt;LKWM&gt;</td>
<td>asmāh &lt;LKM&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>awēšān &lt;OLEš'n'&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ū &lt;OLE&gt;</td>
<td>havōn &lt;LHwn&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>awōn (Man.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-Všān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

3.1.4.2 Possessive pronouns

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

3.1.4.3 Reciprocity and reflexivity

Reciprocity is expressed by the combination ūk-did (didān), Man.-Parth. ūv-bid (bidān) 'one—another'.

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

"[xwēs tan] pad bandag-ih ō kas ma abespār
'[own body] to slave-ry to somebody do-not hand-over-IMP-2s' = 'do not give your own body over to slavery!' (AAM. 7)."
3.1.4.4 Demonstrative pronouns

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

**TABLE 4.8: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MPers.</th>
<th>Parth.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
<td>Near-deictic</td>
<td>Near-deictic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>im</em> &lt;LZNE&gt;</td>
<td><em>im</em> &lt;ZNE&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>im-ēd</em> &lt;LZNE-ē<em>n</em>&gt;</td>
<td><em>im-īn</em> &lt;ZNHn&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural</strong></td>
<td><em>ēn</em> &lt;ZNE&gt;</td>
<td><em>ēd</em> &lt;HNA&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

*cārag ī ardaxšīr [az ān dar] xwāh-ēd*

'means CNCT Ardašīr [from that door] seek-IMP-2p'

= 'seek a means (to deal) with Ardašīr elsewhere!' (KN.3.20).

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

*ēnak āy-ēd nāvāz ī nēw*

'look here comes skipper CNCT good'

= 'look, here comes the good skipper!' (M224 IR 6–7, Mir. Man. ii, p. 322).

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

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

*ud ham haw-*īn-īz kē [amābar] āžay-*ēnd*

'and also those-too REL [hereafter] be born-PRES-3p'

= 'and also those who will be born hereafter' (Mir. Man. iii, text b 95–96).

3.1.4.5 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns and related adverbials

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

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

Individual animate: *kas* 'somebody' (also noun: 'person'); – inanimate: *tis* 'something' (also noun: 'thing'); ēč (hēč) 'any (at all)' (Parth. keč, ēč, ēwīž). Combined: *kas kas*
'each one'; ḏan kas 'that person, that someone'; ḏan tīs 'that (some)thing'; aniylavīz kaslit 'something/something else (too)'. These three occur frequently in questions and negated clauses: kas-nē 'nobody, no one'; tīs-nē 'nothing'; čē-nē 'not any = nothing'.

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

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

Quantitative: čand 'several; how much?'; and 'so much/many'; and čand and and-čand 'so (much/many)–as' (Parth, awend, čāwend, *čāwend, *čāwend); andak 'a little' – composite: andak andak 'little by little'; čēn-and, čēd-and 'this much/many'; čān-and 'that much/many'; čand-ēv 'several, a few'.

Adverbial: kū 'where?'; kuy 'when?'; čiyyōn?; čīn 'why?' (see also section 3.1.3.1).

3.1.5 Adpositions

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

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

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

Ambipositions: az–rāy, pad–rāy 'on account of'; az–hammīs(t) 'together with'; az–rōn 'from (the direction of)'; az–ā(rī)n rōn 'from–in this direction'; ē–tarist 'into'; ē–rōn 'toward, in the direction of'; bē–ēnyā 'except'; bē–tā 'except'.

Parthian: ad (–ham) 'together with', frahīh 'for the sake of', nīrō (niyārd?) 'near, with', parwān 'before', wassānā 'for the sake of', yad (yad ē) 'to, until', yahm 'until' (in yahm yahm ū yahm) yāvedān 'forever'), etc.

3.1.5.1 Nouns and adjectives as adpositions

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

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

Prepositional phrases with az: pēš az 'before' (time); pas az 'after' (local, temporal);
abārdar az ‘farther above’; ṥ(ṛ)rōn az ‘on this side of’; bērōn az ‘outside’; parrōn az ‘beyond’; bēdandar az ‘outside’, etc.

3.1.6 Numerals

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

TABLE 4.9: CARDINALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1–9</th>
<th>11–19</th>
<th>10–90</th>
<th>100+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēw, ēk, īk</td>
<td>ēw</td>
<td>ēwandas</td>
<td>dāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dō</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>dōvdāh</td>
<td>ḍvōst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sē</td>
<td>hrē</td>
<td>sēzdāh</td>
<td>*hrēsas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čahār</td>
<td>čafār</td>
<td>čahārdāh</td>
<td>*čafāras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panz</td>
<td>pan</td>
<td>panzdāh</td>
<td>*panzās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāš</td>
<td>švōh</td>
<td>šāzdāh</td>
<td>švōhās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haft</td>
<td>haft</td>
<td>haftzdāh</td>
<td>haftād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō</td>
<td>*nah</td>
<td>nōzdāh</td>
<td>nawād</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MPers., Parth. hūzār ‘thousand’
MPers., Parth. bēvar ‘ten thousand’.

TABLE 4.10: ORDINALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle Persian</th>
<th>Parthian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>fradom, naxwīst (naxwēst)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>didīg, dōwom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>sidīg, sēyom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>tasom, čahārom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>panjōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>nahom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>*hrēsēsomīg ‘thirteenth’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.6.1 Cardinals and ordinals

Cardinals take the plural (obl.) ending -ān (also Parth.), except ‘2’, which, in Pahlavi, takes -īn or -ān (<2-yn’, 2-h’): ṭō-mān harv dō-īn (dō-nīn?) ‘to both of us’ (Bd. 1.21). Manichean Middle Persian has dō-nān (= Parth.) and *si-nān from dō and sē. Parthian also has panj-enān.

The forms *si-nān, and panj-enān are presumably from old i-stems as in other Middle Iranian languages (Khotanese dvēnu, drațaṇu, panjimu, etc.):

az [si-nān] (āy-āg)-ān (zēvēn-āg)-ān in-īn gyaṇ
‘from [three-PL] (com-er)-PL (vivi-fi-er)-PL this-PL soul’ = ‘from these three who shall come and vivify the soul’ (M311 V 1–2, Mir. Man. ii, p. 37 [328])
3.1.6.2 Distributives

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

3.1.6.3 Multiplicatives

Multiplicatives are formed with the suffix -(a)ganag: e(w)ganag ‘single(-minded)’, dō-ganag ‘two-fold, double, twin’ hazār-(a)ganag ‘a thousand-fold’.

3.1.6.4 Fractions

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

3.1.6.5 Quantity

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

\[ \text{[mardom] andar gumēz-išn [was] kē} \]
‘[people] in mixture [many] (COP) REL . . . ’ = ‘there are many people in the Mixture who . . . ’ (Bd. 1.25);

\[ \text{hannām-ān rōšn-ān ānōh [frāhīd]} \]
‘limb-PL light-PL there [many] (COP)’ = ‘there, the limbs of light (are) many’ (BT 11, 2232–3).
3.2 Verb morphology

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

3.2.1 Stem formation and semantic modification

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

3.2.1.1 Present and past stems

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

Verbs with past stems ending in only -d or -t are ‘irregular’ and have unpredictable present stems, e.g. šaw-lšu-d ‘go’; āy-lāma-d ‘come’; stan-lsta-d ‘take’; jah-ljast ‘jump’; xwāh-lxwās-t ‘seek, ask for’; niš-in (Ps., Man. nišy-)nišas-t ‘sit (down)’; ġūr-ğrif-t ‘take, seize’; kun-lker-d ‘do, make’, etc. The past stem mad (= āmad) has no corresponding present stem; similarly Parthian gad (= āyad ‘came’, present stem ās-).

3.2.1.2 Causative and denominative verbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.1.4 Preverbs

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

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

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

\[ \text{pas dō ātāx} \ [\text{abar mad}] \ (= \text{Av. upā.jasat Y. 30.6)} \]
= 'next to fire [upon come-PRET-3s] = 'next, he came upon the fire' (Bd. 4.10);

\[ \text{[abar rāfī h-ēnd]} \ [\text{pad xwēškārih} \]
= 'upon go-PRET-3p] to duties' = 'they went about their duties' (Dk. 7.1.10);

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

\[ \text{wāy-iz abzār-ēw ā-š [andar abāy-ist]} \]
= 'Wāy, too, (was) a tool that he needed for the work' (Bd. 1.46);

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

\[ \text{pad dast [frāz] šāy-ēd [griftan]} \]
= 'it is possible to seize (it) with the hand(s)' (AWN. 18.4);

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

\[ \text{ēg ān [frōd murd]} \]
= 'then that one [down die-PRET-3s]' (Dk. 7.3.45);

\[ [\text{ul]} \ dō ān [zād] mard ī rāy-ōmand (cf. Av. us.zaiia- 'up-be born', Y.9.4, etc.) \]
= 'a glorious man was born to him' (Dk. 7.2.58);

bē 'out, away' and aspect:

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

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

3.2.2.1 Nominal forms derived from the present stem

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

3.2.2.1a Agent noun in -āg

The form in -āg is an agent noun mostly used adjectivally: šaw-āg '(who/which is capable of) going', dān-āg 'one who knows, a wise man', saz-āg 'fitting, appropriate'. Derived forms are common: raw-āg 'current': abstract noun (raw-āg)-ēh 'currency'; denominial verb (raw-āg)-ēn- 'to make current, propagate'.

3.2.2.1b Participle in -endāg

The form in -endāg (-andāg) is mostly used adjectivally: ādur sōz-endāg / xwar-endāg 'burning / consuming fire', (mān-endāg)-ēn 'those similar (to)', zī-endāg (< zī-y-endāg) 'living'.

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

3.2.2.1c Active participle in -ān

This form has only verbal function.

3.2.2.1d Participle of necessity in -išn

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

3.2.2.2 The verbal adjective in -ag from the past stem

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

3.2.2.3 Infinitives

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

3.2.3.1 ‘To be’

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

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

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

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

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

### TABLE 4.11: MIDDLE PERSIAN ‘TO BE’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>( h-am ) (Man. ( h-ēm ))</td>
<td>( ānā^-n )</td>
<td>( h-ān )</td>
<td>( bāš )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>( h-ē )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>( ast, nēst ‘is not’ )</td>
<td>( ānā^-d )</td>
<td>( h-ād )</td>
<td>( h-ē )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lp</td>
<td>( h-ēm ) (Man. ( hom ))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>( h-ēd )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>( h-ēnd )</td>
<td>( ānā^-nd )</td>
<td>( h-ānd )</td>
<td>( h-ēnd )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4.12: PARTHIAN ‘TO BE’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>( h-ēm, ah-ēm )</td>
<td>( ah-ā^-n )</td>
<td>( ah-ā-n )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>( ay-ē )</td>
<td>( ahā^-z )</td>
<td>( ah-ā-d )</td>
<td>( ah-ē-ndē )</td>
<td>( baw-āh )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>( ast, nē ast )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>( h-ēm ) (Man. ( h-ēm-ād ))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>( h-ēd )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>( ah-ēnd )</td>
<td>( ah-ā^-nd )</td>
<td>( ah-ē-ndē )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4.13: MIDDLE PERSIAN AND PARTHIAN ‘TO BE’: ARAMEOGRAMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MPers.</th>
<th>Parth.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>(&lt;HWE&gt;)</td>
<td>(&lt;HWY&gt;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>(&lt;AYTY&gt;, &lt;LOYTY&gt;)</td>
<td>(&lt;AYTY&gt;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>(&lt;HWYTN&gt;)</td>
<td>(&lt;HWE&gt;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite</td>
<td>(&lt;YHWWN&gt;)</td>
<td>(&lt;YHW&gt;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.2 Enclitic forms

Enclitic forms are also found, e.g. 1s \(-am\), 2p \(-ēd\):
guft ó avēšan ka-š dād būd hēnd kū [mard-ēd]
’say-PRET to them when-he-AG create-PAST PRET-3p that [man-be-2p]’
= (‘Ohrmazd) said to them when he had created them: You are men’ (Dk. 7.1.9).

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

3.2.4 On the endings

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

3s pres. ind. šaw-ēd ‘he goes,’ subj. šaw-ā-d, opt. šaw-ē;
3p pret. ind. šud h-ēnd, past pret. šud būd h-ēnd, perf. šud est-ēnd, pluperf. šud est-ād h-ēnd.

3.2.4.1 Notes on the present endings

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

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

The optative is extremely rare, but may have ended in -ē (see AZ. 40 in section 4.3.8.5). The 2nd singular ending -ē was originally spelled <-ydy> (Ps. pāy-ē <NTLWN-ydy>), which in Pahlavi became <-yd> and, in the oldest manuscripts, is regularly spelled with the final <-d> resembling a stunted <-b>. In later manuscripts, the ending is also spelled <-y, -y, -, -y>.

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

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


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

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

There are two special, ‘shorthand’ forms of the endings of the 3s and 3p derived from <-yt> and <-ynd> (see the facsimiles in Barr 1936). In some Pahlavi texts, these endings
tend to be used indiscriminately, and MacKenzie therefore introduced the transcriptions as \(-x_1\) and \(-x_2\). Other endings are sometimes added, e.g. \(<YBLWN-x_1^{-ynd}>\) bar-\(\text{énd}\) 'they carry'.

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

For the endings in inscriptive Parthian, see Skjervø 1986. For the Parthian verb in general, see Durkin-Meisterernst 2000.

### 3.2.5 System of tenses and moods

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

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

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

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

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

#### TABLE 4.14: BASIC VERB SYSTEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From the present stem:</th>
<th>present:</th>
<th>imperfect:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ present endings</td>
<td>*saw-(\text{am}) 'I go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ imperfect endings</td>
<td>*saw-(\text{en}) 'I went'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From the past stem:</th>
<th>preterit:</th>
<th>past imperfect:</th>
<th>past preterite:</th>
<th>perfect:</th>
<th>pluperfect:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ present of 'to be'</td>
<td>sud h-(\text{am}) 'I went, have gone'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ imperfect of 'to be'</td>
<td>*sud an-(\text{n}) 'I had gone'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ preterit of 'to be'</td>
<td>sud b(\text{ud}) h-(\text{am}) 'I have gone'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ present of 'to stand'</td>
<td>sud est-(\text{am}) 'it is (stands) written'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ preterit of 'to stand'</td>
<td>nib(\text{išt}) est-(\text{êd}) 'I had gone'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

See the complete Middle Persian paradigms in Tables 4.15–17. Table 4.18 lists the Parthian present forms only, as the past tenses follow the same pattern as the Middle Persian ones.
TABLE 4.15: MIDDLE PERSIAN PRESENT: 'to do'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>kun-am, -em</td>
<td>kun-ēn</td>
<td>kun-ān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>kun-ē</td>
<td>kun-ē</td>
<td>kun-ā</td>
<td>kun-ēš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>kun-ēd</td>
<td>*kun-ē (-ēd)</td>
<td>kun-ā-d</td>
<td>kun-ē</td>
<td>kun-ēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>kun-ēm</td>
<td>*kun-ēm</td>
<td>kun-ā-m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>kun-ēd</td>
<td>kun-ā-d</td>
<td>kun-ēd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>kun-ēnd</td>
<td>kun-ānd</td>
<td>kun-ēnd hē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4.16: MIDDLE PERSIAN PAST: 'to go'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Optative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>sud h-am</td>
<td>sud h-ān</td>
<td>sud bād h-ān</td>
<td>sud bād h-ān</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>sud h-ē</td>
<td>sud h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>sud h-ād</td>
<td>sud h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>sud h-ēm</td>
<td>sud h-ēm</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>sud h-ēd</td>
<td>sud h-ēd</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>sud (h-ēnd)</td>
<td>sud h-ēnd hē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
<td>sud bād h-ē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4.17: MIDDLE PERSIAN PERFECT: 'to go'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect Indicative</th>
<th>Pluperfect Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>sud est-am</td>
<td>sud estād h-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>sud est-ē</td>
<td>sud estād h-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>sud est-ēd</td>
<td>sud estād-ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>sud est-ēm</td>
<td>sud estād h-ēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>sud est-ēd</td>
<td>sud estād h-ēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>sud est-ēnd</td>
<td>sud estād h-ē-nd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 4.18: PARTHIAN PRESENT: 'to do'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>kun-ām, -am</td>
<td>kun-ā-n</td>
<td>kun-ēndē</td>
<td>purs(-ā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>kun-ē</td>
<td>kun-ā</td>
<td>kun-ēndē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>kun-ēd</td>
<td>kun-ā(-ō)</td>
<td>kun-ēndē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>kun-ām</td>
<td>kun-ā-m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>kun-ēd</td>
<td>kun-ā-d</td>
<td>kun-ēd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>kun-ēnd</td>
<td>kun-ā-nd</td>
<td>kun-ēndē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.6 Intransitive and transitive

The Middle Persian verb system is dominated by the opposition intransitive vs. transitive. In the present and imperfect, intransitive and transitive verbs are construed in the same way, but in the preterite and perfect (see below), intransitive verbs are construed as in the
TABLE 4.19: INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Preterit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive:</td>
<td>Subject + Verb-INTR</td>
<td>Subject + Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive non-agential:</td>
<td>Subject + Verb-PASS</td>
<td>Subj. + Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive agential:</td>
<td>Subj./Agent + Dir. obj. + Verb</td>
<td>Agent + Dir. obj./Subj. + Verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

Intransitive:

Present
an šaw-am
'I-SBJ go-PRES-1s' = 'I go'
Present an šel h-am
'I-SBJ go-PRET-1s' = 'I went'

Transitive non-agential:

Preterit
rōz baxš-h-ēd
'day divide-PASS-PRES-3s' = 'the day is divided'
Preterit nēkīh dād bawēd
'goodness give-PASS-3s' = 'goodness is given'

Transitive agential:

Preterit an tō wēn-am
'I-SBJ you-DO see-PRES-1s' = 'I see you'
Preterit man tō dōd h-ē
'I-AG you-SBJ see-PRET-2s' = 'I saw you'

3.2.6.1 Intransitive-transitive verbs

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

1. the transitive stems are characterised by -ā- (OIr. causatives in -aya-), e.g.: ahram- 'go up' (Man.) – ahrām- 'lead up', nibay- nibašt 'lie down' – nibāy- nibašt 'lay down', nīšān- (nīšā-) nīšašt 'to sit (down)' – nīšān- (Man. nīšāy-) nīshašt 'to seat', etc.;
2. the present takes the suffix -s- (OIr. inchoatives in -sa-); this type is only Manichean Middle Persian and is also common in Parthian, e.g.: bōxt- 'be saved' – bōz- (Parth. bōz-) 'save', with past stem <buxt>, which was probably *buxt for both stems. In Pahlavi this type was replaced by stems in -i-: bōxt- (see next).

3.2.6.2 Morphological passive

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

Productive passive stems are formed by the suffix -īh- (older also -īy-) to the present stem:
The passive of causative and denominate verbs (see section 3.2.1.2) is formed by replacing -en with -ilz- (Skjervø 1997a: 179-80): afsös-ên ‘ridicule’: pass. Ps. afsös-iy-änd <^[pswys-ys-yndy] ‘they are ridiculed’; ravăg-ên- ‘propagate’: pass. ravăg-ilz- ‘be propagated’, zād-ên- ‘give birth to’: pass. zād-ilz- ‘be given birth to’.

A small set of verbs with past stem in -xt- and -ft- have passive present stems also in -xt- and -ft-, e.g. bōxt-ed ‘he is delivered’, nē frēft-ed ‘he is not (to be) deceived’ (see Dhabhar 1995). These forms correspond to Manichean Middle Persian and Parthian ‘inchoatives' in -xs-, -fs-, e.g. buxs-êd 'he is delivered', wijs-êd 'he is deceived' (see section 3.2.6.1).

### 3.2.6.3 Periphrastic passive

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>beside</th>
<th>beside</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guaft baw-êd</td>
<td>gōw-īl-h-êd</td>
<td>bōxt baw-êd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘it is being said'</td>
<td>‘he is saved’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

#### 4.1 Coordination and negation

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

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

#### 4.2 Noun phrase structure

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

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

Dependent nouns are in the oblique case where retained. The ‘possessive' relations thus expressed include all those of the ancient genitive: possession, subjective and objective genitives, etc. (see also section 4.2.4):
The plural of the modifier can be used with collective nouns and, regularly, with superlatives: 

\[ \text{abar [was-ân mardom]} \] 'over [many-obl.p people]' (KN.1.45); 

\[ \text{mard-ân pahlom} \] 'man-obl.p best' = 'the best of/among men'; 

\[ \text{yazd-ân mahist} \] 'the greatest of/among gods'.

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

Several nouns and adjectives can be connected with relative particles:

\[ \text{kiir-niimag [farzadfr j [T pibag-iil]} \] 'the book-of-deeds [CNCT Ardasir] [CNCT Pabag-(son-of)]' = 'the book of deeds of Ardasir son of Pabag';

\[ \text{marg [êlaksandar j [ê hrömäyig]} \] 'death [CNCT Alexander] [CNCT Roman]' = 'the death of Alexander, the Roman'.

Frequently, adjectives so connected are separated from the noun:

\[ \text{Pabag rêy [pus]-êw bûd [ê abâyishig]} \] 'Pabag for [son]-one was [CNCT comely]' = 'Pabag had a comely son' (KN.1.24).

The adjective can be replaced by a prepositional phrase:

\[ \text{afsä i dibâr [i az harrân šahrestân]} \] 'Afsä [CNCT scribe] [CNCT from Harrân town]' = 'Afsä, the scribe, from the town of Harrân' (Bis.9–10).

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

\[ \text{harwisp rûz [ê-t zîndagih]} \] 'every day [CNCT-your life]' = 'every day of your life' (Ps.122.4).

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

\[ "\text{xad ast šahrûdâr [ê] hraw-ûn šahr-ûn} \] 'himself is ruler [CNCT all-pl realm-pl]'

= 'he himself is the ruler of all realms' (M32a V, lines 9–10, Boyce 1975: 120, text bo 2);
4.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns and numerals

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

\[
\text{pahikar en man} \\
\text{'[this image] (is) of me...'] (ANR m a);}
\]

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

4.2.3 Possessive pronouns

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

\[
\text{ke līlizd ĕ [manīg-ān] jra: dah-ē} \\
\text{'[who fee to [my-OBLp] forth give-PRES-2s]}' \\
\text{= 'you who give the fee to mine (= my people)' (Y 40.1);} \\
\]

\[
\text{ōy ke [amāg-ān] tan ud Jān zīy-īšn u-s yaz-am} \\
\text{'[he who [our-OBLp] body and soul liv-ing (COP) and-him-IO sacrifice-PRES-1s]}' \\
\text{= 'and I sacrifice to him who is our people's body and soul (i.e.) livelihood' (Y 37.3);} \\
\]

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

Parthian:

\[
\text{tō žir-īft āz [mān-ān] ahar-dar ast} \\
\text{'[you-IO wis-dom than [mine] high-er there-is]'} \\
\text{= 'you have wisdom superior to mine' (BT 11, lines 1401–2);} \\
\]

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

4.2.4 Periphrastic adnominal constructions

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

\[
[a-sar] rōšn-īh > [ān ī a-sar] rōšn-īh \\
\text{'[without-head] light > [that CNCT without-head] light]'} \\
\text{= 'the light without beginning' (Bd. 1.7);} \\
\]
['star-PL CNCT] zodiac-al and [those-too CNCT] not zodiac-al'
= ‘the stars of the zodiac and also those not of the zodiac’ (Bd. 2.1);

[oū ī druwan]d) gannāg mēnōy
'[he CNCT wicked] Foul Spirit'
= ‘the wicked Foul Spirit; he, the wicked Foul Spirit’ (PN. 11);

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

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

4.2.5 The use and word order of adpositions

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

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

4.2.5.1 Enclitic and relative pronouns governed by adpositions

Prepositions can usually take enclitic pronouns:

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

u-m:kām-ist [pad pēš-iš] namāz bur-dan
‘and-me wished [to before-him] homage carry-INF’
= ‘and I wished to do homage before him’ (AWN. 11.4),

ka-m:kām-ist namāz bur-dan [ohrmazd pēš]
‘when-me wished homage carry-INF [Ohrmazed before]’ = ‘when I wished to do
homage before Ohrmazd’ (AWN. 101.2).

The prepositions az ‘from’, ē ‘to’, and pad ‘on, with’ regularly govern the 3rd singular
enclitic pronoun, more rarely other enclitic pronouns. In these functions, the prepositions
are usually written phonetically: az-im <hec> ‘from me’, pad-īshān <ptšh> ‘on + them’,
av-īš <wbs> ‘to + him’ (only form):

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

When the enclitic pronoun is not governed by the preposition, the preposition is
written with the arameogram:
When used as postpositions, these three appear as aziš, aviš, padiš (spelled phonetically), where -š is an empty suffix. In that case, they usually govern an enclitic personal pronoun or a relative pronoun (see also Boyce 1964a):

\[\text{u-š} \text{ āsmān [aziš] bē tars-īd} \]
\[\text{‘and-[him] sky [from] BE feared’} \]
\[\text{= ‘and the sky was afraid of him’} \text{ (Bd. 4.10)};\]

\[\text{spazg-īh ma kun kū-īt} \text{ dusraw-īh ... [aviš] nē rasēd} \]
\[\text{‘slanderous-ness NEG do-IMP -2s, that-[you] infamy [upon] NEG comes’} \]
\[\text{= ‘do not slander, so that infamy may not come [upon you]’} \text{ (MX. 1.8)}.\]

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

\[\text{pēm [kē] tan-gōhr i zarduxšt [aviš] mad ēstād} \]
\[\text{‘milk [REL] body-substance CNCT Zarathustra [into] come-PLUPF-3s’} \text{ = ‘the milk into which the body substance of Zarathustra had come’} \text{ (Dk. 7.2.46)};\]

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

4.2.5.2 Adpositions governing complex noun phrases

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

\[\text{gōśrūn [pad gōspand (abāz ō gēřy dah-īšn)-īh] ham-dādestān būd} \]
\[\text{‘Gōśrūn [for cattle (back to world-of-the-living establish-ing)-ness] agreed was’} \]
\[\text{= ‘Gōśrūn agreed to the re-establishment of (= to re-establish) cattle in the world of the living’} \text{ (Bd. 4A.6)};\]

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

'upon righteous-OBLp [(dis-comfort)-ness CN CT-them upon body on-account-of]'

'and upon wicked-OBKp [punishment CNCT-them upon soul on-account-of]'

= 'Spandarmad (the Earth) has mercy on the righteous on account of the discomfort to their bodies and on the wicked on account of the punishment (exacted) upon their souls' (WZ. 35.47).

4.3 Semantics and use of verb forms

See Table 4.15 for a survey of verbal constructions.

4.3.1 'To be'

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

4.3.1.1 'To be' and the existential verb

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

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

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

Parthian: "xad ast šahrōār 'he himself is the ruler'.

4.3.1.2 'Belonging to'

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

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

pad ōn ʾ̄xwēš (hu-kunişt-nil)-ih
'by that CNCT own (good-doing)-ness'
= 'by his own good deeds' (PN.32).

4.3.1.3 'To have'

'To have' is expressed by the verb of existence h-, pret. baw- and an oblique form of nominals (originally indirect object):
agar-[it] hambun-iz mihr i amâh [ast]
‘if-[you-IO] at-all love CNCT us [there-is-PRES-3s]’
= ‘if you have any love for us at all’.

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

[ardawân rây] kanîzag-êw abâyišnâg [bûd]
‘[Ardawân IO] servant-girl-one comely [there was]’
= ‘Ardawân had a pretty servant-girl’ (KN. 2. 1).

Parthian:

merd-êw abâz *ud haft puhr [bûd]
‘man-one be-IMPERF-3s and seven sones) was’
‘there was a man, and (he) had seven sons’ (BT II, lines 83–84).

4.3.2 Agreement between (grammatical) subject and verb

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

ân-iz-im bê [stad]
‘[those]-too- I-AG [seize-PRET(-3p)]’

u-m abâz ô xvêš šahr [hišt h-ênd]
‘and I-AG back to own land [let-PRET-3p]’

= ‘those, too, I seized, and I let them return to their own land(s)’ (KKZ 13)

Collective nouns in the singular can take a plural verb:

[grôh-êw ây-ênd]
‘[group-one come-3p]’

= ‘a group will come’ (Bd. 33.24).

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

pas [hamâg kôf] frâz [rust h-ênd] pad 18 sâl
‘afterward [all mountain(s)] forth [grow-PRET-3P] in 18 years’

= ‘afterward, all the mountains grew up in 18 years’ (Bd. 9.1).

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

4.3.3 The ergative construction

In the ‘ergative’ construction, the performer of the action (the subject in the present) becomes the agent and is in the oblique case (frequently an enclitic pronoun), and the direct object of the action becomes the ‘grammatical’ subject and is in the direct case. The verb then normally agrees with the direct object of the action (the grammatical subject):
Consecutive intransitive and transitive verbs:
When a noun is the agent of a sequence of coordinated or subordinated clauses with transitive verbs, it can be resumed by an enclitic pronoun:

\[
\text{[pābag] (ka-[ṣ] nāmag [dīd]) andīh-gen [bād]}
\]

‘Pābag-SBJ (when-[he-AG] letter [see-PRET-3s]) sorrowful [become-PRET-3s]’
\[
\text{u-[ṣ] pad passox (īō ardaxšīr [kerd]) nībīštī kū}
\]

and-[he-AG] in answer (REL to Ardaxšīr made) [write-PRET-3s] that’
\[
= \text{‘when Pābag saw the letter, he became sad, and, in the answer he made to Ardaxšīr, he wrote that . . . ’} \quad (\text{KN. 1. 41–2}).
\]

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

\[
\text{ud pas [ōy wirāz] (\{cīyōn-išān ān saxwan āšnūd\) abar ā pāy [est-ād]}
\]

‘and then [that Wirāz-SBJ) (as-their that word hear-PRET-3s) on to foot [stand-PRET-3s]’
\[
\text{ud dast pad kaš [kerd] ud [guft]}
\]

‘and hand in arm-pit [do-PRET-3s and [say-PRET-3s]’
\[
= \text{‘and then that Wirāz, when he heard [transitive] that speech of theirs, got up [intransitive], placed [transitive] his hands under the armpits, and said [transitive]’} \quad (\text{AWN. 1. 20}).
\]

Here, the agent pronoun is left out, but could have been included, e.g. \text{u-ṣ dast pad kaš kerd ‘and-he-AG . . . ’}.

In late texts, New Persian-type constructions are also found, in which the preterite of transitive verbs is construed actively like the present:

\[
\text{ud andar [ṣūd h-ēnd] ud ō wištāsp-šā namāz [burd h-ēnd]}
\]

‘and inside [go-PRET-3p] and to Wištāsp-king homage [bring-PRET-3p]’
\[
\text{ud farvārdag bē [dād h-ēnd]}
\]

‘and letter BE [give-PRET-3p]’
\[
= \text{‘and they went inside, did homage to King Wištāsp, and gave (him) the letter’} \quad (\text{AZ. 8})
\]

Here \text{burd hēnd and bē dād hēnd} (for -sān . . . burd ‘they-AG brought’ and -sān . . . dād ‘they-AG gave’) reflect New Persian (active) \text{burd-and and be-dād-and}.
4.3.4.1 Reflexive pronouns in ergative constructions

Reflexive pronouns normally refer to the agent of the sentence:

\[
[\text{ohrmazd}] \text{nēryōsang \{} xwēš aṣṭag \} \text{paydāg-ēn-ēd est-ēd}
\]
\[
[\text{Ohrmazd-AG} \text{Nēryōsang [own messenger]} \text{manifest-CAUS-PERF-3s}]
\]
= 'Ohrmazd has revealed Nēryōsang as his own messenger' (Dk. 5.4.6).

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

\[
u-m \text{abāz ō \{} xwēš \} šahr hišt \{h-ēnd\}
\]
= 'and I-IAG back to [own] land [let-PRET-3p]'

4.3.4 The use of the tenses

4.3.4.1 Present indicative

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

\[
im \text{rōz haft *māhīgān ast \{tā\} ābustan \{h-am\} }
\]
= 'today I have been pregnant for seven months' (KN. 9.19).

4.3.4.2 Imperfect and past imperfect

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

\[
ud \text{uzdēs \{} gūgān-ih \}
\]
= 'and idol [destroy-PASS-IPF]'\)

\[
ud \text{gilist i dēw-ān \{wišōb-īh\},}
\]
= 'and dens CNCT demon-OBLp [ruin-PASS-IPF]'\)

\[
ud \text{yazd-ān gāh ud nišēm \{a-kir-īy\} }
\]
= 'and the idols were destroyed, and the dens of the demons were ruined and were made into a throne and seat for the gods'. (KKZ 10).

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

\[
ud \text{avēšān zōr-ān kē ōy zamān hān zahag zāy-ēn-ād}
\]
= 'and those power-PL-AG REL that time that child gave-birth'

\[
harvīsūn \text{wuzarg šād-īh \{būd\} }
\]
= 'all-PL great happi-ness [be-PRET-3s]'

\[
u-š harv \text{padīš guš \{anānd\} }
\]
= 'and-it all at joyful [be-IPF-3p]'

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

Parthian:

\[ \text{abāw nē hō zāwar [ahāz] kē zān-ād} \ldots \]
‘but not that power [be-IPF-3s] who-AG knew \ldots’
‘but it was not that power, (the one) that knew \ldots’ (M2 II R i, lines 34–35, \textit{Mēr. Man.} iii, text a).

The past imperfect is a regular pluperfect:

\[ u-m \text{ pad ān spās} \]
‘and-me-DO for that service
\[ i-m \text{ pad yazd-ān ud Šābuhr šāhān sāh [kerd anā-d]} \]
‘REL-I-AG to god-OBLp and Šābuhr king-OBLp king [do-PAST-IPF-3s]’
\[ ān-im kūnē(d) Šābuhr šāhān sāh \ldots kām-kār ud pādixšāy \]
‘that-me-DO make-IPF-3s Šābuhr king-OBLp king acting-at-will and authoritative’
= ‘and for the service I had performed for the gods and to Šābuhr, king of kings, (for) that Šābuhr, king of kings, put me in complete charge’ (KKZ 1);

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

Parthian:

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

4.3.4.3 Preterite and past preterite

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

Intransitive verbs:

\[ \text{az mēnōy [mad h-am]} \]
‘from world-of-thought [come-PRET-1s]’
\[ nē pad gēty [būd h-am] \]
‘not in world-of-the-living [be-PRET-1s]’
= ‘I came from the world of thought; I have not (always) been in the world of the living’ (PN. 1).

With gapped auxiliary:
and-us to-meet [come-PRET-(3p)] those-OBL departed-OBL souls' = 'and the souls of those departed came to meet us' (AWN. 10.2).

Transitive verbs without agent:

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

Transitive verbs with agent:

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

4.3.4.4 Present and past perfect

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

\[ \text{pad nibišt abar stān [nibišt est-ēd]} \]
'in inscription on *monument [write-PREF-3s]'  
= 'it is/stands written in the inscription on the *monument' (ŠKZ 27);  
\[ \text{tā ma-dan i petyārag 6000 sāl zamān [widerd estād]} \]
'until come-INF CNCT adversary 6000 year time [pass-PLUPF-3s]'  
= 'until the coming of the adversary a period of 6000 years had passed (and was now over)' (Bd. 5B.15).

Parthian:

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

\[ \text{mardóm pad ān wiyābān-īh} \]
'people by that being-led-astray'  
\[ \text{ō (uzdē-[parist-īšn] )-īh [mad ēstād h-ēnd]}, \]
'to (idol-[worship-ing])-ness [come-PLUPF-3p]'  
= 'by being led astray by those, people had come to (and were then) worshipping idols' (Dk. 7.4.72).
In Pahlavi, however, the perfect began to be construed like the preterite:

\[ \text{'ek ḡand tis .Word \\i \\v in dāhag pad ḡadīg-ih andar bābēl \{kord \estād} \\\v 'one some thing \CNCT \wonderful REL \{Dahāg-AG\} by sorcer-y in Babylon} \\\v [make-PERF-PAST-3s]\]

\[ = \text{'several wonderful things that Dahāg had made by sorcery in Babylon'} \text{(Dk. 7.4.72)}; \]

\[ ud \text{\ kaman \a-franāft \būd \h-am \{kē \} \ wad \{dāšt \ estād \h-am\},} \]

\[ = 'and when I un-propagated \{who-AG\} bad \{hold-PLUPF-1s\}' \]

\[ a-t \text{\ a-franāft-star \kord \h-am} \text{\ 'then-you-AG un-propagated-COMP make-PRET-1s'} \]

\[ = 'and when I was unpropagated by those who had considered me bad(ly) (held me in low esteem), then you made me more unpropagated' \text{(AWN. 17.15).} \]

### 4.3.5 Passive and agency

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

#### 4.3.5.1 Instrument

The instrument of an action is regularly expressed by a preposition, usually \( \text{pad} \):

\[ \text{gōw-išn ud \warz \{kē \padiš\} \andar \mardōm \} \text{pad \waxšvar-th \wābar-th-ist \h-ēnd} \]

\[ = '((their) sayings and wonders, by which they were revealed among men as true prophets' \text{(Dk. 7.1.3)}. \]

#### 4.3.5.2 Passive agent

Agents are occasionally used in passive constructions with \( \text{baw-} \):

\[ \text{ēd \wād \murnjēn-ēd \cē \ka-[ṭān] \wād \murnjēn-īd} \]

\[ = 'destroy this wind! For, when you have destroyed this wind, then you will have destroyed the entire creation' \text{(after Bd. 21.4).} \]

#### 4.3.5.3 Unspecified agent

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

\[ \text{kū \pad \gān ī \xwadāy-ān \{kōxš-ih-ēd\}} \]

\[ = 'when an attempt is made = when somebody makes an attempt upon the life of lords' \text{(KN.9.15)}. \]
When the agent is unknown, it can also be expressed by a 3rd plural, e.g. gōw-ēnd 'they say' = 'it is said'; u-[šān] ōzad 'they killed (him)' = 'he was killed'.

4.3.6 Direct and indirect object marking

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

4.3.6.1 Unmarked and adpositional direct object

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

\[ u-šān \text{zan [ray]} nē ōzad \]
\[ '\text{and-he-AG that woman-[DO] not killed}' \]
\[ = '\text{and he did not kill that woman}' (KN.9.22). \]

4.3.6.2 Direct object marked by the preposition ō

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

\[ āfur-ēm [ō ēn xwān yōjdahr] \]
\[ 'we bless [DO this table pure]' \]

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

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

Parthian:

\[ az [ō tō] bōz-ān až harwān ašnās \]
\[ 'I-SBJ [DO you] deliver-SUBJ-1s from all-OBLp harm' \]
\[ = 'I shall deliver you from all kinds of harm' (AR. VII, strophe 43). \]

4.3.6.3 Indirect object

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

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

4.3.6 Direct and indirect object marking

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

4.3.6.1 Unmarked and adpositional direct object

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

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

4.3.6.2 Direct object marked by the preposition ō

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

\[ āfur-ēm [ō ēn xwān yōjdahr] \]
\[ 'we bless [DO this table pure]' \]

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

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

Parthian:

\[ az [ō tō] bōz-ān až harwān ašnās \]
\[ 'I-SBJ [DO you] deliver-SUBJ-1s from all-OBLp harm' \]
\[ = 'I shall deliver you from all kinds of harm' (AR. VII, strophe 43). \]
4.3.6.4 Indirect object and possessor raising

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

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

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

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

4.3.7 The use of the moods

4.3.7.1 Subjunctive

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

4.3.7.1a Main clauses

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

\[ āfrīn kerd kū \]
\[ 'vow made that'; \]
\[ šābuhr anōsag ud jāwēd-šahr [baw-ād] . . . \]
\[ 'Šābuhr immortal and eternal-rule [be-PRES-SUBJ-3s]' \]
\[ ud an-iz bandag ēd kerd [kun-ān] . . . \]
\[ 'and I-DIR-too servant this done [do-PRES-SUBJ-1s]' \]
\[ ud ēz ēdar drust frāz ō dar ī avēśān bay-ān [ras-ān] \]
\[ 'and from here safely forth to court CNCT their-OBLp divinitie-s-OBLp [arrive-PRES-SUBJ-1s]' \]
‘He vowed: Let Šabuhr be immortal and rule for ever! And let me, (His) servant, also succeed in doing this . . .! And let me arrive safely at His Majesty’s court’ (SPs. II 5–9, cf. section 4.3.10.3e).

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

\[ \text{ba ma-bēz [h-ād] kas kē gōw-ād} \]

‘but NEG-EXH [be-PRES-SUBJ-3s] somebody who say-PRES-SUBJ-3s’

= ‘but let there be nobody who shall say’ (M9 I V, line 8, Mir. Man. ii, p. 298).

Parthian:

\[ \text{kadal11 zaman [all-ad] ka!5 hO axraw drust baw-all} \]

‘which time [be-PRES-SUBJ-3s] when that itch healthy be(come)-PRES-SUBJ-3s’

\[ \text{ku pad haman taghār drūst ud abē-dard baw-ād} \]

‘that in entire body healthy and without-pain [be(come)-PRES-SUBJ-3s]’

= ‘when will the time come when that itch shall be healed, so that he will be healthy and painless in the entire body?’ (BT 4, lines 2047–49).

4.3.7.1b Subordinate clauses

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

\[ \text{[kē] ēn nāmag [wēn-ād] ud [pahiburs-ād],} \]

‘who this document [see-PRES-SUBJ-3s] and [read-PRES-SUBJ-3s]’

\[ \text{ān pad yazd-ān ud xwaday-ān ud xwēs ruvān rād ud rāst ēw *baw-ēd} \]

‘that-one for god-OBLp and lord-OBLp and own soul generous and truthful EXH be-PRES-3s’

= ‘whoever shall see and read this document, let him be generous and truthful toward the gods, the lords and his own soul!’ (KKZ 18);

\[ \text{[kū tā] gōhr i zarduxt bē ṭ pidar-ān [ras-ād] } \]

‘[so that] substance CNCT Zarathustra BĒ to fathers [arrive-PRES-SUBJ-3s]’

= ‘so that the substance of Zarathustra should come to his parents’

(Dk. 7.2.39);

\[ \text{ējiōn [dān-ā] kū kerd yazd-ān ud amāh owēn kun} \]

‘as [know-PRES-SUBJ-2s] that: done gods-IO and us-IO better thus [do-IMP-2s]’

= ‘as you shall know that (something) is done in the best way for the gods and Us, act in that way!’ (KKZ 3).

Parthian:

\[ \text{u-t griw až hō pāy-ēd [kū]-s mehgār nē [kar-ā] } \]

‘and-your soul from that protects [that]-it-DO harm NEG [do-PRES-SUBJ-2s]’

= ‘and he protects your soul from that (fire), so that it does not harm it’ (BT 11, lines 775–6);

\[ \text{[kē] buxtag-īft až andar [kišt ah-ād] } \]

‘[who] deliver-ance from inside [sow-PRET-SUBJ-3s]’

= ‘(those) in whom deliverance may have been sown’ (BT 19, §54);
In late Pahlavi texts, the subjunctive is used instead of the optative as irrealis:

\[
\text{[agar] nē ēdōn [kerd h-ād],}
\]

'if NEG in-this-way [do-PRET-SUBJ-3s]'  
\[
\text{ān rōsūn-īh ē gētīy nē [tāb-ēn-īd h-ād]}
\]

'that light-ness on world-of-the-living NEG [shine-CAUS-PRET-SUBJ-3s]'  
\[
= 'if it had not been done in this way, that light would not have been made to shine upon the world' (Bd. 7.9).
\]

4.3.7.2 Optative

The optative is used in main clauses to express a wish. In the Manichean texts it survives in some set formulas with 3rd singular present optative of ‘be’: Man. MPers. ōh b-ē, Parth. ōh baw-ēnde 'so be (it)!'; MPers. āfrīd b-ē, Parth. āfrīd baw-ēndē 'blessed be ...!'.

The 2nd singular is found in Pahlavi, perhaps in imitation of Avestan (see section 3.2.4.1):

\[
\text{ohrmazd ō zarduśt guft kū ēy i dān-āg [men-ēš]}
\]

'Ohrmazd-AG to Zardušt said that: he CNCT knowing [think-OPT-2s]'  
\[
= 'Ohrmazd said to Zardušt: You should think the Knowing one!' (Dk. 9.24.11);
\]

\[
\text{was tō avēšān zarduśt [ēz-ēš] u-śān [fcreenshot-ēš]}
\]

'much you them Zardošt [sacrifice-OPT-2s] and-them [further-OPT-2s]'  
\[
= 'You should sacrifice to them much, Zardušt, and promote them!' (Dk. 9.35.20)
\]

Cf. Y. 65.10 āpō [jauō-ōiš] zaraūštra 'may you implore the waters, Zarathustra' and [yaz-āēša] mē zaraūštra 'may you sacrifice to me, Zarathustra' (passim).

4.3.7.2a Impossible conditions (irrealis)

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

\[
\text{ud ka nē pānāgīh avēšān rāy [h-ē]}
\]

'and if NEG protection their on-account-of [be-OPT-3s] ahrimen ud wiśūdag-ān hāmōyēn ruwān ī druward-ān
\]

'Ahrimen and abortions all soul CNCT wicked'  
\[
\text{anār dōṣōx bē [marn j-ēnd-ē] (-ē spelled <HNA>)}
\]

'in hell BE [destroy-PRET-OPT-3p]'  
\[
= 'and if it were not for their protection, Ahrimen and (his) abortions would be destroying all the souls of the wicked' (PT, p. 124 §23);
\]

\[
\text{agar man nē [dād h-ē] mēnōy ī būm ud deh}
\]

'if I-AG NEG [establish-PRET-OPT-3s] spirit CNCT earth and land'  
\[
\text{harwisp mardōm bē ū ēräāvēz [szęd h-ēnd h-ē] xwaśi ī ūnōy rāy}
\]

'all men away to Ėrānwēz [go-PRET-OPT-3p] nice-ness CNCT there on-account-of'  
\[
= 'if I had not established the 'spirit' of earth and land, all men would have gone to Ėrānwēz, because it is so pleasant there' (Bd. 31.1);
ardaxšir asp dō az bārag-ān i ardawān
'Ardaxšir-AG horse two from steeds-OBL CNCT Ardawān'
kē pad rōz ī-ēv 70 frasang bē [āy-ēnd h-ē] zēn kerd
'which in day-one 70 frasang BĒ [come-PRES-OPT-3p] saddle did'
= 'Ardaxšir saddled two of Ardawān's horses, which would come 70 frasangs in one
day' (KN.2.14);

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

4.3.7.2b Irrealis in questions

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

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

Parthian:

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

4.3.7.2c The 'parabolic' optative

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

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

awēšān wēn-šān ōwōn tēz kū ān ī aryand-tom dōsox ōwōn wēn-ēnd
'their sight thus sharp that that CNCT murki-est hell thus see-PRES-3p'
čiyōn mard-ēw kē čāsm abēr wēn-āg andar ēwēnag [*niger-ē] (ms. <nkyln>)
'like man-one whose eye very see-ing in mirror look-OPT-3s'
tan ī xweš [*wēn-ē] (ms. <HZYTWNd>)
'body CNCT own [see-OPT-3s]'
= their sight is so so sharp that they see the most murky hell like a man with a very 'seeing' eye were to look in a mirror and see his own body' (PT, p. 124 §22);

\[ ud \overline{d\text{\text{"}w\text{"}n \c{e} \c{e} \text{"}n z\text{"}r m\text{"}r}}d \]
‘and thus like wise man’
\[ k\overline{\epsilon} d\text{\text{"}r\text{"}x-t\text{"}w n\text{"}\tilde{e}w \text{\text{"}d\text{\text{"}r\text{"}w\text{"}r t\text{"}\text{"}m [\text{wind-\text{"}w}]} \]
‘who tree-one good and fruit-ful seed [find-OPT-3s]’
= ‘and just like a wise man, who were to find the seed of a good and fruit-bearing tree’ (after M49 II V, lines 10–13, \textit{Mir. Man. ii}, p. 308);

\[ \overline{\text{"}w\text{"}n m\text{"}\text{"}n-\text{"}g \c{e} \c{e} \text{"}n i\text{"}k\text{"}h m\text{"}r} \]
‘thus resembl-ing like poor man’
\[ k\overline{\epsilon} d\text{\text{"}u\text{"}x t \text{"}n\text{"}k [\text{z\text{"}\text{"}d h-\text{"}w}] \]
\[ R\text{\text{"}l-\text{"}o} d\text{\text{"}a\text{"}t h\text{"}\text{"}r [\text{h-\text{"}w}] \]
‘and . . . very good-looking [be-OPT-3s]’
= ‘like a poor man, to whom a good daughter were born, and who were very beautiful’ (BT 4, 2010–13).

Parthian:

\[ k\overline{\epsilon} \overline{\epsilon} z m\text{"}\text{"}d\text{"}\text{"}y\text{"}\text{"}n w\text{"}s\text{"}\text{"}n d\text{"}a\text{"}\text{"}m\text{"}n-t\text{"}n w\text{"}r\text{"}\text{"}x\text{"}t \]
‘who from middle many-OBLp enemies-OBL fled’
\[ u\text{"}d \ldots \overline{\text{"}d\text{"}\text{"}s t \text{"}\text{"}w u\text{"}w\text{"}z u\text{"}g u\text{"}d \text{"}w\text{"}\text{"}y\text{"}b\text{"}n [\text{y\text{"}\text{"}d-\text{"}\text{"}n\text{"}d}] . . . , \]
‘and . . . to plain-one large and deserted [come-OPT-3s]’
\[ \text{"}d\text{"}\text{"}y\text{"}\text{"}n z\text{"}\text{"}d\text{"}\text{"}r m\text{"}\text{"}d\text{"}\text{"}y\text{"}\text{"}n \text{"}d\text{"}\text{"}s t k\text{"}d\text{"}\text{"}g \text{"}\text{"}w [\text{w\text{"}\text{"}n-\text{"}\text{"}n\text{"}d}] \]
‘then from far middle plain house-one [see-OPT-3s]’
= ‘like a man who (had) escaped from the middle of many enemies, and were to come to a large plain and desert . . . and then from afar were to see a house in the middle of the plain . . . ’ (BT 11, 791–801).

4.3.7.3 Imperative

The imperative exhibits no special features. It is negated with \textit{ma}. Commands to 3s and 3p and 1p are usually expressed with the particle \textit{\text{"}w\text{"}v} + indicative (see section 4.3.8.2):

\[ \overline{\text{"}c z a m\text{"}\text{"}n m\text{"}a p\text{"}y u-\text{"}z \text{"}d\text{"}z a n} \]
‘any time NEG [wait-IMP-2s] and-him [kill-IMP-2s]’
= ‘do not wait, but kill him!’ (KN. 9.21).

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

\[ m\text{"}a m\text{"}a n a b a r [\text{z\text{"}\text{"}\text{"}a t-\text{"}w}] \text{"}s r\text{"}d \]
‘NEG me upon [strike-PRES-2s] Srid’
= ‘do not strike me, Srid!’ (Dk. 7.2.64).

Parthian:

\[ g\text{"}\text{"}n\text{"}m\text{"}n \text{"}f\text{"}\text{"}r\text{"}h-\text{"}i\text{"}s\text{"}t\text{"}m \text{"}k\text{"}\text{"}f r\text{"}\text{"}a n t \text{"}a y-\text{"}w b\text{"}a \text{"}a b\text{"}a \text{"}z [i\text{z\text{"}\text{"}w\text{"}t-\text{"}t}] \]
‘soul-my dear-est to where go-forth-PRET-2s back [turn-PRES-2s]’
= ‘O my dearest soul, return to where you went forth!’ (M4b R i, lines 6–8, Boyce 1975: 160).
4.3.7.3a The ‘pseudo-imperative’ *avar, avar-ēd*

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

\[
\text{drīst ud weh ud pad drōd} [\text{avar-ēd}]
\]

‘healthy and good and in health [come-IMP-2p]’

= ‘welcome!’ (KN. 12.4);

\[
[\text{ma}] \text{drīst} [\text{avar}]
\]

‘[NEG-EXH] healthy [come-IMP-2s]’

= ‘you are not welcome!’ (M3 R, line 22, Boyce 1975: 45).

Parthian:

\[
[\text{avar}] \text{bay ō man wēn}
\]

‘[come-IMP-2s] god DO me [see-IMP-2s]’

= ‘come, god! look at me!’ (M4b I V 19).

4.3.8 Aspectual and modal particles

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

4.3.8.1 *hame*

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

\[
\text{kāmag ī gannāg mēnōy} [\text{hame warz-ēd}]
\]

‘wish CNCT Foul Spirit [*HAME* perform-PRES-3p]’

= ‘they keep doing the Foul Spirit’s wish’ (Bd. 1. 25);

\[
[\text{hamew nimāy-ēd ud xand-ēd}]
\]

‘[*HAME* show-PRES-3s and smile-PRES-es]’

= ‘he keeps pointing (at him) and smiling’ (KSM 51).

4.3.8.2 *ēw*

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

\[
\text{sāh-ūn sāh ŏ ēr-ūn sāhr [ēw wihēz-ēd]}
\]

‘kings-OBL king to Iranians-OBL land [EXH move-PREE-3s]’

= ‘let the King of Kings move hither to the land of the Iranians (= Iran)’ (after NPi 9);

\[
\text{burdešnōhr [ēw baw-ēm]}
\]

‘thankful [EXH be-PRES-1p]’

= ‘let us be thankful!’ (Ps. 135 canon);
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drozan [ma heh bav-end]  
‘deceitful NEG [EXH be-PRES-3p]’  
= ‘they [should] not [be] deceitful’ (M5794 II R, lines 15–16, Mir. Man. ii, p. 297);

mard uzwan az saxwan i nesh abay-ed guftan be [e pahrez-ed]  
‘man tongue from speech REL NEG ought-to say-INF away [EXH keep-PRES-3s]’  
= ‘a man should keep his tongue from saying things he should not say!’ (PR. 10j1).

4.3.8.3 be

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

ka zaman brehen-ed däm-iz i ahrimen raw-ág [be bav-éd]  
‘when time fashions creation-too CNCT Ahrimen mov-ing [BÉ be(come)-PRES-3s]’  
= ‘when he fashions time, Ahrimen’s creation, too, will start moving’ (Bd. 1.36);

azer ën zamig hamâg gyâg ãb [be est-éd]  
‘under this earth all place water [BÉ stand-PRES-3s]’  
= ‘under this earth, in every place, there stands water’ (Bd. 1A.10)

da ka hân kanig az zarig [ba mûrd]  
‘until when that girl of sorrow [BÉ die-PRET-3s]’  

winâh andar hâsr [be ma hil-éd]  
‘sin within “mile” [PART NEG-EXH let-IMP-2p]’  
= ‘do not let a sin within a mile (of you)’ (PN. 36).

4.3.8.4 òh

The particle òh ‘thus’ is used as a verbal particle meaning approximately ‘in the usual, well-known way’ (Skjervø, forthcoming):

u-š dâm-ist kû höm [òh ras-éd]  
‘and-he- AG knew that Hom [ÔH arrive-PRES-3s]’  
= ‘and he knew: the Hom will come in the usual way’ (Pahl. Y. 9.1).

4.3.8.5 kâé

The particle kâé (ka) ‘if only’ is used with the preterite indicative or optative to express an impossible wish:

runwân i kersâsp bê ò zardušt guft kû  
‘soul CNCT Kersâsp BÉ to Zardušt said that:’  
[kâé] man hêrbed-êw [bûd h-am]  
‘if-only I priest-one [be-PRET-1s]’  
kê-ëm tunwân-êw pad pûst [i-ë] . . .  
‘REL-me power-one in back [be-OPT-3s]’
ud gēhān man zišt pad čāsm [būd h-ē]
and world me ugly in eye [be-PRET-OPT-3s]'
= 'Kersāsp’s soul said to Zardūšt: If only I were a priest and I had a power in my back (?) and the world had seemed ugly to my eye(s)' (PR. 18f3);

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

4.3.9 Impersonal constructions

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

4.3.9.1 Impersonal verbs

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

tō kē h-ē kē [man] ēdōn [sah-ēd] kū
'you who are REL [me] thus [seem-PRES-3s] that'
-ī hērawisp xwār-īh ud āsān-īh padišt
-you all comfort and easy in'
= 'who are you, in whom—it seems to me—there is all happiness and ease' (Bd. 30.15);

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

bē ka-tān purs-iḏ āg-īm] nē [kām-ē]
'but when-you-AG asked then-[me] NEG [wish-PRES-OPT-3s]
bē ka rāst gōw-am
'except when truth speak-PRES-1s'
= 'but since you have asked me, I would wish for nothing except that I (should) speak the truth' (AZ. 40).
Active forms with a personal subject are occasionally found: "we can", "they believe", etc.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pad dastwar [abay-\text{\textit{end}} d\text{-\textit{t\textit{an}}}]} \\
\text{as spiritual-guide [be-proper-PRES-3p hold-INF]} \\
= \text{"they should be regarded as spiritual guides" (Dk. 7.4.47).}
\end{align*}
\]

4.3.9.2 Impersonal constructions with adjectives

These including expressions meaning ‘possible (for)’ (dastan, tuvân), Parth. čār ‘necessary’ (for additional examples see section 4.3.10.2):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ud ahrv Famay-\text{\textit{en}} kî} \\
\text{and at-first order-IPF-1s that:} \\
\text{-[\textit{m}] agar [dastan h-\text{\textit{ad}}]} \\
\text{'-me-IO if [possible be-PRES-SUBJ-3s']} \\
\text{ēg ādur-\text{\textit{êv}} ēdar nišāy-\text{\textit{ân}}} \\
\text{then fire-one here found-PRES-SUBJ-1s'} \\
= \text{‘and, at first, I gave an order (saying): if it becomes possible for me, then I shall found a fire here’ (Abnun);} \\
\text{anāy-om pid-ar-\text{\textit{ân}} tavān ud dastan kî} \\
\text{but-my father-OBLp possible and possible that} \\
\text{-tān pāddāsīn ī (ēw-rōz)-ag rāy day-ānd sād-īh ī jāyēdān} \\
\text{‘you-IO CNCT one-day for give-PRES-SUBJ-3p happi-ness eternal’} \\
= \text{‘but for my fathers it was possible and possible (= my fathers were able and capable) to give you eternal happiness as reward for one day’s (good work)’} \\
\text{(\textit{Mir. Man.} ii M95/R/4-5 [GGZ]).}
\end{align*}
\]

4.3.10 The use of verbal nouns and adjectives

4.3.10.1 The participle of necessity in -\textit{išn}

The participle of necessity in -\textit{išn} takes a regular agent:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{u-[\textit{\textit{s}}} \text{ ē [kun-\textit{išn}]} \\
\text{‘and-[he-AG] what [do-NEC]} \\
= \text{‘and what should/must he do?’ (KN.9.15);} \\
\text{[mordōm-\textit{ān}] pad ēn sē rāh saxt [est-\textit{išn}] . . .} \\
\text{‘[people-AG] on these three path firmly [stand-NEC]’} \\
\text{mīzdī mēnēy [bē nē hīl-\textit{išn}]} \\
\text{‘reward CNCT other-world BĒ NEG [relinquish-NEC]’} \\
= \text{‘people must stand firmly on these three paths; (they) must not relinquish (their) reward in the other world’ (PN.28).}
\end{align*}
\]
4.3.10.2 Infinitive constructions

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

4.3.10.2a Infinitive as subject

The infinitive is commonly used as subject in impersonal constructions:

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

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

ēk ka-[3] tis [kām-ēd guśt-an]
‘one when-[him] something’ [wish-PRES-3s say-INF]
= ‘one (Ahunwar), when he wishes to say something’ (Dk. 9.2.4);

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

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

ka-t ahanūz [āna-d zamān nē būd]
‘when-you-IO yet [come-INF time NEG be-PRET-3s]’
= ‘when it was not yet the time for you to come’ (AWN. 4. 1).

4.3.10.2b Infinitive as direct object

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

abāz [dwār-istan nē hišī]
‘back [run-INF NEG permit-ted]’
= ‘he was not allowed to run back’ (Bd. 1A.6);

u-t [nimāy-am būd-an] ī rīstāxēz ud tan ī pasēn
‘and-you-IO [show-PRES-1s be-(come)-INF] CNCT resurrection and body CNCT final’
= 'and I shall show you the coming about of the resurrection and the Final Body' (AWN.5.7);

nihang-év azér [nibš-tan nívist estēd]
'section-one below [write-INF begin-PERF-3s]'
= 'a section (on ...) has begun to be written below' (Dk. 7.1.42)

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

With ādāg 'able':

pad ān zamān čē jeh xwād-ēd gannāg mēnŏy [ādāg dād]
'at that time what Jeh requests Foul Spirit [able give-INF] (COP)'
= 'at that time the Foul Spirit was able to give Jeh what she requested' (Bd. 4.7).

Parthian:

ast zamān kād dēnuţan e xebeh grīw ŏh burz [ēr dūr-dan]
'there-is time when faithful own soul thus high [able hold-INF]'
cwāyōn samīr kōf
'like Samīr mountain' = 'there will be a time when the faithful will be able to hold his soul just as high as Mount Sumeru' (Mir. Man. iii b 28–31).

4.3.10.2c Infinitive with adpositions

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

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

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

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

4.3.10.3 Participial constructions

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

4.3.10.3a Present agent noun in -āg.

The present agent noun in -āg occasionally has verbal function but is construed like a noun:
\begin{verbatim}
čiyōn avesān dwāzdah axtar ud haft abāxtar
\hfill 'as those twelve constellation and seven planet'
\[(brēh-en)-āg ud (rāv-ēn)-āg\] i gehān h-ēnd
\hfill '[determine-AG and govern-AG] CNCT world-of-the-living are'
\[= 'as those twelve constellations and seven planets are the ones that determine (the
destiny) and govern the world of the living' (MX 21);
\end{verbatim}

\hspace{1cm}
\begin{verbatim}
šahrīyār i xwarāsān-īg [dār-āg] i dēn [winnār-āg] i ardāw-ān
\hfill 'prince CNCT east-ern [hold-AG] CNCT dēn [establish-AG] CNCT righteous-PL'
\[= 'ruler of the East, upholder of the
dēn, establisher of the righteous; ruler of the
East, who upholds the dēn and settles firmly the righteous' (MIK36 R i 8-10 [IB 6371]).
\end{verbatim}

Parthian:

\begin{verbatim}
narah-īg [wād-āg]
\hfill 'hell-ADJ [lead-AG]'
\[= 'who leads to hell' (Mīr. Man. iii, text g 128-37).
\end{verbatim}

4.3.10.3b Present verbal adjective (participle) in -andag

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

\begin{verbatim}
dūr kun-andaj ast man ardawhīšt amahrspand
\hfill [far mak-ing] is I Ardawhīšt amahrspandṛ
kē [bahr-ēw dah-andaj] ast man . . .
\hfill 'REL [share-one giv-ing] is I . . .'
\[= 'the one who removes, that is I, the
amahrspand Ardawhīšt; he who gives (people their) shares, that is I . . .' (Pahl. Yt. 3.13).
\end{verbatim}

4.3.10.3c Active participle in -an

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

\begin{verbatim}
zarduxst [griy-ān] passox guft
\hfill 'Zarathustra-AG [weep-ing] answer spoke'
\[= 'Zarathustra answered, weeping' (PR. 36.7);
ka est-ān xēz-ān ayāb nīšīn-ān ayāb nibay-ān ayāb bar-ān ayāb wāz-ān
\hfill 'when stand-ing, ris-ing or sitt-ing or ly-ing or rid-ing or driv-ing' (Pursīšnūhā 10
[11]);
\[\niw ist\] mahīy [baw-ān]
\hfill '[begin-PRET-3s] big-ger [becom-ing]
\[= 'it began to become bigger' (BT 4, lines 568–69).
\end{verbatim}

4.3.10.3d Past verbal adjective in -ag

The verbal adjective in -ag from the past stem is sometimes (mostly in 'late' texts?) used as in New Persian as a 'conjunctive participle' (gerund), meaning 'after having done such and such':
ardaxšir 4000 mard ārāst
‘Ardaxšir 4000 man equipped’
[abar avēšān taxt-ag] šabīxān kerd
‘upon them run-AG night-raid made’
= ‘Ardaxšir equipped 4000 men (and), having set upon (the enemy), he made a night
raid’ (KN. 5.10);

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

4.3.10.3e Past participle
The past participle can be used in figura etymologica with the present, to express some­
thing like ‘succeed (in doing), finish doing’:

šābühr . . . hamē [kerd kun-ād] . . .
‘Šābühr . . . ever [done do-PRES-SUBJ-1s]’
u d an-iz bandag ēd [kerd kun-ān] . . .
‘and I-DIR-too servant this [done do-PRES-SUBJ-1s]’
= ‘Let Šābühr for ever succeed in doing! And let me, (his) servant, also succeed in
doing this!’ (SPs. II 6–7, cf. section 4.3.7.1);

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

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

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

ud [purs-ād] ān i ahlaw-ān runvān
‘and ask-PRET that CNCT righteous-OBLp soul’
= ‘and the soul of the righteous ones asked’ (AWN. 4.10);

sīdīgar hazārag bun bīd ka frēdōn kīšwar baxt [salm ud tūz]
‘third millennium bottom was when Frēdōn(-OBL) land shared [Salm and Tūz-AG]’
= ‘it was the beginning of the third millennium when Salm and Tūz divided Frēdōn’s
land’ (Bd. 33.3);

mard ī wēn-āg abar nigāh ē dār-ēd [deh]
‘man CNCT see-ing over look EXH keep-3s-IND [village]’
= ‘let a “seeing” man watch over the village!’ (after Dk. 7.7.29);
5.1.1 Word order in ergative constructions

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

Agent = noun:

\[ u-t \text{ wars ud rēš [wād-ān wišušt]} \]
\[ 'and-you(r) hair and beard [wind-OBL-AG tousle-PRET]' \]
\[ = 'and the winds have tousled your hair and beard' (AZ. 86); \]

\[ pas az ōn i [ardaxšīr] ān kirm [ōzad bād ābāz ānād] \]
\[ 'after-from-that CNCT [Ardaxšīr-AG] that Kirm [kill-PAST-PRET-3s] back came' \]
\[ = 'after Ardaxšīr had killed that Kirm, he came back (KN. 9.1). \]

Agent = non-enclitic pronoun:

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

Agent = enclitic pronoun:

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

5.1.1.1 Sequence of enclitics

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

\[ ān-ūvōn-im-[iš] wahīšt ... [nimūd] \]
\[ 'that-manner-me-IO-[he-AG] paradise [show-PRET-3s]' \]
\[ = 'in that manner he showed me paradise' (KRm 7–9); \]

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

5.1.1.2 Fronted verb

If the verb is fronted, the agent can be enclitic to the verb:
gušt-[iš] ohrmazd ka-š zan brēhēnīd kā
'said-[he-AG] Ohrmazd-AG, when-he-AG woman fashioned that:'
dād-[iš]īm ḥē ṭō kē-t jeh-ān sardag petyārag
'established-too-[I-AG] be-PRES-2s you who-your-IO whore-OBLp species adversary (COP)'
= 'Ohrmazd said, when he fashioned the woman: I established you, too, whose adversary is the whore species' (Bd. 14A.1).

Other instances of agent enclitic to the verb:

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

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

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

u-[iš]ān did [fravahr] ī mardōm-ān anāgīth
'and-[they-AG] saw [pre-souls-AG] CNCT men-OBL evil'
= 'and they, the pre-souls of men, saw the evil' (after Bd. 3.22).

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

[būd-iš sānād] až ūsīr arhrwar ā ḥo ayāg abrang-jīt až kū āsaxt
'[raise-PAST-he-AG-PRET] from pool dark to that place pur-ity, from where came-down
= 'he had raised (it) from the dark pool to that place of purity, from where it had come down'.

5.1.1.3 Agent resumption

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

Coordinate, not resumed:

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

Embedded in subordinate clause:

pābag ka-[iš] pad ān ēvenag [did] abd [sah-ist]
'[Pābag-AG/IO] when-[he-AG] in that way [see-PRET] marvellous [seem-PRET]'=
= 'When Pābag saw how it was, it seemed marvelous (to him)' (KN. 1.1.12).

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

5.1.1.4 Fronted agent and resumptive pronoun

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

\( \text{ēg [ōy mar] ă-[ś] ŏ pasīy gaw abāz [rān-ēn-ēd]} \)

\( = \text{‘then [that villain-AG] ă-[he-AG] to back hands [move-CAUS-PR ET]’} \)

\( = \text{‘then that villain brought his hands to the back’ (Dk. 7.3.6).’} \)

5.1.2 Questions

Questions without interrogative pronouns or adverbs are indistinguishable from positive statements. For indirect question, see section 5.3.3.1. Most often questions are introduced by interrogative pronouns and adverbs (see section 3.1.4.5). These can be placed at the beginning (but frequently after a raised subject, etc.) or at the end of the question:

\( \text{rad ᵇngard-ān [kē] rad ʾza-n-ān [kē]} \)

\( = \text{‘model CNCT men [who?], model CNCT women [who?]’} \)

\( = \text{‘who is the model for men, and who is the model for woman?’ (MX. 60.1);} \)

\( \text{war ᵇjām-kard [kū kard est-ēd] ?} \)

\( = \text{‘bunker CNCT Jam-made [where? made-PERF-3s]}
\)

\( \text{tan ᵇsām [kū ｇyāg nibay-ēd] ?} \)

\( = \text{‘body CNCT Sām [where? place lie-3s]’}
\)

\( \text{ud mānnŚ ᵇsroș [kū] ?} \)

\( = \text{‘and dwelling CNCT Srōš [where?]’}
\)

\( = \text{‘Where was the bunker that Jam made built? In what place lies the body of Sām?}
\)

\( = \text{And where is the dwelling of Srōš?’ (MX. 61.3–5);} \)

\( ʳ̆ndō j̆swār i ʾō ᵇn ᵇstāğ-rōn mad h-ēnd [kay bē wīdēr] ?} \)

\( = \text{‘Those two horsemen REL to this side-ward come-PRET-3p [when? BĒ pass-PRET]’}
\)

\( = \text{‘Those two horsemen who came hither, when did they pass?’;}
\)

\( \text{mihr-druż [čand ēwēnag ast] } \)

\( = \text{‘contract-cheater [how-many kind there-is]’}
\)

\( = \text{‘how many kinds of contract-cheaters are there?’} \)

Parthian:

\( [až kū ay-ē] \)

\( = \text{‘from where? be-PRES-2s’}
\)

\( = \text{‘where are you from?’} \)

Disjunctive questions are formed with .Nombre ‘or’. A negated repeated verb can be gapped:

\( \text{ēn yaz-išn ŏ yaz-ān ras-ēd [ayāb] ŏ dēv-ān} \)

\( = \text{‘this sacrificial-ing to gods-OBL arrives [or] to demons-OBL’}
\)

\( \text{ud ŏ frayād ĭ ruwān ĭ amāh ras-ēd [ayāb nē] } \)

\( = \text{‘and to help CNCT soul CNCT us arrives [or not]’}
\)

\( = \text{‘does this sacrifice come to the gods or the demons? and does it come to the help of our soul?’ (after AWN. 1.15).} \)
5.2 Coordination and connectors

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

5.2.1 Sentence connectors

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

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

* [ka] šābuhr sagān šāh . . . ēdar o sad stān ānad
  ‘[when] šābuhr sakas-OBL king here to hundred columns came’

* [u]-s nān andar im xān xwar
  [and]-he-AG food in this house ate’
  = ‘When Šābuhr, king of Sakas, came hither to the Hundred Columns (= Persepolis), he ate food in this house’ (ŠPs. I, lines 2–6);

* sē sāl urvār harv ēē nē ābāy-ēd [ā] nē hōs-ēd
  ‘three year plant all which NEG be-proper-PRES-3s then NEG dries’
  = ‘for three years, all the plants that ought not to, do not dry out’ (Bd. 48.3);

* ān i o dām rās-ēd tā fraškerd
  ‘that CNCT to creation arrives until perfectioning’

* [ā]-s dānist
  [then]-he-AG knew’
  = ‘what comes upon the world until the perfectioning (of the existence) he knew’
  (Bd.1.53);

* [agar] dēn nē stay-ē
  ‘[if] religion NEG praise-PRES-2s’

* [ēg]-it ūn tigr pahikāf-om
  ‘[then]-you this arrow pierce-PRES-1s’
  = ‘if you do not praise the religion, then I shall drive this arrow through you’
  (PR. 48.50);

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

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

* u-s [pas] bē ē gīyāg bar-īsn
  ‘and-he-OBL [afterward] BĒ to place to-be-carried’

* [pas]-iz bē nih-ēd
  ‘[afterward]-too BĒ places’
  = ‘and he should carry (it) to a place, and then he puts it down, too’ (after ŠnŠ 2.10)

Note the frequent use of *pas* in the Abnun inscription, which recalls that of *pasāva* in Darius’s Bisotun inscription (simplified text):
[pas] ka abar sāl 3 Šābuhr ka hrōmāy āy-ēnd
[then] when in year 3 Šābuhr . . . when Romans-DIR come-PRES/IPF-3p
[pas] an ēdar *anā-n
[then] I-DIR here be-IPF-1s`
[pas] kū āšnav-ēn kū hrōmāy āy-ēnd
[then] when hear-IPF-1s that: Romans-DIR come-PRES/IPF-3p
[pas] an yazd-ān *pādvēh-ēn kū . . .
[then] I-DIR gods-IO implore-IPF-1s that: . . .
[pas] kū āšnav-ēn kū hrōmāy Šābuhr zād h-ēnd . . .
[then] as hear-IPF-1s that: Romans-DIR Šābuhr-AG smash-PRET-3p [then . . .].
= ‘Then, in year three of Šābuhr, when the Romans were coming, then I was here.
Then, when I heard that the Romans were coming, then I implo red the gods: . . .
Then, when I heard that Šābuhr had smashed the Romans [then I . . .].’

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

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

Parthian has aōyān ‘then’ and bid ‘next, again’:

[aōyān] ohrmezd-bay padwah-ād mūd’xwēbēh
[then] Ohrmezd-god-AG implo red to mother own’
= ‘then god Ohrmezd implo red his own mother’ (Mir. Man. iii, text p, lines 4–5);

[bid] mārī mānī wāxt
[then] Lord Mani-AG said’
= ‘then Lord Mani said’ (BT II , line 903).

5.2.2 Coordination and disjunction

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

5.2.2.1 Coordination

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

‘king-ship BĒ-[too] give-PRES-2s [and] BĒ-[too] teach-PRES-2s’
= ‘you both give kingship and teach’ (Dk. 9.35.5);

ud [ham] avēšān andar *andarvāy āb ul bar-ēnd
‘and [both] they in atmosphere water up carry’
[ud ham] andar zamīg frōd bar-ēnd
‘and [and] in earth down carry’
kū nēm-rōz wār-ēd
‘that mid-day rains’
= ‘and those both carry the water up into the atmosphere and also carry (it) down into the earth, so that it rains at midday’ (Bd. 21C.20).

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

pādānī ahlahv-ān ṭānim-iz ī druwend-ān pādifrāh
‘reward CNCT righteous-OBLp that-too CNCT wicked-OBLp punishment’ (afterAWN. 11.6), beside:

pādānī ahlahv-ān pādifrāh-iz ī druwend-ān
‘reward CNCT righteous-OBLp wicked-OBLp-too punishment’
= ‘the reward of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked’

5.2.2.2 Adversative conjunctions

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

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

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

Parthian has abāw and bēz ‘but’ expressing contrast:

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

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

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

ān tarāzung ēc kustag ogray nē kun-ēd
‘that balance any side dip NEG does’
‘NEG righteous-OBLp for [and NEG-too] wicked-OBLp’

= ‘that balance does not dip to any side (i.e. is not biased), neither for the righteous nor for the wicked’ (after MX. 1.120).

5.2.2.4 Coordination and negation by repetition

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

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

5.2.2.5 Disjunction

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

asf ka mahf [ayāb] wazay [ayāb] sang wārēd
‘there-is when fish [or] frog [or] stone rains’
= ‘there are times when fish, frogs, or stones rain’ (Bd. 21 E.1);

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

kadār [ayāb] ahlav [ayāb] druwand wurrōy-ēd meh
‘whether [either] righteous [or] wicked believes much-COMP’ [see section 4.3.9.1]
kū kas-ān [ayāb] ān ē ahlav tuxāg-īhā-tar wurrōy-ēd [ayāb] ān druwand
‘i.e. people-OBLp, whether that CNCT righteous zealous-Iy-COMP believes [or] that CNCT wicked
= ‘does the righteous or the wicked one believe the most: i.e. among people, does the righteous or the wicked one believe the more zealously’ (Pahl. Y. 31.17).
5.2.2.6 Restriction

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

\[ \text{nūn \{bē\} ka rāst gōw-ē \{enyā\}} \]
now [except] if truthfully you-speak [otherwise]

\[ \text{hum-dādestān nē bav-ēm} \]
'agreed NEG be(com)e-PRES-1p'

\[ \text{= 'now, unless you speak the truth, we will not agree' (KN. 12.18);} \]

\[ \text{dān-išn \{ba\} pad ēn dar-ān ī-n az abar nibišt \{anāy\}} \]
'knowl-edge [except] by these doors-OBL REL-1-AG from-above wrote [otherwise]'

\[ \text{ō nardōhm-ān madan nē šāy-ēd} \]
'to people-OBLp come-INF NEG be-possible-PRES-3s'

\[ \text{= 'knowledge cannot come to people other than by these doors which I have written above' (M9 I V, lines 9–11, Mtr. Man., p. 298).} \]

5.2.2.7 Parataxis

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

\[ \text{ēdōn bē kun-ē} \]
'thus BE you-do'

\[ \text{kas abar őy ī did rēš ud ziyan kardan nē tuwān bāv-ād} \]
'anybody unto him CNCT other harm and damage do-INF NEG able be-SUBJ-3s'

\[ \text{= '(if) you do thus, (then) nobody will be able to do harm and damage to another' (Dk. 7.1.21).} \]

5.2.2.8 Particles introducing exegetical passages

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

\[ \text{Χwaršēd ī a-marg ī rāyōmand ī arwand-asp} \]
'sun CNCT death-less CNCT wealth-y CNCT fleet-horse(d)'

\[ \text{[kū]-š asp nēk;} \]
'[i.e.]-it horse good (COP)'

\[ \text{[ast kē] ēdōn gōw-ēd} \]
'[there-is who] thus says'

\[ \text{[ay] asp ī nēk bē dah-ēd} \]
'[the meaning is] horse CNCT good gives'

\[ \text{= '[translation of the Avestan:] the sun, immortal, shining, with fleet horses; [Pahlavi] i.e. it has good horses; there is one who says: the meaning is "he gives good horses" ' (Pahl. Y. 0.9);} \]

\[ \text{hōm ī ahlav ī dūrōš} \]
'Hōm CNCT righteous CNCT dūrōš';

\[ \text{[hād] dūrōš-il-īš} \]
'[i.e.] dūrōš-ness-his'}
éd kū ōš az ruwān ī mardōm-ān dār dār-ēd;
‘this (COP) that death (ōš) from soul CNCT people-OBL p far-away (dār) holds’
rōšn gyft
‘Rōšn said’
[hād] a-hōš-ēh pad hōm bav-ēd
‘[yes, and] deathlessness through hōm is’
= ‘[translation of the Avestan:] Hōm, the righteous, the durōs’; [Pahlavi:] i.e. it is
called durōs for this reason that it holds death far away from men’s souls’; Rōšn said:
yes, and (also) because deathlessness comes about through Hōm’. (Pahl. Y. 9.2).

5.3 Subordination

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

5.3.1 Conjunctions

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

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

5.3.2 Relative clauses

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

ōy [kē-ś] zan nē būd
ā-ś zan dah-ēd
‘he who-him wife NEG was
CNCT-him wife give-PRES-3p’
= ‘to him who had no wife they will give a wife’ (PR. 48.63).

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

nēk-raw-īsh-īh ān mēnōy
[ī]-ś[f-ś] tan ī xwēš padīs web bē kerd
‘good-going-ness that spirit (COP)
which-it body CNCT own thereby better made’
= ‘goodness is that spirit by which he made his body better’ (Bd. 1.35).
With [iš] ... padiš ‘which-it . . . thereby = with which’ or ‘which-his . . . thereby = by which . . . his’.

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

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

5.3.2.1 Generic statements

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

5.3.2.2 Complex relative clauses

Relative clauses can combine with other clauses:

\[ pas \ ö \ ăb \ mad \ [i]-m \ gufr \ kū \ azēr \ ī \ ēn \ zamīg \ ẁinnārd \ est-ēd \]
\[ 'next \ to \ water \ came \ [which = \ water]-I-AG \ said \ that: \ (water) \ below \ CNCT \ this \ earth \ set \ up-PERF-PRES-3s' \]
\[ = \ 'next \ he \ came \ to \ the \ water, \ which \ I \ said \ is \ set \ up \ below \ this \ earth' \ (Bd. 4.10); \]

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

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

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

5.3.3 Nominal clauses

Nominal ‘that’ -clauses introduced by kū are the most common subordinate clauses in Middle Persian.
5.3.3.1 Reported speech

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

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

Indirect questions:

\[\text{gōw kū [ān 3 tē ēē]}\]  
'say-IMP-2s that: [that three thing (COP) what?]'  
= 'tell (me) what those three things are'.

Parthian:

\[\text{aḥyān warrag wāxt kū}\]  
'then Warrag-AG said that:'

\[\text{[-s az əz kū zān-ām bāy] kū [fē ēast]}\]  
'[I-1-Dir [from where? recognise-PRES-1p lord] that: [what? COP]'}  
= 'then Warrag said: wherewith am I to recognise, lord, what it is?'  
(BT 11, lines 719–21).

Disjunctive indirect questions:

\[\text{ašmāh dān-ēd kū}\]  
'you-PL know that:'

\[\text{[ēn yaz-išn ayāb ō yazd-ān ras-ēd ayāb ō dēw-ān]}\]  
'[this sacrificing either to gods-OBL arrives or to demons-OBL]'}  
= 'do you know whether this sacrifice comes to the gods or the demons?'  
(after ŠnŚ. 9.5).

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

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

5.3.4 Adverbial clauses

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

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

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

dav-ênd [abê-bram-hi-ihâ]
‘they run [without-dress-ADV]’
= ‘they run about undressed’ (M28 I V ii, line 19, Skjervø 1995b: 251).

spâh î kirm . . . î bérôn mad
‘army CNCT Kirm to-outside came’
abôg aswâr-ân î ardaxsîr kârêzâr [gyân-âbespâr-ihâ] saxt kerd
‘with horsemen-OBL CNCT Ardaxsîr battle [soul-surrendering-ADV] hard did’
= ‘Kirm’s army came out and fought (such) a hard battle with Ardaxsîr’s cavalry as
to (as if they were willing to) surrender their souls’ (after KN. 6. 16);

ahrîmen ud mâzanîg-ân ud âz spâh-bed î abârîg dêw-ân
‘Ahrîmen and Mâzanîg(-demons) and âz army-chief CNCT remaining demons-OBL’

was dêw-ân druz-ân pad (bîm-nîmây-îsh)-îh . . . av-iš âmûd h-ênd
‘many demons lie-demons for (fear-show-ing)-ness . . . to-him came’
ud hamâg [(a-padîr-îsh)-ihâ] ud [(zad-ag)-ihâ] [(stïw-ihâ) aż-iš wašt h-ênd
‘and all [(non-receive-ing)-ADV and [(strick-en)-ADV and [defeated-ADV] from-
him turned’

pad ân î ôy abêzag (frâz gow-îsh)-îh î abestâg
‘by that CNCT him pure (forth-say-ing)-ness CNCT Avesta’
= ‘many demons and lie-demons came against him (Zarathustra) to induce fear in
him, and all turned back from him without (him) receiving (them), having been
struck down, and overcome, by that pure one’s recitation of the Avesta’ (Dk. 5.2.6).
5.3.5 'Subordination' by means of derived nouns and adjectives

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

\[
\text{pad } \text{hamēstār-īh } \text{gurg-sardagān'} \quad \text{dogs [for opposition]} \quad \text{CNCT wolf-species-OBLp'}
\]

\[
\text{ud } \text{pāmāgh-īh } \text{gōspand-ān } \text{kerdān ráy } \text{dād estēd'} \quad \text{CNCT cattle-OBLp [do-INF in-order-to] establish-PERF-PRES-3s'}
\]

\[
\text{andar dōsōx druj } \text{spazg-īh } \text{(garān-vināh)-īh ráy } \text{dvār-išn iō pas'} \quad \text{in hell lie-demon CNCT slander [heavy-sin]-ness on-account-of] runn-ing to back (COP)'}
\]

\[
\text{en ayādgārīhā nibistag Mid estad pad māh wahman i andar sāl 324 rōz day pad ādur'} \quad \text{these stories were written in the month of Wahman in the year 324 on the day of Day before Ādur} = 955;
\]

5.3.6 Dating

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

\[
frazāft pad drōd ud šādīh ud rāmišn \quad \text{completed in good health and happiness and joy'}
\]

\[
\text{andar rōz Šahrīwar ud az māh Ābān 908 i yazdegerd i šāhān šāh \quad \text{on the day of Šahrīwar and the month of Ābān (in the year) 908 of King of Kings Yazdegerd' = 908+631 = 1639'}
\]

\[
\text{en ayādgārīhā nibistag būd estād pad māh wahman i andar sāl 324 rōz day pad ādur \quad \text{these stories were written in the month of Wahman in the year 324 on the day of Day before Ādur} = 955;}
\]
en ayadgār andar rōz xwarsēd māh šahrīwar kadīm wihēzagīh sāl ī šaṣ-sad nawad-ēk nibišt

'this story was written on the day of Xwarsēd, month of Šahrīwar in the intercalary year (according to the) Qadīm (calendar) of 691 = 1321.

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

\[
\text{pad āfār sαxt šahrīwar māh} \\
= \text{on four passed Šahrīwar month'}
\]

\[
\text{pad sαxt ēuhram māh šahrīwar pad dōzambat ud ēmān ēwandas} \\
= \text{on passed fourth month Šahrīwar, on Monday and hour eleven'}
\]

6 LEXIS: WORD FORMATION

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

6.1 Nominal derivation

6.1.1 Prefixation

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

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

6.1.2 Suffixation

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

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

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

6.1.2.2 Action nouns in -išn

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

- from simple present stems: men-išn, gōw-išn, kun-išn 'thinking, speaking, doing';
- from derived present stems: (paydag-en)-išn 'revealing', (āgāh-ih)-išn 'being made aware, being informed', hammōxt-išn 'being taught';
- from past stems: āmad-išn 'the coming' (Man.), zād-išn 'being born, birth' (Dk. 5.2.2).

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

6.1.2.3 Agent nouns in -tārl-dār

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

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

6.1.2.4 Abstract nouns in -iḥ

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

- nouns: xwādāy 'lord': xwādāy-ih 'overlordship, rule';
- adjectives: frārōn 'morally good': frārōn-ih 'goodness';
- verbal nouns and adjectives: dān-āg 'knowing, wise': (dān-āg)-iḥ 'wisdom';
- agent nouns in -tārl-dār: nimū-īdār 'show-ing': (nimū-īdār)-iḥ 'guide-ance': bōx-tār 'deliver-er': (bōx-tār)-iḥ 'deliver-ance': (tarāzūg-ēn-īdār)-iḥ 'weigh-ing';
- compounds (see below): (rāst-gōw-išn)-iḥ 'speaking of truthful speech', (dēw-ezāg)-iḥ 'demon-worshipp-ing'; Parth. (abē-āstār)-iʃt 'being (free from sins)'.

It is common with action nouns in -išn: (āgāh-ih)-išn 'being made aware': (āgāh-ih-īšn)-iḥ 'the fact of being made aware', (hammōxt-išn)-iḥ 'the act of being taught', (āmad-īšn)-iḥ 'the act of coming' (Man.). In compounds: a-(bōxt-išn) 'having no salvation': (a-bōxtišn)-iḥ 'the fact of state of having no salvation'; a-(srāy-išn) 'someone without reciting': pad (a-srāyišn)-iḥ 'in a state of being someone who does not recite' = 'while not reciting'; anāg-(raw-išn) 'of evil behaviour': (anāg-ravišn)-iḥ 'having evil
behaviour'; gišnag-(zyišn) 'having short living, short-lived': (gišnag-zyišn)-īh 'short-lived-ness'. The nouns in -išn-īh are sometimes almost indistinguishable from those in -išn (see Josephson 1998).

6.1.2.4a Quotational -īh

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

mihr i frāgōyōd i hazār-gōs . . .

'Mihr CNCT "with-wide-grazing-grounds" CNCT thousand-eared'

u-š [(hazār-gōs)-īh] ēd kū

'and-his "(thousand-ear)-ness" this (COP) that:'

iš 500 mēnyō ā sar nišēn-end,

'-him-IO spirit on his head sit-PRES-3p'

u-š kār ī [gōs-īh] kon-end

and-him-IO action CNCT "ear-dom" do-PRES-3p'

= [translation of Avestan:] Mihr with wide grazing grounds, with a thousand ears . . .; and his (being said) to have a thousand ears (means) this that 500 spirits sit on his head and perform the task of being ears for him' (Pahl. Y. 4.8).

6.1.2.5 Nouns and adjectives

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

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

6.1.2.6 Adjectives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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6.2 Compounding

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

6.2.1 Nouns

noun + verbal noun: uzdēs ‘idol’ + parist- ‘to worship’: uzdēs-parist ‘idol-worshipper’
(uzdēs-paristišnīh ‘idol-worship’).

6.2.2 Adjectives

adjective + noun: rāst-gōwišn ‘of truthful speech’; was-anāg ‘who has (commits) much evil’; Parth. “xaš-bōy ‘fragrant’;
noun + noun: drōd-dādwar ‘whose judgements are deception (false)’;
noun + verbal noun: gyān-abespār ‘surrendering one’s life, reckless, desperate’;
pārag-stanišn ‘who takes bribes’; anāg-kerdār ‘evil-doing, evil-doer’; (dēw-ēz)-ag ‘who sacrifices to the dēws’; Parth. razm-yōz ‘battle-stirring’;
noun, adjective + past participle: yazd-āfrīd ‘god-created’; ohrmazd-dād ‘given, established (created) by Ohrmazd’; harwisp-pēšid ‘adorned with every (adornment)’; Parth. (šary-zād)-ag ‘lion cub’.


7 LEXICON AND STYLES

7.1 Dialectology and loans

Many of the ‘Medisms’ of Old Persian have been inherited, e.g. asp ‘horse’. The Psalter and Manichean Middle Persian sometimes have purer Perside dialect forms than Pahlavi, e.g. Man. MPers. domestān ‘winter’ ~ Pahl. zamešān <zd/mst h’>.

There are some loan words:
• from Indic: senśpār ‘astrologer’ < sāṃvatsara (MacKenzie 1984);
• from Greek: stēr ‘stater’ (via Central Asian stadēr); Pahl. kālbodlkābed < kalapódion (Bailey 1943: 96);
• from Aramaic: nakkīrā ‘repudiating’ (Henning 1946: 732 = 1977, II: [250]).

7.2 Religious terminology

A special problem is presented by determining the meaning of the religious terminogy inherited from Avestan in Pahlavi or Pahlavised form, sometimes also in Perside from inherited from Old Persian Examples:
Avestan Ahura Mazda, the name of the supreme deity, originally meant, literally, 'omniscient lord', but the adjective mazdā (maz-da' ah- 'who places [all] in [his] mind') is not otherwise used in the Avesta, and, already in the Young Avesta and, a fortiori, in the Old Persian inscriptions, where it is unverberated as Ahuramazdā, as well as in Pahlavi Ohrmazd, where the individual parts are no longer recognisable, it was just a name. In the tradition, however, the original epithets had been preserved as harwisp-āgāh 'all-aware' and xwadāy 'lord' (Bd. 1.1, 34 etc.).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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pas abar suft mad
'then (he) bored up (through it and) came (inside)' (Bd. 7.10).
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A typical feature of Middle Persian style is variation:
war i jam-kard [kū] kard est-ēd?
tan i sām [kū gyāg] nibay-ēd?
ud mān-īsh i sroš [kū]
‘where is the bunker that Jam made built, in what place lies the body of Sām, and where is the dwelling of Sroš?’ (MX. 61.1).

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

The elevated polite style is seen in the royal inscriptions (especially the Paikuli inscription) and the Ayādgīr i Zarērān. The king uses, is addressed, and referred to in the royal plural and with titles such as ūy bay (obl. avēšān bay-ān) ‘His Majesty’, āsmāh bay-ān (Your Majesty’. The verb framā-dan ‘order’ is used as a dummy verb or auxiliary for the speech and action of a superior:

ahī az abārīg xwar-īshn framāy-ē nwar-dan
‘first from the other food order-PRES-2s eat-INF’
= ‘first deign eat some of the other food!’ (KN. 93).

8 SAMPLE TEXTS

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

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

tgl'hy ZNE LY mzdyns bgv shpwhry (Middle Persian)
tigrūh ēn man mazdēsn bay šābuhr
wē'nwy ZNE LY mzdyns ALHA shypwhr (Parthian)
widawalun(i) im man mazdēsn bay šābuhr
arrow-shot this me Mazdean god Šābuhr
= ‘This arrow-shot (is that) of me, the Mazdean divine Šābuhr,’

MLKA n MLKA 'yr'n W 'ny'n (Middle Persian)
sah-ān sah ēr-ān ud an-ēr-ān
MLKYN MLKA 'yr'n W 'ny'r'y'n (Parthian)
sah-ān sah ēr-ān ud an-ēr-ān
of-Kings king of-Iranians and non-Iranians
= ‘king of kings of Iranians and non-Iranians,’

MNW ctry MN yzt'n (Middle Persian)
kē chr az yazd-ān
MNW šyhr MN y'zt'n (Parthian)
kē šhr až yazd-ān
who seed from gods
= ‘whose seed is from the gods,’
<table>
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<tr>
<th>BRE</th>
<th>mzdysn</th>
<th>bgy</th>
<th>ῥθḫšr</th>
<th>MLKA</th>
<th>MLKA</th>
<th>yṛʾn</th>
<th>(Middle Persian)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pas</td>
<td>mazdēn</td>
<td>bay</td>
<td>ardaxšahr</td>
<td>šāh-ān</td>
<td>šāh</td>
<td>ēr-ān</td>
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<tr>
<td>BRY</td>
<td>mzdysn</td>
<td>ALHA</td>
<td>ῥθḫšr</td>
<td>MLKY</td>
<td>MLKA</td>
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<tr>
<td>puhr</td>
<td>mazdēn</td>
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son Mazdean god Ardaxšahr of-kings king of-Iranians

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

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<th>ctry</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>yżtʾn</th>
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<tr>
<td>kē</td>
<td>ēlhr</td>
<td>az</td>
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= 'whose seed is from the gods,'

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<td>puhrpuhr</td>
<td>bay</td>
<td>pābag</td>
<td>šāh</td>
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grandson god Pābag king

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

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<th>AMT</th>
<th>ZNE</th>
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and -we-AG when this arrow shot

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<th>AMT</th>
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and when we-AG this arrow shot

= 'And when We shot this arrow,'

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<th>ADYN</th>
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<th>LOYNY</th>
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<td>wispuhr-ān</td>
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and great men and nobles shot

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

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<td>wēm</td>
<td>avestād</td>
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and- we-AG foot on this cleft placed

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

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<td>tar</td>
<td>hōš</td>
<td>šīd</td>
<td>bēh</td>
<td>*abgand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and-Us-AG arrow past that cairn away threw

= 'and We threw (= shot) the arrow beyond that cairn.'
"But, the place (Parth. 'there') where the arrow was thrown (Parth. 'fell'),"

= 'there the place was not such that,'

"If a cairn had been raised"

= 'then it would have been visible outside.'

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

'(Now) he whose hand is (Parth. 'hands are') good, let that one place his foot on his cleft (Parth. 'stone')"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AHR</th>
<th>MNW</th>
<th>HTYA</th>
<th>OL</th>
<th>ZK</th>
<th>cyt'k</th>
<th>LMYTN</th>
<th>(Middle Persian)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pas</td>
<td>kē</td>
<td>tigr</td>
<td>ḏ</td>
<td>ḏn</td>
<td>čldāg</td>
<td>abgan-ēd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNW</td>
<td>HΘYA</td>
<td>OL</td>
<td>hw</td>
<td>šty</td>
<td>z'myd</td>
<td>(Parthian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{‘then who arrow to that cairn throws (Parth. ‘leads, makes reach’)’}\]

\[\text{‘Then, he who shoots the arrow to (Parth. ‘makes the arrow reach’) that cairn,’}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OLE</th>
<th>YDE</th>
<th>ΘB</th>
<th>(Middle Persian)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḏū</td>
<td>dast</td>
<td>nēw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LHw</td>
<td>-p</td>
<td>YDA</td>
<td>ΘB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{‘he indeed hand(s) good (are)’}\]

\[\text{‘his hand is (Parth. ‘hands are’) good (indeed)!’}\]

### 8.3 Pahlavi Psalter, from Psalm 127

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NYŠE</th>
<th>cygwn</th>
<th>s'hy</th>
<th>ZY</th>
<th>st'dytky</th>
<th>PWN</th>
<th>d'mny</th>
<th>ZY</th>
<th>BYTA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zan-it</td>
<td>čiyōn</td>
<td>stāx</td>
<td>ḥ</td>
<td>stāyād-ag</td>
<td>pad</td>
<td>dāman</td>
<td>ḥ</td>
<td>xān.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**wife-your like vine praised at bosom of house**

\[\text{‘Your wife is like a praised vine in the bosom of the house.’}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>plcndt</th>
<th>cygwn</th>
<th>nm'mk[y]</th>
<th>ZY</th>
<th>zyty</th>
<th>p'y'mwn</th>
<th>-t</th>
<th>hw'ny.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**child-your like tree of olive around of-your table.**

\[\text{‘(And) your children (are) like a tree of olive oil(?) about your table.’}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LHNAk*</th>
<th>'wgwn</th>
<th>'plyny</th>
<th>klyty</th>
<th>GBRA</th>
<th>MNW</th>
<th>tsyt</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>MROHY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḏ'ēd-iš</td>
<td>āʾwōn</td>
<td>āfṛm</td>
<td>kīr-ēd</td>
<td>mard</td>
<td>kē</td>
<td>tars-ēd</td>
<td>az</td>
<td>xwādāy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**this-him thus blessing is made man who fears from lord**

\[\text{‘In this way he is blessed, the man who fears the Lord.’}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'plynt</th>
<th>OBYDWN't</th>
<th>MROHY</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>chywny</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āfṛm-īt</td>
<td>kun-ād</td>
<td>xwādāy</td>
<td>az</td>
<td>čḥyōn (šiḥyōn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**blessing-you will-make lord from Zion**

\[\text{‘The Lord shall bless you from Zion.’}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W</th>
<th>wyn'y</th>
<th>PWN</th>
<th>klpy</th>
<th>ZY</th>
<th>'wlšny</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ud</td>
<td>wēn-ā</td>
<td>pad</td>
<td>kerbag</td>
<td>ḥ</td>
<td>īrīšalm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**and see-SBJ-2s by grace of Jerusalem**

\[\text{‘And you shall see by the grace of Jerusalem.’}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KRAwsp</th>
<th>YWM</th>
<th>ZYt</th>
<th>zywndkhyh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>harisp</td>
<td>rōz</td>
<td>ḥ-t</td>
<td>zindagāh</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**all day of-your life**

\[\text{‘all the days of your life.’}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W</th>
<th>wyn'y</th>
<th>plcndy</th>
<th>OLt</th>
<th>plendw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ud</td>
<td>wēn-ā</td>
<td>frazend</td>
<td>ḥ-t</td>
<td>frazend-ūn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**and you-see-SBJ child to-your children**

\[\text{‘And you shall see children unto your children.’}\]
8.4 Pahlavi *Bundahišn* (Bd.33.0–4)

abar wizend ʰi hazārag hazārag ʰi īrān-şahr ma’d.
= ‘On the harm that millennium millennium to Īrān-şahr came

ka ganmāg mēnōy andar dwār-ist pad bun,
when Foul Spirit in rushed in beginning
= ‘When the Foul Spirit rushed in in the beginning.’

nazdīst hazārag ʰi andar gumēz-īšt
first millennium in mixture
= ‘the first millennium in the mixture,’

gūw ud gayōmard būd h-ēnd.
Bull and Gayōmard were
= ‘there were the Bull and Gayōmard.’

ka mašy ud mašyānī ān hūspāš h kerd 50 sāl
when Mašy and Mašyānī-AG that good-worship made 50 year
= ‘When Mašy and Mašyānī had performed that good worship/service for 50 years,’

ég-īštān zāy-īšn āzīš nē būd.
then-them birth from not was
= ‘then there was no birth from them (-ištān . . . āzīš).’

andar ham hazārag pad 70 sāl
in same millennium for 70 year
= ‘In the same millennium, for 70 years,’

 hôšang ud tahlmūraf harw dō dēw-ān bē őzdād.
Hôšang and Tahīmūraf each two demons killed
= ‘Hôšang and Tahmūraf both killed demons.’

andar hazārag sar dēw-ān ām kirrēn-i’d.
in millennium head/end demons-AG Jam cut
= ‘At the end of the millennium the demons cut Jam (in half).’

dīḏgar hazārag bun būd
second millennium bottom/beginning was
= ‘At the beginning of the second millennium was.’

āzdahāg dūx-xwaddāy-i’h abar kerd. 100 sāl bē kerd.
Āzdahāg evil-rule began 100 year did
= ‘when Āzdahāg began (his) evil-rule. He did (so) for a hundred years.’

ćiyn hazārag sar būd frēdōn grift bast.
as millennium end became Frēdōn-AG took bound
= ‘When the end of the millennium came, Frēdōn seized and bound (him).’

śīḏgar hazārag bun būd
third millennium beginning was
= ‘It was the beginning of the third millennium’

ka frēdōn kiśwar baxt salm ud tūz.
when Frēdōn land divided Salm and Tūz
= ‘when Salm and Tūz divided Frēdōn’s land (between them).’
Then they killed Erij and destroyed (his) children and family.

In the same millennium, Manushahr was born.

And sought (exacted) vengeance for Erij.

8.5 Pahlavi Dēnkard (Dk.9.45.4)

(DkM II, pp. 870–71; DkDH, p. 235)

On the praise of Pōručist, daughter of Zarathustra

For loving the Good Dēn with wisdom

And for happily performing the advice of the Dēn.

How she gave her body in wife-hood to Zarathustra

And fully performed “work” and respect for him.

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

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

For following the Dēn and being the gods’ own.
8.6 Manichaean Middle Persian

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

gahîy hân wîftôb ãz garân xešm pahtikand,
then that lusty ãz heavy rage was-filled
= 'Then that *lusty ãz was filled with heavy rage,'

u-š niwist gâm xwâh-ân
and-it-AG began step seeking
= 'and it began to seek (her next) step.'

u-š fîanâd kû pad hân dô dêš
and-she- ordered that: by that two forms
AG
= 'And she ordered: 'According to those two forms,'

î sîrîn ud nar î narîsah-yazd tî-m dîd
female and male of Narîsah-god that-I-AG saw
= 'male and female, of god Narîsah, which I saw,'

hân dô dâm nar ud mây ag dêš-ân
that two creatures male and female I-shall-form
= 'I will form those two creatures, male and female,'

kû-m paymôg ud niyâm baw-ând . . .
that-me garment and covering be-SBJ-3p
= '(in order) that they may be a garment and covering for me.'

pas hân ãz az hamôg hân zahag î dêw-ân
then that ãz from all that brood of demons
= 'Then that ãz, of all that brood of the demons'

kê az asmân ô zamîg kaf t h-ênd
who from sky to earth fell
= 'that fell from the heaven upon the earth,'

hân āsareštûr î nar āsareštûr î mây ag,
that archon male archon female
= 'that male Archon (and) that female Archon,'

sâr-kerb-ând asêz ud xešm-ên bazzag ud appar an-ând
lion-shaped *lusty and of-wrathful sins and thievish was-IPF
= '(who) were lion-shaped, *lusty, of wrathful sins, and thievish,'

awêšân paymôxt.
those donned
= 'those it donned.

u-š xwêş niyâm ud paymôg kerd h-ênd
and-it-AG own covering and garment made-them
= 'And it made them its own covering and garment.'

u-šân andar axshôz-ûh-îst
and-them inside lusted
= 'And she lusted inside them.'
8.7 Manichaean Parthian poetic text

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

warm ādur-ēn frasis-tan kām-ād
cloud fiery breaking it-wished
= 'It wished for the fiery cloud to break forth'

kū hamag pad ādur hāw-āh.
that all by fire consume-SBJ-3s
= '(in order) that it might consume everything by (its) fire.'

šahvār argyāw "xēbēh padmōjan izvāšt
prince noble own garment changed
= 'The noble prince changed his garment'

ud pad sezd-īft būd āgas ū sātān.
and in power was revealed to Satan
= 'and was revealed to Satan in his power.'

hampad zamīg ud asmān wilarz-ād,
*immediately earth and sky trembled
= 'Immediately, the earth and heaven trembled,'

ud samēl kaft ū žafr-ān.
and Samēl fell to depths
= 'and Samēl fell down into the depths.'

tarkumān rāšt būd abaxštāh-īn rōšn wasnād
interpreter true was forgiveness light for the sake of
= 'The true interpreter had pity for the sake of the light'

čē dusmen-īn xāz-ād.
which enemies swallowed
= 'that the enemies (had) swallowed.'

būd-īš sān-ād až žafr ahrīwar
was-he-AG raised from deep pool
= 'He had raised-(it) from the deep dark pool'

ū hō ayāg ahrang-īft až kū ūsaxt.
to that place purity from where came-down
= 'to that place of purity from where it had come down.'

namāž ū tō (wazarg-īft)-(zād-ag)
Homage to you (great-ness)-child
= 'Homage to you, O child of greatness,'

kē abdāz-ād "xēbēh ardāw-īft.
who delivered own righteous-dom
= 'who delivered your congregation of the righteous!'

awās-iē pāy āmōz-ag marī zakkō
now also stay teacher Māri Zakkō
= 'So stay now, (our) teacher Māri Zakkō,'

pān-ag wazarg čē tō čar-ag nisāg-ēn
protection great of your flock shining
= '(us) a great protection of your shining flock!'
ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXTS

Abnun  

ANRm  
Inscription of Ardaxšīr at Naqš-e Rostam, ed. Herzfeld (1924: 84–85),  
Back (1978: 281–82)

AR.  

AWN.  

AZ.  

BBB.  
Henning (1936).

Bd.  

BT 4, 11, 19  

Biš.  
Inscription of Šābuhr at Bīšāpūr, ed. in Nyberg (1964: 124–25), Back  

Dk. 7  

Huy.  

KKZ  

KN.  
Kār-nāmag i ardaxšīr i Pābagān, ed. Sanjana (1896).

KSM  

M  
Manichean manuscript in the Turfan collection of the Berlin-  
Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

MHD.  

Mtr. Man. i–iii  
The texts edited in Andreas (1932–1934).

NΠ  
Inscription of Narseh at Paikuli, ed. Herzfeld (1924), Humbach, H., and  

Pahl. Y.  
Pahlavi yasna, ed. Dhabhar (1949).

Pahl. Yt.  
Pahlavi yašt, ed. Dhabhar (1927).

PN.  

PR.  

Ps.  
The Pahlavi Psalter, ed. Andreas and Barr (1936).

PT.  

Śāb. esch.  

ŚH  

ŚKZ  

ŚPs. II  

LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTIONS

The most recent descriptions of phonology, morphology (and some syntax) are Ras-  
torgueva (1966 and 1981) and Sundermann (1989), with extensive bibliographies. See also  
Klingenschnitt’s (2000) miscellany. Older works include Haug (1870), E. W. West in  
Geiger and E. Kuhn (1895: 249–332); Bartholomae (1911–15 and 1916–22). For the  
phonology, see Weber (1997) with bibliography. For the morphology of the verb, see  
Henning (1933) for Middle Persian and Ghilain (1939) for Parthian. For the syntax see  
Brunner (1977). Introductions to Pahlavi: Nyberg’s (1928–31) Hilfsbuch (see Henning’s  
excercises in reading Pahlavi. Henning (1958) is a survey of the place of Middle Persian  
and Parthian among the Middle Iranian languages. Many of the Manichean texts

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES


CHAPTER FIVE

SOGDIAN

Yutaka Yoshida

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

1.1.1 History

Sogdian is a Middle Iranian language once spoken in Sogdiana. Among the Middle Iranian languages Sogdian is classified as belonging to the North-Eastern group which also includes Khotanese, Tumshuqese, Bactrian, and Choresmian.

The land of Sogdiana is located between the two great rivers of Central Asia, the Amu-Darya and the Syr-Darya (part of modern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan). Sogdiana consisted of several oasis-states which were located along the rivers Zarafshan and Kashka-Darya, the leading cities being Samarqand, Buchara, and Kish (present day Shahr-i Sabz). The eastward movement of the Sogdians led them to colonize Tashkent and an area beyond, and consequently a Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang who went to India via Central Asia in the seventh century referred to the region between Semirechie and Iron Gate, located to the south of Kish, as Suli, i.e. Sogdiana.

The history of Sogdiana is largely obscure. It constituted a satrapy of the Achaemenian Empire, and after the conquest of the empire by Alexander the Great in the fourth century BC, Sogdiana was under the control of neighbouring super powers, such as the Kushans (first to third centuries), the Sasanians (third century), the Kidarites (fourth to fifth centuries?), the Hephthalite (fifth to sixth centuries), the Western Turks (sixth to seventh centuries), and Chinese (seventh to eighth centuries). However, it was able to enjoy a degree of independence until it was conquered by the Arabs in the eighth century. During this period of relative independence the Sogdians played an active role as international traders along the Silk Road between China and the West, with the result that the Sogdian language became a kind of lingua franca in the region between Sogdiana and China, where the Sogdians founded many trade diasporas.

The dominion by the Achaemenian Empire was important for Sogdian in that the chancellery language of the Empire, Aramaic, was introduced to Sogdiana, from which later the Sogdian script developed after the Empire had collapsed and Aramaic ceased to be used by the local scribes. By the end of the sixth century, this Sogdian script came to be written vertically rather than horizontally from right to left, and lines running from left to right.
1.1.2 Materials

The Sogdian materials handed down to us reflect the activities played by the Sogdians in history. (On the major publications until 1995, see Gharib 1995: xiii–xxvii.) Except for the very short inscriptions discovered in Kultobe, Kazakhstan (cf. Sims-Williams and Grenet 2006) and the legends found on coins of the early centuries of CE, the earliest substantial materials are the so-called ‘Ancient Letters’ discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in a watch tower located on the route between Dunhuang and Loulan. They were sent to the addressees staying in Samarkand and oasis cities lying in between by Sogdian merchants and their families resident in China, who reported the news about their activities, and were shown to have been written in the early fourth century (cf. Grenet and Sims-Williams 1987). Numerous rock inscriptions or graffiti discovered in North Pakistan along the ancient route connecting Central Asia and North West India are similar to the Ancient Letters in the ductus and seem to have been inscribed by merchants who came there either directly from Sogdiana or by way of China.

Their activities of the sixth to seventh centuries are reflected by an epitaph dated 580 CE which was unearthed from a tomb of a Sogdian couple in Xi’an and a sale contract of a female slave dated 639 CE and discovered in Turfan (see Yoshida 2005 and Yoshida et al. 1989). Apparently, during the seventh to eighth centuries when the Tang Dynasty was the most powerful, Sogdian trade activities reached their height, and a great many Sogdians immigrated to China. Some of them were converted to Buddhism under the influence of Chinese Buddhists. They produced many Buddhist Sogdian texts based on Chinese prototypes, of which dozens of specimens were discovered in Dunhuang and Turfan.

The role played by the Sogdians in the propagation of the Manichaeism is not entirely clear. However, a number of Manichaean Sogdian texts were discovered in Turfan, where the Uighurs, who adopted Manichaeism in 762/3 CE as their state religion, constituted the
ruling class. Apart from the translations from the Middle Persian and Parthian originals, one finds many works originally composed in Sogdian. Christian monks resident in a monastery of Bulayiq located to the north of the Turfan basin left numerous Christian Sogdian texts based on the Syriac originals. That they were also engaged in trade is inferred from a few Dunhuang texts written by Christians. Apart from the Sogdian script, which was so to speak the Sogdian national script, Manichaean and Syriac scripts were employed respectively to write Manichaean and Christian texts.

Similarly, Brahmi script was applied to write texts translated from Sanskrit (or Tocharian as well?), either of Buddhist or medical contents. However, only a small number of Brahmi fragments have so far been encountered among the treasures unearthed from Central Asia (see Sims-Williams 1996c).

While the bulk of Sogdian materials are from East Turkestan, the land of Sogdiana also yields a handful of manuscripts and short inscriptions. The most famous are some 80 secular documents discovered at Mount Mugh, which represent part of archives of Dhewashtih (7–722), the last independent ruler of Penjikent.

While the Sogdians were governed by Turkish peoples, such as Turks and Uighurs, they exercised strong cultural influence upon their rulers; the Sogdian language served as a literary language for them until they began to write their own languages, first in Runic, and later in Uighur script, of which the latter originated from the cursive variant of the Sogdian script. Of the two Sogdian inscriptions unearthed in Mongolia, one, the Bugut Inscription, was erected by Turks around 600 CE and the other, the Karabalgasun Inscription, is trilingual in Sogdian, Chinese and Uighur in Runic script, and commemorates the eighth Khaghan of the Uighur empire (r. 808–822). Another stele which is similar in contents to the Bugut Inscription was discovered on a stone statue unearthed in Mogolküre in Xinjiang.

Very late inscriptions going back to the tenth to eleventh centuries, which have been discovered in Kirghizia, contain several Turkish elements; they may have been written by Turkophones who employed Sogdian as a written language (see Livšić 1996). A few late documents also containing Turkish words and phrases were discovered in Dunhuang and Turfan.

The linguistic variations found among all these materials are not trivial mainly for chronological reasons. Moreover, the bulk of Christian Sogdian texts and a great part of the Manichaean materials are written respectively in Syriac and Manichaean scripts, whose orthographies are free from historical spellings found in texts written in Sogdian script. However, despite the wide area of diffusion of the Sogdian language, very few purely dialectal differences have so far been observed. On this point see the section 7.2, Dialects and variations.

1.2 Scripts, orthography, and phonetic values

The three scripts (Sogdian, Manichaean, and Syriac) derive ultimately from the Aramaic and thus have many features in common, the most salient being that they are so-called consonant scripts, and that vowel phonemes are not always sufficiently distinguished. Inevitably some uncertainties surround the problem of the Sogdian vowel phonemes, the situation not being radically improved by the recent discovery of a few texts written in Brahmi script (see Sims-Williams 1996c). In this connection an important advantage of Syriac script is to be mentioned; vocalic points are sometimes employed to distinguish vowels of different qualities: \( y = [\ddot{e}] \), \( y = [i] \), \( w = [\ddot{a}] \), \( w = [\ddot{a}] \), and \( C = [\ddot{a}] \). In the texts written in Sogdian script, which evolved from the Achemenid chancery Aramaic, one
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aramaic</th>
<th>&quot;Ancient Letters&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Sogdian&quot; (Buddhist) Sogdian Script</th>
<th>&quot;Manichean&quot; Sogdian Script</th>
<th>&quot;Syriac&quot; (Christian) Sogdian Script</th>
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<td>t</td>
<td>t (d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>y, ě, ũ</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y, ě, ũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k ((g))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\ell)</td>
<td>(\ell)</td>
<td>(\ell)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n, m</td>
<td>n, m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p (b), f</td>
<td>(p =) f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\hat{s})</td>
<td>(\hat{c}) (j)</td>
<td>(\hat{c}) (j), (\hat{t})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r, r, (r^{'})</td>
<td>r, r, (r^{'})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\hat{s})</td>
<td>(\hat{s})</td>
<td>(\hat{s})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t (d)</td>
<td>t (d)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
finds a certain number of ideograms, i.e. Aramaic word forms pronounced with their Sogdian equivalents (see also Chapter 4 on Middle West Iranian). For example, a word for ‘ten thousand’ is often spelled as RYPW (cf. Aramaic rbw = ribbū) and was pronounced as fīrēvar. That it was pronounced as a Sogdian word is proved by a phonetic complement which appears in its cardinal Aramaic form with the Sogdian ordinal suffix (-myk): (RYPWmyk =) *fīrēvar-mīk ‘10,000th’. (In modern transliterations one distinguishes ideograms by Roman capital letters.) Below is the chart of Sogdian, Manichaean, and Syriac scripts with their transliteration and phonetic values, which will be discussed in the following section.

1 Of the two major varieties, formal and cursive scripts, the former as attested in the manuscript of the Vessantara Jātaka is reproduced.
2 The frequent doubling of the letter ū, w, and ʕ, and ʕ has no phonetic significance.
3 Only used in ideograms.
4 Only used in word-final position.
5 Usage varies: some scribes employ the diacritic point(s) to distinguish z (= [z] or [ʒ]) from n, others to distinguish [ʒ] from [z].
6 Only in knθ, kθ ‘city’ and in Syriac words.
7 Not used.

2 PHONOLOGY

In the following, M and C indicate sources in Manichaean script (without distinction of t and ṭ) and Christian Syriac script, respectively. Otherwise, spellings cited are those in Sogdian script (if necessary indicated by S). Light stems, on which see below, are differentiated from heavy with a hyphen (-).

2.1 Inventory and distribution

2.1.1 Vowels and diphthongs

2.1.1.1 Vowel system

Given that the three scripts, Sogdian, Manichaean, and Syriac, ultimately derive from the Aramaic consonant script, there remain uncertainties in the determination of the Sogdian vowel phonemes, which are inconsistently indicated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5.2: VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is phonemic length distinction, which is not overtly marked except for the low pair, and is otherwise inferred etymologically as well as by means of the ‘rhythmic law’ (see below): bāγ (βγ-) ‘god’, bāγ (βγ) ‘garden, farm’; but fnēś- (C fnyś-) ‘be deceived’,

Naturally, long and short vowels are likely to be different in terms of quality as well. Thus ā is a back vowel in contrast with a which is front. This is clear in view of the Uighur orthography which is based on the Sogdian spelling conventions; thus in Uighur a back vowel a is expressed by initial (’-) and medial (’-’), both being the notations for ā in Sogdian, whereas the front counterpart a is represented by those standing for a in Sogdian (see Sims-Williams 1981: 358).

i and a are allophones of a phoneme a mainly appearing in the initial position where a never occurs: spsāk (’ps’k) ‘garland’. Compare also the fact that foreign words beginning with a- are usually transcribed with (’-), i.e. ā- rather than (’-), i.e. a-, e.g. (’swr) for Skt. asura.

The high central vowel i is restricted to the position before sp-, st-, and sn- and is transcribed by the letter ‘(ain) in Manichaean script: īsptyāk (M ‘sp’t’yk) ‘completion’. When they are unaccented, short vowels i, a, and u seem to have been reduced to ə. The alternation of (-y-), (-w-), and (zero) encountered in the spellings seems to reflect this situation: e.g. žar- (M jt- ~ jyt-) ‘strike’ (past stem < OIr. *jata-); ōstē (M ůst’y ≤ S ıšt’y) ‘built’ (< OIr. *dištaka-); ızȝytē (’ws(’ty ~ ’ws(’tytk) ‘pure’ (< OIr. *mvausxtaka-).

2.1.1.2 Rhotacised vowels

Apart from the above-mentioned simple vowels, Sogdian possesses three rhotacised vowels, ə’, i’, iϵ which are counted as short vowels: mə’γ- (mrγ-) ‘bird’, kέm- (kyrm-) ‘snake’, and pu’n- (pwn-) ‘full’. This element constitutes the second element of diphthongs: marya = ma’γγ (mrγ) ‘forest’, zern = zed’n (zyrn) ‘gold’.

2.1.1.3 Diphthongs

As the second member of diphthongs Sogdian also possesses a nasal element ȵ, which probably had moraic status: kanıd (knıð) ‘city’, pamı/(pın) ‘five’.

The long diphthongs āt and əu are also known: ākın (’ykwn) ‘forever’, əurədē (’wṛdēk) ‘fellow-traveller’, while Old Iranian *ai and *au have become ę and ő respectively.

2.1.2 Consonants

2.1.2.1 Consonantal system

Sogdian has the following consonants; those in parentheses are allophones or marginal phonemes.

**TABLE 5.3: CONSONANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar/glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive/affr.</td>
<td>p (b)</td>
<td>t, (d) (ts)</td>
<td>ě (j)</td>
<td>k (g)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f β</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>x γ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>(ŋ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid/Glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>r (l)</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>(h)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The typologically marked system with voice opposition found only with fricatives is due to the sound change in which the voiced plosives and affricate *b, *d, *f, *g have become fricatives β, δ, ž, and γ even in initial position: βar- (βbr-) 'bring', δōr (δrr') 'to hold', žār (C ŋr') 'poison', yar- (γrr-) 'mountain'. On the other hand, due to the Sogdian conservatism, the voiceless plosives and affricate *p, *t, *č, *k even after a vowel are preserved: ἀp (p) 'water', wāt (w't) 'wind', wyāk (wyk) 'place', wāč (w'c) 'send', 'release'.

The voiced counterpart b, d, j, g are found only after nasalized vowels, i.e. m: zāmb (M zmb) 'coast, river bank', βaṃđē (M ḟndy) 'slave', pāmjmāk (M pnjm) 'fifth', sāng (M sng) 'stone'.

2.1.2.2 Marginal l, h, ts, and ɣ;

l and h are marginal phonemes only found in loan words and foreign forms: šloŋk (šf'wk ŋi ŋ'-wk) < Skt. šloka 'verse'; rahāmj (M rhnd) < Skt. arhant 'arhant'. Only sporadically do l and h appear in original Sogdian words as a result of dissimilation: wīlarz (C wlrz ŋ ŋ'rrz) 'tremble' (< OIr. *wi-rrarz-, cf. unreduplicated form attested in Khotanese rūy- 'tremble'), humax - xumax reflected in (M hwnx ŋ xwnx) 'that'.

The marginal status of ts may be inferred from the fact that the Christian Sogdian form (mc') 'hither' corresponds to (mṛts') in Sogdian script; thus Syriac tāddi (c) can represents č as well as ts, so that ts is treated as a single segment. Compare also (M pncts) and (C pncc) both representing pān(t) (a) ts 'fifteen'.

ɣ is sometimes represented by the spelling (-nn-) in Manichaean script: sārdāng (sṛmng beside sṛmg), i.e. sārdāng 'leader'.

2.1.3 Syllable structure and clusters

Due to the Sogdian orthography with consonant scripts it is not always easy to know the syllabic structures. Etymological consideration and spellings lead us to assume that Sogdian allows consonant clusters consisting of a considerable number of consonants: žuxšk- (C žwxṣq-) 'disciple', sfrīn (M sf'yrn) 'create', xēpōtī (C xypō-t-y) 'one's own (pl. obl.)'.

The pronunciation of clusters is occasionally eased by prothetic vowel or by metathesis: psāk (M ps'k) ŋ opsāk (M ps'k) 'garland', žuxšk- (C žwxṣq-) ŋ žuxšk- (žwxšk-, ŏxšk-) 'disciple', etc.

Combinations of voiced fricative and voiceless plosive or affricate are characteristic of Sogdian, pašk- (pšk-) 'law', žβ̄īta (β̄t') 'seven'. In view of the similar clusters in Ossetic, one may assume that the second member was pronounced as a weak devoiced plosive, i.e. aš̄a.

2.2 Non-segmental features and rhythmic law

(In the following stress is indicated by an underlined vowel.) The position of the stress accent is governed by the so-called 'rhythmic law' (see Sims-Williams 1984) as follows:

1. A syllable containing either a long vowel or diphthong is counted as heavy while a syllable consisting only of a short vowel is light.
2. Stress falls on a stem if it contains a heavy syllable, i.e. heavy stem, whereas it falls on the suffix or ending in the case of light stems that consist only of light syllable(s).

Unstressed endings and suffixes suffer reduction or loss, so that the patterns of
conjugation and declension of heavy stems are totally different from those of light stems; thus:

heavy stem: mēθ (C myθ) 'day (dir. sg.)', mēθ-i (myθy) (obl. sg.);
light stem: ram-i (rm) 'people (nom. sg.), ram-u (rmw) (acc. sg.), ram-yu (rm)' (loc. sg.), etc.

Enclitic and proclitic forms, even if they consist of light syllables, do not bear stress and lose their endings: βαυ-β (βν) vs. -βαυ (-βν) 'o lord!' (encl. voc.); αστι (στι) vs. αστ (στ) 'is' (encl.);

Light stems ending with -r, -w, and -y sometimes behave as heavy when they are followed by endings beginning with a consonant: βαρ-t (βρτ) ~ βαρ-i (βρτυ) 'bears' (3 sg. pres.).

2.3 Alternations and combinatory phenomena

A considerable amount of spelling variations are observed throughout the texts; some are simply due to the difference between historical spellings and those more or less reflecting the actual pronunciation: (a)xšēθ (xšy'th) vs. M xšyθ) 'king' (<Olr. *xšāvālīya).

Most conspicuous are the differences observed between Christian Sogdian forms in Syriac script and those in Sogdian script. Prothetic vowels are virtually non-existent in the former while they abound in the latter: zβāk (C zβ'q) 'tongue' vs. αzβāk (zβ'k).

Another peculiar difference between the two groups is the existence of m in the latter and its loss in the former before continuants: kαμθ (knθh) 'town' vs. kαl(C qθl), amyām (S, M M'ny'm) 'end' vs. ayyām (C 'y'm), but compare βαμτē (S βnt'k, M βndy, C βnty) 'slave'.

In late ‘demotic’ texts one sometimes finds the tendency to voice t and p after a voiced sound: ab (C 'b, cf. M 'p) 'water', mard;}xme (C mrdxmy, cf. M mrtxmy) 'man', saŷya (C sydy, cf. M syty) 'on the . . . th day'.

Similarly, post-vocalic r = θ is often lost in the Christian texts: S zeŷn (zyrn) 'gold' vs. C zen (zyzn); S, M sâs' (s'r) vs. C sā (s').

The loss of m and θ does not change the rhythmic status of the stems. Accordingly, Christian Sogdian kαl and zen behave as heavy stems.

Metathesis of u or w, both progressive and regressive, is so common that one almost always finds alternative forms: δωγτ- (δωγτ-) ~ δυγτ- (δυγτ-) 'daughter', suophysk (swyöyky) ~ suophysk (sywöyk) 'Sogdian', yādûk (γ' òwk) ~ γvādûk (γw'òk) 'throne', compare OIr. *gādu-. This metathesis affects even loanwords: samut- ~ sumar- (smwtr- ~ swmtr- < Skt. samudra) 'ocean'.

The cluster ĕt often becomes št: sāṭ (s'ct) ~ sāšt (s'st) 'it is necessary', βαγγύρεστ (<βαγγύρεστ with the plural ending -t) 'divine virgins'.

3 MORPHOLOGY

From here on, the transcription is somewhat simplified; thus n or m for m, r for θ. Also, voiced plosive allophones after m are transcribed as p, t, k or b, d, g in conformity with spellings: e.g. βαντē (S βnt'k) or βαντē (M βndy) for phonemic βαντē. Occasionally transliterated forms are given, somewhat inconsistently, for the sake of clarity. Moreover, the inflectional tables are idealized in that attested endings are added to sample stems regardless of whether the forms in question are actually attested or not.

3.1 Nominal morphology

The inflections of Sogdian nouns and adjectives are identical, and the following
description also applies to adjectives, except that the latter lacks the numerative, on which see below. On the Sogdian inflection see Sims-Williams 1982 and 1990.

The Old Iranian distinction of three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter) has been preserved, although the survival of the neuter is marginal as many old neuter nouns have shifted to masculine or feminine. Similarly, the distinction of three numbers has been preserved; however, the old dual forms have come to be used in the position immediately following a numeral, where they occur not only after the number two but also higher numbers, and thus developed in the special form called 'numerative' (NUM), and discovered by Sims-Williams (1979).

The case distinctions, largely reflecting Old Iranian, are: nominative (NOM, N), accusative (ACC, A), genitive-dative (G-D), locative (LOC), instrumental-ablative (I-A), and vocative (VOC), with light stems, which are reduced to the opposition of direct (DIR) vs. oblique (OBL) with heavy stems.

### 3.1.1 Stem classes and declensions

Sogdian nouns are classified into several stems. Apart from the distinction between light and heavy (hereafter abbreviated as LS and HS respectively), a few light stems ending with -u (-w) inflect differently from ordinal light stems.

A considerable number of stems go back to forms extended by the suffixes masc. *-aka and fem. *-ākā, and are referred to conventionally as the aka-stem and the ākā-stem. In Sogdian script, these two stems are often written with historical spellings, (-'k) and (-'kh), respectively. The feminine counterpart of the masculine stems ending in -ē (<*-aka) usually corresponds with the adjectival feminine stems ending in -ē: masc. spē-ē (C spty) 'complete', fem. spē- < spt-ē (C spt).

There are also a few indeclinable nouns ending in -ī (-y): martī (mṛty) 'man'.

#### 3.1.1.1 Light stems

The following are paradigms of light stem nouns masc. ram- 'people', neut. βāyn- 'temple, altar', and fem. wan- 'tree'.

The regular plural forms are marked by the ending -t-. These plural stems are treated as feminine singular; that is, the plural form of light stems like ram- have the same inflection as feminine light stems like wan-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5.4: DECLENSION OF LIGHT STEMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM, N-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.1.2 Heavy stems

As indicated above, the declension of heavy stems does not differentiate masculine from feminine and distinguishes only direct and oblique cases. It is to be noted that in actual texts, especially those in Sogdian script, heavy stems often take the endings of light stems by analogy and possibly because of the clarity and salience of light stem inflection for the syntactic function.

**TABLE 5.5: DECLENSION OF HEAVY STEMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc. mēθ 'day'</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>fem. žwân 'life'</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>mēθ</td>
<td>mēθ-t</td>
<td>žwân</td>
<td>žwân-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>mēθ-t</td>
<td>mēθ-t-i</td>
<td>žwân-i</td>
<td>žwân-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>mēθ(a)</td>
<td>mēθ-t-e</td>
<td>žwân-e</td>
<td>žwân-t-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.1.3 Irregular plural forms, -ar-t, -iš-t

The plural forms of brāt ‘brother’ and ḏwyt ‘daughter’ have the formant -art-: brāt-ar-t, ḏwyt-ar-t. Also, some animate nouns, especially light stems, have the plural markers dir. -iš-t, obl. -iš-i-t: ḏay ‘god’, pl. ḏay-iš-t-.

3.1.1.4 aka- and ākā-stems

Historically, intervocal -k- was lost, and the resulting hiatus was later contracted (see Sims-Williams 1990: 286–291); thus, nom. masc. sg. *-aki > *a’i > -e; similarly: acc. *-aku > *-a’u > -o. In further development, while in one Christian Sogdian manuscript C2 the original case distinctions are well preserved after the contraction, in all the other texts the ending -e found in the nom., gen.-dat., and loc. sg. was generalized, replacing acc. -o, and instr.-abl., voc. -i. The plural ending -t is suffixed to the nominative form, thus -e-t, and inflects as the heavy stem.

The contraction in the feminine ākā-stems similarly resulted in minimal distinctions. The following table shows the declension patterns of masc. martoxmē ‘man’ in C2 and in other texts, and of fem. xānē ‘house’.

**TABLE 5.6: DECLENSION OF aka- AND ākā- STEMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc. martoxmē ‘man’</th>
<th>fem. xānē ‘house’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>xānē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>xānē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-D</td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>xānē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>xānē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-A</td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>xānē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>xānē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM, N-A</td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>xānē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>other texts</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>martoxmē</td>
<td>martoxmē-t-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.1.5 Indeclinables and archaic plural -ān

Indeclinable nouns do not inflect in the singular, but have the binary case distinctions in the plural ending: sg. dir., obl. mārti-‘man’, pl. dir. mārti-t, obl. mārti-ā. Some nouns take the old genitive plural ending -ān (< OIr. *-ānām): bāy-ān ‘gods’ (LS), pīd-ān ‘elephants’ (HS), mārtaxān-ān (< *-aān, aka-stem). This ending is restricted to stereotyped phrases such as bāy-ān bāxtam ‘godliest of gods’ = Skt. devātideva.

3.1.2 Adjectives

3.1.2.1 Degree

The productive suffix of the comparative is -(*i)star: murzāk-istar ‘shorter’, yavānēk-star ‘more necessary’. Somewhat obsolete is the suffix -tar, which is not suffixed to derived stems or compounded forms. Thus we have dūr-tar ‘farther’, namr-tar-‘sweeter’ but mand-yrāk-star ‘more stupid’, paēxiō-yōnē-star ‘more despicable’, etc. Irregular forms are: mezē ‘big, great’ > masyātār, yaf ‘many, much’ > fyātār, šī-‘good’ > šyātār, kāfīn-‘little, few’ > kāmpī, etc.

Old superative forms with the suffix -tam are attested. They are either restricted to stereotype expressions, as in bāy-ān bāxtam ‘devātideva’, or lose their superlative meaning and are treated as simple adjectives (to which secondary suffixes are added: ŋskā ‘high’ ~ ŋskā-tam-čīk ‘highest’.

An alternative way is preposing ēw ‘one’ or ādāparm ‘whatsoever’ to the comparative form, e.g. ēw azxšnāk-istar ‘the most excellent’, ādāparm fratar ‘the best’.

3.1.2.2 Elative

Sogdian possesses special elative formation with the meaning ‘so much ~, very ~’. It is formed by means of the exclamatory particles ēdā-‘how’ and wā-‘so’ ~ wat- (before s-), together with the suffixes -t, -(*i)st, in various combinations: ēdā-zīšāxuk-st ‘so painful’, wā-zārī ‘so miserable’, wā-frāk-t ‘so early in the morning’, wat-spēt-t ‘so white’.

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

The 1s and 2s personal pronouns distinguish direct and oblique. Independent forms of the 3rd person are provided by weak demonstratives (see below):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5.7: PERSONAL PRONOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENCL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some texts show case distinction in enclitic forms; thus 2s -f for acc. and inst.-abl. and -t(ī) for gen. -dat. 3s -šu is chiefly used for acc. and -šī for all cases including acc.
When they are dependent on adpositional elements which are also enclitic (-č 'from', -d 'with', -t 'to'), forms -m, -f, and -s appear: rti-šč (rtį-šč) 'and from him', etc. The 1s and 2s have also fused prepositional case forms: 1s tāṁā and 2s tāʃā (S tį'kʰ) functioning as acc. (t- obsolete ʃt( ā) 'to'), and similarly čāṁā, čāfā (č- 'from'), ḏāṁā, ḏāfā (ḏ- 'with'), parāṁā, parāʃā (par- 'on, by'). (See also Adpositions, section 3.1.4).

3.1.3.2 Reflexive and reciprocal forms

A feminine noun ṣrī́w serves as the reflexive pronoun referring to the subject, while it also retains its original meaning 'body':

\[ \text{wāyōnč ǐnč kū ʂrī́w ǭarāt} \]

such woman to self hold.subj.3s

'one should keep such a woman with oneself'.

Reciprocal sense is conveyed by ḏw 'one' in combination with the inflected form of ǭbęty- 'second' or by any- 'other' combined with another any-. xadanyu 'each other' emphasizes the meaning: ḏw ṭbętya xadanyu nē ɟaršant 'they do not know each other'.

3.1.3.3 Articles, demonstrative pronouns and adverbials

Sogdian distinguishes two kinds of demonstratives: (1) one employed as the article and 3rd person pronouns (weak demonstratives), and (2) the other extended forms functioning as proper demonstratives (strong demonstratives). The latter forms are extended from the former by means of several elements.

Sogdian distinguishes three foci of deixis, each consisting of a direct and oblique base: (1) y-lm- 'this (with me)', (2) ʃ-lt- 'that (with you)', and (3) x-lw- 'that (with him)' (see Sims-Williams 1994). The three foci are here referred to by Ich-, Du-, and Er- deixis. Strong demonstratives are extended either with -n- or -č. There are adverbial forms based on the demonstrative bases. The following tabulates the declensions of some attested samples with their typical uses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5.8: ARTICLES AND PERSONAL PRONOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ich-Deixis</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Du-Deixis</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(On š('), see Yoshida 2000: 82.)
Er-Deixis
masc. fem. pl.
NOM (ɔ/ɔu (]|xw) xa (xh, x) = f.
ACC ɔ (w) wa (w') = f.
G-D waŋ (w'y) waŋ (w'y) wešan (wyšn)
LOC wy (w') wy wy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5.9: DEMONSTRATIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>n-Extension</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc. fem. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM yun₁ (ywn'k) yān₁ (y'n'kh) yānt (Cy'nt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC mun₁ (mwn'kw) mān₁ (m'n'kh) mānt (Cm'nt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-D (wan) xwan(x) (xwn'k/xwn'x) xān₁ (x'n'kh) xānt (Cx'nt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC wyawant (wy'wnt) wyawant (wy'wnt)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Du-Deixis

| Du-Deixis |
| masc. fem. pl. |
| NOM īun₁ (iwn'k) | — | īānt (ī'ntt) |
| ACC ītun₁ (iwn'kw) | — | — |
| (On īun₁, cf. Yoshida 2000: 81.) |

Er-Deixis

| Er-Deixis |
| masc. fem. pl. |
| NOM xun₁lxunax (xwn'k/xwn'x) xān₁ (x'n'kh) xānt (Cx'nt) |
| G-D (w)niwan(t) (jniw'y) wān₁ (w'n'kh) wānt (Cw'nt) |

| īō-Extension |
| Ich-Deixis | Du-Deixis | Er-Deixis |
| DIR īō (i'yō) | — | xōō (xyō) |
| OBL mōō (myō) | tōō (tyō) | wōō (wyō) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5.10: DEMONSTRATIVE ADVERBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ich-Deixis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“here”, etc. mōō (mōy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“here”, etc. mōōdō (mōyō)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“here”, etc. mōō (mōy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“hither”, etc. mōōdō (mōyō)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“hither”, etc. mōō (mōy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“hither”, etc. mōōdō (mōyō)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Manichaean and Christian texts, the gen.-dat. plurals *mēšan* and *wēšan* provided with the secondary plural ending *-t* are also employed: *mēšan-dmēšan-d-*t, *wēšan-ll* *wēšan-d-*t.

These articles, just before they were lost in the latest stage of Sogdian, came to be proclitic and prefixed to nouns: *yi-mān-*t (C y-m'ny, *yi* < *wy*, əwī, loc. masc. of Er-deixis) 'in the mind'.

The articles (weak demonstratives) themselves are occasionally preposed to the extended deictics, e.g. *xu*xunax yryw 'that body'.

The adjective *wisp-* 'all' occasionally takes pronominal endings: G-D *wisp-ne*, I-A *wisp-na* (cf. *čan wispnā-č* 'from all' and *dān wispnā-ō* 'with all'), PL. NOM *wisp-e*, PL. G-D *wispēšan*.

The functional distinction between simple forms as articles, and the extended forms as demonstratives can be shown by their use in translations. Thus, of the 70 instances of simple forms in lines 1–88 of Pelliot Sogdien 5, the short Buddhist text translated from the Chinese *Dirghanakha-sūtra*, only one case corresponds to the Chinese *qi* 'that'. In turn, of the 32 instances of extended forms, all but three render a demonstrative.

### 3.1.3.4 Interrogative, relative, and indefinite pronouns

In Sogdian every interrogative pronoun or adverb can be used as relative pronoun or adverb. The following interrogative pronouns are known in Sogdian: dir. (*ə*)*ke* 'who?' ( (*k)ky), obl. (*ə*)*kyu* ( (*k)ky), inst.-abl. *kanāc, ēkanāc, or ēkanā* (kūč, ckn'č, ckn); (*ə*)*cū* 'what?' ( (*c)cw); *katāc 'which' (kt'r); *katām 'which' (kt'm).

While (*ə*)*cū* is exclusively for inanimate antecedents, (*ə*)*ke* is the most commonly used relative pronoun, used for both animate and inanimate antecedents. Since (*ə*)*ke* is sometimes used also for oblique cases, it may rather be referred to as a relative particle that simply connects relative clauses to main sentences. Some Christian texts employ *kat* (qt) as a relative particle.

The following interrogative adverbs are also used as the relatives. They are: (*ə*)*kū* 'where' ( (*k)kw), *kūrō 'where' (kwro), *kūtsā(r) 'to where, whence' (kwts'r, *C* wce), *kaōa 'when' (kō), ēj' 'how much' (č'β), ējaf 'how much' (č'br), ēnō 'how' (č'n'kw, *C* cnw).

The following forms serve as indefinite pronouns in Sogdian (see Sims-Williams 1986a): animate *ādē* ( (* risky), ēdē ( (* risky) 'someone', and inanimate *ā(δ)ē* ( (*sc, *c), ē(δ)ē ( (*ydc, *yc) 'something'. The corresponding negative forms are *nēdē* ( (*nyōy) and *nēdē* ( (*nyōc) with some variant forms. The negated forms always appear with the negative particle (see section 3.2.4), that is to say, doubly negated: *rū-sēi* *nēdē* *nē* *peērt* 'and-him nobody not believes = Nobody believes him'.

### 3.1.4 Adpositions

In Sogdian both prepositions and postpositions are common.

#### 3.1.4.1 Fused prepositions

The inherited prepositional elements are *par-* 'on, in', *č-* 'from', *δ-* 'with', while the obsolete preposition (*ə*)*t* ( (*t) < (*ə*)*tā* (reflected in the 1s, 2s pronouns *tāmā, tāfā* (see section 3.1.3.1) has been functionally replaced by (*ə*)*kū* 'to, towards', originally the older relative adverb *kū* 'where' (see Sims-Williams 1986b). *waum* (wan) 'for the sake of' and *witār* (wytwr) 'until, up to' are not common but are not obsolete either.
What is peculiar to Classical Sogdian is that old prepositions never appear independently but are always fused with oblique pronominal or demonstrative elements. On this point see also the two ideograms found in the Ancient letters, 'LZK = paru and 'NwZK = kū 'where' which contain the pronominal element ZK = -u.

**TABLE 5.11: FUSED PREPOSITIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No Extension</th>
<th>n-Extension</th>
<th>ð-Extension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Er-Deixis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>par-</td>
<td>paru (prw)</td>
<td>param (prm)</td>
<td>pariwēdō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c-</td>
<td>čon (cnw)</td>
<td>čiwant</td>
<td>čimēdō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ð-</td>
<td>ðon (ðwn)</td>
<td>ðiwant</td>
<td>ðimēdō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku</td>
<td>(a)kū (‘kw)</td>
<td>ḳiwant</td>
<td>ḳimēdō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural form of Er-deixis pronoun is also found: parīwēšan, etc. Those of Du-deixis are only sparsely attested with ð- 'with' diwantōwēdō and dimantōdimēdō have genitive and locative functions. In Christian texts are attested pariv ( pryw) 'on him', ēiv ( cyw) 'from him', and ðiv ( ðyw) 'with him' of unclear origin.

Those which are construed with acc. case (of the light stem) are par(u), parm, and (a)kū, while čan (or čon) and ðan (or ðon) govern the inst.-abl. case.

3.1.4.2 Postpositions and circumpositions

The most common postpositions are sā(r) (š'r, C s') 'toward, from', parēv ( pryw) 'together with', and piōār 'for the sake of, because of' which themselves are often preceded by prepositions: kūčan . . . sār; čan . . . sār/πiōār, ðan . . . parēv; kū dēn sār 'to the religion', čan wānē sār 'from him'.

3.1.5 Adverbs and interjections

3.1.5.1 Adverbs

Adverbs are indeclinables: tīm 'moreover', yunēd 'immediately', źyart 'quickly'. Some adverbs take the optional ending -ī (< oblique ending): rāmant(-ī) 'always', nūr(-ī) 'today', xwaḥkār(-ī) 'alone'. Oblique case forms of heavy stem nouns behave as adverbs or postpositions: miōān-ī (< miōān 'middle') 'among'. They also appear in predicative position, a(m)s sāk-ı 'suitable' (C 'sq-y; a(m)s sāk 'equipment').

Adjectives in the neuter accusative of light stems may function as adverbs, e.g. šīr-u 'well', źay-u 'very' (< źay- 'severe'), wisp-u 'entirely'.

3.1.5.2 Interjections

In Sogdian the following interjections have been encountered: (a) ţō ('w, M 'w) 'O!', (b) al (M 'yy, C 'y) 'hey!', (c) nāy (n'y) 'lo, see!'.

3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

**TABLE 5.12: CARDINAL NUMBERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-9</th>
<th>11-19</th>
<th>10-90</th>
<th>100+</th>
<th>1000+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čw C yō</td>
<td>yōnts</td>
<td>čas(a)</td>
<td>sat-</td>
<td>zār(u)</td>
<td>‘1000’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡū - (a) čw(a)</td>
<td>ġwāts</td>
<td>ġwāts</td>
<td>ġwāts</td>
<td>ġwāts</td>
<td>‘5000’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čhrē, šē</td>
<td>şē</td>
<td>şē</td>
<td>şē</td>
<td>şē</td>
<td>‘10000’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čafār</td>
<td>čafārats</td>
<td>čafārats</td>
<td>čafārats</td>
<td>čafārats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panē</td>
<td>panēats</td>
<td>panēats</td>
<td>panēats</td>
<td>panēats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uxušu</td>
<td>C uxāts</td>
<td>C uxāts</td>
<td>C uxāts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legate(a)</td>
<td>C legate</td>
<td>legate</td>
<td>legate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legate(a)</td>
<td>C legate</td>
<td>legate</td>
<td>legate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now(a)</td>
<td>nōts</td>
<td>nōts</td>
<td>nōts</td>
<td>nōts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Units precede the decades: *afīt-wīšt ‘27’, navā-n wart ‘99’. Numbers close to the decade may be expressed by subtraction: čw kantī panēs ‘one less fifty’ = ‘49’. ‘Two’ distinguishes gender and case, thus masc. (a)ōwa, fem. (a)ōwe, gen.-dat. ūbhnu. In 2, 7–10, forms without -a originate from proclitics. Some numerals show an old genitive ending -nu: uxušu-nu, dwāts-nu, etc.

3.1.6.2 Distributives, multiples, and fractions

The distributive marker is -ki or -ankaš: frēvar-ki ‘by ten thousands’. Multiples are expressed with yawar ‘time’ or wafar ‘so much’: uxušu yawar uxušu ‘six times six’, i.e. ‘36’. ‘Half’ is by nēmē: gū nēmē ‘two and half’.

3.1.6.3 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers: *afīt- ~ afītik ~ afītak ‘first’, ḍafīt- ~ ḍafītik ‘second’, (a)sītik ~ čašīt ‘third’. The ordinals higher than ‘fourth’ are derived from the cardinals with the suffix -am(i) or with -mik: čafār-am ~ čafār-mik ‘fourth’ panē-am ~ panē-mik ‘fifth’, ḍaf-am ~ ḍaf-mik ‘eighth’, C šaf-arwīšt-mik ‘twenty-fourth’, zār-mik ‘one-thousandth’, etc.

3.2 Verbal morphology

3.2.1 Stem formation

3.2.1.1 Present and past stems

Verb forms are based on two basic stems, present and past (in the following indicated by present/past). Historically they derive from the Old Iranian present stems and perfect participles in *-ta. Synchronously the two stems may differ remarkably: kun- ~ wan-l (a)kt- ‘do, make’ (< *kṛn(a)u-, kṛta-). Other stems are suppletive, e.g. wafārwayt- ‘say’, afarlagat ‘bring’, x-l(w)māt ‘be’. The productive past formant is -āt (occasionally shortened to -at) and some verbs have both forms, i.e. two past stems: wayt- and wēcāt.
corresponding to the present stem wāc ‘allow, let, send’ and fašt- (< OIr. *frašt-) and psāt of ps- ‘ask’.

3.2.1.2 Imperfective stems

Certain verbs have a distinct imperfect stem. These are characterized by the preservation, or analogical extension, of OIr. augment. Diachronically, these are those verbs where the augment was preserved between original directional prefix and present stem, and later fused with the prefixal vowel to -ā-, -iː: patyōs ‘hear’ > pat-ī-yōs (< OIr. *pati-a-gauša-), framāy ‘order’ > fr-ā-nāy (< OIr. *fra-a-māya-). However, verbs with *ham- > anlm- have the pre-fix mː anxa ‘rise’ > m-ānxa, which was later extended to verbs with initial *āː: āffar ‘bring’ > m-āffar. Those verbs beginning with the Old Iranian preverb *abi- and *us- show imperfect stems with -ā- and -iː respectively: āfb̥ay- (< OIr. *abi-jawya-) ‘increase (vi.)’ > āf̥b̥ayy, sāxwāy (< OIr. *us-xvāhaya-) ‘take up’) > sāxwāy. Other verbs, without an inherited prefix, such as a-bar ‘bear’, show no alternation between present and imperfect stems.

The formation of the imperfect stem was later extended to stems without preverbs: snāy (< OIr. *snāya-) ‘wash’ > snāy, uʃs- (< OIr. *houša-) ‘fall asleep’ > wāʃs.

3.2.1.3 Derived voice stems

One finds numerous pairs of transitive-causative and intransitive-passive present stems which are inherited from OIr.: xwar ‘feed’ vs. xwar- ‘eat’, āffar ‘bring’ vs. āf̥bir ‘be brought’, fnēst ‘deceive’ vs. fnēst ‘be deceived’, sōc̥suyt- ‘burn’ vs. sūxs- ‘be burnt’, kun- ‘do, make’ vs. kir- ‘be done, be made’. These morphological causative and passive stems are largely obsolete with the possible exceptions of the so-called inchoative stems derived from the past stem with the suffix -s like sūxs-: e.g. yaf̥s- ‘labour’, wīyrās ‘be awaken’ (see Weber 1970: 127–228).

3.2.2 Nominal forms

3.2.2.1 Infinitives and verbal nouns

Sogdian possesses two kinds of infinitives, the past and the present, and verbal noun (see Yoshida 1979).

3.2.2.1a Past infinitive

This form consists of the past stem with the ending -e (-y, LS), or -ø (HS): bāyt-e (bāxš-ībāyt-) ‘give’, gōb̥āt (gōb̥lyōb̥āt) ‘praise’. On the syntax of the infinitive see section 5.3.5.

3.2.2.1b Present infinitives

While the formation and usage of the past infinitive remains constant in all types of Sogdian, the forms of the present infinitive vary considerably from text to text:

(a) In Christian texts one often finds infinitives consisting of the preposition par and the present stem with an ending -u (LS) or without ending (HS), as in par ʿffar-u ‘to give’, par wên ‘to see’.
(b) In Manichaean (and some Christian) texts the present stem with the ending
-i (-y, LS) or without ending (HS) serve as infinitives, as in βασ-ι ‘to give’, framāy ‘to
order’.

(c) In Buddhist texts the stem enlarged by the suffix *-aka is often attested, as in wan-ē
(wn’y) ‘to do’ and śmār-ē (śm’r’y) ‘to think’.

3.2.2.1c Verbal noun

Mainly in Christian, Manichaean and other late texts one finds a verbal noun derived
from present stems with a suffix -āmantē (-mnty): patfas-āmantē ‘reading’. In Buddhist
texts the present infinitive functions as a verbal noun.

3.2.2.2 Gerund and participles

3.2.2.2a Gerund

Gerund: Present stems with the suffix -kya (-ky’, LS) or -ki (-ky, HS), serve as a kind
of gerund meaning ‘having-εd, -ing’: βασ-kya ‘having brought, bringing’, wāβ-kī ‘having
said, saying’.

3.2.2.2b Present participles

1 Present participle (a). The most productive participle in Sogdian is that derived
with the suffix -ēnē (LS) or -nē (HS) from the present stem, as in 0βασ-ēnē ‘giving,
giver’, and pattān-ēnē ‘enduring’. Heavy stems often take light stem ending as well,
as pār-ēnē (M p’rnyy) ‘nourishing, nourisher’. This participle is mainly employed as
an attributive adjective or agent noun:

   fritāt ke wānā sāt śire aktyē parwezenē
   love REL the.G-D all good.G-D action.G-D nourish.PART
   ‘love which is the nourisher of all the good deeds’.

2 Present participle (b). Predicative and adverbial function is often played by the
form which is derived by the aka-suffix, as in nōd-ē (S nyōy) ‘sitting’, but -ēk or -ēsk
(-yq, -ysq) in Christian texts. The Christian form always combines with the inflected
forms of (w)māt, the preterite of x- ‘be’, and functions as a periphrastic expression
denoting progressive past: dārēk māt ‘he was having’.

3 Forms provided with the old ending of present participle enlarged with the aka-
suffix, i.e. -antē are also met with. But they seem to be fossilized and are no different
from adjectives: ūzw-anṭē ‘living’, βōd-anṭē ~ βōd-anṭē (fem.) ‘fragrant’, wēn-anṭē
‘visible’.

3.2.2.2c Passive participles

1 Future passive participle. This participle is derived from the present stem by means
of -for -(l)ēl (y, -y)cyk): βīr-i (S βyry) ‘to be obtained’, sumb-ēl (M swmbcyk) ‘to be
bored’.

2 Past (passive) participle. This participle is derived from the past stem with the
aka-suffix, masc. -ē, fem. marked by -ē: masc. parhāy-ē, fem. parhāyṭē (S prō’yt’k,
prō’ytch) ‘stretched’ (pres. parṭen). Forms derived from intransitive verbs have a
perfect meaning while those from transitive verbs have a passive perfect meaning:
tayt-ē ‘(having) entered’ (tēsltāy- ‘enter’), bārt-ē ‘(having been) obtained’ (bārlbārt
‘obtain’).
3.2.3 System of tenses, aspects, and moods

The Sogdian tense and aspect system comprises present, imperfect, preterite, and perfect. There are six moods: indicative, subjunctive, injunctive, optative, imperative, and irrealis.

The perfect tense is formed periphrastically by the past participle and the auxiliary verb. Middle endings are almost all replaced by the active, only a few of them having survived. However, 3s imperfect and optative middle endings are formally so salient that they serve as starting-points for the analogical development of new paradigms.

Passive is also formed by the past participle and the auxiliary verb. (On the traditional description of the Sogdian verbal system see Gharib 1965.)

3.2.3.1 Forms based on the present and imperfect stems

3.2.3.1a Major conjugations

The best attested personal endings of the above-mentioned moods are shown in the following tables. The two verbs selected to serve for the sample paradigms are wan- (wn-) 'do, make', imperfect stem wan- (LS), and patyōš- (ptywš-) 'hear', imperfect stem pat-i-tyōš- (HS). As is the case with the nouns, heavy stem verbs frequently take light stem endings, and in fact, the heavy stem endings -u of 1s and -i of 2s imperfect are those of the light stems.

TABLE 5.13: LIGHT STEM CONJUGATION, wan- 'do'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Injunctive</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s wan-ām</td>
<td>wan-u</td>
<td>wan-u</td>
<td>wan-ē-ḷ-m</td>
<td>wan-ān</td>
<td>wa-n-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s wan-e</td>
<td>wan-i</td>
<td>wan-i</td>
<td>wan-ē-ḷ-ya</td>
<td>wan-o</td>
<td>wan-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s wan-ī</td>
<td>wan-a</td>
<td>wan-a</td>
<td>wan-ē</td>
<td>wan-ān-f</td>
<td>wan-ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p wan-ēm</td>
<td>wan-ēm</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>wan-ē</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p wan-dal-ta</td>
<td>wan-dal-ta</td>
<td>wan-dal-ta</td>
<td>wan-ēḷ</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>wan-dal-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p wan-and</td>
<td>wan-and</td>
<td>wan-and</td>
<td>wan-ēnd</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 5.14: HEAVY STEM CONJUGATION, patyōš- 'HEAR'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Injunctive</th>
<th>Optative</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s patyōš-ām</td>
<td>patyōš-ū</td>
<td>patyōš-ū</td>
<td>patyōš-ēḷ-ēm</td>
<td>patyōš-ān</td>
<td>patyōš-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s patyōš-e</td>
<td>patyōš-i</td>
<td>patyōš-i</td>
<td>patyōš-ēḷ-ya</td>
<td>patyōš-ā</td>
<td>patyōš-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s patyōš-ī</td>
<td>patyōš</td>
<td>patyōš</td>
<td>patyōš-ē</td>
<td>patyōš-ē</td>
<td>patyōš-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p patyōš-ēm</td>
<td>pat-i-tyōš-ēm</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p patyōš-ō(a)-ḷ-ta</td>
<td>pat-i-tyōš-ō(a)-ḷ-ta</td>
<td>patyōš-ō(a)-ḷ-ta</td>
<td>patyōš-ō</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>patyōš-ō(a)-ḷ-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p patyōš-ōnd</td>
<td>pat-i-tyōš-ōnd</td>
<td>patyōš-ōnd</td>
<td>patyōš-ōnd</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The endings -ām, -ān, and -āt of the heavy stem are occasionally shortened to -am, etc. In the texts written in Sogdian script, one occasionally finds the ending (-'ty) (subj. 3s), which is a historical spelling for -āt (cf. OIr. *-āti ~ -āt). The plural endings of the subjunctive and injunctive are not distinguishable; or rather, the subjunctive function is expressed by the forms of the injunctive.
The difference between 2 pl. endings -Or(a) and -ta are largely chronological; while earlier texts written in Sogdian script tend to prefer -Or(a) (-ō't(')), most Christian texts in Syriac script show almost always -ta (-t'), invariable with both light and heavy stems and indifferent to moods. Some texts do distinguish between -Or(a) and -ta in that the former is used in modal forms other than the indicatives (see Gershevitch 1954: § 737).

In addition to the forms listed above, the imperfect stem with optative endings, called the optative imperfect, serves as a durative or iterative past, e.g. wāpat-e 'it was falling' (< ḏāpat 'fall').

MIDDLE ENDINGS
Survivals of the middle endings are: 1p -ēman (-'ymmn); 2s optative -ēš (-yš), which is the base of 2p opt. -ēšō(a) (-'yšō('); 3s pres. -te (-ty), 3s opt. -ēt (-yt); 3s impf. -t(a) (-t(')). Only the 3s present form retains its original middle-passive force: wēn-te 'is seen' vs. wēn-t 'he sees'.

3.2.3.1b New minor and secondary conjugations
These are innovative and include the following:

1 IMPERFECT MIDDLE
This derived from the 3s impf. middle ending (e.g. wan-ta 'he did', ās-t 'he took'):
1s -t-i-u, 2s -t-i, 3s -t-a, 3p -t-ant, e.g. ās-t-u 'I took', etc.

2 OPTATIVE MIDDLE
This is modeled on the 3s -ēt to which new modal endings are attached; attested are:
1s -ēt-u, 2s -ēt-a, 3s -ēt-e, 1p -ēt-ēman, 3p -ēt-ēnt, e.g. būr-ēt-u 'I may obtain'. This category has hitherto been called 'precative'.

3 IRREALIS
This is marked by the suffix -ōt (LS) or -t- (HS) to which the new modal endings are attached:
1s -(ō)t-i-u, 2s -(ō)t-a, 3s -(ō)t-e, 2p -(ō)t-ēsta, 3p -(ō)t-ēnt, e.g. 2p wərn-ōt-ēsta (C wərnwtyšt') 'you might believe'.

4 āz-IMPERFECT
This new imperfect is a kind of durative past. It is formed by adding the imperfect endings to the 3s past form āz 'was':
1s -āz-u, 3s -āz, 1p -āz-ēm, 3p -āz-ant ~ -āz-ēnt, e.g. ādār-āz-ant 'they were holding'. These forms are particularly numerous in Christian texts and only three verbs are encountered in other texts: əskw-āz 'remained', šaw-āz 'was going', and āz 'was'.

5 ēk-(w)māt IMPERFECT
As mentioned above, this imperfect is only found in Christian texts. It consists of inflected forms of (w)māt, the preterite x- of 'be', and functions as a periphrastic expression denoting progressive past, e.g. ādār-ēk māt 'he was holding'.
3.2.3.1c Progressive or durative particle: skun, archaic -štān

Progressive force is provided by the particle -skun (-skwn) following the inflected form of verb: saw-ām-skun 'I am going'. This particle is added to the present, imperfect, optative imperfect, and the āz-imperfect, but is incompatible with the subjunctive, injunctive, or imperative. Its form varies from text to text: -štān > skun > skān > sk, and -kān > ku > k after the ending -t or -ant: wāšt-ant-k 'they are saying'.

The archaic alternative form -štān ('štān) is attested in a few Buddhist texts (see Benveniste 1966).

3.2.3.1d Future and past prospective particle: kām

Future sense is added by the particle -kām (k'm), which is suffixed to present, and less frequently to the subjunctive, optative, injunctive, imperative, and the āz-imperfect, e.g. bāxš-ām-kām 'I shall give'. The form of this particle also varies from text to text: (k'm, k'n, C -q', -g'(n) after nasal consonants).

nē pareōan-kām ... āpatē nē kunām-kām
not sell.SUBJ.1S-FUT ... in.bondage not make.PRES.1S-FUT
'I shall not sell (her) nor put (her) in bondage'.

Of particular interest is the combination with āz-imperfect found in the manuscript C2, where the construction has past prospective meaning: e.g. zwart-āz-kā (zwrt'zkā) 'was about to return'.

3.2.3.2 Copula and existential verb

Sogdian presents a great variety of the stems of the verb meaning 'be'. Some are inherited forms and the others, mostly 3s and 3p, are formed analogically on the basis of the former. The copula also serves as the ending in the intransitive preterite.

Indicative forms (mostly inherited from OIr.):
1s im ('ym), 2s iš ('ys), 3s (ə)st-ast ('st'y) and āz '3s was' ('z; āz-imperfect); 1p ēm ('ym) or ēman ('ymn), 2p -səl(a) ('sō', as preterite ending) and sta (imperative), 3p ant ('nt).

Some examples of analogical formation:
3s x-ači (xcy), i-či ('icy), 2p an-səl(a) ('nsō'), īsta ('yst' based on 2s 'ys), 3p x-ant (xnt), ast-ant ('st'nt).

Optative and subjunctive forms are also secondary:
opt. 3s ast-e ('st'y), x-e (x'y), y-e (y'y), e ('y), 3p ast-ēnt ('st'ynt), x-ēnt (x'ynt), ēnt ('ynt);
subj. 1s x-an (x'n), 3s ast-āt ('st't), x-āt (x't), y-āt (y't), āt ('t).

In principle, the forms based on ast- denote existence while those based on x- and y- (reminiscent of Er-deixis vs. Ich-deixis) are mainly employed as a copula or auxiliary verb (see Weber 2000).

Notice that the article (ə)xu sometimes functions as a copula in texts written in Sogdian script:

xa āzunāyta ə xu
'the child daughter COPU = the child is a daughter'.

The preterite forms (see section 3.2.3.3a) are based on the stem (w)māt- 'was, were' and (ə)kt- 'became'.

{300 THE IRANIAN LANGUAGES}

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{300 THE IRANIAN LANGUAGES}
3.2.3.3 Forms based on the past stem

The Sogdian has the preterite and potentialis (see section 3.2.3.3c) which are based on the past stem followed by auxiliary verbs. The preterite of intransitive verbs consists of the past stem and the verb 'be' (see above on the copula) while the transitive verb takes δār- 'have' as an auxiliary.

3.2.3.3a Preterite

The following are the preterite conjugations of β(w)-lōkt- (LS) 'become', ēlsāyat (HS) 'come', kun-~ wan-lōkt- (LS) 'do, make', wēnlwēt (HS) 'see'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>vi./pass. LS</th>
<th>vi. HS</th>
<th>vt. LS</th>
<th>vt. HS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ẑkt-im</td>
<td>āyat-im</td>
<td>ẑkt-u dār-ām</td>
<td>wēt dār-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ẑkt-īš</td>
<td>āyat-īš</td>
<td>ẑkt-u dār-e</td>
<td>wēt dār-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ẑkt-ī</td>
<td>āyat</td>
<td>ẑkt-u dār-t</td>
<td>wēt dār-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ẑkt-ām</td>
<td>āyat-ām</td>
<td>ẑkt-u dār-ām</td>
<td>wēt dār-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ẑkt-āsō</td>
<td>āyat-āsō</td>
<td>ẑkt-u dār-ū</td>
<td>wēt dār-ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ẑkt-ant</td>
<td>āyat-ant</td>
<td>ẑkt-u dār-ant</td>
<td>wēt dār-ant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3s of heavy stems does not take the auxiliary verb, while light stems show the ending -i (-y). Occasionally one finds 3s feminine forms in -a, and neuter forms in -u: nīžt-a (C nyžt') 'she went out', xwrt-ū (xwrtw) 'it was eaten'. Note that the transitive preterite of the light stems differs from the heavy in that the former takes the ending -u (-w) before the auxiliary.

The 2p ending is sometimes -iṣta: kt-iṣta (C qtyṣ') 'you became' and wēdār-iṣta (C wyt'ryṣ') 'you saw'.

In late texts one sometimes finds the present stem instead of the past before the auxiliary dār: pēz-dār (C p'yzd'rt) < pēz-piṣṭ- 'hit' (cf. pyṣtw-d'rt). In some late texts intransitive verbs are construed with dār-: βaw-dār (C b'wd'rt) 'he approached'.

Another late feature is the fusion of the past stem and the auxiliary dār-: kūrām (kūr'm, C qūr'm) < aktu-dūram) 'I did', framādār (C fr'm'd'rt) < framāt-dār (M fr'm't d'rt) 'he ordered'.

MODAL FORMS

These are obtained by conjugating the auxiliary verb: subj. ẑkt-āt ('krī-τ') 'he may have become', dūyast-dār-an (M 'wjyyst-d'rn) 'I may have settled'.

ELLIPSIS

When preterite verbs are coordinated, it is sometimes only the last verb which has an auxiliary verb, all the others consisting only of the past stems:

āraxesāt ati . . . bārtu ati . . . patškwēt-dār-t

'he resorted to and brought . . . and entreated . . .'
3.2.3.3b Ergative construction

The earlier ergative construction is found in the Ancient Letters and some other texts written in Sogdian script. Characteristically, the agent is expressed by the gen.-dat. of the noun or enclitic pronoun, while the auxiliary verb agrees with the object/patient, and thus formally corresponds to the intransitive preterite. Compare the following phrases in standard preterite and in formulaic archaic ergative, which occur at different places in the same text, both meaning 'my) father banished me':

standard (active) preterite:

\[
\text{rti-ml } \text{ṣ xu } \text{ṣ ptri ... yarmyān } \text{ṣktu-ṭārt}
\]

and-me the.NOM father.NOM ... punished make-PRET.3s

ergative:

\[
\text{āwn } \text{ṣptrre ... yarmyān } \text{ṣkt-im}
\]

the.G-D father.G-D ... punished become.PRET.1s

3.2.3.3c Potentialis system

The potentialis system expresses both possibility and anteriority of the action expressed by the verb (see Beveniste 1954). Intransitive (or passive) verbs take the auxiliary ß(ß)-lṣkt- 'become' while the transitive km- ~ wq-ṣkt- 'do, make'. Light stems end with -u (-w) or -q (-') whereas heavy stems take no ending (on the origin of the potentialis see Sims-Williams 2007):

(1) Possibility

\[
\begin{align*}
nistu & \text{ß-ṭm (nystw } \text{ß'rm)} & \text{nay̤ta } & \text{ß-ant-sk (C ty̤t' bntsq)} \\
\text{I can sit;} & & \text{they are able to go into;} \\
\text{ṣktu wan-ān } & \text{('krtw wn'n')} & \text{parāy̤at } & \text{ß-ṭm (pr''yt } \text{ß'm)} \\
\text{I should be able to do;} & & \text{I can arrive}.
\end{align*}
\]

(2) Anteriority

Another function of these forms is to denote anteriority in the temporal clause introduced by the conjunction čān̥o 'when', and in that sense it may be called the pluperfect:

\[
\text{rti } \text{čān̥o } \text{ṣ xu sudā̃sn waytu-wan-a } \text{rti } \text{ṣ xu barā̃man } \text{ṣyart manxaz}
\]

and when the S. said-POT and the brahmin quickly rose-IPF

'when/after Sudhā̃shn had said (it) the brahmin got up quickly'.

3.2.3.4 Forms based on the past participle

3.2.3.4a Periphrastic perfect

The forms of the periphrastic perfect consists of the past participle (i.e. the past stem plus aka-suffix) and the existential verbs. With transitive verbs the auxiliary is sometimes ṅār, similar to the transitive preterite, but the construction is much less frequent than those with the existential verbs which have passive meaning, and one may reasonably argue that the Sogdian perfect is passive by nature. Participles agree with the subject (or with the object of transitive verbs) in number and occasionally in gender, so that morphologically
speaking the construction behaves like a nominal than a verbal formation. Modal forms are obtained by inflecting auxiliaries. Some examples are:

- \( pšātēt \ dār-ēm \) (C \( pš'ty't \ d'rym, < pš'y \)) 'we have cast (them) away'.
- \( yūtē \ x-ān \) (\( yw'tch x'n, < yw- \)) 'I (fem.) should have been conducting sin'.
- \( ąžūtē \ wmt-\text{and} \) (M '\( jy'tytty \ wmt'\text{nd}, < "yjy" \)) 'they had been born'.

3.2.3.4b Periphrastic passive

1 Passive construction

A periphrastic passive is formed with the auxiliary verb \( β(w)-lakt- \) 'become' and the past participle which often agrees with the subject in number and gender. The construction is also nominal rather than verbal. Some examples are:

- \( βirt-e \) (masc. sg.) \( βw-e \) (\( Byrt'y \ βwy) \) 'it should be obtained'.
- \( ąktē-\text{a} \) (fem. sg.) \( β-\text{āt} \) ('\( krtch β'y) \) '(if) it should be done'.
- \( sfrit-\text{ēt} \) (pl.) \( wβ-\text{and} \) (M 'sfrytyt wβ'\text{nd}) 'they will be created'.

2 Agents

In the periphrastic passive, an agent is frequently expressed by (a) a noun phrase preceded by the preposition \( \text{can} \) and \( \text{par} \) (non-human agent). However, (b) nouns or pronouns in the genitive-dative or oblique case are also used:

(a) \( \text{can} \):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xa} & \; sžyma & \; \text{can} & \; māxyūn & \; sār & \; ąktē-\text{a} & \; β-\text{āt} \\
\text{the deceit} & \; \text{... from M.} & \; \text{from done.F} & \; \text{become.SUBJ.3s} \\
\text{the deceit would be done by Makhyan'.}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) Oblique case:

\[
\begin{align*}
βžık \; rēž-\text{ī} & \; \text{par0ūt-ē} & \; ąkt-im \\
\text{evil desire-OBL burnt} & \; \ldots \; \text{become-PRET.1s} \\
\text{'I was burnt by evil desire'.}
\end{align*}
\]

3.2.3.5 Voice and causativity

3.2.3.5a Passive and middle

Apart from the periphrastic passive discussed above, passive or middle voice is expressed morphologically, though not productive. The old force of middle voice is perceivable in the 3s present with the ending -\( te \), which has a passive sense when used with transitive verbs, e.g. \( wēn-te \) 'is seen' vs. \( wēn-t \) 'he sees'.

Sogdian has inherited passive forms. Inchoative forms similarly function sometimes as passives (for both see section 3.2.1.3 above):

(a) Old passive:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rti} & \; \text{xa} & \; zāy & \; \text{zpart kira} \\
\text{and the ground pure was made} (\langle \text{OLr. } k\text{r}y\text{a}, \text{cf. kun-}lakt- \text{'}do, make') \\
\text{the ground was made clean'.}
\end{align*}
\]
(b) Inchoative:

\[ \text{rti} \; \text{šimêd} \; \text{piêár} \; \text{ðû waks-ti} \]

and from this because of dhû is said (cf. wâfbâyâft- 'say').

'for this reason it is called dhû'.

3.2.3.5b Causativity

No special means for expressing causativity is found in Sogdian. Some inherited present stems have causative meaning (see section 3.2.1.3):

\[ \text{rti} \; \text{ðû} \; \text{barâman xwart sti} \; \text{čašant xwêr} \]

and the ACC Brahmin food and drink feed IMPF:3s

'he made the Brahmin eat (= fed him with) food and drink'.

3.2.4 Negation

Sentences are negated by placing either në (ny) or nû (n') before finite verbs; the both are masked by an ideogram L'. The preterite differs from the periphrastic perfect in that në precedes the main verb in the former and the auxiliary in the latter: në ayâtem 'We did not come' vs. xrâmtë në wmmât 'he had not proceeded'. While në negates proposition, nû is a prohibitive particle: në wâfb-ân kâm 'I shall not speak', në niyât-ðâr-t 'he did not take', nû pš-a 'don't ask'. Sometimes negation is reinforced by the indefinite pronoun or negative indefinite pronoun, e.g. òvêc muryârt në sumbt 'he does not bore any pearls'. në and astî combine to give nêst (nyst) 'is not, there is not'.

The negation of the imperfect differs from this pattern (see Sims-Williams 1996b). It is formed not with the imperfect, but with either the present indicative or the injunctive, occasionally preceded by the enclitic element -β(i) (-β(y)):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ rtiðûrî ; zây ; şaw-a ] (impf.)</td>
<td>[ rti-βî ; nê ; ðûrî zây ; şaw-t ] (pres.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and far land went</td>
<td>and-ENCL not far land goes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he went far'</td>
<td>'he did not go far'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5 Synopsis of the system of tense, aspect, and mood

The following table presents a tentative synopsis of the Sogdian verb system, summarizing the discussion above. The system distinguishes non-past and past, imperfective and perfective as well as indicative and non-indicative forms, showing an over all balance. Non-indicative forms are perfective in their default meaning. The imperfective forms of the non-past and the past forms are formed by adding skun, which is optional in the cases of the ðû-imperfect and optative imperfect.

The ðû-imperfect is largely confined to some Christian texts, except for 3s forms; it corresponds to the ēk-(w)mât-imperfect of other Christian texts.

The perfective use of the present tense also has future meaning, which can be reinforced by the particle kâm. Note that the periphrastic perfect and passive are still nominal constructions and are not included in this synopsis.
TABLE 5.16: SOGDIAN SYSTEM OF TENSES AND MOODS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ind.&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>present</td>
<td>future meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present</td>
<td>+ kām; subj. (+ kām)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>imperfect + skun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>preterite</td>
<td>opt. impf. (+ skun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>az-impf. + kām</td>
<td>az-impf. (+ skun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(past prospective)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;non-ind.&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-past</td>
<td>subjunctive (+ kām)</td>
<td>preterite subj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>optative (+ kām)</td>
<td>preterite opt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>injunctive (+ kām)</td>
<td>pret. inj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imperative (+ kām)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

4.1 Use of cases

4.1.1 Light stems

The use of the six cases of light stems is comparable to those of the Old Iranian counterparts and Sogdian follows the nominative-accusative pattern. Notice that the inst.-abl. case forms never occur independently, being always preceded by the prepositions čan, čon (cnn, c’wn) ‘from’ or đan, đon (đnn, đ’wn) ‘with’. However, the original situation is obscured by several changes that Sogdian underwent; even in the most archaic texts the tendency can be observed to confuse genders and case endings and to generalize the masculine nominative form for all the other functions. Some examples follow:

(a) Genitive-Dative:

```
xu zātē ēwēn aptop-e anđēk dārē
the son the.G-D father-G-D custom have.OPT.3s
'the son should possess his father's characteristics'.
```

(b) Nominative and Instrumental-ablative:

```
xu xar-i đan xar-a parēw ranft
the donkey-NOM with donkey+I-A together fights
'a donkey fights with (another) donkey'.
```

(c) Locative:

```
rti mana ēwē xwarant āpkaš-ya tēs
and my the.LOC right side-LOC entered
'it entered my right side'.
```
4.1.2 Heavy stems

Employment of the direct and oblique cases is complicated and the most consistent feature of the oblique case is the purely negative one. It never occurs in any syntactic context which would require the nominative of a light stem (where heavy stems properly have the direct case). This is partly due to the multiple origin of the ending -1, which goes back to *-ya (i.e. the endings of loc. sg. m., gen.-dat., inst.-abl., and loc. f. sg.) (see Sims-Williams, 1982: 72–73).

The situation is ameliorated to some extent by the frequent employment of the articles, which may precede both light and heavy stems indiscriminately, and the fact that the preposition never collocates with the article is in consonance with this case-marking function of the article.

Another possible way of compensating for the poverty of Sogdian case-marking is the use of xēp0 'one's own' as a marker of the genitive:

\[\begin{array}{l}
xunē patkarē xēp0\quad \text{wdībłāy} \\
\quad \text{that statue its.own explanation} \\
\quad \text{‘the explanation of that statue’}
\end{array}\]

4.1.3 Direct object and animacy hierarchy

1 The forms assumed by the direct object of transitive verbs may briefly be surveyed. Usually it is represented by the accusative or direct case:

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{ortī ō} \quad \text{xšēṣpat} \quad \text{βαγ-u} \quad \text{wābdō nīṣēśand} \\
\quad \text{and the ACC Splenditenes DIR god-ACC there seated.3p} \\
\quad \text{‘there they seated the god Splenditenes’}
\end{array}\]

Sometimes, through syncretism discussed above a nominative form is substituted for the accusative:

\[\begin{array}{l}
xurn-i \quad \text{āse-skun} \\
\quad \text{blood-NOM she was taking} \\
\quad \text{‘she was taking blood’}
\end{array}\]

2 Partitive sense is expressed by the preposition čan ‘from’:

\[\begin{array}{l}
nē \text{ čan} \quad \text{yātē xwart-ōāre} \\
\quad \text{not from meat you ate} \\
\quad \text{‘you did not eat meat’}
\end{array}\]

3 As in other languages a verb meaning ‘fear’ takes the ablative object:

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{zēyū} \quad \text{pāckvērt-skan ěn xūβ} \\
\quad \text{very much fears-DUR from lord} \\
\quad \text{‘he fears the lord very much’}
\end{array}\]

4 The two highest in the ‘agency hierarchy’, ‘me’ and ‘you’ (sg.), show special forms for the direct object tāmā and tāfā:

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{zsu tāfā} \quad \text{wēnām-kām} \\
\quad \text{1 you.2s see.1s shall} \\
\quad \text{‘I shall see you’}
\end{array}\]
5 Direct object marking

Regarding the animacy hierarchy, the latest stage of Sogdian, the language of the Christian Sogdian ms. C5, employs the oblique case for marking the direct objects which are both human and definite:

```
fsam-dārt xēp0 zātē-ī
send.PRET.3s his.own son-OBL
'he sent his son'.
```

Compare the ordinal direct case for the accusative function: lā zātē sā 'to the son'.

One even finds this use applied to the oblique form of the 1s pronoun: manā-yī (C mn’yī) 'me (direct object)'. On the unique oblique case form which has developed in the language of C5 see section 7.2.1.2.

4.2 Use of verb forms

4.2.1 Possession

Possession is expressed by the gen.-dat. (or obl.) of the noun or (suffixed or independent) pronoun and the word for existence: (a), (b). Though not common, dār 'have, hold' is also known to serve as the verb: (c).

(a) rti-bay tawa inē asti ati rinēk zōkt
    and-lord! you.OBL woman is and little children
    'and, O lord! you have a wife and little children'.

(b) rti-mū nēst wahu nē zātē nē dūgta
    and-me is not wife not son not daughter
    'I have no wife, son, or daughter'.

(c) rti paōka xačē ati axu zātē awən optre anōek dāre
    and law is that.CONJ the son the.G-D father.G-D manner have.OPT.3s
    'it is customary that a son should possess his father's manner'.

4.2.2 Use of tense and aspect

The basic tense distinction in Sogdian is between the past and non-past. The former is represented by the preterite, imperfect, optative imperfect, āz- imperfect, and ēk (w)māt imperfect, the latter by the present tense. The present and past perfect forms describe the state reached through an action. The future is just a subcategory of the non-past tense and expressed by the present tense form occasionally followed by the particle kām. The future meaning is also conveyed by the subjunctive forms.

In Sogdian there is also the opposition between perfective and imperfective (or durative) aspect. In the non-past tense, the former is represented by the plain present form while the durative is marked by the particle skun. In the past tense, the imperfect and preterite represent the perfective aspect, while āz- imperfect, ēk (w)māt imperfect, imperfect followed by skun and optative imperfect, occasionally accompanied by skun, represent the imperfective (or durative) aspect.

It should be mentioned that the term 'imperfect' is used because the forms go back to the Old Iranian imperfect, and does not refer to the actual function. In the last stage of Sogdian, the form with skun became increasingly common, and virtually replaced the simple present form, similar to the development of Early New Persian hamē to
the imperfective marker \( m\tilde{e} \), which became obligatory in the indicative (see Telegdi 1938: 222–227). The bleaching of durative meaning is paralleled by the gradual reduction of form from \( \sigma skun \) to just \( sk \) or \( k \).

4.2.2.1 Examples

(A) Plain form

1 Present:

\[
\text{orti } \text{sât } \text{wispu } \text{ork } \text{yərβ-əm}
\]
and whole all work I know
'I know every kind of work'.

2 Imperfect:

\[
\text{orti } \text{xu } \text{nəvə } \text{nyiyoDé } \text{pat[t]menë}
\]
and he new garment he wore
'he wore a new garment'.

3 Preterite:

\[
\text{spyər } \text{xwa\text{\textipa{3}}nu } \text{wēt-[d\text{\textipa{3}}]-jäm}
\]
last.night dream see-PRET.1S
'last night I saw a dream'.

4 Optative as imperfect:

\[
\text{cən } \text{oştana } \text{axib\text{\textipa{3}} } \text{rə\text{\textipa{3}}[-e]}
\]
from breast milk flowed
'milk was flowing from the breast'.

5 \( \tilde{a}z \)-imperfect:

\[
\text{par } \text{ēw } \text{zəmn\text{\textipa{3}} } \text{bagab\text{\textipa{3}} } \text{əskw[-\text{\textipa{3}}] wərji } \text{maz\text{\textipa{3}} } \text{kəndi}
\]
in one time the Bhagavan stayed the.LOC Rājagṛha great city
'one time the Bhagavan was staying in the great city of Rājagṛha'.

6 \( \tilde{e}k (w)mâti \) imperfect:

\[
\text{yənt } \text{ešt } \text{žətēt } \text{b[-\text{\textipa{3}} mâti]-ant}
\]
these thing.PL said.PL being were
'these things were being said'.

(B) Forms with \( skun \)

1 Present:

\[
\text{orti } \text{əxu } \text{wənə } \text{zərī } \text{rəy-e[-skun]}
\]
and why thus miserably you.cry-DUR
'why are you crying so sorrowfully?'

2 Imperfect:

\[
\text{ò } \text{büti } \text{t[î]kəs-ant[-skun]}
\]
the.ACC Buddha they.saw-DUR
'they were looking at the Buddha'.

\[\text{\textipa{3}}\]
3 Optative as imperfect:

\[ \text{par patēō \ sāw[-ē]-nt[-askun]} \]
for begging they went-DUR
‘they were going for begging’.

4 āz-imperfect:

\[ \text{šīr andōxčnāk atī šmārēkēn \ sāw[-āz-skun]} \]
very sorrowful and thoughtful was going-DUR
‘he was going in great anxiety and deep in thought’.

4.2.2.2 Imperfect and preterite

The difference between the imperfect and preterite is somewhat comparable with that of the German Präteritum and Perfektum (see Paul 1997). Thus, in one narrative text, the Vessantara Jātaka, the imperfect is used in the narrative part whereas the preterite is preferred in direct speech. The story begins with the following sentences:

\[ \text{māō \ pātīkway \ wīyāśa \ atī \ bāya \ xwātāw \ pārūti \ yṛān \ ṇktim} \]
thus say:IMPF.3s rejoice! COMP lord! king! for COMP pregnant become.PRET.1s

\[ \text{parāv māō atī apyār \ xwābṁu \ wēt-ārām} \]
because thus COMP last.night dream see-PRET.1s
‘(the queen) said (imperfect): “rejoice, O lord king!, for I have become (preterite) pregnant, because last night I saw (preterite) a dream” ’.

In later texts the distinction became less and less clear, and one sometimes finds texts where imperfect and preterite forms alternate without any semantic distinction. For example, Christian text C5 prefers the preterite, and even in the narrative part one often finds the preterite forms:

\[ \text{at yōž-ārāt \ pīdār \ at \ nṛpēs \ . . .} \]
and request.PRET.3s tablet and write:IMPF.3s . . .

\[ \text{at \ wīdās-ārānt \ wispū \ bōē} \]
and be surprised.PRET.3p all someone
‘and he requested (preterite) the writing table and wrote (imperfect) . . . and all the people got surprised (preterite)’.

The merger of the two tenses may also be inferred from those preterite forms, though not common, which show the augment: z-i-wastant ‘they returned’ (< zwart/zwast-) and w-ā-māt for wmat ‘was’.

To note, originally, the preterite tense functioned as a ‘perfect’, but when it lost its original function the perfect sense came to be supplied by the newly formed periphrastic perfect tense.
4.2.3 Use of modal forms

4.2.3.1 Functions

1. The imperative is used for command and prohibition, the latter being preceded by *nā*.

2. The optative mood has several functions:
   (a) In main clauses it denotes exhortation, comparable with the imperative, likewise with prohibitive *nā*.
   (b) It also expresses hypothetical sense, extended to parabolic use.
   (c) In subordinate clauses it mainly conveys hypothetical sense and is typically used in purpose, (indefinite) relative, and conditional clauses.

3. The subjunctive has the following functions:
   (a) It is used in both main clauses and in temporal clauses to express future.
   (b) It is used in purpose, (indefinite) relative, and conditional clauses for hypothetical action.
   (c) It also denotes injunction to the third person, and when negated *nā* is employed.

4. The usage of the injunctive mood has been studied by Sims-Williams whose findings are summarized as follows (Sims-Williams 1996b: 183):
   (a) It expresses the simple past in negative sentences.
   (b) It is used in conditional and purpose clauses.
   (c) It expresses politeness.

5. The irrealis mood denotes irreal or counterfactual situations in both main and subordinate clauses. Note that the forms identified by Gershevitch as 'irrealis ii' appear to be forms of *wmāt* followed by modal forms of the auxiliary: *wmāt-e* 'might have been' (wm't'y, opt. 3s) and *wmāt-u* 'I would have been' (wm't'w, inj. 1s).

4.2.3.2 Merger of modal categories: non-indicative

It is noteworthy that the subjunctive, optative, and injunctive are all used in subordinate clauses with verbs which also take the infinitive construction. This situation may suggest that the three categories were becoming confused and were merging into a single modal category, which may be referred to as non-indicative. For this tendency, note also the new, secondary modal endings, 1s -u, 2s -a, 3s -e, which are the endings of the injunctive, subjunctive, and optative, respectively.

4.2.3.3 Modal particles

4.2.3.3a Hypothetical particle *xāt*

*xāt* (xā), 3s subj. form of *x- 'be', is sometimes added to inflected forms to give or reinforce hypothetical meaning: subj. *mir-ān-xāt* 'if I should die', preterite *kōār-ant-xāt* 'if they have done'.
4.2.3.3b Hypothetical particle: -(a)n

In the texts written in Sogdian script one finds an enclitic element -(a)n which reinforces the hypothetical meaning of the sentence. The verbs are in the present indicative, subjunctive, optative or injunctive, that is, those denoting non-past events:

\[ \text{rti-n } \text{pišt kaš uttekin wānō mān ātāt} \]
and-N but if U. thus mind be.SUBJ.3s

\[ \text{ṣti } \text{omā catta wađu nē ār-āt-kām pāruti-ś-an wāc-āt-kām} \ldots \]
CONJ the C wife not have.SUBJ.3s-FUT but-her-N divorce.SUBJ.3s-FUT

‘however, if Uttekin should think that he would not keep Chatta as his wife but would (rather) divorce her . . .’.

4.2.3.4 Examples

Here follow examples of modal forms (see also Complex sentences, section 5.3):

1 Imperative:

\[ \text{ṣti } \text{xeptō brāt par žemta nā āzām} \]
and own brother on lie PROH condemn.IMPR.2s
‘do not condemn your brother with lies’.

2 Optative:

\[ \text{rti-śu par šir paśūbāreya barya} \]
and-it on well enquiry bring.OPT.2s
‘You shall make extensive investigation on it’.

\[ \text{rti kaš ṣxu wēšparkar xe rti-śi ṭrē rīt ṣkwe} \]
and if he Weshparkar be.OPT.3s and-him three face exist.OPT.3sg
‘if he should be Weshparkar, he should have three faces’.

3 Subjunctive:

\[ \text{rti ṣxu čan mana tans mirant-kām rti mana naxēx ṅktānī ātāt} \]
and he from my affliction die.FUT.3p and me great sin be.SUBJ.3s
‘they will die because of affliction to me and I will have (committed) great sin’.

\[ \text{rti āōē . . . xwatkāmē nā ṅskwāt} \]
and someone . . . selfish PROH remain.SUBJ.3s
‘One should not be selfish’.

4 Injunctive:

\[ \text{manā wānō wāb čan tawa rēž āłk-ītī ēč nē vaxnu ṅkte} \]
me thus said from your desire outside-COMP something not venture.INJ.1s to.do
‘he said thus to me: “I would not venture to perform anything except your wish”’.

5 Irrealis:

\[ \text{rt-śu tayu kaśāc wā-xāpt nē ſteštu-kunicode} \]
and-him you not.at.all so-good not send-POT.IRR.2s
‘you would never been able to send him such a good (letter)’.
6 Hypothetical particle -(a)n:

\[
\text{yarf wātār bōt-kām ke-t-(a)n ... šawāt rti-n ... yrān arn yawāt}
\]
many beings be.FUT REL-COMP-n ... go.SUBJ and-n ... heavy sin commit.SUBJ

‘there will be many beings who would go ... and would commit great sins’.

4.2.4 Modal constructions

4.2.4.1 Necessity construction

Necessity is expressed by the auxiliary verb sāc ‘be fitting’ followed by the infinitive. The construction is impersonal and the agent, if expressed, is encoded by the enclitic pronouns or nouns in G-D or Obl.:

\[
\text{rti mana sāc ite čan yara kū yaru}
\]
and I.Obl. is fitting to.go from mountain to mountain
‘I must go from mountain to mountain.’

4.2.4.2 Desiderative construction

Desire is expressed by the verb kām similarly followed by the infinitive. In Christian texts, par infinitives are used in a way similar to the past infinitives:

\[
\text{ke kāmēnt par-patxwāy woxā}
\]
who(REL) desire.OPT.IMPF.3p par-kill.INF him
‘who were wishing to kill him’.

4.3 Concord and agreement

4.3.1 Light and heavy stems

Naturally light stems follow the same agreement patterns as observed in Old Iranian. In contrast with the light stems, heavy and contracted stems are very relaxed with regards to the rules of agreement. To a large extent, the suffixes -i(obl.) and -t (plur.) are treated as optional, being often omitted where clarity is unimpaired. When light and heavy stems are combined to constitute a phrase, each member behaves according to its own syntactic function, although the preference of nominative or direct case for every function is often encountered:

\[
\text{do tawa roxšmu čašmu}
\]
the.ACC you.OBL light.ACC eye.ACC
‘your light eyes’.

\[
\text{par šukča naštča zāy}
\]
on dry.F.ACC wet.F.ACC ground.F.DIR
‘on the dry (and) wet ground’.

\[
\text{čan tawa zārēnāh βaya}
\]
from you.OBL merciful.DIR god.I-A
‘from you, merciful God’.
4.3.2 Group inflexion and nouns after cardinal numbers

4.3.2.1 Group inflexion

One also finds the phenomenon of 'group inflexion' where only the last in a series of (usually asyndetically coordinated) words is inflected: čan anxor paxarē-t-i bēk 'with the exception of fixed stars (instead of expected pl. obl. form anxor-i) and planets'. The rule of group inflexion is not compulsory either. Thus, in combination with heavy stem adjectives and nouns one finds all the following examples in C2 (see Sims-Williams 1982: 69). The tendency is that determining adjectives are uninflected while descriptive adjectives agree in number:

\[ \begin{array}{ll}
\text{bayānīk a(m)/bārz} & \text{‘divine visitation’} \\
\text{yarf yampan-i} & \text{‘much labour’} \\
\text{sát ķēw-t} & \text{‘all demons’} \\
\text{xēpō ančaman-t-i} & \text{‘one’s church’} \\
\text{a(m)/bāzč-i pačkūn-i} & \text{‘constant prayer’} \\
\text{rāzyān-t wāxs-t} & \text{‘symbolic words’} \\
\text{mazyātar-t ēš-t-i} & \text{‘greater things’} \\
\text{pēnmāč-t-i ēš-t-i} & \text{‘former things’}
\end{array} \]

4.3.2.2 Nouns after cardinal numbers

Both singular and plural forms follow cardinal numbers, while light stem nouns sometimes take numerative forms in that position:

\[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{čafār dībar-a (num.) ‘four doors’} \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{dīwāts dībar-ta (pl.) ‘twelve doors’;} \\
\text{ašt paxarē (sg.) ‘seven planets’} \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{ašt paxarēt (pl.) ‘id’}.
\end{array} \]

4.3.3 Agreement of the subject and the predicate

The number of the predicates usually agrees with that of the subject. However, 3s, which is the unmarked number and person, occasionally appears instead of the expected plural form: āziyunt xartet āsti ‘the envoys have gone (sg. āsti instead of āstant or xant)’.

The relaxed nature of agreement in Sogdian verbs may also be exemplified by the 3s fem. forms of the intransitive preterite of light stem verbs. One sometimes finds special feminine forms ending with -a (-'). But ordinary forms without gender distinction are commonly encountered:

\[ \begin{array}{l}
xu nafṣa pyamt-a āsti ǣkt-a anyatē ēru xwēč \\
\text{the Nafsha was healed and became whole without pain}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{l}
rti ṅē bēkṣār niźt-i \\
\text{and woman outside went out}
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{l}
\text{‘Nafsha was healed and became whole and without pain’;}
\text{‘the woman went out’}.\]
5 SYNTAX OF SIMPLE AND COMPLEX SENTENCES

The syntax is the least studied field in the study of Sogdian grammar. As yet there exists no general account of Sogdian syntax. On some topics see Heston 1976.

5.1 Order of constituents

5.1.1 Noun phrase structure

In Sogdian the head noun of noun phrases is preceded by the article, demonstrative, possessor noun, and adjective:

(a) ẖ tawa ʿoxšnu ʿašnu "the your light eye" = "your light eye"
(b) yuneh mana ʿeb Phú ʿyavar "this my own heart" = "this heart of mine"
(c) par ʿeb Phú vandī frāmān "on owner’s order" = "according to the owner’s order"
(d) xu xunax ʿerīw "the that body" = "that body".

Similarly, cardinal numbers and words for unit precede nouns with this order:

нутс капчакк нā-арт ѣнтам
19 kapchak of non-ground wheat'.

Nouns designating rank, title, or category usually follow the proper nouns: ʿsmēr yari 'Mount Sumeru', uparatt šamānī 'Monk Uparatt'. However, counter examples do exist: šamānī yansyan 'Monk Yansyan', wispīšê suḍāsn 'Prince Sudhāshn'.

A prepositional phrase modifying a noun follows it:

ẖ zestēnē wortan ēn anyatē parštāk
'the golden chariot with all the equipment'.

When an appositional phrase is governed by a preposition, the latter is repeated before each member (see Sims-Williams 1973):

čān šīrīlaxē āri ēstappārē čān farṇxunt zātēt
lit. ‘from Shirvakhch and Ėstappārē from Farnkhunt’s (two) sons’

5.1.2 Clause structure and word order

5.1.2.1 Complementizer

A syntactic feature peculiar to Sogdian (and for that matter to Bactrian as well) is that each clause (both main and subordinate) contains an enclitic complementizer (COMP): (ẖ)ti(i), -uti (= ‘PZY, ZY). This stands in the second position from the beginning, to which other enclitic elements of the sentence are added (see Sims-Williams 1985b, Yakubovitch 2005). Complementation includes the most frequent (ẖ)rti, which marks the beginning of a clause and etymologically consists of the adverb r- (see Khotanese rro ‘also’) and -ti.

The same is found in relative clauses, where relative pronouns or adverbs are followed by the complementizer. Similarly, direct quotations are also treated as independent clauses, where the second position is occupied by the complementizer (see Weber 1971):
As shown by čan xuβr-βlayi ati above, the element standing before the complementizer is not always a single word but one syntactic unit, whereby the vocative form is not counted.

However, this feature was declining. Thus, in such a late text as Christian manuscript C5 the complementizer is almost lost, the only vestiges being the -t element found in the compound conjunctions kat (C qt) 'that, who (rel.)' and pät (C p't) 'for (conj.)', and interrogative particle étutt(i) 'est-ce-que'.

5.1.2.2 Enclitics

Even as a Middle Iranian language, Sogdian still observes the Wackernagel's law, according to which enclitics occupy the second position in the sentence. As stated above, in classical Sogdian the second position is usually occupied by the complementizer (o)t(i) and other enclitics are added to it:

\[ \text{pār-ti-šī xu wīnā źanī framatādāre} \]
\[ \text{but/for-comp-him the lute to play you ordered} \]
\[ \text{but you ordered him to play the lute'.} \]

When in a very few cases one pronominal suffix is attached to another, the first person precedes the second and the third: oti-m-f-(a)č (HRYMβe) 'to me from you', oti-m-šu (HRYMšw) 'and him for me'.

Apart from the enclitic pronoun, several other enclitic elements occur in Sogdian. They are prepositional elements (-c, -δ, -t), -βay 'O lord!', and -n (hypothetical particle), -β(i) (perfective particle employed in the negated imperfect sentence), etc. These enclitics follow pronouns:

\[ \text{mād ati-š-n uʃyu źamanī Yansyan xwati ati . . . par kāmē xawāt} \]
\[ \text{thus comp-her-part both monk Yansyan himself and . . . by desire hitsubj3s} \]
\[ \text{'so that either monk Yansyan himself or . . . may hit her as he likes'.} \]

5.1.2.3 Word order

5.1.2.3a SOV

Sogdian is basically an OV language where heads follow the dependent elements. Thus, the basic structure of the Sogdian sentences consists of SOV. However, Sogdian is far from being a consistent OV language and attests a number of counter-examples. The unmarked order is (a) SOV, but (b) the verb initial order is also often encountered. Extended constituents, including subjects and objects, tend to follow shorter constituents: (c), (d). Sometimes, even a part of a longer constituent is extraposed toward the end of a sentence: (e). Standards of comparison precede the adjective: (f). Adverbial elements tend to stand before verbs or objects of verbs: (g) On the orders of the adposition and the auxiliary verbs see sections 3.1.4 for adpositions and 3.2.3.3–4 for auxiliaries.
(a) ərti xu maryârti xêpôâwand . . . ö satu dinâr zern töz
and the pearl's owner . . . the 100 denar gold paid
‘and the owner of the pearls paid the hundred gold denars’.

(b) rti frâyâz axu wispîșê Sudâşn wispu âdid bâyete
and began the prince Sudâshn all things to give
‘Prince Sudâshn began to give all the things’.

(c) rti-sî ës ëan patîcêr év brîman ëanstî sëw ëksi âti . . .
and-him came from in-front one brahmin very black lean and . . .
‘one very black, lean, . . . brahmin came towards him’.

(d) rti axu wên yarf bikše náf ëke-ti par patôô sâvënt-askun
and he saw many mendicant people who-comp for begging were going-dur
‘he saw many mendicant people who were going for begging (alms)’.

(e) ö náfî martsûr tux âfâm âti arkkarêt
the people.pl quickly send.impv and workers
‘send people and workers hither quickly’.

(f) ëan sakara nâmartar
from sugar sweeter
‘sweeter than sugar’.

(g) rti yonëd fôk fûrant-kâm
and immediately salvation they.find-fut
‘and they will get salvation immediately’.

5.1.2.3b Counter-examples

Since Sogdian is not a consistent OV language, counter-examples are not uncommon.
But some of them are due to the prototypes. The bulk of the Sogdian texts are translations from other languages, and the word order often reflects those of the original language or texts. This is particularly evident in translations from the Syriac New Testament. See the following example. Notice, however, that the deep-rooted order of possessor + possessed (fûr-êt-i žêmnu ‘fruits’ time’) is never inverted:

Syriac
kd dyn mt’ [zbn’d- p’r] šdr 1-[bdw-hy] 1wt plh’
when but reached [time of-fruit] sent to-[servants.his] towards farmers

Sogdian
pîšt cânô parâyat [fûr-êt-i žêmnu] fûâmdhôrt [xêpô bûntëti] kû ñûy-dårêt
but when reached [fruits’ time] sent [his servants] to farm-keepers
‘however, when the time of fruits (i.e. harvest) came he sent his servants to the farmers’.

Naturally, emphasized and topicalized elements tend to be placed towards the beginning of sentences:

rti xa uaxu bêrêvar inc’ mart mart ëan østana øxîstti rôše
and the six 10,000 woman each each from breast milk flow.opt.impf.3s
‘as for 60000 women, milk was flowing from each woman’s breast’.

5.2 Questions

Sogdian does not seem to have a special device for forming interrogative sentences. Interrogative pronouns and adverbs follow the ordinary word order: (a), (b). However, since
the interrogatives are the topics of the statements in their very nature they tend to be placed at the beginning of sentences: (c). Yes/No questions are formed either by an ordinary order (possibly with different intonation): (d), or by putting čut(i) at the beginning of a sentence, of which -(t)yi originates from the complementizer. Disjunctive sense is sometimes emphasized by the phrase katār (sti) ne 'or not'? placed after the sentence: (e). Rhetorical questions make use of the particle p(u)nukar: (f).

(a) tayu pērmanstar ču  aktya khlâre
you before what deed do,PRET.2s.
"What deed did you do before?"
(b) xa aspiyi-ii kutsâr wâcâm
the horses-COMP where I.send
"Where shall I send the horses?"
(c) ort-šu  čakanâc pišâr maryašt nē framâye suflte
and-him whence because pearl not order.2s bore.INF
"Why didn’t you order him to bore pearls?"
(d) nē tkâš
not see.INJ.2s
"Don’t you see?"
(e) čuti xa zâkt  tâdâd  âyatant katâr-sti nē
whether the children there came or-COMP not
"Have the children arrived to you or not?"
(f) ěčuti pūnukar tawa wânō nē patyōšti
whether pînukr by.you thus not heard.PRET
"Have you never heard thus? (Yes, you have surely heard thus.)"

5.3 Complex sentences

In Sogdian there are three kinds of subordinate clauses: (a) relative, (b) adverbial, and (c) nominal.

5.3.1 Conjunctions

Coordinate conjunctions are (sti)rti (rsty, 'HRZY) which marks the beginning of the clauses, at(i) (t(y)= 'PZY, ZY) 'and', and, and katār (sti) (kt'r, 'WZY) 'or'. Apart from these, several adverbs placed towards the sentence initial are employed to enhance cohesion. Some of the most frequent are: mas 'also, again', pîšt 'but', nūkar, patsâr 'then', ěm 'furthermore'. Of Old Iranian origin are connecting particles bâd ... bâd 'sometimes ... sometimes', uflyu ... uflyu (wflyw, C by) 'both ... and ...'. Subordinate conjunctions are:

1 preceding the main clauses: ču 'if', čânō 'when, while, since', kâd(a) 'if', mant 'when, while';
2 following the main clauses (sti is the complementizer described above): at(i) (t(y)= 'PZY, ZY) 'that', čânō at(i) 'as (= like), than', pâr(u)ty (p'rwty, later pât) 'for, (not ... ) but', parâw at(i) (pr'w t(y)) 'because', and yivâr-sti (yi'w'r (ty)) 'however'. kâd and at(i) on the one hand, and mâd (m'd = KZNH) 'thus' and at(i) on the other, are combined to give the new subordinate conjunctions kât (kt, C qt) 'that' and mût (m't) 'that', respectively, which are quite common in Manichaean and Christian
texts. These conjunctions occasionally combine with adverbs to form compound conjunctions as ēvēdō pādār pārutī 'because', lit. 'because of that for', parav mādō ati 'because', witūr ati (wytrw 'ty) 'until', etc.

5.3.2 Relative clauses

5.3.2.1 Correlatives and gaps

Relative clauses are introduced by relative pronouns or adverbs, to which is attached the complementizer at(i) in Classical Sogdian. They always follow their head, which is usually marked by a cataphoric demonstrative. Although the following remark is not without exception, a general tendency is observable: the correlative in the relative clause is the verbal ending if nominative (a), while the direct object is gapped (b). With other cases, the relative may be in the oblique itself (σ)kyu (c), but generally it assumes the relative particle (σ)ke, while the correlative is a pronoun or adverbial demonstrative filling the gap in the relative clause (d), (e) (see Provasi 1997). Comparative clauses can be classified as relative clauses (f):

(a) ōnō marṭī wiru kunāt ke-ti-šī xvati rēžāt

that man husband make.SUBJ.3s REL-COMP-her herself please.SBJ.3s

'she shall make that man her husband who might be pleasing to her'.

(b) yunē čakraśart čintāmanī dārānī ke-ti ăzū pārītāt-ōrām

this Cakravarti Cintāmanī spell REL-COMP I explain-PRE.T.S

'this Chakravarti Chintamani spell which I explained'.

(c) āwōn se ratne... ḫya-āt-mī sāče xu pās pāt

the three jewel... REL-COMP-me be.fitting.OPT.3s the honour observe.INF

'three jewels... to which it may be fitting for me to pay honour'.

(d) xānd āfrītēt ōtākt ke ati-šān sāk ati patśmūr nēst

those blessed places REL COMP-their number and number is not

'those blessed places whose number and counting do not exist'.

(e) xānd āfrītēt ōtākt... kū-ati waōdō mēnand xa roxśnīda βaṛṭāt

those blessed places... where(REL)-COMP there stay.3p the light gods

'those blessed places where the light gods are staying'.

(f) ēmōr māṣō ăβīṭā ḫāreṁ ēnō-ti āwōn ṣpīrē xā punyān zarnē

more we the evil endure than-COMP the father's the merit lost

fbāt

become.SBJ.3s

'we would rather endure sufferings than our father's merit should be lost'.

5.3.2.2 Other relatives

(σ)ke is originally a nominative singular form used with an animate noun, but it tends to be generalized to all the contexts and behaves like a relative particle. On this point see the examples cited in the previous section.

In principle any interrogative pronoun or adverb can be used as a relative. Here follow several examples:

(a) wispū ark ēu ati-mī tayu framāye

all work which (REL) COMP-me you order

'all the work which you order me'.

(b) yuRITE wORT yu hīnāT kāK wīT ḫORT

'the work which you order me'.

(c) wispūark ēu ati-mī tayu framāye

all work which (REL) COMP-me you order

'all the work which you order me'.

(d) xānd āfrītēt ōtākt ke ati-šān sāk ati patśmūr nēst

those blessed places REL COMP-their number and number is not

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(e) xānd āfrītēt ōtākt... kū-ati waōdō mēnand xa roxśnīda βaṛṭāt

those blessed places... where(REL)-COMP there stay.3p the light gods

'those blessed places where the light gods are staying'.

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the three jewel... REL-COMP-me be.fitting.OPT.3s the honour observe.INF

'three jewels... to which it may be fitting for me to pay honour'.

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those blessed places REL COMP-their number and number is not

'those blessed places whose number and counting do not exist'.

(e) xānd āfrītēt ōtākt... kū-ati waōdō mēnand xa roxśnīda βaṛṭāt

those blessed places... where(REL)-COMP there stay.3p the light gods

'those blessed places where the light gods are staying'.

(f) ēmōr māṣō ăβīṭā ḫāreṁ ēnō-ti āwōn ṣpīrē xā punyān zarnē

more we the evil endure than-COMP the father's the merit lost

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(a) wispū ark ēu ati-mī tayu framāye

all work which (REL) COMP-me you order

'all the work which you order me'.
5.3.2.3 Indefinite relative clauses

Indefinite relative clauses have no head and precede the main clause, which is often introduced by the conjunction *riti* (a). Sometimes indefiniteness is reinforced by *xatu* and/or *ādparm* (b). Another way of reinforcing indefinite force is to duplicate the relatives, first by the original (in the present case *kū* ‘where’) and again by *ke*, which in this function is a relative particle rather than a relative pronoun: (c). ētu *ẓannya*, lit. ‘whatever time’ functions as a kind of compound conjunction meaning ‘whenever’ (d).

(a) *rīt-mas katām āžūnī āžīt rīt xu rāmant jātismar yēw bīrīt*
   and-again which(REL) life is.born and he always jātismara body gets
   ‘again in whichever life he may be born, he will always get jātismara-body
   (i.e. he will remember his previous lives)’.

(b) ētu *xatu ādparm wantī rītī-sī wisp sāt . . .
   what(REL) ever ever does and-him every all . . .
   ‘whatsoever he may do, everything is . . . for him’.

(c) kū *sār ke śāvēte xu fuxār . . .
   where(REL) toward REL go.OPT.MID.3s the blessed one
   ‘wherever the blessed one may go . . .’.

(d) *rīt ētu ẓannya ēcan bājistān ẓaṣāt rīt paru butyāk*
   and what time.LOC from heaven descend.SUBJ.3s and on Buddhahood
   rād ʾōstayt
   road stands
   ‘whenever he may descend from the heaven he will stand on the road of
   Buddhahood’.

5.3.3 Adverbial clauses

Clauses that explicitly or implicitly state logical and temporal conditions precede the main clause, and are typically introduced by conjunctions such as *kaš(a) ‘if’, čānō ‘when, since’, mant ‘when, while’, kū *parm* ‘as long as’, etc. In classical Sogdian both subordinate and main clauses are introduced by a conjunction *riti*.

*riti kuš nē waytu-ōrē rīt-su ʿānād nā wād*
   and-him if not send-PRET.2s and-him immediately not send.IMPV.2s
   ‘if you have not sent him, do not send him immediately’.

*riti kuš *parm nē tōžān rtī-su . . . paru wartu ẓārām-kām*
   and-it as.long.as not pay.SUBJ.1s and-it . . . on interest have.1s-FUT
   ‘until I pay it (= as long as I do not pay it), I shall owe (lit. ‘have’) it with interest’.
Other adverbial clauses expressing purpose, cause, etc. are accompanied by appropriate conjunctions and follow matrix sentences. Here follow examples of (a) cause and (b) purpose:

(a) ḍan ʂē satu ʂsänx zāy ʂti ʂyati parav mādr-ʂti wānō patʰoš
from 3 100 mile land comp I came because-comp thus I heard
'I have come from the place 300 miles far (from here), because I heard thus . . .'.

(b) šavām-əštən ʂti-ʂ(a) ƈ
I.go-DUR conj(=comp)-him-from gift obtain subj. is
'I am going (there) so that I might get a gift from him'.

5.3.4 Nominal clauses and direct quotation

5.3.4.1 Nominal clauses

The most common nominal clause is the complement of a transitive verb which is introduced by ʂt(i). kab-ʂt(i)), or ʐat « mādr; ʂt(i)):

(a) An appositional clause is also introduced by the same conjunction: (b).

(a) xa pʰt wānō wənənt ʂti xa brəmənt o ... xwatəw pərapant
the elephants thus saw that the brahmins the . . . king took-away
'the elephants saw that the brahmins took the king away'.

(b) rti wānō pədəka nəst ʂti ʂvə yəntək rələ anpətə
and thus judgement is not that the bad way fall opt. 3s
'there is no such judgement that he should fall into a bad existence'.

5.3.4.2 Direct quotations

Direct quotations are treated differently from clausal complements in classical texts but later they came to take the same construction. Thus in one Buddhist Sogdian text Vessantara Jātaka direct quotations are always introduced by the complementizer placed in the second place (see section 5.1.2.1), while in later texts they are often introduced by ʂat:

ʔrt-xu xəpləwənd wānō wəb ʂat-ʔbyə munə martə.

and the owner thus said that lord this man . . .
'the owner said: "O Lord! (I hired) this man . . ."'

Notice that in Sogdian it is a rule that the verbs introducing direct speech or nominal complements should be preceded by a pleonastic adverb wānō or mādr 'thus'.

5.3.5 Use of infinitives and verbal nouns

5.3.5.1 Past infinitives

Functionally speaking, infinitives and verbal nouns are comparable to subordinate sentences and their usage is described in this section.

The past infinitives are dependent on verbs such as meaning 'order', 'begin', 'wish', 'be fitting', etc. and always follow them. Below is the past infinitive dependent on an impersonal verb səštisəcit 'it is fitting': (a). A subordinate clause dependent on səšt is also given: (b)
(a) \( \text{rti \ axu \ nē \ baxšē \ ānō \ əču-ti-šī \ nē \ sāčt \ baya} \)

\( \text{he \ not \ give.OPT.3s \ which \ (REL)-COMP-him \ not \ is \ fitting \ give.INF} \)

‘he may not give that which is not fitting for him to give away’.

(b) \( \text{wānō \ sāt} \ \text{kat \ par \ wēšant \ čūpar \ yān} \ \text{čan \ baya} \)

\( \text{thus \ is \ fitting \ that \ on \ them \ upon \ favour \ request.OPT.1p \ from \ god} \)

‘it is fitting that we should ask favour from the God upon them’.

One special usage of the past infinitive is to appear in the construction \( \text{čan \ . . . kārī} \)

\( \text{(cnn \ . . . k’ry)} \) meaning ‘after having . . .’, where the light stem takes the ending -a or -u

while the heavy is without ending (on the origin of the construction, see Sims-Williams, 2007):

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{čan \ murtu \ kārī} & \quad \text{mana \ čan \ nirvānā \ witart \ kārī} \\
\text{from \ dying \ after} & \quad \text{my \ from \ nirvāna \ passing \ after} \\
\text{‘after \ having \ died’;} & \quad \text{‘after \ my \ passing \ into \ the \ nirvāna’}.
\end{align*} \]

5.3.5.2 Present infinitives and verbal nouns

As stated above the form and usage of the present infinitives in Sogdian vary considerably

from text to text. Their unstable nature owes much to the fact that they were developing

from the nominal form based on the present stem, i.e. productive verbal nouns, to the

forms more similar to the past infinitives. \( \text{par} \) infinitives in Christian texts are used in a way similar to the past infinitives:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ke} & \quad \text{kāmēnt} & \quad \text{par-patxwāy \ wonī} \\
\text{who(REL) \ desire.OPT.IMPF.3p \ par-kill \ him} \\
\text{‘who \ were \ wishing \ to \ kill \ him’}. \\
\end{align*} \]

The present infinitives of the Buddhist texts show more characteristics of the verbal

nouns than \( \text{par} \) infinitives of the Christian texts, where the ordinary verbal nouns are

derived by means of the highly productive suffix -amante.

Compare the Buddhist Sogdian and Christian functionally equivalent:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{zanē} & \quad \text{zanmya} & \quad \text{wya \ zanāmantē \ mēθ} \\
\text{giving.birth \ time.LOC} & \quad \text{her \ giving.birth \ day} \\
\text{‘at \ the \ time \ of \ giving \ birth’;} & \quad \text{‘the \ day \ of \ her \ giving \ birth’}. \\
\end{align*} \]

Forms derived with -amante are very few in Buddhist texts whereas they are much more

numerous in Manichaean texts.

6 LEXIS

6.1 Sogdian lexicon

The Sogdian lexicon consists of three groups of words: (a) those inherited from Old

Iranian; (b) loanwords; (c) foreign elements temporarily appearing in texts. Some of the

native Iranian elements show distinctively East Iranian features. Thus, \( \text{kałmō} \ ‘\text{town}’ \),

\( \text{kap} \ ‘\text{fish}’ \) are typically East Iranian. \( \text{fam} \ ‘\text{glory, fortune}’ \) has recently been shown to be

originating from the language of Scythians at the Old Iranian stage (see Lubotsky 2002).

Foreign elements are mainly Sanskrit forms in Buddhist texts and Syriac words in

Christian texts (see Sims-Williams 1983b, 1988). They are quite numerous and their
number seems to be dependent on the scholarship of each translator. On the other
loanwords originating from the language contact, see section 7.3.

6.2 Derivation

6.2.1 Suffixes

Derivation in Sogdian, which is an OV language, is mostly by suffix. The most productive
suffixes are the following. They are so productive that loanwords come to be provided
with them:

(a) Adjectives from (mainly) nouns:

1. -ēnē, f. -ēnē (-yn'k; aka-stem) 'made out of': zernēnē < zern 'gold', dārūkēnē <
dārūk 'wood'.
2. -ēčk, -ēčk (-cyk, -yck): yarēčk 'mountain-like' < yar- 'mountain'; cāō arēčk 'low' <
cāōar 'below'; bēkārēčk ~ bēkārtēčk 'external' < bēkār 'outside'. Compare the
two adjectives derived from zāvar 'power': zāvarēčk 'helpful' vs. zāvarkēn
'powerful'.
3. -mēnē (-mync): īnēmēnē 'female' < īnē 'woman', ūkōyāmēnē 'safe, sound'
< ūkōyā 'healthy' < ūk 'healthy'.
4. -ēk (-yk): dārmēk 'of dharma' < ārm (< Skt. dharma 'Buddhist law').

(b) Abstract nouns:

5. -yāk (-y'k, from LS; -yā (-y'kh, M -y', from HS): roxšnāyāk 'splendour' < roxšn-
'light', bāyāyāk 'divinity' < bāyāk 'id.' < bāy- 'god'.
6. -ōvē (-'w'k, aka-stem): friyōvē 'love' < fri- 'dear', patpatēnōvē 'isolation' <
patpatēn 'opposed'.
7. -ūnī (-wny): mastōnī 'drunkenness' < mast 'drunken', tāyōnī 'theft' < tāy 'thief'.

(c) Others:

8. -ānē (S -nch): female counterpart of nouns meaning male human: upāsānē <
upāsē 'lay-brother' (< Skt. upāsaka), nayōšākānē < nayōšāk 'Manichaean
auditor' (< Part. ngwšg). For upāsānē see Tocharian B upāsakānca 'id.'.
9. -ūn (-'w') 'in the ~ language': ēnūn 'in Chinese' < ēn 'China', sūyōyān 'in
Sogdian' < sūyō- 'Sogd'.

6.2.2 Prefixes

Prefixes are much less common than suffixes. Productive are the following:

1. āu- ('w-') 'co-': āupatōyp 'sharer' < patōyp 'share', āuxānēt 'co-inhabitants' < xānā
'house'.
2. manti- (mnt-) privative: mantyaṛbāk 'foolish' < yaṛbāk 'wise'.
3. nā- (n-) privative: nā-paṅkēk 'unlawful', nā-martōxmē 'non-human'. The past
participle is negated with this prefix: nā-wēt 'invisible' < wēntwēt 'see'.
4. (a)pu- ('pw-') privative: pu-patāmār 'innumerable' < patāmār 'number'.
5. fri- (S pry-) 'philo-': fri-ruw 'who loves one's own soul' < ruwā 'soul', fri-ābraxsē
'lascivious' < ąbraxsē 'lust'.


6.3 Composition

Several patterns of both verbal and nominal compounds are known (see Gershevitch 1945).

(a) Containing present stems:

1. noun + present stem + aka-suffix forming agent nouns: framān-patyōšē 'servant, obedient' (framān 'order' + patyōš 'hear'), yipēk-βarē 'angry' (yipēk 'anger' + βar-'bear'). Notice that older type of the similar compounds show as its second member a slightly different form than the present stem: spītxwār 'carnivorous' < *pitu + xwāra, compare xwar- 'eat', sīrxōzē 'friend' < sīr-'good' + xwēž 'to wish'. The following compounds contain Old Iranian acc. sg. forms as the first members: βāžangārē 'sinful', sīrankārē 'pious'.

(b) Containing past stems:

2. past stem + noun forming bahuvrthis: suũt-γōš 'with pierced ears' < sumblsuũšt- 'pierce', skt-aspōs 'obedient', lit. 'made-service', βart-yamband 'enduring the strain (γamban) (pl.)' < βart-βart 'bear'.

3. noun/adverb + past participle: wāt-nyātē 'wind-sick, taken by wind (wāt) < nyāshnyāt 'take', čon-čme-miůān-γyatē 'coming from among (miůān) the anger (čmē) < ġsīlāyat 'come'.

(c) Containing nouns and adjectives:

4. noun, adjective, etc. + noun + aka-suffix forming bahuvrhis: sīr-nāmē (M šyr-n'my 'good' + 'name') 'famous' (cf. sīrnām 'fame'), δwāt-s-rītē 'having twelve faces (rīt)', ān-kutrē 'originating from the An family (kutr-)'.

6.4 Collocation

6.4.1 Hendiadys

Two near synonyms deriving from the same root are combined to make a kind of dvandava compound, occasionally with a conjunction at(i) 'and'. They are called etymological hendiadys and are quite common in Sogdian. Of the two members, the shorter form precedes. When they consist of the same number of syllables, the one beginning with vowel precedes: wazti ji'alvazti 'he flies about' < waz- 'fly', fī árī (pryh 'pryh) 'very dear', ankrantt at frikrantt 'he cuts and chops' < krant 'cut', etc. Synonymous hendiadys, usually asyndetic, are no less common: yōk fsāk 'teaching (and) training', nom paška 'law and judgement', ramē γēθ 'cattle flock'. However, Sogdian lacks such hendiadyses as those abundant in Uighur which consist of an Indian loanword and its Uighur synonym: čakir tilgān 'wheel' < Skt. cakra-(see Gabain 1974: 159).

6.4.2 Phrasal verbs or idioms

Idiomatic combinations or phrasal verbs are not uncommon in Sogdian. Examples are: 0fār 0flar-, lit. 'gift give', = 'give', rā0 šaw-, lit. 'road go' = 'travel', numāč βar-, lit. 'honour bring' = 'pay homage', wađū parēp, lit. 'wife take' = 'get married', zāwar 0flar-, lit. 'power give' = 'help'. While all these are transparent and are easily analysable, the origin of
kūmārī parēs (kwm'ry prys) ‘understand perfectly’ seems to have been already opaque to the Sogdians. It is a combination of kū mārī parēs, lit. ‘arrive at memory (mār ‘spell’).

7 SOCIOlinguistic ASPECTS

7.1 Polite phraseology and signals

7.1.1 Honorific expressions

7.1.1.1 Verbs

Sogdian possesses several ways of expressing respectful and humble feelings on the part of a speaker. The honorific expression for ‘say’ is framāy, lit. ‘to order’ while the opposite is expressed by patśkway and the unmarked lexeme is wāsī. Thus when the Buddha or a king says, framāy is employed whereas disciples or servants are patśkway-ing:

\[
\text{rti nūkār əxu ānānt kū bāyān bāxtam buti mādā patśkway ...}
\]

and now the A. to devātideva Buddha thus said ...

\[
\text{rti əxu bāyān bāxtam buti āwān ānānt mādā frāmāy ...}
\]

and the devātideva Buddha the A. thus said ...

‘then (the disciple) Ananda said to the devātideva Buddha ...
the devātideva Buddha said to Ananda ...’.

The corresponding nouns fra̱mān and patśkwa̱n mean ‘(His Majesty’s) word’ and ‘humble message’ respectively.

The verb framāy combined with the past infinitive is also used as an honorific expression meaning ‘deign to ...’. The opposite is the verb raxn- ‘venture to do’:

\[
\text{framāy ətī-nī ānānt wāsīy akte order.IMPV COMP-me that explanation make.INF}
\]

‘please explain that to me’.

\[
\text{əzu čānd raxnu ətī-n yunē ñsfrāčk āpsu}
\]

I how dare.INJ.1S COMP-PART this thing ask.INJ.1S

‘How dare I ask (the Buddha) about this matter?’

Notice that in the sentence cited above, politeness is also expressed by the injunctive forms raxnu and āpsu. On the hypothetical particle -(a)n see section 3.2.3.1f.

The verb xram ‘walk’ seems to have a shade of honour, i.e. ‘walk with dignity’:

\[
\text{rti-śī mādā patśkway xram ətī bāya ...}
\]

and-him thus said walk COMP lord!

‘he said to him (the prince): come, O Lord, ...’.

7.1.1.2 Nouns and other expressions

Pleonastic use of the vocative form bāya ‘O Lord!, sir’ or its enclitic counterpart -bāya is one of the most common ways of expressing one’s feeling of honour towards the addressee:

\[
\text{rti-šu mādā patśkwayant zārī ətī bāya sayēm}
\]

and-him thus said.3p sad COMP lord! seem.1p
par-ti ḫayma māx emī uxušu ḫrēvar inē anyu zāte nēšt
for-comp lord! us the 6 10,000 woman other son is not
they said to him: we feel sad, O Lord!,
because, O Lord!, for us 60,000 women there is no other son'.

ṛti-ḫay uṣu maqē ʾkūčēnīk xūš ēsu rṛti-ḫay uṣu pōšēt patiwaḍu...
and-lord! I here to of Chach king came and-lord! both letters submitted...
'O Lord! I came here to the king of Chach. O Lord! I handed both the letters...'.

fārm (S prn) 'fortune, majesty' is also sometimes used as an honorific word, compare
šmāxfārm 'Your Majesty', tavafārm 'Your (sg.) Majesty'.
As in New Persian 2p forms instead of 2s may be employed for expressing
honour:

Dāwiš sūkṣār fārm-sār yarf ẓām namāč... anfārz bārta...
D. monk majesty-toward many humble homage... care bring.impv.2p...

szęm šmāx bāntē īm
I your.pl. servant am
'to David the monk. much humble homage to (Your) Majesty... (please) pay (2p)
heed to... I am your (2p) servant'.

7.1.1.3 Expressions showing the speaker's humility
In the passage cited in the last section one finds other means of expressing one's feeling
of humility: ẓām 'humble', lit. 'fine' and bāntē '(your) servant'. bāntē 'male servant' or dāy
'female servant' is a humble expression for 'I' and is often accompanied by kaštar 'less' or
other synonyms:

pišt ēn xēpō kaštar satu ḫrēwarānīk bāntē
sent from your less 100 10,000th servant
'sent from your most trifle one millionth servant'.

Notice that among the elements discussed above paṭškway (> paṭškwān), raṅ-, and
injunctive forms are also counted as showing humility on the part of a speaker or
addressee.

7.2 Dialects and variations

7.2.1 Archaic and late features

7.2.1.1 Ancient letters: oldest stage
The oldest and latest strata of the Sogdian language differ considerably from each other.
The oldest stage is represented by the so-called 'Ancient Letters'. One finds several
features peculiar to the material. These include:

1 Some nouns that show special inflections totally unknown in later Sogdian:
   inst.-abl. ʾāwyṛya (āwyṛrh) < ʾāwyta 'daughter',
   gen.-dat. mādrī (mārh) < māt (m'th) 'mother'.
2 The abundance of the ergative construction which is noticeable because the
   construction is later displaced by the transitive preterite with the auxiliary ᳑ār:
As regards the phonology, several light stem forms are without vocalic endings: e.g. *afliz ("byz") 'evil', *kort ("krt") 'made', etc., but it is hard to assess this fact in the history of Sogdian phonology.

7.2.1.2 Christian Sogdian text C5: latest stage

The latest stage of the Sogdian language is represented by Christian Sogdian manuscript C5. At this stage:

1. No article is employed.
2. The conjunction *riti never occurs and its function of connecting sentences is displaced by *at.
3. The conjunction *kat 'that' plays the function of relative particle as well.
4. The nominal inflection shows strong tendency to use nominative form in all the case functions. Thus in C5 only x- and y-forms of the extended demonstratives are attested: xeñ, xānt, ēd, yānt.

On the other hand:
5. The new oblique case begins to be formed by adding -i to nom. sg. and to similar generalized forms. Compare the inflexions of *ram- (masc.) 'people' and *wan- (fem.) 'tree': sg. dir. *ram-i, obl. *ram-i-(y)i; pl. dir. *ram-ta, obl. *ram-ta-(y)i, sg. dir. *wan-a, obl. *wana-(y)i.

Had the inflection been extended to all nouns, the language would have become a fully agglutinative type like Yaghnobi, the so-called 'Modern Sogdian' (see Sims-Williams 1982: 69–70).

7.2.2 Sogdian dialects?

Linguistic differences observed within the written materials are relatively trivial in view of the wide area where Sogdian texts were discovered. Most differences can be explained as chronological or orthographic. For example the durative particle *skum appears in the forms (*skwn, skwn, C sqn, sk'n, kn (C qn), sk, kw, and k). (*skwn) and (skwn) which are mainly attested in Buddhist and Manichaean texts are older than (sqn, kn, kw), and (k) found in Christian and other late texts and one can assume that gradual reduction of unaccented particles is reflected in the spellings: *askum > skun > (s)kun > (s)ko > (s)k. A similar reduction of the future particle *kam is observed.

Henning once argued that the linguistic difference between Manichaean and Christian texts would most probably be due to the sociolinguistic factors (see Henning 1958: 105–108). According to him, in Turfan where the bulk of Manichaean and Christian Sogdian texts were discovered, the Manichaean church was supported by the aristocratic believers whereas ordinary people were the members of Christian church, and the differences between the two varieties are due to the social stratification of the both groups of speakers. Although Henning was reluctant to admit the existence of Sogdian dialects reflecting geographical distribution, one may be reminded that in Christian texts the two forms representing the durative past, i.e. *dz-imperfect and *ek(w)māt imperfect, show
complementary distribution, and that the fact may most reasonably be explained by
supposing two dialects which developed different forms for a single category (see Yoshida
1980). However, the difference is trivial and may not deserve to be called dialectal.

The Sogdian language documented by the materials known to us most probably
represents the standard variety spoken in Samarqand. A Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang
(?-664) who went to India via Sogdiana reported that the manners of Samarqandians
were imitated by other Sogdians (see Beal 1884: 33). In fact the Bukharan dialect as cited
by Islamic writers is slightly different (see Sims-Williams 1989b: 165–166).

## 7.2.3 Sogdian and Yaghnobi

The wide range of linguistic difference which once existed in Sogdiana may be inferred by
comparing Sogdian with Yaghnobi.

1. The absence of the rhythmic law in Yaghnobi may be explained by its loss in the
course of development.

2. However,

   (a) the formation of the imperfect stem by adding the augment -a- to any present
stem: Yaghn. *piraxs- > a-piraxs- ‘left’ vs. Sogd. *parəxxs- > pərəxxs, and

   (b) the 3rd pl. ending -or:

   Yaghn. *a-wen-or ‘they saw’ vs. Sogd. *wən-ant, cannot be due to the linguistic
change.

   It is worth noting that the -r ending of 3p is shared by the neighbouring Choresmian
and Khotanese languages.

## 7.3 Language contact and loanwords

The land of Sogdiana was surrounded by other Iranian-speaking areas such as Bactria
(to the south), Chorasmia (to the west), and Khotan (to the east). The three languages
show a strong affinity to Sogdian and they share several areal features (see Sims-Williams,
1983a and idem 1989a: 169–170). However, no loanwords borrowed from Choresmian
and Khotanese has so far been noticed, whereas a few Bactrian elements are known in
Sogdian: *səxər (sxr) ‘wheel’ and *rəxə (rx"kh) ‘cart’.

### 7.3.1 Borrowings

#### 7.3.1.1 Contact with Bactrian or Kushan influence

Bactrian, the national language of the great Kushan empire, apparently had prestige over
Sogdian, because the two forms just cited had cognates in Sogdian, i.e. *çaxr (cxr) and *roθ-
(rəθ-), and may have been borrowed as culture words (see Sims-Williams 1996a: 50–51).
Compare also *pələfar-* (pələr-) ‘honour, rank’ borrowed from Bact. πιδοφορο [piðofar] ‘honour’ (see Sims-Williams 2004: 541). Similarly *sərtəpəw* (srtəw) ‘caravan-leader’ is
suspected to be a loan from Bactrian and this form consisting of Indian *sərt* (cf. Skt.
*sərtha- ‘caravan’) and Iranian -pəw induces one to assume that some loanwords of Indian
origin were borrowed into Sogdian via Bactrian. One possible example is *pañi* (pany)
‘small copper coin’ ultimately going back to Skt. *paṇa, which was borrowed into Bactrian
as *pənə.*
Other Indian elements in Sogdian may also be due to the Kushan influence. Thus Indian loanwords attested in the Ancient Letters belong to the field of transaction, such as *mīrī (mwi < Skt. mālya) 'price', *sārī (< Skt. sārtha) 'caravan', *prastak (< Skt. prastha 'pint (measure of capacity)') etc., and the Sogdians may have learnt them from the Indian merchants travelling through the territory of the Kushan empire. Moreover, several Greek elements may also have come from Bactrian: διάδημα (διάδημα < διαδήμα 'diadem', nom (< nomos 'law'), δραχμή (< drachma), κατά (κατά < κατά 'measure of capacity) etc. Of course they could equally be a legacy of Hellenism in Iranian languages in general.

7.3.1.2 Loanwords from Western Middle Iranian

Strong cultural influence came from Parthia and Sassanian Iran, and Western Iranian loanwords are numerous. For example all the words for days of a week are of Middle Persian origin: mīr 'Sunday', māz 'Monday', wunaxān 'Tuesday', etc. (see Henning 1937: 85–86). A Middle Persian word rōč 'day' is usually added to the Sogdian name of a day of a month, e.g. xurmāzī rōč 'day of Xurmāz', i.e. the first day of a month. mayāf 'minister' is from Parthian and is once accompanied by another Parthian word ważark 'great': wazīrt miyāf 'great ministers'.

Vocabulary concerning Christianity is also from Western Iranian: tarsāk 'Christian', sāfīār 'monk', masīhar 'presbyter', etc. (see Benveniste 1964). However, the alleged contact with Old Sogdian and Old Persian has been refuted as illusory (see Sims-Williams 1989a: 171).

Some Indian elements came via Manichaean Parthian, e.g. *cōkspāt (< Parth. cōkṣbad < Skt. cākṣapa) 'precept', bāsiḥ 'hymn' (< Parth. bāš < Skt. bhāsā).

7.3.1.3 Indian loanwords

However, not all the Indian elements came via Parthian. Thus, such words as makara 'monkey' (mkr < Skt. mārya), nāk 'dragon' (n̄k < Skt. nāga), ratn- 'jewel' (rtn- < Skt. ratnā), saman- 'Buddhist monk' (< samana < Skt. śramaṇa), etc. which are fully naturalized in Sogdian may represent Indian cultural influence in general. Some phonological features found in those words are proved to be of North Western Prakrit (generally known as Gandhārī) origin (see Sims-Williams 1983a).

Naturally, Indian elements abound in Buddhist texts. They are of three groups: (a) loanwords naturalized in Sogdian: e.g. samuṭr- (< Skt. samudra) 'ocean', (b) Buddhist terminologies well established in Sogdian: e.g. bodisat̲ṭa 'Bodhisattva' (< Skt. bodhisattva), and (c) nonce borrowings employed by certain translators: e.g. prātimokṣa 'moral code'.

7.3.1.4 Borrowing from other languages

As the traders of Silk Road, a number of Sogdians were resident in China and one might expect many borrowings from Chinese. However, they are not at all numerous, and a very few which actually found their ways into Sogdian are attested also in other Central Asian languages, such as Uighur and Tocharian (see Yoshida 1994: 379). For example a word for 'pint' *sāng which comes from Chinese *šīng (Middle Chinese *šīng), also found in Uighur šing, Tocharian šang, and Khotanese šamga, šimga. The situation suggests that they were culture words widely in use among the peoples of Central Asia, and that
they were not necessarily borrowed directly from Chinese into Sogdian. Similarly, the languages of Turkish peoples, with whom Sogdian had close contact, lent very few words to Sogdian. One of the possible examples, other than personal names and titles, in late texts is arxiś ‘caravan’ (< Uighur arqix) which seems to have displaced an Indian counterpart by that time.

Tocharian elements are also very few. One example sintāp, which occurs in a medical text, seems to be borrowed from Tocharian B sintāp ‘a kind of rock-salt’, ultimately derived from Indian, compare Skt. saindhava ‘rock salt’.

Recently, čadiś (cpyš), which alternates with an inherited word sarOang (sr8ng) ‘general (of army)’, has been argued to have originated from the language of the Hephthalites. The Hephthalites ruled Sogdian for some hundred years beginning in the latter half of the fifth century and their language could have influenced Sogdian, though no other Hephthalite words have been known.

7.3.2 Sogdian elements in other neighbouring languages

In stark contrast with the borrowings, Sogdian lent many words to Uighur, an Old Turkish dialect, e.g. azun (< äzun) ‘existence’, känt (< kamד) ‘town’, nizwani (< nīzβānē) ‘sin’, tamu (< tam-) ‘hell’, etc. Sogdian’s prestige over Uighur was such that the latter adopted Sogdian script for writing Uighur. A so far unnoticed Sogdian element in other Turkic languages than Uighur is axšam ‘evening’ which goes back to axšām ( ‘xš’mh) ‘evening meal’.

The influential Sogdian culture and language in the early Islamic period may account for relatively numerous Sogdian loanwords in New Persian (see Henning 1939): e.g. čayz ‘frog’ < čayz (cyz), čuyd ‘owl’ < čut (cyut), etc.

The reason why virtually no Sogdian loanword is found in Chinese may be due not only to the latter’s prestige but also to its natural reluctance to borrowing foreign words in general. Only two forms which found their way into dictionaries are chi bo 吱撮 (Middle Chinese *tšiet puat) denoting a special kind of horse which is derived from čarOpād (cyr8p’d) ‘quadruped’ and mī 朦 (Middle Chinese *miet) from mīr ‘Sunday (ultimately from Middle Persian mīhr)’.

7.4 Language death

The latest known Sogdian text is dated to 1025 CE (see Livšic 1996: 271 and Yoshida 2004: 21). Possibly within a few centuries after that the Sogdian language was no longer spoken or written and became a dead language.

7.4.1 Death of Sogdian: Turkicization and Persianization

7.4.1.1 Turkicization

The changing relationship between Sogdian and Uighur is reflected in several late texts where many Turkish elements (words, personal names, expressions calqued on Uighur) are found. A text discovered in Dunhuang and dated to the tenth century is bilingual in Sogdian and Uighur; in it the scribe alternates between writing in Sogdian and in Uighur, and it is difficult to find reasons for the use of one or the other (cf. Sims-Williams and Hamilton 1990: 24–25):
Uighur

temći-dă bir qızıl qars alyu bar
Temći-by one red wool to.be.taken is
‘by Temći one red qars is to be taken’.

Sogdian

alp irkinı næ̱rant zê karmir rayzi āsî xu
Alp Irkin obl by three red wool to.be.taken is
‘by Alp Irkin three red rayzs are to be taken’.

Sogdian appears to have been in the process of being absorbed into Turkish first in the eastern part of the Sogdian speaking area. Mahmūd al-Kāşyarī of the eleventh century reports that in his time people from Söyd (area between Bukhara and Samarqand) were resident in Balāsāyūn (a city in modern Semirechje, Kirghiz), and that their dress and manner was that of Turks (see Dankoff and Kelly 1982: 352 and Yoshida 2009). The description of those Sogdians may point to their profound Turkicization in the eleventh century.

7.4.1.2 Persianization

The examples of the languages that al-Muqaddasī in the tenth century reports as those of Samarqand (be-goftag-ol11 ‘I have said’) and Bukhara (dānest-i-you.2s knew’) are nothing but dialects of New Persian (see al-Muqaddasī 1994: 335), and show that Sogdian was no longer in use there by that time. This conclusion is also reflected in a note of Ištakhrī of the tenth century that in his time the inscription on the Kish gate of Samarqand was incomprehensible to the local people. It is likely that the inscription, which Ištakhrī took for Himyaritic, was in Sogdian (see Barthold 1958: 87). On the other hand, al-Muqaddasī also mentions a vernacular spoken in Suyd (the area lying between Bukhara and Samarqand) which sounded similar to a dialect found in the suburbs of Bukhara.

This suggests that during his lifetime Sogdian was still spoken in small villages, while New Persian was spoken in the urban areas. Today, the sole survivor of the Sogdian dialects, once spoken all over Sogdiana, is Yaghnobi, which continues to be spoken in the most remote valley of the Yaghnob (North Tajikistan).

8 SAMPLE TEXT

The following sample texts reproduce the main part of the Manichaean Sogdian ‘Story of the Pearl-Borer’, pp. 466–469 in Henning, W. B. (1945). The text is in two scripts, one in Manichaean script and the other in Sogdian. (Round brackets) indicate damaged letters; [square brackets] indicate suggested restorations of missing letters (see Henning, ibidem). The text is arranged here by clause divisions. For each clause there are five lines:

1 transliteration of Manichaean script;
2 transliteration of Sogdian script;
3 transcription;
4 literal interlinear translation;
5 idiomatic translation, mostly following Henning.
The hired labourer addressed the judge thus:

"My lord, when this gentleman saw me at the side of the bazaar,

he asked me: "Hey, what work can you do?"

I replied: "Sir, whatever work you may order me (to do), I can do it all"."

When he had taken me to his house,

he ordered me to play on the lute."
8

'try ḏyry prm prw xypōwndy frmn wn jyt(w) ḏrm
rty ḏyrdk prm prw xypōwnty prmn'hn wn'k z-ytw ḏrm
ərti ḏyrārē parm paru xēpōlawantī. OBL frmnān wnā ḏatu-dārām
and evening until on owner's order lute play-PRET.1s
'Until nightfall I played on the lute at the owner’s bidding.'

9

'rtsw xtw w'nw pōk' nym'y
rtsw 'xtw w[n][kw] pōkh nym'y
ərt-su (a)xtu wānō paḏka nīmāy
and-the judge thus verdict judge.IMPF
'The judge pronounced this verdict.'

10

kī ʧyw wny mṛty mṛz ptxrytōryy
'YKZY ʧyw ZKn (m)ty mṛz ptxrytōryy
kat tāyu wānī mārtī mārāz ptxrīt-dāre
that you the man hired.labour hire-PRET.2s
"You contracted that man's (skilled) labour"
(which includes musical performance).

11

'rtsw cqn'e pyōr mṛyṛt nyy frm'yy swṣty
rtb [ckn]cwy pyōr mṛyṛt l' pr(m)'yy swṣty
ərt-suβ-β čākānāč pōhr māryār nē framāyefrāmāye suhīe
and-him.PART from.what sake pearl not order.PRES.2s bore.INF
ordered.IMPF.2s
"So why did you not order him to bore the pearls,

12

p'ṛtyṣy xww wn jnny frmtōryy
[p'rZYṣy ZK wn'kḥ z-n'y prmt ḏ]'ṛy
pār-tišī xu wānā ḏani framāt-dāre
but-COMP-him the lute play.INF order-PRET.2s
"but bid him play on the lute instead?"

13

'rty wny mṛty xww prxy ṣptyh ḏḥtyy ywt-k'm
rty (ZKn) [mṛty ZK] prxy ṣptīk ḏḥtīk ywt-k'm
ərti wānī mārtī xu pārxe āsptē ḏbastē yawt-kām
and the man the wage completely given needs-FUT
"That man's wages will have to be paid in full."
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In writing this chapter I have been greatly benefitted from the works of N. Sims-Williams, in particular his overview of 1989a for the section on phonology and morphology. Gershevitch 1954 has also been consulted from time to time. It is simply impossible to refer to their discoveries and contributions in all places.

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Khwarezmian is an Eastern Middle Iranian language formerly spoken around the lower reaches of the river Amu Darya (Oxus), including its delta into the Aral Sea in the north – the ancient Chorasmia. The Khwarezmian language area borders on the areas of Sogdian to the south-east and Parthian in the south, though in each case semi-steppe or desert intervenes. Khwarezmian shares features with Sogdian (note in particular the augment in the imperfect, see section 3.2.4.1a) but also with other East Iranian languages (verbal endings containing r occur only in Khwarz., Avestan, Saka and Yaghnobi, Henning 1958: 117). The best attested form of the language is patently influenced by Arabic and New Persian. Not unlike most Middle Iranian languages, Khwarezmian came to light and to be studied only early in the twentieth century.

Khwarezmian is comparatively scantily attested, in two forms:

1 sources in a regional development of the Aramaic script: coin legends (Vainberg 1977), inscriptions on wooden boards (from Toprak Kala, see Livshits 1984), on ossuaries (from Tok Kala, see Tolstov and Livshits 1964) and on silver vessels found in the Urals, some leather documents (from Toprak Kala, see Livshits 1984) and on an ostracon (from Humbuz Tepe, see Livshits and Mambetulaev 1986).

2 Islamic sources in Arabo-Persian script:

(a) quotations in books of case-law, namely the Yatīmat ad-dahr (YD) (645 AH 1246–7 CE, publ. Zeki Velidi 1927), the Qumyat al-Munya and the derivative Risāla (together QR) of ca. 755 AH 1354 CE (MacKenzie 1990: 5, 'the Khwarezmian material in R. can be regarded as practically the most reliable that we have');

(b) the Khwarezmian glosses in a copy of al-Zamaxšari’s thematic Arabic dictionary Muqaddīmat al-Adab (Zeki Velidi Togan 1951, Benzing 1968, MacKenzie 1970–72; the text is quoted as Muq., or simply by page and line references to the manuscript).

The sources date from the pre-Sasanian period (some of those in Khwarezmian script) to the Islamic period when, sometime after the fourteenth century CE, the language died out. The paucity of the pre-Islamic sources makes it difficult to form a picture of the language in these texts, though the older Khwarezmian script was apparently still in use in the eleventh century (Henning 1958: 58). Our main sources for Khwarezmian are those of the Islamic period (including older forms recorded by the polymath al-Bīrūnī (362–
440 AH 973–1048 CE), a native speaker: (Henning 1958: 114–5). In the case of differences between the language of the pre-Islamic and the Islamic sources we can speak of Middle and Late Khwarezmian, but it should be remembered that Khwarezmian is attested neither in the Old nor the modern Iranian period. On the relative chronology of the language of the various sources, see Tolstov and Livshits 1964: 237–240.

There is no record of how long Khwarezmian survived our latest sources. The invasions of the Mongols (1220 CE) and Timur (1388 CE) devastated the area, the prosperity of which depended heavily on the maintenance of extensive and sensitive irrigation systems. Khwarezmian was replaced by Turkic languages (the use of Turkish is mentioned in QR 123).

Azami–Windfuhr (1972: 15–17, 36) suggested that Sangesari, while a member of the dialect groups circling the town of Semnan east of Tehran, includes a distinct subset of phonological, grammatical, and lexical features which it shares with an Eastern Iranian continuum that included Khwarezmian. (These include: *θr > ẓ in ẓə ‘three’ and other items, Khwar. ẓy); the object marker -da < dar, Khwar. ẓaṛa, the potential construction
with auxiliary bo-ker-, Khwar. (k-); lexical items such as šaš- 'dilapidate, scatter', Khwar. (ššy-) 'strew'; šašāx 'knucklebone, dice', Khwar. ('škk) 'hoof' (little shoe); šokēyān 'woman' (besides šan), Khwar. ('šc(y)k) 'female'; cf. also G. Windfuhr 1975.)

The limited extent of the material means that we have an incomplete picture of the language. For the following description the sources of the Islamic period are used. Khwarezmian appears to be of mixed origin, since it often exhibits more than one development of Old Iranian consonants (Henning 1958: 109–110); compare the different forms, with (š), (hr), and (cy) for *0r; from the family '3, 13, 30' (see section 3.1.6, Numerals).

1.2 Writing systems

As mentioned above the bulk of the Khwarezmian material is written in the Arabo-Persian script. The proper reading of numerous passages is complicated by the fact that the crucial diacritic dots, that serve to distinguish letters in the Arabo-Persian script are often neglected. In the case of isolated words, the correct reading is difficult to establish. In turn, there are also cases of mispointing, e.g. (n) for (y) in (mrnymnd) for m-aryend-edə (m-rýnd-yd) 'called'; underpointing (b) for (p) in (şb) for asp ('sp) 'horse' and rarely overpointing, e.g. (p) for <b> in (p'dr) for ba-tider; (b'dr) 'without fire'.

New letters are: (1) (β) based on (f) with three dots (as in Early New Persian); (2) the pair (c, j) [ts, dz] based on h with 3 dots above (as in Pashto), e.g. ('wrty-) < OIr. *ā-wantaya- and (bnycy-, *bnjy-) 'to tie' < OIr. *bantaya- (MacKenzie 1970, Glossary I: 543).

As mentioned below, among special uses of diacritics is that of the shadda, for gemination and stress.

In the earlier script Aramaic ideograms are used, e.g. ŠNT for sarə- (srə) 'year'.

1.3 A note on transcription

The incomplete nature of the sources, the defective orthography used therein, the functional (and facultative) nature of the vowel marking in the Arabo-Persian script and uncertainty about whether unaccented syllables were reduced or lost means that we do not have enough information to transcribe Khwarezmian consistently and reliably. Providing even a tentative transcription risks falsifying the facts of the language. Therefore the basis for the following description must be the transliteration. Very often the transcription can do no more than indicate what could be expected (i.e. as an exercise in etymology or in formal analysis), which may not at all be what actually existed. Sometimes a transcription is avoided entirely. When it is offered it is always tentative, and is occasionally marked with an asterisk as being speculative, particularly to indicate problems of legibility or pointing and, in tables, to indicate reconstruction on the basis of documented forms. Old Iranian forms and likely earlier forms are marked here as 'OIr.' and 'earlier', respectively, with asterisk.
2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory and distribution

2.1.1 Vowels and diphthongs

2.1.1.1 Vowels

The vowels of Khwarezmian are defectively marked in both scripts. In the Arabo-Persian script, they may be indicated according to the traditional conventions: (1) both long and short vowels by the consonantal letters 'y, w; (2) short vowels by the three superscript diacritics $C^a$, $C^o$, $C^u$ (supplemented by $C^o$ for absence of vowel). Only before enclitics are short vowels more regularly written in order to distinguish inflectional endings:

\[ \begin{array}{lllll}
i & \ldots & xîd-mi & zâdèk \\
(\'y \ldots x^w\text{wb-m} z^d\text{k}) & 'my beautiful child (masc.)' & QR 122; \\
yâ & xîb-a-mi & dîyô & a \\
(y^x^w\text{b}^s-mi \delta^o'y^d-\text{)} & 'my beautiful daughter' (fem.) & QR 120.
\end{array} \]

Occurrences of $C^a$ or $C^o$ in place of an expected $a$ seem to indicate conditioned variants that may be indicated in the transcription by $e$, $o$ respectively. However, this compromise is not extensively relied upon here.

Any attempt at establishing the phonetically distinct vowels based on such a narrow range of representational signs must therefore remain hypothetical, mostly based on parallels in related languages and sometimes on etymological considerations. With these caveats, it is possible to posit eight phonemic vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 6.1: VOWELS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\tilde{i}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- $a$ - $a\tilde{f}d$ ('bd) 'seven'; $a\tilde{d}w$ ('dw) 'two'; $\delta\tilde{a}$st- (öst) 'hand';
- $\tilde{a}$ - $\tilde{a}\tilde{s}$- (s-) 'to take'; $n\tilde{a}\tilde{m}$ek- (n'm'k) 'name';
- $i$ - $i\tilde{y}$-'(y) 'go'; $p\tilde{c}$a (pc) 'father';
- $\tilde{i}$ - $\tilde{b}$îcèk- (bîck) 'seen'; $n\tilde{b}$- (ny'k) 'become';
- $\tilde{e}$ - $\tilde{e}\tilde{w}$- ('yw) 'one'; $m\tilde{e}\tilde{b}$- (my'k) 'day';
- $u$ - $\delta\tilde{u}$m- (δwm) 'tail'; $u\tilde{c}$- (c, 'we) 'place';
- $\tilde{u}$ - $\tilde{b}\tilde{u}$m- (bwm) 'earth'; $\tilde{b}\tilde{r}\tilde{u}$c- (bërwe) 'brows';
- $\tilde{o}$ - $\tilde{b}\tilde{o}$d- (bòd) 'scent'; $\gamma\tilde{d}$x- (γwx) 'ear'.

For simplicity the non-etymological prothetic vowel in e.g. (\'ps) 'sheep' may be represented by $a$, $\ast aps$- though a reduced vowel such as shewa or even a front vowel $i$ or $e$, since it seems that initial (\') can express any short vowel, might be more accurate.

2.1.1.2 Semivowels and diphthongs

- $w$: $w\tilde{a}r$- (w'r) 'rain'; $y\tilde{a}w$ar- (y'wr) 'time'; $y\tilde{r}i\tilde{w}$- (yryw) 'self';
- $y$: $y\tilde{m}$a(?)(y'f') 'I am'; $a\tilde{y}âc-a$ (y'e) 'come!'; $c\tilde{a}\tilde{s}$y- (cswy) 'tasû (weight)'.

2.1.1.3 Nasalization

It is likely that there was strong conditioned nasalization. This is indicated by the orthographical variation (n ~ y); e.g. "bendk ~ bydk), probably <bèdek- 'servant', (pnd'k ~ pyd'k) < pèdäk- 'way', (rnj ~ ryj) < rèf'- 'toil' (differently Henning 1958: 117), and the sporadic loss of final -n, that is indicated by variants such as (ðyn) and (ðy), probably < ðè 'woman'.

2.1.2 Consonants

The inherited set of phonemic consonants appears to be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 6.2: CONSONANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibilant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Arabo-Persian script, the letters (s̈, ẗ, z̈, ḧ, '), as well as postvelar (q̈) which are retained in Arabic loanwords, most likely do not represent a pharyngealized loan component in the inventory.

n may have had palatal and velar conditioned variants: wägg- (w'nk) 'call', and possibly palatals, e.g. ańc- ('nc-') 'fear'.

h is often lost between vowels, e.g. häbér-né-di < häber-na-hi-di (h'ăr-n-y-d') 'I gave it to you'; yô-fârak- (yw-Wrk) 'earring', from yôx- (ywx) 'ear' (Humbach 1989: 195).

Examples (not minimal pairs) are:

par- (pr) 'on', basak-(?) (bzk) 'bad';
fi(f)cîr- (fcwr) 'uncle', β(â)rak- (ârk) 'fruit';
tan- (tn) 'body', drôd- (drwô) 'praise';
ðað- (ðyd) 'hard', ðað- (ðst) 'hand';
sarð- (srô) 'year', zîw- (zyw-) 'to live';
cayd- (cûd) 'entrance', bênjay- (bîncy- < bînjy-) 'to tie';
cîyr- (cîyr) 'sharp', ñuft- (jîft) 'spouse';
(çîî) 'lip', ñad (ñd) 'resin';
karc- (krc) 'knife', garak- (grk usually written krk!) 'flock, herd';
xoð- (xô-) 'to sting', yas- (yś) 'tooth', hîbîr- (hîr-) 'to give';
rað- (ršt) 'true', lêy- (lîy) 'tripping';
magas- (mks) 'fly', nân- (n'n) 'this'.


Geminates constitute an integral part of the inventory, and are usually marked by shadda (indicated here by an over-bar), e.g. ḏūmmen- (ḏfnn) ‘enemy’. But shadda seems also to be a device to mark stress, see section 2.2.1. While many historical consonant groups were assimilated or reduced (e.g. comm-a (cm) ‘eye’ < OIr. *c ámbān-, ap an-a (‘pn) ‘co-wife’ < OIr. *h apānān-), others have survived, albeit modified, such as initial ḏβ, e.g. ḏβer- (ḏb’r) ‘door’ (<OIr. *dwarṭi-) and sp and ḍk, e.g. spēdek- (spy’dk) ‘white’, ḍkēś- (ḥkṣ) ‘lie’ (<Avestan *ṭkāśa-), and postvocalic ḏβ, ḏl, e.g. in ḏbō (’bd) ‘seven’ and ḏrīd- (ḏy’d) ‘daughter’. More stable consonant groups are seen in frād- (b’rd) ‘brother’, ṣrīw- (y’rw) ‘self’, xubisk- (xbṣk) ‘own’, wasn- (wsn) ‘because of’, ašt (ʾst) ‘eight’, mizy (mzy) ‘brain’, and namaāk- (nmk) ‘salt’. Prosthesis has occurred at different stages of the language, leading to such forms as aḥ- (ḥ- < b(a)w- ‘be’, and ak- (k- < k(u)n- ‘do, make’.

2.2 Non-segmental features

2.2.1 Stress and unstable vowels

2.2.1.1 Unstable vowels

The incidence of consonant groups, and thus the retention or loss of the short vowels i, u, a, seems to depend on their position in the word. MacKenzie (1990: 94) sees ‘a general reduction of unstressed short vowels, producing consonant groups in internal but not word-initial position’, contrasting sukund- (sʾk’nd) ‘oath’ QR 113 with *dʾ-skund- (d’s-knd) ‘then an oath’ QR 251 < da sukund.

2.2.1.2 Position and marking of stress

Stress on the preceding vowel appears to be often, but irregularly, marked by the shadda though the system is not entirely clear (MacKenzie 1989: 270ff.). Most examples point to pre-final stress. (Stress is indicated here by an underlined vowel). When a suffix is added the stress shifts to the right, with apparent non-phonemic lengthening of the vowel: ap an-a (‘pn) ‘co-wife’ > *pen-ā- mi (pn’m) fem. ‘my co-wife’ (QR 105; Henning 1956: 423).

2.2.1.3 Unstressed lengthening

However, a similar but perhaps unstressed lengthening is to be seen when the definite article ī is written together with a word with initial short vowel, without discernable difference; e.g. ī + a is written (y’) in *y-ābar-ēw- (y’brw) ‘the other’ < ī aba r-ēw- QR 373, similar to ī + ā in y-āyat- (y’yt) ‘the beginning’ Muq. 61.2 < ī āyāt. The latter word is clearly distinct in writing from yāt- ā (y’yt) ‘the running!’ 349.8. (In the foregoing a dot has been introduced in the analysis to separate items written together in the original.)

2.2.1.4 Pre-pausal position

Of particular interest is the indication of the vowel (y), presumably stressed (even anaptyctic), before the last consonant of a word in pause, or at the end of a sentence. (This pausal (y) is hereafter written superscript (ʾ). Compare, e.g. *zādek (zʾdk) ‘son’, in

2.3 Morphophonemic change

In addition to the variation discussed above, Khwarezmian, like other Iranian languages, has inherited a complex morphophonology, which is discussed together with morphology.

3 MORPHOLOGY

Khwarezmian is inflectional. With the noun, extensive use is made of prepositional and postpositional phrases, together with the weakly differentiated flexional endings. In the verb use is made both of inflectional endings and of suffixes added to the endings to distinguish further categories.

3.1 Nominal Morphology

3.1.1 Categories

3.1.1.1 Gender, number, and case

There are two genders, masculine and feminine, and two numbers, with traces of the dual in the number ‘two’ and in paired parts of the body, and a numerative. The basic distinctions between the two genders and the three numbers are most evident in the demonstrative pronouns presented below.

Gender, number, and case are marked by inflectional endings. But there is no inflectional distinction of gender in the plural, and no distinction between the nominative and accusative in either the singular or plural (but see section 3.1.4.1 postpositions). The plural has a basic and an extended form.

Even though the writing system is deficient, the inflectional system is well known and predictable. In addition, there are further clues:

1 frequent, but irregular diacritic vocalization by " (‘), ’ (–y), before enclitics, mainly personal suffixes;
2 palatalization, prominently of final -k (< OIr. *-aka-) in adjectives and in perfect participles in (-dk, -tk), which reflects the OIr. feminine ending -i and plural ending -ayıb > -ê > i. Thus masc. (-k), fem. (-c), and masc. (-d’k), fem. (-c): OIr. *barzaka > masc. fiạek- (fižk), fem., pl. (fižc) ‘long’; OIr. *mrtaka > masc. maked (m’dk), fem. ‘mê’ ‘dead’; masc. (*pr’dk), fem. parâc-a (pr’c) ‘divorced’.

Similarly, -t, -d, -nd are occasionally palatalized: fem. yâ dast- ‘the hand’ > f-á dasc-ya (f.’øsc-y) ‘with the hand’ 490.3, pl. ñdasc-ina (y øsc-n) ‘the hands’ 387.3; kâyyad- ‘paper’ > e-á kâyyac-ya (c. ’ k’cy-y) ‘from the paper’ 9.4; (y’ . . . kwnd) ‘the finger’ 374.3 > pl. (y ’kwnc-n) 402.4.

3.1.1.2 Animate terms

Animate terms, even though generally not overtly marked, are known to be feminine when referring to the female, or to the species as a collective (cf. MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 30b), e.g. *aps* ('ps') 'sheep' is contextually masculine or feminine, collective; besides this a fem. *ameh-a* ('mh') 'ewe' exists. Gender is also lexically marked, e.g. (nrk) 'male' in (nrk h'kš) 'he-goat' Muq. 51.7–8.

3.1.1.3 Dual and numerative

A dual form, identical with the feminine singular, also occurs with '3' and '4', and so can be regarded effectively as a numerative (Sims-Williams 1979: 339–40). Due to its use for paired body parts, some of the masculine terms such as *(f)* oast *(f)* pao 'hand' and *(f)* pao 'foot' have developed alternates that inflect as feminines, thus ya oast-a, ya pao-a.

3.1.1.4 Definiteness and indefiniteness

3.1.1.4a Definite article

Khwarezmian has a definite article, which patently originates in OIr. relative pronouns: masc. *i*= (y), fem. *y*= (y'), dual *ya*= (y'), plural masc., fem. *i*= (y). These are written together with prepositions, e.g. *(f)* i= (f) probably indicating contractions *f-i*, *f-a < f-a* i, fa yâ, and combine with a following vowel, both the fem. and masc. becoming *(y-)*, e.g. *ya* (a)*sm-a* *(y-sm)* = 'the sky' QR 297, masc. *i= yyat* *(y-yt)* = 'the beginning' Muq. 61.2.

The article can accompany names, e.g. *i* zayd *(y-zyd)* 'Zayd' 516.1; *c-i alläh-ân* *(cy 'llh'n)* 'Allah's' 103.5. Note also the article with dependent tonic personal and definite demonstrative pronouns after prepositions (MacKenzie, Glossary II, 1971: 88): *par-i hašši* *(pry hšy)* 'to you' QR 85, *peš-i nän-a* *(psy n'n)* 'to that one' 238.1. (cf. *par-a bâm-a* *(pr' bwnm)* 'to the ground' 215.7).

3.1.1.4b Indefiniteness

Indefiniteness may be marked by *êw-* *(yw)* 'one'. Non-specific indefiniteness in both singular and plural is indicated by the absence of the articles and possessives.

3.1.1.5 Nouns and inflectional classes

The cases (nominative-accusative, genitive, possessive, ablative, locative) are partly distinguished by inflection alone and partly in combination with pre- or postpositions. Thus, the dative and the definite direct object are marked by the genitive or possessive + dâra.

The essentials of the following paradigms were established by Henning (1955: 46 n.1).

### Table 6.3: Nominal Inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
<th>-k Stems</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>-k Stems</th>
<th>extended</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM-ACC</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>-ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-ca</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>-ân</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-ca</td>
<td>-ân</td>
<td>-k-ân</td>
<td>-in-ân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-ca</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>-ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ci</td>
<td>-ina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Generally the consonants and the long vowels are written. Short vowels are occasionally written before suffixes or postpositions (e.g. ββμ-ya ḍāra (ββm-y'- ḍ'r) but final short vowels are unwritten except, sporadically, in the vocalized material.

### 3.1.2 Adjectives and comparison

Adjectives as a word class are generally unmarked, e.g. ڤb (xwb) 'good', but there are typical derivational formants, such as (-ynk, '-n(')k, -myn(')k), and the prefixes (θ-) with' and privative (mnd-) (see section 6 Lexis).

The comparative is formed with the suffix -dar (-dr), e.g. bazag-dar (bzk-dr) 'worse'; with the preposition ci-(c-) 'than', e.g.

\[ \text{nē(n)} \quad \text{bazag-dar ci nān-a (ny bzk-dr c.n'ū)} \]

'this one (is) worse than that one' 280.6.

A superlative suffix is not attested.

### 3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

#### 3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are as listed by MacKenzie (1993: 136). In the following table, a hyphen indicates pre- or suffixation. The sign 'ς' in the left column indicates that the form of the pronoun precedes this, e.g. (m'r) occurs with the postposition (ςr): mār ḍāra (m'r ςr). The pronoun of the 3s is not varied for gender.

The object suffixes are directly attached to the finite verb forms; e.g. δāmb-eda-ma (δnbyd'.m) 'he hit me', etc. (δnby-) 'hit'; (cf. Henning 1958: 117 n.4; Samadi 1986: 66).

#### 3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

These distinguish between near and far deixis, and a topical, deictically neutral pronoun 'such a one, the one' (Muq. 65.4–8, 66.1–7). All inflect for gender, number, and case. The feminine of the latter is notably distinct from the masculine in both singular and plural. A rarer near-deictic is nyš.

#### 3.1.3.3 Interrogative and relative pronouns

The variants with (') contain the interrogative particle also used in questions, but the distribution of interrogatives with (') and relatives without seems to be disturbed.

#### 3.1.3.4 Reflexive and reciprocal pronominals

Reflexive: *x(u)dāk- (x'dk) 'self, same; he/she'; γrīw- (γryw) 'soul, self, he/she'; adjective: xubisk- (xbsk) 'own'; reciprocal: *any ('ny) 'other', (nywny) 'each other'.

### 3.1.4 Adpositions

#### 3.1.4.1 Pre- and postpositions

According to the cases employed with them, the adpositions fall into several sets. The postpositions occur prominently with clitic pronouns, for which see Table 6.4 Pronouns.
### Table 6.4: Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>Indef.</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nàz</td>
<td>autak</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>mabî</td>
<td>habî</td>
<td>*êbî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suff.</td>
<td></td>
<td>tak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-D, POSS</td>
<td>mî</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>hi</td>
<td>mn(a)</td>
<td>*fn(a)</td>
<td>hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suff.</td>
<td>-m(i)</td>
<td>-d(i)</td>
<td>-h(i)</td>
<td>-men</td>
<td>-fen</td>
<td>-hin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja, par, ci + paś</td>
<td>mîka</td>
<td>*-šîlî-ca</td>
<td>*mañy-ăn</td>
<td>*mañy-ăn</td>
<td>*hañy-â-ñ</td>
<td>*ëñy-â-ñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ ñàra</td>
<td>ma-ra-ca</td>
<td>tewa-ra-ca</td>
<td>mañy-â-ñ</td>
<td>mañy-â-ñ</td>
<td>*ñay-â-ñ</td>
<td>*ñy-â-ñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ma-ca(1)</td>
<td>tewa-ca(1)</td>
<td>mañy-ci</td>
<td>mañy-ci</td>
<td>*ñay-ci</td>
<td>*ñy-ci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>falbâ</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>-m(a)</td>
<td>-fn(a)</td>
<td>-h(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suff.</td>
<td>-m(a)</td>
<td>-fn(1)</td>
<td>-h(1)</td>
<td>-fn(1)</td>
<td>-h(1)</td>
<td>-fn(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ bir, beš</td>
<td>ma-far(-)</td>
<td>(h)î-ci</td>
<td>-m(1)</td>
<td>-fn(1)</td>
<td>-h(1)</td>
<td>-fn(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ ci, ña</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>Indef.</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(t,w)(k)</td>
<td>(c,y)</td>
<td>(m, m)</td>
<td>(h, y)</td>
<td>(*y, y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-D, POSS</td>
<td>(m,y)</td>
<td>(d,y)</td>
<td>(h,y)</td>
<td>(m, m)</td>
<td>(h, y)</td>
<td>(*y, y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suff.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja, par, ci + paś</td>
<td>(m,k)</td>
<td>(y)(k)</td>
<td>(y)(k)</td>
<td>(y)(k)</td>
<td>(y)(k)</td>
<td>(y)(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ ñàra</td>
<td>(m,c)</td>
<td>(t,w)(c)</td>
<td>(m,y)c</td>
<td>(m,y)c</td>
<td>(y)(k)</td>
<td>(y)(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>(m,c(1))</td>
<td>(t,w)(c)</td>
<td>(m,y)c</td>
<td>(m,y)c</td>
<td>(y)(k)</td>
<td>(y)(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>(m)</td>
<td>(y,m)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suff.</td>
<td>(m,c)</td>
<td>(y,m)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ bir, beš</td>
<td>(m,c)</td>
<td>(y,m)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ ci, ña</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6.5: Demonstrative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Near</th>
<th>Far</th>
<th>Topical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>nê(n)</td>
<td>nêna</td>
<td>nêwer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>nôw-a</td>
<td>nôw-a</td>
<td>nôwer-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>nôw-i</td>
<td>nôw-i</td>
<td>nôwer-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>(ny,n)</td>
<td>(ny,n)</td>
<td>(n, w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>(n,w)</td>
<td>(n,w)</td>
<td>(ny, y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>(n,w)</td>
<td>(n,w)</td>
<td>(n, w)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6.6: Interrogative and Relative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-ki</td>
<td>(?)ky</td>
<td>'who?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-ci</td>
<td>(?)cy</td>
<td>'what?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-kdîm-</td>
<td>(?)kd'm</td>
<td>'which?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Prepositional ُثا (ُث) 'with' tentatively included here is actually attested only in compounds (see section 6.1, Word formation). The postposition -ُظرا, which expresses both dative and definite direct object, takes the genitive in the singular, but the possessive -ُان in the plural.

### TABLE 6.7: ADPOSITIONS AND CASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prepositions</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Postpositions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>par</td>
<td>(pr)</td>
<td>‘on, for’</td>
<td>-بَر-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>پیش</td>
<td>(پش)</td>
<td>‘beside’</td>
<td>-بیش-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>وان</td>
<td>(wsn)</td>
<td>‘because of’</td>
<td>-دت</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa</td>
<td>(ف)</td>
<td>‘at, for, by’</td>
<td>pac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ُثا</td>
<td>(ُث)</td>
<td>‘with’</td>
<td>-تا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ُک</td>
<td>(ک)</td>
<td>‘from, than’</td>
<td>-ک</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive genitive</th>
<th>Genitive/possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>پا</td>
<td>-ُظرا (ُر)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.1.4.2 Circumpositions

There are numerous combinations with prepositions and nominal quasi-postpositions, such as:

- *ci - sâr (c. - s't) ‘for’ (sâr ‘towards’);
- *fa - anbec (f. - 'nbc) ‘(together) with, with (regard to)’ (anbec ‘together’);
- *fa - parama (f. - prm) ‘until’ (parama).

Examples: [c(i)] _ی زرنی fâs] (c.y zrny s't) ‘for the gold’ QR 389; [f(a)] _ی *کدک-ا [anbec] (fy xd'k 'nbc) ‘with him’ QR 368; [f(a)] *بدنک-ا [parama] (f.'ybnk prm) ‘until Friday’ QR 174. Syntactically, such adverbial noun phrases are in the ablative or locative.

### 3.1.4.3 Nominal inflection and adpositions

The following examples demonstrate the nominal inflection, including some of the uses of prepositions and pronominal suffixes. Square brackets mark case endings.

#### 3.1.4.3a Masculine singular

| NOM: | ی اسپ[a] (ُث) ‘the horse’ 107.2; |
| ACC: | ی خین[a] (ُث خین) ‘the thing’ 82.2; |
| GEN: | ی مادان-یا-هی کام[a] (ُث مادان-یا-هی کام) ‘from (the inside of)’ his mouth’ 103.6; |
| POSS: | ی اسپ[a] (ُث) ‘of the horse’ 38.5; |
| ABL: | ی کام[a]-هی (ُث کام[a]-هی) ‘from his mouth’ 481.5; ی حاق[a]-هی (ُث حاق[a]-هی) ‘for his right’ 212.5; |
| LOC: | ی اسپ[a] (ُث) ‘on the horse’ 343.7; ی کام[a]-هی (ُث کام[a]-هی) ‘into his mouth’ 351.5; |
| DAT: | ی بَدش-هی [ðارا] (ُث بَدش-هی ُد) ‘to his command’ 498.8; |
| Def. Obj. | ی اسپ [ðارا] (ُث ُد) ‘the sheep’ 305.8. |
3.1.4.3b Masculine dual/numerative (= feminine), with numbers 2–4

**NOM:**
- \( yā-(a) ḏw-[a] \) xsn-a (y'ā lw xs'n) ‘the two things’ 483.7;
- \( yā aʃfər-(a) \) ṭpō-a spēdec-[a] (y' cf'r pō sp'y(c) ‘the four legs white’ 38.1;

**LOC:**
- f-ā ḕē ṭpō-[a] (f.' šy pō) ‘on three legs’ 220.1.

3.1.4.3c Masculine plural

**NOM:**
- \( î *(u)š-[i] \) (y 's) ‘the camels’ 130.6;
- \( î sanc-[i]-hi \) (y'snc-y.h) ‘its stones’ (*sang (snk)); 36.3;
- \( î ṭpō-[i]na] \) (y pō-n) ‘the legs’ 387.3;

**ACC:**
- \( î *(u)š-[i] \) (y 's) ‘the camels’ 302.4;
- \( î hō-[i] \) (h-) ‘sighs’ QR 312;

**POSS:**
- \( pāš-i pš-[i]-ni \) (pšy ps-n-n) ‘after the sheep’ 103.8 (MacKenzie, Glossary 1, 1970: 547);

**ABL:**
- \( c-i xsn-[i]-m\) (c'.y xsn-y.m) ‘from my things’ QR 253;
- \( f-i bāncdec-[i]-hi \) (f'.y bānc-y.h) ‘with his servants (bāndk)’ 330.2;

**DAT:**
- \( i wō-[i]m\) (y w'd-).r ‘to the winds’ QR 167;

**Def. Obj.**
- \( i jumleg-[i]-n\) (y jwmk-'n,r) ‘the totality, all’ 62.5.

3.1.4.3d Feminine singular

**NOM:**
- \( yā aps-[a] \) (y 'ps) ‘the ewe’ 326.1;
- \( yā camm-[a]-hi \) (y' cm'-h) ‘his eye’ 110.2;

**ACC:**
- \( yā as[m]-a \) (y 'sm) ‘the sky’ 359.1;
- \( yā badw-[a]-hi \) (y' bwd'-h) ‘his property’ 298.3;

**POSS:**
- \( yā *(u)š-[ya] \) (y's-y) ‘of the camel’, \( yā γoc-[a] \) (y' γuc) (palatised) ‘of the cow (γðk (γwk))’, \( yā (a)ps-[ya] \) (y's-y) ‘of the ewe’ 51.2;

**ABL:**
- \( f-ā camm-[ya] \) (f.' cm-y) ‘with the eye’ 88.7;
- \( c-ā bām-[ya] \) (c.' bām-y) ‘from the earth’ 96.4;
- \( c-ā pōp-[ya]-hi \) (c.' pōp-y'.h) ‘from his foot’ 223.4;

**LOC:**
- \( par-ā *pšk-[a]-hi \) (pr.' pšk'-h) ‘on its back’ 48.1;

**DAT:**
- \( yā *(a)re-[a]-dāra \) (y' re-).r ‘for work (r'k)’ (palatised) 399.5;

**Def. Obj.**
- \( yā bām-[ya]-dāra \) (y' bām-y-).r ‘the earth’ 164.1.

3.1.4.3e Feminine plural

**NOM:**
- \( î camm-[a]-hi \) (y cmn'-h) ‘his eyes’ 98.1, which retains an old dual (OIr. časman-‘h); – pl. tantum: \( î hān-[f]\) (y hwn-y) ‘blood’ 117.3;

**ACC:**
- \( î šwvec-[i] \) (y šw'c) ‘the nails (šwk)’ 112.8;
- \( î γox-[i]na] \) (y γwx-n) ‘the ears’ 203.3;

**GEN:**
- \( f-ā mām-[ya] pālak-[i-na] \) (f.' mān pāl-k-n) ‘in the midst of the houses’ 219.6;

**POSS:**
- \( î sman-[i]n \) (y smn'-n) ‘of the heavens and the earths’ 354.8 (MacKenzie, Glossary III, 1971: 316);

**ABL:**
- \( c-i pālak-[i-na] \) (c.y pāl-k-n) ‘from the houses’ 238.2;

**LOC:**
- \( f-ī badw-[i-na] \) (f.y bwd-n) ‘in the properties’ 484.8.

**Def. Obj.**
- \( î bām-[f]-dāra \) (y bām-y').r ‘the water’ 309.1 (MacKenzie, Glossary II: 1971, 85);

Several isolated examples appear to diverge from the paradigms which cannot be detailed here.
3.1.5 Adverbs and adverbial phrases

Some adverbs are simply lexical items without specific formant, e.g. (brsm) 'very', (m0) 'here'; so are adjectives used adverbially. However, there are denominal adverbs derived by (-wy*); e.g. (z'dk-'wy*) 'as a child' Qr 116 < (z'dk); (mr'yk-'wy) 'hypocritically' 430.8 < (mr'yk) 'hypocrisy'; (nmd-'wy) 'in honour' 481.8 < (nmd) (MacKenzie 1990: 98).

3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

Cardinal numbers (listed in Muq. 31.5–34.1, including very high combined numbers).

**TABLE 6.8: CARDINAL NUMBERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1–9</th>
<th>11–19</th>
<th>10–90</th>
<th>100–900</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>('yw) āw</td>
<td>('ywmd's)</td>
<td>(8's)</td>
<td>(s'd) sed</td>
<td>21 ('yw-dws'c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ç'd'w)</td>
<td>(5w's)</td>
<td>(ys'c)</td>
<td>(5wys'd)</td>
<td>1000 (hz'r) hnz'hr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(*hr'd's)</td>
<td>(8's)</td>
<td>(8zyd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cf'r)</td>
<td>(ewdr's)</td>
<td>(cf'r's)</td>
<td>(cf'rzd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pnc)</td>
<td>(pns)</td>
<td>(pnc's)</td>
<td>(pnsd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>(x'r'd's)</td>
<td>(x'c) uxxic</td>
<td>(x'zd) uxxuzda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8d)</td>
<td>(8'dd's)</td>
<td>(8'dc)</td>
<td>(8'ddz)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3t)</td>
<td>(3td's)</td>
<td>(3'tc)</td>
<td>(3'tsd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s'd) *šd</td>
<td>(nw'd's)</td>
<td>(nwyc)</td>
<td>(nwsd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinals, except for 'first', are marked by (-'m): (ftm-yec'k) '1st', (δβc-'m) '2nd', sëyem (sym, sým) '3rd', (cf'r-'m) '4th, quarter', (pnc-'m) '5th, a fifth', (xt-'m) [sic] '6th, a sixth', (7bd-'m) '7th', (st-'m) '8th', (s'd-'m) '9th', (δs-'m) '10th'.

3.1.6.3 Fractions

Fractions are usually identical with the ordinals as listed (e.g. fifth/a fifth), but note ('rc-y'dk) 'a third (part)'.

3.1.6.4 Distributives

Distributives are plural forms, always with (-c), e.g. ('δw-c) '(by) twos' (1–10 listed Muq. 34.8–35.1).

3.1.6.5 Multiplicatives

Multiplicatives are formed with (-δβ'y) 'fold', e.g. (δb'y-) 'two-, three-, fourfold' 47.4, 61.8. Note also (s'ywr) (almost always (s'ywr) 'three times (y'wr) and (s'yk) 'triple (divorce)' (or perhaps 'triad').
3.2 Verb morphology

Verbs are inflected for tense, mood, and aspect. In addition there are periphrastic constructions, and modifying particles. Like other Iranian languages, Khwarezmian shows complex morpho-phonemic alternation, in the main reflecting Old Iranian distinctions of stem formation. The present stem (which includes the imperfect) is inflected as a verb, the past stem is a nominal formation.

3.2.1 Stem formation

3.2.1.1 Present and imperfect stems

There are two inflected stems, present and imperfect, the latter distinguished (as in Sogdian) by some form of the 'augment' (see section 3.2.5.1a Imperfect). In the limited sources available most verbs are only attested in the imperfect.

The present stems form three classes. The difference is most obvious in the 3s forms of the imperfect.

(1) stems in consonants, 3s -eda (-d) (< OIr. *-a-ta):

\( ('k-) 'do' \rightarrow m-ak-eda (m-k-\text{-}d) \) ‘did’;
\( (\beta x-) 'give' \rightarrow bax-eda (\beta x-\text{-}d) \) ‘gave’.

This -d is devoiced by contraction after many stems in -s, -s, and even -rd, -nd (-dd > -t), e.g. (m-\text{-}s-) 'arrive', (m-\text{-}n-\text{-}s-\text{-}t-\text{-}d, m-\text{-}n-\text{-}s-t). The frequently attested, but unique (ws) ‘he said’ is probably an allegro form of was-ta.

(2) stems in \( ^{\text{y}} \)-, 3s -(a)y-eda (-y'd) (< OIr. *-\( ^{\text{a}} \)y-ta):

\( (*\text{c}y-) 'be\text{(come)}\text{ thirsty}' \rightarrow m-acy-eda (m-\text{c}y-\text{-}d) \) ‘became thirsty’;
\( (w'y-) '\text{rain} (\text{tr})' \rightarrow w\text{-}r-ay-eda (w'y-\text{-}d) \) ‘it rained’.

(3) irregular stems in -\( ^{\text{a}} \)-, -\( ^{\text{ah}} \), and the root i- 'go' with preverb, 3s -ay-ta (-yt):

\( (\text{sm'h}-) '\text{command}' \rightarrow shamay-ta (\text{s'm}y-t) \) ‘he commanded’ (< OIr. *fra-m\text{-}a-);
\( (\text{cy}-) '\text{enter}' \rightarrow c\text{\text{-}y-ta} (\text{c'y-t}) \) ‘he entered’ (< OIr. *ati-ay-).

These verbs also have an exceptional 3rd pl. in -la, e.g. c\text{-}y-la (c'yl) ‘they entered’ (cf. regular -\text{-}la). The same opposition -t : -l is also found in the present of the substantive verb y- ‘be’, which presents several unique forms (see Table 6.13).

3.2.1.2 Intransitive stem classes and derived causatives

The following stem pairs exemplify the complex pattern of inherited and productive stem alternation, including the pervasive opposition between intransitive and passive vs. transitive and causative (cf. MacKenzie, Glossary IV, 1972: 532–533). The marked intransitives reflect Old Iranian 'inchoatives' in -s-, and passives in -ya-. The marked transitives derive from old causatives in -aya-, with lengthening of the short root vowel, and, in turn, derive secondary causatives from the 'inchoatives'. This process is productive and applies even to loans. Denominative verbs may include loans, such as (bsmr-) 'slaughter < Ar. bismillah-; (tifsr-y-) 'comment' < Ar. tafsir 'commentary'; (čkyš-) 'tell lie' < Av. *\text{tkaeša}- 'false belief'.
### TABLE 6.9: STEM DERIVATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive &amp; Passive</th>
<th>Transitive &amp; Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(xwr-) 'eat'</td>
<td>(x'r-y-) 'make eat, feed';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nč-) 'be afraid'</td>
<td>(nč-m-y-) 'frighten';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rh-) 'get free'</td>
<td>(rh-n-y-) 'set free';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pcm'yz-) 'flow'</td>
<td>(pcm'yz-y-) 'make rain';</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**“Inchoatives”**

- (pcm'c-s-) 'get dressed' (pcm'c-) 'put on';
- (xf-) 'be grasped' (xf-) 'grasp';
- (')ny's-) 'reach' ('')ny's-y-) 'make reach';
- (yx-s-) 'be arranged' (ywz-y-) 'arrange';

**Passives**

- (zr-y-) 'be tormented' (zr-y-) 'torment';
- (bsy-) 'be bound' (bsy-y-) 'bind';
- (nbzy-) 'lie down' ('nb'z-y-) 'lay down';
- (hncy-) 'rest' (hncy-y-) 'make rest';

**Denominative stems**

- (knb-) 'become less' (knb'y-) 'make less'.

#### 3.2.1.3 Compound verbs


#### 3.2.1.4 Directional adpositional particles

Verbs may combine with directional-locational adpositions, which may appear before or after the verb as enclitics, usually in enclitic chains (see section 4.2.2.3). They include the following:

- **-ci (-cy)** 'there-from, out': ās- -ci(’s- -c) ‘take from, out’;
- **-da (-d)** 'out, away, forth': ak- da (’k-’d) ‘perform, say’;
- da was-ā (d’ ws) ‘he spoke out’;
- **-wa (-w) + fa NP ‘there-into’**: wa ak- (’w’ k) ‘put into’;
- wa cāy-ta f-i wāc (w’ c’yt (fy w’c)) ‘he entered into (the matter)’ 357.4;
- **-wa0a (-wθ) ‘there-inside’**: mānedā-wa0a (m’nyd(’wθ) ‘he lived therein’.
3.2.2 Nominal forms

The nominal forms of the verb can be divided into those based on the present stem and those based on the past stem.

3.2.2.1 Present stem

3.2.2.1a Present participles

The productive derivation is by (a) -nek (-n'k), e.g. (j'zp-n'k) 'shining', (y-nk) 'going'; or (b) -en(e)k (-yn'k), e.g. (nps-ynk) 'writing, writer', (y'sw-yn'k) 'going, goer (away)' < ((y)s'w-) 'go'. A few archaic present-participle-like forms ending in (-nd(k)) occur, such as ('w'sy-nd) 'hungry' (cf. ('w'sy-) 'be hung ry'), (zyw-ndYk) 'living'. Both these endings have fem. and pl. forms in (-nc).

3.2.2.1b Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns, or 'present infinitives' in -āk (-'k) are feminine; e.g. ābōzay-āk ('bwzy-'k) 'smelling' (see section 6.1 Word Formation).

3.2.2.2 Past stem

3.2.2.2a Normal past participles and 'past infinitives'

These participles and 'past infinitives' end in a dental, -d or -t (those in -st < *-tt or < *-śt), and usually originate in an OIr. zero grade stem. The infinitives function in the potential construction (see section 4.3.2.3a), the participles mostly in compounds, e.g. (pyr-) 'acquire'.

3.2.2.2b Perfect participles

Perfect participles are formally derived from the past participle, taking final -ek (-k): (-dk, -tk). They have regular pl. forms in -eici: -deci (-d'c), whereas assimilation in the feminine singular yields just (-c). They function in perfect tenses (see section 3.2.4.2), and as independent forms. Examples: akt-ek ('ktk) 'done' < ak- 'do'; edek ('ydk) 'gone' < ip- 'go'. Some participles have a nasal formant, (-nk), pl. (-nc) (MacKenzie, Glossary I, 1970: 552).

Several other derived forms are found, such as participial adjectives in -c-āk (-c'k) and feminine abstract nouns in -c-āk (-cyk) < *-ākā- (MacKenzie 1972, Glossary V: 1972: 69).

3.2.2.3 Morphophonology of tense stems

In overview, the various morphophonological patterns of the two pairs of stems may be exemplified as follows (for the marking of the imperfect, see discussion section 3.2.4.1a):
### TABLE 6.10: MORPHOPHONOLOGY OF TENSE STEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Stem</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Perf. part.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present Imperfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-</td>
<td>m-ak-</td>
<td>akt-</td>
<td>akt-ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('k-)</td>
<td>(m-k-)</td>
<td>('k-)t-</td>
<td>('k-)ktk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('s-)</td>
<td>(m'-s-)</td>
<td>('y-)t-</td>
<td>('y-)ytk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('y-)</td>
<td>(m-y-)</td>
<td>(y-)d-</td>
<td>(ydk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('kwnd-)</td>
<td>(m-kwnd-)</td>
<td>('kwnd-)d-</td>
<td>('kst)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lengthening</td>
<td>(yr-)</td>
<td>(yr-)</td>
<td>(*yrdk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(p'crm-)</td>
<td>(p'crm-)</td>
<td>(*p'crm'd)</td>
<td>(p'crm'dk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suppletive Stems</td>
<td>('s-)</td>
<td>(m'-s-)</td>
<td>('yt-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(wyn-)</td>
<td>(*ydc)</td>
<td>(*ydc)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.2.3 Person marking

The personal endings show tense and mood distinctions. Note that the 2p endings appear to be patterned on those of the 2s, that the subjunctive forms share -ii-, and that the impf.-inj. forms are marked by -a. (As indicated, in the writing system the use of vowel signs depends on whether the verb is in pause or not, so that before a suffix the final vowel of an ending may also be written plene.)

The basic inflected forms, to which modal and aspectual suffixes are added, are the following (see also Table 6.13 'be, become'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 6.11: PERSON MARKING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRS</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>-'m0</td>
<td>-'i</td>
<td>-'i</td>
<td>-'i</td>
<td>-'i</td>
<td>-'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>-'n</td>
<td>-'i</td>
<td>-'i</td>
<td>-'i</td>
<td>-'i</td>
<td>-'i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1p, 2p endings are attested only before the future marker kām (k'm); the OPT 3p -yr (-yr) occurs only once.

#### 3.2.4 System of tense, mood, and aspect

The system of tenses and moods comprises both those forms with flexional endings and those marked by the addition of a suffix to an inflected form, as well as periphrastic...
perfect forms. The former include the tenses present, imperfect and (rare) injunctive (in form, an 'unaugmented imperfect') and the moods indicative, subjunctive, imperative and (rare) optative. Suffixed formations include the future tense, the permansive aspect and the conditional mood.

3.2.4.1 Present and imperfect forms

The present stem is the base for the present indicative, the present subjunctive and imperative, and the imperfect. The subjunctive is distinguished by a separate set of endings, as are the imperfect and the injunctive.

3.2.5.1a Imperfect

The imperfect is marked also by an 'augment', the form of which depends on the syllabic structure of the stem. It is generally expressed as follows: either

(a) by substituting -ā- (-'-) for the first internal short vowel of a polysyllabic present stem (particularly but not only in a prefix), e.g.
   prefix, hi-fi- (h-βr-) > h-ā-fi-ed (h-’βr’-d) 'he/she gave',
   (b-stw-) > (b-’-stw’-d) 'he/she disavowed';
   polysyllabic, (bsmy:r) > (b-’-smyr-d) 'he/she slaughtered',
   which is also an example of both a denominative stems and an integrated loan (< Ar. bismillāh); or
(b) by prefixing (m-) to stems with an initial vowel, whether primary or secondary, e.g.
   ʾās ('s-) > m-ās-ed (m-’s’-d) 'he/she took',
   ʾak- ('k-) > m-ak-ed (m-k-d) 'he/she did'.

There are, however, many exceptions. Verbs which do not fit either of these categories, e.g. monosyllabic stems, or those with internal long vowels or diphthongs, mostly have identical present and imperfect stems. (For details, see MacKenzie 1975.)

3.2.4.1b Injunctive

The injunctive is essentially the immediate base for the imperfect, and lacks the 'augment', i.e. m- (m-) or lengthening:

ne-mi [ʾaš-ed] . . . (ny-m ʾβ-d)
not-me it becomes-INJ, i.e. 'is does not suit me' 314.8;

in subordinate clauses:

ʾśxt m-ʾaš-ed . . . k-a-hi [ak-ed] i nāmām wāc(ʾśxt m-ʾβ-d k-ʾ-h’yd y n h m w’c)
'close he was-INF that he-it do-INJ the certain thing' 516.4, i.e. 'he was close to doing . . .'.

3.2.4.2 Compound tenses, perfect forms

Perfect forms, both transitive and intransitive, are based on the perfect participle in (-tk/-dk) and the verb ʾdāray- (ʾd’r’y-) 'have' as auxiliary. The three forms that are attested happen to represent the present perfect indicative, the perfect subjunctive, and the remote perfect, or pluperfect (Samadi 1986: 296), indicated by the personal endings of ʾdāray-,

and include both transitive and intransitive verbs.
3.2.4.2a Present perfect
Transitive:

\[ \text{a-ci wašîyat} \ldots \text{[aktek ḏāray-ānī-naJ} ("c wšyt \ldots \text{ktk d'ry-'my-n})
\]
‘what testament \ldots \text{I have made’ QR 411;}

3.2.4.2b Perfect subjunctive
Transitive:

\[ \text{ka-hi nīkāh} \ldots \text{[aktek ḏāray-ān-iJ} (ḵn nk'y \text{ktk d'ry-'y'y}) (= d'ry-'ny?}
\]
‘if-(to)her marriage \text{I should have made’ QR 205;}

3.2.4.2c Remote perfect
Intransitive:

\[ \text{ud-hi-bēš(a) f-i isārat} \ldots \text{[édek ḏāray-eda-miJ} (‘wd hy.bš f.y \text{šrt ydk d'ry-d. ‘my})
\]
‘and-him-to \text{at a sign she had gone, *say’ QR 257, with problematic (-’my).}

3.2.4.3 Basic inflectional system

The basic inflectional system may be illustrated by forms of the verbs \text{ak-} (k-) ‘do’, \text{af-} (f-) ‘be(come)’, and the existential verb \text{y-} (y-) ‘be’ which is the most irregular, in particular its present. (For the vocalizations and stress patterns, cf. MacKenzie 1987: 570–575; note also that much more frequent for ‘become’, and quite regular, is the verb \text{parwuz-} (prwz-). Even for these best documented verbs some forms are missing in the texts. Thus, the example for the remote perfect is from the verb ‘go’, 3s \text{édek ḏāray-eda ‘ydk d'ry-d’} ‘had gone’ and \text{hōb-īr (hwbyr)} ‘may they fall’ for the optative.

**TABLE 6.12: BASIC INFLECTIONAL SYSTEM, ‘do, make’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) ‘do, make’</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRS ak-ānī</td>
<td>ik-i</td>
<td>ak-ica</td>
<td>ak-ānī</td>
<td>ak-ānī</td>
<td>ak-ānī</td>
<td>ak-ānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ ak-ā(n)</td>
<td>ak-īx</td>
<td>*ak-āc</td>
<td>*ak-ānī</td>
<td>*ak-ānī</td>
<td>*ak-ānī</td>
<td>*ak-ānī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF mi-k-īna</td>
<td>m-ik-īxa</td>
<td>m-ak-eda</td>
<td>m-ak-ānā</td>
<td>m-ak-ānā</td>
<td>m-ak-ānā</td>
<td>m-ak-ānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INJ ak-a</td>
<td>ak-ā</td>
<td>ak-eda</td>
<td>ak-eda</td>
<td>ak-eda</td>
<td>ak-eda</td>
<td>ak-eda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP ak-ā</td>
<td>ak-ā</td>
<td>ak-eda</td>
<td>ak-eda</td>
<td>ak-eda</td>
<td>ak-eda</td>
<td>ak-eda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT hōb-īr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Transliteration**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) ‘do, make’</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRS (*k'm)</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
<td>(*k'y, -k'y)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ (*k', -k')</td>
<td>(k'y, -k'y)</td>
<td>(*k'y, -k'y)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF (m'k'n, m'kn')</td>
<td>(m'k'n', m'kn')</td>
<td>(m'k'n', m'kn')</td>
<td>(m'k'n', m'kn')</td>
<td>(m'k'n', m'kn')</td>
<td>(m'k'n', m'kn')</td>
<td>(m'k'n', m'kn')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INJ (k')</td>
<td>(k')</td>
<td>(k')</td>
<td>(k')</td>
<td>(k')</td>
<td>(k')</td>
<td>(k')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP (k', -k')</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT (hwbyr)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 6.12: BASIC INFLECTIONAL SYSTEM, ‘do, make’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) ‘do, make’</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRF aktek ḏāray-ānī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF.SBJ aktek ḏāray-ā(n)i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REM édek ḏāray-eda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) ‘do, make’</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRS (*k'm)</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
<td>(*k'y, -k'y)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ (*k', -k')</td>
<td>(k'y, -k'y)</td>
<td>(*k'y, -k'y)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
<td>(*k'mn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF (m'k'n, m'kn')</td>
<td>(m'k'n', m'kn')</td>
<td>(m'k'n', m'kn')</td>
<td>(m'k'n', m'kn')</td>
<td>(m'k'n', m'kn')</td>
<td>(m'k'n', m'kn')</td>
<td>(m'k'n', m'kn')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INJ (k')</td>
<td>(k')</td>
<td>(k')</td>
<td>(k')</td>
<td>(k')</td>
<td>(k')</td>
<td>(k')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP (k', -k')</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
<td>(k', -k')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT (hwbyr)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 6.12: BASIC INFLECTIONAL SYSTEM, ‘do, make’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) ‘do, make’</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRF (ktk d'ry'my-n)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF.SBJ (ktk d'ry'y'y)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REM (*ydk d'ryd')</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 6.13: BASIC INFLectional System, ‘become, be’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is</td>
<td>2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>*aβ-āmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>β-ix, ha-β-ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>aβ-edā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INJ</td>
<td>aβ-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>aβ-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>Ip</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>(<em>'Wm) Cπ, ny.'π) (</em>'We) (*'p'mny) (*Wy) CWr)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>h'.πyx) h'· We)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>(mb'd)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INJ</td>
<td>(m'b'y)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>(*'π)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 6.14: BASIC INFLectional System, EXISTENTIAL VERB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>Ip</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>yi-n(a) yah-i ye-li? ya-li? yi-m(i)lli? *ya-fJi? yi-Ii</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>*yah-ix yah-ās</td>
<td>yah-ās</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>m-ey-na m-ey-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>yah-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>Ip</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>(y'v) (y'v')</td>
<td>(y'i)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>(*'y'h'yx) (y'h'c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>(m'y'n) (y'yh)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>(y'h')</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.4.4 Phasal and modal enclitic particles

#### 3.2.4.4a Permansive particle -ina, -i

The permansive is a modification of an inflected verb to signify duration and iterative action, added after the personal endings. It combines with both non-periphrastic and periphrastic forms, including the present indicative, present subjunctive, and the future. Its general form is -i(n)-, except for the 3s indicative:

- PRS  -ina (-y(n)) after 1s, 2s, 3p; but
- e(n), -env(a) (‘-i, ‘n, ‘nw) after 3s;
- SBJ  -i(n) (-y(n));
- FT   -i-kām-i (-y)-k'm-y (double marking).

#### 3.2.4.4b Future particle -kām

The future is formed with the particle kām (-k'm) (as in Sogdian) added after the personal endings. Both indicative and subjunctive forms occur.
(1) Indicative:

1s *kacay-āmi-kām* (key‘m.k‘m) ‘I shall throw’;
2s *aβ-ī-kām* (‘b‘k‘m) ‘you-2s will become’.

(2) Subjunctive:

2s *ne-k-īx[-kām]* (ny.kyx.k‘m) ‘(if) you-2p will not do’.

### 3.2.4.4c Conditional particle -mane(a)

A conditional is formed by adding *-mane(a)* (-mnc-) (with further obscure suffixes: -āc, -āh(i), -(hi) -(c, -h, -y) to the imperfect (cf. MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 41b-42a):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kāš-ka-na} & \quad \text{yāwār-ina[-manca]} \\
(k‘s-k‘n‘) & \quad (y‘w‘r-yn‘-mnc)
\end{align*}
\]

would-that-them I knew-IPF-COND, i.e. ‘would that I had known’ 174.7; Persian transl. kāški dănist-am-ē;

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka yā nānām-ya dāra} & \quad \text{m-aryand-ina[-manca-āc]} \\
(k‘y‘n‘n‘m‘y‘ ð‘r‘) & \quad \text{m-țr‘nd-n‘.mnc-c}
\end{align*}
\]

if the such-and-such-ACCf I summoned-IPF-COND

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ud ma-biš} & \quad \text{m-ē-da [manca-āc]} \\
(‘w‘d m‘.bš) & \quad \text{m-đ-y.d‘.mnc-c}
\end{align*}
\]

and me-with she went-IPF-COND, i.e. ‘if I should have summoned such-and-such a woman, and she should have gone with me . . .’ QR 256, with 1s impf. *m-aryand-ina* of *aryand-* ‘summon’, and *m-ē-da* (m‘y-d) < *m-āy-edā*, 3s of *āy-*(‘-y-’) ‘go’.

### 3.2.4.5 Overall system of tenses, moods, and aspect

In tentative initial synopsis, the system of tenses, incuding forms marked by suffixes, may be shown as follows (*+* indicates documented present and future forms which add the permansive particle):

### TABLE 6.15: SYSTEM OF TENSES AND MOODS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PRS perm.</th>
<th>FUT perm.</th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>conditional</th>
<th>PRF perm.</th>
<th>Remote PF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-kām +</td>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>-manc-</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>Remote PF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-kām</td>
<td>INJ</td>
<td></td>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.5 Negation

#### 3.2.5.1 Basic negation and prohibition

Normal negation is expressed by the particle *ne-* (ny):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ne až-ica} & \quad \text{fa nān wāh-a} & \quad \text{inkār-hi} & \quad \text{ne-k-āmi} & \quad \text{i wāšiyat-hi} \\
(\text{ny‘e} & \quad \text{f-n‘n w‘h}) & \quad (\text{‘nk‘r hy} & \quad \text{ny.k‘m} & \quad \text{‘y wšyt.h‘})
\end{align*}
\]

‘not it is worth that price’ 432.6; ‘contest-his not I shall do the testament’ QR 405.
A prohibition is marked by the particle *ma-* (m’):

- **ma-yfr-a (m’-yyr)** ‘do not return!’ YD 8;
- **ma-kirb-a (m’-k’r*b-a)** ‘don’t talk idly!’ QR 265.

The negation of the verb ‘be’ in the 3rd sg. is expressed by *inci (nc) ‘is not’: **pandāk-wa (i)nci (pnd’k w”’nc)** ‘there is no way thereto’ QR 56.

### 3.2.5.2 Particle *fa* + *ne* and time reference

The particle *fa* (f’), among other functions (see section 4.3.2.3b Potential construction), appears with the negative present indicative and injunctive, expressing past and future in terms of time reference and semantic context (Sims-Williams 1996: 173). In overview, the following combinations occur:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present</strong></td>
<td><em>fa + ne</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>fa + ne</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Injunctive</strong></td>
<td><em>ne + fa</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>fa + ne</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **Present reference, without *fa***:

   (a) present:
   
   `inkār-hi ne-k-āmi ʾ wašīyat (ʾ nk’ r h y ny.k- m ’ y wštīh) . . .`  
   ‘I shall not contest his (-hi) testament’ QR 405;

   (b) injunctive:
   
   `ne-mi ʾaβ-eda, ʾpacxās nē(n) (ny-m ’b-d ’ y pcx’ s ny)`  
   ‘it does not suit me, this garment’ 314.8 (Henning 1971: 8b);  
   cf. impf. *m-ʾaβ-eda* (m-β-d).

2. **Past reference, *fa + ne***:

   (a) present:
   
   `ne-fa-ci pacxr-āmi xumer (ny.f’c pcxr’m xwmr)`  
   ‘I did not sleep a wink’, 398, 1 lit. ‘taste any sleep’.

   (b) potential:
   
   `yāʾrīw fa-ne-ʾard-k-ica (y’ ʾryw f’-n-ʾard k-c)`  
   ‘he could not restrain himself (yrīw)’ 486.7 (see section 4.3.2.3, Modal constructions).

3. **Future reference, *fa + ne***:

   (a) present:
   
   `āserō ʾ fa kaštek ne-k-āmi (ʾsrō f’ kšt k nykm)`  
   this year  sowing  I shall not do, i.e. ‘I shall not sow this year’ QR 229.
4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

4.1 Noun phrase structure and word order

4.1.1 Noun and adjective

Adjectives agree with their noun in gender, number, and case. When indefinite, they generally follow the noun they qualify, but may precede it. The latter position is mostly found when the definite article is present. When, less often, an attribute follows a defined noun the article is repeated, together with any governing preposition:

4.1.1.1 Indefinite

Optional sequence:

sing. ('sp 'zr) 'an old ('zr) horse' 166.4, or ('zr 'sp) 37.4;
plur. (r'c wdnyc) 'old (wdnk) veins' QR 338.

4.1.1.2 Definite

Fixed sequence: article + adjective + noun,

(y 'zr γwk) 'the old cow' 94.8; (y fmyck sr8) 'the first year' QR 233.

4.1.1.3 Definite, postponed adjective

(Prep.) article + noun, (prep.) article + adjective:

[f] cub-i [f] reng-dräyac-i
(y cwb 'y rng-dry'cy)
'discholoured water (cub 'water', pl. tantum)' 196.6; 'in the Turkish tongue' QR 123.

4.1.2 Nouns and dependent nouns

With following possessives the article logically keeps the gender of the head noun. However, when the possessive is a feminine, it attracts its own article.

m. + m.: [f] haqeyät [f] wän-cän (y ḥqeyt 'y w'c'n) 'the truth of the matter' 122.6;
m. + m.: [f] xür [f] marcy-san (y xsr 'y mrçy'n) 'father-in-law of the man' 2.1; but
m. + m.: [c-] bādē-s-a [dj] alläh-än (c.y b'dys c.y llh'n) 'from Allah's command' 103.5;
m. + f.: [f] xür [yā] ḍē(n)-ya (y xsr y' Côy) 'the woman's father-in-law' 2.1;
m. + f.: [f] bār [yā] wdr-ya (y b'r y' wdr'y) 'the foetus (lit. load of the belly (fem.))' 106.7; feminine attraction:
f. + m.: [yā] pac-a [yā] wän-cän (y' pc y' w'c'n) 'the end of the matter' 61.3.

4.1.3 Nouns and demonstrative pronouns

 Demonstrative are inflected, and as adjectives agree with their noun. In that function, always with a definite article, only n'(n) 'that' precedes the noun. All the others follow:
nân- N:ʃ-á [nân-a] ãyd-a (c.' n'n 'yd) 'at that time' QR 240,
   yâ [nân-ya] hunûn-ya dâra (y' n'ny hwñ'ny δr) 'for that slave-girl' QR 115;
N nên-ːi sukund [nê(n)] j (y sknd ny) 'this oath' QR 363,
   yâ δên-ːa [nên-a] (y' ðy nyn) 'this woman' 65.5;
Np nôw-ːi kînt-a [nôw-i] (y ktn n'w) 'these deeds' QR 281;
N nôw-ːer-i marc [nôw-er] (y mrc n'wr) 'that man' 65.6;
N nêd-ːyâ ðê(n)-ːa [nêd-ːa] (y' ðy nyd) 'that woman' 65.7.

4.1.4 Nouns and pronominal suffixes

The attachment of the pronominal suffixes follows the rule of left-most attachment, after the respective case ending, but before another enclitic.

(1) Article + noun + pronoun:
   yâ ðuyd-ːaf-ːmi j (y' ðy^d-ːm') 'my daughter' QR 12;
   i bôðes-ːhi j ðâra (y' bôys-ːh δr) 'to his command' 498.8.

(2) Article + adjective + pronoun + noun:
   yâ xwb-ːaf-ːmi ðuyd-ːa, i ... xwb-ːaf-ːmi zâdek
   (y' xwb^d-ːm' ðy^d , y ... xwb-ːm z'dyk)
   'my beautiful daughter, my beautiful child' QR 120, QR 122.

(3) N₁ + pronoun + N₂:
   c-ː a-medän-ːya-ːhi j kâm (c.' mâ'n-y-ːh k'm)
   'from the inside of his mouth' 103.7;
   f-ːēw-ːa c-ːōw-ːaf-ːhi j pâð-ːa (t.yw c.'ōw h p'ð)
   'with one of his two feet' 192.3, 429.3 (Henning 1971: 15b).

4.2 Clause structure and word order

4.2.1 Order of constituents

4.2.1.1 Basic order

The basic word order is subject (object) – predicate. Such is the case, e.g. in nominal clauses, where the copula is as a rule omitted:

   nê(n) bazag-dar ci nân-a (ny bkz-dr c.n'n)
   'this one (is) worse than that one' 280.6.

4.2.1.2 Questions

All questions are introduced by the interrogative particle a-, which may affect word order:

   parâc-ːa yûb-ːi (pr'c y'h) 'you are divorced' YD 15;
   a-yûb-ːi parâc-ːa (-.y'h pr'c) 'Q-are you divorced?' QR 109.

   a-βâ-ːci yi-ti(?) yâ wûd-ːa sê-ːyânvar parâc-ːa ('.f.'c yî y' wûd ñy wr pr'c?)
   Q-is (your) wife (wûd-ːa) thrice divorced from you? QR 197; βâ-ːci 'thee from'.

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   Q-is (your) wife (wûd-ːa) thrice divorced from you? QR 197; βâ-ːci 'thee from'.
4.2.1.3 Initial negation

The negation is often clause-initial, especially in combination with the particle \textit{fa-} (f'); accordingly, enclitics are attached to it:

- \textit{fa\textasciitilde w-}(/na?), \textit{fa-ne\textasciitilde bl\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde c}a (f\textasciitilde w-y f\textasciitilde n.-\textasciitilde b\textasciitilde r.-yc) 'quarries, he found not' 358.4;
- \textit{ne-mi a\textasciitilde b\textasciitilde r\textasciitilde c}a, \textit{\textasciitilde i} \textit{p\textasciitilde x\textasciitilde x\textasciitilde s n\textasciitilde e}/(n) (ny.-m \textasciitilde b\textasciitilde d 'y p\textasciitilde c\textasciitilde x's ny) 'it does not suit (become) me, this garment' 314.8, injunctive;
- \textit{ne-ci inc\textasciitilde f}a n\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde n\textasciitilde a, \textit{am(u)} x\textasciitilde \textasciitilde k\textasciitilde a (ny.-c 'nc f.-n'n 'mx-k) 'there is not any (-ci) in that/this one, movement' 402.2.

4.2.2 Affixes and 'principle of anticipation'

In fact, there is considerable free variation in the order of constituents. In particular, the verb is often in topical initial position, or may precede the subject and other parts of speech. In that case there is a complex set of rules that govern multiple reference by cataphoric and anaphoric chains, which may themselves be topicalized by attachment to clause initial particles and phrases.

As in Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian, pronominal suffixes are attached to any first syntactic unit of a clause, including particles and conjunctions. It is one of the distinctive features of Khwarezmian that such marking is obligatory, even when followed by explicit noun phrases. This is the 'principle of anticipation', defined by Henning (1955: 48). Attachment includes the adverbial suffixes, such as \textit{-w\textasciitilde a} (-w\textasciitilde a), \textit{-wa\textasciitilde a} (-we) 'therein' and \textit{-da} (-d\textasciitilde a) 'beyond, off'.

In the following '=' indicates attachment boundary.

4.2.2.1 Direct object + indirect object

\textit{h\textasciitilde fr}-\textit{in\textasciitilde a}=\textit{hi}-d\textasciitilde i, y\textasciitilde d\textasciitilde y\textasciitilde d\textasciitilde a-m\textasciitilde i (h\textasciitilde 'fr-n.y.-d', y' \textasciitilde b\textasciitilde d-d',-m') 'I have given her to you (hi-d\textasciitilde i), my daughter' QR 12;

4.2.2.2 Adverbial suffixes

(1) \textit{ci, ci} \textit{NP} (c-):

\textit{w\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde y-t\textasciitilde a=ci\textasciitilde j, [c-]j\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde d\textasciitilde c-a, \textit{i} \textit{xer\textasciitilde a} (w'zy-t'-c, c-\textasciitilde ydc, 'y x\textasciitilde r'x) 'it came out of it, from the scabbard, the sword' 457.4; (on ('ydc), see MacKenzie, Glossary IV, 1972: 524).

(2) \textit{-wa, fa-NP} (-w, f-):

\textit{m\textasciitilde \textasciitilde s-t\textasciitilde a=naf-wa\textasciitilde j, [f-ji} \textit{pard\textasciitilde a\textasciitilde b-a} (m'st'n\textasciitilde w, fy pr\textasciitilde b'?): 'he took them-therein, into deception' 417, 6-7 (MacKenzie, Glossary III, 1971: 325).

4.2.2.3 Pre- and postverbal position

For pre- and post-verbal positions of the enclitic chains, compare:
rasūd=hi-0a m-afrēs-eda bāwīl(n) cek-a (rswl hy-0 m-frys-d b’wyck) 348.5,
bāwīl(n) cek-a=hi-0a rasūd *m-afrēs-eda (b’wyck h-y0 rswl *m-frys-d) 204.5;
both 'he sent a messenger to him (hi-0a ‘him-to’) secretly'; and

*m-afrēs-ina=hi-0a, î xsīn (m-frys-n’.hy-0 ‘y xs’n)
'I sent it to him, the thing' 349.3;

*m-afrēs-ed=e-0a (m-frys-d.y.-0)
'he sent him to him' 300.7.

In the last example, =e- is contracted from -a-hi-hi ‘him-him-to’. Similarly, hin-hina contracts to a single hina, formally indistinguishable from hi-na, as shown by MacKenzie (1993: 141). In fact, up to four enclitics may from the chain, but never more than two pronouns and two adverbials.

hēd-eda=hi-[na-da]-ber (hy-d’.-hy.-n’.-d’.-br)
'he recited them (greetings) to him' 298.8 (lit. ‘read-him-[them-forth]-upon’).

This rare example interweaves the basic verb hēd- ‘read’ with (a) the directional pre­verb da ‘read forth, off’, (b) its accusative/direct object na ‘them’, and (c) its indirect object, or rather adverbal phrase, hi-ber ‘him to, upon’.

4.2.2.4 Clause-initial particles

The same rules apply when the chain is attached to clause-initial particles and conjunctions:

ka=/b- [na]-ci-[da m-ās-ina(!)] (k.-f’.n’.-cy.-d” m-‘s-n”)
'that I took them from you' QR 366 (lit. ‘that-thee-[them]-from-away took’).

Note -da- before -ber, but after -ci, in the preceding and this examples, respectively.

4.2.2.5 Agency hierarchy

When two personal suffixes are present, there is an inflexible order in their sequence, as established by MacKenzie (1993: 141), irrespective of their ‘logical’ order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 6.16: ORDER OF PERSONAL SUFFIXES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC,DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s/p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s/p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s/p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s (last)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ma-, -m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-h-ī-, -ci-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-di-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mena-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hīna-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transliteration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m’, my)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hy, cy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mn’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(fn’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n’/hyn’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That is, the logic of the sequence implies a pragmatic hierarchy: (1) basically, 1 before 2 before 3; (2) this, within an overall frame where the speaker is first, and the addressee in the dative is last; (3) in addition, singular appears to come before plural.
4.3 Semantics and use of forms

4.3.1 Use of number and case

4.3.1.1 Impersonal plural


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aβ[-aři] nān[-i]} & \quad \text{("βr' n'n")} \\
\text{a-ci-ki[-na]} & \quad \text{da ak-ica ("č.kyn* d* "kc")}
\end{align*}
\]

Q-of-whom-them (= it) is he talking;

i.e. 'who is he talking about?' Q 293 (Henning 1971: 22b) = QR 357; da ak- (d* 'k-)
contextually 'talk, speak'.

4.3.1.2 Dative of affectee

This feature was discussed in more detail by MacKenzie (1993: 141), who cites

\[
\begin{align*}
dahedēna & \quad f-ā tēγ-ya (dhdyn f' tyyō) \\
< & \quad dah-edā-hi-na & \quad f-ā tēγ-ya
\end{align*}
\]

'hit-he (to-)him-them with the stick' 234.5.

The sentence exemplifies another noteworthy semantic feature of Khwarezmian by which the recipient of the action is put in the dative as the affectee. Here, 'hit' can be paraphrased as 'give blows to', thus -hi-na 'them to him', as reflected in MacKenzie's translation of this sentence.

4.3.2 Use of verb forms

4.3.2.1 Possession, 'have'

(1) Existential 'be':

Possession is expressed by verb aβ- 'be' and the genitive-dative, usually a personal suffix:

\[
\begin{align*}
uṣi(?) & \quad hi-wa & \quad m-αβ-eda & \quad f-i wāc-a ("wš hy.w mβd f'y w'c) \\
\text{sense him-upon was in the matter}, & \quad \text{i.e. 'he had sense in the matter'} & \quad 198.7;
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ka-ās & \quad maβyān-dāra & \quad xšty & \quad αβ-āc \ldots (k.'s mβy'n òr xšty 'β'c) \\
\text{if to us a will should be}, & \quad \text{i.e. 'if we should have a will'} & \quad QR 271.
\end{align*}
\]

(2) dāray-:

The verb dāray- 'hold, keep' is much less common in this sense:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ašnādek-astar} & \quad \text{juft} & \quad \text{dāray-ina-mi ci-šika ("sn'dk 'str j"ft ð'ry-n'-my c.fyk)} \\
\text{more pious husband I had} & \quad \text{than you} & \quad \text{QR 164.}
\end{align*}
\]
4.3.2.2 Phasal constructions

4.3.2.2a Duration, šāray-

Duration may be expressed through the verb šāray- ‘hold, have’ used together with a nominal form:

āyrāci-hi šār-edā (’yr’cy hy š’ryd)
‘he kept him awake’ 350.5.

with āyrācin ‘awake’ < perfect participle āyrādek of the verb āyrās-lāyrās- (’yr’s-/ ’yr’s-y-) ‘awake (intr./trans.)’ (Henning 1971: 20b–21a; MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 36b, (š’ry-)).

4.3.2.2b Incipient action, āyāz-

The beginning of an action is expressed by the verb fa-... āyāz- (’y’z) and the ‘past infinitive’:

[m-āyāz-edā-h] hi f-akt-a (m-’y’z-d’-h f-’kt)

4.3.2.2c Ingressive action, ‘about to, close to’, *(m-)-ah-; (šxt 膂-)

(1) The anticipation of an action is expressed by fa ... *(m-)-ah- (3s imperfect) and the ‘present infinitive’ in -āk:

fa dambay-āk [m-ah-edā] f-akt-a (f’ ēnby-k mh-yd)
‘on (the point of) hitting he was’ 516.3; Persian transl. nazdik šud ki, x’āst ki... ‘got close to, was about to’ (lit. ‘wanted’) (Henning 1971: 21b).

(2) Another means is a finite construction with the injunctive dependent on the expression (šxt 膂-) ‘be(come) close (šxt) to’:

[(šxt) m-āβ-edā] ku-hi ak-edā i nānām wāca (šxt mβd k’h kyd y n’nm w’c)
‘close he was that he-it do-INJ the certain thing’ 516.4, i.e. ‘close to doing’

4.3.2.3 Modal constructions

4.3.2.3a Optative particles ās and hā(n)

The particles ās (‘s) and hā(n) (h’n)) have a clear modal function generally termed ‘optative’ and are found in sentences containing a subjunctive verb (MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 30 and 40):

d[-ās]-hi 0-barakak α-β-āc (d* .s*b h).brkk ’β’c)
‘may it be blessed to her (-h)’! QR 87;

parāc-a [hā(n)]-β-īx (p*’h β-īx)
‘may you-2p be divorced!’ QR 41.
4.3.2.3b Potential construction, -k-

The potential is formed by the verb -k- 'do' (reduced < ak-, see MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 40) as an auxiliary in combination with the perfect participle of the main verb (cf. Sogdian, Gershevitch 1954: 130ff.). Most of the few examples attested are negative and involve the particle fa (see section 3.2.5.2):

\[ ka-fa-ma ne-pard[-k-i] \] (k-f’ m’ny prd-k’)
for you-2s cannot restrain me (-ma) QR 161 (pres. pâray- ‘restrain’);

\[ yâ yrw-fa-ne-dard[-k-ica] \] (y’ yrw f’ n-ôrd-k-c)
‘he could-PRS not hold himself’ 486.7 (pres. dôray- ‘hold’).

4.3.2.3c Necessity, yuw-

Necessity is expressed by the verb yuw- (yw-) ‘be necessary, be wanting’, combined with the dative of the beneficiary:

\[ nân [yuw-ica tewr-a ðâra] ka-hi ak-a \] i nân nânâm wâc
(n’n [yw-c] twr-ôr] k-h ’k y n’n n’n’m w’c)
‘that [behooves you] that-it you-INJ-2s do such-and-such a thing’ 516.3.

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

5.1 Conjunctions, particles, and clitics

The main coordinating and correlative conjunctions are ud ('wd) ‘and’; wâ (w’) ‘or’; wâ ... wâ bâ (w’ ... w’b) ‘either . . . or’; the enclitic mes (ms) ‘too, again’; âmâdi (m’d) ‘let alone’. The adverb da (d-) ‘then’ may connect clauses loosely. (For its use in complex sentences, and other conjunctions and phrases, see section 5.1)

5.2 Subordination

Subordination is marked by the relative pronouns ki (k) and ci (c), câ (c’), and the general conjunction ka (k), as well as conjunctional phrases.

Clauses expressing an objective, result or fact, including direct speech, and purpose or condition of a wish, usually follow the main clause.

Clauses expressing situations, including temporal and conditional clauses, as well as relative clauses with a cataphoric demonstrative head, usually precede the main clause, which in turn is as a rule introduced by the resumptive particle da (d) ‘then’.

Regarding the use of tense and mood, note:

(1) the contextual use of the imperfect also for completed action (e.g. pâckun-edâ=mi (p’cknd’m) ‘he (has) settled (it) to me’ QR 376),
(2) the use of the subjunctive for explicit or implicit conditions, including relative clauses, and
(3) the use of the injunctive for purpose, and of the future for wishes, together with ‘optative’ particles.

The conjunction ka is the most widely used conjunction. It marks explicative remarks and object sentences including reported speech.
5.3 Relative clauses, *ki*

In relative clauses the head is represented by the verbal ending if it is the subject, or by an anaphoric pronoun.

(1) subject:

\[ \text{'this business that-(to)me with-his self together was, then fixed is'} \]

QR 368, i.e. 'that I had with him'.

(2) direct object:

\[ \text{'the actions these, that you are doing-them, you'} \]

QR 217 (Henning 1971: 23a) = QR 281.

5.4 Subject and object clauses

5.4.1 Subject clauses, *cā*

*Cā* + subjunctive, *da* + present indicative:

\[ \text{cā was-āc, da-nē(n) raštawand} \]

(c' ws'c, d-ny ršt'wnd)

'what he may say, then-this (is) true' QR 400 = Q *335 (Henning 1971: 34b).

5.4.2 Object clauses, *ka*

5.4.2.1 Basic pattern

*ka* + present indicative:

\[ \text{a-cūni nā yivār-i-y-i, ka=hi-na-ci ya dāray-āmi?} \]

("cwni n' ywr-y-y, ky.n'.c y' δry'my?)

'how that you know that-him-them-from I have'

'how do you know that – that I have them from him?' QR 360.

5.4.2.2 Direct speech, *ka* (*bā*)

*ka-bā, a-cīwā ma ěkēš-i?* (k. b"-cw'm' ěkyš-y?)

'... that rather, 'why do you give me the lie (in this matter)?' QR 149.

5.4.2.3 Topicalized object clause, with interrogative, *cā, acī*

(1) *cā* + present indicative, *da* + imperative:

\[ \text{cā-k-i, nā(n)-k-a and cā=na-k-i, da=na da-ka} \]

(c'k' n'k) and (c'n'k, dn'd'k)

'whatever you do, that do' QR 93, i.e. 'do what you (want to) do' (Henning 1971: 22b, 24a), 3p -na for general reference.
(2) a-ci ('c) for cā, a-ci + present perfect, da + imperfect:

\[
\begin{align*}
a-ci & \quad \text{waṣiyat} \quad \text{i pur-ārā} \quad \text{aktek} \quad \text{ārāy-āmī-na}, \quad \text{da=na}\quad \text{tewār-ārā} \quad \text{bānc-ina} \\
(\text{c} & \quad \text{wṣyt} \quad \text{y pr-ār} \quad \text{ktk} \quad \text{ār-ār-y'my-n}, \quad \text{d-n} \quad \text{twār-ār} \quad \text{b'nc-yn})
\end{align*}
\]

'what testament for the (my) son I have made, then-that to you I attached'

Q 345 (Henning 1971: 13a) = QR 411; 3p-na for general reference.

5.5 Adverbial clauses

5.5.1 Temporal clauses, ka

Temporal clauses are introduced by temporal phrases and the conjunction ka, and may be followed by the resumptive da.

5.5.1.1 ‘at time that, when’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uṣān-ya ka} & \quad (\text{wṣ ny k}) + \text{imperfect:} \\
\text{uṣān-ya ka} & = \text{mi} \quad \text{ḥālāl-a m-e-y-ta} \quad (\text{wṣ ny k.m yy-y-ī}) \\
\text{when-(to)me} & \quad \text{lawful was} \\
\text{when she was lawful to me} & \text{QR 69.}
\end{align*}
\]

5.5.1.2 ‘as soon as’

(1) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{mān-bā ka} & \quad (\text{m'nb'k}) + \text{future:} \\
\text{mān-bā ka} & = \text{na} \quad \text{wēn-āmīn-kām} \quad (\text{m'n.b' k.n' wyn- m'ny.k'm}) \\
\text{when-them} & \quad \text{we shall see} \\
\text{when we shall once see them . . .} & \text{QR 286.}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{mān-bā ka} & = \text{nihi} \quad \text{ḥālāl-a ak-bī-kām}, \quad \text{da=wa} \quad \text{ryōs-ām-kām} \\
(\text{m'n.b' k.m'y.h' h'lla} & \quad \text{'k-fy. k'm d.w' nyws-m' k'm}) \\
\text{as soon as-(to-)me-her lawful} & \text{you-2p will make, then thereto I shall listen} \\
\text{as soon as (that) to-me-her you will make lawful, then-thereto I shall listen} & \text{QR 68.}
\end{align*}
\]

5.5.1.3 ‘while’

Imperfect, da + present permansive:

\[
\begin{align*}
y-ā xab-a & \quad \text{m-āsān-edā, d-i} \quad \text{nānām wāq ak-īc-a-na} \\
(\text{y'xb} & \quad \text{m'synd}, \quad \text{d.y} \quad \text{n'h'm w'c 'kcn}) \\
\text{the night} & \quad \text{he passed while that certain thing he is doing} \\
\text{he passed the nights while he was doing that certain thing} & 135.5;
\end{align*}
\]

possibly imitating Ar. bāta yaf'alu ka'dā, (Henning 1971: 26a), referring to the use of the present indicative for ongoing action in a past context.
5.5.1.4 'when(ever)'

(1) \(y\-\text{äyd}-a\ ka\ (y'yd\ k) +\ subjunctive:

\[\begin{align*}
y\-\text{äyd}-a\ ka &= wa\ ciy\-\text{ä}(n)\ (y'yd^a\ k'\ w\ c'y') \\
\text{when-there} &\ I\ (\text{shall})\ enter\end{align*}\]

QR 142 = Q 98 (Henning 1971: 20a).

(2) \(y\-\text{äyd}-a\ ka\ldots\ da\ (y'yd^a\ k\ldots) +\ future,\ da +\ future\ permansive:

\[\begin{align*}
y\-\text{äyd}-a\ k\-\ \text{äs-i- käm}-u,\ \ dît\ \ děnăr-a\ hi\-\text{bër-ä-käma} \\
(y'yd^a\ k's\-i\-k'm^a,\ \ d'y\ \ d'y'n'r\ \ hîb'r\-m\-k'm^a) \\
\text{whenever you will come, then the money I shall give'}\end{align*}\]

QR 143 = Q 99 (Henning 1958: 20a); < do-di-i? 

(3) \(ci\-\text{yac-ya-käma\ ka=mî\ halâl\ parwuz-āc-ina}\ (cycy'k'm\ k'm\ hîl\ prwz'cyn)\)

whenever-(to)me lawful may become-3s


5.5.2 Conditional clauses, \(ka\ldots\ da\)

In conditional clauses the protasis is introduced by \(ka\ (k('))\ '\text{if}', and the apodosis by the resumptive \(da\).

5.5.2.1 Basic patterns

(1) \(ka\ +\ subjunctive,\ da +\ present:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{k-amî-\text{-ä}(n)},\ \ da=tak\ \ bêzâr \\
(k.\ 'my-',\ d.tk\ byz'r) \\
\text{if I (should) die, then-you (are) free'}\ QR 404.\end{align*}\]

(2) \(ka\ +\ subjunctive,\ da +\ imperative:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ka para\ para\ m=\mî\ sukund\ ne-xw-r-ix-i,\ da}=ci\ \ par-mika\ xw-r-a \\
(k'\ pr.'\ 'pn'.m'\ sknd\ ny\ xw-yx-y,\ d'^a.c'y\ pr.fîk\ x'r) \\
\text{if on co-wife-my oath you not swear, then-one on me swear' if you do not swear an oath (of divorce) against my co-wife, then swear one on me'} \\
QR 105.\end{align*}\]

(3) \(ka\ +\ future\ permansive,\ da +\ future:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ka}=mî-hi\ hîb'r-\text{-i-käm}-i\ \ i\ zirnî\ nê(n),\ da=\beta\-a-ci\ \ ĕw\ ipš-i\ xar'f\ ne-k-âmî \\
(k.\ my.h\ hîb'r-y.k'm^i\ \ (y'zrn\ ny,\ d.\'b'.c\ 'yw'pš\ xar'f\ ny.k'-m)) \\
\text{if-me-it you will give the gold this, then-you-from one farthing spending I will not do' if you will give me this gold, I do/shall not spend a farthing from you,}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
bî=hi\ aspanî\ xin-âm-kâm \\
(b'.h'i\ 'sp'h'ny\ x'n'-m.\ k'm) \\
\text{but-it iron I shall buy} \\
\text{but I shall buy iron (with) it'}\ QR 157.\end{align*}\]
(4) *ka* + subjunctive, *ud* (’wd) ‘and’ + subjunctive:

\[
\begin{align*}
ka=hi & \text{ nikâh aktek dâray-â-yì, ud=hi-ci ak-â(n)} \\
(k'h nk'b 'kt'k d'ry-y'-y wd-hy-c k')
\end{align*}
\]

if-her marriage *I had made*, **and-her-with** *I may do*

‘if I had married her, and if I do it with her’ QR 205; *dâray-â-yì* palatalized < *dâray-ân-i* with permansive -i; Persian transl. *agar karde bâs-am*.

5.5.2.2 Implicit conditional, imperfect

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{asnâdek-astar } & \text{ juft dâray-in-a-mi ci-bika} \\
(’sn’dk ’str f’t d’ry-n-my c.fyk)
\end{align*}
\]

more pious husband *I had* than-you

‘(if?) I had a more pious husband than you’ QR 164 = Q * 117; Persian transl. *pâkÎdman u pârsâ-tar sîy mé-dâst-am* (cf. MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 36a–b; Samadi 1986: 63), *-mi* is uncertain.

5.5.2.3 Wishes, *hân*

In wishes, the specifying condition given follows the wish.

(1) *hân* + subjunctive, *ka* + future:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{parâc-a } & \text{ hâ(n) ab-âc sê-yâwar, ka=hi kâbîn-a ak-âm-kâm} \\
(p'rc h' b'c s'wr, k.h k'yn k'm)
\end{align*}
\]

divorced OPT may-3s be thrice if-her betrothal I shall make

‘may she be divorced thrice, if I shall betroth her’ QR 151.

(2) *hân* + subjunctive, *ka* + past conditional, *manc(a) (manc)*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-hâ(n)-b-îx } & \text{ parâc-a, ka=hi m-ik-îxa-manc-â-hi?} \\
(’ h’b-îx pr'c, k’h’y m-k-k’Înc’h’)
\end{align*}
\]

Q-OPT-may-you-2s-be divorced, if-it you should have done

‘will you be divorced if you should have done it?’ QR 107.

See also section 4.3.2.3 Modal constructions.

5.5.3 Causal clauses, *ka*

These are introduced by *ka*, and normally follow the main clause:

(1) *ka* + imperfect:

\[
\begin{align*}
pâckun-ed=qî, & \text{ ka f-â bâyd-a } m-ânyas-ta \\
(p’ckn-d’m, k. f’ b’d’ m-nys-t)
\end{align*}
\]

he has settled-me for as gift it has come

‘he has settled (it) to me, for it has come to (be regarded as) a gift’ QR 376; with imperfect for completed action.
(2) **ka-bā** 'because':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\(a=ma-ci\)} & \quad \text{\(yāh-i\)} & \quad \text{\(šē-yāver-a\)} & \quad \text{\(parāc-a\)} & \quad \text{\(ka-bā\)} & \quad \text{\(dah-ina=na-di\)} \\
(\text{\"m\textsuperscript{rc}\textsubscript{c}}) & \quad \text{\(y\textsuperscript{hi}\)} & \quad \text{\(š\textsuperscript{wr}\)} & \quad \text{\(pr\textsuperscript{e}\)} & \quad \text{\(k.b\)} & \quad \text{\(dhn\textsuperscript{.n\textsubscript{d}}\)})
\end{align*}
\]

Q-me-from you-2s are thrice divorced, **for** I hit -you-2s (-\(d\textsuperscript{i}\))

‘are you thrice divorced from me, because I hit you?’ QR 110.

### 5.5.4 Final clauses

Final clauses follow the main clause and are introduced by **ka,** and **kān-ci** (k'n(c(y)) (<**ka-na-ci**)\), as well as **camend** (cmd) ‘so that’; clauses or expressions implying possible action or state have the injunctive:

#### 5.5.4.1 Basic patterns, **ka**

(1) **ka** + present indicative:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\(kān=ci\)} & \quad \text{\(arcyād(a)\)} & \quad \text{\(k\)} & \quad \text{\(i\)} & \quad \text{\(waš\)} & \quad \text{\(parē-x-ica\), \(wā\)} & \quad \text{\(ka\textsuperscript{bā}k\)} & \quad \text{\(a\)} & \quad \text{\(yn\)} & \quad \text{\(nānām\)} & \quad \text{\(wāc\)} \\
(k'n.c) & \quad \text{\(rc\textsuperscript{y/k}\)} & \quad \text{\(y\)} & \quad \text{\(wy\)} & \quad \text{\(pr\textsuperscript{y-yc\) w'} & \quad \text{\(k'\textsuperscript{k}\)} & \quad \text{\(y\) 's')}
\end{align*}
\]

so that-from third the trustee leaves or not? yes

‘so that the trustee leaves a third of it (unpaid), or not?’ ‘Yes.’ QR 413; see section 8 Sample Text.

(2) **ka** + injunctive (or imperfect):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\(nya\textsuperscript{y-ica\) tuvār-ā\(dāra\), \(ka=h\)} & \quad \text{\(ak-a\)} & \quad \text{\(nān\)} & \quad \text{\(nānām\)} & \quad \text{\(wāc\)} \\
(n'n\textsuperscript{n-c')} & \quad \text{\(tw\textsuperscript{r-δ}'r\)} & \quad \text{\(k'\)} & \quad \text{\(n'n\)} & \quad \text{\(n'h\)} & \quad \text{\(m\) w'c)}
\end{align*}
\]

‘that behooves you, that-it you do such-and-such a thing’ 516.3.

(3) **ka** + injunctive:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\(y-āyā\textsuperscript{e}m=mi\)} & \quad \text{\(k-a\)} & \quad \text{\(β\textsuperscript{-eda\) i\) nānām\) wāc\)} \\
(y'y'\textsuperscript{8m-k}m & \quad \text{\(k'β\)} & \quad \text{\(y\)} & \quad \text{\(n'n\textsuperscript{m}m\) w'c)}
\end{align*}
\]

the wish-(to-)me that it be the such-and-such matter

‘it is my wish that such-and-such a matter be’ 285.6 (Henning 1971: 19b).

#### 5.5.4.2 ‘until, so that’, **camend**

(1) **camend**(-a) ‘until, so that’ + imperfect:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\(t\ \textsuperscript{δast f-βrāc-a\) wās-eda, camend wā-šāka\textsuperscript{-t}a fα x̂s\textsuperscript{in}a\)} \\
(\text{\(y\ \textsuperscript{δst f'βrwc\) w's-d cmd w'k'st f-xsyn})}
\end{align*}
\]

the hand on eyebrow he laid, so that he could look at something

‘he laid (his) hand on the eyebrow so that he could look at something’ 497.6

(Henning 1958: 119 n. 3: ‘er legte die Hand auf die Augenbraue, auf dass er auf etwas hinsähe’).

(2) **camend**(-a) + imperfect:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\(dā\textsuperscript{m}b-eda=hi, camend pāc-eda\)} \\
(\text{\(δn'b-yc-h\), cmd p'c-yd})
\end{align*}
\]

‘he hit-him, so that it swelled up’ 410.3 (Henning 1958: 119 n. 3).
(3) *camend ka* ‘until finally’ + imperfect (or injunctive):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yā ɣryw-} a & \text{fa ne-ðard-k-ica,  camend ka nānān wāc \ was-a} \\
(\text{y’} \ ɣryw & \ f’ n-ðrd-k-c \ c\mbox{cmd} \ k- \ n’n’n \ w’c \ ws) \\
\end{align*}
\]
the self he cannot hold, \textbf{until that} certain thing he said
‘he could not hold himself, until he said that certain thing’ 486.7; negated potential
construction, ne-ðard k-, and impf. or inj. 3s was-a or < was-ta.

5.6 Nominalized clauses

In addition to the use of the infinitives and verbal nouns in the phasal and modal
constructions discussed above, infinitival phrases also occur in various functions, either
with or without *fa* ‘to, for’.

\[
\begin{align*}
[kacay-ðk] & \ kozay-eda \\
(kcy-’k & \ kwzy-d) \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘he asked for dictation’ 507.4 (Samadi 1986: 107).

\[
\begin{align*}
[nipiJj=hi-ci & \ kozay-eda \\
(npc & \ hy-c \ kwzy-d) \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[nipiJj] & \ yfr-eda i \ yɛck-än \\
(npc & \ γyr-d \ y γyck’n) \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘sought the writing of the letter’ 494.6 (MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 44a; Samadi
1986: 84); Persian transl. nivištan xwāst nāma-rā.

\[
\begin{align*}
[fa-nipiJ] & \ hi-ci hābr-eda qaʃdek-a \\
(f-npc & \ hyc h’br-d qşdyk) \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘gave him the qaʃda to write’ 344.7 (MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 44a).

\[
\begin{align*}
[f-ðfɔzay-ðk-a] & = hi \ hābr-eda \\
(f’ & ðwzy’k \ hy \ h’br-yd) \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘he gave it for smelling’ 368.3 (Henning 1971: 11b).

6 LEXIS

6.1 Word formation

6.1.1 Derivation of nouns and adjectives

6.1.1.1 Suffixation

6.1.1.1a Verbal nouns and infinitives, all feminine

-āk-a (-’k): (βx-’k) ‘division’ 423.3 (MacKenzie, Glossary III, 1971: 325) < (βx-) ‘divide,
distribute’ – (kwzy’k) ‘request’ 316.6 < (kwzy-) ‘seek, ask of’ – (*bsmyr-’k) ‘sacrifice’
301.8 < (*bsmyr-) ‘to sacrifice’ (< bismillāh).

6.1.1.1b Abstract nouns, all masculine

-ān(w)k (-’w’k): (δyn’br-’w’k) ‘religiosity, piety’ 479.8 < (δyn’br) ‘religious’ – (fšt-’wk)
‘matrimony’ QR 19 < (fšt) ‘spouse’.
6.1.1.1c Adjectives

(1) General suffixes:
-\(-\text{ank} \text{ (-'nk)} \) ‘Jewish’ 11.7 – (trk-'nk) ‘Turkish’ QR 123 – (β'rk-'n'k) ‘of a rider’ 15.4; ən̄k (ən̄yk) ‘of dawn’ 23.4 – (skṛfık-'ynk) ‘wooden’ 15.5 (MacKenzie, Glossary V, 1972: 59);
(2) Adjectives of relationship (cf. Sogdian masc., fem. (-my(n)c))
\(-\text{męnk} \text{ (-mynk)} \): (xw’r-'ynk) ‘flesh-y’ 334.4 – (γō-my(nk) ‘concerning wounds’ 61.6 < (γ’γ̄) ‘wound’;
(3) From verbal nouns
(bşmyr-'k-my'nk) ‘sacrificial’ 301.8 – masc., fem. (wšry-'k-mynk-c) ‘of support’ 81.4 30.6 < (wšry) ‘be supported’.

6.1.1.1i Diminutives
-\(-\text{ik} \text{ (-'yk)} \) ‘small boy’ 85.3, 106.3 < (J’b’k) ‘young, child’.

6.1.1.2 Prefixation

(1) θ\(-\text{a} \text{ (a-)} \) ‘with’ : (θ-γwendk) ‘sinful’ 249.1 < (γwendk) ‘sin’ – (θ-nmθk) ‘salty’ 324.7 < (nmθk) ‘salt’;
(2) ba-(b-) ‘without’ : (b-mzk) ‘tasteless’ 251.3 < (mzk) ‘taste’ – (b.zβ’k) ‘dumb’ 352.7 < (zβ’k) ‘tongue’;
(3) mand-(mnd-) ‘un-’ : (mnd-çγr) ‘blunt’ 124.3 < (çγr) ‘sharp’ – (mnd-m’nynd) ‘unlike’.

These derived adjectives may function as substantives as well: i ba-wuò淜 (y b.wδ) ‘the bachelor’ (‘without a wife (wδ)’) 323.1.

6.1.2 Compounding

6.1.2.1 Verbal components


6.1.2.2 Nominal components

6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects

6.2.1 Standard and colloquial registers

The situations dealt with in the Qunya include statements made on an impulse juxtaposed with concise indications of their legal import or consequences. Much of the material there is quoted colloquial, some even intimate speech. The following unmarked conditional sentence is clearly colloquial:

ew šābār-a wāzay-āc, ud nāz ē abārēw šābār
(yw sβr' w'zyc 'w'nd n'y. bryw sβr')
one witness he may produce, and I the other witness
'let him produce one witness and I (am) the other witness' QR 373.

6.2.2 Kinship terms

Most of these kinship terms are listed in the Muq. 1–2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 6.17: KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pica (pc), obl. pic-ender (pc'nd'r)</td>
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<td>Pur, apr- ((p)r)(?)</td>
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<td>Žādek (zd'k)</td>
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<td>Pur-ander (pr'ndr)</td>
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<td>Frād (Br'd)</td>
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<td>Afčūr ((fcwr)</td>
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<td>Afčūr-pur-ak</td>
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<td>Feyend(?) (Fynd)</td>
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<td>Pic-frād (pcBr'd)</td>
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<td>Žāmd (zm'd)</td>
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<td>Xus(u)r (xsr)</td>
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<td>Nanek-a (mn'k)</td>
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<tr>
<td>An(u)h-a ('nh)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Xus(-u) (xs(w))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT, LOAN COMPONENT

Words with initial b, d, g (though these are not always written unambiguously) instead of the expected Khwarz. β, δ, γ, are loanwords, mostly from Early New Persian (ENP): (bwst'n) 'garden' = ENP bōstān, (drwδ) 'praise' = ENP drōdδ, (grk) 'herd' = NP gallah. The latter exhibits a regular feature of all such loans with final -ah, namely the replacement of this by written (-k). This may date from Middle Persian (MP), e.g. bazak 'bad': MP bazag 'sinful', but ENP bazah 'sin'; (zywndk) 'alive': MP zyvdg, but NP zindah. Nevertheless it is strongly represented in Arabic loans in -ah, e.g. (y ftm'k) 'temptation' 115.4 < fitma, (y hdyk) 'gift' 356.6 < hadiya, (y b'dyk) 'desert' 480.4 < bādiya. Other Arabic loans are mainly unassimilated, at least in writing, e.g. (yb) 'defect, disgrace, (şhbt) 'conversation' 433.5, (ṣm) 'food' 240.4. Those with final alif often take a final (-y), e.g. (daw'y) 'prayer' 235.3 < du'a, wfy 'faith' 386.7 < wafā, but (yf) 'oath' 384.1 < tā'. Many such loans occur assimilated in combinations like (θ-s) *θ-aṣl 'of noble origin' 331.3, (ṣlyk)
'original' (lit. 'with-origin') 402.5 < 'ǧl 'origin, root', (b-‘db’wk) ‘rudeness’ QR 262, cf. NP 
be-adab-I ‘being without manners’ < Ar. adab ‘good manners’.

Few Turkish loanwords have been identified: (bnyn) ‘beer’ QR 177 < Turk. bâgni, 
bâgini; (šrm) ‘a felt pad beneath the saddle’ 40.3 < ādrim, (šc) ‘ram’ 49.5 < Turk. qoč.

8 SAMPLE TEXT

This sample text is the rendering of an Arabic passage (QR, MacKenzie 1990: 82–83), 
with interlinear version (the Arabic in transcription is placed at the end):

1. QR 413

f-ī nān šūrat ka yā *bašanjiwān-a ʿī juft ŏdara wašī wās-eda
(f.y n’n ʿwt k. y’ βšncw’n ’y jft ʿr wšy w-yd)
in the that case that the *testatrix the husband-ACC trustee appointed-IPF-3s
‘In the case that the *testatrix appointed (her) husband as trustee’

f-ī nafaqān *drūkā-nīk f- arcyaḏ(a)k-a c-ī tarikat-a-hī
(f.y n’y’n ḍrk’n’yk f. ʿrcy’dk c.y trkt’h)
in the wasting? illness for third from the legacy her
‘during (her) fatal illness for a third of her legacy’

a=wa yitt(?) dāxil ī mahr=hī
(‘w. yl d’xyl y m’hī)
Q-therein is included the dowry-her
‘is her (unpaid) dowry included therein,’

k-ān=cī arcyaḏ(a)k ī waši parėx-ica wa kadāk? ʿay. ās
(k’n. c ʿrcy’dk y wšy pryxyc w kāk? γ. ’s)
that there from third the trustee leaves-PRS and is it so? yes
‘so that the trustee leaves a third of it (unpaid), or not?’ ‘Yes.’

The Arabic text is:

fi-mā ʾišāʾ awṣati l-marʿatū ilā zawji-hā ʾfī maraḏi mawti-hā ʾfī ʿulā min tarikatī-hā 
hal yadṣulu l-mahrū ʾfī l-waṣīyatī ḥatl? <ytf<irju l-waṣīyu ʿulā-hī ṣam lā? – naʾīm.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge here the generous assistance I had the pleasure of receiving
from D. N. MacKenzie, now sadly deceased, during the preparation of this essay.
Needless to say, the mistakes are my own. In particular he would not have approved of
the attempt to transcribe Khwarezmian, suggesting as it does that we know more than is
in fact possible.

I would also like to express my gratitude to G. Windfuhr for many suggestions,
additions, and improvements.

4 April 2005
REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY


For further bibliography, see CLI, pp. 202–03.
CHAPTER SEVEN

KHOTANESE AND TUMSHUQENSE

Ronald E. Emmerick†

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

1.1.1 Historical background

Khotanese and Tumshuqese, properly Gyădzian (Rong and Duan 1996 [2000]), are Middle Iranian languages that were once spoken in what is now known as the Xinjiang (earlier Sinkiang) Autonomous Region of China. They are treated here together because they are more closely related to each other than to any other Iranian language. Both geographically and linguistically they are classified as East Iranian languages and are thus related more closely to other East Middle Iranian languages such as Sogdian than to Iranian languages spoken in western regions.

Although Khotanese and Tumshuqese are so closely related to each other that we can confidently posit a common parent language, such a language remains entirely hypothetical and is likely to be the language of a nomadic tribe that moved about Central Asia before settling in oases around the Tarim basin some time during the second half of the first millennium BCE.

After speakers of the Tumshuqese-Khotanese parent language settled on the northern side of the Taklamakan desert they appear to have had little contact with their fellow tribesmen who settled along the southern rim of the desert. The language spoken in the north developed in the course of time into what we now term Tumshuqese after the locality where the most of the extant texts were found whereas the language spoken in the south developed into what we call Khotanese since it was spoken in the ancient kingdom of Khotan.

Little is known of the history of the Tumshuqese speakers in the north and even their language is not well known since few texts have survived.

The situation is rather better in the case of Khotan, concerning which Chinese sources provide extensive information over a long period. In addition, there survive a very considerable number of documents in Khotanese. Since many of them are translations from known languages it has been possible to decipher them with confidence.

We do not know exactly when speakers of Khotanese first settled in the area, but it could hardly have been before the founding of Khotan, which is likely to have been in the third century BCE. There are traces of the presence of Khotanese speakers that date long before the earliest datable documents in Khotanese. Of particular importance is a document written in an Indian language, North-West Prakrit, that is thought to date from the third century CE. It is dated in a regnal year 'of the Great King of Khotan, King of kings' and betrays clear evidence of the Khotanese language.
Long before the seventh century Buddhism was well established in Khotan, which by then was a leading centre of Mahayana Buddhism. Almost all the extant texts in Khotanese are coloured by Buddhism. Many of them are translations of Buddhist texts while some of them appear to be original compositions concerning Buddhist lore and doctrine.

1.1.2 Textual material

1.1.2a Khotanese

Most important for the secure decipherment of the language are the numerous works translated from Buddhist Sanskrit sūtra literature and a large medical text, the Siddhasāra, translated from Tibetan with account being taken of its Sanskrit source. There are also many secular documents dated in the regnal years of Khotanese kings. Relatively little original Khotanese literature has survived, but we have among other items a charming version of the Rāmāyaṇa, some lyrical verses, a substantial fragment of a metrical composition containing a love story, the description of a journey through Gilgit and Chilās to Kashmir, and some literary epistles.

The bulk of the extant documents all appear to date from the period between the seventh and the tenth century CE, but some fragments have been dated on palaeographical grounds to the fifth and sixth centuries CE (for details, see Emmerick 1992a).
1.1.2b Tumshuqese

Far less material in Tumshuqese has come to light than in Khotanese so that it remains difficult to decipher it and many details of grammar remain unknown or uncertain. The oldest text is the so-called Karmavācanā text, which is also the most important text since it is the only one for which we have bilingual evidence. It was translated from Tocharian (Schmidt 1988). In addition there are fourteen published items (see Skjervø 1987: 77), including legal documents, fragments of Buddhist literary works, sales documents of commodities in a Buddhist monastic milieu, and several unpublished fragments in various collections.

None of the Tumshuqese documents can be precisely dated, but there are grounds for assigning the majority of them to the late seventh or the eighth century CE (for details, see Emmerick 1992a).

1.2 Writing systems

In Khotanese, besides a few numerals in Tibetan script (Maggi 1995), the extant material is written in varieties of Central Asian Brāhmī. The varieties range from highly formal to cursive. Only the formal varieties have been the object of detailed study. They were classified as: (1) Early Turkestān Brāhmī; (2) Early South Turkestān Brāhmī; (3) South Turkestān Brāhmī; and (4) Late Turkestān Brāhmī (see Sander 1986; Skjervø 2002: lxxi–lxxii).
TABLE 7.1: THE EARLY SOUTH TURKESTAN BRĀHMĪ SCRIPT OF KHOTAN (FROM LEUMANN 1934)

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</tbody>
</table>

The table contains the early South Turkestan Brahmi script of Khotan as described by Leumann in 1934.
The Tumshuqese documents are written in formal (Karmavācanā and Tum. VIII–IX) and cursive varieties of North Turkestan Brāhmī that are similar to those used by Tocharians. The Tumshuqese may have adopted their writing system from the Tocharians adding nine signs not used for Tocharian. The precise interpretation of a number of these signs is still to be determined. The absence of long vowels other than ā is noticeable. In comparison, the Khotanese alphabet and that used in the Tumshuqese Karmavācanā text, with signs found in other texts added, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 7.2: COMPARATIVE ARRANGEMENTS OF KHOTANESE AND TUMSHUQESE ALPHABETS</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khot.</td>
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There are certain differences in the use of several features. Thus, the Khotanese writing system, while largely identical with Sanskrit, includes digraphs for sounds not represented in the Brāhmī script, e.g. yṣ for [z], and diacritics added to an akṣara for the following: (1) ā [a] by two superscript dots, approximately [e] in stressed syllables (Emmerick and Pulleyblank 1993: 45–46); (2) ei [aa] by a superscript sign resembling a St. Andrew’s cross (Emmerick 1998); (3) nasalisation by one superscript dot, transcribed by m with underdot or a hook below the vowel, e.g. m or ē; (4) aspiration by two dots, transcribed by a colon (Late Khotanese); (5) breathed syllable by a hook below vowel, transcribed by a hook below the vowel or by an apostrophe at the end of the syllable.

1.3 Orthography

Khotanese texts are characterised by very considerable spelling variation that not seldom impedes interpretation. Thus, the texts vary in date and reflect different linguistic stages of the language. They belong to different genres and reflect different registers. Beside archaising formal speech we find colloquial language; besides texts carefully written by learned monks and official documents, we find personal letters, casual notes and unskilled school exercises. There appear to have been different orthographic conventions, possibly associated with different monasteries. Moreover, the texts were in many cases copied by scribes whose speech differed from the language of the text they were copying and they allowed their speech to influence their work.
The Tumshuqese Karmavācanā text is earlier than the other Tumshuqese documents probably by several centuries, and was written before the introduction of the nine special signs. In view of our limited knowledge of the language it is not safe to draw any conclusions from apparent variations in spelling.

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory and distribution

2.1.1a Khotanese


2.1.1a.1 Vowels

The vowel system of the older language appears to have had 11 phonemes. In the later language the distinction of quantity was replaced by one of quality with a consequent reduction to the 6 phonemes \( i, e, o, u, \theta, \bar{u} \). Also, the diphthongs \( ai, au, \text{ and } ad \) of the older language were monophthongised.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Front} & \text{Central} & \text{Back} \\
\hline
\text{High} & i, \bar{i} & u, \bar{u} \\
\text{Mid} & e, \bar{e} & o, \bar{o} \\
\text{Low} & a & \bar{a} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

2.1.1a.2 Consonants

The consonant system appears to have distinguished 41 or 42 phonemes.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Labial} & \text{Dental} & \text{Retroflex} & \text{Palatal} & \text{Velar} & \text{Glottal} \\
\hline
\text{Plosives} & p^b & t^b & k^b & k & k \\
& b & d & d & g & g \\
\text{Affricates} & ts^b & ts^b & ts^b & ts^b & ts^b \\
& ts & t\tilde{s} & t\tilde{s} & t\tilde{s} & t\tilde{s} \\
\text{Fricatives} & f & s & z & x & h \\
& v & z & z & z & z \\
\text{Nasals} & m & n & n & \bar{n} & \bar{n} \\
\text{Trill} & r & r & r & r & r \\
\text{Approximants} & w & rr & r & r & r \\
\text{Lateral} & l & l & l & l & l \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

TABLE 7.3: VOWELS—KHOтанESE

TABLE 7.4: CONSONANTS—KHOтANЕSE
Of these, \( f \) and \( x \) occur only in Late Khotanese renderings of foreign words. The exact phonetic nature of the two \( r \)-sounds is unknown. They are distinguished in the script by signs that are conventionally transliterated as \( r \) and \( rr \), although \( rr \) is not a graphic combination of two \( r \)s and does not represent a long consonant. In Khotanese the retroflex phonemes were not confined to loanwords as in the case of Tumshuqese but formed an integral part of the system. Both \( r \)-phonemes may have had retroflex allophones.

2.1.1b Tumshuqese

No attempt has so far been made to reconstruct the Tumshuqese phonological system as the material available is so scanty.

2.1.1b.1 Vowels

Although the script does not reflect length distinction except in the case of \( ù \) and \( a \), it can be assumed that it was phonemic on systemic and historical-comparative grounds. The central vowel \( ù \) [\( a \)] is commonly found in unstressed syllables originally containing \( a \). Other vowels may have had an allophone [\( a \)] in unstressed syllables. Two diphthongs, \( ai \) and \( au \), are attested. It is probable that a set of nasalised vowels also existed.

2.1.1b.2 Consonants

The comparison with Khotanese suggests a similar system. This includes the assumption of two kinds of \( r \). Differences may also reflect different stages of development. Thus Tumshuqese has the voiced fricatives \( f \), \( v \), and \( ð \), and no evidence for the glottal stop, or for \( f \), and \( x \). The aspirated plosives found in Khotanese could theoretically be still fricatives in Tumshuqese.

2.1.2 Syllable and clusters

Only in the case of Khotanese do we have any means of determining the syllabic structure of the language. Analysis of Old Khotanese metrical texts (Emmerick 1968b) reveals that non-initial syllables may begin with any single consonant phoneme including the affricates whether or not they are followed by \( y \). We have no evidence regarding consonant groups containing a sibilant plus a single consonant except for \( ysm \) [\( zm \)], which does not make position in iambic metre so that the word \( aysmù \) [\( ázmu \)] must have been divided \( a-ysmù \). The word \( bísšá- \) 'all' < Indo-Iranian *\( yíśya- \) could be treated in metrical texts as having its first syllable either heavy or light. Since long consonants otherwise make position, it appears to be the case that [\( bísšá \)] was in the process of being simplified to [\( bísšá \)] at the time the texts were being composed.

2.2 Non-segmental features

Since the position of the stress is not recorded in the script, it can only be inferred on the basis of historical phonology. Khotanese accentuation has been treated by M. Maggi (1992, 1993). According to him, in polysyllables the Old Khotanese stress accent fell on the first heavy syllable from the end of the word but never on the word final syllable.
A word containing only light syllables was stressed on the initial syllable. There is insufficient evidence to say much regarding the stress in Tumshuqese.

3 MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Nominal morphology

Both Khotanese and Tumshuqese preserve the morphological distinction of masculine and feminine gender, and of singular and plural number. Neuter is still distinguished in Khotanese although it has largely been replaced by masculine and feminine, while the evidence for neuter in Tumshuqese is at present insufficient (in the nom. pl., Schmidt 1988: 312).

Old Khotanese and probably also Tumshuqese had a six-case system, reduced from the eight-case system of Indo-Iranian: nominative, accusative, locative, genitive-dative, instrumental-ablative, and vocative. The two compound cases result from morphological merger but retained the syntactic functions of their components. The accusative is identical to the nominative in the plural. The vocative is -a in the singular of the a-declension and -ā in the singular of the ā-declension; elsewhere it is identical with the nominative in the singular, but with the instrumental-ablative in the plural.

3.1.1a Nominal stem classes and declensions—Khotanese

The following summary is largely confined to Old Khotanese.

Nouns and adjectives are inflected according to vocalic (primary and secondary) and consonantal declensions.

The primary vocalic declensions are:

- the a-declension which is masculine or neuter;
- the ā- and ī-declensions which are feminine.

The secondary vocalic declensions attested are:

- masculine or neuter -aa, -ia, -ua, -āa, -īa, āa;
- feminine -āā, -īā, -ūa, -āā; and -āī, -īi, -au.

They arose as a result of the loss of intervocalic consonants, and the merger of the resulting short or long vowels with the vocalic endings, mostly of the a- and ā-declensions, rarely of the i-declension, while the au-declension arose from words in an original labial.

For the consonantal declensions the following subdivisions may be made:

- the masculine and feminine r-declensions;
- the masculine and neuter n-declensions;
- and the nd-declension which has natural gender.

Of these, the masculine and feminine declensions have almost exclusively consonant stem endings only in the nominative (sing. -e, plural in -ā), but are based on a thematic stem in the other cases. Isolated forms show traces of other consonant declensions, e.g. the nom. sg. ysar-e 'old age' < *zar-āh (Olr. h-stem *zar-ah). It should be noted that there is considerable variation in orthography, and that most of the forms cited in the tables are attested in other spellings, especially when reflecting
different stages. Thus, the distinction between nom. sg. -ā and gen.-dat. sg. -i in the primary a-declension is observed only in a few Old Khotanese texts. Endings that have spread from the n-declension and from the pronominal declensions (Sims-Williams 1990) are on the whole not included. (See Emmerick 1968a: 249–349 and Sims-Williams 1990.)

3.1.1a.1 Vocalic declensions:

Examples for primary and secondary vocalic declensions:

masc. -i: kīrā- ‘act’ has kīr-e, and āstaa- ‘bone’ has āst-e.
The same endings are found in Tumshuqese and may reflect a similar distinction (Schmidt 1988: 312).

3.1.1a.2 Declensions, āa- and āā-stems

Examples for ā- and āā-stems:

būsāa- ‘fuel’, syūa- ‘orphan’; masc. raysā-a-, fem. -ā- ‘empty’; masc. paḷā-a-, fem. -ā-
‘first’; paḷā- ‘banner’.

Monosyllabic and polysyllabic āa-stems are declined differently. No such distinction is apparent in the few attested cases of the āa- and āā-declensions. Some words have irregular declension. The forms of the āā-declension tend to merge with either with the āa- or the au-declension.
TABLE 7.6: DECLENSIONS OF āa- AND āā-STEMS—KHOTANESE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>āa- stem</th>
<th>āā- stem</th>
<th>āa-stem.</th>
<th>āā-stem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>monosyll.</td>
<td>polsyll.</td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>dāi</td>
<td>nūdāi</td>
<td>ṭūdāi</td>
<td>ṭūdāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>dāy</td>
<td>nūdāi</td>
<td>ṭūdāi</td>
<td>ṭūdāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G–D</td>
<td>dāi</td>
<td>nūtāi–yi</td>
<td>ṭūtāi–yi</td>
<td>ṭūtāi–yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I–A</td>
<td>dāina</td>
<td>bīšāi–na</td>
<td>ṭūtāi–ya</td>
<td>ṭūtāi–ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>dāi–āa</td>
<td>nūtā–ya</td>
<td>ṭūtā–ya</td>
<td>ṭūtā–ya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>āa- stem</th>
<th>āā- stem</th>
<th>āa-stem.</th>
<th>āā-stem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>monosyll.</td>
<td>polsyll.</td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I–A</td>
<td>p–āyau</td>
<td></td>
<td>ṭūl–ā</td>
<td>ṭūl–ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>p–vō’</td>
<td>nūl–vō’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.1a.3 Consonantal declensions

Examples for consonantal declensions:

*nd*-stems: rre, rrund- ‘king’, hve`, hva`nd- ‘man’;
*n*-stems: masc. nade, nadaun- (‘heroic) man’ , sve`, svan- ‘dog’ – ntr. šsama, šaman- ‘face’, tcei’man- ‘eye’, LateKh. tsaman-;

TABLE 7.7: CONSONANTAL DECLENSIONS—KHOTANESE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Endings</th>
<th>nd-stem</th>
<th>n-stem</th>
<th>r-stem</th>
<th>r-stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>-ō</td>
<td>rre</td>
<td>nade</td>
<td>pōte</td>
<td>māta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>rrund-u</td>
<td>nade</td>
<td>pōtar-u</td>
<td>mātar-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G–D</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>rrund-i</td>
<td>nadaun-ā</td>
<td>pūr-ā</td>
<td>mer-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I–A</td>
<td>-ina</td>
<td>rrund-ina</td>
<td>nadaun-āna</td>
<td>pyar-ina</td>
<td>mer-iṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-i-ā, (i)na</td>
<td>rrund-ina</td>
<td>nadaun-āna</td>
<td>pyar-ina</td>
<td>mer-iṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>-ō</td>
<td>rre</td>
<td>nade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Endings</th>
<th>nd-stem</th>
<th>n-stem</th>
<th>r-stem</th>
<th>r-stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N–ACC</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>rrund-ā</td>
<td>svan-ā</td>
<td>brātar-ā</td>
<td>dutar-ā, duḥ-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G–D</td>
<td>-ānu</td>
<td>rrund-ānu</td>
<td>svan-ānu</td>
<td>brātar-ānu</td>
<td>duḥ-ānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I–A</td>
<td>-āyau</td>
<td>rrund-āyau</td>
<td>svan-āyau</td>
<td>brātar-āyau</td>
<td>duḥ-āyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-āvo’</td>
<td>hranḍ-āvo’</td>
<td>tcamān-āā</td>
<td>brātar-āyau</td>
<td>dvātar-āyau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>-āyau</td>
<td>rrund-āyau</td>
<td>nadaun-āyau</td>
<td>brātar-āyau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.2a Adjectives—Khotanese

Adjectives follow the same declensional patterns as nouns but also have some mostly optional endings adopted from the pronominal declension, and most adjectives take pronominal endings where otherwise palatalisation would be required.

The comparative suffix is -tara- and the superlative suffix -tama-, inherited from Indo-Iranian, e.g. bata- ‘small’, bataara-, bataama-, and the old pair hastara-, hastama- ‘better,
best’ to the positive *sāra- ‘good’. Only the comparative seems to have been fully productive by the time of our texts.

3.1.1/2b Declension of nouns and adjectives—Tumshuqese

Tumshuqese seems to have developed basically the same declensional patterns as Khotanese. The most important difference is the gen.-dat. sg. ending -ā of the a-declension vs. Khot. -i (both from OIr. *-a(h)a). Consonantal declensions similar to those in Khotanese are attested by such forms as nom. sg. brāde ‘brother’, cf. Kh. brāte, beside nom. pl. brāre, cf. Kh. brātari, nom. sg. re ‘king’ cf. Kh. rre, beside gen.-dat. sg. ride, cf. Kh. rrundi, and nom. sg. hvaže ‘man’, cf. Kh. hva‘re, beside nom. pl. hvažandi, cf. Kh. hva‘ndi (for the latter, see Skjervø 1987: 84).

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.3.1a Personal and demonstrative pronouns—Khotanese

Some originally 1p and 2p forms of the personal pronouns are used as polite forms for the singular.

The demonstratives distinguish three degrees of deixis (see Sims-Williams 1994), all with the same set of endings:

- neutral: ʂ-, tt-;
- near: ʂa-t-, ttu-t-u (acc.), ttā-t- (reduplicated);
- remote: ʂ-år-, tt-år-.

The neutral deictic demonstrative also serves as personal pronoun. Emphatic forms of the neutral pronouns are marked by the deictic particle -i: ʂ-i, ʂa-i, tt-i, tt-i for ʂ-ā, ʂ-a, tt-u, tt-ā.

Occasionally double reduplications are found with the near deictic pronouns, e.g. ʂa-ʂa, ʂa-ʂa.

Pronouns are used as correlatives of the relative pronoun. Usually the interrogative-relative pronoun distinguishes animate kye, ce and inanimate-neuter cu in the nom.-acc. singular, but it does not distinguish number. In the following table contracted and some alternate forms are omitted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 7.8: PRONOUNS—KHOTANESE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl. encl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued overleaf)
TABLE 7.8: Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3 masc.</th>
<th>3 fem.</th>
<th>'who'</th>
<th>'what'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>buhu, mahu</td>
<td>uhu</td>
<td>tt-ē</td>
<td>tt-e</td>
<td>(same as singular)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>maha</td>
<td>uhu</td>
<td>tt-ā</td>
<td>t-te</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-D</td>
<td>māvu, mā(nu)</td>
<td>umāvu, umā(nu)</td>
<td>tt-ānu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-A</td>
<td>mih-yau</td>
<td>um-yau</td>
<td>tt-yau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tt-unu'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>mājaa-, mānia-</td>
<td>umyāa-, umānia-</td>
<td>tt-ānu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl. encl.</td>
<td>nā, -n</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>nā, -n, -m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Ex.: ttātā-n jəa = ttātā jəa (ttātā-Ω jəa) ‘they from it’ (Suv 0.5), vyātaraṇ-e jəa = vyātaraṇ-e jəa (vyātaraṇ-Ω jəa) ‘the predictions from it’ (Suv 0.8). [Skjervø]

3.1.3.1b Personal and demonstrative pronouns—Tumshuqese

Few pronouns are certainly attested in Tumshuqese. Their forms mostly reflect earlier stages of development from Old Iranian in comparison with Khotanese: 1s nom. asu, azu, encl. obl. me, 2s nom. to, gen.-dat. tivya, 1p mvo.

3.1.3.2 Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

The reflexive possessive adjective is hāvia- ‘one’s own’ for all three persons. It is attested also in Tumshuqese havya, hāvyā (Emmerick 1985a); the pronoun is uysānāa- ‘self’. The reciprocal pronoun is ssūjāa- ‘one another’, lit. ‘one the second’. Its equivalent in Tumshuqese may be sōde, sōde.

3.1.3.3 Indefinite and interrogative pronouns and adverbials

Khotanese has only one indefinite pronoun ye ‘one’, which is enclitic and invariable, e.g. neju ye ‘no one’ where it follows the negation and the indefinite particle ju. It has not yet been established for Tumshuqese.

Generalised indefiniteness ‘-ever’ may be expressed by the simple repetition of an interrogative-relative, e.g. kāma- ‘which’ in kāma-āna kāma-āna _WS- a ‘in whichever land’.

Insertion of the neutral pronoun is found in a few fixed phrases, e.g. kye _WS- kye ‘whoever’ (nom. sg.), _WS- tt-ā _WS- (nom. pl.); cu _WS- cu ‘whatever’ (nom. or acc. sg.). Most commonly it is indicated by particles such as ju, buro, hanu or halci, e.g. kye hanā, ce-ju, -buro, -halci, -halci ju, -ju halci, all ‘whoever’; cu-buro, -halci, -buro halci ‘whatever’; ku-buro, -halci ‘wherever’.

Alternate indefiniteness may similarly be expressed by the repetition of interrogative-relatives such as kye – kye ‘one – some’ or ‘some – others’:

kye dān- a pū-tā kye vā ggar-na pat-inda
‘one falls into a fire, some fall from a mountain’.

The interrogative-relatives form pairs with correlatives and may themselves function as adverbs. Those of location and direction may be distinguished by deixis: near speaker, mara(ta) ‘here’; near addressee, ttara ‘there’; and away from speaker, vara(ta) ‘there’. The main pairs are the following.
TABLE 7.9: ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES—KHO TANESE

| kāma- | cu | ‘which’ | ʂ-; tta | ‘that’; ‘thus’ |
| crāma- | ‘of what kind’ | tirāma-; ttandrāma- | ‘of that kind’ |
| cand- | ‘how much’ | ttand-; ttandā- | ‘(just) so much’ |
| cāndaka- | ‘how much, little’ | ttānddika- | ‘(so) little’ |
| cerā | ‘how much’ | tterā | ‘so much’ |
| čyā | ‘when’ | ttrīyā | ‘then’ |
| cālsto | ‘whither’ | ttolsto | ‘thither’ |
| ku | ‘where’ | mara | ‘here’ |
| | | tta | ‘there’ |
| | | vara | ‘there’ (remote) |

3.1.4a Adpositions—Khotanese

Khotanese has by far more postpositions than prepositions. Some adpositions occur in both positions, but there are no circumpositions. There is considerable variation with regard to case rection which is essentially determined by the semantics of the adposition and the context (see section 4.4.1 Use of cases). Most take the gen.-dat., some only or also the accusative (direction, extension, etc.), a few the instr.-abl.

3.1.4a.1 Postpositions

Postpositions found in Old Khotanese include: āstanna ‘etc.’, udīssā ‘for the sake of’, kāḍana ‘on account of’, pracaina ‘by reason of’, itā ‘before’, nimārsa ‘behind’, n(ud)va ‘behind’, pīrmo ‘at the head of’, brunsbāte ‘in front of’, vara(ta), varaālsto ‘towards’, vaṣṭa ‘throughout’, vaska ‘for’, vātā, vīrā ‘in, at, on’. The last pair of interchangeable postpositions occurs in numerous idiomatic phrases, such as hamu vātā, hamu vīrā ‘always’, with nom.-acc. sg. neut. of hama- ‘all’. Also used as prepositions are: baña ‘beside’, bendā ‘upon’, patāna ‘before’.

3.1.4a.2 Prepositions


3.1.4b Adpositions—Tumshuqese

In Tumshuqese there is little evidence for adpositions. The postposition tsi is used like Khotanese jsa (< OIr. *hačā) as a marker of the instr.-abl. case. The relationship of au ‘up to’ (< OIr. *awa) to Khot. odā is not clear (Emmerick 1985a: 20).

3.1.5 Adverbs

There are three productive ways of forming adverbs from other parts of speech: (1) by using the acc. sg. nt. of an adjective, e.g. šśār-u well” < šśāra- ‘good’, including relative adjectives, e.g. ttand-u ‘just a little’; (2) by means of suffixes such as -ālsto added to adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, adpositions, and locative nouns, e.g. bissālsto ‘homewards’ < bissā- ‘house’ (Degener 1989a: 105–112); (3) by means of the language suffix -au
added to an adjective, e.g. hvatan-au ‘in(to) Khotanese’ < hvatana- ‘Khotanese’ (Degener 1989a: 172-173).

Like adjectives, adverbs may be intensified by preposing an adverb such as atä or kunde 'very', tvare or bihyyu 'extremely' or more rarely by repetition, e.g. mulšu mulšu 'at very short intervals', tta tta 'thus'.

In Tunshuqese there is little evidence for adverbs, but some adverbs found in Khotanese are attested, e.g. mara 'here' as in Khotanese, and kari 'at all', Khot. karä.

3.1.6a Numerals—Khotanese

3.1.6a.1 Cardinal numbers

The cardinal numbers in Old Khotanese are as follows (cited in the nom.-acc.):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-9</th>
<th>11-19</th>
<th>1-9+</th>
<th>10-90</th>
<th>100+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shu</td>
<td>shiadasu</td>
<td>shivar-</td>
<td>dasu</td>
<td>satâ</td>
<td>'hundred'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d(u)ra</td>
<td>d(u)râsu</td>
<td>dvêvare-</td>
<td>bistâ</td>
<td>ysâru</td>
<td>'thousand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dra(a)</td>
<td>draâsu</td>
<td>dvêvare-</td>
<td>darsâ</td>
<td>byûru</td>
<td>'ten thousand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tcahora</td>
<td>tcaâlasu</td>
<td>tcahore-</td>
<td>tcaholsâ</td>
<td>kûla-</td>
<td>'ten million'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pânya</td>
<td>pânyjsâsu</td>
<td>puspâre-</td>
<td>ponnjsâsâ</td>
<td>nayut-</td>
<td>10¹³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kšâta, kše'</td>
<td>kšasu</td>
<td>kšëvare-</td>
<td>kšastît</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoda</td>
<td>haudâsu</td>
<td>hopare-</td>
<td>hodâtâ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hašta</td>
<td>hašâtsu</td>
<td>hapare-</td>
<td>hašâtât</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na, nau</td>
<td>naušu</td>
<td>novare-</td>
<td>novâ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers between the decades above twenty are compounds of the unit + *parah 'beyond' + decade, e.g. ššivare-bistâ '21', puspâre-bastít '25', hopare-darsâ '37'. Counters of higher numbers precede, e.g. dvi satâ 'two hundred', hašta ysrû 'eight thousand', tcahorehaštâtâ ysrû 'eighty-four thousand'.

Numbers are inflected, except byûru 'ten thousand'. The number 'one' distinguishes masculine and feminine; both 'one' and 'two' have some special forms with neuter nouns.

3.1.6a.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers, except for the first five, are regularly marked by the suffix -ama-, with the final -u of teens > -ama-, thus 'first' through 'ninth': pašawysa-, šâta-, dâ(d)ra-, tsirama-, pirâ-, kše'ma, hodama-, hašama-, nauma-.

3.1.6a.3 'Both' and indefinite adjectives

Khotanese hűduva 'both', etymologically originally 'both two', is declined like duva 'two'. Indefinite adjectives include phar-u, pharâka- 'many', bišša- 'all', harbišsa- 'every, all', hama- 'all', pana- 'every', händara- 'another'.
3.1.6b Numerals—Tumshuqese

Tumshuqese numbers are comparable to those in Khotanese: šo, dva, dre, tsahari, pañtši, xši, *hoda (ordinal hodama-), haštì, dasë; only a few decads are attested: bistā '20', patsasu '50', and xšista '60'. However, there is a striking difference from Khotanese with regard to the formation of the compound numerals in that the *parah type is used for the numbers below but not above twenty (Maggi 1991); thus Tumsh. ho-parəs- '17' vs. Khot. hauδuσu, Tumsh. bistyo patsyo '25' vs. Khot. puspere-bastā showing inversion of digit and decad. Attested ordinals are: tsārmà- 'fourth', xšima- 'sixth', hodama- 'seventh', haštama- 'eighth', dasma- 'tenth'.

3.2 Verb morphology

3.2.1 Stem formation—Khotanese

3.2.1.1 Present and past stems

Verbs have two stems, present and past. They derive from the Old Iranian present stems and the past participle in *-ta, respectively. But the original relationship is often no longer transparent: present/past stems yan-*yādā- 'make, do' (<Indo-Iranian *kən̂y-, *kṛtā-). Some verbs have suppletive stems, e.g. sarb-*sata- 'rise', and hiś-*lāta- 'come', ah-*vatā- 'be'.

Many verbs distinguish intransitive and transitive stems, but have the same past participle which is then inflected according to transitivity: present panam-*pamem- 'raise', past inftr. 2s perf. panat-* 'you arose' vs. trans. 3s perf. panat-ɑndə 'they raised' (same past participle panata-).

The two present stems relate to one another in various ways:

(1) no formal distinction, transitivity only indicated by endings: bar-*bar- (act./mid.) 'ride'/carry';
(2) length: hvaŋ-*hwāŋ- 'be spoken'/speak'; hanaŋ-*hanāš- 'go astray'/destroy'; hamāh-*hamāh- 'change' (intr.)/change' (trans.);
(3) intransitive -s ('inchoative' present stem of Old Iranian) vs. otherwise marked transitive stem: haspās-*hspās- 'strive'/urge';
(4) palatalisation of transitive stem: pasūj-*pasūj- 'burn' (intr.)/light (a lamp) (<*apa-sauca- and *apa-saucaya-);
(5) obscured: ḡacγ-*ḥatakāŋ- 'be broken'/break' (trans.) (<*fra-ščadya- and *fra-ščandaya-);
(6) causative marker -āŋ: bam-*bam-āŋ- 'vomit'/make vomit'; ysaɪ-*yṣy-āŋ- 'be born'/cause to be born'.

3.2.1.2 Directional particles

The particles vā and ḡā are commonly associated with verbs of motion and occasionally with other verbs. The particle vā expresses motion towards, ḡā motion away from the speaker:

[vā] usahy-a ku-*m bis-a balys-a
'deign (come) [here] where my house (is), Buddha' (Z 2.58);

ku [ḡā] tsut-e hām-āte
'when he has gone [away]'.

The directional particle *ttā* is used in Middle and Late Khotanese to express motion towards the addressee, giving a system of triple deixis similar to the directional demonstratives:

to speaker, *vā*; to addressee, *ttā*; away from speaker, *hā*.

### 3.2.2 Nominal forms

#### 3.2.2.1 Present participles

There are two:

1. Most common is that formed with the suffix masc. *-anda-*; fem. *-ankā, -ancā* (historically, thematicised *-ant-, fem. *-anta-cī*) found with both active and middle stems: masc. *hūs-anda-* ‘sleeping’, masc. *hvar-anda-* ‘eating’, fem. *būrān-ancā-* ‘shining’. The feminine form was often used also for the masculine in the later language.

2. The participle in *-ana-* remains confined to the middle stems: *ss-āna-* ‘lying (down)’, *hām-āna-* ‘becoming’. The verbs *āh-* ‘to sit’ and *ss-* ‘lie’ have reinforced forms *āna-* *ān-anda-*; *ss-āna-* *s-ān-anda*.

Both types of present participle may optionally be extended by a secondary *-a*: *hūs-anda-* *hūs-and-aa-* ‘sleeping’, *āna-* *ān-aa-* ‘sitting’.

In Tumshuqese, only the present participle in *-anda-* is attested: *dāy-anda-* ‘seeing’, *ras-ānda-* ‘knowing’.

#### 3.2.2.2 Past participles

Past participles are based on the past stem, masc. *-ta-, fem. *-tā* (see section 3.2.1 Stem formation): *mār-* > *muḍa-* ‘die’; *hūs-* > *huṣta-* ‘become dry’. There was however a tendency to add *-ta-* directly to the unmodified present stem: *mūr-* > *muru-da-* ‘crush’, *paysān-* > *paysān-da-* ‘recognise’, and in some cases *-āta* or *-āta*: *hūs-* > *huṣ-āta-, huṣṣ-āta-* ‘grow’. Occasionally there are extended forms: pres. *mūr-* ‘die’ > *muḍa-* *muḍa-a*.

Tumshuqese shows many striking agreements with Khotanese: *āta-* ‘come’ (< *āgata-*), *vasuta-* ‘pure’ (< *awa-suxta-*), *hvata-* ‘spoken’.

#### 3.2.2.3 Infinitives

Khotanese has two productive types of infinitive based on the present and past stems respectively: (1) present stem + *-a* or *-i*, and (2) past stem + *-e*, whose palatalising effect is increasingly lost in the later language. Some verbs have both types: *hvān-* ‘speak’ > present infinitive *hvān-i* and > past infinitive *hvē-e*, *hvē-e*, but there appears to be no functional difference. Thus, both *hvān-i* and *hvē-e* are used with *hamjīsaś-* ‘be about to’ (Z 2.64 5.7). In a few instances the infinitive is substantivised and declined in the oblique cases as an *a* stem (see section 3.2.7.3 Necessity construction).

### Tumshuqese

In Tumshuqese the predominant type of infinitive is marked by *-ana-* added to the present stem (once found in Khotanese). The loc. sg. of such infinitives with the post-
position "a as a whole came to be treated as a feminine noun (Emmerick 1985a: 14), e.g. instr.-abl. sg. tsatənayy-ə tsı 'from killing'.

3.2.2.4 Gerundives and gerunds

The gerundive or participle of necessity is formed (1) by the suffix -āṇa- (new formation) added to the present stem: yan-āṇa- 'be done', hvāṇ-āṇa- 'be spoken'; or (2) by -ya- suffixed to the lengthened verbal root. The latter is unproductive and often stands beside the new formation, e.g. yan-āṇa- 'be done' beside tcer- (< *carya- from *kar-); hvāṇ-āṇa- 'be spoken' beside hvaṇa- (< *hvanyā- from *hvan-). The ya-gerundive may optionally be extended by secondary -a-, e.g. tcer- besides tcer-a- (< *carya-ka-), an extension found only once with -āṇa-.

That Tumshuqese had a corresponding āṇa-gerund is evidenced by pātvāṇya, probably < *pati-tav-āṇa- (in the Karmavācanā, Emmerick 1985a: 20), while the ya-gerund may be reflected in inya (Konow 1935: 27), but the context is obscure.

3.2.3 Person marking and 'to be'

Person is marked by the forms of the copula and verbal endings. Forms based on the present stem distinguish active and middle voice; forms based on the past stem distinguish intransitive and transitive inflection, and distinguish masculine and feminine gender in some persons. Also, 3s neuter -u is often found in idiomatic expressions: ita (<> țta + -i) hānti u 'thus it occurred to him', țta χiitku 'it appeared thus', țta-mā pyușt-u 'thus I have heard' (cf. Sanskrit evam mayā śrutam).

Personal endings are distinguished in the four moods: indicative, subjunctive, optative, and imperative; a few instances of the injunctive are found in Old Khhotanese. Tumshuqese has an imperfect form marked by an augment as in Old Iranian, which is not attested in Khhotanese.

The verb 'be' is supplative, its past stem vāta- deriving from Old Iranian *hūta-. The singular of the indicative present has enclitic forms.

The following is an overview of the person marking in Khhotanese, combining the attested personal endings and 'be, become'; for periphrastic verb forms see section 3.2.6.2 (note that raised ' indicates palatalisation of the preceding syllable; "ā~i~" = "ā or i").

The archaic optative forms in v- of the copula (originally aorist optative) occur in potential and irreal conditional sentences (Skjærvø 1981; see section 3.2.6.2 for pluperfect and section 5.3.2 for conditional clauses).

In Tumshuqese only few non-indicative forms are attested, which correspond closely to their Khhotanese counterparts.

### TABLE 7.11: PRESENT AND PAST PERSON MARKING—KHOTANESE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active. Present</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Pluperfect</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| IND 1s         | -imā    | -i-
| SBJ 2s         | -i-
| OPT 3s         | -ā/i
| INJ 1p         | -i-
| IMP 2p         | -i-
| IMP 3p         | -i-

(Continued overleaf)
### TABLE 7.11: Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle. Present</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-(i)te</td>
<td>-ā-mane</td>
<td>-tru</td>
<td>-āre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>-ā(-ne)</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ā-te</td>
<td>-ā-mane</td>
<td>-ā-ta</td>
<td>-ā-ru-o,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>-ī-ne</td>
<td>-ī-ya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INJ</td>
<td>-(ā)ta</td>
<td>-ū-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past Indicative</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>-t-ā-mā</td>
<td>t-ī</td>
<td>t- ā-o (m)</td>
<td>-t-a sta (m)</td>
<td>-t-o (m)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRNS</td>
<td>-t-ai mā (m)</td>
<td>-t-ai</td>
<td>-t-e-o (m)</td>
<td>-t-and-ā mā</td>
<td>-t-and-ā sta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 7.12: COPULA AND 'BE, BECOME'—KHOTANESE

**ah- 'be'. Present**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>ānā, -mā</td>
<td>t-, -e</td>
<td>ā-tā, -stā</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>sta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>ā-ye</td>
<td>ā-ya</td>
<td>ā-mām</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>ā-ī, ā-tā, ā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ā-ndu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**vāt- 'be, become'. Past**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>vāt-ā-mā</td>
<td>vāt-ī</td>
<td>m. vāt-ā</td>
<td>m. vāt-a sta</td>
<td>m. vāt-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>vāt-ā-ya</td>
<td></td>
<td>f. vāt-a</td>
<td>f. vāt-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>v-ā-ya, (v)ya</td>
<td></td>
<td>v-ī-ya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.2.4 Conjugation classes

Four main conjugation classes can be distinguished based on the endings of the 3 pres. indicative. Of these types C and D are rare (Emmerick 1968a: 177). The table contains attested forms of hvān- 'speak', yan- 'make, do', puvā'd- 'fear', dai- 'see', hām- 'become, occur', and ysai- 'be born'.

### TABLE 7.13: CONJUGATION CLASSES—KHOTANESE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'speak'</td>
<td>hvān-īmā</td>
<td>yan-īmā</td>
<td>puvā'īmā</td>
<td>dai-īmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'make, do'</td>
<td>hvān-ī</td>
<td>yak-ī</td>
<td>puvā'ī-tā</td>
<td>dai-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fear'</td>
<td>hvān-ātā</td>
<td>yēn-ī</td>
<td>puvā'ī-tā</td>
<td>dāy-āmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'see'</td>
<td>hvān-āmā</td>
<td>yan-āmā</td>
<td>puvā'ī-ntā</td>
<td>dai-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'become, occur'</td>
<td>hvān-ā</td>
<td></td>
<td>dai-ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be born'</td>
<td>hvān-īndī</td>
<td>yan-īndī</td>
<td>puvā'īndī</td>
<td>dai-ndā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Tumshuqese the few attested verb endings are of type A and B. They correspond to earlier Khotanese forms, but do not show the palatalisation in the 1s and 3p characteristic of Khotanese: 1s -ami, 2s -e, 3s - idi, 3p -andi.

3.2.5 Negation

In both Khotanese and Tumshuqese there are two proclitic particles (1) the general negative ne, and (2) ma which occurs: (a) with the imperative for inhibitive and preventive prohibition, (b) with the subjunctive or (c) optative for wishes. In Khotanese ma appears to be a characteristic of formal or archaic language (Emmerick 1990). Both ma and ne may be strengthened by ne or by intensifying adverbs such as ju or karä: imperative:

\[
\text{[ma] puä', or [ma ju] puwa'} \quad \text{[ma ne] puwa't-ta}
\]

'fear not!' (2s imperative), 'fear not!' (2p);

subjunctive:

\[
\text{[ma ju] škand-o skauy-äte}
\]

'may it not touch the ground' (skauy-äte 3s subj.);

subjunctive negated with ne rather than ma:

\[
\text{[ne ne ju] mam pracaï karä bašd-ä aya}
\]

'may there be no sin at all because of me!' (aya 3s subj.) (Z 12.70).

The 3s present enclitic form contracts with ne, nāštä, nīštä 'is not', when the verb is unmarked.

3.2.6 System of tenses

3.2.6.1 Present and past

As indicated, Khotanese has two tenses based on the present and past stems respectively. The latter adds the endings to the past participle, but not in the 3rd person where there is gender distinction, as is the case in nominal sentences: 3s ind. ħvat-e -a 'he spoke'. Moreover, there is intransitive and transitive distinction:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{parrät-ä mä} & \quad \text{parret-e mä} \\
\text{'I have been delivered'} & \quad \text{'I have delivered'} \\
\text{(pres. stem pars-)} & \quad \text{(pres. stem parrij-)}
\end{align*}
\]
However, there was a tendency for the transitive to predominate (see Sims-Williams 1997 on the origin of the perfect).

3.2.6.2 Periphrastic perfect and pluperfect

The periphrastic past forms are based on the past participle and forms of ‘be’.

In the periphrastic indicative perfect in the 3s and 3p only forms with the negative are found:

\[ ne \text{ hvat-} e \text{ sta } \]

‘he did not speak’.

The perfect subjunctive and optative add the respective forms of the copula.

The pluperfect adds the past forms of ‘be’, of which the optative is extremely rare (Skjervø 1981). The following table illustrates the pattern, citing some of the rare non-indicative forms.

**TABLE 7.14: PERIPHRASTIC PERFECT AND PLUPERFECT—KHOTANESE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Pluperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>yād-e sta</td>
<td>yād-e vāt-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>yād-e āye</td>
<td>auit-ā vāt-āya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>yād-e āyā</td>
<td>yād-ā vya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that functionally there is no discernible difference between the non-periphrastic simple past and the periphrastic perfect. Essentially, then, the perfect has two forms:

\[ \text{parst-} e \text{ mā 'I (have) ordered';} \]
\[ \text{parst-} e \text{ īmā 'I (have) ordered'.} \]

There is insufficient evidence to establish the perfect system in Tumshuqese.

**TABLE 7.15: OVERVIEW OF TENSES AND MOODS—KHOTANESE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense and Mood</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Perfect, simple</th>
<th>Perfect, periphr.</th>
<th>Pluperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>subjective</td>
<td>optative</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.7 Modal and aspectual constructions

3.2.7.1 Potential-completive construction and passive

The auxiliaries yan- ‘make, do’ and ħām- ‘become’ when used with past participles have the following functions: yan- + past particle expresses active ability or completed action, ħām- + past participle expresses passive ability or completed action or simple passive in the present. The past passive is expressed by ‘to be’.
3.2.7.1a Ability
(a) Intransitive
śā vyāgr-a ne panat-a hām-āte
‘the tigress [cannot get up]’ (Suv 18.99).

(b) Transitive active
Present
ye ttussā-ttet-u [ne yuḍ-u yīn-dā nājsāṣt-u]
‘one cannot demonstrate] (the doctrine of) emptiness’;

ku [ne] ne [yuḍ-u yan-de] samu
‘if [he] simply [cannot do] them’ (i.e., miraculous deeds)’ (Z 12.132), note that in the expression riddhā yan- ‘perform miraculous deeds’ yan- is middle.

(c) Transitive passive
ūt-c a biś-s-a [khaṣ-a hām-āte]
‘the water [can] all [be drunk (up)]’ (Z 2.1.20).

3.2.7.1b Completed action
(a) Intransitive
Present
ci yā sšaman-a [āt-a hām-āre]
‘when the monks [have come]’ (Z 24.273).

(b) Transitive active
Past
ci aysur-a [purrd-u yād-ānda]
‘when [you-p had defeated] the asuras’;

ci gyast-ā balys-ā ttut-u tta tta [hwat-u yād-e]
‘when the Lord Buddha [had said] this thus’ (Suv 6.3.72).

(b) Transitive passive
Past
ci yā sātā tta tta [hwat-ā hāmāt-ā]
‘when this [had been said] thus’ (Suv 10.67).

3.2.7.1c Passive
Present(-future)
īnu mamā māst-ā rakṣ-a [ yād-a hām-āte]
‘today by me great protection [will be made = given]’ (Suv 6.3.62), translating Sanskrit adya mama mahaty ārakṣā kṛtā bhaviṣyati.

Past
ce buro ... hūne jṣa [bvana īndā]
‘as many . . . army-by [destroyed are’] = ‘as many (lands) have been destroyed by a (foreign) army’ (6.1.24), translating Sanskrit ye kecid . . . para-cakraṇa vā upahatā bhaviṣyanti;
3.2.7.3 Infinitive-based constructions


The infinitive depends on verbs predicated of inception or completion, such as hamjaš-a- 'be about to', ākšuv- 'begin', byeh- 'succeed', pari- 'order', or ability: hot- 'be able':

\[
\text{nāštā kye bīss-o baśda-u haut-ta vāstarna [hvīy-ā]}
\]
'there is no one who could-INJ [tell] the whole evil in detail' (Z 24.437);

\[
\text{svī ākšuv-āmū [padīnd-e]}
\]
'tomorrow we will begin [to make] (it)' (Z 23.43);

\[
\text{uysnor-a kye . . . dāt-u byeh-īndū [pyūšt-e]}
\]
'beings who get [to hear] the Law' (Sgh § 34.14).

3.2.7.4 Gerundives, gerunds, and necessity construction


The gerundive or participle of necessity, formed by the suffix -āña- or by -ya- (see section 3.2.2 Nominal forms) expresses necessity.

Negation of both types of gerundives is by ne, which in the 3s may be followed by the enclitic copula, or less commonly by the privative prefix a-.

The neuter singular of the gerundive is used as a gerund, constructed with the gen.-dat. of the experiencing subject:

\[
\text{ka [mamā] nary-o . . . [št-ān-u hām-āte]}
\]
'even if [I should have to stand = remain] in hell' (Z 2.215).

3.2.8 Diathesis

Khotanese inherited both causative and medio-passive stems (see section 3.2.1 Stem formation).

The passive can be expressed by the medio-passive endings with transitive verbs.

The middle can also have a reflexive function (Canevascini 1991). Thus, jsan- 'kill' is normally active as in handar-u jsan-da 'he kills another', but it is middle in uysān-o jsan-de 'he kills himself'.

The auxiliary verb yan- 'make, do' may be conjugated either in the active or in the middle, but each phrase has its particular diathesis. Thus in the phrase kūr-e yan- 'do (good) acts' yan- is always active whereas in the phrase kūdāgān-e yan- 'do evil acts' yan- 'do evil acts' it is always middle.

The passive can also be expressed by the potential-completive construction of ħūm- (see section 3.2.7.1c).
4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS


4.1 Coordination

4.1.1 Coordinating conjunctions and clitics

Coordinate conjunctions in Khotanese are: non-enclitic *u* 'and' and *o* 'or'; enclitic *r(r)*o 'and', *vā* 'or', *hāde* 'but'. Of these, Tumshuqese appears to have *o* 'or' and *ro* 'and'. Extended forms are *o* vā 'or on the other hand', and alternative *o* . . . *o* 'either . . . or'.

4.1.2 Enclitic particles and words

Khotanese has a common deictic particle -*i* (see section 3.1.3a/b.1 Demonstratives), and a rare emphatic particle -*ū* (Canevascini and Emmerick in Emmerick and Skjervø 1997: 25–28). Enclitic words include indefinite *ju*, *buoro*, *hamu*, *hali*, and emphatic *gāvū*, *tāvū* after negation in Old Khotanese. In Late Khotanese the present participles of *jā* - 'go', *āh*- 'sit', and *št*- 'stand' have various functions which remain to be studied in detail.

4.2 Noun phrase structure

Khotanese and Tumshuqese are languages where dependent items precede the head. Thus the structure of the simple noun phrase as well as that of the simple genitival noun phrase are (see also 4.3.3 Enclitic pronouns): ADJECTIVE – NOUN and NP₂ – NP₁.

4.2.1 Concord and agreement

4.2.1.1 Adjectives

Adjectives agree in case, number, and gender with the nouns they qualify. For example,

\[āssēi n-ā häten-ai šīy-ā ham-ā hamau\]

'blue, red, white (is) the same goblet' (Z 4.33).

Here the four adjectives agree with the nom. sg. masc. of *hamau* 'goblet'.

In later stages of the language the concord is often confused, being obscured by the reduction of the endings:

\[bu’ys-ye bād-na\]

'for a long time' (JS 7r2, 20r2).

Here the ending -ye of the adjective is formally instr.-abl. sg. fem., and the ending -na of the noun is instr.-abl. sg. masc.

4.2.1.2 Group inflection

In the later language the final syllable -na of the instr.-abl. sg. masc. of an adjective is sometimes dropped as in *mirāhinai hārna* 'with a pearl necklace' for *mirāhinaina hārna.
This phenomenon reflects the shift towards group inflection, and may have spread from the numbers, where already in Old Khotanese the members of complex numbers are either all inflected, or only the last one.

4.2.1.3 Demonstrative adjectives

Demonstrative adjectives similarly agree with their head noun:

balysa [ttū] hvana-u naljsond-e
‘the Buddha concluded [this] speech.’ (Z 22.334), accusative;

[ttāt-aye] hvat-ye hvan-ai
‘[this] speech having been spoken’, genitive (absolute construction).

4.2.2 Dependent nouns

Dependent nouns usually precede the head noun directly. The possessive function of the gen.-dat. may be emphasised by the adjective hāvia-, hīvia- ‘belonging to’ which agrees in case, number, and gender with the head noun:

balys-a (gen.) [hāvy-e] ird-i lit.
‘the Buddha’s [own] miraculous powers’ = ‘the Buddha’s miraculous powers’ (Z 14.91),

instead of *balys-ā-GEN ird-i;

śakka-ā [hīv-i] bārai
‘Śakra’s [own] steed’ = ‘Śakra’s steed’ (Jātakastava 6v3, ed. Dresden).

This usage is rarely attested in Old Khotanese but becomes more prominent later. Titles etc. precede names, e.g. gyast-ā balys-ā ‘the Lord Buddha’.

4.2.3 Extended noun phrase

The order of the extended noun phrase has not been fully determined but appears to be as follows:

Demonstrative – handara (‘other’) – Number – Adjective – Noun,

where the number may itself be preceded by indefinite adjectives such as phar-u, pharāka- ‘many’, biśa-, harbāśa- ‘all’.

4.3 Clause structure and word order

See Degener 1993: 46–51.
4.3.1 Nominal sentence

Nominal sentences, which consist of a subject and a nominal predicate, omit the copula in the present and past if both positive and indicative:

\[
\text{rre udayan-ā sīr-ā} \quad \text{thu-nā pāte}
\]

‘King Udayana (was) joyful’ (Z 23.123); ‘you (are) our father’ (Z 23.114).

4.3.2 Order of constituents

In view of the fact that there is relatively little prose literature available that is not translated from another language, it is difficult to determine in detail the principles governing Khotanese word order.

Khotanese and Tumshuqese are SOV (subject-object-verb) languages: Khot.

\[
\text{balys-ā dat-u hvat-e}
\]

‘the Buddha spoke = preached the Law’ (Z 13.109).

An indirect object precedes a direct object:

\[
tt-ānu cakravartī-ānu rrund-inu-GEN-DAT haur-u-ACC haur-ā
\]

‘he would give a gift (haur-u) to the cakravartin kings’ (Sgh § 88.3).

4.3.3 Enclitic pronouns

The enclitic pronouns in their genitive and dative functions as possessor, experiencer, or agent are attached to the first unit of the clause. This may be the following:

(1) Adverbial:

\[
tta-mā pyūst-u
\]

‘thus-by-me was heard’ = ‘thus I have heard’.

(2) Conjunction:

\[
tta cu-te sait-tā \quad \text{cv-i mast-a hastam-a kīr-e}
\]

‘well, how-to-you does it seem?’ ‘as-for-his great, excellent deeds’

(Sgh § 91.1); (Z 23.47).

(3) Relative-interrogative:

\[
kye-nā rro Grat-u hvān-āte \quad ku-m bis-a
\]

‘and who-to-us will preach instruction?’ ‘where-my house (is)’

(Z 24.516); (Z 2.58).

(4) Subject itself:

\[
\text{thu-nā pāte}
\]

‘you (are) our father’ (Z 23.114).

It is always attached to the negation:

\[
nai (< \text{ne} + -ī) \text{ ne mara ram-āte}
\]

‘it pleases him (-ī) not at all (ne . . . ne) here’ (Z 22.172);
ne-n ne mara ram-āte
‘it pleases them (-n) not at all here’ (Z 22.172; 22.211);

cu nai (< ne + -i) be‘ khāš-a yan-āmā
‘why don’t we put poison in his (-t) food?’ (Z 2.26).

The last example shows that by this rule the enclitic pronoun may be separated from its referent, lit. ‘why not-his poison in food we do’.

4.3.4 Topicalisation

It is probable that, as in most languages, focus could be given to a word by deviation from the standard word order, but further research is required to determine the details. Moreover, in texts which are mostly translations, topicalisation may follow the original. For example, in the following sentence the word order closely corresponds to Sanskrit (Sgh § 62.2, cited by Degener 1989: 49):

\[
\text{namasāt-aimā} \ldots \text{aysu} \quad \text{tī} \ldots \quad \text{balys-a (Khot.)}
\]
‘worshipped \ldots \text{I} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{Buddhas’}
\[
\text{vandītā} \ldots \quad \text{me} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{tathāgatā (Sanskrit)}
\]
‘worshipped \ldots \text{by me} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{Buddhas’}

A common form of topicalisation is the placing of a dependent noun in initial position, marked by the conjunction cu ‘as’, with or without an anaphoric replacement:

\[
cu \text{kumjā-s a st-ē, tt-ye ysv-e}
\]
‘as far as (cu) sesame (kumjā) is concerned (ṣte), its (ttye) taste (ysvē)’ (Si § 3.18), from non-topicalised ‘the taste of sesame’;

\[
cu \text{tī māst-a hastam-a kīr-e, biśśā balys-a ānī niżaš-ē}
\]
‘as for (cu-) his great, excellent deeds, all (of them) the Buddha displayed (while) sitting’ (Z 23.47).

4.3.5 Questions

4.3.5.1 Yes-no questions have the same word order as statements, their interrogative character being indicated by intonation:

(1) \text{dahak-a ysq qjīšk-ē}
‘has a boy been born or a girl?’ (Nanda 41).

(2) With reaffirmative tag, ā ne ‘or not’, later o ne:

\text{dv-a tāisā-y-a caiga-kṣīr-a tsvāmd-a, ā ne}
‘did the two monks go to China or not?’ (P 5538b.43 KT 3.122).

4.3.5.2 Interrogatives are as a rule in initial position:

(1) \text{cūde brem-ē}
‘why are you (sg.) weeping?’ (Z 24.235);
\text{kīye-nā rro grut-u hvān-āte}
‘and who will preach instruction to us?’ (Z 24.516).
Ita cI-te sail-tä
‘well, how does it seem to you?’ (Sgh § 91.1).

4.4 Semantics and use of nominal forms

4.4.1 Use of cases

On the whole the syntax of the cases conforms with that of Avestan and Indo-Iranian. Particular features are the following.

4.1.1.1 Genitive-dative

(1) As object and experiencer with verbs of fearing:

[śśūji-ye] puvañ-ndi
‘they fear [one another]’ (Z 11.10);

and as experiencer with such as verbs as ‘occur to, seem to someone, realise’.

(2) With the participle of necessity:

\[
ka \ [\text{namā}] \ nar-\text{yo} \ldots \text{štāñ-u hām-āte}
\]
‘if it were [for me] to stay (štāñ-u) in hell’ = ‘even if I should have to remain in hell’ (Z 2.215);

\[
\text{kṣātā} \ \text{pārāmat-e} \ [\text{hvānd-ā}] \ldots \text{car-āñ-e}
\]
‘the six perfections must be practised [by a man]’ (Z 11.17).

(3) As agent in future passive constructions:

\[
\text{ānu} \ [\text{namā}] \ māst-\text{ā} \ raks-\text{a} \ yād-\text{a} \ hām-āte
\]
‘today [by me] great protection will be given’ (Suv 6.3.62).

(4) In past passive participle constructions:

\[
[\text{biś-ānu} \ gyast-\text{ānu} \ balys-\text{ānu}] \ \text{āysdagād-ā}
\]
‘watched over [by all the Lord Buddhas]’ (Suv 6.1.4).

(5) In a genitive absolute construction:

\[
[\text{ttāñ-āye} \ hvat-\text{ye} \ hvān-\text{āi}]
\]
‘this speech having been spoken’ (Sgh § 43.1).

4.1.1.2 Locative

The use of the locative is shown in the following.

(1) For the source of motion:

\[
\text{kho ju ye viys-ū thamj-āte} \ [\text{khārj-ā}]
\]
‘just as one pulls a lotus out [of the mud]’ (Z 5.90).
(2) With the adjective bisaa- 'residing, located (in)':

\[ jaytvlvfy-a \ ji bis-i sat-v-a \]
'beings (living) in Jambudvipa' (ApS § 6);

\[ tciytfi-a \ ji bis-e arv-e \]
'in the eye located (medicinal plants =) medicine (that one puts) in the eye' =
'eye-medicine' (Si 26.31).

(3) In Late Khotanese, with the present participle middle āna- 'sitting, dwelling' to express motion away from the noun, instead of a simple ablative noun:

\[ hvqnnry-a \ kâr-i' qn-â șacuvâșîâ \]
'in Khotanese country] dwelling to Șacû' = 'from the Khotanese country to Șacû'
(StH 36).

4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms

4.5.1 Possession
Possession is indicated by the genitive-dative with the existential verb, e.g. here with enclitics, \( aștā-tā \) 'you have', lit. 'to you is', \( niștā-mā \) 'I don't have'.

4.5.2 Tense and aspect

The basic distinction of tense is present and past. In turn, past tense distinguishes between perfect (simple and periphrastic) and pluperfect.

4.5.2.1 Future
The future is normally expressed by means of the present or the subjunctive.

4.5.2.2 Accomplishment of past action
The accomplishment of an action in the past is expressed by the potential-completive \( yan-, \ hām- \) construction (see section 3.2.7.1 Potential construction).

4.5.2.3 Immediacy
Immediacy is frequently expressed in Late Khotanese by adding the present participle middle \( ștāna- \) of \( șt- \) 'stand', often together with \( vamnā \) 'now':

\( trâst-ai ra thu pâdā . . . u [trây-i ștâna] vamnâ ștâna \) is a particle by then, no ending
'you formerly rescued . . . and [you (sg.) are rescuing] now' (Avdh 12v1–2) (comparable to Buddhist Sogdian \( ștēn \) and Yaghnobi -išt).

4.5.3 Use of modal forms

On the whole, one can distinguish between what may be termed 'major modal' (indicative and imperative) and 'minor modal' (subjunctive, optative, and Old Khot. 3s
In general, the indicative is used for statements; the imperative for commands; the subjunctive for potential action or state, including softened commands and wishes; the optative for irreal action or state, including wishes; the injunctive for potential as well as past action or state.

Examples of the use of the moods are the following (for hypothetical statements see section 5.3.2 Conditional clauses below; for ability and necessity, see sections 3.2.7.1 Potential, and section 3.2.7.4 Gerundival constructions):

(1) Statements:
   (a) Indicative:

   *balys-št tt-ū hvana-u [naljoṣ-and-e]*
   ‘the Buddha [concluded] this speech.’ (Z 22.334).

   (b) Injunctive, past function:

   *samu ne re pātcu [haraysd-a]*
   ‘then no sooner [had] the king [stretched out].’ (Z 5.88).

   (c) Commands, imperative:

   *ma ju [puva’] badr-a [ākūt-a] ggaṃdy-o tsāṣ-o*
   ‘[fear] not, Bhadra! [Strike] the gong calmly.’ (Z 2.102).

   *prām-a [skīm-āṇdu]*
   ‘[let them build] arches.’ (Z 5.96).

(2) Wishes:
   (a) Subjunctive:

   *ka va ti-ā [pars-āro] dukh-yaujsa*
   ‘if only [they may escape] from woes!’ (Z 5.112).

   (b) Optative:

   *ka nē [parrij-īyā] dukh-yau jsa*
   ‘if (only) [he may rescue] them from woes!’ (Z 22.292).

   (c) Indicative:

   *ma vā [pars-imā] puṣṣo*
   ‘nor [may I escape] wholly’ (Z 7.4).

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

Subordinate conjunctions in Khotanese are: *ka ‘if’, kāmu ‘as long as’, ku ‘where’, kho ‘how, as’, cū ‘when’, cu ‘when, if, because, since’. Of these, *ka* and *cu* are found in Tumshuqese.
5.1 Quotative clitic

The particle se is a discourse marker introducing direct speech after verbs of speaking or thinking or similar locutions, corresponding to the colon in the English translations:

\[ \text{tta hvat-}e \ [\text{se}] \ \text{cunai}(\text{ne} + {\text{-I}}) \ \text{bei khīs}-a \ \text{yan-amā} \]

'he spoke thus [\] "Why don’t we put poison in his food?" ' (Z 2.26).

5.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are introduced by relative pronouns or relative adverbs, with or without a preceding demonstrative or demonstrative noun phrase. The case of the pronoun is determined by its function within the relative clause. Potential or generalised action or state is in the subjunctive or injunctive.

5.2.1 Indicative, factual

\[ \text{nīstā kye yuď-u yīn-dā pamāt-u ... sāhān-c} \]

'there is not = no one who can measure-POT the virtues' (Z 24.652).

5.2.2 Relative pronoun in genitive-dative

\[ \text{samu kho} \ \text{tye ci mīta mīde} \]

'just as that one whose mother dies' (Z 23.24).

5.2.3 Injunctive, potential

\[ \text{nīstā kye bišš-o baśda-u vāstarna hvīy-ā} \]

'there is no one who could tell the whole evil in detail' (Z 24.437).

5.2.4 Clauses with head noun

\[ \text{kṣīr-ā ku ne rre nīstā o s-a bīs-a ku hvīst-ā mīde} \]

'the land where there is no king, or the house where the master dies' (Z 23.23);

\[ s-a sāv-a ... ku nā sat-a šī hambad-a māst-ā \]

'the night . . . when the full moon has not risen' (Z 23.22).

5.3 Adverbial clauses

5.3.1 Temporal and local clauses

Temporal and local clauses are introduced by āī, eīā, or ku, locational clauses by ku.

5.3.1.1 Temporal

\[ \text{eī gyast-ā balys-ā ttt-u tta tta hvat-u yīd-e} \]

\textit{when} the Lord Buddha had said-POT this' (Suv 6.3.72);
5.3.1.2 Local

Local clause, subjunctive dependent on possible condition:

\[ka \ldots nai (ne + -t) bv-\text{-}ate (ku mara \text{-}at-\text{-}h\text{-}m-\text{\-}ate)\]
'if he should not realise it: where he has come here' (Z 2.51).

5.3.2 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced by \textit{ka} or \textit{ko}. Potential action or state is in the subjunctive, irreal in the optative:

(1) Subjunctive, potential:

\[ka \ldots nai (ne + -t) bv-\text{ate} (ku mara \text{-}at-\text{-}h\text{-}m-\text{\-}ate)\]
'if he should not realise (where he has come here)' (Z 2.51).

(2) Optative in protasis and apodosis, irreal:

\[ko satv-\text{\-}ttatvatu v-\text{-}i\text{-}ya (nirv\text{\-}\text{-}an-ye \text{\-}g\text{\-}e \text{\-}n防火 a)\]
'if indeed a being really existed (v-\text{-}i\text{-}ya), (one would never come (防火 a) to Nirv\text{\-}a)'

(Z 6.58).

5.3.3 Consecutive and comparative clauses

Consecutive and comparative clauses are preceded by demonstrative adverbs and introduced by \textit{kho} and a correlate relative pronoun or relative adverb:

\[jambud\text{\-}v\text{\-}pa had become such as when no Buddha has been here' (Z 23.22);\]

\[pan-ye tter\text{\-}\text{a} k\text{\-}k\text{\-}c-a uysnor-\text{\-}a samu kho t\text{\-}tye ci m\text{\-}at-\text{\-}a m\text{\-}d\text{\-}e\]
'the anxiety of every living being (was) as great as that of one whose mother dies'

(Z 23.24);

\[kho j\text{\-}te viys-\text{\-}a thanj-\text{\-}ate k\text{\-}h\text{\-}\text{\-}r\text{\-}a\]
'just as one pulls a lotus out of the mud' (Z 5.90).

5.4 Nominalised clauses

5.4.1 Infinitival constructions

In infinitival constructions (see section 3.2.7.3), the complement may either remain with the infinitive, or be placed before the head verb

(1) Position before the infinitive:

\[parst-\text{\-}e (tt-\text{-}\text{\-}dv\text{\-}s-\text{-}u b\text{\-}ang\text{\-}hy-\text{-}a p\text{\-}ha\text{\-}st-\text{-}e)\]
'he ordered (to fell those twelve trees)' (Sgh § 211.2).
(2) Position before the head verb:

\[ uysnor-a \text{ kye . . . (dāt-u) byeh-īndā (pyūṣṭ-e) }\]

\[ 'beings who (the Law) get (to hear)' = 'beings who succeed in hearing the Law' (Sgh § 34.14). \]

5.4.2 Participial-adjectival clauses

In addition to the infinitival and gerundival constructions (see sections 3.2.7.2–3), and the genitive absolute (see 3.1.3a/b.1 Demonstrative adjectives), Khotanese makes frequent use of participial-adjectival clauses. They are prominently, but not only, locational:

\[ māri ā′g-y-e \text{ divat-e, } \quad hvanm-ya kṣī-r-ā \text{ qn-ā }\]

\[ 'here residing deities' (Z 23.25); \quad 'dwelling in Khotanese country' (StH 36);\]

\[ tāj-vā [īs-ā] \text{ devatt-a lit. } \]

\[ 'in the rivers dwelling deities' (ApS V § 25). \]

They tend to evolve into locational enclitics:

\[ hvanm-ya kṣī-r-ā \text{ qn-ā sācūvāsā }\]

\[ 'from the Khotanese country to Sacū' (StH 36), lit. 'dwelling in'. \]

6 LEXIS AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS

6.1 Word formation

6.1.1 Derivation

There is a large number of productive suffixes, but few prefixes (for productive suffixes, see Degener 1989a). The following are examples of productive affixes that derive adjectives and nouns:

6.1.1.1 Suffixation


(3) Nouns from nouns: (a) -oṇa-: arahandoṇa- ‘arhatship’ < arahanda- ‘arhat’; bvaṅkaṅja- ‘the state of being a knower’ < bvaṅka- ‘knower’; b) -oṣṭi-: daḥostī- ‘virility’ < daha- ‘man’; hayūnastī- ‘friendship’ < hayūna- ‘friend’.

6.1.1.2 Prefixation

(1) Adjectives from adjectives: (a) privative a- ‘un-’, ahvata- ‘unspoken’ < hvata- ‘spoken’; (b) bi- ‘less’, bijūndaa- ‘lifeless’ < jūndaa- ‘living’; (c) hu- ‘well’: hubasta- ‘well bound’ < bastā- ‘bound’.
6.1.2 Composition

Khotanese compounds consist almost exclusively of two members (see Degener 1987).

(1) Substantive as prior member:


(b) + adjective: cā’ya-nārmātā- ‘produced by magic’ (+ nārmāta- ‘produced’).

(c) + verbal stem. This type usually has secondary -a- (see section 3.1.1a Nominal stem classes): dātā-hvānaa- ‘Law preacher’ (+ hvānaa- ‘preacher’ < hvān- ‘to preach’).

(2) Adjective (adverb, pronoun) as prior member:


+ adjective: hampta-ysāta- ‘born together’ (+ yṣāta- ‘born’).

(3) Numbers as prior element:

+ substantive, a. mostly bahuvrihis: drāi-pāśkala- ‘of three classes’ (+ pāśkala- ‘class’), sī-va- ‘biped’ (+ pā- ‘foot’); b. not bahuvrihis, e.g. drai-padia- ‘threelfold’ (+ padia- ‘kind’).

+ number, two instances only: hiiduva ‘both’ (+ duva ‘two’); śśājīta- ‘one another’ (< sāta- ‘second’).

6.1.3a Loanwords—Khotanese


6.1.3a.1 Iranian

The oldest loanwords in Khotanese are Zoroastrian technical terms that have been adapted to a different religious environment. The best known are urnameysde ‘sun’ < *ahura-mazdāh (nom. sg.), cf. Avestan ahurō mazdā, Old Persian avaramazdā, and šsandrāmatā-, which is the Khotanese equivalent of the name of the Avestan female Holy Immortal spandā- ārmaiti- but is used to designate the Buddhist goddess of fortune, Sanskrit Śrī. To this layer of borrowing may also belong the much disputed word phārra- ‘splendour’, the Khotanese counterpart of Old Persian farnah- (Emmerick in Emmerick and Skjærvø 1997: 103–104).

6.1.3a.2 Indian

The majority of the Indian loanwords in Khotanese are learned borrowings that are adopted unchanged but are inflected as Khotanese, sometimes with Khotanese suffixes.
Often it is not possible to determine whether their source is Prakrit or Sanskrit, but many of the frequent words betray by their phonological features the influence of the North-western or Gandhāri Prakrit. They are extremely common in a Buddhist milieu, e.g. śramana-, ‘monk’, śāvārə- ‘hearer, disciple’, saṃtisāra- ‘cycle of existence’, cf. Gandhāri śamaṇa-, sāvaka-, satsara-.

According to the degree of assimilation there are ‘loan synonyms’, ‘loan blends’, and ‘loan homonyms’ (Degener 1989b). Thus, a word of Iranian origin may add the meaning of a similar Indian word, e.g. sam-, whose meaning ‘to agree’ has been ascribed to the influence of Buddhist Sanskrit and Pāli sam-. A loanword may be blended, e.g. Indian pāramitā- ‘perfection’ > pārāmatā-, here with the common Khotanese abstract suffix -āmatā-. A loanword becomes homonymous with a native word, e.g. Indian ātama- in the sense of ‘Buddhist tradition’ (< Sanskrit āgama-) became homonymous with Khotanese āmatama- ‘wish, desire’ (<ākāma-).

Borrowings from other languages are rare. (1) Tocharian. The only instance seems to be Old Khot. puça- ‘cubit’ from Toch. A poke ‘arm’. (2) Chinese. Apart from proper names and titles borrowings, few administrative terms are attested; e.g. kīna ‘16 ounces’ from Chinese chin (jin), kṣau ‘voucher, receipt’ from Chinese ch’ao (chao). (3) Tibetan. Loans are rare and confined to Late Khotanese, e.g. skyaisa ‘official gift, present’ from Tibetan skyes. (4) Turkish. Except for a number of Turkish proper names and titles in Late Khotanese no loans have so far been found.

6.1.3b Loanwords—Tumshuqese

The short Buddhist Karmavacana text shows that Tumshuqese likewise borrowed its Buddhist terminology in large measure from Gandhāri Prakrit, e.g. uvācā- ‘layman’ (Khot. uvācā-) and retena- ‘jewel’ (Khot. ratana-). However in Tumshuqese there is much stronger influence from Tocharian than in Khotanese. The influence from Chinese is minimal, cāṃṣya- from Chinese ch’ang shih (chang shi) designating the holder of an administrative office, a term also attested in Khotanese, Middle Persian, and Uighur (Bailey 1961: 118).

6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects

Polite Phraseology. The Khotanese verb pari- pari- ‘order’ is used honorifically with the infinitive like Sogdian fmn- y- and New Persian farnāy-: kū šta past-ai mūz-ai ‘Where did you deign to stay?’ In the imperative it may be rendered ‘please’: laka mara pari-a mūz-ai ‘Please stay here a little’.

The loanword usahy- ‘endure’ is used as an honorific instead of a verb of motion: vā usahy-a kū-m bi-sa bāły-sa ‘Deign (to come) to where my house (is), Buddha’ (Z 2.58).

It is customary in letters to refer to oneself as ṃaśa- bīśa- ‘humble servant’. The phrase drūn-ā prvais-ā ‘I ask after the health’ of persons known to the writer of a letter is sometimes abbreviated to simply prvais-ā ‘I ask after’.

7 DIALECTS AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Although some fragments appear to contain rare forms, it has not so far been proved that the extant material in Khotanese and Tumshuqese reflects traces of dialect differentiation. Khotanese and Tumshuqese themselves, although closely related, must be
considered independent languages rather than dialects. They were spoken in widely separated communities that were politically independent of each other, and in view of their divergent historical development the level of mutual intelligibility must have been extremely low.

7.1a Khotanese


It has always been clear that Khotanese shows a striking phonological development that Bailey compares with the development of Latin to Italian and French. It has however not always been realised that the phonologically late forms are also attested very early. The texts reflect accurately the observation made by the Chinese pilgrim Hsiian-tsang (Xuan-zang) in the seventh century that the learned form of the name of Khotan was *hvatana-* , the Old Khotanese form, while at the same time the popular form was *hwamna-* , the Late Khotanese form. Kumamoto (1996: 90) suggests that the monastic tradition of writing in Old Khotanese did not survive the period of Tibetan sway in Khotan (ca. 790–840 CE).

Attempts have been made to distinguish between more than just Old and Late Khotanese, but unanimity prevails only with regard to the existence of two phonological systems, the details of which have gradually been established. Skjærvø has recently begun to argue in favour of three stages in the development of the language, which he terms Old, Middle, and Late Khotanese (see Skjærvø, 2002: lxx–lxxi, 2004: lxiv–lxv).

7.1b Tumshuqese

The scanty extant material provides no indication of the phonological development of the language. The earliest text, the Karmavacana, has a different appearance largely due to the fact that it was written before the introduction of the nine new signs used in the later texts (cf. section 1.2, Writing systems).

7.2 Demise of the languages

We have no direct evidence concerning the demise of Tumshuqese and Khotanese, but it is probably significant that no Khotanese text can be dated to later than the tenth century, whereas the language was flourishing throughout the century. It can hardly be coincidental that Khotan fell to Moslem invasion early in the eleventh century.

8 SAMPLE KHOTANESE TEXT Z 23.22–25

\[ jamb\bar{\nu}-i \quad \text{trām-ā vāstār-ā} \quad ku \quad ne \quad marata \quad balys-ā \quad ni \quad vei \quad stā \]

Jambudvīpa such became where not here Buddha not been is, 'Jambudvīpa had become such (as)

\[ kho \quad ju \quad s-a \quad sāv-ā \quad stār-yau \quad hanūtsa \quad ku \quad ni \quad su-a \quad stā \quad hambād-ā \quad māstā-ā \]

like indeed the night stars with where not risen is full moon, 'just like the night with (its) stars when the full moon has not risen,'
or a land where there is no king,
‘or that house where the master dies.’

‘Likewise, the whole world (was) then without a protector.’

‘All gatherings, pleasures,
laught er, jokes disappeared.’

‘The anxiety of every living being (was)
as great as that-of-one whose mother dies.’

‘Tormented (were) all men here
residing deities Yakṣas.’

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge here the generous assistance of Prods Oktor Skjærvø in editing this chapter by our sadly missed colleague Ronald E. Emmerick.

[The Editor]

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—(forthc.) ‘Khotanese’, in EnIr.


CHAPTER EIGHT

PERSIAN AND TAJIK

Gernot Windfuhr and John R. Perry

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

The focus of this chapter is Modern Standard Persian and Modern Standard Tajik. Both evolved from Early New Persian. Western Persian has typologically shifted differently from modern Tajik which has retained a considerable number of Early Eastern Persian features, on the one hand, and has also assimilated a strong typologically Turkic component, on the other hand. In spite of their divergence, both languages continue to share much of their underlying features, and are discussed jointly in this chapter.

1.1.1 Historical background

Persian has been the dominant language of Iranian lands and adjacent regions for over a millennium. From the tenth century onward it was the language of literary culture, as well the lingua franca in large parts of West, South, and Central Asia until the mid-nineteenth century. It began with the political domination of these areas by Persian-speaking dynasties, first the Achaemenids (c. 558–330 BCE), then the Sassanids (224–651 CE), along with their complex political-cultural and ideological Perso-Iranianate constructs, and the establishment of Persian-speaking colonies throughout the empires and beyond. The advent of Islam (since 651 CE) represents a crucial shift in the history of Iran and thus of Persian. It resulted in the emergence of a double-focused Perso-Islamic construct, in which, after Arabic in the first Islamic centuries, Persian reasserted itself as the dominant high register linguistic medium, and extended its dominance into formerly non-Persian and non-Iranian-speaking territories in the East and Central Asia.

The writing system became that of the new dominant religion, and there occurred increasing infusion of Arabic features into the lexicon, phonology and grammar (comparable to the absorption of the Norman component into English). However, throughout the evolution of the literary standards from Early New Persian to Modern Standard Persian the considerable typological changes that Persian underwent are due to both internal Persian developments, including the leveling of regional features, and to the assimilation of expanding areal cross-linguistic typological isoglosses.
1.1.2 Persian and related groups

See Chapter 2, Map 2.6.

1.1.2.1 Varieties of Persian

Overall, Persian varieties are divided into a Western group mainly in Iran and an Eastern group in Afghanistan and Central Asia, with transitional varieties.

Caucasus

The northwestern outpost of Persian is Caucasian Tat Persian spoken in an Azeri Turkic, Caucasian and Armenian environment, with three varieties: (a) Muslim and (b) Jewish (Juhuri) in Azerbaijan and Dagestan, and (c) Christian Armeno-Tat in Armenia.

Iran

Persian sociolinguistic registers include:

(a) Modern Standard Persian, the written norm in Iran (Farsi) and Afghanistan (Dari), evolved during the last few centuries;
(b) Colloquial Persian, specifically the normalized form of Colloquial Tehrani Persian, used for most polite spoken communication, which increasingly shows reflexes in the standard language;
(c) Xodemuni 'our own', (< xod-emān-i), i.e. familiar speech, the non-normalized local variant such as in Tehran.

(2) Regional and local varieties in the urban centers throughout Iran in non-Persian dialect and language areas.
(3) Khorāsān Persian varieties, representing a major distinct regional subgroup and stretching from east of Tehran to the Afghan border. Tehran to the Afghan border.

Transitional group

Varieties straddling the Iran-Afghan border: (1) closely related Kohistāni in Iran and Afghan Fārsiwāni, and (2) Sistāni on both sides of the border.

Afghanistan

See Kieffer 1983, incl. map and detailed table.

(1) Afghan Persian, officially called Dari, mostly close to literary Persian.
(2) Kaboli (Kāboli), increasingly become the standard Afghan vernacular.

Large regional Persian varieties include:

(3) Herati (Herātī) near the Iranian border.
(4) Ayamaqi (Aymāqī) near Herat (in pockets also in Iranian Khorasan).
(5) Hazaragi (Hazāragī), stretching northeast through the Afghan center, some in Iran.
(6) Afghan Tajik in the NE, including Afghan Badakhashani, the latter with the outpost Madaglashti near Peshawar in Pakistan.

Note that the terms “Tajik” as well as “Dari” are sometimes erroneously used collectively for all Afghan varieties.

Central Asia

Tajik, in an Uzbek Turkic environment, with four broadly defined groups (see 1.2 below).
1.1.2.2 Related varieties and dialect groups

Colonial Persian

Persian was cultivated at the courts of the Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman rulers (from ca. 1200–1922), several of whom are known for composing Persian poetry. Probably best known among their protégés is Rumi (d. 1273), the most cherished Persian mystic poet who had come to Konya from Waksh near Balkh in Afghanistan. Literary Ottoman Turkish is a virtual amalgam of Turkish and Persian (with all of the latter’s Arabic loan elements).

In the East, Urdu developed under heavy Persian influence. Persian first entered India with the conquest of north-west India by Ghaznavid armies in the eleventh century. Four centuries later, Persian was chosen as the court language of the Mogul rulers (1530–1857), who were major patrons of Persian literature and poets from Iran, unlike the contemporary Safavids in Iran.

It was at the courts of India and Turkey where many of the major traditional dictionaries of Persian were compiled from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, including grammatical treatises. Simultaneously, there developed in India a Persian vernacular, and it was from the Indian scribes and secretaries that the English officers of the East India Company, a number of whom wrote grammars of Persian, learned their Persian, with all its local idiosyncrasies. Persian was abolished in its last official bastion—the courts of law—in 1837 by the authorities of the East India Company.

Judeo-Persian

Judeo-Persian varieties, like other Judeo-Iranian varieties, are found throughout Iranian-speaking regions, such as Jewish Tat Persian and Bukhara Tajik. In fact, Jewish merchants and travellers have been the earliest speakers who wrote in Early New Persian, and left its earliest documents. These and later documents, in a Hebrew-writing tradition parallel to that in Arabic, have been crucial for the study of the diachrony and diatopy of Persian (e.g. Lazard 1968; Paul, ed., 2003a).

Luri-type and Fars dialects

In SW Iran there are two groups which can be recognized as “Perside”, i.e. they continue numerous features that evolved from Southern Early New Persian (see 7 Diachrony), though each evolved differently:

(1) The Luri-type dialects (Luri proper, Bakhtiāri, Boyer-Ahmadi, Mamasani-Kohgeluye).
(2) The Fars dialects stretching from the Gulf into western and central Fars.

1.1.2.3 Number of speakers

According to various sources, the totals of native speakers of Persian and its varieties (or rather ‘ethnic’ Persians) in the three Persian-speaking countries vs. the total population (who at least use or understand Persian as a second language) are: Iran 35/70 m; Afghanistan 17/33 m (Haţāra 2.8 m; Aymaq 380,000); Tajikistan 5–6/7.2 m. Overall, the numbers are, counting speakers outside these countries. a total of 60/110 m, and of these: 35/70 m for Western Persian vs. 23/40 m for Eastern Persian. The estimates for Caucasian Tat suggest about 26,000, now reduced from a much larger number due to (partially forced) assimilation and emigration.
1.1.3 Evolution of Standard Persian

1.1.3.1 Early linguistic groups

Sources from the ninth–eleventh centuries distinguished four linguistic groups:

1. Parsi, the literary Middle Persian (mainly used by Zoroastrian priests).
2. Parsi proper (mutlaq), the literary and spoken Southern Early New Persian used from Fars to Sistan, which had retained numerous Middle Persian features and vocabulary, with relatively few Arabic loans.
3. In the North, (Parsi-i) Dari: The term originally referred to the administrative and spoken Persian that had developed at the Sassanian court in Ctesiphon and was administratively used throughout the Empire. In Khorasan it had already replaced the local Parthian dialects even before Islamization. As a ready vehicle for the Muslim administrations, besides Arabic, it became the vehicle of the Muslim mission into Central Asia and beyond, where a Persian variety had already been used as a lingua franca. This process not only led to the ultimate replacement of Sogdian, Bactrian, and Khwarezmian, but also inserted into this Dari an increasingly larger Arabic loan component as well as local eastern Persian and other Iranian vocabulary.
4. Pahlavi, Ar. Pahlavi, lit. 'Parthian': The term implied the non-Persian Iranian languages, particularly in western and central Iran which was once part of the former Parthian Empire.

In addition, Early New Persian varieties must also have been spoken in Sassanian border garrisons east and west. One of these was probably the ancestor of the Persian in the Sassanian outpost at the Caspian gate to the Caucasus, Darband. The others, probably older, were the outpost in Central Asia out of which ultimately developed Afghan and Tajik Persian.

See also the detailed study by Perry (2009).

1.1.3.2 Arabic and Turkic

See Chapter 2, Map 2.7.

1. Arabic and Turkic

A major contributing factor to the Arabization of Persian was the magnitude of Arab settlement in Greater Iran, and presumably the intense interaction and intermarriage between the immigrants with the local populations at both the highest and lowest social levels, and after large numbers of Arab tribes moved into the Fertile Crescent during Sassanian times, Shapur II (r. 309–379) settled some of them in Fars as well as in the hinterland of Bam and Kerman. After Islam, settlement occurred in various waves throughout, and was most extensive in eastern Iran, including Khorasan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia. At its height, the number of Arab immigrants may have totaled 250,000. While these Arabic-speaking populations were ultimately absorbed, except for isolated Central Asian Arabic pockets (eastern Iran, northern Afghanistan, Central Uzbekistan), Arabic continued as the high register literary language during the earlier centuries of New Persian, mainly as the dominant language of science and religion, and may have at least indirectly affected even syntax, particularly through extensive translation activities both from and into Arabic.

In contrast, the immigration of Turkic speakers has led to the Turkification of large regions, mainly in Azerbaijan (Azeri Turkic) and less so in Fars (Qashqai) and Khorasan (Turkmen). In addition, dynasties of Turkic or Turko-Mongol origin ruled in Iran from
the late tenth century to the twentieth century. Linguistically, there has been considerable Iranization of Turkic, but the intense Turko-Iranian symbiosis has also effected grammatical innovations in Persian, including the emergence of the evidential category in the verb system during the nineteenth century (for this section, see also Windfuhr 2006).

(2) Shift of cultural centers

Early New Persian Dari became the vehicle for the emerging New Persian literature. Even before the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century, the literary center shifted westward, prominently to the city of Shiraz in Fars. This extended process led not only to the elimination of the Eastern linguistic shibboleths, but also to the demise of the Early Southern standard. With the rise of the Safavids at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the center shifted north to Turko-Persian bilingual Esfahan, and finally with the rise of the Qajars to Tehran at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In overview, the sociolinguistic set-up from Late Sassanian times may be shown as follows: (see also section 8 Diachrony and dialectology)

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Iranians</th>
<th>Persians/Non-Iranians</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Late Sasanian</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low/Lingua franca</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early Islamic</td>
<td>Middle Persian</td>
<td>Dari</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mongols, 13th cent.</td>
<td>Arabic, Dari</td>
<td>Dari</td>
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<tr>
<td>Safavids, 16th cent.</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>Persian Turkic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Qajars, 19th cent.</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>Persian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2 Tajik

Tajik, or Tajik Persian ( zabon-i tojik, zabon-i forsi-i tojik) is a variety of New Persian used in Tajikistan and parts of Uzbekistan, including the cities of Bukhara and Samarkand. Since the 1920s it has been fostered as the national and literary language of the Soviet Socialist Republic (from 1991, the independent state) of Tajikistan. The Tajik and Iranian Persian speech areas are not contiguous, but lie at opposite ends of a continuum with Persian dialects of Afghanistan in between, and interrupted by areas of Turkic (Turkmen and Uzbek) speech. Spoken Tajik has been evolving independently of Persian of Iran since the sixteenth century, but the written language (which functioned as the common language of high culture, government, and diplomacy in Central Asia and India) maintained a virtually universal standard, based on Classical Persian, until the early decades of the twentieth century.

In the Soviet period, with the promotion of a more vernacular style and lexicon and the systematic introduction of Russian loanwords, language change was more rapid. The writing system was changed from Arabic to Latin in 1928, then to Cyrillic in 1939. The modern literary language ( zabon-i adabi-i hozira-i tojik, as planned and exemplified by Soviet Tajik writers of the 1920s and 1930s, notably Sadriddin Aini) was based loosely on the style of the old cultural center, Bukhara, and contained many Uzbek loanwords and some syntactic structures calqued on Uzbek usage. In recent decades writers from different regions of Tajikistan, and some who have traveled abroad, have introduced a more varied style, including features closer to the Persian of Iran.

Tajik dialects may be divided broadly into two groups: North-western and South-eastern, corresponding in rough topographical terms to the lowlands and highlands respectively of the Oxus basin. Several refinements of this scheme have been proposed, and much fieldwork remains to be done. The most comprehensive classification posits
four groups: (1) Northern, comprising Bukhara, Samarkand and Derbend in Uzbekistan, the Ferghana Valley (including Khujand, former Leninabad), and extending down the Varzob valley to the region of the capital, Dushanbe. (2) Central, comprising the upper Zarafshan (Zeravshan) valley. (3) Southern, stretching south and east of the capital, in Kulob and Qarotigin (Karategin) regions, including Gharm, as far as the Pamirs (Mountain Badakhshan). (4) South-eastern, in Darvoz region, on the bend of the Oxus near Rushan.

Dialects of the last two groups have strong affinities with those of the left bank of the upper Oxus in Afghanistan’s province of Badakhshan. They include Tajik as the contact vernacular (called forsi) of Gorno-Badakhshan, extending into Afghanistan and Wakhan. In these regions the native language of a majority of the population is one of the Iranian dialects of the Pamir group (see Chapter 14a).

Northern dialects have been influenced to varying degrees by Uzbek, with which there is widespread bilingualism. A distinctive sub-variety of Northern Tajik speech, with a modest literature, is that of the Jews of Bukhara, most of whom have emigrated. Dushanbe was a small market town before its promotion to national capital in 1924 and the consequent influx of Tajiks from elsewhere in the region and of Russians and other Soviet nationalities. Though nominally included in the Northern dialect area, it is again in a state of demographic fluctuation since independence, and is best considered separately. There are approximately five million Tajik Persian speakers in Central Asia and Afghanistan, including minorities in Uzbekistan and Kirgizstan. The so-called Tajiks of south-west Xinjiang, in and around Taxkorgan (Tashqurghon) – an official nationality in China – are speakers of Pamir languages (mainly Sarikoli and Wakhi), not Persian.

The variety of Tajik described here is basically the ideal, and to an extent still transparently hybrid, Modern Literary Tajik (MLT), unless otherwise noted.

Notes
(1) In the following Modern Standard Persian and Modern Standard Tajik are referred to as Persian and Tajik.
(2) In examples, Persian and Tajik forms are separated by a slash: xändlxond ‘(s)he read’.
(3) In phonemic transcription, (a) initial glottal stop is not marked, and (b) stress is indicated by an underlined vowel.

1.3 Writing systems

1.3.1 Persian

The Persian writing system uses the Arabic alphabet, which is a consonantal system. Vowels are written as follows: the three long vowels are represented by the letter of the consonant nearest in pronunciation. Thus, the letter <y> represents both ی and ی [i], <w> both ـ and ـ[u], and <alef> both the glottal stop ٰ and ٰ. The three short vowels may be, but are usually not, represented by diacritics which ultimately derive from the same letters <w>, <y>, and <alef>. The main innovations in Persian are two: additional letters were created for the four Persian consonants p, ç, g, ę by providing three dots to distinguish the “Arabic” letters <b>, <j>, <k>, <z> (the dots merged into an oblique stroke in the
case of &gt;). Unlike Arabic, in final position, short vowels are always represented by
consonantal letters, final ō by &lt;ṃ&gt;, and both final e and a by &lt;ḥ&gt;.

The Arabic orthography is retained, distinctly by the subset of letters marked A in
Table 8.1a. They represent pharyngeals, a pair of non-strident interdental fricatives, and
the voiceless stop q, which in Persian phonemically merged with the corresponding plain
and strident consonants, respectively, except ẓ &gt; z, while q merged with voiced ṭ. Other-
wise, the orthography is basically phonemic in the representation of the consonants and
long vowels, but does not represent short vowels other than in final position. In rare

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<th>Position in Letter Group</th>
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instances, an Arabic pharyngeal letter is used, such as <ṣ> in <ṣad> for ʿsad ‘hundred’. In Turkic loans, fronted /k/ and backed /q/ are represented by <k> and <q>, respectively.

1.3.2 Tajik

The Tajik alphabet adds six supplementary letters to the Cyrillic inventory (distinguished by means of diacritics), and despite post-Soviet spelling reforms, the Cyrillic orthography established for Tajik in 1939 remains Russian-specific in significant ways. Since examples taken from MLT will be presented in transliteration, certain peculiarities of the standard orthography must be noted here.

The yotated vowels (я, е, ё, ё: in Russian, devices to indicate that a preceding consonant is palatalized) each serve to represent the combination of the consonant /j/ and a following vowel, though /y/ is sometimes represented by ъ: cf. гъяд гъ-ад ‘says’, ъоъдъ yundъ ‘dishwater’, хонае xona-x-e ‘a house’, тайёр тай-ё ‘ready’; in the last example, the geminate /yy/ is written with a sequence of two distinct graphs. Prefixed verb stems may likewise be disguised: ояд о-яд or въеъд би-о-яд ‘let him come’. The letter <е> additionally represents simple let after a consonant: дидем дид-еъ ‘we saw’; word-initial, let is written with non-yotated е: зъак elok ‘sieve’. Russian и is quasi-yotated and in Tajik always represents /j/ after a vowel: хонаи ман xon-i man / xon-yi man ‘my house’, наистон найстон /найстон/ ‘reed bed’.

The letter Ѧ (with macron) is a device to distinguish accented word-final -и (one of two morphological formatives) from unstressed final -i of the syntactic ezželizat (EZ) clitic (see next section): дъсти ман ‘my friend’, but дъсти ‘friendship’; the macron is dropped before an EZ: дъсти халъкъ diisti-i xolq-hol /diisti-yi xolq-hol ‘Friendship of peoples’. It is also used in monosyllables: къ къ ‘who?’ (as distinct from the unstressed subordinizer ки), къ къ ‘what?’, съ съ ‘thirty’, -мъ -mъ? (interrogative enclitic).

2 PHONOLOGY

A major factor in the development of the Persian phonology has been the impact of the Arabic loan component, which constitutes approximately 50 percent of the lexicon, with approximately 25 percent frequency of usage. Not as extensive was the impact of the Turkic loan component (and Persian-Turkic bilingualism). Also, the effects of social dynamics are difficult to determine. A particularly challenging aspect is the rather unique cultural setting in Iran, where until recently schooling involved the intensive study of classical Persian literature and prosody through all levels of education.

2.1 Inventory

The sound system of both Modern Standard Persian and Tajik are essentially the same and quite symmetrical. There are a total of 29 Persian and 30 Tajik segmental phonemes including four pairs of stops and four pairs of fricatives, two nasals, a liquid and a trill, three glides, and three pairs of vowels. The single difference is found in the diachronic development of the ENP velar fricative ɣ and loaned uvular q, which merged in Persian but not in Tajik, and that of the vowels.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cyrillic</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Letter name</th>
<th>ARABO-PERSIAN ALPHABET EQUIVALENT</th>
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<td>Letters</td>
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<td>sh</td>
<td>šin</td>
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<td>y</td>
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<td>e initial</td>
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<td>yu</td>
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<td>ya</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 8.2: VOWEL SYSTEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diachronic Development</th>
<th>Modern Standard Persian</th>
<th>Early New Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative Characteristics</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Standard Persian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early New Persian</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>t</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tajik Persian</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1 Vowels

Both Modern Standard Persian and Tajik have reduced the eight-vowel inventory of Middle and Early New Persian to six, but in quite different ways. Whereas in the Persian of Iran the two long mid vowels e and ê collapsed with high i and ē, in some varieties of Tajik length was neutralized by the merger of the short and long high vowels and the rounding of long ū, as in the scheme in Table 8.2. The vowel systems of Persian and Tajik are thus as follows (see Windfuhr 1987: 543, and Ansarin 2008).

2.1.1a Persian

While the original opposition was one of length, the lowering of the short high vowels and the raising of the long mid vowels and merger with the old long high vowels resulted in the opposition of levels, a pair of high vowels and pair of mid vowels. Correspondingly, ū is lower than low mid a. The primary distinguishing feature, while inherently long and short, respectively, is stability, in part indicated by the lengthening of e a o (< i a u) when stressed and their shortening and partial conditioned assimilation when unstressed.

While length distinction is neutralized in Persian in most environments, it is usually found in initial stressed syllables of vocatives and imperatives (Windfuhr 1979: 136):

- i vs. e: bi-adab! be-gu! ‘impolite!’ ‘say!’
- u vs. o: husang! hoseyn! ‘Hushang!’ ‘Hoseyn!’
- ū vs. a: nā-kas! ng-gu! ‘nobody!’ ‘don’t say!’

Assimilation

In Persian colloquial speech the unstable vowels e o a are subject to assimilation in height and rounding: kelid > kîlid ‘key’, xeýabun > xiýabun ‘street’, bolur > bûlur ‘crystal’, be-gu > bo-gu ‘say!’ (be- > be- ~ bû- only in a few high-frequency stems with back vowel).

Similarly, a (1) tends to be raised (a) before sibilants: madrase > madrese ‘school’, časım
> češm 'eye' (whose a is retained in the venerable expression čašm 'all right, it will be done' abbreviated from the phrase meaning 'by the light of my eyes'), and (b) generally in the 2s and 3s personal clitics: ketāb-at, -aš > ketāb-et, -eš 'your, his book', and (2) there tends to be length assimilation: nāḥār > nāhār 'lunch'.

The two diphthongal sequences ey and ow (<ai, au) increasingly tend to be contracted to the long vowels [e], and ow > [o] even in higher registers: key > [ke] 'when', dow > [do] 'run(ning), race', ēe-tovr > [ɛeto:ɾ] 'how', contrasting with short e and a: ke [ke] 'general subordinating conjunction', do [do] 'two'.

2.1.1b Tajik

The Tajik central and back vowels are rounded: ā (orthographically <ū>) is more close than u, and slightly lower; o is more open than the Russian o, and without any u glide.

The older phonemic contrast of length is now replaced by a contrast between stable and unstressed vowels. The stable vowels, which are phonetically invariant, are e, ī, and o. The unstable vowels, in which the length and quality of articulation vary according to the phonetic environment, are i, a, and u. Thus in stressed position and unstressed closed syllables they are equivalent in length to the three stable vowels; in unstressed open syllables they may be shortened and reduced to ā or elided, e.g. did 's/he saw', d'gar 'other, else'; dād 'smoke', ɡ'doz 'melting'; bad 'bad', b'dan 'body'. (In some dialects, e.g. of Bukhara, phonemic length is preserved in ilī and ulū.) The vowel i is lowered to e, and u to ā, before h or the glottal stop and a consonant: istehsol 'production', mone 'hindrance' (cf. istiloh 'idiom, term', mohir 'skilled'); mūhtaram 'respected' (cf. mustaqil 'independent').

Note that in the following ā is transcribed as ā, and finally stressed ī by ī, which reflects the Cyrillic-Tajik orthography.

2.1.2 Consonants

### TABLE 8.3: CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops/Affricates</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tense/voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ĉ [tsh]</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>(TAJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lax/voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j [dzh]</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>q~</td>
<td>(PERS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tense/voiceless</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>~γ</td>
<td>(PERS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lax/voiced</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td>γ (TAJ)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids/Glide</td>
<td>l, r</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

~ = conditioned variation

2.1.2.1 Stops and fricatives

The distinctive feature of the pairs of stops and fricatives in contemporary Persian is still being debated. It may be indentified either as voice or as tenseness, as in this essay.

Tense p t k are slightly aspirated word-initially [kʰar] 'work'.

Fronting of k and g before i e a is typical for Persian speakers of Azeri Turkish background, as it is in Tajik under the influence of Uzbek: Pers./Taj. [k'ar] 'deaf'.
2.1.2.2 Velar $\gamma$ and uvular $q$

This phoneme has triple origins: (1) the inherited lax fricative $\gamma$; (2) the Arabic voiceless stop $q$ and the voiced fricative $\gamma$; and (3) the Turkic voice-neutral velar stop $k$ before back vowels. -- In Tajik, the opposition between $q$ and $\gamma$ is retained.

In Persian, $q$ and $\gamma$ have merged into a lax consonant: while systemically a lax fricative in the system, its peculiar articulation appears like a virtual compromise of its origins: (1) intervocalically it is a lax velar fricative, $[\gamma]$; (2) in initial and final position it is a lax uvular stop $[q]$, which often has an affricate-like release before vowels (varying with the speaker and speech-situation); (3) in spoken Persian, it tends to be assimilated to a tense stop or fricative, *eqtesâd* [extesâd] 'economy', *raqs* [râxs] 'dance', *vaqt* [vâxt] 'time'.

2.1.2.3 Glottal stop

The glottal stop has a triple origin: (1) the inherited automatic feature before initial vowels and in hiatus, *[inz]/[in]* 'this', *[pâ`iz]/[poi`iz]* 'autumn', affixal *[xânê-`i`xona-`e]* 'a house; (2) in Arabic loans, (a) the phonemic glottal stop: *so`âl/`su`ol* 'question' and (b) the pharyngeal stop *ayn*: *ma`nîl`ma`no* 'meaning'.

Note that in the transcription here the initial glottal is not marked.

2.1.2.4 Palatal $\hat{z}$

This is of limited distribution, occurring in a few Persian words such as *zhâle`zola* 'dew', *mo`zelmi`za* 'eyelash'. -- In Tajik, it also occurs in Russian loans; in spoken Tajik it tends to be replaced by $j$. (This is also a feature of Uzbek, standardized under a single grapheme; it is noteworthy that the Tajik and Uzbek sound systems are virtually identical.)

2.1.2.5 $v$ ~ $w$

In Persian this labiodental is bilabial only in the diphthong, $au > ow$ before consonant and pause. -- In Tajik there is conditioned variation: intervocally $v$ is realized as bilabial $w$ in (1) final position, (2) between rounded vowels, and (3) pre-consonantally after $a$: *varga* 'page', *beva* 'widow', but *gów* 'cow', *su`wol* 'question', *qawl* 'speech' (Taj. orthographically, <qavl>, corresponding to Pers. *gâv*, *so`âl*, *qowl*. Afghan Persian has retained bilateral $w$ in all environments (note that Persian and Tajik $v < w$).

2.1.2.6 Lateral $l$

Arabic rounding of $l$ may be found in *allâh* and *yallâ* 'let's go'.

2.1.2.7 Final position

Lax stops tend to lose release in final position, while in some dialects of Tajik $b$ $d$ $g$ tend to be devoiced.

Similarly nasals and laterals tend to lack release in the environment CC-pause: *[satL]* 'pail', *[hokM]* 'order, judgment'.

2.1.3 Syllable structure

Given the phonemization of the glottal stop, the syllable structure is predictable: CV, CVC, CVCC: *tâlî* 'till', *darldar* 'in', *dastldast* 'hand'. Accordingly, the syllable boundary
is any consonant before a vowel: dast-am [das-tam] 'my hand', and diphthongs have the structure VC: eyvānlayvon [CVCCVC] 'porch', gowvnlqavm CVCC 'extended family, clan'.

2.1.4 Clusters

In clusters, tenseness tends to be neutralized: [mo$ Kel] 'difficult'.

2.1.4.1 Initial clusters

The inherited initial clusters have been resolved by prothetic or epenthetic vowels, either of which could become standardized, e.g. st-: stār 'star' > setārefsitora, br: brādar 'brother' > barādarbarodar, but also brā 'brow' > abrubrā. Borrowings of an aberrant structure are assimilated by the introduction of epenthetic or prothetic vowels (to resolve initial consonant clusters), e.g. Pers. estudiyo 'studio', teren 'train', Taj. istansa < Russ. stantsiya 'station'.

In Tajik, Russian borrowings have added alien initial clusters to the corpus, as zveno 'team, unit', Stalinobod (former name of Dushanbe). Such loanwords have been reproduced in their original orthographies (regarded as normative) in successive writing systems; the degree to which speakers assimilate them to native phonotactic and phonetic norms depends partly on non-linguistic factors such as their level of education and cultural predilections.

2.1.4.2 Final clusters

The Arabic impact brought a large number of final clusters that contravened Persian phonotactics, especially those involving obstruents and their clusters, notably in final position, e.g. qotb/qutb 'pole', majd/majd 'glory'. These were integrated into the Persian system.

In Tajik one finds a common “Eastern” feature whereby medial or final consonant clusters may be epenthesized: ŝu$krollo 'thank God', but ŝukr 'thanks', or be reduced.

2.1.4.3 Gemination

This is a distinctive characteristic of Arabic, whereas in inherited Persian items it is a marginal feature. While retained in high registers, it is eliminated in contemporary standard pronunciation, e.g. korre 'foal' vs. kore 'globe' (Ar.), mat(t)e 'mechanical drill', banā 'building' (Ar.) vs. bannā 'architect' (Ar.)

2.1.4.4 Glottal stop, h and r

Other than in high register or in slow articulation the glottal stop and h tend to result in the compensatory lengthening of the preceding short vowel: Pers. ba'd > [ba:d] 'after', or in occasional compensatory germination of continuants: Pers. jom(e) > [jom(:)e] 'Friday'.

Similarly, h tends to be lost in postconsonantal and final position: Pers. sobh > [sob] 'morning', [sob-e zud] 'early morning'.

In colloquial Persian, final r tends to be elided in final position in some high-frequency items such as agar > [age] 'if', digar > [dige] 'other; moreover'.
In Tajik, particularly in southern dialects, there is a tendency to drop h in all positions, and to drop r before d in a few common words, especially in the past stem of the common auxiliary kardan, kad-am ‘I did’, etc.

This loss Tajik has in common with Afghan Persian, where the /l/ in this environment is additionally lowered to /l/: ba’d > lba:dl ‘after’, sahr lsa:r l ‘town’.

2.1.5 Hiatus

2.1.5.1 Standard Persian and Tajik

No two adjacent vowels are allowed. Hiatus breakers are (1) -y-, or (2) a glottal stop with the copula and with both indefinite and derivational -i:

(1) Pers. xâne-ye tol xona-yi to ‘your house’, gâli-ye bozorg/qoli-yi buzurg ‘large carpet’; na-y-âng-y-o ‘don’t come!’, less distinct when combined with i: mi-r-y-andme-r-yand ‘they come’, mi-r-y-imlm-e-r-o-em ‘we come’, bi-r-y-abbe-r-o ‘come’.
(2) xastelxasta - am, -i, -ast, etc. ‘I, you, (s)he am, are, is, tired’, etc.; indefinite -il-e: ja-lil-e ‘some place’; and derivative -i: kojâ-illajo-i ‘where from’.

For intervocalic -g- see section 2.3 Morphophonemic alternations.

2.1.5.2 Colloquial absence of hiatus

The absence of the hiatus breakers -y- and glottal stop, coupled with contraction and loss of postconsonantal h and -ra > -ro > -o, is a major feature that distinguishes less formal registers of Persian (see section 2.1.5.2):

ketâb-hâ-yam > hame-y-âsh > hame-y-âsh-râ > raft-e-i >
ketâb-tô-m hama-s hama-s-o raft-t
‘my books’; ‘all of it’; ‘all of it (dir. obj.)’; ‘you have left’.

2.1.5.3 Persian final -e as a dialect feature

Where Persian has final stressed -e all other varieties of Persian have -g, including Tajik and Dari and Kaboli of Afghanistan: Pers. hame, Taj. hama, Kab. hama. The examples above show that in suffixation Persian colloquial has retained the common Persian feature and not been subject to this dialectal feature of Standard Persian.

2.2 Non-segmental features


A number of common adverbials and interjections have initial or penultimate stress: ba:leblale, ârelore ‘yes’, ba:kelbalki ‘but (rather)’, xeyîlxele ‘very, a lot’, gmmâlgmmo, vallîvâle ‘but’, yânlîyâne ‘i.e., ‘I mean’, ýylâyo (interrog.), zirâmzer ‘because’, hattâlhatto ‘even’, but Pers. albatte vs. Taj. albatna ‘of course’, Pers. hâlî vs. Taj. holo, hole ‘now’; further, Taj. mayla: ‘Good, OK’, Taj. kani ‘well, then’; and conjunctions compounded
with the complementizer kelkti: hag-kelhtar-ki. Adpositions and enclitics of all kinds are unstressed.

(2) Stress in verb forms is basically regressive, though less so in Tajik than in Persian. The subjunctive-imperative prefix be-Ibi-, the imperfective prefix mi-ime-, and the negative prefix na-, are always stressed, the latter assuming primary stress: mi-rav-am/ime-rav-am 'I won't go', na-mi-rav-am/ina-me-rav-am 'I won't go'. With be-Ibi-, Pers. be-gir-id 'take-2pl', Tajik differs in having primary stress on the final syllable with secondary stress on the prefix: bi-gir-ed. Similarly, stem-initial past tense forms have stress on the stem syllable in Persian, but in Tajik may stress either stem or the (personal) ending according to context: Pers. gofi-im/Taj. guft-em ~ guft-em 'we said (it)'. The original stress on the personal ending in un-prefixed present forms is retained in the definite future: xah-am raft 'I will go'.

2.3 Morphophonemic alternations

Synchronically there is a morphophonemic alternation between word-final -el-a and -ed-ag before the stressed suffixes -anl-on (alternate plural marker), -anel-ona (adjectival) and -il-i (nominal and adjectival): baččelbačča 'child' > bačče-g-ān lbaččag-on 'children', bačče-g-ānelbačča-g-ona 'childish, children's', bačče-g-ilbačča-g-i 'childhood'. Unlike Persian, Tajik has also developed a derived participle: kard-a > kard-a-g-i 'done' (see section 3.2.2.2).

In Tajik, this g is now intuited as euphonic, and is supplied even for words in -a of non-Persian origin (talaba 'student', pl. talaba-g-on). Note also yak-to 'single', yak-to-g-i 'singly', while in Persian such derivation from words of Arabic origin is rare: qāede 'rule; menstruating' > qāede-g-i 'menstruation'.

Related, but irregular and rare, is suffixation of the generalizing plural suffix -j-āt to final vowel: ruz-nāme 'newspaper' > ruz-nāme-j-āt 'the printing media', sabzi 'greens, vegetable' > sabzi-j-āt 'vegetables' in the generic sense.

Diachronically, -eg originates in the Middle Persian suffix -ag, while the alternation -i ~ -i-j-āt originates in Middle Persian suffix -īg, which was loaned early into Arabic, with Pers. j > g, and, with the abstract feminine plural marker -āt, was later re-loaned into Persian, where it is moderately productive, where g thus still underlies the stem form.

In fact, most conspicuous is the complex morphophonological alternation that is inherent in the morphology of the massive Arabic loan component (see section 7.2.1).

Less evident, and frozen, is the complex Indo-European type morphophonology of Old Persian which is still evident in ablaut series like bār 'load' > bar- 'bear, carry' > bor-d 'carried' (< br-tā, from the OFr. verb bar- 'bear, carry'), but is largely obscured (see section 3.2.1.1).

3 MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Nominal morphology

Substantives are weakly divided between nouns and adjectives; there are no characteristic stems and no case inflections. Many adjectives and primitive nouns are identical (javān javon 'young; a youth', bālābolo 'high; top' – also an adverb, 'up'), and derived adjectives may often function as nouns (Buxoro-i'Bukharan; a Bukharan', honar-mand/hunar-mand 'skillful; a craftsman').
Gender is not marked in nouns or pronouns. Sex may be distinguished lexically: *morql* /ˈmɔrl/ 'fowl, hen', *xorux/xoriis* 'rooster'; more generally by selective use of a qualifier: *bozl* /ˈbozl/ 'goat', *nar-bozl* /ˈnar-ˈbozl/ 'billy goat', *māde-bozl* /ˈmād-e-ˈbozl/ 'nanny goat'; *xar-e nar* /xar-ˈe-ː相关的/ 'male donkey', *xar-e madel* /xar-ˈe-ː相关的/ 'female donkey'. Borrowed Arabic and Russian feminine nouns are used in context: *raqqaselraggasa* /ˈɾaqːeselɾəɣɡasə/ 'female dancer', Taj. *sildensil* /ˈsildeːnsil/ 'female student', including the feminine marking in abstract terms such as *xarej-e* /ˈxarej-ə/ 'ministry of foreign affairs', and female first names: m. *Taher*, f. *Tahere*.

Animate vs. inanimate distinction is found in subsets of interrogative-indefinite pronouns (see section 3.1.3.7a)

3.1.1 Nouns

Nouns are distinguished by having the categories of number and of definiteness — indefiniteness, and by syntactic status, i.e. their ability to combine in an *ezāfelizotat* (EZ) construction as both heads and modifers by means of the particle *-el-i* and to take adpositions. Since this construction is so fundamental to the elucidation of nominal categories in Persian, a short preliminary definition is offered here (see section 4.2 Ezāfe):

(1) In a nominal EZ the modifier is a noun, pronoun or NP designating the possessor, matrix, source, agency or other relationship with the head: *dor-e xaneldar-i xona* /ˈdɔːr-ə xaneldar-ə i xonə/ 'the door of the room', *xolase-ye dastān/xulosa-i doston* /ˈxoləsə-ː ya dastən-ə xulosə-ː i dətson/ 'the gist of the tale', *raftan-e ul rafstan-i wāy* /ˈræftən-ə əl ræftən-ə i ˈwāj/ 'his departure'.

(2) In an adjectival EZ the modifier is an adjective or adjectival phrase qualifying the head: *havā-ye xubhav-i nayz* /ˈhavə-ː ya xubhav-ə i nəjz/ 'nice weather', *čašm-ān-e por az ašklčašm-on-i pur az ašk* /ˈčaʃm-ː ̣an-ə pɔɾ az əʃklaʃm-ɔn-ι pʊɾ az əʃk/ 'eyes full of tears'.

3.1.1.1 Number

3.1.1.1a -hāl-ho and -ānl-on

Singular nouns are zero-marked, plurals by the suffixes *-hāl-ho* and *-ānl-on*. The former is universally applicable: *ćiz-hālćiz-ho* /ˈćiz-ː həlçaːz-ə ho/ 'things', *pesar-hālpisar-ho* /ˈpesər-ː həlpisər-ə ho/ 'boys', *asb-hālasb-ho* /ˈasb-ː həlaʃb-ə ho/ 'horses', *muñā-hālmuñā-ho* /ˈmuɲə-ː həlmuɲə-ː ho/ 'ideas'; *-ānl-on* is more limited in application and less frequent, denoting (1) animates: *pesar-ānl-pisar-on* /pesər-ː ː ː ː on/ 'teachers'; (2) paired parts of body: *lab-ānl-lab-on* /ˈlabː-ː on/ 'lips', *dast-ānl-dast-on* /ˈdastː-ː on/ 'hands', etc. – a relic of the ancient dual number; (3) a few other words: *deraxt-ānl-deraxt-on* /ˈdəɾaxtː-ː on/ 'trees'; *setārel-sitora* /ˈsetərel-sitəɾa/ 'star', *setāre-g-ānl-sitora-g-on* /ˈsetəɾe-ː ː ː ː ː on/ 'stars'; it is stylistically marked as literary in register, and relatively more frequent in Tajik than in Persian.

Morphophonemic variants occur after *-āl-o* /ˈdəɾaxtː-ː o/ (dānā-yāndono-yon 'sages'). There is a frozen plural of *niyāniyo* /ˈniːyə-ː niːniyo/ 'forefather' in *niyā-k-ānlniyo-k-on*.  

3.1.1.1b Arabic loan plurals

The Arabic loan component includes a large number of plural forms:


(2) Most distinct are the Arabic 'broken plurals': *alamālu lam* /ˈalaːməlu ləm/ 'religious scholars', sg. *ālemola* /ˈaːlemola/ 'news', sg. *xabarlxabar* /ˈʃabəɾ-ː ː ː ː ː ː aɾ/ 'information, news'. For lexicalization of such plurals, see section 7.2.1 Loanwords.
3.1.1.2 Indefinite -il-e and yeklyak

Indefiniteness may be marked by the (unstressed) enclitic -il-e. The preposed numeral yeklyak 'one' may also function to mark indefiniteness. Both may combine, mostly in colloquial speech.

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
mard-i ámadl & yek mard ámadl & yek mard-i ámadl \\
mard-e omad & yak mard omad & yak mard-e omad \\
\end{array}
\]

'vesome man came'; 'one/a man came'; 'some/a man came'.

While most frequently found with singular nouns, it likewise occurs with plural nouns (see also section 5.2.1 Definiteness and specificity). Tajik also allows plural without enclitic -i:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
yek mard-há-i ámad-andl & yek mard-ho-e omad-and & yak piyolya-ho \\
\end{array}
\]

'vesome (or a certain) men came'; 'some cups'.

Note that the admission of the plural marker distinguishes this function of yeklyak from its role as a numeral.

3.1.1.3 Tajik indefinite determiners

In Tajik, there are also two explicitly indefinite determiners, yag-on and kadom (yak). These determiners may also be applied to plural NPs. (Note that this function of kadom is distinct from its function as interrogative-indefinite 'which', which determines a specific NP):

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
yag-on rüz ba xona-i & mo marhamat kun-ed & yag-on odam-ho-e \\
\end{array}
\]

'please come and visit us some day'; 'some persons-INDEF';

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
kadom yak zan-e & did-am \\
\end{array}
\]

'I saw some woman or other'.

3.1.1.4 Persian referential -e

Colloquial Persian stressed -e (-h-e after vowel) has referential function to a person or an item spoken about by the speaker (similar to colloquial English 'this . . . here, that . . . there');

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
pesar-e & čtz-e & na-goft & bačče-h-e če mi-xā-d \\
boy-REF & thing-INDEF & did not say & child-RÉF-what wants \\
\end{array}
\]

'this/that boy didn’t say a thing'; 'what does this/that child want?'.

3.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives may be used attributively, predicatively, and adverbially. In no case do they vary for number, or show agreement with any other of the properties of the head noun, unless themselves substantivized:
in gol-hā sefid astlin gul-ho safed-ast
'these flowers are white'.

3.1.2.1 Subsets

3.1.2.1a Substantivized adjectives

Substantivized adjectives behave like nouns, but show animacy distinction in the plural, animate -ān vs. inanimate -hā: digar-ānldegar-on 'the other people' vs. digar-hāldegar-ho 'the other things'.

zibā-yān-e hāliwudl [sefid-hā yaš] zibā-stl
zebo-yon-i holivud [safed-hō-š] zebo-st
'the beauties-EZ Hollywood'; 'the white ones are beautiful', lit.
'the white [ones] of it'; note the sg. verb.

3.1.2.1b Morphological subsets

(1) Several morphologically distinct classes of adjectives, often substantivized, are made up of verbal participles (see section 3.2.2 Nominal forms).

(2) Another large notable subset is represented by Arabic loan adjectives as well as active and passive participles.

3.1.2.2 Comparative

The comparative degree is marked by the stressed suffix -ṭaq,-ṭaq: bozorg-ṭaq, buzurg-ṭaq 'greater, bigger'. Suppletive are (1) Pers. xub > beh-ṭaq 'good > better', but Taj. xub-ṭaq; (2) xeylil/xelle > bišt(-ṭaq) / bešt(-ṭaq) 'much, very > more'.

The standard of comparison is introduced by the preposition az/laz 'from': az ān bozorg-ṭaq / laz on buzurg-ṭaq 'bigger than that'.

In attributive position the comparative is connected with the noun in the EZ construction like the positive; in predicative position, the adjective usually precedes the copula or verbs of becoming (but may also follow the verb):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributive EZ</th>
<th>Predicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ketāb-e bozorg-ṭaq [az ān]</td>
<td>inboluz az ān [beh-ṭaq] astl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitob-i [az on] buzurg-ṭaq</td>
<td>in kurta az on [xub-ṭaq]-ast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book-EZ from that bigger</td>
<td>this blouse from that better is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the bigger book';</td>
<td>'this blouse/tunic is better than that'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In colloquial Tajik the positive may also be used in a comparative function in predicative position, similar to Turkic:

in kurta az on [xub] as
this tunic from that good is
'this tunic is better'.

3.1.2.3 Superlative

The superlative degree is marked by -ṭār-nīl-ṭār-nī.

In an attributive NP the superlative usually precedes the noun in both Persian and Tajik, but may also follow in the EZ construction in which case the superlative is
expressed as a universal comparative, using the phrase as *hame laz hama* ‘than all’. In Tajik, the superlative may follow the head similar to the positive and comparative:

- *boland-tar-in kuhl*  
- *kuh-e az hame boland-tar*  
- *baland-tar-in küh*  
- *küh-i az hama baland-tar*  
  
  ‘the highest mountain’.

In predicative position the superlative is similarly expressed as a universal comparative:

- *in kuh az hame boland-tar ast*  
- *in küh az hama baland-tar ast*  

  ‘this mountain is higher than all = the highest’.

**ELLPTIC SUPERLATIVE**

The elliptic substantivized superlative may head a partitive EZ construction, or a pro-nominal clitic, denoting the class of things being compared:

- *boland-tar-iIl-e küh-ha-ye donyal*  
- *boland-tar-in J-i /llh-lto-i dUIlYo*  
  
  ‘the highest mountains of the world’;  
  
  ‘the biggest one of them’.

3.1.2.4 Intensive reduplicated and echoic superlative

Adjectives may form a reduplicated EZ construction to express superlative grade, ‘exceedingly’, etc. *xiub-e xub* ‘totally good’, *sabz-e sabz* ‘very, thoroughly green’.

In Tajik, similar to Turkic, some qualitative adjectives (esp. of color) form an intensive by addition of a stressed pre-echoic syllable, i.e. a duplicate of the adjective’s first syllable plus a labial, voiced or unvoiced as appropriate: Taj. *sap-safed* ‘snow-white’, *sip-siyoh* ‘jet black’, *top-torik* ‘dark as dark (could be)’.

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns and deixis

Personal pronouns are of two kinds: independent and enclitic (colloq. = colloquial):

**TABLE 8.4: PERSONAL AND DEICTIC PRONOUNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEPENDENT</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indep.</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>tol</td>
<td>ul</td>
<td>veyl</td>
<td>mül</td>
<td>sømål</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>ü</td>
<td>ray</td>
<td></td>
<td>sumo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colloq.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>müñ-hál</td>
<td>sumo-ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mül-ho(n)</td>
<td>sumo-yon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENCLITIC</td>
<td>1s</td>
<td>2s</td>
<td>3s</td>
<td>1p</td>
<td>2p</td>
<td>3p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-at</td>
<td>-aš</td>
<td>-emān</td>
<td>-etān</td>
<td>-esān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.3.1a Register and animacy

1p mölmo may refer to the speaker, both as the plural of majesty and as a member of a social group. In polite or formal speech, 2p şumölšumo is also used to address an individual. In turn, the colloquial pluralized forms in -hál-ho, Taj. also with alternate -on, function to refer to more than one person.

The 3rd person personal pronouns are marked for human animacy, but not gender: ulů 'he, she', išanlešon 'they (human)'. In Persian also polite for an individual.

In Tajik, the 3rd person is augmented by the demonstratives in and on. On-ho may also refer in respectful usage to one person, and has replaced earlier ešon 'they' (human), which became an honorific and ultimately a common noun referring to religious dignitaries (on-ho may thus refer in respectful usage to one person).

Veylvay. In Persian the pronoun vey is a highly marked polite 3s human alternate, mostly literary, and lacks a plural form, while in Tajik vay is both animate 'he, she' and inanimate 'it'. It has the plural form vay-o, and may also function as an unmarked demonstrative adjective: vay kor 'that matter', vay mard-ho 'those men'.

(Note also the animacy distinction in the indefinite-interrogatives kilkî 'who' vs. čelčî 'what', and kasltkas 'person' vs. čelčîz 'thing', and compound forms with them).

3.1.3.1b Attachment of object marker

The direct object marker -ral-ro (see section 3.1.4.2) is affixed regularly in the literary language, except for the standard contraction 1s ma-ralma-ro (< mon-rā). Spoken Persian and Tajik exhibit a variety of forms, notably postconsonantal -ral-ro > -ol-a, including man-olman-a, to-rolto-ra, Taj. vay-a.

3.1.3.2 Possessive construction

Possession 'mine, yours, his', etc., is expressed by EZ constructions: Persian māl-e, lit. 'possession of', Tajik az on-i 'from that of' followed by an independent pronoun. Az ān-i and similar constructions are also found in local Persian dialects and earlier stages of Persian.

3.1.3.3 Enclitic pronouns and oblique

These interpose a euphonic -y- after vowels (šahr-hā-yemānlšahr-ho-yamon 'our cities'), but in colloquial speech the initial short vowel of the personal clitics contracts with preceding vowels, as shown in the following example (combined with contracted -ral-ro):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>Tajik</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dast-hā-yat-rā</td>
<td>be-deh-id!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dast-ho-yat-ro</td>
<td>dih-ed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand-p-your.s-DO</td>
<td>IMP.give-2p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These enclitics function as oblique cases, including possession as in the example above, and as direct and indirect objects.
3.1.3.4 Demonstratives and quasi-articles

The demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives are identical in form; as adjectives they are preposed. In Persian there is a two-term deictic system, *in* 'this', *ânlon* 'that'.

In Tajik there is a three-term system, the basic forms being *in* 'this', *on* 'that', as well as *way* 'that'; the third term is generally interchangeable with *on*, but may be more a rhetorical anaphoric word:

\[ gin \quad bud-agî-st \quad way \quad kor \]

'tough GERV-COP3s that work

'must be a tough job, that'.

*In* and *ânlon* are fairly weak demonstratives, and function virtually as definite articles.

3.1.3.4 Emphatic *ham-*

The demonstrative function is often intensified by prefixation of the emphatic particle *ham-* 'same', *ham-in* *ham-in*, *ham-ân/ham-on*.

\[ ham-in \quad râh \quad dorost \quad astl \]
\[ ham-in \quad roh \quad durust-\quad astl \]

'right road right-COP.3s this very right-way this one';

'this road is the right one';

In Tajik dialect also occurs *hâvay* (<*ham* + *way*) 'that very (one)'; other colloquial variants include *â*, *âmî*, *âmû* (for *in*, *ham-in*, *ham-on*).

Compounds include: (*ham*)*in-jîl*(ham-)*in-jo 'right here', (*ham-)*ân vaxt* (ham-)*on vaqt 'just then'; (*ham-)*bîn*(ham-)*bîn in 'this very --, just like this, just so', (*ham-)*bîn*(ham-)*bîn 'that very one, etc.; and idioms such as Pers. (*ham-)*jinjür 'just this way, manner', etc., Taj. (*ham-)*jin xel 'this sort', (*ham-)*on guna 'that kind'.

3.1.3.5 Reflexive-emphatic pronoun

3.1.3.5a Reflexive

The pronoun *xodlxud* is used possessively, 'own', reflexively, 'self', and emphatically, 'self'. When possessive and reflexive, it refers to the subject; when emphatic, there is no such restriction.

(1) In a possessive EZ phrase, it combines with a specifying enclitic pronoun:

\[ medâd-e \quad xod-am \quad šekastl \]
\[ qalam-i \quad xud-am \quad šikast \]
\[ pen-EZ \quad own-my \quad brake.PT.3s \]

'my own pen broke'.

In the 3rd person, possessive *xodlxud* and *xod-âš*, *xod-ešân lxud-âš*, *xud-âšon* may substitute for enclitic -âš, -ešân-âš, -âšon to resolve a possible conflict of scope:

\[ barâdar \quad [\quad -aš] \quad rû \quad koštîl \]
\[ barodar \quad [\quad -aš] \quad rû \quad koštî \]

brother his DO kill.PT.3s 'he (A) killed his (A's or B's) brother';
Brother-EZ he-DO kill .PT.3s ‘he (A) killed his (B’s) brother’.  

In this disambiguative use, xod/xd is not necessarily emphatic.

(2) As a reflexive pronoun it combines with the appropriate enclitic pronoun and adposition:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xod-am-rā mi-šenās-am} & & \text{az xod-ešān mi-tars-and} \\
\text{xud-am-ro me-šinos-am} & & \text{az xud-ašon me-tars-and} \\
\text{self-DO IPFV.know.PR-1s} & & \text{from self-their IPFV.fear.PR-3p} \\
'I & & \text{know myself}'; & & \text{they are afraid of themselves}'.
\end{align*}
\]

3.1.3.5b Emphatic

(1) When used emphatically, it precedes a noun or pronoun attribute in an EZ construction: xod-e to/xud-i to ‘you yourself’, or with the addition of an enclitic pronoun: xod-atl

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Subject} & & \text{Object} \\
\text{xod-e mo’allem goft} & & \text{xod-e mo’allem-rā koşt-andl} \\
\text{xud-i mu’allim guft} & & \text{xud-i mu’alim-ro koşt-and} \\
\text{self-EZ teacher say.PT.3s} & & \text{self-EZ teacher-DO kill.PT-3p} \\
\text{‘the teacher himself said so’; ‘they killed the teacher himself’}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

(2) In topical constructions, the noun or independent pronoun is placed at the head:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mā xod-emān mi-dān-im} & & \text{mo’allem xod-aš goft} \\
\text{mo xud-amon me-don-em} & & \text{mu’hui lim xud-aš guft} \\
\text{we self-our IPFV.know.PR-1p teacher self-his say.PT.3s} & & \text{‘the teacher, he himself said so’}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

3.1.3.6 Reciprocals

(1) The main reciprocal pronoun is ye—digar/yak—digar ‘one—another’ or ham-digar/ham-digar ‘each other’ (often with pronominal enclitic):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yek-i} & & \text{pas az digar-i} & & \text{ham-digar-ešān-rā mi-šenās-andl} \\
\text{yak-e} & & \text{pas az digar-e} & & \text{ham-digar-ašon-ro me-šinos-and} \\
\text{one-INDEF after from other-INDEF each other-their-DO IPFV.know.PR-3p} & & \text{‘one after the other/another’; ‘they know each other’; also pas az yak digar}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

(2) The particle ham/ham ‘same, together’ may also function as a reciprocal pronoun synonymous with yek digar/yak digar, here with prepositions bālbo ‘with’ and azlaz ‘from’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[bā ham] raft-iml} & & \text{[az ham]} & & \text{jodā šod-andl} \\
\text{[bo ham] raft-em} & & \text{[az ham]} & & \text{judo šud-and} \\
\text{together go.PT-1p} & & \text{from each other separated become.PT-3p} \\
\text{‘we went together’; ‘they parted’}. \\
\end{align*}
\]
3.1.3.7 Interrogatives, indefinites, and related adverbials

Animacy distinction is partially retained lexically in the basic interrogative and indefinite pronouns, and by the plural distinction animate -ān-l on vs. inanimate -hāl-ho of the indefinite pronominal determiners and of ‘other’.

3.1.3.7a Basic interrogatives and indefinite determiners

(1) Basic interrogatives

(a) pronominal: animate kilkī ‘who?’, pl. ki-hālki-ho, inanimate čečelī ‘what?’, pl. če-hālči-ho, če-lča- in compounds;
(b) demonstrative: kodān/lkadom ‘which?’, pl. kodām-hālkdadom-ho;
(c) quantitative: čandlčand ‘how many’;
(d) adverbial: key/plkay ‘when?’, kojālkujo ‘where’, and kulku ‘where is, are’ (lacking the copula);
(e) causal: čerālčaro ‘why?’;
(f) yes-no interrogative: āyāllo ‘whether’ (see section 5.1.3 Questions).

3.1.3.7b Pronominal quantifiers and demonstratives

The interrogatives and quantifiers function as pronouns under the following conditions:

(1) ĥičlheč functions as a pronoun by itself: hič na-gošτ-am ‘I didn’t say anything’.
(2) hame/hama similarly functions as a pronoun: hame āmad-andlhma onad-and ‘all came’. It is also often used in EZ with a pronoun or noun, singular or plural, to express totality: hame-yemānlhama-amon ‘all of us’, hame-yə donyālhma-i dunyo ‘the whole world’, hame-yə zan-hā-ye dehlhama-i zan-ho-i qışlog ‘all the women of the village’ (It likewise functions as an adverb, see section 3.1.5 Adverbs).
(3) kodānlkadom requires suppletion by a partitive EZ phrase or an enclitic: kodām-e in-hālkdadom-in-ho ‘which of these/them?’; kodām-ešān āmadlkdadom-ašon onad? ‘which (one) of them came?’ (human, pl. clitic); kodām-aš-rā ni-deh-īlkdadom-aš-ro me-diht-i? ‘which (of them) will you give?’ (non-human, sg. clitic); plural, kodām-hā-yemānlkdadom-ho-yamon? ‘which (ones) of us?’.
(4) harlhar ‘every’ minimally requires a nominal when used pronominally: har yekhlhar yak ‘every one’. 

Examples:

ki budlkī bud ‘who was (it)?’; Pers. če šāde ‘what happened?’, Taj. či ě gap-ast? ‘what’s the matter?’; kodām, har, hič, hame ruzlhar, heč, hama rūz ‘which, every, no (not any), all day’; čand ketāb dār-lčand kitob dor-i ‘how many books do you have?’, čand(-in) bārlčand(-in) bor ‘several times’; key, kojā rašt-īklay, kajo rašt-i ‘when, where did you go?’; hasan kul hasan ku ‘where is Hasan?’; čerā na-y-āmad-lčaro na-onad-i ‘why didn’t you come?’, āyā dorost nīst? lloyo durust nīst? ‘isn’t that correct?’.
(5) *cand* both as interrogative and non-interrogative determinative minimally requires a classifier: *cand* *tâlêwand* to 'how many/several (items)'.

3.1.3.7c Compound indefinite forms

The basic interrogatives and basic indefinite determiners combine to form indefinites:

1. *hič-kodâmheč-kadom* 'not anyone, none'; *hič kas nistheč kas nest* 'there's no one (here)'; *hič kodâm-e ân-hâlheč kadomi-* on-ho 'none of them';
2. *har-kas, -êlzhar-kas, -êz 'each one (person, thing)'; whoever, whatever'; *hič-kcis*, *hič-êz* (colloq. *hičëyheč-kas, -êz* 'anyone, anything' (with negative *na*);
3. *hame-kas, -êlzham-kas, -êz 'everyone (all persons), everything (all things)'; *har-kodâmhar-kadom* 'every (single) one';
4. *harlhar* with the pronominal interrogatives function as heads of generalized relative clauses: *har(-ân-)kelhar(-on-)kë* . . . 'who(so)ever . . . ', *har-kelhar-ê† . . . 'whatever . . . '; *har kojâlhar kajo . . . wherever . . . ', etc.

In addition, there are compounds with *yekyak* 'one': *har-yeklhar-yaq* 'everyone', *hič-yekheč-yaq* 'no one', *kodâm-yeklkadom-yaq* 'which one?'; *yek-çandlaryak-êand* 'a few': *yek-çand nafarlyak-êand nafar* 'a few people' (with regular singular after numbers).

The indefinite clitic *-il-e*, in colloquial Persian combined with *yek*, is frequently added to the pronominals: *kodâm kas-ilkas-e* 'which one (person)'; *(yek) kas-ilkas-e, (yek) êiz-ilêiz-e* 'something'. It is similarly added to the numeral *yekyak* 'one' and several common nouns which thereby may function as indefinite pronominals: *yek-iyak-e, ñaksilñaks-e* 'someone' ('person, individual').

In terms of specificity, while the indefinite series *kas-ilkas-e, êiz-ilêiz-e*, etc., may be either non-specific ('someone or other') or specific ('a certain person'), *kodâm/kadom* in its function as an interrogative determines a specific NP, with obligatory *-ra/-I'o*:

```
  kodâm zan-rê did-id?!
kadom zan-ro did-ed?
```

which woman-INDEF-DO see.PT-2p

'which woman did you see?'

3.1.3.7d Other indefinites

(1) Other pronominal indefinites include: *folânfalon* used for a person or thing not specifically named, 'such-and-such, so-and-so'; *folân ruzfalon* rûz 'on such-and-such day', *âqë-ye folânlogo-yi falon* 'Mr. so-and-so', *ey folânlay falon* 'hey, you there', *folân-kasflalon-kas* 'such-and-such a one, what's his name?', and low-respect *yâru* 'that fellow', lit. 'friend'.

(2) Other qualitative indefinites include (mostly literary) *êen-in, -ân - êon-in, -âncun-in, -on 'such*': *êenân kârlêun-on kor* 'such work, doing', also used adverbially: *êonân karrolêunon* 'kard 'he did thus'.

(3) Other quantifiers include *xeyrilxele* 'much, many', *kâm* 'little, few', *kâm-tar* 'less, fewer'; *kâm-tar kas-ilkam-tar kas-e* 'only a few, fewer (persons)', etc.

(4) The determiner 'some' is expressed by the Arabic loan *ba'z-ilbâz-e* preposed to a plural noun: *ba'z-i Tâjik-hâlba z-e Tojik-on* 'some Tajiks' (note animate plural *-on*).
3.1.3.7e Compounds with če-lēč-

Other adverbial determiners are compounds with interrogative čelčē plus semantically appropriate terms, here exemplified with interrogative čelčē (literal meaning of the second component in parentheses:

1. time and location: če-vaqlēčē vaqt 'when' ('time'); če-jā'īlēčē ja-e 'where ('place');
2. quality and manner: (a) če now'leč nose + N 'what sort of' ('sort, species'), (b) če-gunelēčē guna 'how', + N 'what kind of' ('kind, color'), (c) če-tovrēčē tavr 'how, what manner' ('manner, kind'), (d) Pers. če-jur + N 'how, kind of' ('kind'), (e) Taj. čī xel: če-gune hekāyatēčē guna hikoya 'what sort of tale(s)?', če now' lebâščī nav' libos 'what kind of clothing?', etc.;
3. amount expressed by -qad(a)rlqadar 'measure': če-qadr mi-sav-ad l čī qadar me-sav-ad 'how much will it be?', čeqadr nânēčē qadar non 'how much bread?'.

3.1.3.7f Digar/digar ‘other, else’

‘Other, else’ is digar/digar, used as a noun and adjective both independently and in various constructions, including regular and inverted (preposed) EZ, the latter confined to fixed phrases in the modern standards:

1. independent use with obligatory animacy distinction -ān vs. -hā: digar-ān ‘the others (people)’, digar-hā ‘the others’;
2. regular construction, mardom-e digar/mardum-i digar ‘the other people’, kas-i digar/kas-e digar ‘someone else’, yek-i digar/yak-e digar ‘another one, someone else’;

Particular idioms include ruz-e digarlruz-i digar ‘the following day’, bār-e digarbor-i digar, digar bārdigar bor ‘once more, again; next time’.

3.1.3.7g Tajik hybrids

(1) Turkic kim-

Assimilated into the Tajik literary language is a series of Uzbek-Tajik hybrids formed from Uzbek kim ‘who?’, kim-ki ‘someone (or other), anyone’, kim-či ‘something, anything’, kim-kadom ‘some-N or other’; may az kim-či no-rozi ast ‘she’s unhappy about something,’ kim-kadom vaqt ‘sometime or other, whenever’, dar kim-kujo-ho ‘somewhere or other’. As opposed to the Persian series kas-ilkas-e, jā'ilja-e, čiz-ilčiz-e, etc., the kim series is unambiguously non-specific indefinite.

(2) Tajik indefinite determiners

In Tajik, there are also two explicitly non-specific indefinite determiners, yag-on and kadom (yak):

[yag-on] rūz ba xona-i mo marhamat kun-ed
some day to house-EZ us kindness IMP.do-2p
‘please come and visit us some day’.

These determiners may also be applied to plural NPs.

3.1.4 Adpositions and case relations

Case relations may be expressed by means of prepositions, postpositions, or ambipositions.
3.1.4.1 Prepositions

3.1.4.1a Primary prepositions

There are nine primary prepositions, one of which forms an EZ constructions (6), while one is partially (7) and another (9) nearly fully replaced by such construction in colloquial Persian.

(1) belba ‘to, in; with, by’ (dative, direction, manner, means)
   This is the most frequent preposition with a wide range of meaning:
   Dative: be to mi-deh-amli tu me-dih-am ‘I’ll give it to you’; direction: be šahrıba šahr ‘to the city’, manner: be āsānıba osonı ‘with ease’, lit. ‘easiness’; means: be (zabān-e) fāris harf-be-zanlıba (zabon-i) to jīkī gap zan! ‘speak in (the language of) Persian/Tajik’.

(2) darıdar ‘in(to)’ (locative)
   In Persian colloquial speech this preposition in the sense of “inside” is frequently often replaced by tu(-ye), lit. ‘the inside’, in an EZ construction; in Tajik dialects it tends to be reduced to da: dar ānjīdar on jo ‘in that place, there’, dar tābestāndar tobusters ‘in the summer’, dar (~ tu-ye) sanduq gozāštirdar sanduq guzosht ‘he put into the box’; idiomatic: dar in suratldar in surat ‘in this case’, do dar doled dar du ‘two by two’.

Omission of be and dar in Persian. In the locational and directional sense these two may be omitted: (dar) tābestān xeyli garm misav-ad ‘it gets quite warm in the summer’, (dar) tehrān xendegi mi-kon-ad ‘he lives in Tehran’; man (be) sinemi mi-rav-am - mi-rav-am (be) sinemā ‘I’m going to the movies’.

(3) azlaz (a in Taj. dialects) ‘from, than; along’ (ablative, source, partitive; passage)

(4) tālto (upto), until (goal), ‘for, as far/long as’ (extent, duration)
   tā Tehranlto Dūšāne ‘till Tehran/Dushanba’, tā hālāltu holo ‘until now’; tā andāz-e to andoza-e ‘to an extent’; tā dah ruz xabar-i na-dāšt-amto dah rūz xabar-e na-došt-am ‘for (a period of) 10 days I didn’t get any news’.

Note that with human objects the locational-directional prepositions require the adverbial noun pislpes ‘front, before’ in the sense of “presence”: dar, be az piš-e mādarldar, ba, az, to pēš-i mādar ‘(being) with, (going) to, (coming) from mother’.

(5) bālbo ‘with’ (comitative, instrumental)
   Comitative: bā tolbo tu ‘with you’, bā ajalelbo ajala ‘with, in haste’; instrumental: bā čakošlbo čakuš ‘with the hammer’, bā asb raftlbo asb raft ‘he left on horseback’.

(6) barā-yelbaro-i (benefactive, purposive, causative, in origin barā-y ‘for the sake of’)

Pers. colloquial also has vāše-ye (benefactive, purposive).

(7) bilbe ‘without’
   While still active in Tajik, in Persian this preposition has been largely reduced to a privative preformative (see section 7.1.3 Word formation) and replaced by be-dun-e in an EZ construction: bi ~ be-dun-e pedar o mādarlbe pidar-u modar ‘without father and mother’.
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(8) *bar*/*bar* ‘on(to)’ (locative)
This preposition occurs mostly in fixed phrasing:
 *bana bar in/bano bar,* ‘based on this, accordingly’. *bar aks*/*bar aks* ‘on the contrary’.
In Persian it has been mostly replaced by *ru-yi*, lit. ‘(sur)face of’, in an EZ construction, *ru-yi mizl-bi mez* ‘on(to) the table’. In Tajik it is still used in basic locative and directional phrases: *bar küh barf bud* ‘there was snow on the mountains’; *bar po istod* ‘she stood up, got to her feet’.

(9) *cun/ciin* ‘like, similar to’
*pesar-i cun to/cun tu pisar-e* ‘a son like you’; *cun man o tolčun man u tu* ‘like me and you’. This preposition is mostly replaced by the EZ construction.

3.1.4.1b Secondary prepositions

There are many more secondary prepositions.

(1) Common compound prepositions of the structure N + Preposition. These include
 *hamrah bālmroh bo* ‘(together) with (person)’, *joz az ‘except’* (also without *azlaz*),
 *piš azlpeš az ‘before’, pas azl pas az ‘after’, and prominently those based on a borrowing from Arabic such as *qabl azlqabl az ‘before’, ba’d azlba’d az ‘after’, ebārat azlborat az ‘consisting of’; Pers. *rāje* bef/Taj. *oid ba* (or *oid-i*) ‘about, concerning’, *qeyr azlqazr az ‘other than, except’.

The preposition *azlaz* may alternate with the EZ without and with a difference in spatial relationship; thus both *birun-elberun-i* and *birun azlberon az ‘outside (of)’,
 *birun-e az sahrrberun-i az sah’ ‘outside/out of town’; Pers. *ba’d az ‘after’, but Taj. *ba’d az az ‘ba’d-i*. However, *pišlpeš ‘front, before’* when locational requires an EZ construction:
 *dar, be, az piš-e xaneldar, ba, az peš-i xona ‘at, to, from the front of the house’, but *azlaz* when temporal: *piš az zohrlpeš az zuhr ‘before noon’*.

(2) There are numerous noun-adverbs or adjective-adverbs forming EZ constructions with the focal noun or phrase, in combination with a primary preposition, mainly *dar, be, az* (of which the first two tend to be omitted, particularly in colloquial):

3.1.4.2 Postposition -rāl-ro

3.1.4.2a Specific direct object
The principal function of -rāl-ro is to mark a definite and any otherwise specific noun or noun phrase as the direct object:

ketāb-rā xarid-amīl doxtar-e dust-eš-rā didīl
kitob-ro xarid-am duxtar-i dost-āš-ro did
book-DO buy.PT-1s daughter-EZ friend-his-DO see.PT.3s
‘I bought the book’; ‘he saw the daughter of his friend’.
In Persian colloquial, -rā > -ro > postconsonantal -a: ur-rā gereft-and > ur-ro gereft-and 'they caught him', xāne-rā xarīd-and > xun-x ro xarīd-and 'they bought the house' (with xāne > xun)-, in-rā be-gīr > in-o be-gīr 'pick up this one'.

In Tajik, -ro has the colloquial reflexes -ra, -a, -ya, this last after a vowel: kūza-ya ovard-am 'I brought the jug'.

3.1.4.2b Temporal and local extension

In addition, -rā may mark focused temporal and local extension:

- [emšab]-rā injā bāz-idl [in hame rāh]-rā raft-andl
  tonight-DO here be.IMP-2s/p this all way-DO go.PT-3p
  'stay here for the night';
- [ilmšab-ro] injā boš [in hama roḥ]-ro raft-and
  'they walked all this way';
- ru-ye yax-rā āb rixt-and
  face-EZ ice-DO water pour.PT-3p
  Pers. 'they poured water on the ice'.

3.1.4.2c Tajik circumpositional -ro

In addition to marking the direct object, -ro (or rather its colloquial reflexes) can be found in several other uses. Thus, it may form circumpositions with nouns governed by prepositions:

- [baro]-kī > baro-i man > [baro]-i man>[a] az xandidan murd-em
  sake-EZ who-for sake-EZ I-for from laugh.INF-for die.PT-1p
  'for whom? - for me';
- [baro]-kī -kīf-ra? - [baro]-i man-[a] [a (= az)] xandidan-[a] murd-em
  sake-EZ who-for sake-EZ I-for from laugh.INF-for die.PT-1p
  'we died from laughing'.

3.1.4.2d Northern Tajik EZ with -ro

In Northern dialects of Tajik, a construction using -ro widely replaces the Persian type of EZ: The word order is that of the equivalent Uzbek NP muallim-[a] kitob-i, lit. 'of-the-teacher his book':

- pisar-i man > man-[a] pisar-am kitob-i muallim-[a] kitob-aš
  son-EZ me I-for son-my book-EZ teacher teacher-for book-his
  'my son';
- pisar-i man > man-[a] pisar-am kitob-i muallim-[a] kitob-aš
  son-EZ me I-for son-my book-EZ teacher teacher-for book-his
  'the teacher's book'.

Note that with this construction the definite direct object is not marked with -ro.

- Zaydullo-ra palink-o-š peš-t usto ovard-am
  Z.-for shoe.p-his [no DO] before-EZ cobbler bring.PT-1s
  'I took Zaydullo's shoes to the cobbler’s'.

The use of -ro in the preceding two constructions is reminiscent of the earlier stages of Persian (predicative) dative-possessive construction: mafr-rā] pesar-i hast 'I have a son', lit. 'to-me a son is'.

3.1.4.3 Other Tajik postpositions

The use of postpositions is a feature that distinguishes Tajik from Persian.
(1) MLT is relatively conservative, admitting formally only *barin* 'like, resembling': *man* [*barin*] *odam* 'a person like me' (vs. Pers. *ādam-i mesl-e, mānand-e man*, with indefinite -i).

(2) Other postpositions are:
   (a) *qatî* 'with' (found in Southern dialects and Afghanistan as a preposition): *tu* [*qatî*] 'with you', *[bə]qoshq [*qatî*] 'with a spoon' (here as an ambiposition with the synonymous preposition *bo*); and (b) *da* (< *dar*) 'in, at, to': *owf-[da] raft* 'she's gone to (fetch) water'.

(3) Other postpositions used widely in the Northern dialects are direct borrowings from Uzbek, e.g. *-dan* 'from'.

3.1.5 Adverbs

3.1.5.1 Nouns

Nouns with inherent locative and temporal meaning are typically found in adverbial function, frequently without adpositions, as mentioned above: *bāzār raftbazar raft* 'she went to (the) market', *vāne mīst-and/xona nest-and* 'they're not (at) home'.

Iterative-approximative *-hāl-ho*. Such nouns may be marked by plural *-hā* in its function to express iteration or approximation: *šab-[hā] kār mi-kon-adšab-[¬ho] kor me-kun-ad* 'he works nights', *in-jā-[hā]lin jō-[ho]* 'around here somewhere, hereabouts'.

3.1.5.2 Adverbs proper

Adverbs proper include the following:

(1) A small set of invariable, unmodified adverbs, including *hanuz* *hanuz* 'still, yet', *hamīsélhameša* 'always', *hargez/hargiz* 'ever' (with negated verb, 'never', in Pers. coll. *hīch vaxt* 'any time'), *faqat* 'only', Pers. coll. *hey* 'continuously, repeatedly'.

(2) A small set of those which selectively admit of limited qualification includes the words for 'now': *hālāholo, hole, aknun-* konun (literary) *lakun*, Taj. *hozir*, modified *ham-in hālā, ham-aknun* 'right now', *alān* 'now, this moment'. Az, *tā hālālaz, to holo* 'from now on, until now'; *tā aknunlito aknun* 'up till now', *az alān* 'from right now'; further, *bas/bas* 'enough' (*bas-[a]lbas-o* 'many, much', literary): *az bas kelaz bas ki* . . . 'so much that . . .'

3.1.5.3 Adjective-adverbs and noun-adverbs

Essentially all adjectives may function as adverbs. In addition, a large number of nouns function as noun-adverbs. Accordingly, the majority of adverbs are identical with or derived from adjectives or nouns.

(1) Common adjective-adverbs are: time, *zud-zud* 'early, soon', *dir-lēr* 'long, late' (*dir* *bāzēr* *boz* 'long ago, for a long time'; Taj. *dar-rav* 'immediately'; location, *dur-lur* 'far, distant', *nazdīk/nazdīk* 'near (to), at hand'; manner, *tanha*tanho 'alone, only', *āhestelohista* 'slow, slowly', *yavāsh* 'slow, slowly, restrained', *tondtāz* 'quick, quickly'.

Adjectival adverbs admit of the comparative: *zud-tarlzud-tar* 'soon er, quicker', *har ēc zud-tar* 'as quickly as possible'.

(2) Common noun adverbs are: *bālāholo* 'up, above, upstairs', *pāir-poyon* 'below, down(stairs)', *em-ruzlim-rūz* 'today', *em-sālīm-sol* 'this year' and related time
relational terms; nāgahānh/nogahon 'suddenly' (< nā-gāh ‘inopportune time’), gāh-gāh/Taj. goho 'sometimes' (in origin a plural, goh-ho).

(3) Abstract suffix N{-il-i}. Adverbs may also be formed by the periphrastic structure: (a) be N{-ilba N{-f for manner and (b) dar, az N{-ildar N{-i for location, the derived quality of the nominal assuming the stressed abstract suffix -il-i (see section 7.1.2 Word formation): be zud{-ilba zud{-i ‘soon, quickly’, lit. ‘with quickness’, be sefed-i-yi barfba safed{-i-yi barf ‘as white as snow’, dar bist kilometri{-ye Tehran{-dar bist kilometri{-yi Dusunbe ‘(at a distances of) 20km from Tehran/Dushanbe’, (be) hamegil{ba hamag{ ‘altogether’ (hame ‘all’).

(4) Reduplications of substantives, adjectives, and participles are also specifically adverbial: gāh-gāh(i)/goh-goh(i) ‘from time to time, sometimes’ (abstract -i{-il{-i), tond tond gozaštix tez guzašt ‘it raced by’,RAFT-e-RAFT-ERRAFT-A-RAFT-A ‘gradually’.

(5) Derivational are: (a) a few adjectives with suffix -anel{-ona (see section 7.1.2 Word formation) form a few adverbs of time: šab{-anelšab{-ona ‘at night, by night’, xos-baxt{-anelxos-baxt{-ona ‘luckily, fortunately’; mota ‘assef{-anelmutaassif{-ona ‘regretfully’; (b) a few active participles in -anI{-on, e.g.: davān-davāndav-an-dav-on ‘at a run’.


3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

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<th>TABLE 8.5: CARDINAL NUMBERS</th>
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* literary, archaic

Numbers are construed in order from highest to lowest, with the connective enclitic -ol-u ‘and’ after each range: bist-o yekbist-o yak ‘21’, si-o yekls-i-yak ‘31’, etc.; 1000: hazār hazar, or yek hazārl-yak hazar; 2000: do hazārdadu hazor, etc.; 4963: čahār hazār-o noh sad-o
Singular and Plural Marking

Numerical quantifiers precede the numerand and canonically require the singular, including cardinal numbers as well as indefinite and interrogative quantifiers (čandčand 'several; how many': čahār, čand darviščor, čand darveš 'four, several dervishes'. The exception is the indefinite ba'z-i/ba'z-e 'some, several' which obligatorily requires the plural: ba'z-i/daraxt-hâlba'z-e 'several trees'.

3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed with the suffix -ond-llm, -yQI11; after vowels: Pers. avval, Taj. yak-ûm, do-omldu-ûm, se-omlsse-ûm, si-yomlsi-ûm 'first, second, third, thirtieth'; note that Persian has avval (< Arabic), but regular yek-om with decades: bist-o-yek-om '21st'.

Like regular adjectives, ordinals follow the noun qualified in EZ construction: sâl-e se-omlsinf-i se-ûm 'third year/grade'.

Ordinals themselves may be substantivized and constitute the head noun in an EZ phrase to express a date: avval-e xordâd/yak-ûm-i may 'the first of Xordâd/the first of May', and may be joined to a pronominal enclitic: čahār-om-as-ra na-did-am/cor-um-as-1"0 na-did-am 'I didn't see the fourth one (of them)'.

3.1.6.3 Fractions

In Persian fractions are expressed by cardinal numerator + ordinal denominator: yek čahār-om, do se-om 'one-fourth, two-thirds'. Quite differently, Tajik uses a partitive collocation in the inverse order, 'from [cardinal denominator] [cardinal numerator]': az se panj-yak 'one-fifth', dah-yak 'one-tenth; ten percent'.

3.1.6.4 Distributive adverbs

Distributive adverbs are formed by simple repetition of the number, with or without the classifier -tâl-ta: čahār čahārlc or čor 'four by four, in fours'; do tâ do táldu-ta du-ta (du-to du-ta) 'two by two, in twos'; or by suffixing stressed -i in Persian: yek-i yek-i 'one by one', yek-tâ-i, 'singly', and in Tajik by suffixing -g-i to the number + classifier stem: yak-ta-g-i (yak-to-g-i) 'singly, one by one'.

3.2 Verb morphology

Verbs are inflected for person, number, tense, aspect, and mood. Further distinctions are made by aspectual-modal particles and periphrastic constructions.

3.2.1 Stem formation

3.2.1.1 Present and past stems

Every verb has two stems: Stem I (traditionally called the "present stem", from which are formed present tenses, and present and active participles) and Stem II (the "past stem")
from which are formed past tenses, past and passive participles, and other nominal forms. Stem II always ends in a dental, -d or -t.

Verbs are divided into two form classes: (1) regular (weak), in which Stem II is derived from Stem I by suffixation of -id (as ras-iras- > rasidi-rasid- ‘arrive’), and (2) irregular (strong), in which the form of one stem is not predictable from that of the other (reflecting Old Iranian ablaut patterns, obscured and mixed since Middle Persian). There are a few pairs of verbs with both irregular and regularized Stem II forms, such as gard- > gar > gardid- ‘turn, become’. A good number of irregular verbs have regularized forms in -id, side by side with the irregular Stem II retained in the higher registers. Note that “regular” and “irregular” refer only to stem relationships; except for the copula, all conjugations and other verb forms are regularly derived from these two stems.

Similar to other Indo-European languages, there are small subsets which have irregular formants and those where the original morphophonemic change is still partially recognizable. The following lists some subsets with select members (omitting Tajik forms; parentheses = higher register; * = final consonant of Old Iranian verbal root + principal marker -tā-):

- id
  - id
  - d → t
  - ād
  - ā → ud
  - ār
  - b → f
  - (y) > s
  - s → x

Typically, most of the statistically frequent verbs are also most irregular, including:

kon- > kar-d- ‘do, make’;
šav- > šo-d- ‘become’; band- > bas-t- ‘bind, tie, close’;
deh- > dā-d- ‘give’; gu- > gof-t- ‘say’;
gir- > geref-t- ‘take’; rav- > raf-t- ‘go, leave’.

Suppletive

ā- vs āma-d- ‘come’; bin- vs di-d- ‘see’.

3.2.1.2 Denominal verbs

Verbs may be formed by suffixing regular -id to the noun or nominal stem: nām- > nāmiid-l nom- > nom-id- ‘name’ (< nom ‘name’), Pers., Taj. fahm- > fahm-id- ‘understand’ (< fahm ‘understanding’), Taj. fawt-fawtid- ‘pass away’ (< fawt ‘death’; in origin Arabic action nouns). In both Persian and Tajik this procedure is no longer very productive.
3.2.1.3 Derived causative verbs

Intransitive verbs may be transitivized, and both intransitive and transitive verbs may be made causative by suffixation of -an-I-on to Stem I and -an-(i)d-on-(i)d- to Stem II: ras-Iras-, rasid-Irasid- 'arrive' > ras'an-tras-on-, ras'an-(i)d-tras-on-(i)d- 'make-arrive, take to', xor-Ixur-, xord-Ixurd- 'eat' or 'drink' > xor'an-lxur-on-, xor'an-(i) d-lxur-on-(i)d- 'make eat or drink, feed'. Irregular causatives include Pers. nešan-, nešand- 'sit (down)' > nešan-, nešand- 'set (down)', but Taj. šin-, šišt- 'sit' > šin-on-, šin-on-id- 'set, plant'.

A few causative-type derivatives are commonly used with little or no modification of the meaning of the basic verb:

Pers. suz-Isuz-, suxt-Isuxt- 'burn (tr., intr.)' > suz-an-, suz-an-d- '(make) burn'; Taj. firist-, firistod- > firist-on-, firist-on-id- 'send'. Others represent a different specialization of the base verb: keš-Ikaš-, kešid-Ikašid- 'pull, draw (tr.), stretch (intr.)' vs. keš'an-Ikaš-on-, keš'an-dIkaš-on-id- 'take away, carry off'.

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While in Persian derived causativation is only partially productive, in Tajik it is fully so, including:

(1) make-other-causatives: düz-Iduxt- 'sew', düz-on-Idüz-on-id- 'have something sewn';
(2) transitive denominal and deadjectival verbs: mukofot-on-, mukofot-on-id- 'reward' (< mukofot 'reward'), elektr-on-, elektr-on-id- 'electrify, power' (< elektr[ika] 'electric'), xusk-on-, xusk-on-id- 'dry' (< xusk 'dry');
(3) causativation of transitive compound verbs with kun-, kard- 'do, make': remont kun-on-, kun-on-id- 'have (something) repaired'.

3.2.1.4 Preverbs

The three most frequently occurring preverbs are bar/bar 'up' (Pers. colloq. var), dar/dar 'in; out', furu(d)/furuh(d) 'down'; further, bazl/boz 're-, again' (mostly colloq. vâlvo), and literary also fara 'forth'.

In Tajik, but not in Persian, the first three preverbs have become inseparably attached to the stem of the most common verbs of motion, and are preceded by the negation na- and imperfective marker me-:

Pers. bar ā-, āmadl dar āvar-, āvard foru ā-, foru āmad-
Taj. bar o-, omad- dar or-, orvard fiuro-, fiuromad-
'go up, out'; 'bring in, out'; 'come down, descend';

but

Pers. bar mi-ā-yam dar mi-āvar-am foru mi-āy-am
Taj. me-[bar]-yam me-[dar]-or-am me-[fiuro]-yam.
IPFV-out-come.PR-1s IPFV-out-bring.PR-1s IPFV-down.come.PR-1s
'I go up, out'; 'I bring in, out'; 'I come down'.

An exception to the Tajik coalescence is dar gir-, girift- 'catch, take (fire, etc.)'; dar name-gir-ad 'it isn’t catching'.

For light verb constructions, see section 5.5.6.
3.2.2 Nominal forms

While forms derived from Stem I are only minimally productive, and function mainly as adjectives and nouns, those derived from Stem II are fully productive.

3.2.2.1 Forms derived from Stem I

3.2.2.1a Present participle, PR-andel-anda

This participle is derived by the suffix -andel-anda: a-yandelo-yanda 'coming; future'. The latter is both an adjective and a noun: hafte-ye ayandelhafta-i o-yanda 'next week', dar ayandeldar o-yanda 'in (the) future', whereas nevisandelnavis-anda 'writer' and most others have evolved into agent nouns.

3.2.2.1b Active participle, PR-ânl-on

This participle is derived by the suffix -ânl-on: rav-ânl-rav-on 'going'.

3.2.2.2 Forms derived from Stem II

3.2.2.2a Infinitive PT-an

The infinitive is formed by addition of -an: gereft-anl/girift-an 'to take, taking', šod-anlšud-an 'to become, becoming' (primarily an action noun, which does not function in the verbal system).

3.2.2.2b Short infinitive PT

The "short infinitive" is identical with the past stem (Stem II) of limited application in the verbal system.

3.2.2.2c Past (perfect) participle PT-a

The past, or perfect, participle (active or passive) is derived by the suffix -el-a: gereft-el girift-a 'having been taken', šod-elšud-a 'having become'. They may also function as adjectives or nouns: gozaštel/gozašta 'past, (the) past'.

3.2.2.2d Tajik participle PT-agī

From the past participle is derived a second "past participle" by the addition of stressed -g-i to the base: šud-agī 'having become', girift-agī 'having (been) taken', guzašt-agī 'having passed'.

3.2.2.2e Future participle or gerundive PT-anil-anī

This participle is derived by stressed -ili from the infinitive, or verbal noun: intransitive, raft-an-i/raft-an-i 'about to go', transitive, did-an-il/did-an-i 'worth seeing', bāvar-na-kard-an-il/bavar-na-kard-an-i 'unbelievable'.

The latter participles play several specialized roles in verb formation and NP syntax (see sections 3.2.6b.4 Tajik Conjectural Mood, 5.5.4 Conjunct verbs, and 5.5.2 Modal constructions).
3.2.3 Person marking and 'be'

The usual present tense of the verb 'be' comprises an affirmative independent and an enclitic copula paradigm. The personal endings differ from the latter only in the 3s. The other tense and modal forms are supplied by bāš-, bud-i boš-, bud-).

**TABLE 8.6: 'BE' AND PERSONAL ENDINGS**

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<th>1s</th>
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<th>3p</th>
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<td>hast-il</td>
<td>hast, ast</td>
<td>hast-iml</td>
<td>hast-ed</td>
<td>hast-andl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula</td>
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<td>-il</td>
<td>ast, -st</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>-ed</td>
<td>-and</td>
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<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>-am</td>
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<tr>
<td>PT</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-0l</td>
<td>-0l</td>
<td>-0l</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>-ed</td>
<td>-eton</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The endings, but not the copula, insert -y- after vowels: Pers. mi-gu-yam 'I say', but enrikā'i and 'they are American', xaste im 'we are tired'; Tajik me-gū-yam 'I say', but dono-yand 'they are knowledgeable'. Ast contracts with final vowels in formal speech: kojā astlkuyo ast > kojā-stlkuyo-st 'where is it'.

hast- functions both as the existential verb and as an alternate of the copula in persons other than 3s:

- **man** hast-am, to bo-row! xub-am/xub-am ~ xub hast-am
- **man xub** hast-am, tu raw! xub hast-am
- I well EX-1s you.s go.IMP.2s well-EX-1s
  - 'I will stay', lit. 'am here, you go!'; 'I am well, fine';

but 3s hast/last is only used in existential sentences:

- **dar in otāq do** panjere hast!
- **dar in xona du** tireza hast
  - in this room two window EX.3s
  - 'there are two windows in this room'.

**NEGATION**

The negative form of both independent and enclitic forms of 'be' are based on nist-lnest-, inflected like hast-, nist-am, nist-i, nist, etc./nest-am, nest-i, nest, etc. Dialect and vernacular variants include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pers.</th>
<th>Taj.</th>
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<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-astlast</td>
<td>&gt; -e</td>
<td>= ast, as</td>
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<td>3s</td>
<td>-adl-ad</td>
<td>&gt; -e</td>
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<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-idl-ed</td>
<td>&gt; -in</td>
<td>-et, -e</td>
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<td>3p</td>
<td>-andl-and</td>
<td>&gt; -an</td>
<td>-an</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Persian and Tajik 451

Pers. xub ast > xub-e ‘it’s good’, mi-ras-ad/me-ras-ad > mi-ras-elme-ras-a ‘arrives’.

Honorific use: 2p -idd-ed and 3p -andl-and may be used to address or refer to a single person in polite or formal usage, while Tajik 2p -eton (cf. personal clitics) is used only for the plural (see section 3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns).

Tajik -ak

In some Tajik dialects, such as Varzobi, occur forms with an apparent reflex of the nominal diminutive affix -ak, with affective connotations:

in-aš raf[t]-ak, dil-am süt

this-REF left-AK heart-my burn.PT.3s

‘she [left], and I was devastated’.

3.2.4 Aspectual-modal markers and negation

3.2.4.1 Prefix mi-/me-

Aspecto-temporal distinctions are expressed primarily by the presence or absence of the stressed imperfective marker mi-/me- added to Stem I and Stem II forms. With Stem I forms, mi-/me- distinguishes present/future indicative from subjunctive/optative: mi-rav-aml me-rav-am ‘I go, am going, will go’ vs. be-rav-am/rav-am ‘let me go’. For the modal use of mi-/me- with Stem II forms, see sections 3.2.5.9–10 Counterfactual forms.

3.2.4.2 Prefix be-/bi-

Stressed be- marks the subjunctive and imperative in Persian be-rav-am ‘(that) I go’, be-rav-id ‘go-2p’!

1) be- > bi- before initial stem vowel: bi-ā- ‘come’, bi-andāz- ‘throw’; the vowel may be lost: bi-andāz-and > b-endāz-an(d) ‘let them throw’.

2) In colloquial there is assimilation: be-gozār > bo-gzār ~ be-zār ‘let (me . . .)’, be-rav > bo-row ‘go-2p!’; be-kon > bo-kon ‘2s do!’

be- is mutually exclusive with the preverb bar: mi-xāh-am bar gard-am ‘I want to return’, lit. ‘that I return’, but is optional in compound verbs, particularly in dependent constructions:

ejāže be-deh-id xod-am-rā mo’arrefi (be-)kon-am

permission IMP.give-2p self-my-DO introduced SBJ.make.PR-1s

‘allow me to introduce myself’, ‘lit. ‘that I introduce’.

In Tajik, however, bi- is vestigial. It occurs regularly only as a morphological suppletive in Stem I forms of the two common verbs o-lomad- ‘come’ and or-lovard- ‘bring’: me-bi-o-yam ‘I come, am coming’; bi-or, bi-or-ed ‘bring (it)’.

It may be used with Stem I to mark the subjunctive: agar bi-gū-yad . . . ‘if he says . . .’, but this usage is characterized as poetic or archaising (for agar gū-yad). As an optional prefix of the imperative it occurs with some common verbs in polite spoken Tajik: bi-šin-(ed) ‘sit-2s(2p) down!’ (cf. 2p šīn-ed ~ šīn-eton), bi-don-(ed) ‘know-2s(2p)’). Before a stem beginning with b- the vowel is modified to w: bu-baxš-ed-2p ‘excuse . . . . 2p’, bu-bin-ed ‘see-2p’.
3.2.4.3 Negation na-na-

The negative prefix na-, Pers. ne- before mi-, precedes other prefixes and takes primary stress: ne-mi-gu-yam|na-me-gi-yam ‘I won’t say’, ne-mi-āvar-aml na-me-bi-or-em ‘we won’t bring (it)’, na-rafit|na-raft ‘3s did not go’. It likewise precedes the periphrastic verb forms, e.g. na-rafit-e ast|na-rafta ast ‘has not gone’.

3.2.5 Basic system of tense, aspect, and mood

Persian and Tajik, like other varieties of Persian, share a core set of basic forms of the verb, and especially in their personal inflection offer analogies with other Indo-European verbal paradigms. The basic aspect system has a triple distinction of imperfective, perfective-aorist, and resultative-stative forms.

The following comparative tables show the basic verb forms and their functions shared by Persian and Tajik, with the example of the verb for “go, leave”, present stem rāv-, past stem rāft-; perfect participle rāft-elaft-a, all with 3p marking, except 2p imperative, first in list form, second in terms of their categorical vectors.

While there are nine basic finite forms, three of those forms have more than one function, of which two forms have both indicative and non-indicative functions: (1) the imperfective past mi-rāft-lme-raft-, also functions as imperfective counterfactual; (2) the resultative-stative, rāft-e bud-raft-a bud-, also functions as perfective counterfactual. (3) one form, rāft-, the simple past, often also referred to preterite, functions not only in past, but also in present and future contexts, as well as in potential conditions, for which reason the term “aorist” has been suggested by Windfuhr.

Future. All indicative forms may function in future contexts, as there is no paradigmatic future formation. (For the discussion of the Persian verb system, cf. also Windfuhr 1979: 83–126; 1982; 2006).

3.2.5.1 Present-future

mi-rav-adlme-rav-ad ‘goes, is going, will go’

The present indicative marked by mi-lme- is the general present imperfective form with a wide range of functions. Depending on the context and adverbial cues, it may refer to actions that are:

1. habitual-iterative and generic, ‘they (always, generally) go, leave’;
2. progressive, ‘they are going, leaving’;
3. intentional, ‘they are about to go, leave’;
4. future, ‘they will go, leave’.

3.2.5.2 Imperfect

mi-rafitme-rafit ‘was going, used to go, would go’

This imperfective form has both indicative and non-indicative functions.

As an indicative, the imperfect is the general past imperfective form with a wide range similar to the present indicative. Depending on the context and adverbial cues, it may refer to events that are:

1. habitual-iterative and generic, ‘they (always, generally) went, left’ ~ ‘would go, leave’ ~ ‘used to go, leave’;
TABLE 8.7: PERSIAN AND TAJIK CONJUGATIONS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IMPERFECT</th>
<th>PERFECTIVE</th>
<th>RESULTATIVE-STATIVE</th>
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<td>Present</td>
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<td>me-rav-and</td>
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<td>na-mi-raft-</td>
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<td>Subjunctive</td>
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<td>me-rav-</td>
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<td>Neg.</td>
<td>na-rav-</td>
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<td>Neg.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Imperative present 2p</td>
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<td>be-row, be-rav-idl</td>
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<td>(bi-)raw, (bi-)ra-vid</td>
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<td>Neg.</td>
<td>na-row, na-rav-idl</td>
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<td>na-row, na-rav-ed</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Imperative perfect/past 2p</td>
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</table>

(2) progressive, less commonly, ‘they were going, leaving’;
(3) intentional ‘they were about to go, leave’;
(4) past future ‘they would go, leave (the next day, etc.)’.

Examples for intentional and past future contexts:

- 1: to ke čiz-i [ne-mi-dād-i]
- 2: tu ki čiz-e [na-me-dōd-i],
- 3: you.s that thing-INDEF not-IPFV-give.PT-2s,
- 4: čerā hamān dam-e dar na-goft-il
- 5: čaro hamon dam-i dar na-guft-i
- 6: why that-same at-EZ door not-say.PT-2s
- 7: since you [were not going to ~ would not give] me anything, why didn’t you say so right at the door?
For the counterfactual function of the imperfect see section 3.2.5.9.

3.2.5.3 Preterite, or “aorist”

raftraft ‘he went’, ‘there he goes’

This is the perfective form of the verb system and used mainly in past, but also in present and future contexts. Due to the renderings of the predominantly past occurrences into English and other languages, it is traditionally often referred to as (simple) past.

(1) It states that an action was performed and (by implication) completed, usually in the past, irrespective of its duration, and is the usual tense of narrative:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mā xeysi dur peyāde raft-iml} \\
\text{mo xeše dur pīyoda raft-em}
\end{align*}
\]

‘we walked a long way’.

(2) It may also designate an action that is presented as completed at the moment of speech:

\[
\begin{align*}
to \ bāš-i, \ & \text{man raft-aml} \ & \text{hasan kū?} \ & \text{āh, āmad!} \\
tu \ boš-i, \ & \text{man raft-am} \ & \text{hasan ku?} \ & \text{oh, omad!}
\end{align*}
\]

‘you stay here, I am on my way’, ‘where is Hasan – there he is!’

lit. ‘I went’; lit. ‘he came’.

(3) It may also assert the completion to an action or event in the future, or refer to action or state that will necessarily have been completed by the time of the action proposed:

\[
\begin{align*}
sāyad mā ham raft-iml \\
soyad mō ham raft-im
\end{align*}
\]

‘we will most likely go, too’, lit. ‘perhaps we went, too’.

Such use is typically found as a precondition for the action in the main clause:

\[
\begin{align*}
havā \ & \text{ke sarād šod . . .} \ & \text{vaqtī āmad, be-gul} \\
havo \ & \text{ki xunuk šud . . .} \ & \text{vaqt-e ki omdad, bi-gū}
\end{align*}
\]

‘when/once the weather becomes cold, . . .’; ‘as soon as he comes, tell me’.

(4) As such, the aorist also may have subjunctive function:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{agar na-bud,} \ & \text{zang be-zanl} \\
\text{agar na-bud,} \ & \text{zang } \ & \text{zan}
\end{align*}
\]

‘if he is not there, call.2s me!’

where the assumed condition is stated as a completed action or state.
3.2.5.4 Present perfect

raft-e astraft-a ast ‘has gone, is gone’

(1) The present perfect tense is formed from the past participle plus the enclitic copula (see Table 8.6). In its “traditional” function as a resultative, the perfect designates an action viewed as having been completed, and its consequences still in force, at the time of speaking:

```
barname-rā be kolli ejrā nemud-e and
plan-ro tamoman ijrō namud-a-and
```

‘they have fully implemented the plan’.

(2) The perfect may refer not only to the result, but also to the process. This is readily shown with change of state verbs, where English makes overt distinctions:

```
pušid-e and ∼ bud-anl
pošid-a and ∼ bud-nd
```

‘put on.PART they have/had put on (a coat)’, or ‘they are/were wearing (a coat)’. 

The perfect has an additional function which will be illustrated under section 3.2.6b.1 Evidential mode.

3.2.5.5 Pluperfect or distant past

raft-e budraft-a bud ‘had gone, was gone’

The pluperfect, or distant past, is formed from the past participle and the simple past of bud-an ‘be’.

(1) Anterior past action

It refers to an action or state in the past already completed by a certain time in the past, often that of the start of another past action (often rendered by the simple past in English):

```
ketāb-i rā, ke be man dāde bud-id, xānd-am
kitob-e-ro, ki ba man doda bud-ed, xond-a tamom kard-am
```

‘I read/have finished reading the book that you gave me’.

(for Tajik, xond-a tanom kard-am see section 5.5.3 Aktionsart constructions).

Sometimes a past action is not mentioned, but is understood from the context:

```
be šonā ādat kard-e bud-inl
ba šuno odat kard-a bud-em
```

‘we are used to you’, lit. ‘we had habituated to you’;

this is a tag explaining the speaker’s reaction to an action just completed.

The pluperfect form, in the context of the time frame mentioned, locates the action as definitively prior to any recent discussion:
u pārsāl āmade budl
ū porsol omad-a bud
he last year come.PART be.PT.3s
‘as you know, etc. he came last year’.

(2) Remoteness
This tense may also be used to underline the remoteness of an action:

devist sāl-e piš az in
dasad sol-i peš az in
two-hundred year-EZ before from this
pedar-ān-e mā be īnjā kučid-e bud-and
bobo-yon-i mo ba injo kučid-a omad-a bud-and
fathers-EZ us to here migrate.PART come.PART be.PT-3p
‘two hundred years ago our forefathers migrated here’

(for Tajik kučid-a omad-a bud-and see section 5.5.4 Conjunct verbs).

(3) Change-of-state verbs
The pluperfect tense of change of state verbs such as istād-an/listed-an ‘stand up, stand’, nešast-an/sīst-an or sīst-an ‘sit down, sit’, xābid-an/xībīd-an ‘lie down, lie’ and ‘go to sleep, sleep’, pusīd-an/pūsīd-an ‘put on, wear’, designates past durative time without a sense of prior action or remoteness:

Piruz dar balaxane-yas nešast- budl
Afandi! dar boloxona-as nišast-a bud
P./A. in upper story-his sit/PART be.PT.3s
‘Piruz/Afandi was sitting in the upper story of his house’.

For the counterfactual function of the pluperfect see section 3.2.5.10.

3.2.5.6 Imperative

(1) present imperative: be-rav-id/rav-ed ‘go-2p!’
The imperative is based on Stem I: 2s -Ø, 2p -idt-ed: be-gir, be-gir-id/rir-, gir-ed ‘take, take!’.

(2) perfective-resultative imperative: raft-e bāš-idraft-a boš-ed ‘be gone-2p’.
The perfective-resultative imperative is as elsewhere rarely found and both semantically and contextually restricted, mostly found with change-of-state verbs: nešast-e bāš-idlisīst-a boš-ed ‘stay seated’, raft-e bāš/idraft-a boš ‘be gone’.

3.2.5.7 Present-future subjunctive

be-rav-ad/(bi-)rav-ad ‘he may go, (that) he go’
The present-future subjunctive (also known as the “aorist subjunctive”, following mainly Turkological nomenclature), is formed on Stem I + personal endings. Persian has the prefix be-, while Tajik mainly the plain stem (see Prefix be-/bi- section 3.2.4.2).

(1) Independent use
Indepenently the subjunctive is used as optative, or hortative, and as suggestion:
boland be-šav-iml
nez-em!
tall SBJ-become.PR-1p/(SBJ).rise.PR 'let's get up!';

na-tars-iml be-rav-adl be-rav-am?!
na-tars-em rav-ad rav-am?
not.SBJ-fear.PR-1p SBJ.go.PR-3s SBJ.go.PR-1s 'let's not be afraid'; 'let him/her go'; 'shall I go?'.

bāš-adelboš-ad 'let it be, OK', Pers. colloquially bāš-e.

(2) Dependent use
Given its function to refer to potential action or state, the subjunctive typically follows modal verbs and expressions:

mi-xāst-am xāne be-rav-am!
me-xōst-am xona rav-am
IPFV-want.PT-1s house SBJ.go.PR-1s 'I wanted to go home', lit. 'that I go'.

As such it occurs in modal constructions and subordinate clauses implying potential actions or states.
Time reference is usually irrelevant, the action expressed by the subjunctive being potentially future in relation to the time of the main verb.

3.2.5.8 Past (perfect) subjunctive
raft-e bāš-adelraft-a boš-ad 'he may have gone, be gone', in past contexts 'might have gone, may be gone'
The past, or perfect, subjunctive is constructed with a past participle + the subjunctive of 'be'. It most commonly occurs in doubting or questioning, desiring or regretting a past action (accordingly rendered in English by a variety of modal formations, depending on the context):

man boyad šaš-sala šud-a boš-am
I must 6-year-old become.PART SBJ.be-1s
ki ma-ro padar-am ba maktab . . . burd-a mond
that I-DO father-my to school take.PART do.PT.3s
'I may, must have been six years old when my father took me to school . . .'

for mond see section 5.5.4 Conjunct verbs.

bāvar ne-mi-kard ke do gusfand gom šod-e bāš-and!
bovar na-me-kard ki du gūsfand gum šud-a boš-and
belief not-IPFV.do.PT.3s that two sheep lost become.PART (SBJ).be-3p
'he still didn't believe that two sheep were, may have, could have been lost'.

Thus it often follows precautive particles such as Pers. (xodā) na-kon-ad 'may (God) not do', Tajik na-xod 'God forbid', ma-b-ūd-ā kelma-b-od-o (ki) 'let it not be', hopefully not', kāškelkoški 'would that', and the modal bāyadlboyad 'must' in its resumptive sense:
3.2.5.9 Imperfect counterfactual

mi-raft-raftaRAFT 'might, would go, might, would have gone', 'if he went, had gone'.

In its counterfactual function the imperfect is an irrealis and tense neutral. As such it is used in both present-future and past contexts and may imply a present or past irreal action:

(1) to express an unrealized desire, after koški 'would that':

kāške ne-mi-āmad!
koški na-mi-omad!
'would that not-I PFV -come.PT.3s
'if only she had (not) come!'

(2) in both clauses of a counterfactual conditional sentence (see section 6.5.3.7 Conditional clauses):

agar mi-āmad, xod-ētān mi-did-il
agar me-omad-ed, xud-a-ton me-did-ed
'if IPFV -come.PT-2p self-your IPF V -see.PT-2p
'if you came, you would see for yourself'.

In Persian it may also follow bayad for which see section 5.5.2 Modal constructions.

3.2.5.10 Pluperfect counterfactual

raftaRAFT-e budraftaRAFT-a bud 'would have gone, if he had gone'

The pluperfect may also express unfulfilled past conditions in either protasis or apodosis, or both, of a counterfactual conditional sentence (see also section 6.5.3.7 Conditional clauses).

kāške zud-tar āmad-e bud-and/
koshki zud-tar omad-a bud-and
would that early-COMP come.PART be.PT-3p
'would that they had arrived sooner';

agar zud-tar āmad-e bud-i, mi-did-il
agar zud-tar omad-a bud-i me-did-i
'if early-COMP come.PART be.PT-2s IPFV -see.PT-2s
'if you had come earlier, you would have seen it'.

In Tajik, but not in Persian, it may add the prefix me- in pluperfect conditional function: raftaRAFT-a [me-]bud-am, etc.

The following two tables provide an overview of the basic categorical vectors and of the conjugations of the Persian and Tajik verb systems.
TABLE 8.8: BASIC PERSIAN AND TAJIK VERB SYSTEM, 3s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Resultative-stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>mi-rav-ad</strong></td>
<td><strong>raft-e astl</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>me-rav-ad</strong></td>
<td><strong>raft-a ast</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>mi-rafl</strong></td>
<td><strong>raft-e budl</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>me-rafl</strong></td>
<td><strong>raft-a bud</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Preterite/Aorist</strong></td>
<td><strong>raft</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subjunctive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>be-rav-ad</strong></td>
<td><strong>raft-e bāš-adl</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>rav-ad</strong></td>
<td><strong>raft-a boš-ad</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Counterfactual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>mi-raft</strong></td>
<td><strong>raft-e budl</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>me-raft</strong></td>
<td><strong>raft-a bud</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperative 2p</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>be-rav-id</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>(me-) rafta bud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>rav-ed</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>raft-a boš-ed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5.11 Defective verbs

The verbs bāš-, bud-bōš-, bud- ‘be’ and dār-, dāšt-l*dor-, došt- ‘have’ are by nature stative and as elsewhere are irregular and partially defective. They do not take *mi-*/*me-* but may do so as part of compound verbs.

3.2.5.11a ‘be’

This verb also lacks the perfect subjunctive and past perfect, *bud-e bāš-, *bud-e bud-, while the present and past imperfective *mi-*/*me-* forms have limited use.

(1) Stem 1 form bāš-tboš- supplies the present subjunctive and imperative of the copula, and is also found in a good number of frozen idiomatic expressions, including: subjunctive in optative function: zende bāš-idlzinda boš-ed ‘may you live! Bravo!'; imperative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>Tajik</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bāš-ad</td>
<td>na-boš-ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SBJ.)be-3s</td>
<td>not(SBJ.)-be-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘let it be, OK;’</td>
<td>‘in that case’, lit. ‘may it not be;’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

na-bāš-ad ke ... heč na-boš-ad
not(SBJ.)-be-3s that any not(SBJ.)-be-3s
‘I hope not that...’; ‘at least, in any case’, lit. ‘may it not be at all’.

TAJK

na-boš-ad, pagoh me-o-yed
well then tomorrow IPFV-come.PR-2p
‘well then, why don’t you come tomorrow?’;
heč na-boš-ad, yak rūz mehmon-i mo šav-ed
any not(SBJ)-be-3s one day guest-EZ we (SBJ.)become-2p
‘at least stay with us one day’.

PRECATIVE
na-boš-ad man kasal šav-am
not(SBJ.)-be-3s I ill (SBJ.)become.PR-1s
‘God forbid I should fall ill’.

(2) The imperfective form, mi-bāš-lme-boš-, may substitute for the existential hast-under felicity conditions, e.g. typically literary, but also to lend weight to a statement or when the verb is widely separated from its antecedent:

salim, ke hame-ye šonā u-rā mi-šenās-id,
Salim, ki hame-i šumo ū-ro me-šinos-ed,
S. that all-EZ you.p he-DO IPFV.know.PR-2p
ozv-e ān he’y at [mi-bāš-ad]
a’zo-i on komsomol [me-boš-ad]
member-EZ that committee IPFV-be.PR-3s
‘Salim, whom you all know, is a member of that committee/the Komsomol’.

(3) In Tajik, but not in Persian, me- in its counterfactual function may be added to Stem II: bud-am, etc. ~ me-bud-am, etc.

3.2.5.11b ‘have’
The meaning ‘have’ of this verb is derived from its basic meaning ‘keep, hold’. When used in its primary sense (which implies an imperfective-durative state), this verb does not admit the prefix mi-lme- with either stem, while the resultative-stative form dāste bāš-l došt-a boš- functions also as the present subjunctive:

ketāb dārst-ad pul na-dāšt-idl
kitob dor-ad pul na-došt-ed
‘he has books’; ‘you had no money’;
monken ast dāšt-e bāš-andl ān-rā dāšt-e bāsīd!!
munkin ast došt-a boš-and on-ro došt-a boš-ed!
‘it is possible they have it’ or ‘had it’; ‘have, keep it!’

It may take mi-lme- like any other verb when forming part of an idiomatic compound verb with a nominal or adjectival component:

u-rā dust mi-dāšt-am
vay-ro dūst me-došt-am
he-DO friend IPFV.have.PT-1s
‘I used to like/love him’;
pošt-e bām-rā tir-hā-ye mohkam negāh mi-dār-andl
bom-ro bolor-ho-i yafs nigoh me-dor-and
roof-DO beam-p-EZ stout support IPFV.keep.PR-3p
‘the roof is held up by stout beams’.
3.2.6a Extended verb system of Modern Standard Persian

3.2.6a.1 Evidential or non-witnessed mode

While not found in Early New Persian, Modern Standard Persian has a sub-system of evidential forms. (Windfuhr 1979: 90 ["reported" speech, Table Verb system of contemporary literary Persian], 1982, 1985, 1987; Lazard 1985, 2000; and Jahani 2000a). It is morphologically signaled not by a single marker, but its forms are derived from the perfect participle. The evidential subset is categorically parallel to the sub-system of the past. This results is the double function of the form raft-e ast, as both present resultative-stative and evidential perfective past.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Evidential Past</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Resultative-stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi-raft</td>
<td>raft</td>
<td>raft-e ast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This evidential mode is confined to the past. Its function and range are similar to those described for Turkish and in general by Johanson (2000). That is, it marks an action or state as non-manifest. This generally includes such qualifications as second-hand knowledge, conclusion, the latter often encountered in historical surveys and personal reminiscence, among others, and is rendered into Western languages by various tags, such as "they say, evidently, apparently".

be zabān-e Māzandarānī šēr mi-[goft-e] and in language-EZ Māzandarānī poetry IPFV.say.PART COP.3s ‘(the records suggest that) they used to write poetry in the Mazandarani language’;

yād-am mi-ā-yad to memory-my IPFV-come.PR-3s sāl-hā piš dar bāre-ye in xeyli motāle’e mi-[kard-e] am year-p before about-EZ this much research IPFV-do.PART COP.1s ‘I remember now that years ago I used to study this very intensively’;

mi-guy-and diruz dar yek tāsidof dāh naftar [kost-e IPFV-say.PR-3p yesterday in one accident ten person kill.PART  šod-e] and become.PART COP.3p ‘they say yesterday ten people got killed in a single accident’;

māl’um  šod zud-tar [āmad-e bud-e] ast evident become.PT.3s soon-COMP come.PART be.PART COP.3s ‘it became evident from what he said, that he had come earlier’.

3.2.6a.2 Progressive

The progressive is not yet fully integrated into literary Persian. The means for this innovation is the verb dār-ldāšti- ‘to keep, have' and refers to an event as ongoing
or imminent. It is preposed to the imperfective forms of the main verb, including the evidential imperfect.

**TABLE 8.10: PERSIAN PROGRESSIVE, 3s**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Progressive</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Resultative-stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>dār-ad</td>
<td>mi-rav-ad</td>
<td>raft</td>
<td>raft-e ast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>dāšt</td>
<td>mi-rašt</td>
<td>raft</td>
<td>raft-e bud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidential</td>
<td>dāšt-e ast</td>
<td>mi-rašt-e ast</td>
<td>raft-e ast</td>
<td>raft-e bud-e ast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Functionally, it disambiguates the progressive and imminent-future functions of the imperfective, but has not yet emptied the latter of that function. Moreover, it is indicative only and cannot be negated. It precedes the main verb and may be separated from the latter. Significantly, both auxiliary and main verb are inflected, but may be separated:

\[
al\'ān dār-ad howsele-am sar mi-rav-ad \text{(standard)}
\]

\[
al\'ān dar-e howsela-m sar mi-r-e \text{(colloquial)}
\]

now PROG.PR-3s patience-my head IPFV-go.PR-3s

'my patience is running/about to run out now';

\[
xorus dāšt dan-e mi-Cid ke . . .
\]

rooster PROG.PT.3s grain IPFV-pick.PT.3s when

'the rooster was picking up grains, when . . .';

\[
zāheran rānande dāšt-e dowr mi-zad-e ke . . .
\]

apparently driver PROG.PART-EV turn IPFV-hit.PT-EV.3s when

'apparently the driver was about to make a turn when . . .'

### 3.2.6b Extended verb system of Modern Standard Tajik

Tajik has considerably expanded the common Persian system both in number of forms and range of functions, in addition to the inherited system of aspect, tense, and mood. There are three innovative subsystem which intersect with the basic system, and with each other.

Like Persian, Tajik has developed a sub-system of the evidential mode, based on the perfect participle, e.g. \textit{rafta}, but expanded it to include also present tense forms and non-indicative forms.

Likewise similar to Persian, it developed a progressive sub-system which, however, is not based on an inflected converb, but on a doubly participial compound consisting of the perfect participle of the main verb plus the perfect participle of the verb 'stand', reflecting the pervasive participialization of Tajik. Here again, unlike Persian this new system is expanded to the non-indicative and, in one case, to the evidential mode.

In addition, Tajik has a less developed conjectural sub-system (see sections 5.5.3 Aktionsart constructions and 5.5.4 (Tajik conjunct verbs).

#### 3.2.6b.1 Evidential mode

\textit{raft-a}

There are four complex tense forms all structured on the form of the perfect participle \textit{raft-a}. Similar to their function in Persian, they denote an action or occurrence known to
the speaker not by direct observation but from collateral sources – hearsay or logical inference (quotative, inferential); or a situation unexpectedly discovered, or a fact only just appreciated as relevant (mirative). The indirect nature of the experience may (or may not) be signaled by an epistemic verb such as šunav-/šunid- ‘hear’ or xabar gir-/girift- ‘be informed’, or a phrase such as ma’lum šud ‘it became known’.

3.2.6b.1a Perfect as evidential form

[raft-a) ast ‘(evidently, etc.) went, left’ and ‘has, is (evidently) gone’

The perfect tense, apart from its role as resultative, also functions as an evidential past (preterite, aorist) as well as evidential perfect (resultative):

\[ \text{mi-gū-yand ki kulliyot-i in navisanda [bar omad-a] ast} \]

IPFV-say.PR-3p that collected works-EZ this writer out-come.PART-EV COP.3s

‘they say that collected works of this writer’s have appeared, are out’;

\[ \text{rať-ē raft-an-as kasal šud-a boš-i,} \]

day-EZ go.INF-his ill become.PART (SBJ.) be.PR-2s

\[ \text{dušanbe [raft-a) y} \]

Monday go.PART-EV COP.3s

‘if you fell ill on the day of his departure, then it was Monday that he left’ (inference); [raft-a) y <raft-a)-ast.

Unlike Persian, the perfect of ‘be’ and ‘have’, bud-a- and došt-a- refers to present time when used in evidential contexts (generally, as miratives):

\[ \text{odam-i xub [bud-a)-ast ēti zan-i xub-e} \]

person-EZ good be.PART-COP3s what woman-EZ good-INDEF [došt-a]-ed!

have.PART-EV COP.2p

‘he’s a good man as it turns out’; ‘what a good wife you have!’;

\[ \text{pul-i mayda-am na-[bud-a)-ast – šuno pul-i} \]

money-EZ small-to me not be.PART-EV.COP.3s you.2p money-EZ non-ro dīh-ed!

bread-DO give.IMP-2p

‘I don’t have change – you pay for the bread’

(this sentence also exemplifies an idiom of ‘be’ with the sense ‘have’).

3.2.6b.1b Evidential pluperfect

[raft-a bud-a]-ast ‘(evidently) had gone’

Similar to its function in Persian, this tense corresponds to the regular pluperfect, while connoting quotation, inference or sudden realization:

\[ \text{loiha-i on peš az jang tayyor [šud-a bud-a]-ast} \]

project-EZ that before from war prepared become.PART be.PART.EV-COP.3s

‘his project was evidently ready before the war’, lit. ‘had been readied’.
3.2.6b.1c Evidential durative

me-[raft-a]-ast 'is (evidently) going, goes, will go, be going' and 'was (evidently) going, used to go, would go, be going'.

This form appears to be indifferent to tense, and may designate past or present habitual or progressive action, as well as future (or intended) action:

(1) Present:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in navozanda-g-i xudd-i mullo-g-i barin [bud-a]-ast-u} \\
\text{this playing like-EZ mullah-ing like be.PART-EV-COP.3s-and} \\
\text{na-navoz-ed, az xotir me-[bar-omad-a]-ast} \\
\text{not.SBJ-play-2pf from memory IPFV.out.come.PART.EV COP.3s} \\
\text{‘playing a musical instrument is like reading-and-writing: if you don’t play, you forget how to’;} \\
\text{ma’lum-ast ki ū pagoh me-[raft-a]-ast} \\
\text{known be.PT.3s that he tomorrow IPFV-go.PART.EV-COP.3s} \\
\text{‘it’s known that he is going-EV tomorrow’}.
\end{align*}
\]

(2) Past:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{me-gū-yand ki peš-tor boy-ho-i qisloq} \\
\text{IPFV-say.PR-3p that before-COMP richman-p-EZ village} \\
\text{sol-e yak-du bor ba šikor me-[bar-omad-a]-and} \\
\text{year-INDEF one-two times to hunt IPFV.out.come.PART.EV COP-3p} \\
\text{‘they say that formerly the rich men of the village used to go hunting once or twice a year’}.
\end{align*}
\]

3.2.6b.1d Evidential progressive

[raft-a istod-a bud-a]-ast 'is (evidently) going' and 'was (evidently) going'.

This is equivalent in tense function to two evidential tenses, the present progressive (raft-a istoda-am) and the past progressive (raft-a istod-a bud-am):

(1) Present:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Šodi dar xona, ba xob kard-an tayyor-i [did-a istod-a]} \\
\text{Shadi at home to sleep make.INF preparing see.PART PROG.PART} \\
\text{bud-a] ast} \\
\text{be.PART.EV COP.3s}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Shadi is now at home; he is preparing to go to bed’.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{šumo yak asar-i nav [nivišt-a istod-a bud-a] ed} \\
\text{you.p one opus-EZ new write.PART PROG.PART be.PART.EV COP-2p} \\
\text{‘(I see) you are, have been writing a new opus’}.
\end{align*}
\]

(2) Past:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vay kitob [xond-a istod-a bud-a] ast} \\
\text{he book read.PART PROG.PART be.PART.EV COP.3s} \\
\text{ki man dar-ro taq taq [kard-a] am} \\
\text{that I door-DO knocking make.PART COP-1s} \\
\text{‘he was evidently reading a book when I knocked at the door’}.
\end{align*}
\]
3.2.6b.2 Progressive forms

The progressive forms are marked by the perfect participle of the main verb and the
perfect participle *ist-, istod- 'stand': *raft-a istoda* followed by the various tenses of ‘be’. By their semantics, the stative verbs, *dor-ldošt- 'have' and boš-lbud- 'be' do not have
progressive tenses. For evidential, subjunctive and conjectural forms of the progressive,
see the respective subheadings.

3.2.6b.2a Present progressive

[raft-a istod-a]-ast ‘is going’
This form refers to an action now in progress, sometimes to habitual action:

- *man maktub [nivišt-a istod-a]-am*
  I letter write.PART PROG.PART-COP.1s
  ‘I am writing a letter’;

- *bača-ho bozi [kard-a istod-a] and children play do.PART OROG.PART COP.3p*
  ‘the children are playing’;

- *mo dar institut fann-ho-i gunogun-ro [omuxt-a istod-a] im we in institute subject-EZ various-DO learn.PART.PROG.PART COP.1p*
  ‘we are learning various subjects at the institute’.

3.2.6b.2b Past progressive

[raft-a istod-a] bud ‘was going’
This tense designates an action observed in progress in the past, often at the start of a
second action:

- *Nurali asb-aš-ro ba mex [bast-a istod-a] bud, N. horse-hisDO to nail tie.PART PROG.PART COP.1s*
  when H.-U. appear.PR.PART become.PT.3s
  ‘Nurali was tethering his horse to the stake when Hojiumar appeared’.

3.2.6b.3 Subjunctive forms

3.2.6b.3a Durative perfect subjunctive

[me-raft-a] boš- ‘may have gone’ and ‘might have gone’

The durative subjunctive is indifferent to present and past distinction, and expresses
conjecture, doubt, apprehension, regret, etc. in relation not only to progressive, habitual
or iterated actions in the past, but also to current or potential actions of a durative
nature:

(1) Present

- *ba kujo [me-raft-a] boš-ad? Ro where IPFV.go.PART (SBJ)be.PR.3s*
  ‘where might she be going (I wonder)?’
(2) Past

\[
\text{boyād Šodī ham az in kor-[kard-a-istod-a] boš-and}
\]

must Sh. also from these doing-p-EZ mother-EZ kind-his

\[
\text{zaq [me-giri-f-a] boš-ad}
\]

pleasure IPFV.take.PART (SBJ) be.PR-3s

'Shodi must have derived pleasure from everything his dear mother did'.

3.2.6b.3b Present progressive subjunctive

\[\text{[raft-a istod-a] boš-ad 'may be doing'}\]

This tense is rarely used in MLT, but is widespread in Northern dialects. It has similar modal connotations to the past (perfect) subjective and the durative subjunctive, in respect of a progressive action in past or present-future time, and occurs in concessive clauses:

\[
on-ho az mašina xeļi dur kor [kard-a-istod-a] boš-and ham,
\]

they from machine very far work do.PART PROG.PART (SBJ) be.PR-3p also

\[
\text{šavqun-i xomūs-nu šav-anda-i on na-me-mond}
\]

noiseEZ silent-not-becoming-EZ that not-allow PT.3s

\[
ki ovoz-i hamsaya-i xad-ro šunav-and
\]

that saying-EZ neighbor-EZ self-DO (SBJ) hear.PR-3p

'although they were working quite far from the machine, its constant noise did not allow them to hear what the person next to them was saying'.

3.2.6b.4 Conjectural mood

\[\text{raft-agį-st-} \sim \text{raft-agį-y-}\]

This mood is used to express an unsubstantiated conjecture or assumption. It is a peculiarity of Northern dialects that has been assimilated into MLT. It is constructed upon the past, or perfect participle, in -agį and forms of 'be'. Only present tense forms are used. These are either formed with the contracted existential verb: raftagį-st- (-st < hast-), or with the copula: raftagį-y-. Colloquially, these forms are contracted (-agį+ personal endings beginning with a- and e- > -agį- > -age-, and further all > -agį-):

\[
\text{raftagį-st-am \hspace{1cm} raftagį-st-ž \hspace{1cm} raftagį-st (zero) \hspace{1cm} raftagį-st-em \hspace{1cm} raftagį-st-ed \hspace{1cm} raftagį-st-and}
\]

\[
\text{raftagį-yam \hspace{1cm} raftagį-yil \hspace{1cm} raftagį-st (<ast) \hspace{1cm} raftagį-yem \hspace{1cm} raftagį-yed \hspace{1cm} raftagį-yand}
\]

\[
\text{raftagem \hspace{1cm} raftagį \hspace{1cm} raftage (<a(st)) \hspace{1cm} raftagem \hspace{1cm} raftag-et(on) \hspace{1cm} raftagen}
\]

\[
\text{raftagim \hspace{1cm} raftagį \hspace{1cm} raftagim \hspace{1cm} raftagid.-it(on) \hspace{1cm} raftagin}
\]

While theoretically the conjectural mood may have all tense, modal, and aspectual forms, only four forms are used in Tajik.

3.2.6b.4a Past conjectural

\[\text{[raft-agį]-st} \sim \text{raft-agį} 'I suppose he went'}\]

The tense connotes various degrees of supposition or conjecture, and may be translated with the help of an adverb such as “probably” or modal idioms “may, might, must have”

\[
\text{ǔ az šahr [omad-agį]-st \hspace{1cm} faromūs kard-aged (<[kardagį]-yed)}
\]

he from city come.CNJECT-COP forgotten make.CNJECT-COP2p

'he may have come from the city'; ‘you’ve probably forgotten'.
However, the tense of the verb ‘be’ invariably has present reference:

\[
\text{agar hamon faranjidor Pùlod na-boš-ad, mayonarav-aš [bud-agī]-st}
\]

if that-same veiled figure Pulàd may not be go-between-his has been-EV

‘if that veiled figure is not Pulad, it must be his go-between’.

### 3.2.6b.4b Present-future conjectural

\([\text{me-raft-agī]}\)-st ‘might be going, about to go’

Constructed with the imperfective prefix \(\text{me-}\), this form expresses a conjecture about a potential or a current (habitual or iterated) action:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pag01l [me-omad-agī]-st} & \quad \text{tomorrow IPFV.come.CNJECT-COP.3s} \\
& \quad \text{‘he’ll probably come tomorrow’;}
\\
\text{gazeta-i muallim-on-ro ü har rūz [me-xond-agī]-st} & \quad \text{journal-EZ teacher-p-DO he each day IPFV.read.CNJECT-COP.3s} \\
& \quad \text{‘I’ll bet he reads the Teachers’ Gazette every day’}.
\end{align*}
\]

### 3.2.6b.4c Present progressive conjectural

\([\text{raft-a istod-a}]\)-gi-st- ‘might be going’

This progressive form corresponds to the indicative present progressive:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{balki vuy dar yagon čariš ba xun-u xok-aš oyušt-a šud-a,} & \quad \text{perhaps he in some meadow in blood-and dirt its welter.PART become.PART} \\
\text{jon [kand-a istod-agī]-st} & \quad \text{soul tear.PART PROG.CNJECT-COP.3s} \\
& \quad \text{‘quite likely, in some meadow, weltering in gore and grime, he lies dying’}.
\end{align*}
\]

Dialect reflexes of these forms are subject to various contractions, e.g. \(\text{kar-soda-y} < \text{kard-a istod-a ast} ‘might be doing’ \(\text{raf-sod-ag-em} < \text{raft-a istod-i-am} ‘might be going’\).

### 3.2.6b.4d Pluperfect counterfactual conjectural

\([\text{raft-agī}]\) me-bud ‘(if) he might have gone’

This form extends the range of the conjectural to parallel the pluperfect in its counterfactual function, further marked by the the prefix \(\text{me-}\) as a non-indicative marker (see also Imperfect section 3.2.2.2d).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{agar čaln-i Yodgor-ro andeša-i oyanda-i sioh torik} & \quad \text{if eye-EZ Y.-DO thought-EZ future-EZ black dark} \\
\text{na-[kard-agī] me-bud} & \quad \text{not make.CNJECT IPFV.be.PT.3s} \\
& \quad \text{‘if the thought of a black future had not darkened the vision of Yadgar . . .’} \\
& \quad \text{‘if Yodgor’s vision had not been clouded by the prospect of a black future . . .’}
\end{align*}
\]

### 3.2.6b.5 Synopsis of Tajik verb forms

The following is an overview of the innovated forms. Note that several forms are tense neutral, that is, they may refer to both a present and past context.
### Table 8.11: Tajik Innovated Verb Forms, 3s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Progressive forms</th>
<th>Present progressive</th>
<th>Past progressive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raft-a istod-a-ast</td>
<td>raft-a istod-a-bud</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(see also evidential, subjunctive and conjectural forms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evidential mode</th>
<th>Evidential durative</th>
<th>Evidential pluperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me-raft-a-ast</td>
<td>raft-a istod-a-bud-a-ast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(tense neutral)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjunctive forms</th>
<th>Durative perfect subjunctive</th>
<th>Present progressive subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me-raft-a-boš-ad</td>
<td>raft-a istod-a-boš-ad (rare)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(tense neutral)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The conjectural mood</th>
<th>Present-future conjectural</th>
<th>Past conjectural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me-raft-agf-st</td>
<td>raft-agf-st</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(tense neutral)

| Pluperfect counterfactual conjectural | raft-agf-me-bud |

3.2.7 Synopsis of Persian and Tajik verb systems

Table 8.12 shows the inherited basic verbs forms (in italics) and the innovative forms (non-italic) and their categories; several forms are listed more than once according to their functions. The arrangement of the table highlights the fact that in Tajik the progressive and the evidential mode have become major parameters of the system, intersecting with the tense parameter, present and past, here represented by pairs of tense forms in each subset. Note also that the conjectural forms constitute a subset together with the imperfective conditional (imperfect form in its counterfactual function).

### 4 Syntax and Use of Forms I: Noun Phrase Structure

The NP may consist minimally of a single nominal, which may be a noun, independent pronoun, infinitive: xānd-an āsān ast/xond-an osan ast 'reading is easy', or any item that is nominalized or used in nominal function.

#### 4.1 Coordination

4.1.1 Single and paired conjunctions

The two basic conjunctions are: (1) coordinating valva, enclitic form -o, -vol-u, -yu,-v-u, in open and closed compound, respectively, e.g. man va tolman va tu 'I and you' vs. man-o tol man-o tu 'I-and-you', so in fixed compounds such as number, e.g. bist-o dol bist-u du '22'; (2) disjunctive yālīyo 'or'.

Paired coordinators of homogeneous NPs (and VPs) include: valva . . . valva 'both . . . and', hamlham . . . hamlham 'both . . . and', ēlēlē 'whether . . . whether, both . . . and'; yāl yo . . . (va) yāl(va) yo 'either . . . or'; xāh/xoh . . . xāh/xoh 'be it . . . or, whether . . . or'; nalna . . . (va) nal(va) na 'neither . . . nor'.

---

**TABLE 8.11: TAJIK INNOVATED VERB FORMS, 3s**

**Progressive forms**
- Present progressive: raft-a istod-a-ast
- Past progressive: raft-a istod-a-bud

(see also evidential, subjunctive and conjectural forms)

**Evidential mode**
- Evidential durative: me-raft-a-ast
- Evidential pluperfect: raft-a istod-a-bud-a-ast

(tense neutral)

**Subjunctive forms**
- Durative perfect subjunctive: me-raft-a-boš-ad
- Present subjunctive: raft-a istod-a-boš-ad (rare)

(tense neutral)

**The conjectural mood**
- Present-future conjectural: me-raft-agf-st
- Past conjectural: raft-agf-st
- Pluperfect counterfactual conjectural: raft-agf-me-bud

(tense neutral)
TABLE 8.12: SYNOPSIS OF VERB SYSTEMS, 3s

Stem forms: rav-, raft-, raft-a 'go, leave'; = same in form; * rarely used

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROGRESSIVE RAFTA ISTODA</th>
<th>BASIC</th>
<th>EVIDENTIAL RAFTA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE, 2p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>rav-ed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>rafta boš-ed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBJUNCTIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>*rafta istoda</td>
<td>boš-ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>rafta boš-ad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERFECTIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>[rafta istoda]-ast</td>
<td>me-rav-ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>[rafta istoda] bud</td>
<td>me-raft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[rafta istoda] buda-ast EV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Indicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjectural -agi-st-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>*rafta istoda</td>
<td>gi-st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>rafta gi-st</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERFECTIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preterite/Aorist</td>
<td>rafta</td>
<td>[rafta]-ast =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESULTATIVE-STATIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR PF</td>
<td>rafta ast =</td>
<td>[rafta]-ast =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT PF</td>
<td>rafta bud</td>
<td>[rafta] buda-ast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Indicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj., Counterf.</td>
<td>Conjectural -agi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR PF</td>
<td>rafta boš-ad SBJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT PF</td>
<td>rafta (me-)bud C-F</td>
<td>[rafta]gi me-bud</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PERSIAN
magar [na man na to] läyeq-e in kār hast-im?
but not I not you/s fit-EZ this work EX-1
‘but are neither I nor you are fit for this task?’;

TAJIK
ba in koyaz-(h)am [na dast-i to] ras-ad, [na dast-i man]
with this paper also not hand-EZ you/s (SBJ):reach-3s not hand-EZ me
‘and let [neither my hand] [nor yours] touch this paper’.

The contrastive construction na tanhāna tanho . . . balkelbalki ~ hamiham ‘not only . . .
but also’ may link NPs, VPs or clauses:
[na tanhā] man, [balke] doxtar-am [ham] u-rā didl
[na tanhō] man, [balki] duxtar-am [ham] ī-ro did
not alone I but daughter-my also he-DO see.PT.3s
‘not only I, but my daughter too saw him’.
Adjectives are similarly concatenated, or are connected by -el-i if they qualify the preceding N + ADJ phrase:

- ketāb-e bozorg o mofidl
- kitob-i buzurg u mufid

book-EZ big and useful

'big and useful book';

- zan-e zibā-ye mahru
- zan-i zebo-i mahru(y)

woman-EZ beautiful-EZ moon-faced

'a big and useful book';

4.1.2 Concatenation and group inflection

Nouns and noun phrases (and any other constituents) may be concatenated, typically by adding -ol-u, to each constituent except the last, or to the penultimate one alone, or without addition. Grammatical markers such as the direct object -rāl-ro are normally added only to the last of several closely coordinated group of nominals:

- [u(-v)-o mā-o šomā]-rā moʿayyan kard-andl
- [vay-u mo-v-u šumā]-ro tāʾin kard-and

he-and we-and you.p-DO identified do.PT-3p

'they designated [him and us and you];

- [ketāb, deftar va qalam]-rā ru-ye niz gozāšt-am
- [kitob, deftar va qalam]-ro rū-i stol mond-am

book notebooks and pen-D0 face-EZ table place.PT-1s

'I laid [the book, notebook and pencil] on the table'.

4.2 Constituents following the head: Ezāfe

Dependent nominals, including adjectives, nouns and nominal phrases, follow the head noun and are linked in the EZ construction by the connective clitic -el-i, as described under Morphology, allowing multiple embedding.

4.2.1 Basic structure

4.2.1.1 NP levels

The EZ noun phrase has two levels and two basic types, depending on the syntactic status of the complement:

1) Adjectival, noun + adjective:

- ketāb-e bozorgl
- kitob-i buzurg

book-EZ big

'big book'.

2) Compound, noun (+ adjective) + noun (+ adjective):

- ketāb-e pedarl
- kitob-i pidar

book-EZ father

'book of father/father's book'.
(3) phrasal: noun + adverbial phrase:

qarn-hā-ye pīš az eslāml
sada-ho-i pēš az islom
centuries-EZ before from Islam
‘the centuries before Islam’.

(4) clausal: noun + nominalized phrase or clause, prominently in Tajik:

pesar-e [az madrase gorixt-e]
pisar-i [az madrasa gurexta-e]
boy-EZ from school flee.PART
‘boy fled from school’, i.e. ‘truant boy’.

4.2.1.2 NP clitics

There are three sets of NP clitics which attach according to level:
(1) the indefinite -i/-e, (2) the personal enclitics, (3) the postposition -rāl-ro. The former
two function on the level of the adjectival noun phrase, the latter functions on the level of
the NP as a whole.
(1) Thus, as a rule, -i/-e is attached to the singular and plural N, but to the adjective in
an adjectival EZ:

so‘āl-il
so‘āl-hā-il
[sol-e xub]-i
[sol-hā-ye xub]-i
sulvol-e
sulvol-ho-e
[sulvol-i xub]-e
[sulvol-ho-i xub]-e
‘a question’, ‘some/certain questions’; ‘a good question’, ‘some, certain good
questions’.

In case of several adjectives it may be attached to the noun directly, without -i/-e:

Esfahānī-hā [mardom-ān-e besyār mehmāndust]
Isfahani-p people-p-EZ very hospitable
va mehrābān, sanimī va šīrin-zaban-i and
and kind sincere and sweet-tongued-INDEF are

vs.

Esfahānī-hā [mardom-ān]-i hast-and besyār mehmāndust
Isfahani-p people-p-INDEF are very hospitable
va mehrābān, sanimī va šīrin-zaban]
and kind sincere and sweet-tongued
‘the Isfahani are (a) very hospitable, kind, sincere and sweet-tongued people’.

(2) The pronominal clitics are similarly attached:

so‘āl-am
so‘āl-hā-yam
[sol-e xub]-at
[sol-hā-ye xub]-at
sulvol-am
sulvol-ho-yam
[sulvol-i xub]-at
[sulvol-ho-i xub]-at
‘my question’, ‘my questions’; ‘your good question’, ‘your good questions’.

These two sets are mutually exclusive.

(3) The postposition -rāl-ro is clitic to the NP as a whole in rightmost final position
irrespective of its internal structure, be it a single N, simple NP or an extended NPP as a
whole.
The basic EZ structures are thus as follows (N = noun, A = adjective, NPP = compound noun phrase; 3s -aš exemplifies personal clitics; all with nouns in the singular):

**TABLE 8.13: CLITIC ATTACHMENT**

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{N} & \text{ketāb} & [-aš \text{ or } -i] [-\text{ra}] \\
& \text{kitob} & [-aš \text{ or } -e] [-\text{ro}] \\
& \text{book} & \text{his, her a } \text{DIROBJ} \\
& \text{‘his, her book’ or ‘a book’}. \\
\hline
\text{NA} & [\text{ketāb-e bozorg}] & [-aš \text{ or } -i] [-\text{ra}] \\
& [\text{kitob-i buzurg}] & [-aš \text{ or } -e] [-\text{ro}] \\
& \text{book-EZ large} & \text{his, her a } \text{DIROBJ} \\
& \text{‘his, her large book’ or ‘a large book’}. \\
\hline
\text{NPP} & \text{ketāb-e bozorg-e} & [\text{mo’alle-m-e javān}] & [-aš \text{ or } -i] [-\text{ra}] \\
& \text{kitob-i buzurg-i} & [\text{mu’alle-m-i javon}] & [-aš \text{ or } -e] [-\text{ro}] \\
& \text{book EZ large EZ teacher EZ young} & \text{his, her or a } \text{DIROBJ} \\
& \text{‘the large book of his young teacher’}. \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

4.2.1.3 Alternate attachment of indefinite marker

The noun alone (or with plural marker) without any determiner, modifier, or enclitic, is either non-specific or definite, and can be used either in a generic or non-generic sense. Without a determiner they are usually indefinite.

While -il-e is usually added to the end of the EZ phrase, in the adjectival EZ it may optionally be attached to the head noun or NP, in which case the EZ particle is not used:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kas-e digar-il} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{kas-i digar-l} \\
\text{kas-i digar-e} & \quad \text{person-EZ other INDEF} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{person-INDEF other} \\
& \quad \text{‘another person’} \quad \text{‘someone else’}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

(1) -il-e. As discussed under Morphology (section 3.1.1.2), both singular or plural nouns may be followed by the indefinite (specific or non-specific) clitic:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ketāb-ilkitob-e} & \quad \text{ketāb-hā-ilkitob-ho-e} \\
& \quad \text{‘some ~ any book’ or} \quad \text{‘some ~ any books’ or} \\
& \quad \text{‘a book’;} \quad \text{‘some ~ certain books’}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

(2) yeklyak. Alternatively, the noun may be preceded by the quasi-indefinite article yekl yak ‘one, a’ and may further be followed by the indefinite enclitic -il-e. The admission of plural and the indefinite enclitic distinguishes the quasi-article yeklyak from its role as numeral:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Singular:} & \quad \text{Plural:} \\
\text{[yek] fenjān[~i-]} & \quad \text{[yek] fenjān-hā [~i-]} \\
\text{[yak] payola [~e]} & \quad \text{[yak] payola-ho [~e]} \\
\text{‘a (certain) cup’;} & \quad \text{‘some (certain) cups’}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

Tajik also allows plural without enclitic -i: [yak] piyola-ho.
4.2.2 Types of noun phrases and complements

4.2.2.1 Overview

Fundamental for identifying the function of the ezâfe construction is the fact that it encompasses not only nouns, but also adjectives. Heads may be nouns, including verbal nouns, as well as adjectives and participles, prominently those belonging to the Arabic loan component and, rarely, a pronoun. Complements may similarly be nominal and adjectival, or participial, or may be sentential nominalizations. (A good number of the latter is further reduced to quasi-compound words; see section 7.1 Word formation.)

In Tajik, moreover, the nominal EZ in combination with verbal nouns, especially the infinitive and other non-finite verb forms, has greatly extended its range of application (arguably under the influence of Uzbek), and may condense into a single sentence what would appear more naturally in Persian or English as a subordinate VP (see section 6.5.4 Tajik Turkic-type nominal clauses).

4.2.2.2 Nominal heads and valence relationships

The nominal EZ can be seen as essentially the nominalization of underlying case relationships, or neutralized valences:

**Predicate**
- āsmān-e ābīləsom-i-obi ‘blue sky’;
- ruz-e engeləablāz-i inqilob ‘the day of revolution’ ~ ‘revolution day’;

**Event**
- qatl-e Hoseyn-lqat-āl-Hosayn ‘the murder of Hoseyn’;
- dāru-ye gerip-dāru-yi grip ‘influenza medicine’;

**Possessor**
- kār-e mardom-kor-i mardum ‘the work of people’;
- ahl-e Tehran-lahl-i Dusānbe ‘inhabitant of Tehran, Dushanbe’;
- ab-e cesm-lə-wesm-i-well ‘water of well’ ~ well-water’,
- gombad-e talāl-gombad-i-talā ‘dome of gold’;

**Agent**
- kar-e moškel, anjān-şodēl ‘difficult, completed work’.
- anbuh-e sā’el-ānlanbūh-i-sā’i-l-on ‘crowd of pilgrims’;

**Patient**
- rāh-e Tehran-lroh-i Dusānbe ‘the road of to Tehran, Dushanbe’ ~ Tehran, Dushanbe road’;
- do na jar-e an-hałdu na far-i on-ho ‘two (persons) of them’.

Predication includes the following relationships, also marked by -el-i:
Genus-species: gol-e sorx/gul-isadbarg 'rose (flower)';
Class-gender: dust-e doxtar, pesarludast-i duxtar, pisar 'girl-',
boyfriend';
ash-e nar, ma'delasb-i nar, moda 'male, female horse;
Class-name: sahr-e Tahrani/sahr-i Dushanbe 'Tehran/Dushanbe city
~ city of Tehran/Dushanbe';
Address-last name: aqâ-ye, xanom-e Javâdljanb-i, xonum-i Javodî
'Mr., Mrs. Javadi'
Address-first name: 'aqâ-ye Ahmadjanb-i Ahmad 'Mr. Ahmad',
xanom-e Maryam/xonum-i Maryam 'Mrs. Maryam';
First-family name: Ahmad-e Javâdl/Maryam-i Javodî 'Ahmad Javadi',
Maryam-e Javâdl/Maryam-i Javodî 'Maryam Javadi';
Series-number: dars-e panj, panj-onldars-i panj, panj-um 'lesson five,
fifth lesson'; sâ-at-e selso 'at-i se 'three o'clock'.

A typical result of neutralization may be overt identity: dust-e doxtarldust-i duxtar may
be both predicative 'girlfriend' and 'a friend who is a girl', as well as possessive 'a friend
of the girl'. Similarly, eSq-e dust-an/isq-i dust-on may be both subjective 'love by the
friends' and objective 'loving (the) friends'.

4.2.2.3 Possessor

4.2.2.3a Preposed possessor

The possessor can be topicalized by inversion and anaphoric pronominal clitic:

\[
\text{esm-e tolism-i to} \quad \text{ketab-e Hasan} \quad \text{kitob-i Hasan}
\]
\[
\text{name-EZ you.s} \quad \text{book-EZ H.}
\]
\[
\text{[to] esm [-at]tu ism-at} \quad [\text{Hasan}] \quad \text{ketab [-as]H.} \quad \text{kitob-as}
\]
\[
\text{you.s name-your-s} \quad \text{H. book-his}
\]
\[
\text{'your name';} \quad \text{‘Hasan’s book’}.
\]

Syntactically such NPs are clause initial:

\[
\text{be-bin-am, } [\text{to] esm[-at] } \quad \text{cî-st?l}
\]
\[
\text{bin-am, } [\text{tu] ism[-at] } \quad \text{cî-st?}
\]
\[
\text{SBJ.see PR-2s you.s name-your-s what-COP.3s}
\]
\[
\text{‘let me see, what’s [your] name?’}
\]

4.2.2.3b Tajik Turkic-type possessor inversion

In the Northern dialects of Tajik, a topical possessor inversion may serve to bind a
complex NP such as a reduced relative clause. This construction uses the postposition -a
(<-ro)which at earlier stages of Persian had also a dative function, but has become the
unmarked construction, essentially a Turco-form version of the EZ (see Postposition -râ,
-ro section 3.1.4.2):

\[
\text{kitob-i } \quad \text{in mard} \quad \text{‘book of this man’ (Tajik >}
\]
\[
\text{book-EZ this man}
\]
\[
\text{in mard[-a] kitob-as} \quad \text{‘this man-to book-his’}.
\]
\[
\text{this man[-RA] book-his}
\]
4.2.2.4 Adjectives and ordinals

4.2.2.4a Superlatives and ordinals

These two canonically precede the head:

- **behtar-in ketab** / **avval-in ruz-e tabestan**
  - 'the best book'; 'the first day of summer'.

In Persian, superlative adjectives always precede the head, as do ordinals when in focused position.

- **bozorg-tar-in māšīn** vs. **māšīn-e bozorg-tar** 'the largest car' vs. 'the larger car';
- **dovv-om-in sālgard** vs. **sālgard-e dovv-om** 'the second anniversary'.

In Tajik, (1) superlatives, (2) ordinal adjectives in -in, (3) simple ordinal adjectives in -um, (4) adjectives in -ngī, and (5) phrases with the postposition barin may either precede or follow the head:

- **kalon-tar-in šahr** ~ **šahr-i kalon-tar-in** ‘the biggest town’;
- **oxar-in bor** ~ **bor-i oxar-in** ‘the last time’;
- **du-yūm poyezd** ~ **poyezd-i du-yūm** ‘the second train’;
- **dina-ngī rūz-noma** ~ **rūz-noma-yi dina-ngī** ‘yesterday's paper’;
- **man barin šaxs** ~ **šaxs-i man barin** ‘a person like me’.

4.2.2.4b Preposed affective adjectives

When used affectively or evaluatively, adjectives may precede the noun, notably when exclamatory. When evaluative, Persian often has indefinite -i:

- **dust-e bičāre-ye man** / **pesar-e xub(-i)** / **past-e**
- **dīst-i bečora-i man** / **pisar-i xub** / **bud-a ast**
- friend-EZ poor-EZ I / boy-EZ good(INDEF) / is/seems to be

> / 

[bičāre] dust-e manl / [xub] pesar-i astl
[bečora] dīst-i man / [xub] pisar / bud-a ast

poor friend-EZ I / good boy / is/appears to be

'my poor friend!'; 'he's/seems to be a good boy', non-evidential-mirative.

4.2.2.4c Pronouns as heads

Pronominal heads of EZ constructions are marginally productive and mostly confined to deplorable qualifications: **man-e bičāre**, **falak-zadelman-i be-čora**, **falak-zada** 'poor, fate-stricken me', etc.

4.2.2.5 Nominalized complements

4.2.2.5a Verbal nouns as heads

Verbal nouns, in both Persian and Arabic, behave essentially like nouns, those derived from transitive verbs exhibiting ambivalence between agent and patient, i.e. subject and direct object (here using roughly equivalent Persian infinitives and Arabic verbal nouns):
4.2.2.5b Compound participles and adjectives as heads

A few adjectives and a relatively limited set of participles forming compound verbs behave similarly to nouns and verbal nouns in neutralizing valence relationships. They consist mainly of Arabic active and passive participles. Common examples include the following (see Ahadi 2001: 105–109):

**Persian adjectives**
- *dokār be/dokār ba* 'affected by':
- *sīfte az/sīfte az* 'enamored by':

**Arabic participles**
- *motawallid dar/mutawallid dar* 'born in':
- *montazer-e dust ast/muntazir-i dust ast* 'is expecting the friend';
- *montazer-e dust ast/muntazir-i dust ast* 'is waiting for';
- *tahvil bel tahvil ba* 'handing over to';
- *tahvil-e u/kard* 'he handed it over to him'.

A distinct subtype are reduplicated adjectives: *xub-e xub/xub-e xub* 'very good', lit. 'good of good', etc.

4.2.2.5c Participial phrases as complements

(See also section 6.3.7 Tajik nominalized relative clauses)

Participial relative clauses as complements tend to be idiomized compounds and adjectival, particularly in Persian:
mard-e [dast-šekast-e]/ ādam-e [kešti-šekast-e]/
mard-i [dast-šikast-a] odam-i [kašti-šikast-a]
man-EZ hand-break.PART person EZ ship-break.PART
‘the man with a broken hand’; ‘ship-wrecked person’;
but not *mard-e māšin-suuxt ‘the man with a burned motor’.

Prepositions can be retained:

forsat-hū-ye [az dast raft-e]/
fursat-ho-i [az dast raft-a]
opportunities EZ from hand give.PART
‘missed opportunities’, lit. ‘given out of the hand’;

ham-ān pesar-e [az madrasa gorišt-e]-i bud-am ke . . .
very same boy-EZ from school flee.PART-INDEF be.PT-1s who . . .
‘I was again that same truant boy who . . .’

4.2.2.5d Tajik nominalized relative clauses

In Tajik copular relative clauses may be nominalized as a possessive EZ construction:

mard(-e) ki mū-yaş safed ast ‘a man whose hair is white’ >
mard-i [mū-yaş safed]
the man-EZ hair his white
‘the white-haired man’.

4.2.2.5e Tajik constructions with participle in -agī

While in Persian participial constructions are limited, Tajik has constructions with the
participle in -agī that are fully productive (see also section 6.3.7.1):

korgar-on-i [az Evropa boz-gašt-agī]
worker-p-EZ from Europe return.PARTII
‘workers having returned from Europe’,
cf. Persian: dānešjū-yān-e [az farang bar-gašt-e]
‘students having returned from Europe’.

4.3 Constituents preceding the head noun

4.3.1 Overview

Determiners including demonstratives, indefinite and interrogative pronouns, quantifiers
and numerals with or without classifiers and their interrogatives, and others precede the
head noun:

DEM ~ INDEF-INTERROG ~ CLASS ~ NUM ~ NOUN

Examples are: ān mardon mard ‘that man’; har haftelhar hafta ‘every week’; če novlčī
xel? ‘what sort?’; do kilo gušīldu kilogramm gūšt ‘two kg of meat’, etc. (see also examples
under Morphology).
4.3.2 Classifiers

4.3.2.1 Numerative classifiers

Numerative classifiers constitute a small set of terms that follow the cardinal number or the indefinite and numeral interrogative cand/cand ‘several; how many?’ and precede the head nominal without any connective marker: Numeral – Classifier – Noun.

In Persian the head noun is in the singular following the singular rule after numbers, while Tajik allows the plural as an option when the numerand denotes a conventionally or contextually defined group. A classifier is obligatory in the absence of a head nominal, but optional otherwise. The choice of these classifiers is conditioned by the semantic class of the counted nominal, with the basic distinction of human and non-human.

The general semantically unmarked classifier is unstressed tâlto ‘unit, item’. In Persian, there is the distinction of plurality vs. singularity: tâ follows numbers larger than one, do tâ pesar, medâd ‘two boys, pencils’, čand tâ pesar, medâd ‘several boys, pencils’ and ‘how many boys, pencils’, as opposed to dâne ‘grain’ for single non-human items, yek dâne medâd ‘a single pencil’.

In Tajik, to (colloquial ta) has no such restrictions and is widely used for all classes of numerands and all numbers: yak to zan ‘one [item] woman’, sad to kurtas ‘a hundred shirts’, while dona ‘grain’ is the classifier for smallish inanimate objects.

Most semantically distinguished classifiers are the same in Persian and Tajik, which once constituted an extensive series; some of those still in use are the following:

(1) Human: nafar/nafar ‘individual’ (Ar.) and tan ‘body, person’, haft nafar pirezan/haft nafar kampir ‘seven old women’; panj tan/panj tan ‘five (bodies)’; Tajik plural numerand of contextually definite group:

az hamin šaš nafar-on faqat ba du nafar
from this-same six persons only to two person
dast na-me ras-on-em
hand not-IPFV.reach.CAUS.PR-1p
‘of these six men we will leave unharmed only two’.

(2) Prominent part of whole, larger animals: (a) sar/sar ‘head’ or (b) ra’/ra’s ‘(Ar.), se sar boz/se sar buz ‘three head of goats’.

(3) Prominent part for whole, inanimate: (a) houses, bâb/bob ‘door’ (Ar.), dah bâb xanen dah bêb xona ‘group of ten houses’; (b) books, jeld/jild ‘skin, book cover’ (Ar.), se jeld ketâblse jild kitob ‘three volumes’.

(4) Small-sized objects, including small animals, plants, and other smallish things: (a) dâne/dona ‘grain’ dah dona bodring dih-ed ‘give (me) ten cucumbers’, čand dona anor ‘several pomegranates’ and ‘how many pomegranates?’, or (b) adad ‘number’ (Ar.), se adad mix ‘three nails’.

(5) Shape: taxte ‘flat board’, etc., yek taxte qali ‘one (item) carpet’.

(6) Small sets: (a) Pers. dast ‘hand’, and yek dast lebâs ‘one suit’, se dast sandali ‘set of three chairs’; (b) small groups (animal, people, objects): Pers. daste ‘handful’, mostly with EZ, yek daste(-ye) gol ‘a bunch of flowers’; Tajik has dasta for both (a) and (b) without and with EZ, yak dasta gul, dasta-i jinoyatkor ‘a criminal group’.

(7) Buildings, apartments: dastgâh/dastgoh ‘compound unit, set’, se dastgâh emârâtse dastgoh imorat ‘three buildings, flats’.

The classifier is obligatory only if the number is mentioned without the numerand: čand (tâ) ketâblčand (to) kitob – se tâlse to ‘how many books – Three’, šomâ čand nafar bud-đâ!šumino čand nafar bud-đâ? – se nafarše nafar ‘how many were you? – Three’.
Numbers and classifiers may also be joined with a dependent nominal or pronouns, frequently enclitic: *har do-(tâ)-yaš qašang astlhar du-(to)-yaš naqz ast* ‘both of them’, lit. ‘of it’, ‘are nice’, *har se tâ-yesañlhar se to-yašon* ‘all three of them’, *yek-dâne-yaš-râ bî-yandâzyak-to-yaš-ro parto* ‘toss me one of them’.

### 4.3.2.2 Mensurative classifiers

Mensurative classifiers identifying weight, length, and other measures designate a portion of a mass and combine freely with mass nouns. Syntactically they behave like numerative classifiers: *do fenjân cîyldu payola cîy ‘two cups (of) tea’*, *câhâr-o nim kilo sib-zaminîlôr-u nim kilo kartoška* ‘two and a half kilo (of) potatoes’, *panjâh kilometr râhlpanjoh kilometr rôh* ‘fifty kilometers (of) way, road’.

Mensurative noun phrases contrast with partitive EZ constructions: *se qatre xunlse qatra xun ‘three drops of blood’* vs. *se qatre-ye xunlse qatra-i xun ‘three drops of the, that blood’*.

### 4.3.2.3 Kind and manner classifiers

Kind and manner classifiers likewise behave like numerative classifiers. These include *now’lîlînaw* ‘kind, sort; breed, species’ way, method, manner, mode’; Pers. colloq. *towrtâvar* ‘sort, kind, type; manner, style’; Pers. *jur*, ‘sort, kind, variety; manner’; *ragamlragam* ‘number’; ‘type, kind, sort’; *ce now’ parandelci nav’ paranda* ‘what kind of bird?’; Pers. *ce-towr ûdâm-i ast?* ‘what kind of person is he?’; Pers. *in jur* ‘this kind of table?; *in ce raqam ketâb astlin ci raqam kitob ast* ‘what type of book is this?’.

## 5 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS II: CLAUSE STRUCTURE

### 5.1 Order of constituents

The canonical sequence in main, coordinate and dependent clauses is:

(SUBJECT) – (OBJECT) – VERB.

The parentheses indicate that both subject and object may be lexically omitted since the person of the subject is incorporated in the verb, and the object of transitive verbs may be contextually implied.

Thus the simplest clause may comprise a single finite verb:

âm-ad-andl  
dozd-id-andl
om-ad-and  
dazzd-id-and
‘they’ve come, are here’;  ‘they stole it’.

With three-valence verbs such as “give”, the definite or specific direct object generally precedes the beneficiary (indirect object), but follows it in preverbal position if indefinite.

Note that in the preverbal position of the unmarked object *ketâbkitob* exemplifies the generic function of unspecified nominals in preverbal position as part of compound verbs:

*(Ahmad) [ketâb-rû] be man dâd*  
*(Ahmad) be man [ketâb] dâd*
*Ahmad [kitob-ro] ba man dod  
Ahmad ba man [kitob] dod*
‘Ahmad gave me the book’;  ‘Ahmad gave me a book, books.’
Word order is flexible and allows for "scrambling" (particularly in spoken registers). Typically, such re-ordering requires non-canonical marking patterns involving shifts of stress (and pauses). The more frequent and less marked of such patterns are discussed in the following.

5.1.1 OSV and OVS

5.1.1.1 Object raising

For emphasis on agent OSV may occur:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sag-rā} & \quad \text{man} & \quad \text{košt-am} \\
\text{sag-ro} & \quad \text{man} & \quad \text{kušt-am} \\
\text{dog} & \quad \text{I} & \quad \text{ killed (it)}
\end{align*}
\]

'I was the one who killed the dog'.

5.1.1.2 Concomitant subject lowering

For emphasis on the patient, or the activity, OVS may occur with concomitant subject lowering:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sib-rā} & \quad \text{ne-mi-xar-id} & \quad \text{šomāl} \\
\text{seb-ro} & \quad \text{na-me-xar-ed} & \quad \text{šumo?}
\end{align*}
\]

the apple-DO not-IPFV.buy.PR-2p you.p

'aren't you going to buy any apples?'

Note the contrastive use of the direct object marker -ra/-ro even with indefinite non-specific objects, approximately 'as to the apples there (in addition to yoghurt, etc.)'.

5.1.2 Adverbials

Adverbs of time and sentence adverbials are often placed first in the sentence. The unmarked order of other is:

\[
\text{TIME – MANNER – LOCATION/DIRECTION,}
\]

and is determined by the valency of the verb, such as the means and direction of "going" in the following example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma'mul-an,} & \quad \text{mā} & \quad \text{har ruz} & \quad \text{bā otobus} & \quad \text{be madrase} & \quad \text{mi-rav-im} \\
\text{odat-an,} & \quad \text{mo} & \quad \text{har rūz} & \quad \text{bo avtobus} & \quad \text{ba madraska} & \quad \text{me-rav-em}
\end{align*}
\]

usually we every day with bus to school we go

'we usually go to school every day by bus'.

Otherwise the position of adverbials is relatively free, such as the focused locative preceding the preverbal beneficiary of "giving" instead of following the initial time adverbial:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{diruz} & \quad \text{Ahmad} & \quad \text{ketāb-rā [dar ketāb-xāne] be man dādl} \\
\text{dina-rūz} & \quad \text{Ahmad} & \quad \text{kitob-ro [dar kitob-xona] ba man dod}
\end{align*}
\]

yesterday Ahmad the book in library to me he gave

'Ahmad gave me the book in the library yesterday'.
Particularly in colloquial speech direction, but not location, follows the verb, usually without the preposition be/la ‘to’:

raft madrasel
raft madrasa
’she went to the school’.

Adverbials pragmatically connecting and/or qualifying the sentence as a whole (often Arabic loan adverbials and phrases) are typically in first position:

rettefaq-an man ham did-am  zâher-an fardâ mi-â-yad
ittifoq-an man ham did-am  az aft-âş pagar me-o-yad
‘incidentally, I saw it, too’;  ‘from the looks of things, he’ll be coming tomorrow’.

5.1.3 Questions

Word order in questions is normally the same as for statements.

(1) Yes-no questions, âyâloyo

In yes-no questions interrogativity is established suprasegmentally by means of intonation and pitch contour, which ends at mid-height rather than falling as in statements.

In addition to the primary contour, Common Persian is one of the languages that has developed an overt question marker, the particle: âyâloyo (initial stress) ‘whether, isn’t it that’, which may be followed by the clipped tag question yâ nalo na ‘or not’:

âyâ to  hamrâh mi-â-i  yâ na?!
oyo to  hamroh me-o-yi  yo na?
Q you.s along  IPFV.come.PR-2s or not
‘are you coming along, or not?’.

In colloquial Tajik, the Uzbek interrogative clitic -mî is added to the final word:

seb  na-me-xar-ed-mî?
apple  not-IPFV-buy.PR-2p-Q
‘won’t you buy some apples?’

(2) Surprise and indignation, magar/magar

In questions connoting surprise or indignation (including rhetorical questions) the particle magar in the sense of ‘but is it not true that, but’ may precede or follow the subject:

magar u  ân-hâ-râ na-did-e ast!
äm magar on-ro na-did-a-ast?
‘but he those-DO not-see.PART COP.3s
‘(but) hasn’t he seen them?’

magar may also imply possibility in questions or statements (for its use as a conjunction ‘unless’ see section 6.5.3.7):

magar  ūmâ ham mi-dân-id!
magar  ūmâ ham me-don-ed?
whether you.p also IPFV.know.PR-2p
‘maybe you know, too?’
(3) Interrogative pronouns and adverbs
Persian has in situ constructions. Interrogatives for parts of speech appear in the same slot as in statements when unmarked, but may appear at the beginning when focused (before or after an adverbial phrase):

Subject
- [ki] emruz mi-á-yadl
- [ki] imruz me-o-yad

who today IPFV:come.PR-3s 'who will come today?'

Adverb
- ketáb-râ [kójá] gozást-e i?!
- kitob-ro [kújó] mond-a i?

book-DO where put.PART COP.2s 'where did you leave, put the book?'

5.1.4 Exclamations

(1) Vocative
The vocative has primary stress on the first syllable, and may be preceded by the particle eyley or áy:

- bačče, inji bi-áil
- bača, in jo bi-o

child here come-IMP.2s

'boy, come here!'

(2) Selective reference
Surprise and admiration are marked by ěe N-i 'what (a) N' and ěe ADJ 'how ADJ' (similar to questions):

će havá-ye xub-i!
what weather-EZ good-INDEF 'what a fine weather!'

će xub!
what good 'how good!'

(3) Tags
These include (a) -(h)ā(n) 'take note, careful, beware' and (b) dige, literary digar
'already, simply', lit. 'other':

gof-t-am-ā!
'I said so, didn’t I!'
gof-t-am-dige!
'I’ve already told you!'

5.2 Definiteness and subject and object marking

5.2.1 Marking of definiteness and specificity

The marking of a NP as definite, indefinite or specific is interdependent with case relations, which in turn are expressed chiefly by syntactic means.
5.2.1.1 Definiteness

The stem form of a noun has two uses, apart from paratactic mention in lists, titles, etc. These are:

1. Generic, when focus is on the concept it conveys or the generic referent, rather than a specific member of the class or number of items:
   - *dar maqāze [ruznāme] hast?*  
   - *ketāb be-xān!*  
   - *in store [newspaper]* EX.3s book read.IMP.2s  
   - ‘are there newspapers in the store?’; ‘read a book!’; i.e. any book, or books in general;
   - *pedar-hā-yemān [dehqān] and!*  
   - *pedar-ho-yamūn [dehgon]-and*  
   - *father-p-our peasant COP.3p*  
   - ‘our fathers are peasants’, lit. ‘peasant’.

2. Definite, when a referent has been mentioned, or is contextually defined, for instance as a proper noun, independent or clitic pronoun, demonstrative, or equivalent interrogatives. A definite count noun denoting a plural requires a plural marker and, usually, plural verb agreement:
   - **Singular**
     - *deh az injā xeyli rāh nist!*  
     - *pedar-bozorg āmad!*  
     - village from here much way not.COP.3s grandfather come.PT.3s  
     - ‘the village isn’t far from here’; ‘grandfather has come, arrived’.
   - **Plural**
     - *deh[-hā] xeyli rāh nist[-and]!/*  
     - *qišloq[-ho] xele roh nest[-and]!*
     - *village-p much way not.COP.3s*  
     - ‘the villages are not far’.

5.2.1.2 Specificity

The specific NP occupies a status between the indefinite NP, the referent of which is known to neither speaker nor listener, and the definite NP, the referent of which is known to both. It constitutes information known to the speaker, but introduced for the first time to the listener; with this form, the speaker signals his ability or willingness to give further information.

A specific NP is marked with -i/-e and/or yeklyak, and as a direct object it requires the marker -ral-ro, while an indefinite noun normally does not.

5.2.2 Marking of subjects

5.2.2.1 Verbal agreement

1. 3rd person. The Classical Persian norm for 3rd person verbal concord (inherited from Indo-European) is that inanimate subjects have singular agreement and anaphora. In
turn, humans and sentient beings (including higher animals, notably horses) have plural agreement: this is still a valid pattern, but the use of singular and plural is determined by the speaker's perception of the degree of individuation of the subject:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dust-} & \quad \text{hā} & \quad \text{āmad-} & \quad \text{andl} & \quad \text{ketāb-} & \quad \text{hā} & \quad \text{injā-} & \quad \text{st} & \quad \text{~ (hast-)} & \quad \text{andl} \\
\text{dūst-} & \quad \text{ho} & \quad \text{omad-} & \quad \text{and} & \quad \text{kitob-} & \quad \text{ho} & \quad \text{injō-} & \quad \text{st} & \quad \text{~ (hast-)} & \quad \text{and}
\end{align*}
\]

friend-p come.PT-3p book-p here is (EX)-3p

‘the friends have arrived-3p’; ‘the books are here’.

Similarly, collective nouns and pronouns, as well as plural inanimates, may have a singular or plural verb, more commonly in Tajik:

human collective-plural inanimate plural-singular

mardom dar āmad-andl šāx-hā-ye deraxt-hā mi-jombidīl
mardum daromād-and šōx-ho-i daraxt-on me-jumbid

people out.come.PT.3p bough-p-EZ tree-p IP.FV.shake.PT.3s

‘the people came out’, ‘the boughs of the trees shook’, individually, in small groups; all together.

(2) Combined persons. Subjects combining 1st person with either or both the other two have 1st plural agreement, subjects combining 2nd and 3rd person have 2p plural agreement:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{man} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{šomā} & \quad \text{mi-dān-iml} & \quad \text{man} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{Ahmad} & \quad \text{bā ham} & \quad \text{raft-im} \\
\text{man} & \quad \text{u} & \quad \text{šumo} & \quad \text{me-don-em} & \quad \text{man} & \quad \text{u} & \quad \text{Ahmad bo ham} & \quad \text{raft-em}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I and you.p IP.FV.know-1s I and A. together go.PT-1s

‘I and you we know’; ‘I and Ahmad went together’.

(3) Honorific marking

Social convention requires respectful reference to 3rd persons with plural agreement, particularly in their presence. Similarly, the addressee is called by the plural pronoun šomāšumo ‘you’ with the corresponding verb ending, while the speaker may use the self-deprecating plural mālmo ‘we’ (see section 3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns):

\[
\begin{align*}
ostād & \quad šaxs-e bozorg-i bud-andl & \quad šomā bud-idl & \quad mā ē & \quad mi-dān-iml \\
ustōd & \quad šaxs-i bozurg-e bud-and & \quad šumo bud-ed & \quad mo ēti & \quad me-don-em
\end{align*}
\]

professor person-EZ great be.PT-3p you.p be.PT-1p we what IP.FV.know.PR-1p

‘the professor was a great man’; ‘it was you’; ‘what do I know?’.

5.2.2.2 Copular predicates and ellipsis

As noted under Morphology, the copula form of ‘be’ in the present tense may be either enclitic or derived from the stems hast-/hast-, bāš-/boš-, or nist-/nest-, and in past tenses from the stem bud-/bud-.

In Persian colloquial the present tense forms are obligatory, except with certain question words and phrases: ku?, kojā? ‘where (is): Hasan ku, kojā? ‘where is Hasan?’. Exclamatory rhetorical phrases include deictic forms like inak: inak—parčam! behold/h here (is) the banner!’.

In colloquial Tajik, present tense forms may be more readily omitted, especially in questions: Nodir kujo? ‘where’s Nadir?’, including basic identification statements: man tojik ‘I’m a Tajik’.
5.2.2.3 Specified and unspecified subjects

Since the person is expressed in the verb ending, the minimal clause consists of an
inflected verb, and there may be no overt subject noun phrase:

\[
\begin{align*}
sib & \text{ mi-xar-am} \text{ seb me-xar-am} \\
\text{apple} & \text{ IPV.buy.PR-1s} \\
\text{‘I'll buy (~ some) apples’}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

Unspecified human subjects are expressed by the 3p verb ending (see section 5.5.7.2
Agency and causation), while impersonal inanimate subjects are expressed by the 3s verb
ending only: e.g. \( bāš-adlbos-ad \) ‘let it be, OK’, \( mi-šav-adme-šav-ad \) ‘it’s possible, one can
(do it)’, and prominently in indirect verb constructions (section 5.3.2).

‘Weather-verbs’ such as \( bār-, bārid-lbor-, borid- \) ‘pour from above’ and similar verbs
require a subject noun: \( bārān, barf \text{ mi-bār-adlboron, barf me-bor-ad} \) ‘it rains, snows’ (‘it
pours down rain, snow’).

5.2.3 Marking of direct objects

5.2.3.1 Definite direct objects

Definite objects are obligatorily marked with -\( rāl-ro \):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ketāb-rā} & \text{ xarid-am} \text{ u-rā} \text{ did-aml} \\
\text{kitob-ro} & \text{ xarid-am} \text{ way-ro} \text{ did-am} \\
\text{book-DO buy.PT-1s} & \text{ he-DO see.PT-1s} \\
\text{‘I bought the book’; ‘I saw him’}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

5.2.3.2 Indefinite specific and non-specific direct objects

An indefinite noun as direct object is not normally marked with -\( rāl-ro \). However, while a
specific NP is also marked with -\( i/e \) and/or \( yek/yak \), as a direct object it requires the
object marker:

\[
\begin{align*}
(yek) & \text{ zan[-i]-rā} \text{ did-aml} \\
(yak) & \text{ zan[-e]-ro} \text{ did-am} \\
\text{one woman-INDEF-DO} & \text{ see.PT-1s} \\
\text{‘I saw a certain woman’}; \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(yek) & \text{ ketāb-e} \text{ xub[-i]-rā} \text{ xānd-aml} \\
(yak) & \text{ kitob-i} \text{ xub[-e]-ro} \text{ xond-am} \\
\text{one book-EZ good-INDEF-DO} & \text{ read.PT-1s} \\
\text{‘I’ve read a good book’}. \\
\end{align*}
\]

Such sentences as a rule require, or imply, following explanatory clauses, typically
relative clauses, such as, for the latter example, ‘a good book – which I might now identify
or describe for you, if you show interest’.

5.2.3.3 Scale of specificity

Specificity is given overtly when a noun or noun phrase is, or contains, a name, personal
or demonstrative or interrogative pronoun, and implicitly when a specific or certain item
or set is referred to by the speaker. Accordingly, -rāl-ro also attaches to items or sets that are marked by the indefinite -iš-e, when specific, such as kas-i-rā didlēkas-e-ro did ‘he saw someone, a certain person”; in comparison:

- **gorg-rā košt-and** ‘they killed the wolf’;
  - **(yek) gorg-i-rā košt-and** ‘they killed a certain wolf’;
  - **(yek) gorg-i košt-and** ‘they killed some wolf’;
  - **gorg košt-and** ‘they killed wolves, were wolf-killing’;
  - **gorg-ḥā košt-and** ‘they killed many wolves’, -ḥā with emphatic stress.

### 5.3 Use of pronominal elicitics

The enclitic series of the pronouns is used primarily to express attributive possession and its metaphors (see section 3.1.3.2):


This use includes the Turco-form possessive construction in the northern Tajik dialects discussed above:

- **in mard[-a] kitob[-aš]**
  - this man-RA book-his’
  - ‘this man’s book’.

In addition, the clitics function both as direct objects and indirect objects, including the experiencer. In Tajik they also function in a possessive construction, including nominalized clauses (see section 6.3.7).

#### 5.3.1 Pronominal direct and indirect objects

The pronominal clitics may also express the direct or indirect object of a verb to which they attach.

1. **direct object**, **did-am-ētāl/did-am-aton** ‘I saw you (-ētāl-aton)’.

   The pronominal clitic may replace the direct object phrase, and is attached to the verb, and in compound verbs usually to the preverbal nominal or to the verb itself (mostly colloquial, see section 5.5.6.2):

   - **[u-rā] did-am/[vay-ро]** did-am
     - **did-am[-aš]** did-am[-aš]
     - ‘I saw him’;

   **Persian** **Tajik**

   - **[u-rā] bidār kard-am/[vay-ро]** bidor kard-am
     - **bidār[-aš] kard-am/[vay-ро]** bidor[-aš] kard-am
     - **bidār kard-am[-aš]** bidor kard-am[-aš]
     - ‘I woke him up’, bidār kardanlbedor kardan, lit. ‘make awake’.

   In spoken Tajik these forms often elide the initial vowel and add the object marker -a (< ro): **me-gir-an/-št** ‘they’ll catch him (-št)’; **did-am-[-a]** ‘I saw you (-t)’.

2. **indirect object**, **goft-am/asl/goft-am-asl** ‘I told him (-as)’.

   These replacements are found with a small number of simple and compound verbs with beneficiary valence:
5.3.2 *Indirect experience*

Indirect verb constructions express bodily or mental experience as happening to, or overcoming, a person without his or her doing. They are most frequent in casual styles, and appear to be an expanding class.

The verb is a compound of a noun or adjective plus 'be' or 'become' and a small set of other verbs in the impersonal 3s, while the experiencer is referred to by the personal clitics, at earlier stages of Persian also by the independent personal pronoun plus -ra in its dative function.

The source is usually indicated by az 'from'. Some sensations and events can only be expressed that way, while others can be expressed either by an indirect construction or by verbs which imply the active involvement of the speaker, allowing for options. Among the commonly used indirect verb constructions, and their active correspondents, there are prominently those expressing bodily sensations, emotions, and mental activity. The following examples illustrate the pairing of active expressions with indirect construction, and the typical pairs of verbs which are similar to those used in the quasi-active/passive pairs of other types of compound verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Experiential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man gorosne [am]</td>
<td>gorosne [-am] ast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I hungery COP.1s</td>
<td>hungry-to me COP.3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I am hungry';</td>
<td>'I feel hungry';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man bāvar ne-mi-kon[-am]</td>
<td>bāvar[-am] ne-mi-šav-ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I belief not-IPFV.make.PRF-1s</td>
<td>belief-to me not-IPFV.become.PRF-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I don't believe it';</td>
<td>'I cannot believe it';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qahr kard[-im]</td>
<td>qahr[-emān] šod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quarrel make.PT-1p</td>
<td>quarrel-to usbecome.PT.3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we quarrelled', lit. 'made quarrel';</td>
<td>'we got to quarrelling';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ān-rā dust dār-im</td>
<td>[az ān] xoš[-am] mi-ā-yad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that-DO friend have.PRF-1p</td>
<td>from that well to me IPFV.become.PRF-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we like him, it', lit. 'have as friend';</td>
<td>'I like it', lit. 'from it it comes well';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cf. earlier [ma-rā] xoš ūmad.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Compound with yād 'memory', all 'I remember' | |
|-----------------------------------------------|
| ān-rā yād dār[-am] | ān-yād[-am] hast |
| that-DO memory have.PRF-1s | that memory-to me EX.3s |
| 'I have it in memory'; | 'that is to me in memory'; |
| ān-rā yād mi-āvar[-am] | ān-yād[-am] mi-āy-ad |
| that-DO memory IPFV.bring.PRF-1s | that memory-to me IPFV.become.PRF-3s |
| 'I bring to memory'; | 'it comes to my memory'; |
Typically colloquial is the expression če-t-e? 'what is the matter with you?' – čiz-i-m nist! 'nothing!' (< če-at ast 'what to you is?' and čiz-i-am nist 'a thing to me is not').

5.4 Subject and object complements

Nominal complements implying a property are non-specific (generic) and are unmarked, whether intransitive or transitive. The verb is a verb of state and persistence or change, most typically 'be', including copula, the existential hast-/hast-, neg. nist-/nest-, the subjunctive bās-/bāoš, past all bud-/bud-. Other verbs include: intransitive mān-, mānd-, mond- 'remain', sav-, sod-/sāv-, sūd- 'become'; transitive kon-/kun-, kard-, dān-, dānest-/ don-, donist- 'know, recognize', entexāb k.linticob k. 'elect', etc.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qabl-an čūpān} & \quad \text{bud-and} & \quad \text{u-rā} & \quad \text{dust} & \quad \text{mi-dān-am} \\
\text{qabl-an podabon} & \quad \text{bud-and} & \quad \text{ū-ro} & \quad \text{dūs} & \quad \text{me-don-im}
\end{align*}
\]

before shepherd be.PT-1p he-DO friend IPFV.know.PR-1s

'before they were shepherds'; 'I consider him a friend'.

The same rules applies to adjectival complements.

However, when modified by a specifying nominal EZ plural marking is obligatory:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qabl-an čūpān-hā-ye} & \quad \text{mā bud-andl} & \quad \text{ān-hā-rā} & \quad \text{dust-hā-ye} & \quad \text{mā mi-dān-mīl} \\
\text{qabl-an podabon-ho-i} & \quad \text{mo bud-and} & \quad \text{on-ho-ro} & \quad \text{dūs-ho-i} & \quad \text{mo me-don-im}
\end{align*}
\]

before shepherd-p-EZ we be.PT-3p they-DO friend-p-EZ we IPFV.know.PR-1p

'before they were our shepherds'; 'we consider them our friends'.

5.5 Complex predicates

The following general characterizations can be made:

The combined morphology and categorical functions of this system suggest the following parameters:

Aspect. The primary parameter of the system is aspect, intersecting with the parameters of tense and mood. It is defined by the polarity between imperfective and perfective, framing the central perfective-aorist.

The perfective preterite (aorist) is the unmarked form and refers to an event simply as completed, and is central to the system. It refers most frequently to past events, and is traditionally equated with a Western preterite, or simple past. However, it may also refer to present or future contexts, and, in addition, may have subjunctive function, notably in subordinate clauses.

The imperfective is undifferentiated and refers to an event simply as not completed. Thus, the indicative present and past may refer to punctual, habitual-iterative or durative-progressive events, in present and past.

The resultative-stative refers to prior action, result, and temporary state in present and past contexts.

Mood. Basically, real action is marked by the indicative, potential action or state by the subjunctive, and unlikely and unreal action by the counterfactual. Both subjunctive and the counterfactual have binary distinctions, imperfective and perfective/resultative-stative. In form, the imperfective counterfactual is identical with the imperfect, while the subjunctive is morphologically aligned with the present. Both occur in independent clauses, as well as in subordinate clauses.
5.5.1 Possession

Possession is expressed by the verb dār-, dāšt-lodor-, došt- 'have, keep'.

In Tajik, the pronominal clitics in their dative function together with 'be' may also express (alienable) possession of a predicate (see Pronominal direct and indirect objects section 5.3.1):

\[\text{saфar pul[-aš]} \; \text{boš-ad agar, me-ti-yam-t[-a]}\]

'S. money-his may be if, IPFV.give.PR-1s-you.s-RA

'if Safar has any money, I'll give it you.'

5.5.2 Modal constructions, verb + verb

5.5.2.1 Definite future

xāh-am raft lxoh-am raft 'I shall, will (definitely) go'.

This modal construction with xāh- 'will' is isolated and expresses definite future, contrasting with the unmarked imperfective present. It is formed from the unmarked present stem of the verb xāh- lxoh- 'will, want, wish' marked for person plus the short infinitive: \((na-)xāh-am raftl(na-)xoh-am raft 'I will (not) go'; compound verbs: kār \((na-)xāh-and kardkār \((na-)xoh-and kard 'they will (not) work'.

In Tajik, more so than in Persian, this construction is regarded as ‘literary’ and generally avoided in favor of the simple present-future. See also section 8.3.2 Uncertainty constructions.

5.5.2.2 Volition

Volition is expressed by fully inflected xāh-, xāst-lxoh-, xost- 'want, wish' followed by the subjunctive.

\[\text{bačče če mi-xāh-adl} \; \text{mi-xāst-am} \; \text{xāne be-rav-aml}\]

\[\text{bačča či me-xoh-ad} \; \text{me-xost-am} \; \text{xona rav-am}\]

child what IPFV-want.PR-3s IPFV-want.PR-1s house SBJ-go.PR-1s

'what does this/that child want?' 'I wanted to go home', lit. 'that I go'.

5.5.2.3 Intention and expectation

(1) [RAFT-an-i] (hast-)am 'I am about to, supposed to'

Verbs of motion, and particularly raft-anraft-an 'go, leave', are formulated in a construction formed with the future participle, or gerundive (see section 3.2.2.2e Nominal forms) and forms of 'be' to express intention.

In Persian this construction is marginal. Used predicatively, it is found with a semantically highly restricted set of verbs and contexts: intransitive, rarely used in tenses other than the present, and rarely negated: man raft-an-i hast-am 'I have to, am about to go'.

In Tajik there are no such restrictions. It is used with both intransitive and transitive verbs, occurs with boš-lbud- 'be' and sav-lbud- 'become' (and colloquially, without a verb), may be negated, allows for any inflected form of the verb; examples of negated, evidential, and progressive forms are:
Intransitive:

\[
\text{man} \text{ raft-an-ī-yam} \sim \text{hast-am} \text{ raft-an-ī} \text{ šud-em}
\]
I go.GERV-COP-1s \sim EX-1s go.GERV become.PT-1p
'I'm going, I'm off'; 'we were all set to go'.

Transitive:

\[
\text{heč hujum} \text{ [kard-an-ī]} \text{ nest-and} \sim \text{[gufš-an-ī]} \text{ na-[bud-a]-j} \text{-ast}
\]
any attack make.GERV not-COP-1p say.GERV not.be.PART.EV-COP.3s
'they are not going to attack'; 'it appears she's not about to tell';

\[
\text{ma-ro ba dušman} \text{ [dod-an-īšud-a]} \text{ istod-a and}
\]
I-DO to enemy give.GERV become.PART PROG.PART COP-3p
'they're getting ready to give me to the enemy'.

This productive construction is thus distinct from the use of the predicative use of the gerundive in both Persian and Tajik with forms derived from the transitive verb which may be understood as a passive: Persian \text{xeyli did-an-ī ast} 'it is very much to be seen, worth seeing', Tajik \text{on jo heč did-an-ī nest} 'that place isn't worth seeing'.

(2) \text{rav-ona} 'about to, supposed to go'

In Tajik, the most commonly found form in the adjectival derivative is -\text{ona}:

\[
\text{man estalinobod} \text{ ravona} \text{ bud-am} \text{ ke na-šud}
\]
I St. go.ADJ be.PT-1s that not-become.PT.3s
'I was about to/supposed to go to Stalinabad, but it didn't work out'.

In Persian, there is \text{ravāne šod-an; kard-an 'set out, start; send off'}, but no corresponding construction.

5.5.2.4. Obligation and presumption

5.2.2.4a Obligation and necessity

Obligation and necessity are expressed by means of the impersonal defective verb \text{bāyad/boyad}, neg. \text{na-bāyad/na-boyad} (less frequent variants with milder force are \text{(mi-)}bāyest-(i)me-boist with \text{mi-}me- in its counterfactual function and the frozen archaic counterfactual enclitic -i, respectively).

(1) Impersonal generalized statements

\text{bāyad raflboyad rafl 'one (we, etc.) must go'}

This construction is formed with the short infinitive (= Stem II).

(2) Personal expressions

\text{bāyad be-rav-ad/boyad rav-ad 'he must go'}

This construction is formed with the present subjunctive:

\text{bāyad fardā parvāz be-kon-am/boyad fardo parvaz kun-am}

must tomorrow flight SBJ.make.PR-1s
'I have to fly tomorrow';
5.5.2.4b Presumption

*bayad raft-e bāš-ad* *boyad raft-a boš-ad*

Presumption about a state or the completion of an action is also expressed by *boyad* and is followed by the perfect subjunctive or the present subjunctive of ‘be’. With change of state verbs the completion usually corresponds to a present in English:

*bayad dar xāne bāš-ad* *boyad tā hālā rasid-e bāš-and*

*boyad dar xona boš-ad* *boyad to holo rasid-a boš-and*

must in house (SBJ) be-3s must till now arrive.PART (SBJ) be-3p

‘she must be at home’; ‘they must have arrived by now’;

*bayad ānjā istād-e bāš-and* *boyād on jo istod-a boš-and*

must there stand.PART (SBJ) be-3p

‘they must have stood up = be standing there now’.
5.5.2.5 Ability

Ability is expressed by the fully inflected verb *tavān-, tavānest-*/tavon-*, tavonist-* 'be able'. Similar to *bāyād/boyād* there are two constructions:

1. **Generalized impersonal statements**

   *mi-tavān* raftme-tavon *guft*

   This construction uses the bare present tense form plus the short infinitive, highly marked as literary:

   - *mi-tavān goft*
   - *me-tavon guft*
   
   IPFV-can say.INF2

   'one can (not) say'.

2. **Personal expressions**

   *mi-tavān-ad be-rav-ad/tavonist rav-ad* 'he can go' (present form)

   This construction has fully inflected modal and dependent verb forms in the subjunctive with person agreement. The cover term "ability" includes permission as well:

   - *ne-mi-tavānest-am be xāb be-rav-am!*
   - *na-me-tavonist-am xob rav-am me-tavon-am rav-am?*
   - not-IPFV-can.PT-1s to sleep SBJ.go.PR-1s IPFV-can.PR-1s SBJ-go.PR-1s

   'I could not go to sleep';

3. **Tajik participial constructions**

   *[raft-a]* me-tavon-ad (present form)

   Though the Persian subjunctival construction is available in Tajik, the preferred idiom is a participial construction. Specifically, instead of the dependent verb following the modal in the subjunctive, this is a conjunct construction where the past, or perfect participle precedes the modal verb: *[raft-a]* me-tavon-am 'I can go' (here with the modal in the evidential mode in the first example, and in the progressive in the second):

   - vay [*tajikī gap zad-a*] *na-tavonist-a-ast*
   - he Tajik talk hit.PART not can.PT-EV-C.OP.3s

   'he couldn’t speak Tajik, as far as I know'.

5.5.2.6 Possibility

The fully inflected verb *šāv-, šod-* 'become' may express possibility as well as permission. It also provides the pendant to impersonal *(ne-)*mi-tavān 'one can'. Whereas the latter implies the ability proper to living beings, reflecting the original meaning 'be strong' of *tavān*-tavon-, šodanšudan implies not so much physical as logistical or moral feasibility reflecting its original meaning 'go, proceed' (cf. German *es geht* 'is is possible, can be done', lit. 'it goes').
(1) Generalized impersonal statements

\[ \text{mi-šav-ad raftim-e-šav-ad raft} \text{ ‘one can go’} \]

In this construction the modal is followed by the short infinitive:

\[ [\text{ne-mi-šav-ad}] \text{ maze-ye ān-hārā [farāmuš kard]} \text{ not-IPFV-become. PR-3s taste-EZ those-DO forgotten make.INF2} \]

‘one cannot forget the taste of those’;

\[ \text{čerā na-raft-i?} \text{ na-šod why not-go.PT-2s not-become.PT.3s} \]

‘why didn’t you go? – it didn’t work out, was not possible’.

Tajik

\[ \text{man ba maskav raft-ann-i bud-am, lekin na-šud I to Moscow go.GERV be.PT-1s but not-become.PT.3s} \]

‘I intended to, was supposed to, was ready to go to Moscow, but it didn’t come off’.

(2) Personal construction

\[ \text{mi-šav-ad be-rav-ad/m-e-šav-ad rav-am} \text{ (present form)} \]

Persian also has a personal construction, similar to \textit{tavānestan}, where the 3s impersonal modal is followed by the inflected dependent verb in the subjunctive:

\[ \text{ne-mi-šav-ad be-rav-am} \text{ not IPFV-become.PR-3s SBJ-go.PR-1s} \]

‘it is not possible for me to go – can’t I go?’, colloquial \textit{ne-mi-š-e be-r-am}?

5.5.3 \textit{Aktionsart constructions, V + V}

\textit{Aktionsart constructions} are mostly confined to colloquial speech in Persian (see Windfuhr 1979: 102–105), but are less restricted in Tajik. They are expressed by a small number of verbs with dependent finite verb, infinitive, or participle. Of these, the infinitive construction is inherited from earlier stages of Persian, which is retained in Tajik, but in Persian tends to be assimilated to post-auxiliary position. Typically, most Persian constructions are double finite, while Tajik constructions are participial (see section 5.5.3), as is the case with the progressive construction discussed in section 3.2.6a/b.2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persian</th>
<th>Tajik</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(dār-am) mi-rav-am rafta istoda am</td>
<td>PROG.PR-1s IPFV-go.PR-1s go.PART PROG.PART COP.1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both: ‘I am about to leave, leaving’.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.3.1 Inception, non-intentional

In Persian, \textit{raftan} ‘go, leave’ followed by the subjunctive expresses the notion of ‘be going to’ with the connotation of possibility or likelihood, usually in combination of \textit{dāštān}:

\[ \text{mi-rav-am yavās yavās be in natije be-res-am ke . . .} \text{ IPFV-go.PR-1 slow slow at this result SBJ-arrive.PR-1s that} \]

‘I am slowly beginning to understand that . . .’;
mi-rav-ad  farâmuš  be-šav-ad
IPFV-go-3s  forgotten  SBJ-become.PR-3s
‘(this old tradition) is now in the process of being forgotten’.

5.5.3.2 Inception

Ali šorū kard [be neveštaN]
Ali [ba neveštaN] šorū' kard
A. begin made [to writing-INF]
‘Ali began to write’.

5.5.3.3 Inception, completive

Persian uses the infinitive in the literary, but TMA marking in the colloquial register;
Tajik uses only the former:

Persian

(1) infinitive

(2a) Past
asb  david-an  gereft
horse  run-INF  take.PT.3s
‘the horse began to gallop’.

(2b) Imperative
gereft-and  xābid-and  hama-š  na-gir  be-xāb
take.PT-3p  sleep.PT-3p  all-its  not  take.IMP-2s  SBJ-sleep.IMP-2s
‘they took to sleeping, fell asleep’; ‘don’t fall asleep all the time’.

Tajik

korkar-i  xud-aton-ro  kard-an  gir-ed!
work-EZ  own-your-p-DO  do-INF  take.IMP-2p
‘you get on with/begin your work!’.

5.5.3.4 Inception, ingressive

The incipient function of the verb xūstan ‘want’ derives from its modal connotations. This innovative construction is to be distinguished from the long-established, but isolate definite future construction with xāh- + past stem: xāh-am  raft/xoh-am  raft ‘I will go’ (cf. section 8.3.2 Uncertainty constructions). While in colloquial Persian this construction is restricted to ingressive function, in Tajik it is not.

Persian

bičāre  mi-xād  be-mir-e
poor  IPFV-want.PR-3s  SBJ-die.PR-3s
‘the poor fellow is about to die’.

Tajik

Sobir  čahār-čub  girifta,  xost  ki  bi-rav-ad
S.  frame  take.PART  want.PT.3s  CL  SBJ-go.PR-es
‘Sobir picked up the frame and made to go’.
Some of these verbs may be combined in a double Persian finite construction:

\[ \text{mi-sin diir-e mi-r-e be-suze} \]

\['\text{car PROG.PR-3s IPFY.go.PR-3s SBJ-burn.PR-3s}']

\'the car is about to begin to burn'.

5.5.4 Tajik conjunct verb constructions

Also known as serial verbs, these are a salient feature of Tajik, especially in the literary language and the Northern dialects, where they seem to have originated as calques on Turkic usage. The category may still be evolving and expanding. In fact, the progressive \( kard-a istod-a-, \) and the ability construction \( kard-a tavon-itavonist- \) discussed above, are grammaticalized instances of the type, and other uses will be noted.

In its most systematic manifestation, the construction joins an inflected form of one of a class of auxiliaries, which provides an Aktionsart or adverbial nuance, to the non-finite “past participle” of the semantically (and grammatically) main verb. There are about 16 such modals, the most commonly used being:

1. (1) \( dili-dod- \) ‘give’ (other-benefactive):

\[ \text{non-as-ro navišṭ-a me-dih-am ašula xond-a do-d-and} \]

\['\text{name-his-DO write. PART IPFV-give.PR-1s song.sing.PART give.PT-3p}']

\'I’ll write its name down for you‘; ‘they performed songs‘,

\[ \text{xon-lxond- ‘sing’} \]

2. (2) \( gir-lgirift- \) ‘take’ (self-benefactive):

\[ \text{afsona-ro navišṭ-a girift-am mavj-l kūtoh-ro došt-a me-girift-em} \]

\['\text{tale-DO write.PART take.PT-1a wave-EZ short-DO hold.PART IPFV-take.PT-1p}’

\'I copied down the tale‘; ‘we used to get the short wave‘, \( dōr-lدوš-it-hold‘.

3. (3) \( bin-ldid- ‘see’ (tentative):

\[ \text{non-ro xūrd-a did} \]

\['\text{bread-DO eat. PART see.PT.3s}’

\‘he tasted the bread‘, \( xūr-/xūrd- ‘eat‘.

4. (4) \( šav-šud- ‘become’ (completion of an action):

\[ \text{kitob-ro xond-a šud-am} \]

\['\text{book-DO read. PART become.PT-1s}’

\‘I finished the book‘.

5. (5) \( firist-lfiristod- ‘send’ (sudden, violent action):

\[ \text{xond-a kard-a firistod} \]

\['\text{laugh.PART do.PART send.PT-1s}’

\‘he burst out laughing‘.

6. (6) \( mon-lmond- ‘stay, remain’ (sudden action followed by continuing state; non-completion or forestalling of an action, depending on the sense of the main verb):
5.5.5 Light verb constructions

Light verb constructions (LVC), also referred to by the ill-defined term “compound” verbs, consist of a nominal and a limited set of simple (“light”) verbs. They represent a class of complex predicates that is distinct from modal, aktionsart, and conjunct verb constructions, even though lexically their sets of function verbs partially overlap. Most prominent are transitivity-voice pairs of LVCs with ‘do’ and ‘become’: xošk kardan :: šodan ‘make :: become dry’. Essentially, then, LVCs are analytical types of de-nominal and de-adjectival verbs as opposed to derivation, such as fahm-, fahm-id- ‘understand’ (Ar. fāhm ‘understanding’), xošk-, xošk-id- ‘dry (out), drain’ (Pers. xošk ‘dry’; see 3.2.1.2 above). For many centuries the emergence of LVCs, now estimated at over a thousand, has been the only source of verbal innovation, including basic verbal concepts, e.g. dust dostan ‘love, like,’ lit. ‘have as friend’, kār kardan ‘work,’ lit. ‘do work’, and in turn has led to the decreasing use of simple verbs, of which only some 150 have retained higher frequency.

These constructions consist of nominals that provide the main lexical meaning and about 18 light (simple) verbs that carry the full inflectional load (including auxiliaries). The nominal include adverbials, nouns, adjectives, or nominalized forms of verbs, such as verbal nouns and active and passive participles—many of which are integrated Arabic loans—both with or without adpositions. The LVCs therefore range from relatively little to considerable morphological, syntactic, and semantic complexity. Thus, Ahadi (2001: 53) found eleven syntactic subclasses of varying complexity, consisting of one- to four-place NPs, determined by the specifics of both the verb and the obligatory complements (even though some of the latter may be contextually omitted under definable conditions). Others distinguish more or fewer subclasses.

Syntactic criteria for testing the syntactic properties and subclassification include prominent place of verbal rection, permissibility of insertions, deletions, and permutations, and semantic shifts (for the insertion of the amplifier -hā see Windfuhr 1979: 33). While to a certain extent these hundreds of LVC can be classified, ultimately each has its own syntactic and semantic range. Moreover, they may vary from speaker to speaker. The following example shows the set of the insertion options related to fekrl ‘thought, thinking’ plus kardan ‘do, make’. This LVC has partially replaced the simple literary verb andšīdan ‘think, reflect; plan, devise; fear, be apprehensive’ in terms of semantic range (cf. Meyer-Ingwersen 1974):

\[
\text{zan-āš kasal šud-a mond} \quad \text{man tanho pušt-i on adam-ro did-a mond-am}
\]

\[ 'his wife fell ill'; \quad 'I only saw that man from the back'. \]

(7) \( \text{ra}-\text{vRAFT} \) ‘go’ (motion away from the speaker; finality; progressivity, depending on the sense of the main verb):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bača david-a} & \quad \text{RAFT} \\
\text{daftar-am} & \quad \text{gum šud-a} \text{RAFT}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ \text{child run.PART go.PT.3s notebook-my lost become.PART go.PT-1s} \]

\[ \text{‘the boy ran away’; ‘my notebook got lost’;} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o-hista-o-hista sihat} & \quad \text{šud-a} \quad \text{me-rav-i}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ \text{little little health become.PART IPFV-go.PR-2s} \]

\[ \text{‘little by little you’ll get well’}. \]

(8) \( \text{o-lomad} \) ‘come’ is similarly used for motion toward the speaker.
Nominalization, EZ

fe'kr kardan-e u

Insertions permitted

(yek) fe'kr-i mi-kon-am

fe'kr-hā ('i) mi-kon-am

in fe'kr-rā mi-kon-am ke

fe'kr-e xub (-i) mi-kon-ad

fe'kr-e pul-eś-rā mi-kon-am

be pul-aš fe'kr mi-kon-am

Preverbal

xub fe'kr mi-kon-ad

hamin-rā fe'kr mi-kon-am

barā-ye to kār-i fe'kr mi-kon-am

The example of fe'kr kardan contrasts with the LVC otu zadān 'iron (clothes)', lit. 'hit with iron', where the insertion of the direct object marker -ra dissolves the LVC: otu-rā zad 'he hit the iron (in anger)', etc.

There are predictable correlative transitive vs. intransitive pairs using these and other auxiliaries (as had been noted from the earliest Western grammars of Persian onward), the semantically least specified pair being kardan vs. šodan:

dorost kardanl

durust kardan

'make correct, prepare s.th.;'

'be corrected, prepared'.

gerd āvordanl

gird ovurdan

'amass, convene' ('bring around');

'gather, congregate' ('come around').

rāh andāxtanl

roh andaťan

'set in motion, start' ('throw on road')

'set out, start' ('fall on road').

From a semantic perspective, there are two kinds of light verbs:

1) Those involving metaphorical use of a nominal, adverbial, etc., where the semantic load is spread fairly evenly between both elements and the auxiliary may vary idiomatically:

sar kardanl/sar kardan

'begin', lit. 'make start'

az barlbar kardan

'learn by heart', lit. 'make by memory';

sar dādanl/sar dodan

'let go', lit. 'give start',

< sar 'head, start';

< bar 'bosom; memory', not used independently.

2) Transparent conversions of a nominal using the same set of "dummy" auxiliaries, the semantic load remaining with the nominal:
rāst konl  qofl kon- ~ zan-l  tahiye kon- ~ bin-
rost kun-  gulf kun- ~ zan-  tahiya kun- ~ bin-
'straighten',  'lock, bolt',  'prepare',
lit. 'make straight';  lit. 'make ~ hit lock';  lit. 'make ~ see to preparation'.

In literary style, the dummy kon-, kard-lkun-lkard- may be replaced by nemā-, nemudl
namo-, namud- (originally 'appear; show'), and šav-šav-, šod-lšud- by gard-lgard-,
gašt-lgašt- ~ gardid-lgardid- (originally 'turn'):

vazife-yešān-rā  ejrā  nemud-e andl  vazife-yešān ejrā gašt ~ gardidl
duty-their-DO deed do.PART COP-3p duty-their deed become.PT.3s
'they have carried out their duty';  'their duty was carried out'.

Semantically, LVCs frequently mark general categories such as "duration". Thus, the
two verbs zadān 'hit' and kešidān 'draw, pull, stretch' are paired as dast zadān vs. dast
kešidān both 'touch'. However, kešidān connotes continuous (moving) touch, and zadān
once or quickly repeated action, including making sounds: vāks zadān 'shoeshine' (vāks
'wax'); ḫarf zadān 'speak' ([href:word']); violon zadān 'play violin'; gul zadān 'deceive' (gul
'deception').

5.5.5.1 Reflexivity

While the light verbs tend to become semantically bleached, they also tend to develop a
more generalized meaning. Thus, kešidān belongs to the subset of verbs that are both
transitive and reflexive, as in derāz kešid 'the stretched out, lay down'. So does xordanl
xurdan 'eat, drink', which as a light verb connotes "take to self", and is one of the
partners of zadān: gul xordan 'be deceived'.

5.5.5.2 Experiencer-subject LVCs

In Persian, a distinct and open subset of LVCs consists of reflexive, or indirect, verb
construction where the affected experiencer is marked by a personal enclitic in its dative
function: az ōn xoš-aš āmad 'he liked it', lit. 'from that it became him well'; gahr-emān šod
'we began to quarrel', lit. 'to us happened quarrel'; sard-am ast ū am cold', lit. 'to me it is
cold'; coll. ē-e-t-e? 'what's the matter with you?' (< ē-at ast 'what is to you'). Today,
experiencer LVCs are particularly frequent in non-formal speech, but they continue an
impersonal construction well-documented throughout the diachronic stages of Persian,
where it alternated with -ra in dative function: dō-rā xwaš āmad, lit. 'it became him well'.

5.5.6 Voice and agency

5.5.6.1 Passive voice

(1) The passive voice is formed for all tenses with the past (perfect) participle of the main
verb and the inflected auxiliary šav-, šod/šav-, šud- 'become, get (intrans.)':

košt-e mišav-adkušt-a mešav-ad  košt-e šodkušt-a šud
'(s)he is being, will be killed'  '(s)he was killed'
or 'is, will be getting killed';  or 'got killed'.
This includes the evidential forms and the Tajik conjectural forms, e.g. Tajik oward-a me-ʃud-aʃg-i-st 'it is probably being taken'.

(2) In compound verbs, šav-, šod-šav-, šud- replaces the transitive auxiliary kon-, kard-kun-, kard- 'do, make'. Tajik prefers the "long passive", i.e. with passivization of kard-an: kard-a šav-šud-, which is at best rare in Persian:

ān ketāb tarjome šodl
on kitob tarjuma (kard-a) šod
that book translation (do.PART) become.PT.3s
'the book was translated'.

(3) The passive construction has no overt agent, though the agent may be referred to indirectly, where felt necessary, by adverbial EZ phrases such as az taraf-e elaz taraf-i 'from the side of', be vāzete-yelba vosita-i 'by means of', az, be dast-e 'from, by the hand of':

in nāme az taraf-e edāre nevešt-e šodl
in maktub az taraf-i rafiq-am nivišt-a šud
this letter from direction-EZ office/my friend write.PART become.PT.3s
'this letter was written by the office/by my friend'.

The passive is comparatively little used in both Persian and Tajik, and is relatively more restricted semantically in Persian than in Tajik, and typically a feature of literary and bureaucratese diction.

The most prominent means of indicating an unspecified agent is the use of third person plural:

ān-rā tarjome kard-andl
on-ro tarjuma kard-and
that-DO translation make.PT-3p
'they translated it';

5.5.6.2 Scale of agency and causation

The following illustrates the position of the passive construction on the scale of agency, using past tense forms (Windfuhr 1979: 105–113):

(a) Agent specified, causation:

pesar āb-rā rixt
pisar ob-ro rext
boy water-DO pour.PT.3s
'the boy poured the water out'.

(b) Agent unspecified, causation:

āb-rā rixt-andl
ob-ro rext-and
water-DO pour.PT-3p
'they, someone poured the water out'

(c) Agent unspecified, causation:

āb rixt-e šodl
ob rext-a šud
water pour.PART become.PT.3s
'the water was poured out'.
6 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS III: COMPLEX SENTENCES

The basic word order in subordinate clauses is essentially the same as in main clauses.

6.1 Clause linking

6.1.1 Overview

There are two distinct types of clause linking: one in which the dependent verb is finite, the other where the dependent verb is a nominal form of the verb. In Tajik, both types exist side by side, due to its partial convergence with Uzbek, whereas in Persian the nominal type is relatively marginal (see section 4.2 Ezafe).

In the finite type, clauses may be paratactic or connected by conjunctions and particles. Devices for clause linking inside the second clause include the use of pronominal anaphora and the verb ending when same subject, as well as gapping. These rules apply irrespective of the type and syntactic status of the clauses involved. Noteworthy for all varieties of Persian is the gapping of the direct object due to the lack of an overt independent non-deictic 3s pronoun (such as English it):

\[ \text{did-am, xarid-am} \]
\[ \text{I saw, I bought} \]
\[ \text{I saw it, and bought it.} \]

A further linking feature is the strict distinction between indicative vs. non-indicative mood in the subordinate clause, depending on the semantics of the verb phrase in the matrix clause (a distinction referred to as “realis” vs. “irrealis” in current typological discussions).

For the use of mood, the logic of the three main modal degrees of reality in the verb system applies: (1) events or states that are expressed as factual use the indicative forms; (2) those that are expressed as possible or contingent, or describe a general characteristic, use the two subjunctive forms (imperfective and perfective, e.g. \text{be-rav-am} and \text{raft-e-baash-amrafta boosh-am}, and more complex forms in Tajik); (3) those that are expressed as counterfactual, ranging from unlikely to impossible, use the two irreal forms (imperfective and perfective, \text{mi-ra/t-am} and \text{raft-e-bud-amrafta bud-am} in their counterfactual function, and more complex forms in Tajik).

The use and various combinations of these three devices, morphological connectives, anaphora, and mood, by the speaker results in a continuum from more tightly to less tightly integrated sentences, partially conditioned by the semantic-pragmatic context.
6.1.2 Coordinating conjunctions and clitics

The coordinating single and paired conjunctions are the same as those used to join NPs, but may have additional functions.

1) Independent *valva* ~ enclitic *-ol-u*, etc. These denote a second event contemporaneous with or closely following the first, or a consequence of it, the latter emphasized by *valva*:

Same subject:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{in soxan-e talx-əs-rā goft} &\quad \text{va az otāq birun raft} \\
\text{in soxan-i talx-əs-ro goft} &\quad \text{va az xona bar- omad-a raft}
\end{align*}
\]

this speech-EZ bitter-his-DO say.PT.3s and from room out come.PART go.PT.3s

‘he said these bitter words and left the room’.

Different subject:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{“keš” goft-am-o gondežk be havā parvāz kard raft} &\quad \text{“kiš” goft-am-u čunčuk ba havo parvoz karda raft} \\
\text{“pshsh” say.PT-1s and sparrow to air flight make.PT.3s/ go.PT.3s} &\quad \text{PART}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I shouted “kish”, and the sparrow flew up into the air’, *karda raft*, cf. conjunct verbs.

2) The conjunctions *amma/ammo, vali/vali*, *lakin/lakin* ‘but, however’ (all borrowed from Arabic) introduce the second of two contrasted clauses:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{havā abrī šod,} &\quad \text{vali bārān na-bāridl} \\
\text{havo abr šud,} &\quad \text{lekin boron na-borid}
\end{align*}
\]

weather cloudy/cloud become.PT.3s but rain not rain.PT.3s

‘it became cloudy, but it didn’t rain’.

3) *ham* and *kelki*

*Ham*. The clitic *ham* ‘also, too’ may have focusing-contrastive function, as does the generalized complementizer *kelki*. Note that the use of the latter is typically colloquial (see section 6.4.5 Idiomatic *ke*):

\[
\begin{align*}
to \text{ an kār-rā bo-kon,} &\quad \text{man ham ~ ke mi-rav-aml} \\
to \text{ on kor-ro kun,} &\quad \text{man ham ~ ki me-rav-am}
\end{align*}
\]

you.s that work-DO SBJ.do.IMP.2s I also though IPFV.go.PR-1s

‘you do that work, I though ~ but I am leaving’.

In colloquial speech, the members of the preceding sets of linkers may occasionally be used in sequence, which can be rendered only approximately in English. Therefore these linkers mark three successive syntactic levels.

The *kelki*-clause here can be attached after the clitic *ham ham* (but not the coordinating conjunctions), which suggests that syntactically it is a subordinate clause.

4) Anaphoric clitic *-aš*

The 3s clitic *-aš*, or the independent pronoun *ānlon*, refers to a preceding situation, mainly in colloquial speech:
The phrase clitic -rā in its general function of topicalizing reference (see section 3.1.4.2a) introduces clipped clauses:

Hasan-rā – ne-mi-dān-am ē ē šode ast
‘as to Hasan, I don’t know what happened’.

### 6.2 Subordinate clauses and linking

Subordinate clauses fall into three major types: (1) relative (property) clauses; (2) complement (propositional) clauses; and (3) adverbial clauses. Unmarked relative clauses are embedded in the matrix clause. Unmarked complement clauses, both subject and object clause as well as purpose clauses, are post-verbal. Unmarked adverbial clauses fall into two sets: those that precede the main clause, and those that follow it. This unmarked distinction follows the logical or temporal sequence of the events or situations in the respective main and subordinate clause.

Typologically significant is the existence of a generalized complementizer, kelki (partially comparable to English *that*).

This complementizer is an enclitic, and may introduce most types of subordinate clauses. As such, it precedes them when they follow the matrix clause, but is inserted after their first constituent component when they precede the matrix clause. Moreover, it combines with demonstrative pronouns and/or nouns in conjunctional constructions. Significant for the function of this complementizer are two facts: it may also attach to most semantically specified conjunctions (e.g. čun kelčun (ki) ‘because’), and second there are pragmatic-semantic conditions where it is said to be optional. This suggests that kelki is not semantically empty.

Subordinate clauses may be linked as follows: (1) without morphological linker (asynthetic), (2) with the general complementizer kelki, and (3) with complex conjunctional constructs consisting of a nominal head + kelki. The head may be:

(a) minimally a demonstrative prop, inlīn or ānlīn: in ke  īn ki;
(b) an EZ construction with the pronominal prop: N-e in ke  /N-i in ki;
(c) a noun + linker -i, with optional prop: (ān) N-i kel(/on) N-e ki.

Depending on the role of the head in the matrix clause, these phrases may be modified by primary and secondary adpositions (see section 3.1.4.1 Prepositions), including the direct object marking postposition -rā-ro: in-rā kelīn-ro ki, N-e in-rā kel N-i in-ro ki, N-i-rā kelN-e-ro ki.

In ‘this’ is the default demonstrative prop in most contexts, whereas ān ‘that’ tends to be preferred in the head of relative clauses. The choice may be semantically significant: inlīn in pointing to the present or immediate situation, or anticipated a future event, and ānlīn on referring to a more remote situation or past state. – Both demonstratives may have focused forms marked by stressed ham- ‘same’, hamīndhamīn, hamānnhamān ‘this, that very’.

---

**Example:**

- **(5) Anaphoric clitic -rā**
- **The phrase clitic -rā in its general function of topicalizing reference (see section 3.1.4.2a) introduces clipped clauses:****

Hasan-rā – ne-mi-dān-am ē ē šode ast
‘as to Hasan, I don’t know what happened’.
Focusing, topical reordering and extraposition obligatorily requires the use of such a prop, minimally kelki (cf. also Aghaei 2006).

Note: In the following the interlinear annotation will be simplified.

### 6.3 Relative clauses

#### 6.3.1 Restrictivity and specificity

Relative clauses (RCs) distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive types. The former requires the linker -i/-e before the generalized complementizer kelki, the latter does not. This distinction corresponds to the EZ construction marked by the linker -el/-i vs. zero linkage in appositional NPs (Windfuhr 1979: 65):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative linkage</th>
<th>EZ linkage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N-i kelN-e ki</td>
<td>N-el-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-kelN -ki</td>
<td>N-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like other nouns, the head noun of relative clauses may be marked by the indefinite -i/e, which is homophonous with the relative linker. When combined, these two markers coalesce into a single -i/e.

In addition, heads may be further marked by a demonstrative pronoun (än being the default choice), or by indefinite yek/yak 'one, a'. The following shows the basic patterns, here using Persian only (DEM = demonstrative; l = indefinite marker; L = linker).

**TABLE 8.14: ORDER OF RELATIVE CLAUSES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEM</th>
<th>HEAD 1</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>PROPERTY</th>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Restrictive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1a) än</td>
<td>doxtar</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>[ke Ali-rā dust dār-ad]</td>
<td>injā-st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1b) yek</td>
<td>doxtar -i</td>
<td>-i &gt; -i</td>
<td>[ke Ali-rā dust dār-ad]</td>
<td>injā-st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-restrictive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2a) än</td>
<td>doxtar</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ke Ali-rā dust dār-ad]</td>
<td>injā-st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2b) yek</td>
<td>doxtar-i</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ke Ali-rā dust dār-ad]</td>
<td>injā-st</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Restrictive:
(1a) '(that) the girl who loves Ali is here' (not the other one).
(1b) 'a (certain) girl who loves Ali is here' (not another one).

Non-Restrictive:
(2a) '(that) the girl, who I think, etc. loves Ali, is here'.
(2b) 'a girl, who I think, etc. loves Ali, is here'.

#### 6.3.2 Gapping and anaphora

There are no dedicated relative pronouns. Agreement and case roles of the head inside the relative clause are indicated by the combination of the general complementizer kelki and anaphoric reference. The latter is marked in the verbal ending if same subject, and by an anaphoric pronoun otherwise; non-anaphoric repetition is an emphatic option. The occurrence of the anaphoric phrases ranges from obligatory to optional. When
optional, occurrence marks emphasis (examples here from Persian only; translation is literal; parentheses = optional; double parentheses = strongly emphatic):

Basic cases:

Subj., N who, opt.: \( \text{doxtar-i ke } ((u)) \text{ Ali-rā dust dār-ad} \)
'the girl that she Ali loves';

Dir. obj., N whom, opt.: \( \text{doxtar-i ke Ali } ((u-ra)) \text{ dust dār-ad} \)
'the girl that Ali her loves';

Ind. obj., N to whom, obl.: \( \text{doxtar-i ke Ali be u gol dād} \)
'the girl that Ali to her flowers gave';

Abl., Comp., N from/than whom, obl.: \( \text{doxtar-i ke Ali az u kuček-star ast} \)
'the girl that Ali from her younger is';

Poss., N whose, obl. (mostly clitic): \( \text{doxtar-i ke Ali dust-āš ast} \)
'the girl that Ali friend-her is'.

Adverbial:

Time, N when, opt.: \( \text{ruz-i ke } ((\text{dar ān})) \text{ in ettefaq oftād} \)
'the day that (on) this happened';

Place. N where, opt.: \( \text{deh-i ke } ((\text{dar ān}) \text{ zendegi mi-kard} \)
'the village that in it she lived';

Reason, N why, none: \( \text{ellat-i ke hārf na-zad} \)
'the reason that she didn’t talk';

Manner, N how, none: \( \text{towr-i ke } ((\text{be ān})) \text{ in kār-rā anjām dād} \)
'the manner that in it this work she accomplished'.

Clausal:

CL, which, none: \( \text{aslan hārf na-zad, ke xeyli ajib ast} \)
'at all she didn’t talk, which is very strange'.

6.3.3 Ordering of restrictive RCs

Restrictive relative clauses distinguish an unmarked and a marked order: (1) When unmarked, they immediately follow the head phrase, and are thus embedded within the matrix clause as in the example above; (2) When marked, they are post-verbal, and have focusing-contrastive function. The post-verbal position is also typical for relative clauses that identify a characteristic of the head, irrespective of whether the head is indefinite or definite: \( (ān) N(-i/-e) \):

(1) Unmarked:

\( ān \text{ doxtar-i [ke Ali-rā dust dār-ad] raft} \)
'that girl-L that A.-DO friend have.PR-3s go.PT.3s 
'(that) the girl whom Ali loves left'.

(2) Contrastive:

\( ān \text{ doxtar-i raft [ke Ali-rā dust dār-ad]} \)
'that girl-L go.PT.3s that A.-DO friend have.PR-3s go.PT.3s 
'(that) the girl [whom Ali loves] left', not the other one.
(3) Topical:

yek ketâb-i-râ towsiye me-kon-am [ke xod-am xând-am]
yak kitob-e-ro tawsiya me-kun-am [ki xud-am xond-am]

one book-IND DEF commendation IPFV.make.PR-1s that self-DEF read.PT-1s

'I'll recommend a (certain) book that I have read myself'.

Copular relative clauses are necessarily post-verbal because the copula is enclitic. However other forms of ‘be’, such as subj. bâš/-bâš-, past bud-/bud- and the existential verb hast-/hast- ‘be there’ do allow for positional options:

ân doxtar-i-st [ke Ali-râ dust dâr-ad]
that girl-L COP.3s who Ali-DO friend has

'she is the girl who loves Ali'.

6.3.4 Use of moods

Inside relative clauses, the moods express the three degrees of reality in the verb system, from factual to potentially factual to counterfactual, all necessarily pragmatic responses to situations, whether with explicit reference or as general statements (then often with present subjunctive). Typically, relative clauses may be relativized adverbial clauses (see section 6.5 Adverbial clauses).

(1) Indicative
(a) Facts:

duxtarça [ki dar gird u peš-i xud modar-i xud-ro na-yoft]
little girl [that in around and front-EZ self mother-EZ self-DO not.find.PT.3s

ba girya dar omad
to cry.INF in come.PT.3s

'the little girl, who did not find her mother anywhere near, began to cry', implicitly also 'when' and 'because she did not find'.

(b) Referential facts:

in-jâ kas-i-st ke kâr mi-kon-adl
injo kas-e-st ki kor me-kunad
here person-L COP.3s that work IPFV.do.PR-3s

'here is someone who works, is working'.

(c) General statements:
Indicative

kas-i ke kâr mi-kon-ad xošhâl astl
kas-e ki kor me-kun-ad xursand ast
person-L that work IPFV.do.PR-3s happy COP.3s

'someone who works is happy'.


(2) Subjunctive
(a) General characteristic:

\[
\text{in-jā kās-i nīst ke kār be-kon-ad}
\]

here person not.COP.3s that work SBJ.do.PR-3s

‘there is no one here to work’;

(b) General comparison:

\[
\text{mesl-e mārd-i ke aslān kār-i na-karde bāš-adl}
\]

\[
\text{mesl-i mārd-e ki aslān kor-e-ro na-karda boš-ad}
\]

like-EZ man-L that at all work-INDEF.DO not.do.PART (SBJ)be.PR-3s

‘he looks like a man who has done absolutely nothing’;

(c) Purpose:

\[
\text{be zabān-i ke mā ham be-faḥm-im harf be-zan-id}
\]

\[
\text{ba zabon-e ki mo ham bi-faḥm-em gap zan-ed}
\]

in language-L that we too SBJ.understand.PR-1p word speak.IMP-2p

‘speak the/a language that we can understand’;

(d) Wish:

\[
\text{ketāb-i mi-xāb-am ke gerān na-bāš-adl}
\]

\[
\text{kitōb-e me-xōh-am ki qīmāt na-boš-ad}
\]

book-INDEF.L 1PFV.want.PR-1s that expensive not (SBJ)-be.PR-3s

‘I want a book that hopefully is not expensive’;

(e) Condition and consequence:

\[
\text{on ki ba mā dastdarozi kun-ad, albata, bozi kun-ad}
\]

that to we handraising SBJ.make.PR-3s surely, play SBJ.make.PR-3s

‘he who raises his hand against us surely risks his head’, Tajik.

(4) counterfactual condition

\[
\text{čīz-i be man foruxt ke xod-aš ne-mi-xarīd}
\]

\[
\text{čīz-e ba mo foruxt ki xod-aš na-ne-xarīd}
\]

thing-INDEF.L to 1 sell.PT.3s that self-his not.IPV.buy.PT.3s

‘he sold me something that he himself wouldn’t buy’.

6.3.5 General-indefinite RCs

(1) Indefinite relatives ‘-ever’

Clauses introduced with the distributive pronouns har ‘each, every’ designate a restricted class of entity, defined only by the clause itself. The heads are relative constructs with indefinite pronouns and adverbial nouns, and have the structure:

(a) har kelharki ‘whoever’ vs. har-čelhark-či ‘whatever’, har kas kelhar kas ki ‘whoever (person)’ vs. har an čelhar on či ‘whatever’; har čandhar čand ‘however much, although, notwithstanding’; (b) har ḣar kelhar jo ki ‘wherever (place)’; har kojā kelkujo ki ‘wherever’; har vaqt kelhar vaqt ki, vaqt-či kelaq-t-e ki ‘whenever’; har towar-i kelhar tawr-e ki ‘however (way)’. Note that these are the only type of relative heads that distinguish
human and non-human gender (see section 3.1.3.7 Indefinite pronouns). The use of tense and mood is the same as in other relative clauses.

(2) Specific indefinite heads (optional demonstrative requiring kelki):

\[
\text{har an ke dānā bās-ad tavānā bās-ad} \\
\text{har on ki dono boš-ad, tavono boš-ad}
\]

each that that knowledgeable (SBJ) be.PR-3s powerful (SBJ) be.-3s

\[\text{whoever is knowledgeable is wise; free variation of saying:} \]

\[
\text{har ke dānā bōv-ad tavānā bōv-ad, which retains the archaic subjunctive stem bōv-for}
\]

bās-.

(3) Non-specific pronominal heads

Non-specific heads do not require kelki:

\[
\text{har koja ke be-rav-i, be-gu ke mā ki hast-im} \\
\text{har kojo ki rav-i, fahmon ki mo ki-st-em}
\]

wherever that SBJ go.PR-2s IMP. say/understand that we who EX.1s

\[\text{‘wherever you go, tell people who we are’;}\]

\[
\text{har kas-i-rā mi-did, az u pul qarz mi-kardl} \\
\text{har kes-e-ro me-did, az ū pul qarz me-kard}
\]

each person-L-DO IPFV see.PT.3s from he money loan IPFV make.PT.3s

\[\text{‘he borrowed money from whomever he met’ (Lazard 1992: 235).}\]

(4) Non-pronominal indefinite heads:

Similar to other post-verbal object clauses, which do not require kelki, lexical heads that introduce object clauses do not require the complementizer. (In such cases, there tends to occur a pause when uttered):

\[
\text{mi-xāst-am jā-i bud-am– na ādam-i bās-ad, na dard-esar} \\
\text{me-xost-am jo-e bud-am– na odam-e boš-ad, na dard-i sar}
\]

IIPFV want.PT.1s place-L be.PT.1s - not person-INDEF (SBJ) be.-3s not headache

\[\text{‘I wished I were somewhere where there were no people and no worry’;}\]

\[
\text{barā-ye an kār šab-i mi-xāh-ad} \\
\text{baro-i on kor šab-e darkor}
\]

for-EZ that work night-L IPFV want.PR-3s/ needed

- sobh na-dāšte bās-ad
- subh na-dōsta boš-ad
- morning not have.PART (SBJ) be.3s
  - yā ruž-i mi-xāh-ad – āftāb-āš
  - yo rūz-e darkor ast oftoob-āš

\[\text{or a day IPFV want.PR-3s/ needed COP.3s – sunshine-its}\]

\[
\text{foru na-rav-ad} \\
\text{furū na-rav-ad}
\]

does not(SBJ) go.PR-3s

\[\text{‘in order to do that, one needs a night that has no morning, or a day when the sun never sets’;}\]
6.3.6 Head incorporation

Head incorporation is an alternative to the anaphoric strategy: the case reference of the correlating NP in the subordinate clause is moved to the head noun phrase; this process tends to trigger focused lexical repetition in the main clause:

(1) No change of sequence
(a) Direct object -rāl-ro:

(1) indefinite-specific object:

\[ \text{magar [zan-i ke] ensān u-rā dust mi-dār-ad] almās-o javāher-ast?} \]
\[ \text{magar [zan-i-rā ke] ensān dust mi-dār-ad] almās-o javāher-ast)?} \]

but a woman-L DO that man her loves diamond and jewels is

'but is the woman that a person loves diamonds and jewels?'

(2a) Prepositional phrase, Persian

\[ \text{bāyad dānest [ zabān-i ke] mā [bā ān] emruz soxan mi-gu-yim . . .} \]
\[ \text{bāyad dānest [bā zabān-i ke] mā emruz soxan mi-gu-yim} . . . \]

must know with language-L that we with it today speech say

\[ \text{hamān zabān ast ke . . .} \]

same language is that

'one must realize that the language with which we communicate today . . . is the same language which . . . (Kasravi Tabrizi, cited in Lazard 1992: 232)

(2b) Tajik

\[ \text{[az jo-e ki} az ān] omad-i bar gerd!} \]
\[ \text{[ba hamon jo] bar gerd omad-i}, [ba hamon jo] bar gerd} \]

from the place that you came to same place return

'go back to where you came from!'.

6.3.7 Tajik nominalized relative clauses

Two types of nominalized clauses were discussed in sections 4.2.2.5d, e. Both are EZ constructions where the dependent verb is nominalized as a perfect participle. The latter is the perfect participle in PT-el/PT-a (raftelrafta) which alternates with the participle in PT-agi (raftagi) in Tajik. While in Persian the participial EZ construction is of limited length, Tajik has developed an elaborate system that goes far beyond the inherited pattern and allows for full-length participial clauses.

Typologically significant for this pattern is the fact that participialization does not involve the complete loss of tense, mood, and aspect: while tense distinction is lost (as in a number of finite forms, see Table 8.8), modal and aspect marking are retained. That is, the participial forms may be marked by the prefix me- for imperfectivity and non-indicative mood as well as by the participle istoda for progressivity. Given the two Tajik participles, the system of the participial forms are shown in Table 8.15 (raftraft- 'go, leave').
TABLE 8.15: TAJIK FINITE AND PARTICIPIAL FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finite forms</th>
<th>rafta istoda ast</th>
<th>me-raft-ad</th>
<th>rafta ast</th>
<th>PRS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rafta istoda bud</td>
<td>me-kard, and</td>
<td>rafta bud</td>
<td>PST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(bi-)kum-ad</td>
<td></td>
<td>SBJ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participial forms in -a
| rafta istod-a | me-rafta         | rafta       |
|               | begin of progress or in progress | general process or continuing state, and modality |

Participial forms in -agf
| rafta istod-agf | me-raft-agf | rafta-agf |
|                 | begin of progress or in progress | general process or continuing state, and modality |

The distinction between these two sets is partially a matter of register, the -agf forms being notably more frequent in colloquial speech.

As is the case with the reduced participal construction shared by both Persian and Tajik, the passive interpretation of these constructions with transitive verbs is partially suspended, and voice interpretation depends on the context, including the animacy of the subjects. Most distinct from Persian is the fact that in these constructions the agent-subject may be marked by the possessive clitics.

6.3.7.1 Level of nominalizations

Compared to finite subordination, the process from finite clause to full nominalization and Turkification involves not only the deletion of conjunction and nominalization, but, as mentioned, the replacement of the finite subject verb ending (and pronominal subject) over several stages with a possessive pronoun, and, in a final step, the inversion of head and clause. Schematically, the sequence of these stages may be shown using -agf forms (SUBJ = subject; VB = verb form; END = finite ending; POSS = possessive clitic):

**Unmarked: raft-agf**

(0) ob-e [ki mo az hawz ovard-em]  
water-L that we from pool bring.PT-1p  
‘the water [that we brought from the pool]’

(1) ob-i [mo az hawz ovard-agf]  
(2) ob-i [ az hawz ovard-agf-amon]  
(3) [ az hawz ovard-agf-amon] ob

**Indicative or subjunctive: me-raft-agf,**

corresponding to present or past according to context

(0) ob-e [ki mo az hawz ovard-em]  
‘the water that we from pool IPFV bring.PT-1s  
‘the water that we are ~ were to bring from the pool’

(1) ob-i [mo az hawz me-ovard-agf] | EZ  
(2) ob-i [ az hawz me-ovard-agf-amon]  
(3) [ az hawz me-ovard-agf-amon] ob
Progressive: *rafta istod-agī*

corresponding to present or past according to context

(0) *ob-e [ki mo az hawz ovarda istoda em]*
water-L that we from pool bring. PART PROG.PART COP-1p

(1) *ob-i [mo az hawz ovarda istod-agī]*

(2) *ob-i [az hawz ovarda istod-agī-amon]*

(3) *[az hawz ovarda istod-agī-amon] ob*

As is true for any other relative clause, the case reaction of a nominalized relative clause in the matrix clause is irrelevant for its internal structure, and is indicated by a preposition preceding its head, and by -rā following the entire clause.

Further examples

(1) *raft-agī*

Finite *ke navisond-id > navisond-agī-aton* ‘which you dictated’, lit. ‘caused to write’:

*mazmun-i maktab-ho-i [navisond-agī-aton]-ro ba ū naql kard-em*
content-EZ letters-EZ [having dictated-your.p]-DO to he repeat make.PT-1p

‘we repeated to him the content of the letters [you had dictated]’.

(2a) *me-raft-agī*, indicative

*mon ki on urf-u odat-ho-i*
allow that that traditions and custom-p-EZ

*[zan-ro kaniz, mard-ro yulom me-kard-agī]*
[woman-DO slavegirl, man-DO slave IPFV.make.] az miyon bar-doshl sa v-ad
from among abolish.PART (SBJ)-become-2s

‘let those traditions that make women into servant girls and men into slaves be abolished’; gerundial ‘the traditions of making . . .’

(2b) *me-raft-agī*, modal function

*man zan-i [sar me-dod-agī] na-dor-am*
wife-EZ [release IPFV-give] not.have.PR-1s

‘I don’t have a wife to divorce’, i.e. ‘I’m not about to divorce my wife’.

(3a) *rafta istod-agī*, active interpretation

(indicated by presence of personal clitic)

*gozi-ho poy-ho-i [ba taht-i šīkam kašida-istod-agī-asōn]-ro ham*
the qadis foot-p-EZ [to under-EZ belly being pulling-their]-DO even

*ba kor dar-ovarda, du-poya gurex-and*
to work bring.PART two-feeted flee.PT-3p

‘even the qadis brought their legs [that they had been pulling under their bellies] into action, and fled hotfooting’.

(3b) *karda istod-agī*, passive interpretation

(indicated by lack of possessive clitic)
if he cannot correctly repeat something that he is being taught . . .

In the ultimate reduction, these participializations are compacted to nouns:

- [ba qur'on alllal na]/ud-agfJ kas [to Koran act doing] person [in room being-plural] 'a person acting acc. to the Koran';
- [dar xona bud-agJ-ho] [in room being/-plural] 'those who are/were in the room';
- [qalam be javob na-me-girift-agJ] [pen without permission not-IPFV:take.ADJ] 'who is never taking the pen without permission'.

### 6.4 Complement clauses

Complement clauses comprise subject and object clauses as well as purpose (or final) clauses. The former two are typically in the indicative, and will be discussed in the following, while purpose clauses are typically in the subjunctive and will be discussed under Adverbial clauses (see section 6.5).

#### 6.4.1 Subject and object clauses

Both subject and object clauses have the same basic syntactic structures and follow the same rules of permutations (see also Aghaei 2006). The order of matrix clause and complement clause defines three levels of functional markedness:

1. In the unmarked order, the complement clause, with or without the complementizer kelki, follows the matrix clause.
2. In the focused order, a cataphoric demonstrative, mostly in, with or without a lexical head, is inserted in the matrix clause, and the complement clause is introduced by the complementizer.
3. In the topical order, there is inversion: the complement clause precedes the matrix clause, and is introduced by the cataphoric demonstrative plus complementizer, in kelin ki (identical to one of the heads introducing relative clauses), with object marker -rāl-ro inserted if object clause.

Example patterns
((1) = object clause; (2) = subject clause; (3) = relative clause; AG = agent; parentheses: optional). Note that agents are optional since subjects are obligatorily marked in the verb ending.
TABLE 8.16: FOCUSED AND TOPICAL ORDER

(1) Basic unmarked pattern, post-verbal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(AGENT)</th>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
<th>COMPLEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Hasan)</td>
<td>mi-dān-ad</td>
<td>[ke Ali in xāne-rā sāxt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasan knows</td>
<td></td>
<td>that Ali this house-DO built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(empty)</td>
<td>dorug-ast</td>
<td>[ke Ali in xāne-rā sāxt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie is</td>
<td></td>
<td>that Ali this house-DO built</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) 'Hasan knows that Ali built this house';
(b) 'it is a lie that Ali built this house'.

(2) Focused pattern, post-verbal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(AG) DEM (HEAD)</th>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
<th>COMPLEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Hasan) šīn-rā</td>
<td>mi-dān-ad</td>
<td>[ke Ali in xāne-rā sāxt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasan this-DO knows</td>
<td></td>
<td>that Ali this house-DO built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šīn (xabar)</td>
<td>dorug-ast</td>
<td>[ke Ali xāne-rā sāxt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this information is lie</td>
<td></td>
<td>that Ali this house-DO built</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) 'Hasan does know (this), that Ali built this house';
(b) 'this (matter) is a lie, that Ali built this house'.

(3) Topical pattern, preposed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROP</th>
<th>DEM (HEAD)</th>
<th>COMPLEMENT</th>
<th>(AG)</th>
<th>PREDICATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ke-č (xabar) (-rā)</td>
<td>[ke Ali in xāne-rā sāxt] &gt;</td>
<td>(Hasan) mi-dān-ad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-č (xb)</td>
<td></td>
<td>dorug-ast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) '(this matter) that Ali built this house, Hasan knows (about) it';
(b) 'this matter) that Ali built this house, that's a lie'.

6.4.1.1 Use of TMA

Epistemic matrix verbs of observation (cognition) of facts (see, know, understand) as well as verbs and expressions governing potential actions or states (modal verbs; want, must, can; decide, try, etc.) do not map their tense onto the dependent verb. Rather the former require the indicative (present or present perfect), and the latter the subjunctive (present subjunctive and perfect/past subjunctive):

\[
\text{fahmid-am ke ādam-e xub-i ast} \\
\text{fahmid-am ki odam-i xub-e ast}
\]

understand.PT-1s that person-EZ good-INDEF COP.3s
'I realized that he was a good person';

\[
\text{did ke hame rafte and} \\
\text{did ki hama rafta and}
\]

see.PT.3s that all go.PART COP.3p
'he saw that all had left';

\[
\text{tasmīm geraft-am be ān-jā be-rav-am} \\
\text{qaror dod-am ba on-jo rav-am}
\]

decision take/give.PT-1s to there SBJ.go-PR-1s
'I decided to go there'.
6.4.2 Embedded speech

6.4.2.1 Levels of integration

Embedded speech may be direct, indirect, or integrated indirect.

(1) Direct speech
Persian and Tajik partially differ in the representation of direct speech. In Persian, the speech string follows the verb of saying, which may be introduced by the general complementizer kelki:

mo'alle'm goft ke al'ān daftar-hā-yetān-rā be-gir-id
teacher say.PT.3s that now notebook-p-your.p-DO SBJ.take.PR-2p
'the teacher said, now take your notebooks'.

(2) Indirect speech and questions

mo'allem goft ke hālā daftar-hā-yemān-rā be-gir-im
muallim goft ki akmun daftar-ho-yamon-ro gir-em
teacher say.PT.3s that now notebook-p-your.p-DO SBJ.take.PR-1p
'the teacher told us to take our notebooks now'.

The interrogative marker āyāloyo ‘whether’ is used in with indirect questions, with or without the complementizer kelki, paired ke āyā... yā... ki... yā...:

ma'īlm nist ke āyā u hamrāḥ mi-ā-yad, yā nal
ma'īlm nist ki oyo vay hamroh me-o-yad, yo na
clear not.COP.3s that whether he along IPFV.come.PR-3s or not
'it isn't clear whether he is coming along or not'.

(3) Implicit indirect speech
Direct speech may be further integrated with verbs of cognition:

šomā xod-etān mi-dān-id ke u kojāRAFT
šomā xud-aton me-don-ed ki ū kujoRAFT
you.p self-your.p IPFV.know.PR-2p that he where go.PT.3s
'you know where he went';

mi-dānest-am ke mo'alle'm-emān dir bi-ā-yad
me-donist-am ki muallim-amon der bi-o-yad
IPFV.know.PR-1s that teacher-our late SBJ.come.PR-3s
'I knew that our teacher would be late'; here the subjunctive implies a response to the question about the teacher's absence.

6.4.3 Adpositional and EZ complement clauses

Distinct subsets of complement clauses are those that depend on complex verbs consisting of adpositional noun phrases or EZ constructions based on adjectives, participles, and nouns, many of which are Arabic loans:

(1a) preposition (a) azlaz ‘from’ (source, cause), tarsidan azlaz tarsidan az ‘be afraid of’, xoshāl budan azlxushol budan az ‘be happy about’; (1b) preposition bālbo ‘with’, movāeq
budan bālmuwofiq budan bo ‘agree with’ (Arabic participle); (2) EZ construction, montazer-e . . . budan ~ entezār-e . . . dāštān/muntazir-i . . . budan ~ intīzar-ī . . . doštān ‘be expecting, waiting for’ ~ ‘have the expectation of’ (Arabic participle and noun).

In these subsets, the retention of adpositions and EZ construction marks topicalization.

(a) source az ‘from’:

\[\text{xoshāl-am ke āmad} \]
\[\text{xōshāl-am ke āmad} \]
‘I am happy that he came, is here now’;
‘what I am happy about is that he came’;
‘from that I am happy that . . .’;

(b) objective EZ:

\[\text{montazer bud-am ke bī-ā-yad} \]
\[\text{montazer-e īn bud-am ke bī-ā-yad} \]
‘I was waiting for him to come’;
‘what I was waiting for was for him to come’;
‘I was waiting that, that he come.

6.4.4 Tajik Turkic-type nominal clauses

In Tajik there are not only the Persian type, as above, but also at least three variants of a Turkic conjunct-type of construction, which are more frequent in literary Tajik. In addition there are finite two-clause and nominalized one-clause constructions.

(1) Two-clause constructions

(a) The matrix clause follows the speech string, and the verb of saying is incorporated parenthetically within the speech string, or more typically is enclitic to it (rather than clause-final):

\[\text{[man] guft [ba šahr na-mē-rov-am]} \]
\[\text{say.PT.3s to town not.I PFV.go.PRF-1s} \]
‘I, she said, am not going to town’;

\[\text{[uka, bīsor kalon-girī na-kun-ed!] guft Šokir ba Ahmad} \]
\[\text{little brother, very high-mighty not.IMP.do-2p say.PT.3s Shokir to Ahmad} \]
‘little brother, don’t be so high-and-mighty, said Shokir to Ahmad’.

(b) with nominalized forms

(ba) Clitic conjunct participle. If the matrix verb of saying is anything other than guft-an ‘say’, a conjunct construction using the participle guft-a is followed by an inflected form of the specific speech verb:

\[\text{[xud-i ī ki-st?] gufta man az Rahim Qand pursīd-am} \]
\[\text{[self-EZ he who COP.3s] say.PART I from Rahim Qand ask.PT-1s} \]
‘[who is he, actually?] I asked Rahim Qand’.

(bb) A loose conjunct construction using either guft-a or gū-yon frequently marks an idealized speech string which may be in mixed indirect and direct speech, as a sentential complement (often a purposed phrase or clause).
on-ho grup-a kard-and, [hamin rais-a na-me-xoh-im]
they group-DO make.PT-3p this very chairman-DO not-IPFV-want.PR-1p
gusia
say.PART
'they organized [in order to protest (the appointment of) this chairman]

[xurjin-ro ham ba sumo {mukofot-giyon} dih-ad]
saddlebag-DO also to you.p reward say.PART.PR (SBJ) give.PR-2p
'he'll give you the saddlebag too, [as a reward]', lit. '..."reward" saying ...'

This is similar to a typically Turkic construction, using dep 'saying' in Uzbek.
(c) Quotative-evidential phrase.
A speaker repeating someone else's words to a third party may end with a quotative buda-ast:

Pulod ako,
Pulod sir,
[modar-am xirok tayyor kard-and, ras-ed] buda-ast
mother-my meal prepared made-3p hurry-2p be.PART.EV-COP3s
'Pulod, I'm to tell you [my mother has cooked a meal, and to hurry up]'

(2) Single-clause constructions
In these constructions the verb of the subject and object clause is an infinitive and the
agent is converted to a possessive enclitic, and/or xod 'self':

mo me-don-em ki [kujo me-rav-em] >>
[kujo raftan-i xud] ro me-don-em
'we know where we are going' >>
lit., 'we know our where-going';

way guft ki ba qisloq me-rav-ad >>
way [ba qisloq raftan-aş] ro guft
'he said that he was going to the village' >>
lit. 'he said our to the village-going'.

Double nominalization:

darkor nest ki bi-giy-em [ki in duxtar ki-st] >>
[ki budan-e in duxtar]-ro guftan darkor nest
'it is not necessary that we tell who this girl is' >>
lit. 'saying the who-being of this girl-DO is not necessary'.

6.4.5 "Idiomatic" clitic ke

In the Persian colloquial register, the complementizer ke may have so-called "idiomatic",
i.e. asseverative function. This is because it does not seem to introduce dependent clauses,
but is inserted after the first syntactic constituent of main clauses, mostly brief responses
or observations. Pragmatically, it appears to have strong or weak emphatic as well as
contrastive function and accordingly tends to be rendered in English by 'though, however,
but, why' and similar, depending on the context:
It has been difficult to identify the syntactic role of this particle. Similar to others, Öhl and Korn (2008: 142) regard this ke as homonymous with, but distinct from, the complementizer ke, and suggest Enunziativmarker for its function.

However, the very designation "idiomatic", combined with use in the colloquial speech register, should be taken as a hint that there may be no enigmatic non-subordinating function of ke involved at all (discussed in Windfuhr 2004). Rather, one expects elliptic constructions, which are typical for that register. Following these observations, it becomes apparent that what is elliptic here are contextually understood stereotype subject and object matrix clauses. The general tenor of such introductory clauses can be easily imagined, given the context of discourse: ma’lum ast ‘it’s obvious’, be nazar-am ‘in my opinion’, nist ‘isn’t it (true)’, nesl-e in ke ‘it seems like’ for subject clauses, and mi-bin-id ‘you see’, etc., for object clauses. The second position of ke is explained by the ellipsis: with the deletion of the introductory phrase, this enclitic necessarily shifts to second position, which may be the clause itself. The syntactic process in the example cited above and some other examples may be shown as follows:

Non- “idiomatic”
be nazar-am [ke sām xord-i]  ‘it appears that you did have supper’
mi-bin-id [ke ja na-dār-e]  ‘you see, there is no space!’
nist [ke javāb na-dāšt?]  ‘isn’t it (true) that there was no answer?’

“Idiomatic”

sām ke xord-i?  ‘you did have supper, didn’t you?’
jā ke na-dār-e!  ‘but there is no space!’
javāb ke na-dāšt  ‘there was no answer; right?’;

motma’en am [ke in kār-i na-dār-e] in ke kār-i na-dār-e  ‘I’m sure that this work-INDEF not have.PR-3s’

6.5 Adverbial clauses

The basic rules for the sequence of matrix and adverbial clauses depends on the logical or temporal relation of their events or states: when the latter precede, the adverbial clauses are in first position; when they follow, their clauses are in second position. Thus, causal, temporal, conditional, and concessive clauses, as well as circumstantial clauses of place, manner, and degree, precede, while consecutive, resultative, and purposive (final) clauses, as well as causal-explanatory, interruptive-temporal, and conditional-exceptional clauses, follow. However, as is the case with relative and complement clauses, both focusing and
topical inversions are frequent, depending on the pragmatic context. In Tajik, these finite adverbial clauses compete with nominalized adverbial clauses.

There are four types of subordinators: parataxis; the general complementizer kelki (roughly comparable to English conjunctional ‘as’); a small set of three primary conjunctions, with or without the complementizer, as well as two interrogatives; conjunctional phrases with the complementizer.

*Parataxis and kelki* occur prominently in colloquial speech. Being lexically empty, they may substitute for a number of other subordinators, depending on the pragmatic context:

\[
\text{pul ke mi-deh-i, m\text{-}l\text{-}d\text{-}y\text{-}am}
\]

money KE IPFV-give.PR-2s, IPFV:come.PR-1s

‘(as) you give me money, I come’, more specifically,

‘because ~ when ~ if ~ even though you give me money for this, I will come’.

*The primary conjunctions include:*

(a) *éuné[w* ‘because, since’, also ‘when’ (only literary);
(b) *vaqt-i/vaqat-e* ‘when’ (∼ conjunctional phrase *vaqt-i kelvaqt-e ki*).
(c) *tâlto, (ca)* temporal and conditional duration or end point, ‘till, until, as long ~ soon as’ (note *tâ na-ltô na- ‘un-less’); (cb) comparison ‘than’;
(d) *agalar ‘if’*;
(e) *magâr ‘unless’*;
(f) *zîrâlzero ‘for this reason, because’*;

*Conjunctional phrases* are numerous, and syntactically identical with the heads of relative clauses (see section 6.3) such as:

- (PREP) *N-i/-e ke/ki*,
  - (dar) *vaqt-i kelvaqt-e ki*  
  ‘at time that’ = ‘when’;
- (PREP) *N-e/-i in kelki*,
  - (be) *ellat-e in kel (ba) illat-i in ki*  
  ‘for the reason that’ = ‘because’;
- PREP *in kelki,*
  - *bâ in kelbo in ki*  
  ‘with this that’ = ‘although’;
- N *PREP in kelki,*
  - *ba’d az in kelba’d az in ki*  
  ‘after from this that’ = ‘after doing . . .’

* The nominal may be a noun, adjective, or adverb.

### 6.5.1 Position and use of TMA

(1) Position. *Kelki* is an unstressed enclitic. In sentence-initial subordinate clauses it is typically inserted after the first constituent component of the clause; in sentence-final position, it is attached to the preceding matrix clause (similar to the enclitic coordinator -ol-u ‘and’. Other clausal heads may optionally be in second position as well (see section 5.1 Order of constituents).

(2) Mood. The use of mood is predictable: Events or states require the indicative when real (factual), the subjunctive when potential, and the counterfactual when unlikely:
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Real

- **mi-xah-i, mi-rav-ami**
- **me-xoh-i, me-rav-em**

you want **IPFV.go.PR-1p**

'if you really want to, we will go';

Potential

- **raft-am, tā ~ ke az u be-pors-am**
- **raft-am, to ~ ki az ū (bi-)purs-am**

**go.PT-1s till ~ that from he SBJ.ask.PR-1s**

'I went in order to ask him'.

Counterfactual

- **man mi-raft-am**
- **man me-raft-am**

'I would go (if I were you)'.

(3) Aspect is predictable as well. Notably the preterite (i.e. the perfective aorist form in the verb system) is required when an event or state is completed prior to that of the matrix clause (while English uses the present). Conversely, incomplete events or states require the subjunctive, notably those headed by **piš az in kelpēš az in ki 'before', be jā-ye in kelba jo-yi in ki 'instead of', bedun-e in kelbidun-i in ki 'without':

- **agar u-rā did-i, be-gu**
- **bedun-e in ke čež-i be-gu-yad**

'if he-DO see.PT-2s IMP.say-2s without this that anything SBJ.say.PR-3s go.PT.3s once you see him, tell me';

- **he left without saying anything'**.

The basic unmarked patterns of clauses, together with verbal modality (the Persian *consecutio temporum*), may be shown as follows (cf. Windfuhr 1987: 539/2009: 457). Note that in each column, the subordinators for pre-matrix position may also occur in post-matrix position.

**TABLE 8.17: PATTERNS OF CONJUNCTIONS AND MOODS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preceding Main Clause</th>
<th>Following Main Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cause</strong></td>
<td><strong>Explanation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>činlčun</td>
<td>'because'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zirā, zero</td>
<td>'(that is) because'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time</strong></td>
<td><strong>Interruption</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaqilt/vaqie</td>
<td>'when'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelki</td>
<td>'when (suddenly)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Point/Stretch</strong></td>
<td><strong>End point</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tālto</td>
<td>'as soon/long as'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tālto</td>
<td>'until (finally)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Condition</strong></td>
<td><strong>Purpose</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tālto, tā na-t to na-</td>
<td>'until'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tālto</td>
<td>'in order to, so that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>SBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Condition</strong></td>
<td><strong>Exception</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agar/agar</td>
<td>'if'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magar/magar</td>
<td>'unless, if not'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ, CND</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5.2 Pre-matrix clauses

For these, see also the paradigm of relative clauses in Table 8.14.
6.5.2.1 Locative clauses

These are plain relative clauses:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bejā-i} & \quad \text{ke} & \quad \text{raft-i} & \quad (\text{be ān-jā}) & \quad \text{bar gard!}\[1ex]
\text{bajo-e} & \quad \text{ki} & \quad \text{raft-i} & \quad (\text{ba on jo}) & \quad \text{bar gard!}
\end{align*}
\]

to place that go.PT-2s to there IMP.return.2s 'go back to where you come from!'

6.5.2.2 Temporal clauses

These are mostly introduced by \textit{vaqt-i} (\textit{ke})/\textit{vaqt-e} (\textit{ki}). The noun may be substituted by similar time-nouns, such as \textit{mowqe'-i} kelzamon-e \textit{ki} 'the time, moment when'. Time extension may be indicated by \textit{moddat-i} kelmuddat-e \textit{ki} 'period, duration'. These may be preceded by prepositions, \textit{dar}, \textit{az Tidar}, \textit{az T} 'at T, from T, since'. Punctual events are introduced by \textit{hamin kelhamin ki} 'the very same that, just as', and simultaneous events by \textit{dar hāl-i} keldar hol-e \textit{ki} 'in the situation that, while'. Generalized events use \textit{har vaqt} har \textit{vaqt} 'each, every time, whenever'.

Posterior and anterior events use the adverbial phrases \textit{ba'd} ~ \textit{pas} \textit{az} \textit{ān} \textit{ba'd} ~ \textit{pas} \textit{az} \textit{on} 'after from that, after (he did ~ doing ...) and \textit{pas} ~ \textit{piš} \textit{az} \textit{ān} \textit{kelpas} ~ \textit{peš} \textit{az} \textit{on} \textit{ki} 'before from that, before (he did ~ doing ...)', which require the subjunctive as they refer to potential actions:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{piš az ān ke ān kār-rā be-kon-i, fekr kon!} & \quad \text{before from that that that work SBJ.do.PR-2s thought IMP-make.PR.2s 'before you do that, think!'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{peš az on ki on kor-ro kun-i, fikr kun!} & \quad \text{before from that that work SBJ.do.PR-2s thought IMP-make.PR.2s 'before you do that, think!'}
\end{align*}
\]

to \textit{vazīfe-ye} xod-at-rā tamām na-kon-i,
to \textit{vazīfa-i} xud-at-ro tayyor na-kun-i,
until dutyEZ self-your-DO accomplished not(SBJ.)-make.PR-2s

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{be kuče na-row!} & \quad \text{na-row!}
\text{ba kuča baromada na-row!} & \quad \text{to alley out.come.PART not.IMP.go.2s}
\end{align*}
\]

'until you've done your homework, don't go outside!'

6.5.2.2a Since-clauses

For the expression of the time since an event is taking or has taken place, Common Persian uses a subject clause construction of the type 'it BE(-COME) X time that':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{panj sāl ast} \quad (\sim \textit{mi-šav-ad}) & \quad \text{ke u-rā na-dide am} \quad \text{five years COP.3s IPFV.become.PR-3s that he-DO not.see.PART COP.1s 'I haven't seen him in ~ since ~ for about five years'.}
\text{panj sol ast} \quad (\sim \textit{me-šav-ad}) & \quad \text{ki ā-ro na-dide am}
\end{align*}
\]

6.5.2.3 Conditional clauses

These are introduced by \textit{agarlagar} 'if', \textit{har gāhlhar goh} 'as soon as, when, if'. In colloquial Tajik speech \textit{agarlagar} may be placed at the end of the protasis, after the verb, similar to Uzbek.
Real conditions require the indicative, followed by the indicative present or imperative:

Present indicative

\[
\text{agar u-rā dust mi-dār-i, komak kon!} \\
\text{agar ā-ro dūst me-dor-i, yori dīh!}
\]

'if you really like him, help him!'

Preterite (perfective aorist)

\[
\text{agar u-rā did-i, he-gul} \\
\text{agar ā-ro did-i, guy}
\]

'once you see him, tell me'.

Potential conditions require the subjunctive, also followed by the indicative present or imperative:

\[
\text{agar u-rā be-bin-id, salām-e ma-rā be-ras-ān-id/} \\
\text{agar ā-ro bin-ed, salom-i ma-ro mas-on-ed}
\]

'if you see her, give her my regards'.

Counterfactual conditions have the imperfective past (in its modal function) in both clauses:

\[
\text{agar hamrāh-e man mi-raft-id, u-rā mi-did-id/} \\
\text{agar hamroh-i man me-raft-ed, ā-ro me-did-ed}
\]

'if you were to come with me, you would see him' or

'if you had come . . . you would have . . . '

Past anterior time may be specified by the use of a pluperfect in its modal function in one clause:

\[
\text{agar ham-rāh-i man rāf-t-e bud-id . . .)1} \\
\text{agar ham-roh-i man rāf-t-a bud-ed . . .)
\]

'if you had gone with me . . .'

In Tajik, logical, or quasi-conditional (which connote ‘since, as appears, it is the case that’, etc., use the durative perfect subjunctive (not found in Persian) for present reference:

\[
\text{agar ham-digar-āson-ro dust me-došt-a boš-and, digar āi?} \\
\text{if together-their-DO friend IPFV have.PART (SBJ) be.PR-3p further what}
\]

'if they love each other, what of it?'.

They use the past subjunctive for past reference in the protasis:

\[
\text{in kitob-ro xonād-a boš-ed agar, čaro na-ovard-ed?}
\]

'this book-DO read.PART (SBJ) be.PR-2p if why not.PT-2p

'if you've read this book, why didn't you bring it?'
6.5.2.4 Concessive clauses

These are introduced by the following phrases, all ‘though, although, despite the fact that’: agar-čelagar-či, lit. ‘if, though’; har čand kelhar čand(-e ki), lit. ‘however much that’; bā (vojud-e) in kelbo vojud-i) in ki, lit. ‘with the existence of this that’. They usually take the present or past subjunctive, according to time reference. The matrix clause may be introduced by vali/vale, ammālammo, likenilekin ‘but, still’:

\[
\text{agar če qablan šomā-rā na-did-e bāš-am,}
\]
\[
\text{agar či peš-tar šuno-ro na-did-a bāš-am,}
\]

although earlier you.p-DO not see.PART (SBJ) be.PR-1s

\[\text{vali) esm-e šomâ be man āšnā budl}
\]
\[\text{(vale) nom-i šumo ba man ma’lum bud}
\]

\[\text{(yet) name-EZ you.p to me familiar/clear be.PT.3s}
\]

‘even though I hadn’t seen you before, still your name was familiar to me’.

Tajik post-clausal -ham ‘also, even’

Frequent and peculiar to Tajik is use of the postposed particle ham as a concessive:

\[\text{havo xunuk na-boš-ad ham,}
\]
weather cold not(SBJ)-be.PR-3s also

\[\text{barf bo dona-ho-i kalon-kalon-i laklakī me-borid}
\]

\[\text{‘although the weather was not cold, the snow was falling in large, fluffy flakes’;}
\]

note the generalized present subjunctive instead of the perfect subjunctive.

6.5.2.5 Causal clauses

These are introduced by: čun kelčun (ki) ‘since, as’; mādām kelmodom-e ki ‘while, since, inasmuch’; barā-ye in kelbaro-i in ki ‘for the sake of, because’ (see also section 6.5.3.4 Purpose clauses) with tense and aspect according to sense:

\[\text{mādām ke ū āmad, be u be-gu-id ke in-jā tu bi-ā-yadl}
\]
\[\text{modom-e ki ū omad, ba ū gū-ed ki injo dar-o-yad}
\]

\[\text{‘since he’s arrived, tell him to come in’.}
\]

6.5.3 Post-matrix clauses

6.5.3.1 Causal-explanatory clauses

These are introduced by: čun kelčun (ki), lit. ‘because (that)’; zirā zero (kelki), lit. ‘for this (that)’; čerā kelčar o ki, lit. ‘what for that’; barā bar in kelbino bar in ki, lit. ‘built on this that’, all ‘because, therefore’:

\[\text{ketāb-etān-rā be u na-dād-am, zirā ke u-rā na-did-aml}
\]
\[\text{kitob-aton-ro ba ū na-dod-am, zero ki ū-ro na-did-am}
\]
\[\text{your book-DO to he not.give.PT-1s because he-DO not see.PT-1s}
\]

\[\text{‘I didn’t give him your book, because I didn’t see him’.}
\]
6.5.3.2 Temporal clauses

Post-matrix temporal clauses are syntactically focused clauses:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mi-xāst-am xāb be-rav-am ke kas-i dar zad} \\
\text{me-xost-am xōb rav-am ki kas-e dar zad}
\end{align*}
\]

IPFV-want.PT sleep SBJ-go.PR-1s that someone door knock.PT.3s

'I was about to go to bed when someone knocked at the door'

6.5.3.2a Subordinator switch

A distinct syntactic operation involves the switch of the subordinator between two clauses. This is found typically in subsets where an ongoing or existing situation, or an event that is not yet completed, is interrupted by another event. When the latter is in post-matrix position, it is introduced by a simple *kelkī*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dar ān-jā nešaste bud-am, u dar āmadī} \\
\text{dar onjo nišasta bud-am, ū daromad}
\end{align*}
\]

I there sit.PART be.PT-1s he come.in.PT.3s

'I was sitting there and he came in'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vaqt-i dar ān-jā nešaste bud-am, u dar āmadī} \\
\text{vaqt-e dar onjo nišasta bud-am, ū daromad}
\end{align*}
\]

unmarked, 'while I was sitting there . . .'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dar ān-jā nešaste bud-am, ke u dar āmadī} \\
\text{dar onjo nišasta bud-am, ki ū daromad}
\end{align*}
\]

marked: ' . . ., when he suddenly came in'.

6.5.3.3 Result clauses

These are introduced by *talto*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ān-jā nešaste bud-am, belāxare āmad} \\
\text{onjo nišasta bud-am, bilōxara omad}
\end{align*}
\]

there sit.PART be.PT-1s finally come.PT.3s

'I sat there, until he finally arrived'.

6.5.3.4 Purpose clauses

These are introduced by the following, all 'so that, in order to, to (do)': *kelkī, tā kelto (ki), barā-ye in kelbaro-i in kilbaro-i on ki*. Of these, *talto* is mainly literary. All require the present subjunctive, irrespective of the matrix tense:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{āmad-am, ke ū-rā be-bin-aml} \\
\text{omad-am, ki ū-ro bin-am}
\end{align*}
\]

I came that ū till he-DO SBJ-see.PR-1s

'I came to see him';

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čandān kon, ke jā bāš-ad} \\
\text{čandān kun, ki jo boš-ad}
\end{align*}
\]

thus do.IMP.2s that place (SBJ) be.PR-3s

'make it so, that there is space'.
Colloquially, the purpose clause may be juxtaposed without a conjunction:

\[ \text{piš-e melmān-at bo-row, az to nārāhat na-šav-ad} \]
\[ \text{peš-i melmon-at rav, az to xafa na-šav-ad} \]

front-EZ guest-your.s IMP.go.2s from you.s offended not.(SBJ)-become.PR-2s 'go over to your guest, so he won't be offended'. See also section 6.4.2 Embedded speech).

6.5.3.5 Consecutive clauses

These are introduced by tā (in ke) / in ki ‘until, as far as’, čonān ... kelčunon ... ki, be qadr-i ... kel(ham)-in qadar ... ki ‘so (much) that’, tovr-i ke ‘in a manner that’, so:

\[ \text{raft-o raft, tā be jangal-i rasidl} \]
\[ \text{raft-o raft, to ba jangal-e rasid} \]

go.PT.3s-and go.PT.3s till to forest-INDEF reach.PT.3s 'on he went until he reached a forest';

\[ \text{u čonān tond pašne mi-čin-ad, ke hame hayrān mi-mān-andl} \]
\[ \text{u čonon tez paxta me-čin-ad, ki liama hayron me-mon-and} \]

she so fast cotton IPFYpick.PR-3s that all astounded IPFY.remain.PR-3p 'she picks cotton so fast that everyone is astounded'.

6.5.3.6 Comparative clauses

In Persian, these are introduced by tālo. Tajik has instead a single-sentence infinitival construction, az INF dida ‘seen from (his doing)’:

\[ \text{u bistār mi-xāb-ad, tā kār mi-kon-ad} \]

he more IPFV.sleep.PR-3s than work IPFV.do.PR-3s 'he sleeps more than he works';

vs. Tajik

\[ \text{u az kor kardan did-a beštār xob me-rav-ad} \]

he from work do.INF see.PART more sleep IMP.go.PR-3s.

6.5.3.7 Conditional exception clauses

While agarlager may introduce post-matrix conditional clauses, exceptional conditions are introduced by its negation, magarlmagar ‘unless’:

\[ \text{man ne-mi-rav-am magar to ham bi-a-yi} \]
\[ \text{man no-mi-rav-am magar tu ham ā-yi} \]

I not.IPV.go.PR-1s unless you.s also SBJ.come.PR-2s 'I will not go, unless you come, too'.

6.5.4 Tajik Turkic-type nominal clauses

As shown in some of the discussions above, the final clausal constructions represent only part of Tajik's syntactic repertory. Most of them can be recast in the Turkic mold as a single sentence containing one or more non-finite verb forms representing nominalized VPs.
The means of nominalization is the nominal EZ which has greatly extended its range of application (arguably under the influence of Uzbek), by the conversion of the verb phrase of finite subordinate clauses to non-finite verb forms, especially (1) participle II in -agî and (2) infinitives (gerunds), thereby condensing into a single sentence what would appear more naturally in Persian or English as a matrix-plus-subordinate clause.

6.5.4.1 Participial relative clauses in -agî

(1) In the basic pattern, the augmented past participle in -agî (which is either active or passive in voice, and may be tensed analogously with the complex tenses which it helps to form, may be used in EZ and other constructions to perform the functions of a relative clause. Note that these participles retain the modal-aspectual distinction of perfective progressive, and conjectural (see section 6.3.7.1 above):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective form</th>
<th>Progressive form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kitob-i [man ovard-agî]</td>
<td>in - duxtar-i [kitob xond-a istod-agî]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book-EZ [I having brought]</td>
<td>this girl-EZ [book reading-PROG]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the book that I brought’;</td>
<td>‘the girl who is reading the book’;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conjectural form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjectural form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zan-i [sar me-dod-agî]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife-EZ [to divorce-PR-CONJECT]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ‘a wife [to divorce]’ (sar dod-an ‘let go’).

(2) Inversions and topicalized relative constructions

The nominalization of a relative clause ranges from retention of the agent and word order, to the replacement of the agent pronoun to a pronominal clitic, to the fully Turkicized inversion:

HEAD-EZ [Clause] > [Clause] HEAD


kitob-i [ovard-agî-am] book-EZ [my having brought-]


6.5.4.2 Infinitival clauses

The infinitive, often in combination with conjunct verb forms, can participate in quite complex, nested NPs as sentential complements.

6.5.4.2a Object clauses

Infinitival object clauses are marked by the direct object marker -ro and precede the main clause:

(1) ‘how do you know that doing this will not be worthwhile?’

az kujo me-don-i [(ki) az nîr foida-yaš na-bar-a-yad] >>

[az in kor foida na-bar-omad-an-ast]-ro az kujo me-don-i?

from where do you know [that from this work benefit-its may not come out]

[from this work benefit not-issuing-its]-DO from where do you know?
(2) 'of course one needn’t tell anyone who this girl is'.

\[\text{albat t} \text{a darkor nest } [\text{ki } \text{gii-yem} [\text{in doxtar ki-st}]] \Rightarrow
\text{albat t} \text{a [ki } \text{bud-an-i in doxtar ] -ro } \text{gii-fan} \text{ } \text{darkor nest}\\
\]

of course necessary not is [that we say [this girl who is]]
of course [[who being-EZ this girl]-DO saying] necessary not is

(3) 'this excessive wheat isn’t worth for us to take back'.

\[\text{in gandum-i ziyodati } \text{na-me-arz-ad } [\text{boz gii-st-a } \text{girift-a bar-em}] \Rightarrow
\text{in gandum-i ziyodati } [\text{ba } \text{boz gii-st-a } \text{girift-a burdan}] \text{ } \text{na-me-arz-ad}\\
\]

this wheat excessive is not worth [having taken back that we carry]
this wheat excessive to [returned CONJUNCT taking] is not worth
\(\text{(ba ... arzid-an 'be worthy of, to')}.\\
\]

6.5.4.2b Adverbial clauses

In adverbial infinitival clauses, the infinitival clause is headed by a nominal replacing the conjunction, here with the example of a temporal clause:

'when the lamp was being taken out of the room, its glass broke';

\[\text{dar vaqt-i } [\text{ki lamp-ra az xona bar-ovard-and}]] \text{ } \text{siisa-as } \text{siikast } \Rightarrow
\text{dar vaqt-i } [\text{az xona } \text{bar-ovardan-i lamp-ra})] \text{ } \text{siisa-as } \text{siikast}\\
\]

at the time [that the lamp-DO from the room they took out] glass-its broke
at the time-EZ [from the room taking out-EZ the lamp-DO] glass-its broke

6.5.4.3 Embedded infinitival clauses

With the concomitant gapping of an anaphoric independent or enclitic pronoun, infinitival clauses may further be embedded by an EZ construction:

'we heard the sound of that man’s footsteps (po) as he was coming downstairs'.

\[\text{[dar vaqt-e } \text{ki on kas poin me-furomad]} \text{ sado-i po-i on kas-ro } \text{sunid-em } \Rightarrow
\text{[dar vaqt-e poin furomadan-i on kas]} \text{ sado-i po-i; } \text{\textbf{y}a\text{\textbf{y}}}] \text{-ro } \text{sunid-em}
\]

\[\text{[sado-i po-i poin furomadan-i on kas ]-ro } \text{sunid-em}\\
\]

[at time when that one was coming down] sound-EZ foot-EZ that one]-DO we heard
[at time-EZ coming down-EZ that one] sound-EZ foot-EZ him-DO we heard
[sound-EZ foot -EZ [coming down-EZ that one]]-DO we heard
‘we heard the sound of the footsteps of that one’s coming downstairs’.

Note the EZ embedding of infinitival temporal clause and the gapping of the anaphoric pronoun.

6.5.4.4 Persian conjunct participle

Persian allows for the participialization of finite verbs in sequences of clauses by reducing finite verbs to participles in all clauses except the last (known as hazf-e fe’l ‘ellipsis of tense-mood-aspect and person marking’). This strategy rarely includes subordinate clauses. It is well known from classical texts, and in contemporary Persian is confined to literary use. The following is an (abbreviated) example from an Iranian journal about old
Doktor Ali Ašraf Šadeci, ke sāl-hā-st tashih-e fahlaviyat... rā
Dr. Ali Ashraf Sadeqi who years is (that) emendation-EZ fahlavi poetry-DO

va jih-e hemmat-e xod qarār dāde,
direction-EZ effort-EZ-self own resolve having given

axiran... in yāzdah fahlavi-rā... tashih karde
recently this eleven fahlavis-D correction having made

va dombāl-e har do-beyti tahqiq-i mostovfī afzude
and after-EZ each two-liner research-INDEF comprehensive having added

va be bahs-i kolli pardāxe ast
and to discussion-INDEF general has undertaken

'Dr. Ali Ashraf Šadeci, who for many years has made the emendation of the fahlaviat the focus of his scholarly work, has recently not only corrected these eleven fahlavis, but has also been engaged in extensive discussions of the problems involved in general.'

7 LEXIS AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

7.1 Word formation

The basic procedures of derivation and compounding are the same in Tajik and Persian. However, as the result of a degree of cultural separation during the last five centuries, and a flurry of conscious language planning in Tajik over the past 75 years, there are considerable differences of detail.

7.1.1 Homonymy and conversion

There is a fair amount of tolerance for homonymy, which is disambiguated syntactically. A word such as xāblišob may be a noun with two distinct meanings, 'sleep' and 'dream'; it may additionally function as a predicative adjective: xāb astlišob ast 'he is asleep'. The noun ārāmlorom 'quiet, calm, tranquility' may also be the adjective (both predicative and attributive) 'quiet, calm, tranquil'.

Conversion without morphological change occurs most readily from adjective to noun status: mard-e javānlmard-i jaron 'young man', yek javānyak jaron 'a youth', javān-ānlfavon-on 'young people, the young'.

7.1.2 Suffixation

Suffixation is the principal means of lexical derivation; more than 40 nominal suffixes may be identified. The following list is limited to those regarded as most productive:

-ilī (-g-ilg-i after the vowel -a-): forms abstract nouns of quality from adjectives and type nouns, of activity from agentives, etc.: pir-ilpir-i 'old age' < pir/plpr 'old; old man'; zende-g-ilzinda-g-i 'life' < zende/zinda 'alive, living'. Such nouns readily evolve concrete senses, as šīrin-ilšīrin-i 'sweets, candy (sweetness)' < šīrin/šīrin 'sweet'.
-karlkor, -garl-gar, -čil-či: form agent nouns and agentive adjectives from nouns of entity or activity (occasionally, adjectives): xeyanat-kārlxiyonat-kor 'traitor, treacherous' < xeyanatlxiyollat 'betrayal'; kār-garlkor-gar (manual) worker < kārlkor 'work'; hile-garlıhila-gar 'deceitful, cunning' < hilehila 'trick, deception'; xedmat-xlıxızmat-či 'employee, clerical worker' < xedmatxlıxızmat 'service, employment'; Tajik a 'lo-či 'honor student' < a 'lő 'superior, excellent'.

-či-k: added to agent nouns and agentive adjectives, forms diminutives, often endearing or derogatory in connotation:

pesar-čiLPisar-či 'ladie, kid' < pesarlpisar 'boy'; Taj. modar-i mehmbon-či < modar-i mehrobun (EZ phrase) 'kind mother'; Tajik has an intensive form, -akak: kam-akak 'a pinch, spot' < kami 'little (in quantity)';

(b) added to verbal agentives, it forms concrete instrumentives: Taj. ob-poš-či 'watering can' < ob 'water' and Stem I of pošd-an 'spray'; band-či < Stem I of bast-an 'fasten'.

-či-ča: forms diminutives from nouns and adjectives (neutral or endearing): ketab-či 'booklet' < ketabkitob 'book'; Taj. duxtar-ča 'lassie' < duxtar 'girl'; Taj. safed-ča 'whitish' < safed 'white'.

-či-a: a nominal suffix from several ultimate sources, still productive in some functions (metonymic or specifying): dast-eldast-a 'handle' < dast 'hand'; xandelxanda 'laugh(ter)' < xand-id-xlıxanda 'laugh'; gerye/giry-a 'weeping' < gerista-łgirista-an 'weep'. Numerical expressions are made adjectival or adverbial: do-rulru( y) 'two-faced, hypocritical' < doldu 'two', ruiri(y) 'face'; panj-sal-panj-sol-a 'of five years (adj.), a five-year-old, five-year plan' < panjpanj 'five', sol 'year'.

-stanlston (after a consonant, estanl-iston) forms locative nouns, esp. names of countries: Pers. kudakestan 'kindergarten' < kudak 'child', BaluchestanlBalochiston, Baluchistan'.

The following suffixes form adjectives from nouns:

-či (after a vowel, -g-či or -v-či): the most general and neutral relative adjective, originating in both Middle Persian -či and Arabic -iyy, and readily substantivized: Irān-či 'Iranian, an Iranian'; xāne-g-či xona-g-či 'domestic, household'; šovra-či xsovra-či 'deliberative, Soviet' < šovrašovro 'council'; Taj. partıya-či 'of the Party' (billet-i partıya-vi 'Party card').

Taj -angī (after a vowel, -ngi): forms relative adjectives, especially in colloquial Tajik: dina-ngi 'yesterday's' < dina 'yesterday'.

-či-ča (after a vowel, -g-či and -v-či): forms adjectives applied to non-humans, frequently used as nouns or adverbs: āqel-či 'intelligent, sensible' < āqel āqelolqol-onla 'intelligent, sensible'; bačče-g-čelbača-či 'children's; childhood'; bačče-g-čelbača-či 'child'; māh-čelmoło-či 'monthly; salary' (see also section 3.1.5 Adverbs).

-či-či-nok 'possessing the quality of ~'; xatar-nakxatar-nok 'dangerous' < xatarlxatar 'danger': a very productive suffix in Tajik, generating adjectives or nouns from intangibles: foida-nak 'useful, advantageous' < foida 'benefit'; xarakter-nak 'characteristic, specific' < xarakter 'characteristic'; sado-nak 'vowel' < sado 'sound, voice'.

7.1.3 Prefixation

Productive nominal prefixes (mostly identical with prepositions) which form adjectives and related nouns are:

bālbo- 'with': bā-este'dālbo-iste'dod 'talented' < este'dādliste'dod 'talent'.

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bi-lbe- ‘without’; bi-adablbe-adab ‘discourteous, impolite’ < adabl ‘manners, courtesy’.

nā-lno- ‘not, un-’; nā-dānlno-don ‘ignorant, ignoramus’ < Stem I of dānl ‘know’;

ham-ham- ‘together’, a particle connoting sharing, reciprocity or cooperation: ham-rāh ‘companion, fellow-traveler’ < rāh ‘road, journey’; ham-āhanglham-ohang ‘harmonious, consonant’ < āhanglohang ‘melody’.


Prepositional EZ constructions (the following all Arabic loanwords) include:

l‘eYI’-e-qonun-f ‘illegal’< qiunun ‘law’.

zedd-elzidd-i- ‘against, anti-, counter-’< zedd ‘air’.

ba’d-i- ‘after’: ba’d-ijang-r ‘postwar’< jang ‘war’.

Tajik to- ‘up to, until’: to-maktab-f ‘pre-school’ < maktab ‘school’; to-inqilob-f ‘pre-revolutionary’ < inqilob ‘revolution’. Note that this prefix qualifies a ready-formed adjective, as do the preceding three. (This use of to is unknown in Persian, and was probably influenced by identical Russian use of do- ‘up to, until’.)

7.1.4 Compounding

Compounding is most frequently effected by simple juxtaposition of stem nominals, or a nominal and a verbal radical, modifier before head. Such compounds are of two kinds:

Determinative, where the compound is of the same lexical category as the head (a noun): hafte-nīmehafte-nomahafte-nomahafte-nomahafte-nomahafte-nomahafte-nomahafte-nomahafte-nohafta ‘weekly (periodical)’< hafte ‘week’ + nīme/noma ‘document, letter’;

possessive, generally where the modifier is an adjective or adverb, and the resulting compound refers to a third entity possessing, or characterized by, the compound quality (fundamentally, an adjective): čahār-pālcor-po ‘quadruped, animal’< čahār ‘four’ + pālcor ‘foot, leg’;

Modifier and head are occasionally reversed: del-saxt/dil-saxt ‘cruel’< del ‘heart’ + saxt/saxt ‘hard’; this is usual when the modifier is a participle: Pers. ru-bast-e ‘veiled’< ru ‘face’ and Stem I of bast-an ‘tie, close’, Taj. rū-toft-a ‘disobedient’< rū ‘face’ + past participle of toft-an ‘turn (away)’.

There are a few common copulative compounds, where two nouns or verb stems are joined by addition of enclitic -ol-u ‘and’ to the first element: āb-o havālob-u havo
'weather', lit. 'water-and-air'; raft-o-āmadraft-u-omad 'visit(ing), traffic' < Stem II raft-anraft-an 'go', and Stem I of āmad-ānomad-an 'come'; Taj. also raft-u-of(y).

Stems II of verbs. Adjectives and adverbs are similarly formed by compounding or reduplication of nouns with a connective element: pey dar peylpay dar pay 'continuous(ly)' (peylpay 'track, (in) pursuit, after'); Taj. xel-ma-xel 'various, of all sorts' (xel 'sort, kind').

Adjectives may be intensified by similar means: dur-o-deräzldur-u daroz 'lengthy' (dur 'far', daroz 'long'). Taj. garm-o-garm 'extremely hot' (garm 'warm, hot'), but note Persian EZ construction garm-e garm.

By adding prefixes and suffixes to these structures, neologisms can be formed: havā-peymā-bar 'aircraft carrier' (havā-peymā 'air-plane', bar- 'bear, carry').

Tajik can generate neologisms of almost Russian length and complexity, a development that has been encouraged from the Soviet period on. Examples are: mablaj-jūdō-kun-i 'appropriation, disbursement of funds' (sum-separate-mak-ing); avtomobil-kor-kard-a-bar-or-f 'automobile production' (auto-work-done-out-bring-ing).

Echoic reduplication is used in several ways, mostly in the colloquial language. Collective or generalized nouns are generated by repetition with a change of initial, to add a rhyming or echoic nonsense-word: ketāb-metāblkitob-mitob 'books and papers'; Pers. eynak-meynak 'spectacles, glasses'; Taj. bača-kača 'kids and the like' < bača 'child'; oš-poš 'food and stuff' < oš 'food'; mayda ji𝑦ya 'odds and ends' (mayda 'small'; ji𝑦ya, mitob, etc. have no independent meanings).

7.2 Loanwords

Arabic vocabulary is the oldest and still the largest foreign element in the lexicon. In literary Persian it constitutes about 50 percent, in spoken about 25 percent.

7.2.1 Arabic

In Iran, official organizations, including the Farhangestān-e zabān-e Fārsī, targeted especially this stratum for replacement by native vocabulary during the 1930s and 1940s, and in Tajikistan during the Soviet language reforms of the same period; however, the presence of many everyday Arabic words for which there is no ready Persian equivalent (e.g. ketābkitob 'book', havāhav 'air, weather') has mitigated the effects of purification.

Some specialized uses of Arabic and Arabicate plural forms continue to be used in Iran and have survived the general Soviet condemnation of archaisms in Tajikistan, since they have been lexicalized and fill a useful niche. Words with the suffixes -āl-ot, -jāl-ot, Taj. -v-ot denote collectivities: heyvānāthayvon-ot 'animals, fauna', mīve-jātmeva-j-ot 'fruit(s)', Pers. sabz-ij-āt, Taj. sabza-v-ot 'vegetables'. In Tajik, some plurals have developed a singular meaning: taškil-ot 'organization', hašar-ot 'insect' (with regular plurals ilarbāb-hā, taškil-ot-ho and hašar-ot-ho).

Arabic “broken plurals” are often lexicalized, with collective or singular meanings: atrāfātlatrof'environs, neighborhood' (cf. taraf 'side, direction'), a'zāła'zo 'member' (of an institution), a'zā-ye badanlā'zo-i badan 'parts of the body'; Pers. arbāb 'landowner', boss (cf. rabb 'Lord [God]'); Taj. talaba 'student' (cf. tolib 'religious student').
7.2.2 Turkic

While Persian has integrated a considerable number of Turkic nominals (including a few of Mongol origin) such as *otâglutoq* Pers. ‘room’ vs. Taj. ‘house, place’ and titles like *âqâl ogo* ‘sir, Mr.’, the Northern Tajik dialects are replete with pre-Uzbek Turkic and Uzbek vocabulary, even at the level of function words; a number of common loans have entered the literary language and are also widespread in Southern speech, e.g. *boy* ‘rich’, *tûy* ‘wedding, circumcision celebration’, *yarog* ‘weapon’, *yordan* ‘help’, *qisløq* ‘village’ (Pers. *qisløq* ‘winter quarters’), and several kinship terms such as *uka* ‘younger brother’, *yunga* ‘sister-in-law’ (see section 7.4.3).

7.2.3 Russian

In Tajik, the large Russian component pervades the speech of the cities, reinforced by code-switching and official communication (forms, notices, interaction in banks and post offices, etc.). The written language may be highly Russianized in political, economic and bureaucratic documentation or journalism, while in other cultural contexts it will display much more Persian vocabulary. At the height of the language reform movement in 1989–90, conservatives complained that unbridled substitution of Persianisms for established Russian loans (*donîš-goh* for *universitet* ‘university’, *havo payno* for *samoljot* ‘airplane’, etc.) was making the language incomprehensible to the man in the street.

Abbreviations and acronyms are a feature of Soviet Russian bureaucratic language that have readily been adopted (in Russian) and adapted (to Tajik), e.g. *VABK*, for *Viloyat-i avtonom-i Badaxson-i Kiih-i* ‘the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region’.

7.3 Lexical distribution, Persian–Tajik

In the everyday Persian and Perso-Arabic vocabulary, even frequently-used words have been differentially distributed between Iran and Central Asia. Some Tajik words and expressions are either completely foreign to Iranians, or perceived as archaic or literary; the meanings of some common words have shifted considerably. In the following selection of shibboleths, words in parenthesis are Standard Persian equivalents (which sometimes coexist as variants in Tajik): *dina* (*diruz*) ‘yesterday’, *pagoh* (*fardii*) ‘tomorrow’, *be-goh* (*âsr*) ‘evening; yesterday’, *tira-moh* (*pâiz* ‘autumn’), *daryo* (*rud, rud-xâne*) ‘river’, *bahr* (*darya*) ‘sea’, *paxta* (*panbe*) ‘cotton’, *tireza* (*panjare*) ‘window’, *xel* (*jur*) ‘sort, kind’, *tayyor* (*hâzer*) ‘ready’, *hozir* (*halâ*) ‘now’, *vazn-in* (*sang-in*) ‘heavy’, *sang-in* (*sang-i*) ‘(of) stone’, *kalon* (*bozorg*) ‘big, great, old’, *mayda* (*xord*) ‘tiny; small change’, *xurd* (*kuček*) ‘small, little, young’, *kampir* (*pir-e zan*) ‘old woman’, *nayz, nek* (*xub, qašang*) ‘good, nice’, *ganda* (*xarâb*) ‘bad’, *kasal* (*mariz, bimâr*), ‘sick’, *mond-a* (*xaste*) ‘tired’, *pok* (*tamiz*) ‘clean’, *îfós* (*kasif*) ‘dirty’, *aftid-an* (*oftâd-an*) ‘fall’, *sişt-an* (*neşast-an*) ‘sit’, *mond-an* (*gozást-an*) ‘let, put’, *partoft-an* (*andâxt-an*) ‘throw’, *yundoşt-an* (*jam* *kard-an*) ‘gather’.

This applies even to quite recent neologisms: Taj. *madaniyat*, Pers. *farhang* ‘culture’; Taj. *ittifoq*, Pers. *ettehâd* ‘(labor) union’. Many of the Tajik shibboleths are also common to Persian of Afghanistan (Kaboli, Dari).

Nominal compounds and conjunct verbs, the productivity of causatives, and adjectival formatives such as *-nok* and *-g-i* constitute another large area of lexical difference with
Standard Persian. Compound neologisms, even if formed from native lexical stock and not calqued on Russian (for Tajik) or French (for Persian) may not coincide, either lexically or structurally: compare Taj. bayn-al-xalq-i, and Pers. bayn-al-melal-i 'international', where the difference lies merely in the selection of the central (Arabic) lexeme; Taj. yaroq-partoi, Pers. xal'-e selāh ‘disarmament’, where the Uzbek-Tajik compound is a modern calque on the Arabicate compound, lit. ‘casting off arms’, still current in Standard Persian; Taj. zio!, Pers. rowšan fekr ‘(liberal) intellectual’, in which the underlying idea of ‘enlightened thinker’ is expressed in an Arabic-Persian derivative and a Persian-Arabic compound respectively.

7.4 Sociolinguistic aspects

7.4.1 Registers and ta’ārof

A crucial strategy of spoken and written communication is ta’ārof ‘formal mutual recognition’. It aims, in addition to its illocutionary function such as making a request, at the perlocutionary effect of self-presentation and respect, inferior and superior, respectively. It is one of the poles of the ‘communicative contexts in Iranian culture which are marked in terms of two continua: one of personal and communicative intimacy, from ‘inside’ (bāten) to ‘outside’ (zāher), and another of social hierarchy, from contexts indicating hierarchical relationships to those indicating equality’ (Beeman 1988: Abstract). Linguistically, it is marked by a highly conventionalized phraseology and address terminology depending on the context, accompanied by appropriate metalinguistic behavior and gestures, including proper pacing and packaging of objectives, and is applied by speakers from the lowest to the highest speech registers.

Personal pronouns and endings are in the plural (see section 3.1.3.1a), šonā VB-id ‘you,p are . . . ’ for the addressee, išān VB-and ‘they are . . . ’ for a third party, while the speaker may use mā VB-im, ‘we are . . . ’, reflecting the role of the speaker as member of a social group, rather than as an individual. Lexically most notable is the use of farmadan ‘to order, command’ for any superior’s verb of action such as be-farmān-id ‘please (DO)’. Typical is the use of light verb constructions for simple verbs: superior raising includes tašrif ‘(your) honor’ in tašrif āvordan ‘bring honor’ = ōmdan ‘come’, tašrif bordan ‘take honor’ = raftan ‘go, leave’, tašrif dāstan ‘have, keep honor’ = budan ‘be there, present’. Inferior lowering includes (be) xedmat-e ‘to the service of’ = be, piš-e ‘to, to the presence of’, e.g. xedmat residan ‘arrive at service’ = ōmdan ‘come to’, ārz kardan ‘make presentation’ = goftan ‘say, remark’, of ten in subjunctive, ārz kon-am ‘let me remark’, and may use an oath-like address such as gorbān ‘your honor’ < gorbān-e šonā be-rav-am = be-šav-am ‘(I am ready) to be sacrificed for you’. Superior is addressed as janāb(-e) āliljanob-i oli ‘Sir’, ‘gentleman, aristocrat’, lit. ‘high side’, vs. in jāneblin jonīb ‘I’, lit. ‘this side’, and sarkārsarkor ‘Sir’ or ‘Madam’, lit. ‘leader, head of work’, vs. bandelbanda ‘I’, lit. ‘slave’ little used today, and others. All these are contextually selected from a paradigm of options for each, ranging from higher to lower.

Inferior typically introduces requests with one or a series of phrases, or their substitutes, rarely up to seven, and usually in this relative sequence: janāb āgā-ye X, ma’zevat mi-xāh-am, agar ejāze be-deh-id, xāheš mi-kon-am, agar monken bāš-ad, loft-an, bi zahmat, be-farmān-id . . . ‘your excellency Mr. X, I beg your pardon, if you permit me, I ask of you, if it be possible, kindly, (if it is) no trouble, please . . . ’
7.4.2 Kinship terms

Persian kinship terms for some basic consanguineal and affinal relationships are single terms, but others are composite descriptive terms expressed by EZ constructions.

In Tajik, alternate or additional terms (some of Uzbek origin) include: oča 'mother'; ako, aka 'elder brother', dodar, uka 'younger brother'; apa, aya 'elder sister'; yanga 'aunt (uncle's wife), sister-in-law'; tayol- amu/amak 'uncle', padar-šuy, xusur 'father-in-law (of wife)'; modar-šuy, xušdoman 'mother-in-law (of wife)'.

### TABLE 8.18: PERSIAN KINSHIP TERMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-3 jodd-e bozorg</td>
<td>jadd-e bozorg</td>
<td>G.-great-grandparents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2 jadd Ar.</td>
<td>jadd Ar.</td>
<td>Great-grandparents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1 pedar(-e) bozorg</td>
<td>mādār(-e) bozorg</td>
<td>Grandparents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1 pedar</td>
<td>mādār</td>
<td>Parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1 amu Ar.</td>
<td>ame Ar.</td>
<td>Paternal uncles, aunts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-0 dāi Tk.</td>
<td>xāle Ar.</td>
<td>Maternal uncles, aunts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1 pesar</td>
<td>doxta</td>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+2 nave ( navāde, navāse)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+3 natije</td>
<td></td>
<td>Great-grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+4 nabīre</td>
<td></td>
<td>G.-G.-grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+5 na-dide</td>
<td></td>
<td>G.-G.-G.-grandchild</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.4.3 Modes of address

Between members of the same peer and solidary groups (age, sex, occupation) address is essentially informal, given names being widely used, often with the endearing suffix -jan/ jon: Mba/bobo 'grandfather', Pers. also 'daddy', col. 'fellow'; bibibibi 'grandmother' (also mistress of house, etc.); dada 'father', Pers. also 'daddy, mamma', Pers. aqā-jān 'daddy'. Most of these may be used figuratively to address unrelated acquaintances and strangers of the appropriate age and sex.

During the Soviet period in Tajikistan, Russian and Soviet modes of address became fashionable, including rafiq 'comrade' preceding the surname and the Russian-style name and patronymic, as Ahmad Ibrohim-ovic. Russian-style surnames were also widely adopted (Yusup-ov, Nazir-ova). Since the 1980s many Tajiks have re-Persianized their
surnames by means of relative or patronymic suffixes such as -i and -zoda. In the change from Yusupov to Yusuf-zoda or Yusuf-i the substitution of f for p further represents re-Persianization of an Uzbek reflex of the Perso-Arabic Yusuf.

8 DIACHRONY AND DIALECTOLOGY

8.1 Phases

The grammatical changes and typological shifts in the evolution of New Persian over fourteen centuries has been substantial, though shifts were mostly gradual and individual rather than bundled together. They involved temporal, social, as well as geographical parameters. Overall, between Middle Persian and contemporary Persian, the decisive monument for the history of Persian was the Shahname by the eleventh-century poet Ferdowsi of Tus in Khorasan.

In particular, recent detailed investigations of textual occurrence and relative frequency of features and their typology have led to clearer insights into the historical and geographical dynamics of their loss and innovation. In overview, the following table, based on Paul (2000b), shows the successive phases of innovation and relative consolidation, in correlation with related dynasties:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>700–900</td>
<td>Transition from Middle Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900–1100</td>
<td>Earliest NP, Ghaznavids; Shahname of Ferdowsi of Tus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1100–1300</td>
<td>ENP, Mongols: in twelfth century: relative dialectal homogeneity and standardization, Persian international language in Eastern Caliphate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300–1600</td>
<td>“Classical Persian”, Turko-Mongols to Safavids: considerable standard reached; earlier features may occur in emulation of “Classical” style – thereafter slower shifts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600–1900</td>
<td>Early Modern Persian, Qajars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900–present</td>
<td>Modern Persian, Pahlavids, Islamic Republic: rapid change in written register, influenced by spoken Tehrani Persian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The complex socio-linguistic dynamics of the development during the early phases of Persian are detailed in Perry (2009).

8.2 Comparative dialectology

The common Early New Persian vowel system had six members: \( i \, i \bar{e}, u \, u \bar{e}, a \, \bar{a} \). There occurred shifts in the three main varieties of Persian: In Iranian Persian, the vowel system was restructured by the turn of the seventeenth century: The tense long mid vowels were raised, while the lax short high vowels were lowered: \( \bar{e} \, \bar{o}, i \, u > i \bar{u}, e \, \bar{e} > \bar{b} \, \bar{e} \) ‘without’, \( \bar{o} > u \) ’he, she’; \( ki > ke \) ‘which, that’, \(-u > -o\) ‘and’. More recently, word-final -a was raised to -e, but -a is still retained before enclitics in the Spoken Modern Standard: \( ba > be \) ‘to’, \( hame\bar{y}-\bar{a}\bar{s}-\bar{r}a\), but coll. \( hama\bar{y}\bar{s}-o \) ‘all of it’. In Tajik Persian, the restructuring involved the loss of length distinction under Turkic pressure, whereby the inherent short and long high vowels merged, and long \( \bar{a} \) was rounded to o. The fewest changes are found in Afghan Persian, where the lax high short vowels were lowered: \( i \, o > e \, o, a \, \bar{a} > \bar{a} \). The development of the vowels is shown in the diagram given overleaf (see also Table 8.2).
The development in the morphosyntax of these three varieties is the history of increasing differentiation, particularly in their verb systems through the development of new constructions. These include the progressive Aktionsart and the evidential mode. For Afghan Persian see also Farhadi and Perry 2009).

8.3 Innovative constructions, summary

The development in the morphosyntax of these three varieties is the history of increasing differentiation, particularly in their verb systems through the development of new constructions. These include the progressive Aktionsart and the evidential mode. For Afghan Persian see also Farhadi and Perry 2009).

8.3.1 Progressive

Persian uses dāstan in its basic meaning 'keep, hold', where both auxiliary and dependent verb are finite. Tajik and Afghan use conjunct verb constructions with istoda 'standing' and raftan 'go', respectively: Pers. dār-ad ketāb mi-xān-ad, Taj. [kitob-ro xond-a] istoda ast, Afgh. [ketāb-ra xānd-a] mē-rav-ad 'he is reading the book'.

8.3.2 Uncertainty constructions

Unlike Persian, Tajik and Afghan have developed modal constructions expressing uncertainty. In Tajik, the conjectural is based on participle II in -agf in its gerundive sense. In Afghan, the dubitative is based on the lexical marker xāh, a generalized form of 3s xāh-ad 'it will probably be' < xāh- 'want, will': [zad-a] xāt bud-om 'I might hit'. These contrast with the literary definite future construction with the short infinitive, xāh-ad raft 'he will go', inherited from Early New Persian (for more detail, see Perry 2002).

8.3.3 Evidentiality

Evidentiality, while found in both Iranian and Afghan Persian, is fully developed only in Tajik, again clearly by interference from Turkic where it is expressed by the single marker emiš. Just as the verb forms of Turkic are mostly based on participles, so in Tajik one finds the development of participial formations with so-called converbs, where the participial main verb is followed by a varied set of verbs whose meaning is generalized to express various Aktionsarten.

8.4 Isoglosses West vs. East

8.4.1 Conjunct constructions and complementizer

Morphosyntactically, the innovative progressive and evidential constructions, and the uncertainty constructions in Tajik and Afghan Persian, differ drastically: they are
double-finite construction in Persian, and other western Persian varieties, but are
nominalized conjunct verb constructions in Afghan and Tajik Persian. The earliest
example of such Eastern conjunct constructions, which was integrated into common
Persian, is the passive conjunct construction with šodan ‘go’: ān kušta šud ‘that one was
killed’. These features evidence the membership of Tajik in a vast isoglossic area, to
which belong not only Turkic, but also Hindi/Urdu (Windfuhr 2006: 279–281).

8.4.2 Persian homoglossia

In Tajikistan, the linguistic situation is bilingual, and the relationship between the literary
standard and local spoken Tajik registers is locally homoglossic rather than diglossic in
the sense of two distinct grammatical inventories.

Similarly, in Iran all registers share the same morphological and syntactical features
and rules, though high and low differ in complexity. Phonologically, the lower register is
characterized by the loss of a number of phonological distinctions which however involve
only some 15 merger rules leading predictably from standard to low. The main distinction
is lexical and phraseological. There are only the following shibboleths of exclusive use:
high niz ‘also’ vs. shared ham ‘also’; xiš ‘oneself, own’ vs. shared xod ‘self, own’; low vāse
~ vāste ‘for’ vs. shared barā-ye ‘for (the sake of)’. Only the low aspectual particle hey
‘continuously’ (reminiscent of ENP hamē) does not have a corresponding high pendant.

Perry (2003) has shown that the major coding distinctions between the two registers of
Persian amount to a difference of degree rather than kind. Those involve the selection,
addition, deletion, reordering, or the re-glossing of elements familiar to both registers,
but not exclusive grammatical features. They include:

(1) Expanded and versatile use of the pronominal enclitics:
   (a) use of personal enclitics with prepositions: be-h-eš goft ‘said to him’;
   (b) use of 3s enclitic for subject, rafi-eš ‘he went’;
   (c) post-verbal position of the enclitic direct object: bord-am-āš ‘I took it’.

(2) The double-finite progressive construction with dāštan ‘keep, hold’.
(3) Violations of SOV: rafi bīzār ‘he went to the market’, na-did-am bābā-t-o ‘I didn’t
   see your dad’.
(4) The “idiomatic” use of ke.
(5) The omission of the locative prepositions be ‘to’ and dar ‘in(to)’.
(6) The nominal referential suffix -e.

However, all of these are to be found in earlier styles of Persian, notably in Classical
poetry.

8.4.3 Topical references to Chapter 2

See also the sections in Chapter 2 Dialectology and Topics where Persian serves as the
example for the linguistic evolution: the Iranian verbal quincunx system (section 3.4);
marking of aspect (section 3.5); noun phrase and syntactic arguments, definiteness
(section 4.1), genericity (section 4.1.2), and differential marking of the direct object
(section 4.4); and clause complementation (section 4.5).
9 SAMPLE TEXTS

9.1 Persian

The following are the first six sentences of a report on an archaic custom in the region of Khomeyn, Central Lorestan, performed during the ten coldest days of winter (ca. Jan. 25–Feb. 5). A strong person is chosen to go into the Alvand mountains to assure the return of warmth (Anjavi Shirāzi, Seyyed Abolqasem (1352) Jashn-hā va ādāb va mo'taqadāt-e zemestānī [Winter customs and beliefs], Tehran). He is referred to as Korde ‘that Kurd’, which clearly reflects not only vague memory, but also its ancient connotation of the term kord, ‘mountain people’.

Linguistically noteworthy in this passage, particularly in the initial sentences, is the use of the Persian evidential forms, here reflecting both the researcher’s second-hand knowledge and the villagers’ fading memory (L = linker in relative heads).

Korde be kuh
(Sending) the Kurd to the mountain(s)

Be tōr-i ke mardom-e mantāqe-ye Rebāt-ē Morād-ē Xomeyn
the way-L that people-EZ region-EZ Rebāt-EZ Morād-EZ Xomeyn
‘As the people of the region of Rebāt-ē Morād in the Khomeyn district’

revāyat mi-kon-and,
narrative IPFV-make.PRV-3p
‘tell it,’

tā yek-sad-ē pānjāh sāl plā marsum bud-ē
till one-hundred & fifty year(s) before customary be.PART.EV
‘they had a custom until some 150 years ago’

hame sāle dar ayyām-ē “Korde be kuh” yek nafar-rā
all year.ADJ in days-EZ K. one person-DO
‘that during the days of K., one person’

ke besyār qavi va nirmānd bud-ē, entexāb mi-kard-e and.
that very strong & powerful be.P.T.EV.3s choice IPFV-make.PART.EV-COP3p
‘they would choose who was very strong and powerful’.

Tamām-e ahl-e mahall be u qazā va pusāk mi-dād-e and
whole-EZ people-EZ place to him food & clothing IPFV-give.PART.EV-COP3p
‘All people of the village would give him food and clothing’

va u-rā bā tufang va lebās-e garm va āzāqe-ye dah-ruze
& him-DO with gun & dress-EZ warm & provision-EZ ten-days.ADJ
‘and him, with gun, warm clothes and a ten-day provision’

mojahhaz mi-kard-e va be onvān-e “Amu Kord Ali”
supplied IPFV.PART.EV & by title-EZ A.
‘they would outfit, and, as “A.”’

be kuh-e Alvand mi-ferestād-e and.
to mountain-EZ Alvand IPFV-send.PART.EV-COP3p
‘would send him to Mt. Alvand’.
U in dah ruz-rā be kuh mi-raft
he these ten days-DO to mountain IPFV-go.PT.3s
‘He would go to the mountain for these ten days,’

va bar mi-gašt-e ast.
& back IPFV-turn.PART.EV COP.3s
and return.’

Va asr-e ruz-e dah-om marāsem-i-rā
& afternoon-EZ day-EZ ten-th ceremonies-INDEF-DO
‘And in the late afternoon of the tenth day, certain ceremonies
be xāter-e bar gaštan-e u dar jel-e ve u anjām mi-dād-e and
for sake-EZ return.INF-EZ him in front-EZ him performance IPFV-
give.PART.EV-COP3p
‘they would perform in front of him in appreciation of his return,’

va zemn-e rixtan-e ājil va noqgl va nābāt be sar-e u,
& meantime-EZ pour.INF-EZ dried fruit & sweets & candy on head-EZ him
‘and, showering him with dried fruit, sweets, and candy,’
esteqbāl-o pazirāt-i-ye garm-i az u be amal mi-āvord-e and.
welcoming & reception-EZ warm-INDEF from him to action IPFV-
bring.PART.EV-COP3p
‘they would give him an extensive reception and warm welcome.’

agar ān jāl kam-bārān va bad-i mi-šod-e
if that year little-rain.ADJ & bad-INDEF IPFV-become.PART.EV
‘But if that year turned out to have little rainfall and a bad crop,’

șaxs-e digar-i-rā barā-ye in kār entexāb mi-kard-e and.
Person-EZ other-INDEF-DO sake-EZ this work choice IPFV-make.PART.EV-COP3p
‘they would choose another person for this task.’

meantime people 3 soup also sake-of health-EZ A.
IPFV-cook.PR-3s
‘Also, for the sake of the health of A., people would cook three soups (one before his
departure, one during his absence, and one on his return).’

Ham-čonin mo’taqed and ke agar āš na-paz-and
same-thus convinced are-3p that if soup not.SBJ-cook.PR-3p
‘Also, they believe that if they would, lit. ‘do’, not cook those soups,’

va sag-hā-ye mahalle ham dar ayyām-e, Korde be kuh zuze be-keš-and
& dog-p-EZ place also in days-EZ K. howl SBJ-continue.PR-3s
‘and also if he dogs of the village howl during the days of K’

va ow’ov kon-and va mardom kafš-hā-ye xod-rā
& bark SBJ-make-3p & people shoe-p-EZ own-DO
‘and bark, and if (regarding their shoes) people’

pošt-o-ru na-gozār-and, yek-i az bozorg-ān-e ābādi
back-&-front not.SBJ-place.PR-3p one-INDEF from elder-p-EZ village
"mi-mir-ad.
IPFV-die.PFV-3s
'twould, lit. 'do', not turn them around, one of the elders of the village will die'.

"Pas bāyad āš be-paz-and va agar sag-hā ow ow kard-and,
thus must soup SBJ-cook.PFV-3p & if dog-p bark make.PFV-3p
'Therefore they have to cook the soups; and, once the dogs bark. lit. 'barked',

kafš-e xod-rā vārun-e kon-and va pošt-o-ru be-gožār-and
shoe-EZ own-DO turned (SBJ)make.PFV-3p & back-&-front SBJ-place.PFV-3p
'have to turn their shoes upside down and backwards.'

9.2 Tajik

The following is a paragraph from Sadriddin Ayni's autobiographical novella *Maktabi kūhna* [The old(-fashioned) school], as published in the Ayni anthology *Aknun navbati galamast* [Now it is the turn of the pen], Dushanbe, 1978, p. 126. Abbreviations and markings in the interlinear gloss:

A verb in upper case translates a non-finite conjunct form; + = connective in adjectival E phrase; CONJ = non-finite conjunct form; EVID/QUOT = evidential use of perfect tense, here two examples with quotative connotation; INT = intentional construction with future participle; BEN = benefactive verb in conjunct construction; PR-PROG = present progressive; SBJ = subjunctive; IMP = imperative.

The *duo* 'prayer' referred to in this text is a pious formula written on scraps of paper, which would be immersed in water, where the ink would dissolve, and the water would be drunk as a treatment; the *nazr-i domullo* is a charitable gift, here the fee, given to the *mullo* for his cures.

*man az roh-i dur az Obkena omad-am, guft on zan.*
I from way-EZ far, from Obkena come.PFV-1s said that woman.
'I've come all the way from Obkena (Ābgina), the woman said.'

*ma-ro hamsoya-amon šarofboy,*
I-DO neighbor-our Sharofboy
'My neighbor, Sharofboi (Sharafbāy),'

*ki zan-aš zoyid-a na-tavonist-a*
that wife-his DELIVER-CONJ not-been-able-EVID/QUOT
'his wife can't deliver her baby'

*dard-i saxt kašid-a istod-a-ast,*
pain-EZ severe DRAW-CONJ PR-PROG,
'and is in great pain,'

*yak tanga dod-a*
one tanga having-given-PART
'gave me a tanga ("penny")'
باز ی دو ی کوشیش فرستادانی شد،
برای گزاره-ای آغاز کرده و در حالی بود که می‌خواستم من را برای انبار زن‌کار کارایی کنم.

زنان دیگر خانمها...

که هر کدام که درد داشتند...

که همه ی کسانی که داردین و درد دارند...

و هر زمان که می‌توانستند...

آن‌ها به شما پول می‌فرستادند...

و این گفتند...

بنابراین هم از نظر مادی...

و هم از نظر معنایی...

با این مقدار رو به پیوستن دو کم دیگر...

شما باید من را پیشبردی...

و با خواستار...

و با پرسیدن...

که کدام درد برای کدام گراحی است؟

که گفت...

خواننده می‌خواهد.
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CHAPTER NINE

ZAZAKI

Ludwig Paul

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

The name Zazaki (Zāzāki) is an exoterm, originally with pejorative connotation. The endoterm Dim(i)li is used, in particular by Sunni Zaza, besides other self-designations by various Zazaki groups. Geographically, Zazaki is spoken in eastern Turkey at the north-western borders of Kurdish-speaking areas, in a triangle defined by the cities of Siverek, Erzincan and Varto, as well as in an exclave of several villages near Mutki west of Bitlis, which may suggest a formerly wider distribution of Zazaki. Linguistically, Zazaki is a North-West Iranian language, more closely related to Górānī and the (Iranian) Āzari dialects than to Kurdish.

The history of Zazaki studies began in 1856, with P. I. Lerch’s recordings of about 40 pages of text (including a German translation) in Zazaki, which at that time was still considered a Kurdish dialect. In 1932, the first grammatical description of Zazaki was attempted by Hadank (ed. of Mann 1932), which also served to establish Zazaki, among linguists, as a language in its own right. No grammar in a modern sense was published before Todd (1985). Yet another 13 years passed before two comprehensive grammars of Zazaki were written (Paul 1998; Selcan 1998). The present description is an abbreviated and revised version of the former.

There are no reliable statistics about the number of Zazaki speakers. In SE Anatolia they might number between 1.5 and 2 million. About the same number of Zaza may have emigrated to the urban centers of Western Anatolia, and to Western Europe, during the last 40 years. These numbers include all ethnic Zaza, however, many of whom (esp. the younger generation) have been assimilated to Turkish or Kurdish meantime. Another (apparently declining) part of the Zaza, although still speaking their mother tongue, have traditionally considered themselves as Kurds speaking a dialect of Kurdish. There have been ongoing emotional discussions among Zazas and Kurds for the past 20–25 years as to whether the Zaza form a separate people, or nation, and accordingly whether their form of speech may, or must, be called a separate (non-Kurdish) language. In most parts of the Zaza’s home country there also live many Turks or Kurds, e.g. 50 percent of Turks in the city of Erzincan, or 50 percent of Kurds in Siverek and Varto. The most important cities with a predominant Zaza population are Çermik, Tunceli and Bingöl.

In the Republic of Turkey, Zazaki shares with (Kurmançî) Kurdish the status of a minority language, but (like Kurdish) it is not granted the rights that minority languages usually have in Europe. It has been ignored by state officials, or its existence has been denied until the 1980s. From 1989 on, publication in Zazaki (and Kurdish) has been partly allowed in Turkey, but the actual government policy has rather discouraged, or

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prevented by force, regular and free publication in Zazaki. Since the 1980s, the main impetus for writing in Zazaki has come from the Zaza diaspora (exiles and guest workers) living in Western Europe (mainly Germany and Sweden).

Zazaki is divided into many quite heterogeneous dialects, most of which may be attributed to either of three (a northern, south-western, and south-eastern) dialect areas. Actually, Zazaki "consists" of dialects only, since no single dialect, or standardized mixture of dialects, can claim to be used (if in writing only) by a majority of speakers. The northern dialect area is defined not only linguistically, but also religiously, as all "northern" Zazas are Alevi Shi'is, while the southern Zazas are Shafi'i Sunni.

Zazaki has been in contact with many other languages in history. The most important single language to influence Zazaki over time has been (Kurmanji) Kurdish. Other languages whose contact with Zazaki may still be seen today include Arabic, Persian, Armenian (esp. for the northern dialects), and Turkish whose influence on Zazaki has been rapidly increasing for the past decades.—In the following, NX refers to the dialect in Berz 1988.

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory and distribution

The Çermik-Siverek dialects of Zazaki have the following phonemic system of 8 vowels and 30 consonants, including 2 semi-vowels.
2.1.1 Vowels and diphthongs

2.1.1.1 Vowel system

TABLE 9.1: ZAZAKI VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>ī ū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>ē o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1.2 Diphthongs

In the Çermik-Siverek dialects of Zazaki there are only falling diphthongs ending in -y (āy, ey, oy, ūy) or -w (āw, ew, ēw). When a diphthong is followed by a vowel, it loses its diphthongal character, e.g. rāy-ā mi is syllabic rā- yā mi 'my way'. Therefore, diphthongs are not considered phonemic here.

2.1.2 Consonants

TABLE 9.2: CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uv.</th>
<th>Phar.</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops/Affricates</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>ċ j</td>
<td>k g</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f v</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>š ž</td>
<td>x γ</td>
<td>h̍</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals, plain/vel.</td>
<td>l l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrants, flap/trill</td>
<td>r ř</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>w y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Non-segmental features

As a rule, Zazaki words have their stress on the last syllable of the stem, while endings and suffixes are unstressed (stress is indicated here by underlined vowel). But note the following exceptions:

Stressed are the case endings -er and -ān; the negative prefixes nē- and me-, and the modal prefix b(i)-. Unstressed are the primary postpositions -ā, -di(r), -rā, -rē, -ro; the substantive verb; the particle do (future); and the clitic conjunctions ā 'and' and ū 'also'. Vocative stress is on the penultimate syllable, where possible. Unpredictably, a small set of words has non-final stress, e.g. hepis 'jail' (anaptytic -i-, cf. Ar. ḥabs), kārdī 'knife', mākī 'female', wīnā 'so'. Difference of stress may be phonemic: nīnā 'she does not come' ~ nīnā 'of these' (obl. pl. of dem.).
3 MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Nominal morphology

3.1.1 Nouns

Zazaki nouns distinguish the following inflectional categories: gender (masculine and feminine); number (singular and plural); case (direct and oblique); animacy; and definiteness. The distinction of gender exists only in the singular, including the number 'one', and natural gender in the vocative. The categories of animacy and definiteness operate in restricted areas.

3.1.1.1 Gender

In their simplest forms nouns are unmarked for gender, except for the following subsets:

1. Masculine are: (a) nouns in -e: āyyə 'mill', girwe 'work'; (b) infinitives in -iš.
2. Feminine are: (a) abstract nouns in -ey, e.g. rind-ey 'kindness'; (b) infinitives in -en; (c) tree names in -er: siy-er 'apple tree'.

Also, singular feminines with final consonant are often marked by a "euphonic" -i: āw- (f) ā xo sere kī 'hold the water (f) to your head'. However, gender is always overtly distinguished in the oblique cases and in the ezāfe construction, including nouns allowing for natural gender distinction, such as wēr 'owner (m/f)': wēr-ē (m) dew-i (OBLf) 'the owner (m) of the village' vs. wēr-ii (f) por-i (OBLm) 'the owner (f) of the hair'.

3.1.1.2 Number and case

Both singular and plural distinguish two basic cases, direct (DIR) and oblique (OBL). Any noun designating a plural number always takes the plural endings, while nouns used in the generic sense and collective nouns take the singular: šār do pey bi-huw-o 'the people (s) will laugh about it' (pey huw-). Feminine oblique -er is facultative. Vocalic endings insert hiatus -i-y; -i replaces masc. -e, otherwise -i-y after vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 9.3: BASIC NOMINAL INFLECTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A small subset of nouns has a secondary oblique case with a "kinship-r": mālmā-r 'mother', pəpə-r 'father', bīrālbīrā-r 'brother', wālvā-r 'sister'. These are obligatory in those ezāfe constructions where the noun phrase is other than the syntactic subject or direct object (see section 4.2 Noun phrase structure).
3.1.1.3 Vocative

The vocative may distinguish gender, with a forward stress shift up to the pre-penultimate where possible: masc. -Ø, fem. -ė, (rarely) -i or -Ø; plural -ēno.

3.1.1.4 Definiteness and unity

A noun in its simplest form may express either definite or indefinite singular or unity, or be used in a generic sense:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[lāzek] ši-n-o} & \quad \text{Ji-rē [lāzek] b-en-o} \\
\text{[the boy] goes (away)} & \quad \text{‘she has (‘to her is being’) [a boy’]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[piyūz] weş perey ke-n-o} & \\
\text{‘[onions] make (keno) good money’ (note ms -o).}
\end{align*}
\]

Indefinite plurality may be expressed by the singular or plural in the direct case:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ćinō-y-o-m new-e-DIR-sm] bį-y-ār-ē} & \\
\text{‘bring [new clothes’];}
\end{align*}
\]

plurality,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[enjūl-ē-p wišk-i-DIR-p] we-n-ē} & \\
\text{‘they eat [dried figs’].}
\end{align*}
\]

In addition, indefiniteness and unity may be expressed by two clitics or the numeral ‘one’:

1. -ē (unstressed), -ēn before vocalic clitics only: jā-y[-ē]-rā ‘from some place’, hetē jā-y[-ēn]-ā ‘to some place, (to) somewhere’. It supersedes the oblique endings: šew-ē ‘(for) one night’. In function, it corresponds more or less to the English indefinite article, and, depending on the context, either indefiniteness or unity may be more prominent: bān-ē(n) ‘some, any house’, or ‘one house’ (not two or three).

2. The suffix -nā ‘another’ implies also an indefinite meaning. It likewise supersedes inflectional endings: oblique merdim-[nā]-rē ‘to another man’.

3. Žewlžū ‘one’ (m/f) may be thus used as well:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[žew] jāmērd ū [žū] jīnā-y-ā jī} & \\
\text{‘[a] young man and [one] wife of his (jī’).}
\end{align*}
\]

3.1.2 Adjectives

There is no strict boundary between adjectives and substantives in Zazaki. Adjectives may regularly be used as substantives, and some substantives as adjectives, while some nominals are difficult to assign to either class:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sere-y-ē [ē bēnāmūs-i-obl]} & \\
\text{‘the head of that [dishonourable] (man’;}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{merdim-ē-do [dēv-iž]} & \\
\text{‘a (-ē) certain man, a peasant’ (‘a certain [peasant-ish] man’;}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lāzek-ē-do bol [jāmērd]} & \\
\text{‘a very [brave] boy’ (< jāmērd ‘hero’)}
\end{align*}
\]

(for typical adjetival derivation, see section 6 Lexis).
3.1.2.1 Gender, case and number

Like nouns, adjectives distinguish gender and show a two-case system. Unlike nouns, masculines in -e have corresponding feminines in -e, and singular feminines never take obl.-er.

**TABLE 9.4: ADJECTIVAL INFLECTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'big'</th>
<th>'white'</th>
<th>'black'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>masc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRs</td>
<td>gird</td>
<td>gird(-i)</td>
<td>sip-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBLs</td>
<td>gird-i</td>
<td>gird(-i)</td>
<td>sip-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRp</td>
<td>gird-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBLp</td>
<td>gird-ān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When used predicatively, adjectives may optionally take the case ending of the noun to which they refer:

\[
mā pēro weš-i-p yē
\]

'we are all well-p', but

\[
īnsān-i-p ben-ē āyā-s
\]

'the people-p become awake (āyā)', i.e. 'wake up'.

For attribution, see Section 4.2 Noun phrase structure.

3.1.2.2 Comparison

The simple form of an adjective may regularly be used in comparative or superlative functions: comparative, nāme-y birā-y [werd]-i 'the name of the [small(er)] brother'; superlative, šeytān-o [gird] ti yē 'the [biggest] Satan is you'.

More explicit options are delā 'more' or en 'most' (< Turkish daha, en):

\[
zūr-a wārezā-y [delā gird] bē
\]

'the lie of the nephew was [bigger]';

\[
keynek-ā [en gird]-i riš-en-o jor
\]

'he sends the [biggest] girl upwards'.

The comparative relation is expressed either by the postposition -rā: mi-rā gird 'bigger than me' (lit. 'big from me'); or by the adjectival suffix -ēr(i): mi gird-ēr(i) 'bigger than me' (cf. English my elder). The former is used generally for simple predication, the latter for all other types of comparative sentences:

\[
kund [mi āqil-ēr] viţ-y-ā
\]

'the owl has turned out [smarter than me]'.

The superlative relation is expressed by postpositional miyān-di 'among':

\[
[sēn (tey ū tēr)-i-OBL miyān-di] en sifte šewšewok-i ye-n-ā
\]

'[among these birds], as the first comes the bat'.
The noun of reference may be resumed by a pronoun, such as the general 3rd person referential ji:

\[(\text{ji } \text{mīyān-dī})\]

\('[\text{among the animals}, \text{the most fearful of them are the hares}']\'.

### 3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

#### 3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

The Zazaki personal pronouns distinguish three persons in the singular and plural, and direct and oblique cases, except in the 1p, 2p. Gender is distinguished in the 3s. There is also an invariable weak (but not enclitic) oblique form. Note that Zazaki (like Northern Kurdish) lacks personal suffixes.

**TABLE 9.5: PERSONAL PRONOUNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>ez</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>ūmā</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>mī(n)</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>āy</td>
<td>āy</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>ūmā</td>
<td>ūmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>jī</td>
<td>jī</td>
<td>jī</td>
<td>jī</td>
<td>jī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1s mīn occurs before enclitic vowels only, e.g. ti lāz-ē mīn ē 'you are my son'.

#### 3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns have one distant form, identical with the strong 3rd person personal pronouns, and one proximate form distinguished only by initial n-. There are also two corresponding demonstrative adjectives which precede the noun they qualify, and are morphologically less differentiated than the former.

**TABLE 9.6: DEMONSTRATIVES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'this'</th>
<th>'these'</th>
<th>'that'</th>
<th>'those'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td></td>
<td>nā</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td></td>
<td>nā(n)</td>
<td>āy</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>nē</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.1.3.3 Reflexive and possessive pronoun

The Zazaki reflexive marker xo 'self, own' is invariable, and co-referent with the syntactic subject only. In non-ergative sentences, it must be used for any "oblique" verbal or nominal complement:

(1) Present direct object

\[\text{[xo] kuw-en-ā ērd-ā}\]

'she throws [herself] to the ground'.

(2) Adverbial

\[\text{ye-n-o [ā xo]}\]

'he comes [to himself]'.
(3) Possessive of direct object

\[\text{[mesel\text{\text{a}}] xo mi-re vâz-i}\]
'tell me [your story].'

Similarly in past ergative sentences, \textit{xo} occurs only if co-referential with the subject/agent, in which case the verb always shows masculine singular agreement:

\[\text{nê kese-y mä-rä tersä-y}\]
'these turtles us-from fear-ed-3p
'these turtles were afraid of us',

\[\text{[xo] est dol-i miyân ü [xo] dol-di nimit.}\]
'self throw-3sm lake-oBL inside and self lake-in hid-3sm
'they threw themselves inside the lake and hid [themselves] in the lake.'

Accordingly, co-reference with the direct object/patient requires the respective personal pronoun:

\[\text{pê-y-ê [to]-OBL ti-DIR-PAT polât kerdi bê-2s?}\]
'had [your] father steeled you?'

In subordinate clauses co-reference with the subject of the main clause is expressed by the simple referential pronoun:

\[\text{Či-y-o ki [ji-re] lazim o, herên-en-ê}\]
'what (-ever) is necessary [to them], they buy'.

3.1.3.4 Reciprocal pronoun

A reciprocal relationship within a sentence is indicated by invariable \textit{pê} 'each other' which always shows (like reflexive \textit{xo}) singular masculine agreement:

\[\text{nê wirnä [pê] vên-en-ê \hspace{1cm} šimä wirnä helâl [-ê pê] yê}\]
'they both see [each other]'; 'you both are helâl [to one another]';

\[\text{mä [pê] kerd (ms) vînî}\]
'we have lost [one another]'.

3.1.4 Adpositions

3.1.4.1 Primary adpositions

3.1.4.1a Simple preposition

The simple prepositions immediately precede the nominal form they qualify, which is normally in the oblique case; thus PREP + OBL (mostly). The following are attested:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ā} & \text{ 'to, towards'}; & \text{ḥetā(n)} & \text{ 'until, up to'}; & \text{zey} & \text{ 'like, according to'}; \\
\text{bê} & \text{ 'without, except'}; & \text{nezdî} & \text{ 'towards, near'}; & \text{pêy} & \text{ 'behind'}. \\
\text{bi} & \text{ 'with, through'};
\end{align*}\]
3.1.4.1b Simple postpositions

The simple postpositions may be attached to nominals and secondary postpositions. They usually require the oblique, thus OBL + POST (mostly). Some of these postpositions more or less correspond to a case of traditional grammar:

-ā 'with, through' (instrumental);
-rā 'from, out of; along; through' (ablative);
-ro 'on, upon' (only after 'end in 'ground' and rāy f'way').

3.1.4.2 Secondary adpositions

3.1.4.2a Secondary prepositions

Secondary prepositions are nouns, adverbs, and other expressions with locational meaning, partly borrowed, that syntactically form ezāfe constructions, e.g.:

\[\text{bin-ē N} \quad \text{under N'} (< \text{bin 'bottom'}) ;\]
\[\text{čoršme-y-ē N} \quad \text{around N} (< \text{čoršme 'surrounding'}) ;\]
\[\text{bābd-ē N} \quad \text{after N} (< \text{Ar. prepos. bād 'id.'}) ;\]
\[\text{gore-y-ē N} \quad \text{according to N} (< \text{Turk. postpos. gore 'id.'}).\]

3.1.4.2b Secondary postpositions

Secondary postpositions are nouns, adverbs, and other expressions with locational meaning, such as \text{bin} 'under' ('bottom'), \text{ser} 'on(to) ('head'), \text{zere} 'in(to)', that syntactically form ezāfe constructions. They express motion, but state with the postposition dī(r) 'in', e.g. bīr-ī bin 'down into the well', but bīr-ī bin [-dī] [at] the bottom of the well'.

3.1.4.3 Circumpositions

Prepositions may be combined with simple postpositions to form circumpositions that always require the OBL. Two plain prepositions, bi, zey; and four that contain an ezāfe, hendē, herē, gāndē, tewdē, may optionally be combined with the postposition -ā, without altering their meaning:

\[\text{[bi] ling-ān-dē xo-yf-ā} \quad \text{[gān-dē] čiči-y-ā} \quad \text{[on ('by')] your own feet; [for] what}.\]

Similarly, the prepositions ā and bi, as in ā ... rā, ā ... ro and bi ... ro, do not alter the meaning of the postpositions: ā xo-rā 'on themselves'. (bi) ... ā and -rā form a large number of modal and causal adverbial phrases (-rā often with plural):

\[\text{bi hērs-ā 'furiously', bi huvatey-ā 'laughingly', rāšt-ā 'really', kēf-ān-rā 'with joy', ters-ān-rā 'for fear'}.\]

3.1.5 Adverbs

Any adjective where this is semantically possible may have adverbial sense: dūrī 'far', tāy 'a few', wes 'well', germ 'warm', etc. In their turn, some adverbs may be used as attributive adjectives, e.g. \text{winā 'such'} (< \text{winā adv. 'so'}).
Some important temporal adverbs include: *emser* 'this year', *pâr* 'last year', *evo* 'today', *vîzî* 'yesterday', *mèsî* 'tomorrow', *nîkâ* 'now', *rew* 'soon', *fast*, *tim* 'always', *finâ* 'again', *finê* 'once', *finê-râ* 'suddenly'. Some important local adverbs include: *fîr* 'below', *fîr* 'above', *tiyâ* 'hither, here', *wâr* 'downward'), *wîzâ* 'thither, there'. *tiyâ* and *wîzâ* may be combined with simple postpositions: *tiyâ-râ* 'from here', and also be used as masculine nouns, *tiyâ* 'the (area) here'. A particular group of local adverbs are the 'absolute' prepositions, such as *pey* 'thereby', and circumpositions such as *pirâ* 'thereof', *tâ* 'thereby'.

Nouns, when used for denoting units of time are in the OBL: *şefâq-i* 'in the morning (m)*. The suffix *-nâ*, attached to certain nouns and adverbs, may form temporal adverbs that point to the future: *vîzî-nâ* 'next year', or give the meaning 'already' in the past: *vîzî-râ-nâ* 'already yesterday'.
3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers

The ordinal numbers do not seem to be uniform within the Çermik-Siverek dialects of Zazaki. While according to Todd (1985: 83) they are derived by suffixing -(i)n to the cardinal number, for the dialect NX this is true only for the numbers ‘2’, ‘3’, and ‘10’: did-in, hir-in, des-in, while the remainder are derived by -i: pânj-i ‘5th’, Ėwert-i ‘7th’, zondes-i ‘11th’, pânjêss-i ‘15th’.

3.1.6.3 Quantifiers

Like the cardinal numbers, most quantifiers occur uninflected before the noun which they qualify:

- bol ‘much, many, lot of’, bol perey qezenc ke-n-o ‘he earns a lot of money’;
- ĕend ‘several, some’, also ‘how many’, ĕend meng-i teptiyā ‘after some months’;
- hergi ‘each, every’, hergi meng-i ‘every month’;
- pêro ‘all’, pêro od-ân-rā ‘through all rooms’.

Alternatively, bol may be inflected and follow the noun; similarly, bol, pêro and heme ‘all’ may also follow the noun, but in apposition and with case agreement only (but not number):

bi-bê wêr-e ētêbol-i-obl-s
‘(that you) become owners of many things’.

3.2 Verb morphology

Verbs are inflected for person, number, tense, aspect, and mood, and show distinction in transitivity and voice. Further distinctions are made by aspectual-modal particles.

3.2.1 Stem formation

3.2.1.1 Subjunctive, past, and present stems

The Zazaki verbal forms are based on three stems: subjunctive, present, and past.

The subjunctive and past stems generally continue inherited Persian present stems, while the present stems are derived from the Zazaki subjunctive stems by the formant -(e)n.

Past stems are mostly irregular and end either in a dental, with various degrees of changes: subj. kišt-, past kišt- ‘kill’; subj. roš-, past roš- ‘sell’; or they end in a long vowel (due to loss of final -d), e.g. subj. dā, past dā ‘give’. “Regular” past stems end in -ā, e.g. subj. res-, past resā- ‘arrive’.

Present stems show likewise certain irregularities, mostly loss of final -r in a small subset, e.g. subj. ker-, pres. ke-n-, past kerd- ‘do, make’, but also subj. vâz-, pres. vâ-n-, past vâr- ‘say’.

Two verbs are suppletive: subj. yer-, pres. ye-n-, past âme- ‘come’ and subj. vin-, pres. vîn-en-, past dî- ‘see’.

3.2.1.2 Causative and passive stems

Most verbs with subjunctive formant -y- are intransitive, and verbs with subjunctive ending in -n are transitive and regular, e.g. intransitive subj. rey-, pres. rey-en-, past
reyā-'escape'; girwey-, pres. girwey-en-, past girweyā-'work' (< girwe 'work'); transitive, subj. birn-, pres. birn-en-, past birnā- 'cut'.

Similarly, morphological passive forms are marked by -(i)y or -ey, e.g. vāz- 'say' > vāz-y-, tir- 'steal' > tir-iy-; vīn- 'see' > vīn-ey-

Causative stems are derived by -n, rarely -ān, e.g. geyr- 'go around' > geyr-n- 'show around'; ters- 'be afraid' > ters-ān- 'frighten'.

Both causative and passives may be derived from the same stem, e.g. 'ediz-y- 'tire' vs. 'ediz-n- 'cause to tire'; šik-y- 'break' vs. šik-n- 'cause to break'.

3.2.1.3 Preverbs

Generally, the preverbs modify the meaning of the simple verb. There are two kinds, "true" preverbs and "absolute" circumpositions, such as the following:

ā- 'back, open', e.g. ā-geyr- 'come back'; ā-b-lā-ker- 'open' (intr./tr.), ā-birn- 'separate';

rā- 'back, open, forth', e.g. rā-čārn- 'bring back', rā-b-l rā-ker- 'be opened, open (tr.), rā-kev- e.g. 'lie down, go to sleep';

ro- 'down', e.g. ro-nen- 'put down', ro-gihot-ten- 'swallow', ro-šen- 'sit (down)';

de- 'into', e.g. de-ker- 'put into', de-kev- 'fall into', de-nīš-n- 'set up';

we- 'out', e.g. we-čih- 'choose', we-ker- 'kindle' ('bring out [fire]').
pā 'at, onto' (< bi-ā), e.g. pā-nān- 'place (at/onto)';
pirā 'on' (< bi-rā), e.g. pirā d- 'put on'.

While true preverbs always precede the verb, e.g. šew-ē, no rā-fkev-n-o 'one night, he sleeps', absolute circumpositions precede the verb if subjunctive and imperative, but otherwise follow it, e.g. činā-y-o pāk [pirā] dē 'put on clean clothes', but činā-y dā-n-ē [pirā] 'they put on the clothes'.

Given that the absolute forms originate in empty circumpositions, an overt noun or pronoun takes the place of the prepositional component, e.g. xo 'self' in činā xo-rādi 'put on (some) clothes'.

3.2.1.4 Compound verbs

Compound verbs typically consist of a nominal component and a small set of verbs that carry the inflection. Most basic are b- 'be, become' and ker- 'do, make' for intransitive and transitive function, e.g. hewn vin- 'dream', lit. 'see a dream'. To many English simple verbs there correspond Zazaki combinations of nominal complements with a subset of verbs. The nominal components may function as:

(1) direct object: zūr-ī ker- 'make lies' = 'lie'; wēn d- 'give a call' = 'call';

(2) allative: jā yer- 'come to the place' = 'be fulfilled';

(3) postpositional complement: hewn-ā šā 'go with-sleep' = 'fall asleep'.

Similar to these is a small set of ezāfe constructions with dependent "logical object" which as a whole likewise function as syntactic direct objects, e.g.

gōstār-ey-ā N ker- 'make hearing of N' = 'listen to N',
or allative, e.g. gāzī-d-ā N yer- 'come to the help of N'.

A third, still smaller group consists of compounds of 'be' with "miš- participles" borrowed from Turkic, e.g. diš-miš b- 'make thinking' = 'think'.
Causatives compounds are formed with the verb *d- 'give' + infinitive in -en, e.g.

\[ mi \text{sere}-y-\dot{e} \text{j}i \text{d}a \text{ji}-\text{kerd-en-i} \]
\[ 'I had his head cut off'. \]

Passives are formed with yer- 'come'.

3.2.2 Nominal forms

3.2.2.1 Infinitives

Two infinitives, ending in -(y)iš (m) and -(y)en(-i) (f), are derived from the past stem, e.g. geýrâ-y-iš 'to go around', râ-kewt-iš 'go to sleep'; ji-kerd-en(-i) 'to cut off'. Both infinitives are freely exchangeable in NX.

3.2.2.2 Past participle

Past participles consist of the past stem + endings: -e (m), -â (f), -ey (p).

3.2.2.3 miš-participle

There is also a miš- participle borrowed from Turkic.

3.2.3 Person marking and 'be, become'

3.2.3.1 Person marking

In initial overview, the person markers in the various tenses and moods are shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2sm</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>3sm</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COP</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>-â(n)</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPR</td>
<td>-í</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRET</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>-í</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>-í</td>
<td>-î</td>
<td>-î</td>
<td>-î</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>-ö</td>
<td>-â</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-ê</td>
<td>-ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPRF</td>
<td>-(i) bî-y-â</td>
<td>-î bî</td>
<td>-î bî-y-â</td>
<td>-(i)-bîî</td>
<td>-î bî</td>
<td>-î bî</td>
<td>-î bî</td>
<td>-î bî</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1p has both the generalized plural endings -ê, -î and -iml-mî, either alone or in various combinations (-iml-mî are rarely found in NX).

3.2.3.2 Existential verb

The existential verb is est-. In NX only 3rd pers. forms are found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3sm</th>
<th>3sf</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>est-ô</td>
<td>est-â</td>
<td>est-ê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRET</td>
<td>est-(i) bî</td>
<td>est-i bî</td>
<td>est-i bî</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All other tenses of the copula and the existential verb are supplied by the verb b- ‘be, become’.

The stative meaning ‘be’ is distinguished from non-stative ‘become’ in the subjunctive and past: subj. b- vs. biy- ‘shall be/become’, past bī- vs. biy-ā- ‘was/became’:

subjunctives:

\[ mā \text{ do wext-o ārē [bī-]{y-ē}] \]
then we will (do) gather (‘get together’);

past:

\[ xiznā {ā}/[bī-]{y-ā-y-ā} \]
the treasury was [‘became’] opened (ā- b-).

3.2.4 Aspectual-modal and negative affixes and particles

3.2.4.1 Modal bi-

The modal prefix b(i)- marks two sets of moods, the subjunctive and imperative (subjunctive stem), and the past subjunctive (imperfect past in -ē). There are various contractions with verb-initial components: bīr- ‘come’; b-ānj- ‘draw’; būr- ‘eat’; note bī-wāz- ‘want’. b(i)- is superseded in the present subjunctive and imperative by a pre-verbal particle or nominal (ārē-d- ‘collect’ bār ker- ‘load’), and is lacking irregularly with some other (mostly monosyllabic) verbs (ber- ‘carry’, res- ‘arrive’, šīr- ‘go’, vāzh- ‘say’, vinder- ‘stand’).

3.2.4.2 Negative prefixes ne- and me-

The negative prefix is nē- (nī- y- before vowel), the prohibitive prefix is me-; both supersede b(i)-. The negative forms of the copula have the prefix nīy-; those of the existential verb have ēi-nēī-:

\[ pē-y-o zey to wā ēi-nē-b-o \]
‘a father like you (are) should not (wā nē) exist’.

3.2.4.3 Imperfective particle -ē

The invariable enclitic -ē is attached to the subjunctive past to mark the imperfect. Combined with b(i)- it marks the past subjunctive.

3.2.4.4 Future particle do

Preposed do, often immediately following the subject, marks the simple future in combination with the present subjunctive, and the past conditional with the past subjunctive.

3.2.4.5 Optative particle wā

Preposed wā marks the (present) optative in combination with the present subjunctive, and the past optative with the past subjunctive (b(i)- + ē).
3.2.5 System of tense, mood, and aspect

Zazaki has two basic tenses, present and past, and two basic aspects, imperfective and perfective. Moods include indicative, subjunctive, imperative, and optative ("conditional"), expressing various functions. Transitivity is distinctly marked in past tenses (see section 4.4.1.1 Ergative).

3.2.5.1 Forms based on present stem

3.2.5.1a Present indicative

The present indicative is formed from the present stem, as shown in the following paradigms:

**TABLE 9.9: PRESENT INDICATIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ker- 'do'</th>
<th>d- 'give'</th>
<th>wer- 'eat'</th>
<th>šir- 'go'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ke-n-ä</td>
<td>dä-n-ä</td>
<td>we-n-ä</td>
<td>ši-nä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm/f</td>
<td>ke-n-ëke-n-ä</td>
<td>dä-n-ëdä-n-ä</td>
<td>we-n-ëwe-n-ä</td>
<td>ši-n-ëši-n-ä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm/f</td>
<td>ke-n-ëke-n-ä</td>
<td>dä-n-ëdä-n-ä</td>
<td>we-n-ëwe-n-ä</td>
<td>ši-n-ëši-n-ä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ke-n-ë (ke-n-im)</td>
<td>dä-n-ë</td>
<td>we-n-ë</td>
<td>ši-n-ë (ši-n-im)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p, 3p</td>
<td>ke-n-ë</td>
<td>dä-n-ë</td>
<td>we-n-ë</td>
<td>ši-n-ë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5.1b Continuous present

The continuous present is formed from the present indicative and the preposed copula (but Is has more often -ö instead of -ä).

**TABLE 9.10: CONTINUOUS PRESENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ez olä</th>
<th>ke-n-ä</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>mä</th>
<th>ye ke-n-ë</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm/f</td>
<td>ti ye</td>
<td>ke-n-ë1 ti yä ke-n-ä</td>
<td></td>
<td>šimä</td>
<td>ye ke-n-ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm/f</td>
<td>o yo</td>
<td>ke-n-o</td>
<td>yä ke-n-ä</td>
<td>3p</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5.1c Present subjunctive

The present subjunctive is formed from the subjunctive stem with the prefix b(i)-. It is missing before compound verbs and a small number of simple verbs. The final -n in the Is occurs occasionally; the 1p variants -(ë)-mi and -im-ë occur only rarely and irregularly in NX. Used independently, the subjunctive is used as an "exhortative" or "deliberative" forms for the 1s, 1p.

**TABLE 9.11: PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'go'</th>
<th>'give'</th>
<th>'eat'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>šir-ä(n)</td>
<td>bi-d-ä</td>
<td>bür-ä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm/f</td>
<td>šir-ëšir-ä</td>
<td>bi-d-ëbi-d-ä</td>
<td>bür-ëbür-ä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>šir-o</td>
<td>bi-d-o</td>
<td>bür-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>šir-ë ~ ši-mi</td>
<td>bi-d-ë ~ bi-dim-ë</td>
<td>bür-ë ~ bür-ëmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p, 3p</td>
<td>šir-ë</td>
<td>bi-d-ë</td>
<td>bür-ë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.5.1d Future
The future preposes the particle \textit{do} to the subjunctive: \textit{e(z) do šir-ā}, \textit{ti do šir-ē} 'I, you will go'.

3.2.5.1e Optative
The optative preposes the particle \textit{wā}: \textit{wā šār nē-vēn-o} 'may the people not see (it)'.

3.2.5.1f Imperative
The imperative is formed from the subjunctive stem with the prefix \textit{bi-}, neg. \textit{me-}, and the personal endings 2s -i, 2p -ē. Irregular verbs whose subjunctive stem ends in -r have often irregular and unstable imperative forms, e.g. \textit{bi-gēr(-i)} 'take!', \textit{me-gī(r)} 'don't take!'.

3.2.5.2 Forms based on past stem
The following shows the inflections and the personal endings of intransitive verbs, which also mark the past patient in the ergative construction (see section 4.4.1 Use of cases).

3.2.5.2a Preterite
The preterite (simple past) is formed from the past stem and the appropriate personal endings. The 1p endings with -m- occur only spontaneously in most Čermik-Siverek dialects (similar to the present). The ending -ē of the 3sf is irregular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1s</th>
<th>'fall'</th>
<th>'go around'</th>
<th>'come'</th>
<th>'be'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sm/f</td>
<td>kewt-ā</td>
<td>geyrā-y-ā</td>
<td>āme-y-ā</td>
<td>bī-y-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm/f</td>
<td>kewt-īkewt-ā</td>
<td>geyrā-gyrā-y-ā</td>
<td>āme-yāme-y-ā</td>
<td>bībī-y-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>kewt-ī</td>
<td>geyrā-y</td>
<td>āme-y</td>
<td>āme-y-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p, 3p</td>
<td>kewt-ī</td>
<td>geyrā-y</td>
<td>āme-y</td>
<td>bī-mi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5.2b Imperfect
The imperfect tense is formed from the past stem and the invariable suffix -(y)ē for all persons. Accordingly, the plural forms of the imperfect are formally identical with those of the perfect, and may be distinguished from the latter only by the context. The imperfect gives the sense of a repeated or habitual action, or continuous state in the past:

\begin{quote}
\textit{meng-i-rā finē źi ez [āme-y-ē], mi jī-rē tāy ēi-y-ē} wedrī
\text{a month once also I [came] I-OBL-AG for him some things of eating [ārd-ē]}
\text{[brought]}
\text{I once a month I came ... and I brought him some things to eat'};
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{hevā-rā kutik [lāvā-y-ē]}
\text{a dog (kutik) [was (just) barking] from the air'}.
\end{quote}

3.2.5.2c Past subjunctive
The past subjunctive, \textit{b(i)-} imperfect, expresses impossible conditions in the protasis of conditional clauses (see section 5.5.2 Conditional clauses).
3.2.5.2d Past conditional

The past conditional preposes *do* to the past subjunctive. It expresses impossible conditions in the apodosis.

3.2.5.2e Past optative

The past optative preposes *wā* to the past subjunctive. It expresses impossible past conditions in the apodosis, and unfulfillable wishes, e.g.

\[ wā \varepsilon z \, \text{bi-merd-ē} \]

'(oh), if only I had died'.

3.2.5.3 Perfect forms

3.2.5.3a Present perfect

The present perfect (Perfect I) is formed from the past stem and the copula. Plural persons are not distinguished.

**TABLE 9.13: INTRANSITIVE PERFECT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'fall'</th>
<th>'flee'</th>
<th>'go'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>kewt-ā</td>
<td>remā-y-ā</td>
<td>ū-y-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm/f</td>
<td>kewt-ē / kewt-ā</td>
<td>remā-y-ē / remā-y-ā</td>
<td>ū-y-ē / ū-y-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm/f</td>
<td>kewt-o / kewt-ā</td>
<td>remā-y-o / remā-y-ā</td>
<td>ū-y-o / ū-y-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>kewt-ē</td>
<td>remā-y-ē</td>
<td>ū-y-ē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Basically, the perfect tense is used to denote a past action that is connected, through its result, with the present moment, e.g. *ejel-ē to [āme-y-o] 'your last hour [has come]'*. In usage, however, the perfect is no longer clearly distinguished from the preterite. Sometimes, both are used in one and the same context, or the perfect is used where a preterite would be expected:

\[ to \, ēm-y-ē \, [ēm-y-o] \, yā ēm-y-ē \, āme-y-o \, āqil-dē \] to

you-OBL-AG anything seen-PERF-3ms or anything come-PRET to mind of you

'[have you seen] anything, or [has] anything [come] to your head?'

3.2.5.3b Non-witnessed function

Another characteristic usage of the perfect (maybe developed recently, following the Turkic "miš-tense") is that as "narrative", indicating that the speaker has not witnessed what he reports:

\[ vā-n-ē, \quad dēw \, \text{finā [āme]} \] (preterite in "aorist" function)

'they say: ‘The Diw has come again’ (in the sense of ‘he is here')

vs.

\[ "dēw [āme-y-o] \] (perfect in non-witnessed function)

'(they report to Heso:)

"The Diw has come (reportedly)"'.
3.2.5.3c Perfect II

While the past participle is used mostly as an adjective, three verbs whose present tense connotes directed motion of living beings (rā-kew- ‘go to sleep’, ro-šen- ‘sit down’, vinder- ‘stop, stand’) form a second perfect tense that expresses a temporary state, e.g. dür-i bin-di žew lážek [rā-kew-e y-o] ‘under the tree, a boy [is sleeping]’; keynek-ěn ā ro-ništ-ā ‘a girl [is sitting]’. By contrast, the simple perfect of these verbs expresses the act of motion.

3.2.5.3d Pluperfect

The pluperfect seems to be quite non-uniform in the various Zazaki dialects. In NX, it is formed for most persons from the inflected preterite, together with the likewise inflected preterite of the auxiliary verb ‘be’:

\[
\text{pi-y-ē ez polāt [nē-kerd-i-bī-y-ā]}
\]
father of me I-PAT steel had not made-1s
‘my father had not steeled me’;

\[
i s o n d \text{ w erd-i bī mā pivā āme-y bī}
\]
‘I had sworn’ ‘we had come together’.
(cf. Persian sowgand xordan);

In the 1s and 2sf, the inflected auxiliary is attached to the uninflected past stem of the main verb. The optional -(t)- of the main verb in the 1s, 3sm is euphonic.

**TABLE 9.14: INTRANSITIVE PLUPERFECT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘had remained’</th>
<th>‘had arrived’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>mend-(t) bī-y-ā</td>
<td>resā bī-y-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sm/f</td>
<td>mend l bī</td>
<td>resā-y bī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm/f</td>
<td>mend-(t) bī, bī</td>
<td>resā bī, bī, bī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>mend l bī(-mi)</td>
<td>resā-y bī(-mi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 3p</td>
<td>mend l bī</td>
<td>resā-y bī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5.4 Overview of system of tenses

In overview, the tense and mood system of Zazaki may be summarized in the following table, using 3sm, 2s forms of geyr- ‘go around’ and ro-ništ- ‘sit down’.

**TABLE 9.15: SYSTEM OF TENSES AND MOODS: geyr- ‘go around’, ro-ništ- ‘sit down’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INDICATIVE</th>
<th>NON-INDICATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>geyr-en-o</td>
<td>bi-geyr-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTIN</td>
<td>o geyr-en-o</td>
<td>do bi-geyr-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRET</td>
<td>geyrā</td>
<td>bi-geyrā-ye-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPF</td>
<td>geyrā-ye-ē</td>
<td>do bi-geyrā-ye-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF-I</td>
<td>geyrā-ye-o</td>
<td>wā bi-geyrā-ye-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF-II</td>
<td>ro-ništ-e ye-o ‘he is sitting’</td>
<td>PT SUBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPERF</td>
<td>geyrā bī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

4.1 Coordinating conjunctions and clitics

The most important coordinating conjunctions include: ü ‘and’; yā(n) ‘or’; enclitic ği ‘also’; fnā ği ‘nevertheless’; bāhd-o (ği) ‘then, after’, wext-o ‘then’; qānd-ē joj ‘therefore’, yānī ‘that is’, emā ‘but’.

4.2 Noun phrase structure

Demonstratives and numbers generally precede the head noun; dependent nominals follow it.

4.2.1 Ezāfe construction and case marking

Dependent nominals are connected to their head noun by enclitic particles (EZ) that distinguish gender, number, and case. Adjectival markings differ slightly in the 3sm. Adjectives assume the grammatical marking of their head noun; dependent nouns are in the basic oblique case (OBL).

The marker d- distinguishes ezāfe constructions that function as secondary syntactic cases (OBL₂), that is, any cases other than the syntactic subject/agent and direct object/patient. Constructions with allative function and with primary postpositions (ALL/POST) have optional d-, except 3s do.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 9.16: EZĀFE PATTERNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adjectival</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL₁m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL₂m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL/POSTm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL₁p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL₂p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL/POSTp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL₁f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL₂f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL/POSTf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Words ending in a vowel usually insert a glide -y- before an ezāfe vowel, with optional contraction of masc. -e-y-ē and fem. -ā-y-ā: nāme-y-ē ~ nāmēy; keynā-y-ā ~ keynā.

4.2.1.1 Adjectival ezāfe constructions

(1) Primary cases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIR:</th>
<th>OBL₁m, direct object:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>būrī-ē o gird</td>
<td>[embāz-ē bīnlā] vīn-en-ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the big brother’;</td>
<td>‘he sees the other friend’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2) Secondary cases, OBL

(a) direct object:  
veyn dâ-n-â [legleg-ân-dê-p bîn-ân]  
'(she) calls [the other storks]';

(b) adposition:  
hetê [êsker-ân-dê-p bîn-ân]-â  
'to the other soldiers'.

c) allative:  
nobet-i ye-n-â [keynek-er-dâ-f werd-i]  
'the turn comes [to the little girl]'.

(3) Primary postposition, ex. without d-:

[Jâ-y-ân-ê-p pâk-ân]-di  
'at (-di) clean places'.

Certain adjectives that obligatorily require qualification by a noun may take this with the ezâfe:

piř-ê gûnî  
'full of blood';

keynâ mi [lâyq-ê to] nî-y-â  
'my daughter is not [worthy of you]'.

4.2.1.2 Nominal ezâfe constructions

(1) Primary cases

(a) direct case:
begê diyarbekir-i-oBL  
'the Beg of Diyarbakir';

(b) direct object:
lažek [mirîcêk-er-â-f xo] gê-n-o  
'the boy takes [his bird]';

(c) past subject/agent:
o ki [piř-y-ê-m šimâ] mâ-rê kerd-o  
'what [your father] has done to us'.

(2) Secondary cases

(a) indirect object:
ânwêsh-i mis-n-en-o [laž-dê-m xo]  
'he shows [his son] the hare';

(b) adverbial cases:
xâtir-dê (m) to-oBL  
'good bye' ('for your memory');

(c) allative:
ver-ê xo dâ-n-ê [âyre-y-ê (m) âw-i-oBL-f]  
'they proceed [to the water mill]' (d) primary adposition:
[bizêk-dâ-f mâ-di] ey çieî di-y-o?  
'what has he seen [in (-di) our kid]?'

(d) primary adposition:
[bizêk-dâ-f mâ-di] ey çieî di-y-o?  
'what has he seen [in (-di) our kid]?'

('mill of water').

(3) 'Kinship-r'

(a) primary case:
birâ-y-ê xo ber-ê wižâ  
'bring [your brother] there';

(b) secondary case:
birâ-r-dê ji]-râ  
'from his brother'.

4.2.1.3 Group inflection

Hendiadys connected by ἃ ‘and’ often inflect the second element only:

1. Adjective:
   \( (τεύρ ἃ τῦρ) -ο-ν βίν \) ‘the other birds’;

2. Dependent noun (with both elements inflected):
   \( χέβερ-ι δά-ν-ε \) \[ \{ (μᾶ-ρ ἃ πε-ρ) -δ-ε-π βίζεκ-ερ-ι \} \]
   ‘they inform [(the mother and father = parents) of the kid]’.

4.2.1.4 Multiple ezâfe constructions

In multiple ezâfe constructions, where the head noun \( (N_1) \) is followed by a combination of dependent nouns and adjectives, each qualifier is preceded by its appropriate ezâfe. Basically, secondary ezâfe constructions normally should be in OBL and marked by \( d- \), but may be not under certain conditions.

1. \( N_1 + N_2 + ADJ_1 \)
   An adjective qualifying the head noun \( (ADJ_1) \) is invariably in final position. It attracts the EZ of the head noun, and is linked to \( N_2 \) without \( d- \), whether the whole phrase is in the primary or secondary case:
   (a) subject:
      \[ wā [ o āyā (-y-ē šimā) -y-o bēnāmūs ] b-īr-o \]
      ‘may [that infamous Agha of you] come’;
   (b) allative:
      \[ šī-n-ē [ a dew (-dā xidir āyā) -y-ā-ı bīn-i ] \]
      ‘they go [to that other village of Xidir Agha]’;
   (c) agent:
      \[ īlāz (-ē min)-ē werd-i-OBL-Σ-m ] vāt-i bī \]
      ‘[my small brother] had said’.

2. \( N_1 + N_2 + N_3 \) or \( ADJ_2 \)
   A further dependent noun \( (N_3) \) or adjective qualifying \( N_2 \) may or may not be marked by \( d- \) if the noun phrase as a whole is in a primary syntactic case:

3. \( N_1 + N_2 + ADJ_2 \)
   (a) with \( d- \):
      \[ hetē [ nē ʾesker-ān-(i ā dādīšā-h-dē bīn-ı) ]-ā rem-en-ā \]
      ‘(it) flees to the soldiers (of the other king)’;
   (b) without \( d- \):
      \[ res-en-ē [ tāw ʾesker-ān-( ē dādīšā-ı bīn-i ) ] \]
      ‘they reach [some soldiers (of the other king)]’.

(4) $N_1 + N_2 + N_3$

(a) with $d-$:

- direct object, $\text{NP, este-[y-ë gâñ-(dë mî)] ūn-[ë estor-ân-(dë xo)] gîrê dâ-n-ë}$
  'the bones of my body';
- $\text{subject, geçek-[ë embîri-ân-(ê mâ)] āme-y}$
  'the children [of the neighbor of us] came';

(b) without $d-$:

- subject, $\text{geçek-[ë embîri-ân-(ê mâ)] āme-y}$
  'the children [of the neighbor of us] came';
- direct object, $\text{heq-[ë rây-(à to)] ez dâ-n-â}$
  'I pay your fare' ('fare [of road of you]').

4.2.1.5 Indefinite head noun

Indefinite $ezâfe$ construction, marked by $-ë(n)$ or $-nâ$, always insert $d-$:

(1) Adjectival noun phrases

(a) predicative:

- $\text{kâmore [lâzêk-ë-do bol jâmêrd] o}$
  'K. is [a very brave boy]';

(b) direct object:

- $\text{[pirên-ë-do diîât]-e dâ-n-o xo-râ}$
  'he puts on [a torn shirt]';

(c) agent:

- $\text{[keynek-ë-dâ zey âšmî] gôven-î ânt-ë}$
  '[a girl like the moon] has danced the round dance'.

(2) Genitival noun phrases

(a) subject:

- $\text{[derd-ë-dë to] est-o}$
  'there is a pain of yours' =
  'you have a pain';

(b) with $-nâ$, direct object:

- $\text{[birâ-ë-nâ-dë nîn-ân] kišenê}$
  'they kill (another brother of these)'.

4.2.1.6 Inalienable possession

With body parts or articles of dress in the sense of inalienable possession, the possessor pronoun and $xo$ often precede the head noun unconnected if the phrase has a locative or allative sense:
kewt [mi dest]
'(it) has fallen [(in) my hand]' (not kewt dest-ê mi);

mirîchîk-i dâ-n-o [în-ân dest] [xo ser-i miyân-di] plân-ân benâ â-n-â
'he gives the bird [(into) their hand]; [inside (her) own head] she makes plans'.

4.2.1.7 Elliptic ezâfe forms

The head noun of both the nominal and adjectival ezâfe may be elided, giving the group a possessive sense, or a substantival sense:

no lâzek [ê nähmän beg-i] nî-y-o [o bîn] vâ-n-o
'this boy is not [(the one) of Nähmän Beg]; [the other (one)] says'.

4.3 Clause structure and word order

Every simple sentence contains a subject and a predicate. The other details of its structure depend mainly on the valence of the verb that is part of the predicate: direct object; indirect object; complements (that depend on the valence of the verb), either a simple case, or adpositional.

For the word order of the main constituents the following rules apply:

Subject + Object + Verb, specifically Direct Object + Verb.

4.3.1 Pre- and postverbal placements

Dependent complements without postposition follow the predicate; those with postpositions may take any post-subject position (but for most verbs there is one characteristic position in which they occur). Thus, indirect objects marked by -rê preceed, those without it follow the VP. These rules apply to past ergative sentences respectively.

4.3.1.1 Preverbal placement

'I [with her] got married'; 'you [from me] what you want?';

'erehû z. çtna [xo-râ] vez-en-â
'Erëbu Z. the clothes [from self] takes'.

4.3.1.2 Postverbal placement

(1) Oblique cases, allative

lâzek ši-n-o [dew-dâ xo]
'the boy goes [to his village]';

(2) Postpositional phrases

mâ-yû lâzek-î ûr-û nân-î dân-û [sere-dê bizêk-er-i-ro]
'the mother of the boy the rolling-pin throws [on the head of the kid]'.
4.3.2 Other conditions for word order

4.3.2.1 Omission of bi-

The indirect object or complement that would regularly follow the verb, precedes it when the subjunctive form lacks $b(i)$- (subjunctive, future, imperative), mostly with $d$-‘give’:

\[
\text{ez do keyn-er-ā xo [to]-OBL dā '}(\text{then})\text{I fut daughter my [you] give'}
\]

\[
\text{nē-ver-dā-n-ā [jī-ro] pes-f-y-o 'she doesn't allow (him) [(on her)self] (that) he embrace' .}
\]

4.3.2.2 Adverbial complements

Free adverbial complements which regularly precede the verb, follow the copula when the subject is pronominal, in which case the copula may be repeated in final position:

\[
o yo [to heti] mā yē hewnā [tiyā-n-ān-di] nē yē nīkā [kotī-di] ē? 'he is [with you]'; 'we still are [in this region]'; 'where are they now?' .
\]

4.3.2.3 Topicalization

A subject may be topicalized by following the direct object:

\[
æq-e rāy-ā to [ez] dā-n-ā 'your travel expense [I] will give'.
\]

4.4 Semantics and use of nominal forms

4.4.1 Use of cases

4.4.1.1 Ergative

Zazaki shows the typical tense-sensitive crosswise ergative pattern of the primary cases, and verb agreeing with the DIR case:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Direct Object</th>
<th>Verb Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>OBL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past-trans.</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>DIR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also DIR are the non-specific indefinite direct object in the present, the intransitive subject in the past, and the predicative complement. Secondary syntactic cases are in the OBL. These include the indirect object (“dative”), the local complement of a verb of motion (“allative”); and the temporal nominal adverb.

**Inanimate** singular nouns, however, tend to show the direct case when in allative function, or when dependent on the primary postpositions -dir(r) (always), and -ā and -rā (often). Examples for direct:

\[
ti do źī [hepis-di-DIRm] bi-mir-ē 'you will also die [in prison]' .
\]
The scale of oblique marking in animate vs. inanimate singular masculine nouns is as follows:

**TABLE 9.17: SCALE OF SINGULAR OBLIQUE MARKING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>anim.</th>
<th>inanim.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject, patient, indef. object, predicate</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postposition -di(r)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postpositions -d, -ṛ, -ṛe, -ro; allative</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent, dative</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Def. object, genitive, comparison</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary adpositions, adverb</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.1.2 Verbal rection and transitivity

Some Zazaki verbs govern their complement in a way different from their English equivalent. For example, in verbs such as *hes ker-* ‘love’, the “object” of the emotion is seen as the “source” thus -ṛ ‘from’ (historically ‘for sake of’, beneficiary):

\[ez o\] keynek-ē-ṛa\] *hes ke-n-ā*  
'I love [a girl]', with the transitive verb *ker-* ‘do’.

Other Zazaki verbs with postpositions have similarly various ways to govern, whether the basic verb is transitive or not, e.g. *d-* ‘give’ or ‘hit’ + *ro* ‘on, down’ or *ṛa*:

\[ti wēš dā-n-ē [mi-ro] \] *žew-ser dā-n-ē [rem-ro]*  
'you beat [(on) me] well'; ‘immediately they flee’ (*hit [on flight]*);

\[poste-y-ē xo dā-n-ā [xo-ṛa]*  
'she puts [on (to) her skin]'.

4.4.2 Subject marking

4.4.2.1 Impersonal subjects and expressions

Impersonal subjects (‘one, they’) may be expressed by the 3p:

\[mi-rē [vā-n-ē] \] ‘Şēr Osmān’  
['they'] call me ‘Şēr Osmān’ .

Impersonal expressions of the type ‘it is getting dark’, ‘it seems’, etc., are generally with ‘empty’ subject, e.g. *benē zimistān* ‘it becomes winter’:

\[wēnī [ās-en-o-3sm], no merdim-ēn-o xāyīn o \]  
‘[it seems] (‘thus’), this man is a traitor’.

But expressions of precipitation require the use the respective nouns:

\[yāyēr ū vew-ri [vār-en-ē] \]  
‘it rains and snows’ (*rain and snow [are raining]*)

3sm without copula are elliptic expressions like:

\[wēnē kī to mi-rē vā \]  
’sikur Ellā-y-rē kī ...  
’[(it is) good that] you told me’; ‘(may) thanks (be) to god that ...’. 

\[wēnī [ās-en-o-3sm], no merdim-ēn-o xāyīn o \]  
‘[it seems] (‘thus’), this man is a traitor’.

But expressions of precipitation require the use the respective nouns:

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‘[it seems] (‘thus’), this man is a traitor’.

But expressions of precipitation require the use the respective nouns:

\[yāyēr ū vew-ri [vār-en-ē] \]  
‘it rains and snows’ (*rain and snow [are raining]*)

3sm without copula are elliptic expressions like:
4.4.2.2 Non-specific past agents

Transitive past tenses occurring without agent may have passive sense:

\[
\text{no gundāy qānd-ē čīčī [ārd-o]?} \quad \text{māhtā pēro [kerd-o bo] j-y-ā}
\]

'what [has] this bundle [been brought] for?'; 'the whole quarter [has been painted].'

Otherwise, the morphological passive is used:

\[
\text{win-ēn-ē ki āltūn-ī [tīr-i y-ā-y-ē]}
\]

'they observe that the gold [has been stolen].'

4.4.3 Object marking

4.4.3.1 Implicit direct object

Transitive verbs may occur without object (or one of their objects) if it is understood from the context:

\[
\text{to rīnd kerd} \quad \text{o vā-n-o: "ti virāz-i."}
\]

'(this) you have done [it] well'; '(the) one says: "you prepare [it]!"';

\[
\text{ez soz dā-n-ā} \quad \text{yān ti dā-n-ē mi}
\]

'I give (my) word' 'either you give (her) to me'.

(no overt indirect object);

4.4.3.2 Compound verbs

Zazaki compound verbs such as bār ker- 'load', lit. 'make load', often have no simplex pendant, and thus function like simple verbs, and may govern direct objects:

\[
koll-y-ān [bār ke-n-ā] her-d-ē xo
\]

'she [loads] the firewood upon her donkey'.

Since no sentence can contain two direct objects, these constructions require a special explanation. Either the nominal complement has to be explained as a direct object within the verbal phrase itself, or the compound verb has to be considered a lexical unit that is not further analyzable (cf. Paul 1998c: 131 ff.).

4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms

4.5.1 Possession, 'have'

 Possession is expressed by an ezāfe construction together either with the existential verb and forms of b- 'be', or with the postposition -rē ("dative"):

\[
di šārt[-ē mi] est-ē \quad [ji-rē] lāžek b-en-o
\]

'I have two conditions',

'lit. 'there are two conditions [of mine]'; 'she has a boy',

'lit. '[to her] is being'.

4.5.2 Aspectual construction

4.5.2.1 Incipient action

This is expressed by ker- here 'begin, be about to' and d- piro 'hit on':

\[
\text{wexl-o ki ti [ke-n-ë] bi-zevž-i-y-ë}
\]

'when you [make/set about] to get married (subj.)';

\[
\text{në [dâ-n-ë piro], ši-n-ë ki . . .}
\]

'they [hit/set about] (and) go (ind.) to . . .'

4.5.2.2 Instantaneous action

This is expressed by d- 'hit' (similar to the Persian colloquial use of zadan 'hit'):

\[
\text{zew-ser [dâ-n-ë] rem-ro}
\]

'immediately they flee' ('[hit on] flight').

4.5.3 Modal constructions

The main modal auxiliary verbs are: š-lša- 'be able, possible', wâz-hvâšt- 'want', and wetâr-hvêtârd- 'dare'. Necessity is expressed by lázim 'necessary' and maľbûr 'obliged'. They are followed by the subjunctive:

\[
\text{ẖevtāy dvān werd-i, finā ēl [nē-šā] bi-qed-ēn-o}
\]

'70 villages have eaten (of it), still though it could not be finished up';

\[
\text{ez [wâz-en-ā] ey-ā bi-zevji-y-ā}
\]

'[I want] to marry him';

\[
\text{[lāzim o]  ki ḵēšt sehāt-i šir-ē}
\]

'[it is necessary] that they walk eight hours';

\[
\text{mā [mejblēr ē] to bi-riš-ē}
\]

'we [have to] send you (there)'.

4.6 Sentence types and word order

4.6.1 Nominal sentences

Predicative sentences with a noun and copulative verb form a type of their own. These verbs may be intransitive (copula, b- 'be, become', mān- 'remain, stay') or transitive (ker- 'make, render', šilâš-n- 'recognize as'). The nominal usually precedes the verb, but is postverbal when change of status is implied, specifically with b- in the sense of 'become' and ker- 'do':

(1) Preverbal:

\[
\text{no [bes] o hewn-ē 'eyāš frāšt] viž-y-ā}
\]

'this is [enough]'; 'Ayše's dream turned out (to be) [true]';

\[
\text{mērd-e-y-ē mi [šēx] gebul kerd-o}
\]

'he has accepted my husband [(as a) Shaikh]'.

(2) Postverbal:

zeřē-y-ā ji b-en-ā [nermi]  lāžek-i ke-n-o [pādšāh]
‘his heart becomes [soft]’;  ‘he makes the boy [king].’

4.6.2 Other types

Besides declarative sentences, there are interrogative, imperative, optative, and exclamatory sentences for all of which, in principle, the rules established above are valid.

4.6.2.1 Interrogative sentences

These may be distinguished from sentences of statement only by way of intonation:

to ey-rē ū sījīl dā?
‘did you give him also a register?’

Interrogative pronouns are not in sentence-initial position (as in English), but in the position of the part of speech asked for:

ti do jī-rē [čiči] vāž-ē?
‘what [will] you say to him?’

4.6.2.2 Imperative sentences

These have either a simple subjunctive of the 1st person (exhortative), or an imperative that often (but not always) contains the subject:

(1) Subjunctive

mā [šīr-ē] sūk-ē-d-ā gīrd-i
‘[let’s go] to a big city’.

(2) Imperative

xeber-i [bi-d-i] mi  
‘inform me!’ (‘[give] me information’);  
[ti] mi-rē ḥeb-ē wext [bi-d-i]  
‘[you] [give] me a little time!’

4.6.2.3 Optative sentences

These have a subjunctive verb and one of the optative particles wā, or (less frequently) bokā. Any of the three persons may be the subject; with the present or past subjunctive, the desire is real or irreal respectively. Wā, but not bokā, usually stands in sentence initial position:

[wā] veyšān bi-mān-o ez [bokā] mudir b-ā
‘may (that) she stay hungry’;  ‘may(that) I become director’;

[wā] ellā-y ez nē-dā-ē (past subj. -ē) would God I-DIR-PAT had not created-Is
‘would that God had not created (‘given’) me’.
4.6.2.4 Exclamative sentences

These are often introduced by či ‘what (a) N’:

\[
\text{[či] pādišā-y-ē-d-o ahmāq o!}
\]
\[
\text{[what a] foolish king he is!}
\]

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

Zazaki complex sentences are composed of two (or more) constituent clauses that are either coordinate clauses, or main and subordinate clauses to which further clauses may be subordinated.

5.1 Coordinate clauses

A complex sentence consisting of two main clauses is not basically different from a sequence of two independent main clauses. Those two clauses may be connected without or with overt conjunction such as ū ‘and’, yān ‘or’. Semantically, there may be a logical, temporal, and other dependence between the two main clauses, which is either implicit:

\[
ez \, do \, birā-r-d-ē \, xo-rē \, vāž-ā, \, ey \, ez \, dā-y-ā \, ney
\]
\[
\text{I fut brother- my tell he-AG-3s I-PAT-Is has given this}
\]
\[
\text{‘I shall tell my brother, (because) he has given me to this one’;}
\]

or is made explicit by one of a series of coordinating conjunctions:

\[
nē \, pēš-i-y-ē-nē \, lāżek-i-ro, \, bāhd-o \, žī \, šī-n-ē
\]
\[
\text{they-AG3p embrace the boy then also they go}
\]
\[
\text{‘they embrace the boy, then they go’;}
\]

\[
ez \, do \, šīr-ā, \, emā \, šārt-ē-d-ē \, mi \, ēst-o
\]
\[
\text{I fut go but condition of me is}
\]
\[
\text{‘I shall go, but I have a condition (šārt)’.
}\]

In complex sentences, the subject/agent or direct object/patient of the second main clause may generally be unexpressed if it is identical with that of the first main clause:

\[
mi \, bilīf \, kerd, \, ū \, ē \, xāpey-n-ā-y
\]
\[
\text{I-AG1s bluff made and them-DIR-PAT-3p cheated-3p}
\]
\[
\text{‘I made a bluff, and cheated them’.}
\]

If one of the two main clauses is constructed ergatively, and the other one intransitive, this is true for 3rd person subjects/agents only:

\[
ez \, xāpey-n-ā-y-ā, \, ū \, rem-ā
\]
\[
\text{I-DIR-PAT seduced-1s and fled-INTR-3s}
\]
\[
\text{‘(he) seduced me, and fled’;}
\]

\[
dēw \, ām-e-y-o, \, finā \, (āw-ā \, bir-d-ē \, dēw-i) \, birn-ā-y-ā
\]
\[
\text{diw has come-INTR again (water of well of village)-PAT-f interrupted-PRET-f}
\]
\[
\text{‘the diw has come, and again (finā) interrupted (the village well’s water) (āw, f)’}.
\]
However, 1st or 2nd person subjects must be expressed:

\[ \text{[to] } \text{girat-i, } \tilde{u} \text{[ti]} \text{ } \text{ā-geyr-ē} \]
\[ \text{you-OBL-AG took-f and you-DIR came back-INTR} \]
\[ \text{you took her, and you came back}. \]

5.2 Subordinate clauses

A subordinate clause may be subordinated to a main clause, or to another subordinate clause. Most types of subordinate clauses precede the main clause they qualify. Zazaki subordinate clauses may have nominal, attributive, or adverbial function. Even though not all of these clause types of traditional grammar constitute a distinct formal category in Zazaki, they will be so distinguished here.

Typically, most types of subordinate clauses are introduced by a characteristic clause-initial conjunction or conjunctional phrase, or a relative pronoun or the relative particle \( ki \). Clause-final conjunctives are the enclitic particle -se ‘if’ (from Turkish) in certain conditional clauses, and the adverb \( \text{tepiyû} \) ‘after’ in certain posterior temporal clauses. Some types of subordinate clause have a variant without conjunction. Most frequent are: the conjunction/particle \( ki \) which has a broad range of uses in various clause types, and occurs as the (optional) second element of some bipartite conjunctions; further, \( \text{eger} \) ‘if’, \( \text{wext-o} \) \( ki \) ‘when’, \( \text{hetan} \) \( (ki) \) ‘as long as, until’, \( \text{madem} \) \( (ki) \) ‘because’, \( \text{činki} \) ‘because’, \( \text{hendik}(i) \) ‘as much/far as’.

5.3 Relative clauses

The relative clauses (RC) of Zazaki may be classified into those that are independent and function as subject, object, or adverbial complement, and those that are attributive and are governed by a head noun. Independent RCs are introduced by an indefinite relative pronoun or adverb, attributive RCs require an \( \text{ezâfe} \) construction with adjectival \( \text{ezâfe} \) particles connecting the head noun with the relative particle \( ki \), or pronoun, dir. \( ki \), obl. \( kē \): independent \( \text{kām ši-n-o} \) ‘(he) who goes’ vs. attributive \( \text{merdim-o} \) \( ki \) ši-n-o ‘all the man who goes’.

An intermediate position between the nominal \( \text{ezâfe} \) and the attributive RC is held by two constructions, RC with gapped copula:

\[ mār-o \text{ } \text{ki} \text{ } \text{keynek-i} \text{ } \text{pīz-e-di} \]
\[ \text{the snake which in the girl’s belly}, \]

and EZ-construction with particles such as \( \text{zey} \) ‘like’:

\[ \text{jini-y-ī zey to} \]
\[ \text{a woman like you}. \]

5.3.1 Functions of RC in the main clause

In functions other than subject, the relative pronoun ‘who’ is in the oblique, \( kē \), but not the head noun:

\[ kē \text{ } \text{tepe-ē} \]
\[ \text{whom they (may) catch}; \]
\[ kē-\text{di nāmūs est-o} \]
\[ \text{at whom is honor} \]
\[ \text{Jewâb-ē kē dīhâ weš-d-ē mi šir-o} \]
\[ \text{the answer of whom I like more} \]
\[ \text{‘who(ever) has’}; \]
\[ \text{‘(whose answer)’}; \]
but

\[ \text{girwey-o } \overline{ki} \overline{mā} \overline{nē-zā-n-ē} \]
\text{‘a work that we don’t know’}.

5.3.2 Resumptive pronouns

Clause-internally, the co-referent to the head noun is resumed by the general 3rd person pronoun \( ji \) if it functions other than as a subject or object:

\[ qūdā \overline{ki} \overline{bin-ē} \bar{j} \overline{nī-yās-en-ō} \]
\text{‘a hole that bottom of it is not visible’ (‘whose ground’).}

In the main clause, a RC is resumed by a pronoun that disambiguates the syntactic function. This is obligatorily the case of indirect object, and postpositional and \( ezāfē \) complements:

\[ zūr-ā \overline{kē} \text{ werdi } b-o-se, \bar{o} \text{ do } \text{virāz-ō} \]
\text{‘whose lie is smaller, he fut prepare it’ (‘the lie of whom’) (}b-o = 3sm subj. of ‘be’ + conditional -se);\n
\[ kām \text{ pē-rā } \text{ bol hes } k-e-n-o, \overline{ānān-rē} \text{ vā-n-ē} \]
\text{‘who loves each other (pē-rā) very much (bol), to them they say’}.

As part of the main clause, the RC may take the regular position of the constituent as which it functions:

\[ sī-n-o \ \bar{o} \text{ ode-y-ō } \overline{ki} \ \text{āltūn-ī } \text{miyān-di } \text{bī} \]
\text{‘he goes to the room that gold in (it) was’ (‘in which was’).}

5.3.3 Topicalized relative clauses

A RC may be topicalized and take the sentence initial position. In that case, its regular position remains either vacant:

\[ \text{girwey-o } \overline{ki} \overline{mā} \overline{nē-zā-n-ē}, \overline{mā} \overline{nē-ke-n-ē} \]
\text{work that we not know we not do ‘we don’t do a work that we don’t know’;}

or it is resumed by a pronoun that makes his syntactic function explicit:

\[ \overline{mā} \overline{kē-rā} \text{ qāhr-ēn-ē, } \overline{mā} \overline{ey} \ \bar{ā-n-ē} \]
\text{we whom we are angry we him bring ‘about whom we are angry, him we bring’}.

5.3.4 Head incorporation

The incorporation of the head noun into the relative clause is a noteworthy option (also known in Persian and other Iranian languages):

\[ \text{por-ē mi } \text{ kev-n-o } \overline{kē} \ \text{dest, wā bīr-o} \]
\text{hair of me falls whose hand may he come ‘in whose hand my hair (por) falls, (he) shall come’}.
5.4 Nominal clauses

Subject and object clauses paraphrase subjects and objects but do not occur in their regular position, instead they follow the predicate, often introduced by *ki* 'that'. Indirect questions also, and sometimes conditional or comparative clauses, may be nominal clauses.

5.4.1 Subject clauses

Subject clauses follow impersonal expressions such as 'it is necessary, clear, a pity', etc., whose subject they replace:

\[h-en-o ki ez bi-mir-\dot{a}\]

'maybe that I (shall) die'.

They can also resume a preceding demonstrative pronoun that takes the subject position:

\[s\text{e}h\text{b}-\dot{e} j\ddot{i} \text{n}o yo ki \text{kes-}\ddot{i} \text{\dot{e}r-y-\ddot{e}-d-o wina gebul n\text{e}-kerd-o reason of it this is that anybody thing such accepted has not made the reason for it is that nobody has (ever) accepted such a thing.}\]

5.4.2 Object clauses

Object clauses follow verbs of perception and communication and paraphrase the direct object or complement that is usually governed by these verbs:

\[ez z\text{a}-n-\ddot{a} ki o yo ters-en-o \text{I know that he is fearing ('frightened').}\]

5.4.3 Quotations

The two verbs of communication *v\text{a}z*- 'say' and *pers ker*- 'ask' ('to make question'), however, usually govern direct speech instead of an object clause:

\[p\text{eyem}b\ddot{e}r v\text{a}-n-\dddot{o}; n\text{e}-b-en-o \text{the prophet says: “it doesn’t work” } \dddot{\text{ji-r}}\ddot{a} pers ke-n-\ddot{o}: w\text{a}-y-\dot{e}, t\ddot{i} k\ddot{a}m â? \text{‘he asks her: “Sister, who are you?”’}\]

5.5 Adverbial clauses

5.5.1 Temporal and local clauses

Zazaki temporal clauses always precede the main clause. Formally, they cannot always be clearly distinguished from other subordinate clauses, e.g. temporal clauses introduced by *w\text{e}x\text{t-o} ki* 'when' (lit. ‘(at) the time that’) are similar to relative clauses introduced by, e.g. *ro\text{z-\ddot{a} ki* ‘(on) the day that’. Here, temporal clauses will be distinguished, according to their temporal relation to the main clause, in anterior, simultaneous, and posterior clauses.
5.5.1.1 Anterior temporal clauses

These are formed with the adverb *tepeya* 'after' following the verb of the temporal clause. This verb is usually in the preterite, but may be in the present tense if the verb of the main clause is also in the present:

\[\text{Tezali si-n-á tep-ey-á, Álmed veyn dá-n-o ciná dá xo-rá tep-e-yá,}\]
\[\Gamma. \text{ goes-PRES after } A., \text{ call hits-PRES clothes put on own after}\]
\['\text{after Tezali goes Ahmad calls'; 'he goes after having put on (his)}\]
\[\text{si-n-o}\]
\[\text{he goes-PRES clothes'.}\]

5.5.1.2 Simultaneous temporal clauses

These are introduced by *wext-o ki* 'when', rarely also *ki*, following the subject of the main clause. The verb of the temporal clause is usually in the same tense as that of the main clause:

\[\text{wext-o ki keko merd, mi zá-n-á}\]
\['\text{when the older brother died-PRET, I-AG knew-PRET...'};\]
\[\text{keynek-i ki b-en-á teysan, ye-n-á}\]
\['\text{girl when she becomes-PRES thirsty she comes-PRES}\]
\['\text{'when the girl gets thirsty, she comes'.}\]

If the temporal sentence is in the preterite and the main clause in a present tense, *wext-o ki* may correspond to English 'as soon as'; more often, however, *seni (ki)* occurs in this sense, then causing the same tense in the temporal and main clause:

\[\text{wext-o ki K. áme, wá Á. Ji ber-o heš-i seni ez dí-ya,}\]
\[\text{when K. came-PRET, A him bring-subj; bear as soon as I-PAT saw-PRET-1s}\]
\[\text{rem-ë}\]
\['\text{he fled-PRET}\]
\['\text{‘as soon as K. comes, A. shall bring him’; ‘as soon as the bear saw me, he fled’.}\]

5.5.1.3 Posterior temporal clauses

These are introduced by *hetá(n) (ki)* 'until; as long as'. When a past action is reported, the verb of the temporal clause is in the present indicative or in a past tense, and *hetá(n) (ki)* corresponds to English 'until':

\[\text{hetá xo res-n-en-ë-PRES wede-dë pádišáy, xeylë máhkár-ë mir-en-ë-PRES}\]
\['\text{until they proceed to the king’s room, many criminals die'};\]
\[\text{hetá ámë-PRET res-ë-PRET to het, bí newáy ù new}\]
\['\text{until it came (and) reached to you, it was-past 99’}.\]

When the reported action is not yet past, the verb is negated and in the present subjunctive or preterite, and *hetá(n) (ki)* corresponds to the English ‘as long as’:

\[\text{hetá ez ey ně-kiš-á, mě-rě rehát-ey ēi-ní-y-á}\]
\['\text{as long as I him not kill-subj to us peace is not}\]
\['\text{‘as long as I don’t kill him, we have no peace’};\]
Let us flee, as long as they haven't come.

5.5.1.4 Local clauses

Local clauses are introduced by kōtī '(to) where', koṭī-di 'where', or koṭī-rā 'from where' and may be resumed through the local adverb wīṭā 'there' (or wīṭā-di, wīṭā-rā respectively):

kōtī-rā ye-n-e, wā b-īr-e
'from where they come, may they come';

koṭī-di šān b-en-o, ez wīṭā-di rā-kew-n-a
where dark it becomes I to sleep fall to
'where(ever) it gets dark, there I go to sleep'.

5.5.2 Conditional clauses

Zazaki conditional clauses are mostly introduced by the conjunctions eger or (less often) ki, the enclitic particle -se following the verb, or by a combination of both (eger . . . -se), all meaning 'if'. They always precede the main clause ('apodosis'). The conditional clauses may be distinguished in those with possible and those with impossible condition.

5.5.2.1 Possible conditions

5.5.2.1a Present and subjunctive

With possible conditions, the verb of both the protasis and apodosis often has a present tense form. The mode of the verb of the apodosis is, in principle, independent of that of the protasis.

(1) Present

eger ti wāz-en-ā-PRES, mā piyā bi-zewā-i-y-e-SUBJ
'if you want, let us marry';

ki ti dā-n-ē-PRES, ti jinā ded-e mā yē-PRES
'if you give (it), you are again (jinā) our uncle'.

(2) Subjunctive

eger bi-zān-o, ez do e-y šēx-o rāstā-y ker-ā
if he knows-SUBJ I FUT him true sheikh I make-SUBJ
'if he knows (it), I will make him a true sheikh';

bi-kew-o-se, dāḥā weš nē-b-en-o
he falls-SUBJ if, again well he won't become-PRES
'if he falls, he won't get well again'.
5.5.2.1b Preterite

If the action of the apodosis must, of necessity, follow that of the protasis in time, the past tense may appear in the protasis:

\[ \text{eger wihr-e ji äm-e, mā do ĥeq-e ji bi-d-e} \]

'if his owner comes, we will (certainly) pay its fee';

\[ \text{ti merd-i-se, mā ūi to-y-ā mir-en-ê} \]

'if you die, we also will die with you'.

5.5.2.1c Perfect

Conditions that have already been fulfilled or not, but about whose fulfillment the speaker has no knowledge, have a verb in the perfect tense:

\[ \text{eger ëri-y-ê bi ħezâli kerd-o, mā gân-e xo nān-ê ser} \]

'if anything to ί. done-perf-3sm we life of own shall put-subj up'

\[ \text{cinî-y-ê mā berd-o-se, mā do šir-ê key-d-ê milâ-ê} \]

'if he has taken away our clothes, we will go to the Molla's house'.

5.5.2.2 Impossible conditions, -ê

With impossible past conditions in the protasis the past subjunctive or past optative in -ê is used, and in the apodosis the conditional:

\[ \text{eger ë nî-y-âme-y-ê, mi do kotî-râ bi-zânâ-y-ê} \]

'if they had not come-pastopt 1-ag fut wherefrom have known-cond'

Most types of conditional clause may also occur without conjunction, and then be recognized as such by the context or a subjunctive verb form only:

\[ \text{wâ-y-ê, ti ëri-y-ê-râ fâhn ke-n-û, mā bîr-rê to ḥeti} \]

'sister, if you understand anything, let us come to you';

\[ \text{mi poste-y-ê to nê-veš-n-û-y-ê, dihā ti do bî-y-û-y-ê} \]

'I-ag skin of you had not burnt-past-subj further you fut had eaten-cond

'If I hadn't burnt your skin, you would have furthermore been ... .'

5.5.3 Concessive clauses

A concessive relation is often expressed through two main clauses that are connected through the coordinating conjunction finâ ū' nevertheless, yet':

\[ \text{hewtāy dew-ān werd-i, finâ ū nê-šà bi-ged-ên-o} \]

'70 villages-ag have eaten again also could not be finished-subj'

'70 villages have eaten (of it), still it could not be finished up.'
A conditional clause with 'also' may correspond to an English concessive clause:

\[ mā bi-zān-ē ki to kiš-en-o \]  
we know-SUBJ that you he is killing **though** we **forced are** you we send-SUBJ  
'even if we know he is going to kill you, we must send you (there)'.

Sometimes, an optative clause introduced by \( wā \), following a main clause, may express a concessive relation:

\[ mā zī šop-tā įn-ān-rā ši-n-ē, wā mā zī bi-kiš-ē \]  
we also track of them-DIR-OBJ go **may be that** us also they kill-SUBJ  
'and we follow their track, even if ('may that') they kill us'.

5.5.4 Causal clauses

Causal clauses are introduced by \( čimkī \) or \( mādem (ki) \) 'because, since' and stand with \( čimkī \) before or after, with \( mādem (ki) \) always before the main clause:

\[ čimkī Ābdirrehmān Beg merd, ē rey-ā-y \]  
'as A. Beg died, they got free';

\[ dew-zā-qānd-ē ji ūn ke-n-ē, čimkī her-kēs ji-rā ĥes k-en-o \]  
the farmers sake of him mourning make **because** everyone him liking makes  
'the farmers mourn for him, because everybody loves him';

\[ mādem ti šī, merāq me-k-i \]  
'since you went-PRET concern don't make  
'since you have gone, don't be surprised!'

More often, however, a causal connection is expressed by two main clauses and the coordinating conjunction \( qānd-ē joy \) 'therefore':

\[ čr-y-ē ām-e ĕ y sere-di, qānd-ē joy o nū-y-ām-e \]  
'something has happened (ām-e 'came') to him, **therefore** he hasn’t come'.

5.5.5 Final clauses

Final clauses are introduced by \( ki \), more seldom by \( qānd-ē ki \), both '(in order) to', and require, irrespective of the tense of the main clause verb, a verb in the present subjunctive. With \( ki \) they follow, with \( qānd-ē ki \) they precede the main clause:

\[ lāzek ši-y-o ki poste-y-ē ā-y bi-vūn-o \]  
boy has gone **that** skin of her find-SUBJ  
'the boy has gone to find her skin';

\[ qānd-ē ki ti nē-mir-ē, ti do šop-d-ā ā-y-rā šir-ē \]  
in order that you not **die-SUBJ** you **FUT** track of her **go-SUBJ**  
'so as not to die, you will follow her track'.

In addition, a final clause may often also follow the main clause asyndetically, or an optative (main) clause with \( wā \) may correspond to an English final clause:
I have come life of you I take
'I have come to take your life';

take away quickly, so that
'take him away quickly, so that my eyes may not see him (any longer)'.

5.5.6 Consecutive clauses

Consecutive clauses are built with one of the conjunctions hendil wini ... ki 'so ... that'. The consecutive clause, introduced by ki, follows the main clause:

hendi rind b-en-ä, ki kes nē-z-en-o wesf-ān-ē ji bi-d-o
so pretty she is being that anybody cannot description of her make
'she is so pretty that nobody can describe her';

ez do wini rezil-ey-ā gān-ē to bi-gir-ān, ki ... I Fut such meanness life of you I take that
'I shall take your life with such a meanness that ...'.

Certain clauses that follow a double wini, or a question clause asyndetically (ex.2), may also correspond to an English consecutive clause:

wini ji-rā hes ke-n-ē, wini hes ke-n-ē, ji-rē gān-ē xo dā-n-ē
so it liking make so liking make for her life of self they give
'they love it so much, so much, (that) they lay down for it their life';

to ēl ēare di, ti remā-y?
you-AG what remedy saw you have fled
'what remedy have you found, (that) you have fled?'

5.5.7 Comparative clauses

Comparative clauses of equality are introduced by zeki, seni or (rarely) hendi ki, and followed by a main clause that is often introduced by wini. The verb of the comparative clause is often indicative, but may also (after zeki) be subjunctive:

zeki gertel-i leer-i sera ārē-b-en-ē, wini xidir āyā-y sera ārē-b-en-ē
like vultures corpse upon gather so X.Agha upon they gather
'like vultures gather on a carcass, so they gather on X. Agha';

zeki jīp-i bi-rām-o, diireksiyon-i wini ke-n-o xo dest
like a jeep he may drive-subj wheel so he makes his hand
'as if he would drive a jeep, so he takes the wheel in his hand';

esto-ri seni rem-en-ā, wā bi-rem-o
'like the horse flees, so it shall flee';

hendi ki mi dest-rā b-īr-o, ez do bi-girwe-ī-ā
as much as my hand-from may come-subj I Fut shall work-subj
'as much as I can, I will work'.
6 LEXIS AND REGISTERS

6.1 Word formation

In the fairy tales and folkloristic texts that have been used for this study and that continue
to predominate in Zazaki literary production, the possibilities of using derivation and
composition for the formation of complex lexical units seem to be rather limited. This
may be due to the fact that Zazaki still lacks most registers of official and “higher” literal
usage, for which complex lexical units are usually formed.

6.1.1 Derivation of nouns and adjectives

The most important derivational suffixes for the formation of nominals that continue to
be productive in Zazaki are:

- **-iţ**, the nisba suffix that forms nouns of origin and certain other nouns: Mālmîsān-
iţ ‘(a person) from (the mountain of) Malmisan’, dew-iţ ‘farmer’ (< dew ‘village’);

- **-ey**, attached to adjectives or agent nouns, to form abstract nouns (that are
dialects, -ey is replaced by -en or -en);

- **-ēr**, attached to names of fruits, to form tree names (that are feminine): sâ-yēr
‘apple tree’ (< sâ apple);

- **-ēn** (or in certain dialects, -m), attached to nouns or adverbs, to form adjectives:
jēr-ēn ‘(being) below’, renq-ēn ‘coloured’, gošt-ēn ‘fleshy, consisting of meat’ (< jēr
‘below’, renq ‘colour’, gošt ‘meat’).

6.1.2 Compounding

The most important compounding strategies in Zazaki are (Paul 2002):

1. right-headed determinative compounds occur seldom, and mostly as ‘frozen’
historical forms: kē-ber ‘house-door’ (the regular syntactic Ezâfe construction seems
to be much more productive to express concepts that correspond to determinative
compounds in other languages);

2. more frequent are verbal compounds that employ a verbal stem (usually the
subjunctive one) as a second element: merdîm-wer ‘cannibal(istic)’ (lit. ‘man-eating’);

3. the most productive compound type that seems to occur in the texts that have
been used here are left-headed possessive compounds: gân-rîhât ‘comfortable’,
lit. ‘(having a) relaxed soul’ < gân ‘soul’, rîhât ‘comfortable’.

6.2 Sociolinguistic features

6.2.1 Standard and colloquial registers

Since Zazaki still lacks most registers of official and “higher” literal usage and the major-
ity of publications still belong to folk language and everyday speech, it is of no use to talk
about the “social” strata of Zazaki. As for the question of a possible standard dialect,
there have been various discussions since the 1990s (mostly in the exile press) about which
dialect, or combination of dialects, should be preferred to create such a standard dialect,
but (at least until 2005) these discussions seem to have been purely academic, and every Zazaki writer still seems to use his own (village or town) dialect when he (or she) writes.

6.2.2 Kinship terminology

Some of the most important items of kinship terminology that have been met in the texts include the following: mā(y) ‘mother’, pī ‘father, wā(y) ‘sister’, birā ‘brother’, xāl (maternal) uncle’, vistirī ‘mother-in-law’. Interestingly, some human nouns like ‘boy, girl’, etc., are derived by the suffix -ek from their corresponding kinship term, e.g.:

- hāz ‘son’ — lāz-ek ‘boy’
- keyn(ā) ‘daughter’ — keyn-ek ‘girl’
- jinn ‘wife’ — jinn-ek ‘woman’
- mērd ‘husband’ — mērd-ek ‘man’

6.2.3 Terms of address

Many Zazaki terms of address correspond to (Kurmanci) Kurdish equivalents and thus attest to the close ethnic and historical bond that connects the Zaza to the Kurds:

- address: çūm-ān ser ‘goodbye’ (lit. ‘on the eyes’) ~ Kd. ser çāv-ān ‘id.’

Other Zazaki terms of address include:

- address: ti xeyr ānaye! ‘welcome!’ (lit. ‘you have come well!’);
- response: ‘xeyr miyān-di b-o! (lit. ‘may welfare be in-between’);

- address: xattir bi to! ‘goodbye’ (lit. ‘goodbye (be) to you’);
- response: oyur b-o! (lit. ‘may good luck be!’);
   Ellāh rāzi b-o! ‘thank you!’ (lit. ‘may god be content!’).

7 SAMPLE TEXT


jīn u jīnāvir-i miyān-dī, en tersinok-e jī ārwēš-i b-en-e.
Animals-obl among-in, most fearful-3ps them-obl hare-up are
‘Among the animals, the most fearful of them are the hares.’

mār xīs-en-3ps, ārwēš-i rem-en-e; her zīr-en-3ps, ārwēš-i rem-en-e,
snake hisses hare-p flee-3p donkey bray-sm hares-p flee-3p
‘The snake hisses, the hares flee; the donkey brays, the hares flee’;

gā goí-en-3ps, ārwēš-i rem-en-e; kutik láw-en-3ps, ārwēš-i rem-en-e...
ox bellow-sm hare-p flee-3p dog bark-sm hare-p flee-3p
‘the ox bellows, the hares flee; the dog barks, the hares flee . . .’;

č‘ītī xo lūn-en-3ps, ārwēš-i rem-en-e.
what self move-sm hare-p flee-3p
‘what(ever) jumps about, the hares flee’.
роژ-ی آرهوش-ی پره آره-بن-ی په سر، وان-ی.
‘One day, all hares gather around themselves and say:’

نو دین‌یدی مارا ترسینک کس چینی-ی-ی.
‘In this world, there is no-one more fearful than we are,’

من ترسینک-ی نه دین‌یدی مایه.
‘we are the most fearful (ones) of this world.’

ما هندای-ی-ی ترسینک-ی یه،
‘We are so fearful,’

بادیما! مایه پره سیر-ی، گور چکر-ی دولتی میان.
‘(let’s go) ahead, (and) all go (and) throw ourselves into the lake,’

ما پره بیجئیسی-ی-ی قله نه ترسیرا بیریه!’
‘let’s all be drowned, and escape from this fright!’

نه دانه-ی پیرو شنی-ی-ی کی
‘They set about (and) go to’

گور چکر-ی دولتی-یدی دولتی-ی-ی لیمین-ی میان.
‘throw themselves into a dirty lake.’

یه نشنی دندی-یدی دولتی کی
‘They come close to the lake so that’

گور چکر-ی دولتی میان،
‘throw themselves inside the lake,’

وینان-ی چعس-ی-ی کی
‘they notice turtles that’

تیبیر-ی-یدی دولتی-ی-ی گور دایو-ی دور-ایروژ.
‘have exposed themselves to the sun outside the lake.’

گرچه چعس-ی پره برین رد
‘All those turtles all of a sudden,’

ترسیراندی آرهوش-ی-ان رد راپ راپ راپ
‘out of fear of the hares, rap rap rap’
xo erz-en-e dol-ī miyān
self throw-3p lake-oBL into
‘throw themselves into the lake’

and fear-oBL-p-from self lake-oBL midst-in hide-3p
‘out of fear, and hide themselves, in the lake.’

ārwēš-ī vinder-en-ē, vān-ē:
hare-p stop-3p say-3p
‘The hares stop, (and) say:’

nē kese-y mā-rā tersā-y
these turtle-p us-from fear-ed-3p
‘These turtles were afraid of us,’

xo ēst dol-ī miyān ū xo dol-di nimit.
self threw-3sm lake-oBL inside and self lake-in hid-3sm
‘they threw themselves inside the lake and hid themselves in the lake.’

zey mā tersinok-ī dīnā-dī bol-ī yē,
like us fearful-p world-in many-p are
‘In the world, there are many (who are) fearful like us,’

mā či-rē xo če-ker-ē dol-ī miyān
we why self inside-do-su1-1p lake inside
‘why should we throw ourselves into the lake’

ū xo bi-fetis-n-ē?
and self drown-su1-1p
‘and drown ourselves?’

hādir-ēl mā pey-di šir-ē,
ahead we back go-su1-1p
‘(Let’s go) ahead, let’s go back(wards),’

mā xo nē-y-erz-en-ē dol-ī miyān.
we self NEG-throw-1p lake inside.
‘we don’t throw ourselves into the lake’.

pēro dān-ē piro jīnā pey-di ā-geyr-en-ē
all set-1p about again back return-1p
‘All set about (and) return back again,’

and go-1p soil-oBL-p among-from become-1p scattered-p
‘and go (and) get scattered among the earths.’

xeyr-d-ē kes-ān,
benefit-EZ-oBL turtles-oBL-p
‘Thanks to the turtles,’

ārwēš-ī kišt-en-d-ā xo-rā rey-ēn-ē.
hares-p killing-INF-EZ-oBL self-from escape-1p
‘the hares escape from their suicide.’
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES


CHAPTER TEN

KURDISH

Ernest N. McCaran

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Kurdish is a cover term for the largest group of closely-related Western Iranian dialects, spoken in a large contiguous area that extends from Turkey into Iraq, Iran, and Armenia, with smaller groups in other countries. This cover term also reflects the linguistic and ethnic unity perceived by the speakers in spite of considerable linguistic differences. There are three main sub-groups: (1) Northern Kurdish is the most widely spoken variety of Kurdish (ca. 20 million), also known as Kurmânî, which is the autonym used by most speakers, besides Bahdînîn in north Iraq. This variety is roughly delimited in the west by the Turkish town of Malatya, in the south by the north-eastern tip of Syria and by Mosul in northern Iraq, and it reaches up to the Armenian capital of Yerevan in the north-east. Relatively large groups are also found in Syria and Lebanon, as well as in Azerbaijan and Georgia in the Caucasus (ca. 500,000 in the former Soviet republics). There are also considerable emigrant groups in urban centers in the Middle East (e.g. ca. 2 million or more in Istanbul) and in Western Europe (ca. 700,000, mostly Germany). (2) Central Kurdish (total ca. 5 million) has two main subgroups, Sôrânî in northern Iraq up to the Little Zab river, and Mukî in adjacent Iranian province of Kordestan, with pockets (by earlier deportations) elsewhere in Iran, mostly the Caspian provinces and the north-eastern province of Khorasan. (3) Southern Kurdish (ca. 3 million) is found in the abutting areas of Iraq and Iran, from Khaneqin in Iraq over to Kermanshah in Iran and down to north of Al-Amara, Iraq, as well as in the Bijar region of Iran. Best known are the Laki tribes in the Pish-e Kuh region of the Zagros mountains between Kermanshah, Khorramabad, and Kangavar (cf. the monumental study by Fattah, 2000).

Linguistically, Kurdish as a whole occupies an intermediate position between North-Western and South-Western Iranian dialects. Internally, the three main groups of Kurdish are quite distinct from each other, and Northern Kurdish in particular is not mutually intelligible with the other groups (see section 7 Dialectology).

Earliest written documents date from the sixteenth and seventeenth century, prominently the epic poem Mem ü Zîn by Ahmadî Khânî (1650–1707). It is only in the early twentieth century that both Northern Kurdish and Sôrânî have developed written standards and alphabets, beginning with the Kurdish alphabet for Kurmânî by Emir Djeladet Bedir Khan in the 1930s and 1940s and the newspaper Zhîn for Sôrânî from the 1920s in Sulaimania, Iraq.

In Iraq after the Second World War Kurdish scholars initiated a movement to establish a Modern Standard Kurdish (MSK; see Ahmad 1986). It is mainly based on the dialect
MAP 10.1 KURDISH (note that hatched areas = scattered settlements)
of Sulaimania which was considered by most Kurds to be the best literary model. MSK is now used in most Kurdish publications in Iraq and Iran. Accordingly, Sulaimani Kurdish is the focus of the following discussion.

Linguistic scholarship on Kurdish has a long tradition. More recently, in consequence of the massive emigration, paralleling the literary, journalistic, and other cultural activities by Kurds, scholarship has been flourishing in Europe, mainly on the Kurmanji of Turkey, and prominently from the typological point of view, as have literary studies.

It should be noted that three other Iranian dialect groups which happen to be symbiotic or adjacent to Kurdish-speaking areas are sometimes considered varieties of Kurdish: Zazâ/Dimilî found in central-eastern Turkey north-west of the present Kurdish area, Gõrânî found in the Awramân region of the middle Zagros in Iran (Hawramânî) and near Mosul in Iraq (mainly Bâjîlânî), and Lorî-Bakhtïârî in the southern Zagros. However, while these share, to various degrees, a common history and culture with the Kurds, and while there has been considerable convergence on all linguistic levels, in terms of Iranian historical dialectology, they are West Iranian language groups distinct from Kurdish.

1.2 Writing Systems

Kurmanji Kurdish has been written in a variety of alphabets, from Armenian to Cyrillic to Latin. Today the Kurds of Turkey and Syria use a modified Turkish script, developed originally by Bedir Khan in the 1930s and 1940s, while those of the former Soviet Union use a modified Cyrillic.

Sûrani Kurdish has always been written, like Persian, in a modified Arabic alphabet. The present-day Kurdish alphabet used in Iraq and Iran was developed mainly after the Second World War, with diacritic marks for Kurdish phonemes not found in either of the other two. It has no symbol for the vowel i, but is otherwise a phonemic script, achieved through the use of diacritic marks for non-Arabic consonants and vowels and by reassigning some letter values. The representation of Kurdish phonemes not represented by the Perso-Arabic alphabet, ɲ, ɬ and ê ə, is as follows:

ɲ is written by the digraph <ng>; v is represented by three dots, instead of one, over <t>; l and r are marked by a hachek above <l> and <r>. In addition, the glottal stop is written over the hook of <y> as a seat, except word-finally where it is written aloof, while gemination is represented by doubling the consonant letters.

The long mid-vowels ə and ê are both indicated by a hachek over <w> and <y>, respectively. ā is represented by double <ww>, and u by a single <w>; ï and i are likewise represented by double <yy>, unless i occurs in a word that retains its Arabic spelling. Long æ is represented by the letter alif; and short a by <h> in postconsonantal position.
### TABLE 10.1: KURDISH ALPHABET

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position in Letter Group</th>
<th>Last</th>
<th>Mid</th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Alone</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>å</td>
<td>Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ĝ</td>
<td>Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ẓ</td>
<td>Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'g'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'g'</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'v'</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>'v'</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'k'</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>'k'</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'g'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'g'</td>
<td>Persian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'l'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'l'</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'m'</td>
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<td>'m'</td>
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<td>'n'</td>
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<td>'n'</td>
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<td>'h'</td>
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<td>'h'</td>
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<td>a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
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<td>i</td>
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<td>i</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 = after vowel; 2 = after consonant.

Notes: There is no letter to represent phonemic short i.

‘Persian’ and ‘Kurdish’ refer to innovating language sound, ‘Arabic’ to letters used in Arabic names.
2 PHONOLOGY

A characteristic feature of Kurdish in comparison with other Iranian languages is the high degree of conditioned morphophonemic alternation that affects vowels and consonants alike, in particular the intervocalic lenition of -d- (the "Zagros-d").

2.1 Inventory

2.1.1 Vowels

Sulaimania Kurdish has nine vowels, five long, ḩ ħ ā ā ῦ, and four short, contrasting in length, height and tenseness, ɾ i u ă.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High close</td>
<td>ḩ</td>
<td>ħ</td>
<td>ῦ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ħ</td>
<td>ῦ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid close</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>ă</td>
<td>ă</td>
<td>ă</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two central vowels, both short, ă and ĕ. The open mid front vowel ă has schwa [a] as its principal allophone. It fluctuates over the area delineated by [æ], low front [e] and mid front [æ]. The allophone [a] is obligatory (1) before w, as in aw [aw] 'he', awān [awān] 'they'; (2) before y in the same syllable, as in aybūnīm [ay. bi.nīm] 'I see him'. The allophone [e] occurs before y in the following syllable, as in haya [he. ya] 'there is'. The low central allophone [a] occurs adjacent to pharyngealized ş as in șaṭ [șaṭ]'sixty'.

As shown in Table 10.2, there is a three-way contrast among high unrounded vowels: long front close ḩ, short front open ṭ, and central unrounded open ĕ. ĕ occurs mostly in Arabic loans, as in miḥān 'examination', mumkyn 'possible', or as an alternate of high front ḩ before consonant clusters (see section 2.3.1.5). It contrasts with ḩ and ĕ as illustrated by mumkyn 'possible' versus aĉīn 'we go' and aĉīn 'you-2p go', in all of which the final vowels are stressed.

Natively, the high open short vowels ḩ and ῦ occur only as reduced allophones of ḩ and ῦ (see section 2.3.1), but have attained phonemic status by virtue of their occurrence in the many Arabic loans.

2.1.2 Consonants

2.1.2.1 Overview

Sulaimani Kurdish has 31 consonants as shown in the following table:
TABLE 10.3: CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops/Affricates</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ş</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>(v)</td>
<td>.z</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Glides</strong></td>
<td>w</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap/Lateral</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>plain</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill/velarized</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the non-pharyngeal glottal stop, particularly in word-initial position, will not usually be marked in this description.

2.1.2.2 Pharyngeals

There are three, all fricatives: (1) the pharyngealized alveolar sibilant ʃ; (2) the voiceless faucalized pharyngeal ɻ; and (3) the voiced faucalized fricative approximant. These three, together with γ, occur in Arabic loans, but also in a number of words of Kurdish origin: (1) sâlîh ‘Salih’ (masc. name); in high-frequency Kurdish words such as şag ‘dog’, şad ‘hundred’, şâl ‘year’; (2) hâl ‘condition, state’, hayvân ‘animal’, sfâlah ‘first sale of the day’; Kurdish hâwät ‘seven’, ahêlêné ‘it neighs’; (3) ādat ‘custom, tradition’, āmr ‘age (years)’, saât ‘hour; clock’, mânâ ‘meaning’; Kurdish āsmân ~ āsmên ‘sky’; (4) pûya ‘bull calf’.

2.1.2.3 Labio-dental v

This voiced labio-dental fricative is a marginal phoneme (indicated by the parenthesis in the table). It occurs: (1) in onomatopoeias: gîvagîv (sound of bullets); or (2) in loans from other Kurdish dialects, such as mirôv ‘man’ and gôvår ‘magazine’, and in (3) hâvda ~ hâwva ‘seventeen’.

2.1.2.4 l and l

These are voiced, and distinguish a plain dental and a velarized alveolar lateral, articulated by the retraction of the tongue body and the tensing of the tongue dorsum. l does not occur word-initially: (1) lâzim ‘necessary’, salâmat ‘safety’, kalla ‘skull’, gul ‘leper’; (2) gul ‘rose’, barallâ ‘loose’, mâl ‘house’ (mostly, l < *rd, *rz, and spontaneous in loans).

2.1.2.5 r and r

These distinguish a voiced single alveolar/apico-laminal flap and an alveolar trill. Geminate flaps equal the trill: (1) birîn ‘wound’, anîrê ‘he will send’, anîrê [anîrê] ‘it will be sent’, kar- [kara] ‘it is a donkey’, har ‘only’; (2) kar- [kara] ‘he is deaf’, naîr-a-naîr ‘bawling’, a-bêr-ê [obêr] ‘he cuts’, abîr-rê [obîrê] ‘it will be cut’, târ ‘wet’, râst ‘correct’ (mostly, r < *rn, *rr, in loans, and initial r-) covered in 2.1.2.9.
2.1.2.6 Nasals

These are voiced and show a three-way contrast, m, n, ŋ: mām ‘(paternal) uncle’, ama ‘this’, sammān ‘bread rolls’, kām ‘which?'; nān ‘bread’, zānnīn ‘know’, dānsāz ‘dentist’, gammasānī ‘maize’; and mān ‘month’, daniyātās ‘information, data’, bağ kirdin ‘call, invite’.

2.1.2.7 Gemination

All consonants except affricates may occur geminate. These are phonetically long and occur only word-medially. Gemination by contact is frequent: a-yān-nās-im ‘I know them’, where -yān is the 3p suffix.

2.1.2.8 Diphthongs and glides

The glides w and y combine to form diphthongs freely with all vowels, e.g. nīw ‘half’, sēw ‘apple’, ōw ‘water’, baraw ‘below’, kay ‘when?’. They are often the regular result of the contraction of final vowels with following unstressed long high vowels: V + 2s -7V in a-lē-y ‘you say’, čū-y ‘you went’, a-rū-y ‘you go’, ažē-y ‘you are brave’: -ō + ū ‘and’ > -ōw in nō-w yak ‘nine and one’ (see also section 2.3.1.1 Glide insertion).

y tends to be inserted before initial e when preceded by an affix: ēš ‘pain, ache’, but a-m-y-ēš-ēt ‘it hurts me’.

2.1.2.9 Distribution

The following continuants do not occur word-initially: the single flap r, the velarized lateral l, and the velar nasal t. The short high vowels, i u do not occur in word-final position (but see discussion of d > i below). Vowel sequences do not occur (see section 2.3.1.1).

2.1.3 Syllable structure and consonant clusters

Syllable division precedes an intervocalic consonant: gērāna wa ‘narrate’. In syllable division two-consonant clusters are generally divided, as in sar.gar.dān ‘confused’.

The minimum syllable is consonant plus vowel, CV, as in ta.la.ba ‘student’. Given certain morphophonemic rules (see section 2.3), any two consonants may cluster word-initially, i.e. CCV, except that a stop can only follow another stop or an affricate, glides cannot be first in the cluster, and stops are not followed by nasals: ktēb ‘book’, tfāy ‘rifle’, sfār ‘unveiled’ (woman), xrāp ‘bad’. Morphophonemically, however, there are no word-initial consonant clusters. Thus, in the examples above the clusters result from the elision of the non-tense central vowel. Note that in the present description a morphophonemic writing is generally followed.

Phonemic three-consonant clusters CCC do not occur initially but may occur word-medially, in which case they must contain at least one continuant: qarz-dār ‘debtor’, or word-finally, in which case they consist of glide-continuant-stop: ṭōyist ‘he went’.
2.2 Non-segmental features

Word stress falls on the last vowel of the word unless otherwise marked. The following generalizations, however, can be made: inflectional suffixes, including the suffixed pronouns and the suffixed copula, are not stressed; thus, word stress falls on stem-final vowels.

The secondary noun plural marker -ân and the noun marker of definiteness -aka, however, are exceptions to this rule. Thus, the stem of the verb gêrû-m-awa 'I told, related (a story)' is gêrû- whereas the stem of the noun is gêrû-n-awa 'relating, telling'. Vocatives take word stress on the first vowel of the word: birâ ~ brû 'brother', but vocative birâ 'Brother!'.

On the phrase or clause level some words are uttered more loudly than others, whose word stress is then reduced to secondary stress (indicated here by small undercircle) or is suppressed, as in tâzaya 'it is new', but zôr tâzaya 'it is very new'. Nouns are generally stressed:

ïôżêk la ñôżân čûyn bô sayrân 'one day we went on a picnic';

so are interogatives and negatives:

bô a-cïta avê 'why are you going there?'.

but bô nâcïta avê 'why aren't you going there?'

In a noun phrase stress is as follows:

(1) Dependent attribute. In izâfa phrases (those containing the liaison morpheme -î) the final word is stressed: ñôżêki bûš 'a nice day'.

(2) Pre-head modifiers tend to attract stress:

(a) Interrogatives, like cî 'which?', what?', kâm 'which?', êag 'how many?', and the bracket cî̄ ... (êk) 'what, which?':

êcî-pyûîv(êk) håt? kâm pyûîv håt?
'which man came? what man came?';
êag pyûîv(êk) håt? 'how many men came?';

(b) Numerals and quantifiers: dû pyûîv 'two men'; hamû ... êk 'each, every'; and zôr 'much, many, very':

zôr pyûîv håt 'many men came'.

(3) Prepositions are generally unstressed, although the preposition bô 'for, to' usually does receive sentence stress:

haz akam bičîm bô bûzûr 'I'd like to go to the marketplace'.

On the sentence level, the following classes of words attract sentence stress:

- Demonstratives: aw darsa saxt bû 'that lesson was hard';
- Adverbials: umîr zhî hal stâm 'I got up early today';
- Preverbals: kay hal stây? 'when did you get up?';
- Interrogatives: kay håtî bô êra? 'when did you come here?';
- Interrogatives: ow kiča kêyô? 'who is that girl?';
- Negatives: min azânîm, bûlâm av nûzânê 'I know, but he doesn't';
   na', zôr bûsh m-ya 'no, it's not very good'.

- Adverbials: umîr zhî hal stâm 'I got up early today';
- Preverbals: kay hal stây? 'when did you get up?';
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   na', zôr bûsh m-ya 'no, it's not very good'.
2.3 Conditioned and morphophonemic changes

In this section stress will be marked when it plays a significant role in the process; inherently-stressed affixes will also be so marked. The hyphen denotes a morphological boundary and the period marks syllable division.

2.3.1 Vowels

In the following rules it will be noted that the lower a vowel is the more morphophonologically powerful it is. That is, in contact between low and mid vowels, the low vowel is stable and the mid vowel undergoes change, while mid vowels overpower high vowels. Further, long vowels are stronger than short ones, and stressed long high vowels are more stable than unstressed high ones. That is, there is a hierarchy of susceptibility to conditioned change. It is defined by three parameters: (1) articulatory highness; that is, of two vowels in adjacent syllables or in contact, the low vowel is more stable than the mid vowel, and the mid vowel is more stable than the high vowel; (2) relative length; and (3) relative stress. Overall, the vowels of SuI. Kurdish fall into six sets of stability priority, with ı being the highest, and the short high vowels the lowest:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 10.4: HIERARCHY OF VOCALIC SETS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. long low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. long mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. stressed long high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. short low-mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. unstressed high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. short high</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two behaviors are evinced when identical vowels come together: identical high vowels merge whereas identical non-high vowels are separated by glides. The behavior of short a is exceptional here in that it behaves like the high rather than the non-high vowels. Phonologically, all long vowels are shortened when unstressed, and high and mid long vowels are shortened and lowered before consonant clusters or before homorganic glides.

2.3.1.1 Glide insertion, V-G-V

Two adjacent vowels are connected by an unstable glide (for exceptions see below): örl̪-y-ăn ‘lamp-s’, drō-ya-ăn ‘lie-s’, ązā-ya-ı ‘brave-ry’, xwē-ya-ı ‘it is salt’, zûn-ı ‘it is early’.

2.3.1.2 Conditioned shortening

All long vowels, ı ̄ ı ̄ ı ̄ ı , are phonologically shortened and lowered when unstressed: i > i [ı]: sāyî [sā:yi:] ‘ceremony’, but hāt-i [hā:ti] ‘you-2s came’; e > e: a-č-ē [aΧe:] ‘he goes’, but jār-e [ja:re] ‘one time, once’; o > o [o]: nō [no:] ‘nine’, but bōbō [ba:bo] ‘father!’ (initial vocative stress); ı > a [a]: bābā [ba:ba] ‘Qalandar dervish’, but bābā [ba:ba] ‘indeed, to be sure’.

2.3.1.3 Contraction

Sequences of high vowels and glides contract, (1) to semivowels, ı, when unstressed, and (2) to single long vowel when homorganic:
(1) kānō- y-ān > kān- y-ān 'water springs'; nō-w-ū > nō- w 'nine and ...'; čū-y-ī(t) > čū- y(t) 'you-2s went', a-lē-y-ī(t) > alē- y(t) 'you say', āzā-y-ī(t) > āzā- y(t) 'you are brave';

(2) di- y-ī(t) > dī- (t) 'you saw', amaraki- y-ū > amaraki- t 'you are an American'; čū-w-ū > čū 'has gone'.

Exceptions are (1) definite -a-ky-; (2) present stems in -a(h); (3) central vowel i.

(1) The definite suffix -akc: contracts with word-final -a, -ā, and with the plural ending -ān: talabā + -a-ka > talaba-ka 'the student', ērā-ka 'the lamp', ērā- k-ān 'the lamps';

(2) The 3s ending -at contracts to -ā-t when attached to the following sets of stems:

(a) stems in Ca: a-da + at > a-dā- t 'gives'; a-ka + -at > a-kā-t 'does'; a-ba + -at > a-bā-t 'takes, carries';

(b) the stems xwa- and faw-: a-xwa- + -at > a-xwā-t 'eats'; a-faw- + -at > a-fwā-t 'goes'; however, xwa-, faw- > xō-, rō- before the other personal endings or pause, e.g. a-xō-in 'we eat', a-rō-y(t) '2s go', bi-xō 'eat!', bi-rō 'go!'.

(3) Central short i is (a) rounded in contact with w, and is (b) elided after vowel: nāw-im > nā- w-un 'my name'; čū + -im > čū-m 'I went', a-xō-in > a-xō-n 'they eat'; fārmā-i bū > farμā bū 'had ordered' (but xwārd-i bū 'had eaten').

2.3.1.4 Unstressed i

Short central vowel i is elided in unstressed syllables, except in deliberate speech: žīn-ān (deliberate register) ~ žīn-ān (normal register) 'women', a-č-īm-a > a-č-m-a 'I go to', diřik-ū-dāl > dirk-ū-dāl 'thorns and weeds', biṟā 'brother' in vocative, but elsewhere brā.

2.3.1.5 Clusters and homorganic glides

The high and mid vowels i ū ā, but not ē, are shortened and lowered (1) before consonant clusters and (2) before homorganic glides. Pre-cluster shortening is most notable in present and past stems:

(1) dā a-nūš-imlā ništ-im 'I sit/sat down', a-frōš-im/l frōšt-im [frōšt-im] 'I sell/sold', a-nūmlmyst-im 'I sleep/slept';

(2) či- y-ā > či- y-a 'what is it?', nū-y-ā > nī-y-a 'is not', zū-w-a > zu-w-a 'is early'.

2.3.2 Consonants

Conditioned variation increases from deliberate to normal to rapid speech. Consonants may undergo assimilation, occur intrusively, or be elided, depending on the environment.

2.3.2.1 Voice assimilation

Stops are fully released in word-final position. Voiced stops and fricatives may be partially or fully unvoiced in final position; sag [sag ~ sak] 'dog', sīg ~ sīk 'stomach', xālūz ~ xālūz 'charcoal'.

Voiced and voiceless stops (but not q) and sibilants undergo partial regressive assimilation in any position: stop, bičāk > p-čāk 'little'; čī bi-ka-m ~ čī p-ka-m 'what shall I do?'; sibilant, xošt bū > xoż bū 'it was fine'; pāš nīw-a-rō > pāž nīw-a-řō 'after noon'.

2.3.2.2 Palatalization and fronting

In informal speech, the velar stops and the labials except b and m are fronted before front vowels and y.

(1) k g become the dorso-palatal affricates [ts] [dz] in contrast with the lamino-postalveolar affricates č [ʧ] and j [ʤ]. To the uninitiated ear the palatalized stops are easily confused with their corresponding affricates: kē [kʰē] 'who?', giyên [gʰyə:n] 'soul', agī na [agʰi:na] 'otherwise', čâk-i [ʧâ:kʰi:] 'are you well?', mumkîn [mumkʰîn] 'possible';

(2) p, w, f: pênj [pʰe:nj] 'five', fênk [fᵉ:nk] 'cool'.

2.3.2.3 Fronting of w


2.3.2.4 Dentals

Before pause the final -t of the personal endings 2s -î(t), 3s -at, -êt and the personal enclitic 2s -it may be elided: a-êt > a-ê-î 'you go', but a-êt-awa 'you go back'; dast-êt > dast-î 'your hand'; b-ê(t) 'may 3s be', but a-b-êt-awa 'becomes', hât-û-w-a 'has come', but hât-û-w-at-awa 'has come back'.

2.3.2.5 The "Zagros d"

As a widespread regional feature, termed the "Zagros d" (Windfuhr), postvocalic d is softened to glide-like -i-, or -w-, and contracts with adjacent high vowels: a-da-m ~ a-iq-m 'I give'; nadjîr ~ nøiîr 'Nadir' (masc. proper name); bad ~ baï 'bad'; xwâ ~ xwê 'God' < *xudâ. Note that all vocalic past stems originate in -Vd.farnui- < *farmud- 'ordered' (see section 3.2.1 Stem formation).

2.3.2.6 Nasal assimilation

Elsewhere, d assimilates to a preceding nasal: qalam-dân ~ qalam-mân 'pencil box'; lê-m dâ-yî ~ lê-m mû-yî 'I hit you' (past tense); ʃasm-aka-y pîşân dâ-m ~ ʃasm-aka-y pîşân nâ-m 'he showed me the picture'.

The sequence nd may alternate with contracted n, or with contracted ʃ: afandî ~ afanî 'gentleman'; mândû ~ mûngî 'tired', ʃand ~ ʃan ~ caş 'how many; several', band-a-xwen ~ banaxwên ~ bagaxwên 'belt-cord'.


2.3.2.7 Intrusive d

d' is often intrusive in sequences of -nr-: the passive perfect participles čên-râ-w ~ čên-d-râ-w 'sown'; diroñ-râ-w ~ dirën-d-râ-w 'torn'.

2.3.2.8 Deletion of \( h \)

\( h \) may be lost in non-initial position: \( \text{rōz-hal-hāt} \sim \text{rōz-al-āt} \) 'sunrise; east'; \( na-hāt \sim na-āt \) 'he didn’t come'; \( bi-hēn-a \sim bēn-a \) 'bring!'.

3 MORPHOLOGY

Kurdish has the morphologically defined word classes nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, and particles. Particles, which are indeclinable, are subclassed syntactically into interjections, interrogatives, conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs, and preverbal; a closed class, all particles except interjections and conjunctions may receive suffixed pronouns. Particles are found in Syntax in conjunction with the syntactically relevant feature.

3.1 Nominal morphology

In Sulaimania Kurdish grammatical gender has been lost. So have the case distinctions in nouns and pronouns, except for a few remnant traces, and have been replaced by a complex system of person marking. In turn, definiteness has evolved as a major category.

3.1.1 Nouns

3.1.1.1 Gender, number, and definiteness

Gender of animate nouns may be shown lexically in male/female pairs: \( gā \) 'ox' and \( mād-gā \) 'cow' (\(<\text{*mād}i\)yān 'female').

Nouns may be inflected for number and definiteness; some nouns also may show vocative case or relic locative case endings. The bare stem may signify indefinite non-specific singular or a generic plural; \(-e\kappa\) signals indefinite specific singular, and \(-a\kappa\) marks definiteness; \(-ān\) denotes plural, and follows the definite suffix, if any. The deictic envelopes \( a\text{mlaw...a} \) 'this/that', inherently definite, may cover a noun with or without the plural suffix. These are all illustrated with \( \text{pyāw} \) 'man' in the following synoptic table (arrangement suggested by Windfuhr):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 10.5: SPECIFICITY AND DEFINITENESS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.1.2 Vocative

Singular names may receive the unstressed vocative suffix \(-a\) (\(-a\) after vowels) and, after plural nouns, \(-in-a\), in direct address; polysyllables, especially those of Iranian origin, take word-initial stress: \( hēro-w-a, waq̣a-bō \) ērat 'Hero (fem.), come here!' \( xalk-īn-a\) 'People! Everybody!'
3.1.1.3 Locative

The relic locative suffix -e is found on a few nouns of place or time: šahr-é 'in the city', šawar-é 'in the evening', with the form -n-e after a vowel: sibay-n-e 'tomorrow' (cf. sibay 'morrow', dîverbay 'day after tomorrow').

3.1.2 Adjectives and degree

Adjectives, like nouns, can receive the definite suffix, the indefinite suffix and the plural suffix and, additionally, can be made comparative or superlative: čák 'good'; čák-ek 'a good one'; čák-ak-ân 'the good ones'. Degree is indicated by the comparative suffix -tir, with la 'from, than' introducing the compared item; the superlative form in -trín precedes the noun head:

ahlâd zîrak-tir-a la kâwâ; la hamê-yân zîrak-trín talaba-y-a.

'Ahmad is smarter than Kawa; he is the smartest student of (la) all of them.'

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.3.1 Personal and demonstrative pronouns

In addition to the personal pronoun, which may be (1) independent, or (2) clitic, there are also reflexive pronouns; for interrogative pronouns see section 3.1.3.4. Independent and clitic suffixed pronouns show distinction of person and number, but are otherwise invariable. Suffixes lose -î and -în in postvocalic contractions.

| TABLE 10.6: INDEPENDENT AND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
|                  | 1st pers. | 2nd pers. | 3rd pers. | 'that' | 'this' |
| Indep. sg.       | min       | tô        | aw        | aw-a    | am-a    |
| Indep. pl.       | emph      | tôwa      | aw-an     | aw-an-a | am-an-a |
| Enclitic sg.     | -în-în    | -în-lîn  | -în-în    | -în-în  |
| Enclitic pl.     | -mân      | -tân      | -yân      |         |

The 2s may receive the nominal emphatic vocative clitic: mâv-ka, tô-w-a 'don't do (that), you!'.

(1) The independent pronouns are mostly used for emphasis or contrastive focus. They occur as:

(a) subjects; (b) objects of prepositions; and (c) possessors in izâfa noun phrases.

(2) The clitic pronouns may be suffixed to nouns to denote possessor: mâv-im 'my name'. They may be infixed between predicate and copula as experiencer or beneficiary:

/bô čîl-t-a? 'what is that for you?' = 'what do you want with that?';
/bas)'-t-a? 'is (that) enough for you?'.

They also serve as pronoun objects of transitive verbs in the present tense, as in a-yân-nás-im 'I know them' (-yân); and as the subject markers of past tense transitive verbs (see section 4.4.4 Past agent suffixes).
(3) The demonstrative pronouns manifest a one-level contrast, proximal *am-a* 'this, this one' and distal *aw-a* 'that, that one'. The separability of -a appears in their attributive functions, when they become the discontinuous envelopes *am* . . . *a* 'this' and *aw* . . . *a* 'that':

\[ am-a \] bāš-a-w / aw-ān-a \] bāš nī-n
'this one is good and those are not good',
but \[ am \] qalam-\[ a \] bāš-a-w aw-qalam-ān-a zōr bāš nī-n
'this pen (qalam) is okay; those pens are not very good.'

3.1.3.2 Possessive forms

Independent pronominal possession is expressed by the izāja-construction *hī* + the personal enclitics, or possessor: *hī min* 'mine', *hī dāyk-im* 'my mother’s', etc. (see 4.2.2.1).

3.1.3.3 Reflexive-emphatic pronouns

Reflexive-emphatic pronouns consist of *xē* 'self' plus a clitic pronoun: *xē-m* 'myself', *xē-t* 'yourself', etc.: reflexive, *xē-tān āmādā ka-a-n* 'get yourselves ready!'; emphatic: *xē-t a-zān-i* 'you know'. – *yak-tīr* 'each other' serves as a reciprocal pronoun.

3.1.3.4 Interrogatives and related adverbials

Interrogatives: *kē* 'who?', *čī* 'what?', *kām* 'which?', *čand* 'how many?', *kwē* 'where?', *kay* 'when?', *čōn* 'how!', *bō* ĉī ~ *bō*! 'for what, why?', *kwā* 'where is . . .' typically receives a copula suffix as subject, as in *kwā-n?* 'where are they?', *kwā kuṟ-aka-m?* 'where is my son?' (see also sections 3.1.5 Adverbs and 3.1.6.3 Quantifiers).

3.1.4 Adpositions

3.1.4.1 Pre- and postpositions

The basic adpositions include:

(1) Two prepositions:

(a) the multivalent *ba* 'in, at; by; to'; and
(b) the bipolar *la* 'in' or 'from': *ba kurdi* 'in Kurdish', *la karkūk* 'in Kirkuk', *la čāk-ak-ān* 'from the good ones'.

(2) The postverbal allative clitic -*a* 'to': *a-č-ān-a karkūk* 'we are going to Kirkuk';

(3) Two postpositions:

(a) -*dā* 'in', and
(b) -*awa* 'from', only combined with prepositions.

(4) Other adpositions include:

(a) *bō* 'for', also indirect object; goal, *bō min ~ bō-m* 'for me': *a-č-im bō bayā* 'I'm going to Baghdad', *a-y-da-m bō tō* 'I'm giving it to you';
(b) *tā, hatā, hatākū* 'till, as far as': *gyšt-in hatā karkūk* 'they arrived as far as Kirkuk';
3.1.4.2 Absolute forms

The first four adpositions listed above, *ba*, *la*, *-a*, *dā*, have absolute forms marked by *-e* and devoicing: *pē*, *lē*, *-ē* ~ *-r-ē* (postvocalic), *tē*. While *ba* and *la* occur with following nouns, independent pronouns or with other prepositions, *pē* and *lē* occur elsewhere, and may take the personal enclitics, thus *ba min* > *pē-m*, *la avân* > *lē-yân*, e.g. *lē-t a-dā* 'he hits (at) you'. It also occurs in infinitives, e.g. *pē kan-ēn* 'to laugh'.

*bā* 'for, to' corresponds to *-a* + noun, and postverbal *-(r)e*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ba} - \text{alcit} - a\text{ba} & \text{ya} - dā? \text{ 'when are you going to Baghdad?';} \\ 
\text{bō} & \text{min bi-da} \ '\text{give me (some)!'} \text{ vs.} \\ 
\text{bi-m-da-r-ē-n} & \ '\text{give them (-in)} \text{ to (-r-ē) me!'} \text{ (-im)}; \\ 
\text{dinār-ēk-it a-da-m-ē} & \ 'I'll give to (-ē) you (-it) a dinar'.
\end{align*}
\]

3.1.4.3 Circumpositions

*ba* and *la* form circumpositions with *-dā* and *-awa*. Note that *balla* lose their vowel before the initial vowel of the demonstratives pronouns, *aw-*lam-, and some adverbs, *avē* 'there', *ēra* 'here', e.g. *l-ēra* 'in this place, here'. Similarly *-dā* > *-ā* after consonants:

(1) *ba* and *la*:

(a) *ba* . . . *awa* 'with (instrument)'; *ba* xwē-y-awa 'with salt'; *ba* qalam-awa b-i-nūs-a 'write it with a pen (qalam)!';
(b) *la* . . . *dā* 'in': *la* karkūk-(d)ā 'in Kirkuk';
(c) *la* . . . *awa* 'from', *la* karkūk-awa *bō* *bayā* 'from Kirkuk to Baghdad', *l-aw-lā*, *awa* 'on ("from") that (aw) side (*lā*)'.

(2) Other circumpositions include:

(a) *ba* . . . *dā* 'through': *ba* bāzār-ā ē-yān 'we went by way of the bazaar';
(b) *la-gal* . . . (dā) 'together with';
(c) *bō* . . . *awa* 'through'.

These circumpositions thus also serve to disambiguate the bipolar *la* 'in' and 'from': *la* karkūk 'in/from Kirkuk', but *la* karkūk-ā 'in Kirkuk' (< *-dā*) vs. *la* karkūk-awa 'from Kirkuk'.

Note that *la* . . . *dā* may function to express *sensations*, with or without temporal-locative *-ān*: *la* tīnā-dā 'from thirst', *la* tirs-ān-ā 'from, with fear'.

3.1.4.4 Compound absolute forms

While *-ē* (< *-a*) is always enclitic to the verb, there are compound absolute forms with *-awa* and *-dā*, thus: *ba-awa* > *pēwa* 'in, at'; *ba-dā* > *pēdā* > *pyā*; *pyā-m-ā* 'at, on me'; *dā-awa* > *tēwa*; *dā-dā* > *tēdā* > *tyā* 'inside'.
Combined with -ēk, there are: pēk, pēkawa 'together'; lēk 'from each other'; tēk 'together'.

These, in turn, may be attributive, like tyā in naxša-y-ēk-i-kurdustān{-i-tyā}-y-a 'there's a map (naxša) of Kurdistan in it'.

Both simple and derived absolute forms may also function as preverbs (see section 3.2.1.3).

3.1.5 Adverbs

3.1.5.1 Lexical adverbs

Adverbs as a word class are essentially lexical items, without general marking patterns. Some adverbs have opaque deictic markers: ēra 'here', avē 'there', ēstā 'now', with appositional forms such as l-ēra 'in this place, here', l-ēra-wa 'from here, hence', bō ēra 'hither', l-avē 'in that place, there'.

Some are derived, such as dwā-y-ī 'later'. Others are compounds with or without adpositions, often Persian in origin, such as yak-sar 'immediately'; damdam 'from time to time', dar-hāl 'immediately', or Arabic loans such as xāsāt-an 'especially'. Others include: unjā 'then; in that case', hēstā 'still, yet' (with negative verb), tankā 'only, alone', zōr 'very'.

A specific subset is terms of time relations, such as un-rō 'today', un-sav 'this evening', pār 'last year', pās-a-rēz 'in the future', sibhay-n-e 'tomorrow'.

har 'just, only' is selective-restrictive: har l-avē 'only over there'; har ēstā 'right now'; har kabāb a-xō-m 'I eat only kabob' and mīn kabāb har a-xō-m 'I do nothing but eat kabob'.

wā 'thus, like this', (< OIr. *awa-dā) functions as the manner adverb, with regular adverbial stress: wā hāt-im 'I came like this', wā a-xō-m 'I eat thus, this is how I eat'. It is distinct from the unstressed locative-temporal verbal particle wā 'here, now' (< OIr. *awa-dā): wā hāt-im 'I'm coming, I'm on my way', wā a-xō-m 'I am now eating', wā-n la ērān-dā 'they are (-in) now (wā) in Iran'.

3.1.5.2 Adverbial phrases

Prepositional phrases and nouns with inherent adverbial meaning, with or without adpositions, may function adverbially:

(1) Prepositional phrases:

pēš saūt dū 'before 2:00'; la pēš nān xwārd-in 'before eating'; pāš nīw-a-rō 'after noon', and la pāš awa '(from) after that', dwāy 'after (time)'; dwāy awa ēn-bō bāzār 'after that they went to the market'.

(2) Nouns:

ba sar . . . dā 'over' (sar 'head, top'); la nāw . . . (dā) 'within, inside of' (nāw 'inside'); la nāw . . . (awa) 'from out of'; la bābat . . . (awa) 'about, concerning' (bābat 'item, topic'); witār-ēk la [bābat šīr-i-kurdī-y]-awa 'a talk on Kurdish poetry'.

3.1.5.3 Īzāfa construction

While such phrases precede their dependent directly, they themselves may follow nouns or adverbials, in which case the dependent is attached by regular īzāfa (see Section 4.2.
Noun phrase structure): la-bar dam-î X 'in front of X' (dam ‘mouth’); la mā beyn-î ‘in between’.

3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 10.7: CARDINAL NUMBERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yânz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwânzda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čwîr</td>
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<tr>
<td>pënja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>să</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>havda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haszda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nozda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers higher than ‘1’ are followed by the singular nominal; however, the plural is marked in the verb, e.g. with interrogative-indefinite čand – čaj: čaj pyîw (-êk) hât-in? ‘how many men came?’ and dû pyîw hât-in ‘two men came’.

In time telling, the noun sa’at ‘hour; clock, watch’ precedes the number without connective: sa’at dû ‘two o’clock’ vs. dû sa’at ‘two hours’ or ‘two watches’, etc.

Numbers may be nominalized by -ân, e.g. dû-yaân hât-in ‘two (of them) came’, sê-yaân ‘three of them’.

3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are marked by stressed -âm: yâk-âm ‘first’, čwûr-âm ‘fourth’. The selective ordinal adds -în: yâk-âm-în ‘the very first’, čwûr-âm-în ‘the fourth’, and precedes the head: âm-a sê-ya-âm(-în) kûjra-y-a ‘this is the third congress’.

3.1.6.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are uninflected nominals that signify amount or number, and may function independently or as pre-head noun modifiers. They typically are followed by a singular noun which has the indefinite suffix -ê(k); they receive phrasal stress, with the following noun receiving secondary stress. They include hamû ... -ê(k) ‘each, every’: hamû ūzê-êk ‘every day’; čand – čaj – čan ... -ê(k) ‘some, a few’: čaj pyîw-êk ‘a few men’; gal-ê(k) ‘a great number of’, e.g. gal-ê jîr ‘many times, often’; har ... -ê(k) ‘each, any’: har yêk-êk ‘each one, any one’; hîc ‘any’, with negative verb ‘no’: hîc kas na-hât ‘nobody came’. I-am čand-ân-ût-dû ‘in the past few days, recently’ illustrates independent usage.

The quantifier zûr ‘many’ may be linked to a preceding noun head by izûfû but is usually preposed without izûfû, e.g. zûr pyîw – pyîw-êzûr ‘many men’.
There is a miscellaneous group of nouns that function as numerals or with numerals.

(1) The classifier *sar* ‘head’ is used in a numeral phrase as a pre-head nominal modifier: *panjā sar ma‘a* ‘fifty head of sheep’.

(2) *dānā* ‘item, thing’ (cf. *dān* ‘grain’) functions with *yak* ‘one’ as a pronoun: ġand-yān hāt-in? ‘how many (of them) came? – *yak* dānā ‘one.’

(3) *tā* ‘one of a pair; half’ functions as a noun: *tā-dargā* ‘leaf of a double door’.

### 3.2 Verb morphology

Verbs are inflected for aspect, mood, tense, person and number, and show distinctions of transitivity and voice. All verbs may be made negative, and transitive verbs may receive an enclitic pronominal object, while intransitive verbs may be made causative.

#### 3.2.1 Stem formation and modifiers

**3.2.1.1 Present and past stems**

Verbs are based on two stems, present and past. Past stems are distinguished typically by the dental stop: *frōš-frōšt* ‘self’, *mir-Imird* ‘die’, sometimes accompanied by difference in voicing: *kuž- lušt* ‘kill’; or additional segments: *řō-řōšt* ‘go’, *avē-lwist- ‘want’; or ablaut: *bižér-bižārd* ‘choose’. Others may show no overt distinction, such as *past-past-press’; or are suppletive, such as *lē-lwut- ‘say’, īl-hāt- ‘come’.

Typical for Kurdish are also vocalic past stems in -*i,-i,-a* (*< -*id,*-ūd,*-ād*), where the inherent dental -*d* is obscured by postvocalic softening and contraction (“Zagros-*d*”): *larz-larzē- ‘tremble’, *farmū-farmū- ‘command’, *tirs-tirsā- ‘fear’. “Regular” verbs have -*ē-ē-ē- *gār-ē-gar-ā- ‘stroll’.

**3.2.1.2 Morphological passive and causative**

(1) Passive stems are derived from present stems by -*r-e/r-a « *-r-ad):* *kuž-re-Ikuz-ra- ‘be killed’. They are inflected with intransitive subject markers: *a-kuž-r-e-m ‘I am, will be killed’; *kuž-r-a-y-im ‘I have been killed’; *agar bi-kuž-r-e-m ‘if I am killed’; *agar bi-kuž-r-a-m-ā-y-a ‘if I had been killed’.

Stems in *Ca- > Ci-rCu-r*, thus: *ka- ‘do’ > *ki-r-ē-lkir-ā- ‘be done’, *xwa-lxō- ‘eat’ > *xor-ē-lxur-ā- ‘be eaten’, *da- ‘give, to hit’ > *di-r-ē-lldi-ā- ‘be given; be hit’.


**3.2.1.3 Preverbs and postverbs**

Preverbs modify verbal meanings or create new lexical items. They include two main sets: inherited prefixes and absolute prepositional forms (see section 3.1.4 Adpositions). They form a closed class, numbering a dozen or so at most. In the following listing, illustrative combinations are mostly given with the verbs ġān- ‘go’, hāt-in ‘come’, hēnān ‘bring’.
### TABLE 10.8: PREVERBS AND PREFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>čā-n 'go'</th>
<th>hāt-in 'come'</th>
<th>hēnā-n 'bring'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>hal</strong></td>
<td>'up'</td>
<td>'boil over'; 'jump over'</td>
<td>'produce'; 'hatch (egg)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dā</strong></td>
<td>'down'</td>
<td>'sag'; 'lose prestige'</td>
<td>'come down'; 'bring down'; 'invent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rū</strong></td>
<td>'down'</td>
<td>'go down'; 'sink down'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rā</strong></td>
<td>'forth, away'</td>
<td>'go down'; 'leak'</td>
<td>'become used to'; 'train, tame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dar</strong></td>
<td>'out'</td>
<td>'go out, appear'</td>
<td>'come out, emerge'; 'bring out, produce'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>war</strong></td>
<td>'from'</td>
<td>'get from, receive'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 10.9: PREVERBS: EXTENDED PREPOSITIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>čā-n 'go'</th>
<th>hāt-in 'come'</th>
<th>hēnā-n 'bring'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>pēdā́̄ pḗyā́ 'across'</strong></td>
<td>'penetrate into'</td>
<td>'come through, traverse'</td>
<td>'rub on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pēva</strong></td>
<td>'in, on, with'</td>
<td>'fit into'</td>
<td>'bring luck to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pēk</strong></td>
<td>'together'</td>
<td>'quarrel with each other'</td>
<td>'bring together, unite, create'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tē</strong></td>
<td>'in, into, on'</td>
<td>'enter, pierce'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tēk</strong></td>
<td>'together'</td>
<td>'fall together'; 'lose composure'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both subsets may combine: [tē hal] dā-n 'kick (someone)', [tēk war] dā-n 'stir' (lit. 'hit together', cf. Persian be ham zadan).

#### 3.2.1.4 Adpositions

Prepositions as well as postpositions may similarly modify verbal meanings; note that with infinitives the absolute form is used:

- lallḗ: lē dā-n 'hit (at), play (instrument)'; lē girt-in 'receive, get from'; lē sand-in 'take from'; balpd: pē dā-n 'give to'; pē kand-n 'laugh at'; pē wit-in 'say to, tell'; bū-n ba 'become, come to be';
- -al-ḗ postvocalic -r-ḗ: čā-n-a 'go to'; dā-n-ḗ 'give to';
- -awa, postvocalic -r-awa: dā-n-awa 'give back, return (s.th.)'; xward-in-awa 'drink' vs. xward-in 'eat'; kird-in-awa 'do again; to open'; čā-n-awa 'return, go back'; hāt-in-awa 'come back/again'; bū-n-awa 'become, happen to'.

Note that ba, la, -a > pe, lē-, -ḗ occur with personal enclitics (see section 3.1.4 Adpositions). There is correspondence between the prepositions bō and -a: -a is found on verbs of movement: bōbā + čā-n 'go to' vs. postverbal čā-n bō ~ čā-n-a as in kay a-ē-ī [bō bāyā? ~ kay a-ē-ī[-a bāyā]? 'when will you go to Baghdad?'; cf. hāt-in[-a dī] 'come into view, be realized'.

kurdish
The absolute form of -(r)-ë (< -a) is found with verbs of giving such as dā-n ‘give’: bō min bi-da-[r-ë] ~ bi-m-da-[r-ë] ‘give it to me’.

3.2.1.5 Compound verbs

A large number of verbs are compound, consisting of a nominal with a small subset of function verbs, mostly kird-in ‘do, make’ and bū-n ‘become’: čāk kird-in ‘make good, improve’.

Object complements may be introduced by: (1) Correlated prepositional phrases, such as gwē la X girt-in ‘take ear to X, listen to’; or (2) izāfa constructions: bās-i X kird-in ‘make discussion of, discuss X’; čāvarē-i X kird-in ‘make expectation of, wait for X’.

Lexical intransitive vs. transitive function is found with certain pairs of verbs, such as hāt-inlēnā-n ‘come!’ ‘bring’: hāt-in-a dī ‘come into being, be realized’ and lēnā-n-a dī ‘bring into being, create’.

3.2.2 Nominal forms

The two most prominent nominal forms are the infinitive (“verbal noun”) and the past participle (“verbal adjective”), both of which are derived from the past stem. Morphologically, they are nouns or adjectives respectively, and syntactically they have the force of verbs as well as that of nouns or adjectives. Semantically, infinitives name the notion of the verb from which they are derived and serve as the citation form of the verb. Participles denote the resultant state on the completion of the action of the verb.

3.2.2.1 Infinitive

Infinitives are marked by -in: kird-in ‘make, do’, or -n after postvocalic contraction: gařā-n ‘stroll’ (< *gař-ād-in).

3.2.2.2 Past participles

Past participles are marked by -ū, which forms diphthongs or contracts with preceding vowels: xwārd-ū ‘(having) eaten’, kawt-ū ‘(having) fallen’, bīnī-w ‘(having) seen’ (< *bīn-ūd-ū), bū ‘(having) been’ (< *būd-ū).

3.2.3 Person marking and ‘to be, become’

The following is an overview of person marking. It combines the existential verb and the copula, with the personal endings and agent markers, and the verb ‘to be, become’ in the various tenses. Note that the markers of the 2p and 3p have merged except in the transitive past tenses, where the agent markers are in fact the personal enclitics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 10.10: PERSON MARKING AND ‘TO BE, BECOME’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present, Subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regarding (t) in the 2s, 3s endings, it appears before vocalic eli tic in 2s -l(t) and in 3s -ari(t). In the 3s, the copula -a(t) 'is' and a preceding 3s suffix -i combine to -êti. pyêw-i+a (-i as possessor) > pyêw-y-êti 'he is his (-i) man'.

Similarly, in present perfect forms the 3s copula -a(t) appears as -a when in final position: xwârû-û-y-[a] 'he has eaten', but -t appears when followed by a postposition: hûtu-w-inf-att-ava 'I have returned', xwârûûû-û-y-[ê]-i't he has eaten it' (y < 3s agent -û).

The 3s ending -ê(t) occurs after present stems in -a: ka-att > k-êt 'does', xwâ-att > xw-êt 'eats' (see section 2.3.1.3 Constructions).

The imperative 2s -a is absorbed by the stem vowel: ben-a 'bring!', but bi-ê 'go!'. The verb ê-lhûn-in 'come' has a suppletive stem in the positive, war-ä!, but prohibitive ma-ê 'don't come!'.

The change-of-state forms of b- 'be, become' regularly take the imperfective prefix a- and the subjunctive-imperative bi-:

(1) 'exist, be there':

êmâš ha-yn! 'we also exist' (don't forget us!); but
gal-ê kas ha-bû,  bâlam êstâ hîc kas nî-y-a 'there was a lot of people, but now there is no one';

(2) 'be, become':

bâš a-b-ê '(that) will be fine';
cê a-b-êt-ava?
'what will become of it?' (lit. 'what will it become').

The forms of the present perfect of b- 'be, become' are identical with the preterite forms due to contraction: bû- 'was/were' and 'has/have been' (< pret. *bûd, < perf. *bûd-û); the past perfect has bû-bû- 'had been' (< *bûd-i bûd).

### 3.2.4 Aspectual-modal and negative prefixes

There are two aspectual-modal prefixes, as well as a negative and a prohibitive prefix:

- **a-**, nû- ineffective (< na-ay): a-ê-y- 'you go' – nê-ê-y- 'you don’t go';
- **bi-**, na- subjunctive, conditional: bi-ê-y- 'if you go' – ngê-ê-y- 'if (if) you don’t go';
- **bî-, ma-** imperative, prohibitive: bî-ê- 'go!' – ma-ê- 'don’t go!'

In the present indicative of 'to come', the imperfective marker and the stem ê- merge to 'to yê-: ye-m 'I come'.

**bi-** may be omitted, particularly with nominal preverbs: lâ çô 'go away!' for lâ bi-çô, and tends to show vocalic contraction: bê-t 'that he come' < bi-ê-t; but bi- marks the
distinction between state and process with ‘be’; thus, b-ēt ‘(if) 3s be’ vs. bi-b-ēt ‘(if) 3s become’; pyāw-a čāk b-a ‘be a good fellow’

The copula is negated by nf- with the post-vowel endings: nf-y-a ‘is not’. gal-i kas ha-bū balām āstā hēk kas nf-y-a ‘there were a lot of people, but now there is no one’.

The personal enclitics are inserted between these prefixes and the verb stem to denote the direct object: a-y-bīn-im ‘I see him (-i)’; bi-yañ-xō ‘eat them!'; nā-yañ-nās-it ‘you don’t know them’.

3.2.5 System of aspect, mood, and tense

Kurdish has two basic aspects, imperfective and perfective. Indicative verbs are perfective in aspect unless marked by the imperfective aspect prefix a-. Perfective forms depict a single completed event or series of events in a narrative, whereas imperfective verbs depict anything else. Specifically, the imperfective aspect encompasses progressive, habitual, predictive (“future”), generic and, in a narrational context, narrative Aktionsarten; these sub-aspects are generally distinguished by accompanying adverbials such as hamīt ūqēbek ‘every day’, wā (unstressed) ‘right now’, sibq-y-nē ‘tomorrow’, etc.

There are four moods, the indicative and non-indicative imperative, subjunctive, and counterfactual. They show the attitude of the speaker toward the truth-value of the utterance: The indicative denotes propositions uttered as true or factual; the subjunctive denotes potentiality; the counterfactual denotes abstractions that are hypothetical or unrealized (‘irrealis’); and the imperative issues a direct command. The indicative is the default mood, the subjunctive and the imperative being triggered by specified preceding expressions or contexts, such as indefinite antecedents which require a subjunctive verb.

There are two basic tenses, present and past, the latter with four forms, preterite, imperfect, present perfect, and past perfect.

3.2.6 Transitivity and ergativity

Transitivity is marked distinctly in past forms in a tense-split ergative pattern. With intransitive verbs, the subject is marked by the personal endings in all tenses and moods. With transitive verbs, the subject/agent is marked by the personal endings in the present, but by the personal enclitics in the past. These suffixes are mobile, attaching to the leftmost component of the clause after the subject position: the direct object/patient noun or noun phrase, the nominal parts of the verb phrase and in the absence of any other component to the verb form itself (see also section 4.4.3 Subject and object marking in Syntax).

This applies also to compound verbs with transitive verbs, such as kird-in ‘to do’, even though semantically they may be intransitive: umīrō bayānī zū pyāsa [-m kird] ‘I went for a walk early this morning’ (‘did a walk’); ẽmā xās [-mān ū b-wārd] tā ẽwār-a ‘we had a good time until evening’ (‘spent [time]’).

3.2.7 Individual verb forms

Altogether there are five indicative morphological tenses: (1) the present, which depicts activities (progressive, habitual, predictive ["future"], generic) or states in present time, that is, as of the moment of speaking; (2) the imperfect, which depicts the same in past time prior to the moment of speaking; (3) the preterite, which denotes a completed event
or series of events in a narrative; (4) the present perfect, which denotes a completed event with present time relevance; and (5) the past perfect, which recounts an event completed in the past prior to the completion of a subsequent event also in the past.

Regarding subject and object marking, with intransitive verbs the subject is marked by the personal endings in all tenses and moods. With transitive verbs, while the subject/agent is marked by the personal endings in the present tense, it is marked by the personal enclitics in the four past forms. These suffixes are mobile, attaching to the leftmost component of the clause after the subject position: (1) the direct object/patient noun or noun phrase, (2) the nominal parts of the verb phrase, and (3) in the absence of any other component to the verb form itself (see also section 4.4.3 Subject and object marking under Syntax).

3.2.7.1 Present tense

Transitive and intransitive verbs take the same subject markers in the present tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'I come', etc.</th>
<th>'I eat', etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>yē-m</td>
<td>a-xō-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>yē-yt</td>
<td>a-xō-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>yē-t</td>
<td>a-xwõ-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>yē-yn</td>
<td>a-xō-yn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>yē-n</td>
<td>a-xō-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>yē-n</td>
<td>a-xō-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.7.2 Preterite

The preterite ("simple past") consists of the plain past stem and the intransitive subject/transitive agent markers. Stress is placed on the stem vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'I came', etc.</th>
<th>'I ate', etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>hâr-im</td>
<td>xwâr-d-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>hâr-i(t)</td>
<td>xwâr-d-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>hâr</td>
<td>xwâr-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>hâr-in</td>
<td>xwâr-d-mân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>hâr-in</td>
<td>xwâr-d-tân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>hâr-in</td>
<td>xwâr-d-yân.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The preterite is a neutral perfective in aspect; it denotes a single event completed before the time of the utterance. It may denote more than one occurrence in a narrative but does not denote progressive or habitual action: kay hâr-i bô ērâ? 'when did you come here?'; sê jâr hâr-im bô ērâ 'I came here three times'.

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3.2.7.2a "Aorist" function

The preterite is also used to denote the certainty of fulfillment of an action, as well as anticipated certainty: *daŋ-ŋīt ē ḍū bō amērīkā* 'your voice went (has already gone) to America' (said to someone whose voice had just been tape-recorded). That is, the "preterite" is not confined to past contexts; hence it may be called an "aorist" in the same sense that the term is applied to similar phenomena in Persian and other Iranian languages (cf. Windfuhr 1986).

3.2.7.3 Imperfect

The imperfect denotes past progressive and habitual action ("was doing, used to do, would do"), and past future ("he said he would go and tell her the next day"):  

- *a-hāt* '3s was coming'  
- *a-y-xwārd* '3s was eating'  
- *a-hāt-in* 'they were coming'  
- *a-yān-xwārd* 'they were eating'.

The distinction between the preterite and the imperfect is best shown with inherently past forms of the stative verbs such as 'I knew'. Here, the preterite denotes a change of state or entering upon a state, while the imperfect denotes a continuous state or repeated action; thus preterite *zānī-m* 'I knew' in the sense 'found out, learned, recognized then and there' vs. imperfect *a-m-zānī* 'I knew' (all along).

3.2.7.4 Present perfect

The present perfect is based on the perfect participle in *-ū/-,* the person marker, and with transitives the copula *-a:*

- *hāt-ū-w-a* 'he has come'  
- *xwārd-ū-y-a* 'he has eaten'  
- *hāt-ū-n* 'they have come'  
- *xwārd-ū-yān-a* 'they have eaten'.

The present perfect denotes an event completed prior to the moment of speaking but with present time relevance. It can often be translated into English as a present state or condition resulting from a completed event; it thus contrasts with the present in that it denotes a completed event in present time whereas the present denotes an action which is repeated or in the process of happening:

- *hāt-ū-m* 'I have come, I'm here now';  
- *hāt-īm* 'I came, here I am';  
- *yē-m* 'I come, I'm coming, I'll come'.

- *wastā-ū-im* 'I have (now) stood up, I am standing';  
- *a-wastā-im* 'I was getting up' or 'I always stood (there)';  
- *a-wast-īm* 'I am getting up/will stand up' or 'I always stand here'.

3.2.7.5 Past perfect

The past perfect is formed of the reduced perfect participle in *-i +* the past of 'be', and the appropriate person markers, which attach to the entire complex verb form:

- *hāt-i bū* '3s had come'  
- *xwārd-i bū-y* '3s had eaten'  
- *hāt-i bū-n* 'they had come'  
- *xwārd-i bū-yān* 'they had eaten'.
The past perfect denotes an event completed before the completion of a subsequent event in past time, or simply a remote event.

3.2.7.6 Imperative

The imperative is based on the present stem, with the elidable prefix bi- and the endings 2s -a, -a after consonants, and 2p -in. Verbal pronoun objects are inserted before the stem: bi-rō 'go!', bi-yīn-frōš-in 'sell them!'; wa-r- imperative stem of 'come': wa-r- imperative stem of 'come': wa-r-a, bā bi-e-in bō ēra 'come, let's go over here'; da . . . (−dgy) asseverative, invoking attention: da bi-rō, da bi-rō dāy 'go ahead, go on!'; da wa-r-a 'come here!'.

3.2.7.7–8 Present and perfect subjunctives

The present subjunctive is based on the present stem, and the perfect subjunctive on the past stem + -i followed by the subjunctive of the copula. They express imperfective and perfective potential action or state, respectively:

(1) Present, hortative, bāš-a, ē bi-ka-m 'OK, what shall I do?'; bāš-a, bā bi-e-in 'good, let's go'; in dependent clause, bi-č-e(t) 'that' 3s go', bi-xwārd 'that' 3s eat';
(2) Perfect, hāt-i b-e(t) '3s may/might have come'; xwārd-i b-e(t) '3s may/might have eaten'; ūm ha-y-a halparkē-s [krā b-e(t) 'perhaps there was folk-dancing, too' (lit. 'may have been done').

3.2.7.9–10 Imperfective and perfective counterfactual

There are two counterfactual forms marked by the modal prefix bi- and the enclitic -ā + 3s copula -a, attached to the past and the reduced perfect stems. They are restricted in use, occurring mostly in conditional clauses, and express imperfective and perfective hypothetical or irreal action or state (see section 5.5.2 Conditional clauses):

(1) bi-hāt-ā-y-a 'had 3s come' bi-xwārd-ā-y-a 'had 3s eaten'
(2) bi-hāt-i bw-ā-y-a '3s would have come' bi-xwārd-i bw-ā-y-a '3s would have eaten'.

3.2.7.11 Overview of system of aspect, tense, and mood

The basic pattern of the system of tense, aspect, and mood may be shown as follows, using traditional terms for the individual paradigmatic forms in the Is except for the 2s imperative (following suggestions by Windfuhr):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 10.13: SYSTEM OF ASPECT, MOOD, AND TENSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PR = present stem; PT = past stem, intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist &quot;Preterite&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist &quot;Preterite&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present perfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

4.1 Coordinating conjunctions and clitics

The two basic coordinating conjunctions are wa ~ -i-y-w 'and', which usually cliticizes, and yân 'or'. Paired coordinators include wa ... wa 'both ... and', yân ... (wa) yân 'either ... or', na ... (-û, -w) na 'neither ... nor', and others.

In addition, there is the enclitic -iš 'also, too' which attaches to the first component of the clause, even inside the first main component before other clitics:

\[ \text{min-}iš \text{ yê-}m \] 'I'm coming, too'; \[ xō-\{č\}-i vâ wît \] 'he himself (xō) also said (-i wit) so (wâ)'; \[ lê \{č\}-it dâm 'you (-it) also hit me' (lê dâm 'hit'); combined in: \[ nû-xô-m-ava-\{č\}-kêš-im \] 'I don't drink nor do I smoke' (-w < -û 'and').

4.2 Noun phrase structure

4.2.1 Post-head modifiers

Post-head nominal modifiers are linked by either of two liaison morphemes depending on whether the noun is definite or indefinite, where definite is defined as having the definite suffix -aka 'the' or a demonstrative envelope, such as am ... -a 'this', whereas the indefinite noun has neither of these.

4.2.2 Dependent nominals

Dependent nominals, including adjectives, nouns, and nominal phrases, follow the head noun, and are linked by either of two liaison morphemes, -i or -a.

4.2.2.1 Definite nominal phrases

The definite markers -aka 'the' and the deictic envelope amlav ... -a 'this/that' require the liaison morpheme -a-. In all other cases, including non-specific -ık 'a', -i- occurs: kič-ık-i-jwān 'a pretty girl' and kič-a-ìwān-aka 'the pretty girl'.

Note that nouns of inalienable possession (some kinship and body-part names and the noun naw 'name') are implicitly definite and do not receive the definite suffix: dāyk-im 'my mother'; nāw-im 'my name'.

4.2.2.2 Indefinite nominal phrases

The simple nominal phrase consists minimally of an unmarked indefinite noun or other nominal head with optional pre- or, most commonly, post-head modifiers. Numbers and quantifiers precede the head and take phasal stress: dû pyâw 'two men', galê jâr 'many times, ēnd šâl? 'how many years?'

4.2.3 Izāfa construction

The izāfa construction with -i is the unmarked type of subordination. The dependent nominal may be qualifying or limiting (with adjectives, nouns, particles as modifiers), possessive (with nouns, pronouns, interrogatives), appositive (nouns), naming (proper nouns), or infinitival phrases.
While the *izâfa* treats the head and the dependent nominal as separate semantic units, the construction with -a essentially treats the two components as forming a closer semantic and syntactic relationship. In schematic form the two types are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 1</th>
<th>Type 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[N]-fX</td>
<td>[N-a X] (compounds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[N-ëk]-fX</td>
<td>[N-a X]-aka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[amlaÁv N-a]-fX</td>
<td>amlaÁv [N-a X]-a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type 1:
- [N]-fX: *hêlka-i tâza* ‘fresh eggs'; *pyâw-i zâr* ‘many men'; *dû pyâw-i çâk* ‘two good men';
- *jässûs-i şad zât* ‘a spy of a hundred years'; *şaqâm-i wâ* ‘streets like this';
- [N-ëk]-fX: *[pyâw-ëk]-i çâk* ‘a good man';
- [aw N-a]-fX: *(aw şaw-a-aka)* -i *sarjô* ‘that night in Serjo';
- [amlaÁv N-a]-fX: *(am tâ-â)-i tô* ‘this/that deed of yours'.

Type 2:
- [N-a X], compounds: *kilk-a mîska* ‘rat-tail';
- [N-a X]-aka: *(kîc-a jwân-a)-aka* ‘the pretty girl'; *(pyâw-a çâk-a)-aka* ‘the good man';
- aw [N-a X]-a: aw/*(pyâw-a-çâk)-ak-ân]-a ‘those good men'.

4.2.4 Specific dependents
- *kitêb-i kê?* ‘whose book?'; *nâw-i min* ‘my name';
- *ganj-i am-shar-a* ‘the young (people) of this city';
- *sî åt dû-i pâš nîwar* ‘two o’clock in the afternoon';
- nîw-i *mudar-i [maârîf]* ‘the name of the director of education';
- *bâs-tmêzû-i [kurdûstan]* ‘discussion of the history of Kurdistan'.

4.2.5 Naming, apposition
- *sêr-i sîlâmânî* ‘Sulaimania City, the city of Sulaimania'; *mâq-i gâlâwêz* ‘the month of Gelawezh' (July–August); *Ahmad-i-birâ-m* ‘my brother Ahmad'.

4.2.6 Infinitival head or dependent
- *kişt-in-i [kîwâ]* ‘the killing of Kawa, Kawa’s murder'; *xorîk-i [dars-xwend-in]* ‘busy at studying, about to study'.

4.3 Clause structure
4.3.1 Word order

In a declarative sentence the basic sequence of the clause is SUBJECT – OBJECT – VERB. Modifying adverbial phrases are inserted variously: clause-initially, after the subject, and before or after the verb. The clause as a whole may be introduced by one or more
introductory expressions, such as interjections and coordinating connectors. The minimal clause consists of an inflected verb. The full sequence is:

\[(I) (C) (S) (M_1) (DO) (M_2) (P) V (M_3)\]

General rules include the following:

1. **Introductory expressions (I)** are typically interjections, conventional expressions of emotions:
   - `ay` 'well, now; as for' (signaling a change of topic in conversation);
   - `ay tō čōn-t?` 'and you, how are you?'; –`O';
   - `ay adīb-ak-ān-t kurdūstān!' O Writers of Kurdistan!';
   - `hāl!` and `xōl 'aha!'`; `xō` 'I say!' (accosting);
   - `tūxwā` – `txwā` 'indeed!' (incredulity, < *tū u xudā 'thou and God');
   - `marlōba 'hello';
   - `āfērīm ~ āfērīn 'bravo! well done!';
   - `nōs 'cheers!' (a toast);
   - `amān 'alas; woe',
   - `ōxay 'ah'
   - (delight);
   - `bglē, ā, bē, ay (informal);
   - `grē, grē-walla (polite) 'yes';
   - `na, na-xēr (polite) 'no'.

2. **Connectors (C)** include conjunctions such as `čujka 'that is' because', `bālām 'but'` (see section 5 Complex Sentences).

3. **Direct object phrases (DO)** as a rule follow subjects (S), but are not differentially marked.

4. **Modifying adverbial phrases (M)**, when they co-occur in the same position, usually follow the sequence: Time – Location – Manner/Instrument:

   \[\text{dēnwē} \quad \text{la māl-awa ba dast mār-ēk-ī} \quad \text{kūšt}\]

   yesterday at home by hand snake-a-he killed
   'he killed a snake by hand at home yesterday'.

5. In a sequence of two time adverbials the more specific follows; thus: `bayān-ī zū 'early (zū) tomorrow';

\[\text{dēnwē ūsaw 'yesterday evening'}.\]

### 4.3.2 Verbal modifiers

Modifiers of the verb are typically indirect objects or expressions of manner:

- `kitēb-aka [ba dārā] a-frōs-īm 'I'll sell the book [to Dara]';
- `tō kurdī [bāš] a-zān-ī' 'you know Kurdish [well]';
- `rāsōl [wā] dars a-xwēn-ē [that's how] Rashol studies (reads lesson)'.

Modifiers are often placed postverbally. This includes typically allative expressions:

- `ēstā a-c-īn [bō māl-ava] 'we're going to go [home] now';
- `ērōk a-kēs-īn [ba sar-ī] 'they slap him [on his head] (in disapproval)'.

Other parts of speech may occupy this position, such as subject clauses and post-copula locative expressions. Otherwise, the postverbal position marks special focus:

- `bās bā hāt-ī [la-gal-m-ā] 'it's good that you came [with me]' (lit. 'it was good');
- `am-a tāzā-tīr-īn sāqām-ā [l-am-şār-ā] 'this is the newest street [in this city]';
- `a-bō tō . . . [to you] I say'.


4.3.3 Questions

Questions do not change word order. The question words appear where the parts of speech they represent are normally located: umrō sr-i kwē a-da-yn? ‘what place are we visiting today?’, ču-n bo kwē? ‘where did they go?’.

Yes-no questions, mostly in literary Kurdish, are introduced by șiyā ‘whether’, i.e. ‘is it the case that’: șiyā wītār-ěk-i dirēz-i xwēnd-awa? ‘did he deliver a long speech?’.

Questions are marked by a terminal interrogative intonation contour, e.g. tō kurdī a-zān-i? ‘do you know Kurdish?’. Briefly, it is a contour that is falling but does not fall as far as the level of a terminal statement contour.

4.3.4 Topicalization

In topic–comment constructions, the topic is extraposed before its clause and a reference to it, typically a resumptive pronoun or verbal agreement, is contained in the clause; thus:

\[
\text{nēz-zān-im} \quad [tō] \quad išt-it \quad ėt-y-a
\]

‘I don’t know you work-your what-is

‘I don’t know what your work is’.

4.4 Syntax and use of nominal forms

4.4.1 Pronouns

The independent pronouns are mostly used for emphasis or contrastive focus. They occur as: (1) subjects; (2) objects of prepositions; and (3) possessors in čāža noun phrases.

4.4.2 Personal enclitics

The enclitic pronouns serve as: (1) direct object in the present tense; (2) subject markers on transitive verbs in the past tenses and objects of past tense verbs; (3) objects of prepositions and of present tense verbs; (4) possessor in noun phrases; (5) experiencer or beneficiary after adjectives.

As a general rule, the direct object suffixes in the transitive present tense verb phrases (as opposed to single-word verbs), on the one hand, and those of the subject/agent suffixes in transitive past tenses, on the other hand, follow the rule of leftmost attachment. The hierarchy in both present and past is as follows: (1) the nominal parts of the verb phrase; (2) the preverbs; (3) the prefixes. In their absence they are attached to the verb form itself. All of these are superseded in the transitive past by the direct object/patient noun or noun phrase.

The past intransitive person markers (see Table 10.10) are suffixed to the past tense transitive verbs to indicate pronominal direct objects.

4.4.3 Subject and object marking

(1) Nominal components, present tense object:
4.4.4 Past agent suffixes

Examples of leftmost attachment (3s patients = zero ending, DO = direct object/patient phrase; AG = agent suffix):

(1) DO + [AG] + VB:

\[\text{tanha yak kiteb [-im] kiru} \] 'I bought only one book';
\[\text{ci[-tan] kird l-aw?} \] 'what did you do there?';
\[\text{ustaz-ak-yin av-foz-a bas-i mezi'-i kurdustan[-yin] na-kird.} \]

'On that day their professors did not discuss the history of Kurdistan', lit. 'did not make the discussion of K.'.

(2) DO + [AG] + Locative + VB:

\[\text{bô ci am-wisa-y-[t] la-sar taxta-ka nusi!} \] 'why did you write this word on the blackboard?';

(3) DO + [AG] + Nominal + VB:

\[\text{mal-aka[-man] cak kird/a-kird/kird-u-wa} \]

'[we] improved/were improving/have improved our house'.

(4) DO + [AG] + Preverb + VB:

\[\text{aw[-f] tek war da/a-da/wa-kird} \]

'[he] stirred/was stirring/has stirred the water'.

4.4.5 Particles \( \text{côn} \) and \( \text{wâ} \)

Exceptionally, the suffixes may be attached to the pair of manner adverbs \( \text{côn} \) 'how?', \( \text{wâ} \), 'thus': \( \text{côn[-lt] zân-i} \) 'how did you come to know that?'; \( \text{wâ[-lt] zânî} \) 'I came to know it thus' = 'as far as I know, I believe'; \( \text{wâ[-yân]} \) \( \text{naw-yân} \) \( \text{nûsi} \) 'they (-yân) wrote their (-yân), the others') names like this'.

4.4.6 Verb-only phrases

There are specific rules for sequencing past agent suffixes and patient endings after simple verb forms. The basic rule requires that the agent suffixes be attached directly to the verb form, followed by the personal ending marking the patient: VB + agent suffix + patient ending:
TABLE 10.14: PRETERITE AGENT AND PATIENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent/Enclitic</th>
<th>Patient/Ending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s Stem -im</td>
<td>-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s -it</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s -i</td>
<td>-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p -män</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p -tän</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p -yän</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

- binnī-m-it 'I saw you-2s';
- binnī-t-im 'you-2s saw me';
- binnī-män-in 'we saw you-2p';
- binnī-tän-in 'you-2p saw us';
- binnī-tän-in 'you-2p saw them';
- binnī-yän-in 'they saw you-2p'.

However, there are two exceptions to the basic rule: (1) the 3s agent suffix -i is always second; (2) the 1s -im. whether agent suffix or patient ending, precedes any plural subject or object:

- 3s agent second 1s before plural patient and agent
  - binnī-m-i 'he saw me';
  - binnī-t-i 'he saw you-2s (-i(t));
  - binnī-n-i 'he saw us/you-2p/them';
  - (binnī-n < binnī-in, -in, -in); binnī-m-tän 'you-2p saw me';
  - binnī-m-yän 'they saw me'.

The rule of 1s + plural agents may not apply to all varieties of Kurdish, as other varieties have different rules.

In all other combinations, the agent comes before patient.

4.4.7 Preposing of adpositional suffixes

When an adpositional phrase follows a direct object, the personal enclitic precedes its adpositional form and is directly attached to the object, and the adpositional assumes its absolute form; thus, bō min 'to, for me' > -im bō, ba min 'to me' > -im pē, la tō 'of, from you' > -it lē, e.g.:

- čā[-m bō] b-ēn-a! 'bring me some tea!';
- ʰad[-it bō] lē a-da-m 'I'll play the lute for you';
- a-m-avē čaq su'dal elk-it lē] bi-ka-m 'I want to ask you some questions';
- gwē [-lē] a-gr-im 'I'll listen to him';
- ērā [-m pē] xōš-a 'I like it here' ('here is nice to me').

In sequences of two adpositional phrases the attachment of the suffixes may result in complex intertwined patterns: with gwē lē girt-in 'listen ('take ear') to':

- gwē [-t]-i [bō] [lē] a-gr-im
  'I'll listen to him (-t . . . lē) for you (-t . . . bō)'.

However, in transitive past tenses, the agent suffixes precede the adpositional phrase, and block the inversion:
4.4.8 Past tense object and possessor raising

In the absence of direct object phrases, the beneficiary expressed by indirect objects or objects of adpositions may behave similarly to direct objects in past tenses. That is, as an alternative to the regular ergative construction, they may be syntactically “raised” and marked by the personal endings. Similarly, the possessor of a direct object/patient phrase may be “raised”:

(1) Beneficiary:

\[ \text{salām-}{\text{-yān}} [lē] \text{ kird } [-in] \]

'they (-yān) greeted us (lē -in)', lit. 'made greeting to us';

\[ \text{[pē]-}{\text{-m wīt } [-in]} \]

'I (-im) said to you-2s' (pē -in).

(2) Possessor:

\[ \text{[bačkak-}{\text{-ān}] -i a-xwārd-im} \]

'it (-i) used to eat my (-im) children' (MacKenzie 1961: 115).

4.4.9 Three-place verb ‘to give to’

This verb typically has double valence, the direct and the indirect object, which is expressed in Kurdish by the postposition -a, absolute form -ē. The latter follows the inflected verb forms (preceded by -r- after vocalic ending), but its object suffix is attached according to the leftmost rule (MK = MacKenzie 1961):

(1) Present:

\[ \text{dinar-}{\text{-ek}} [lē] \text{ a-da} [-m] [-ē] \]

'dinar-one you-2s IMPF-give-I-to' 'I'll give you (-it -e) a dinar';

\[ \text{a-}{\text{-y} j-d-}{\text{-āt}} [-ē] \]

'he gives it (-a) to him (-ā -ē);'

(2) Preterite and perfect, indirect object raised:

\[ \text{kič-}{\text{-ek}} [-yān] \text{ na-dā}[lē] [-ē] \]

'girl-one they-Ag-not gave-we are-to' 'they did not give us (-in -ē) a girl' MK 80;

\[ \text{hič}[lē] [-yān] \text{ na-dā-w}[-im] [-at-ē] \]

'any-they-AG-not given-PF-I am-PF-to' 'they have given nothing to me'

MK 116.

In the absence of a preceding noun phrase, there may be a triple sequence, such that the indirect object is expressed by a second personal ending. The relative order is essentially that of transitive verbs:

(1) Present:

\[ \text{a-r-}{\text{-t}} \text{ da} [-m] [-ē] [-n] \]

'IMPF-you-2s give-1s-to-they are' 'I'll give them to you';

(2) Preterite:

\[ \text{dā} [-m] [-i] [-t] [-in] [-ē] \]

'give-1s Ag-you-2s are-they are-to' 'I gave you to them' MK 116.
4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms

4.5.1 Possession

Possession is expressed by the 3s of the existential verb, ha-y-a 'there is, exists' and the personal enclitics in their function as indirect object/beneficiary. They are attached to the object possessed: -m ha-y-a 'to me is' = 'I have', exceptionally to ha- in the absence of an object: da dinär [-im ha-bū], balām ēstā hīē pāraf-m nī-y-a) 'I had ten dinars, but now I don't have any money at all'.

4.5.2 Aspectual constructions

4.5.2.1 Virtual accomplishment

Virtual accomplishment or completion of an action is expressed by the locative particle wā 'here, now' and the preterite ("aorist"): wā hāt-im 'I'm coming! I'm on my way!'; cf. wā-n la ērūn-dā 'they are (-in) now (wā) in Iran (la . . . dā').

4.5.2.2 Progressive action

Progressive action may be highlighted by the locative infinitival construction: la + [infinitive] + -(d)/ā + copula:

la [fūyūt-in]-ā-yn 'we are going' vs. simple present:
a-fū-yn 'we go, are going'.

4.5.2.3 Continued intensive action

Continued intensive action may be expressed by an infinitival izāfa construction depending on semantically fitting nominals such as xarīk 'busy' + infinitive:

māq-a xarīk-i [īī kīrd-in] in
(it) month is (that) busy-IZ [work-doing] they are.
'For months they (-in) have been hard at work'.

4.5.3 Modal constructions

The modal verbs in Sērāmī express ability, desire, etc., are realized mostly as canonical verbs triggering a subjunctive verb; necessity is typically expressed by verb or adjective plus subjunctive.

4.5.3.1 Ability

Ability is expressed by the transitive verb twān-twānī- 'be able, can'; it may take a direct object:

nā-twān-im bi-řō-m 'I can't go';
ad-t-twān-im 'I can manage you (-t)'
4.5.3.2 Desire, necessity, and assumption

Desire, necessity, and assumption are expressed by the modals (1) avê(t)-lwist- 'want', (2) a-b-ê 'it' must (be)', and (3) pê lwist-a 'is necessary'. These are impersonal constructions; with avê-lwist 'want' the experiencer must be expressed by personal enclitic ('to me is desire'):

(1) 'want':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ama[-m]} & \text{ a-wê} & \text{ 'I (-m) want this one'}; \\
\text{hê-yan [-mân]} & \text{ nê-wê} & \text{ 'we (-mân) don't want any of them (-yan)'}; \\
\text{a[-mân]} & \text{ a-wê} & \text{ bi-zân-i} & \text{ 'I want you to know'}; \\
\text{a[-mân]} & \text{ a-wê} & \text{ bi-ê-o-yn} & \text{ 'we want to go'}; \\
\text{a[-mân]} & \text{ a-wist} & \text{ bi-ê-o-yn} & \text{ 'we wanted to go'};
\end{align*}
\]

(2) 'must':

\[
\begin{align*}
a-b-ê & \text{ bi-ê-o-yn} & \text{ 'we must go, we have to go'}; \\
nê-b-ê & \text{ bi-ê-o-yn} & \text{ 'we mustn't go'}; \\
\text{assumption,} & \text{ bi-ê-o-yn} & \text{ 'he must have gone' (perfect subjunctive)}; \\
\text{a-b-ê} & \text{ bêy-st-i b-êt} & \text{ 'he must have gone'} (\text{perfect subjunctive});
\end{align*}
\]

(3) 'necessary':

\[
\begin{align*}
pê lwist-a & \text{ bi-ê-o-yn} & \text{ 'it is necessary that we go, we have to go'}; \\
pê lwist-a & \text{ zû b-i-kay} & \text{ 'you must do it (-i) right away' ('it is necessary that')}.
\end{align*}
\]

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

5.1 Coordinate clauses

The canonical simple sentence consists of a single independent clause; it may also consist of an interjection or, through ellipsis, a single word or phrase.

Statements are signaled by a sentence-final intonation contour. In written Kurdish they are signaled by Western punctuation marks and practices.

Compound sentences may be coordinated or subordinated, with or without overt connectors, and may be quite complex.

The connectors may be simple conjunctions or complex phrases.

Coordination conjunctions include: wa - ihlw 'and', jâ 'or'; balâm 'but', balkû 'but': wa la-pâš av-a, ēt-i kird? 'and after that, what did you do?' (see also the coordinating conjunctions and clitics discussed in section 4.1).

5.2 Subordinate clauses

Matrix verbs and other expressions that govern assertions are followed by verbs in the indicative, whereas verbs and expressions that require action or a change of state by the embedded subject or express doubt or other such emotions are followed by embedded subjunctive verbs.

Subordinating conjunctions include: ka 'that; when'; agêr 'if'; agê na 'otherwise'; mgar 'unless, if not'; hatâ ë tâ 'until', 'in order that': temporal, purpose, and conditional clauses; ğûkâ 'because'; wak, wâkû 'as'.
In addition, there are complex conjunctive phrases with prepositions of varying syntactic complexity, both coordinating and subordinating. They are marked by adpositions, often based on the neutral demonstrative ava ‘that’ which may be followed by the relative connector -t, with or without the conjunction ka ‘that’. These phrases mostly originate in adverbial constructions, and are particularly frequent in literary registers.

Clauses introduced by conjunctive phrases such as ‘before, without, instead of’ also trigger the subjunctive:

\[\text{har gwê a-gr-in bê aw-a-ti hawbaštî bi-ka-n la qîsha kird-in-ā} \]

‘they only listen \textbf{without} taking part in the discussion’

(lit., ‘without \textit{that} they may take part in the discussion’).

\section*{5.3 Relative clauses}

As a rule, relative clauses are introduced by: (1) the conjunction ka ‘who’ if definite and specific; (2) -t if definite, restrictive; (3) no overt connector, or -ēk.

Clause-internally, the head (antecedent) is resumed by the personal ending if subject, but by the personal enclitic in all other functions.

The degree of definiteness also determines the mood of the verb in the relative clause. It is: (1) indicative if the antecedent is definite, whether specific or not; (2) subjunctive if the antecedent is indefinite:

\subsection{5.3.1 Subject}

(1) Definite antecedent:

\[\text{aw pyâw-a ka hât la-gal-t-ā} \]

‘the \textit{that} man who came with you’;

\[\text{am-a sê-y-am kongra-y-a ka l-am båbat-a-wa a-gîr-ê} \]

this is the third congress that on this topic will be held’;

\[\text{aw-a-ti kâ hât la-gal-t-ā} \]

‘the one \textit{that} came with you’.

(2) Indefinite antecedent:

\[\text{awa-ti bi-ç-êt-a ğar-î kwêr-ân, a-bê dast ba čâw-awa bi-gr-êt} \]

‘he who goes to the city of the blind must cover his eyes with his hand’

(“when in Rome do as the Romans do”, proverb);

\[\text{kas ha-y-a l-avê kurdî bi-zân-ê?} \]

‘is there \textbf{anyone} there \textit{(that) knows Kurdish?’.

\subsection{5.3.2 Pronoun other than subject}

(1) Specific:

\[\text{aw pyâw-a ka l-avê a-y-bînî} \]

‘the man \textbf{that} you see him there’;
5.4 Subject and object clauses

Subject and object clauses as a rule follow the verb phrase, and may be introduced by the conjunction ka.

5.4.1 Subject clauses

bāš-bū hāt-i la-gal-mā
‘it’s good (that) you came with me’.

5.4.2 Object clauses

(1) No ka.

kē a-zān-e ma’nā-y am-wiš-a-y-g ē-y-a?
‘who knows what the meaning of this word is?’;

(2) with ka ‘that’:

bist-im ka la saratā-i mān-ēk-ī tir sarōk jamhūriyāt-ī amarīkā a-ē-ē bō faransa
‘I heard that at the beginning of next month the American President will go to France’;

(3) Sequential clauses:

wā bi-zān-im hamū kas-ēk a-zān-ē
‘I believe everybody knows

ka xanjar-ī- Kurdustān la hamū xanjar-ēk bāš-tir-a
that the daggers of Kurdistan are better than any other daggers’;

(4) Asyndetic:

bing-m-tī a-hāt-ī ‘I saw you coming’ (‘I saw you, you were coming’).

5.4.3 Quotations

Quotations are in direct speech:

ba tō a-lē-m nē-zān-im ‘to you I say, “I don’t know”’;

pē-y wit-im nē-m-a-wē bi-ē-im la-gal-tān
‘he told me he didn’t want to go with us’ (lit. ‘I don’t want to go with you-2p’).
5.4.4 Predicative clauses

`awa` 'that' occupies the predicate position; the appositive predicate clause follows the copula:

\[ \text{cak-lir-in sit l-am-kitêb-\textit{a} \textit{awa-y-a naxşay-êk-\textit{i kurdustan-\textit{i tyû-y-a}}} \]

'the best thing about this book is \textit{this (that)} there is a map of Kurdistan in it';

\[ \text{yak-êk l-avâna \textit{awa bû}} \]

'one of them [news items] was this

\[ \text{mânvastâ-yân-i kurd \ldots la bayâ bâs-\textit{i zimân-\textit{i kurdî a-ka-n}} \]

(that) the Kurdish teachers will discuss the Kurdish language in Baghdad'.

5.4.5 Appositive complement clauses

In constructions like \textit{la birwâ-\textit{då bû-n} 'be of opinion, believe'}, the appositive clauses are in apposition with \textit{avw-birwâ-y-\textit{a} 'that opinion'}:

\[ \text{mîn l-avw-birwâ-y-\textit{a dâ-m,}} \]

'I am of that opinion

\[ \text{kobûn-awa-i sarûkwa\textit{zî-\textit{ân-a wilît-a-gawra-k-\textit{ân sitêk-\textit{i zûr ba kalk-a}}} \]

'(that) meetings of the prime ministers of the major powers are a very beneficial thing'.

Note that in this and similar constructions the appositive clause occurs without the conjunction \textit{ka} 'that'.

5.5 Adverbial clauses

5.5.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are introduced by conjunction \textit{ka} 'when', and as a rule precede the main clause. A particular use of tense is that of the preterite verb form in its function of indicating completed action or condition, in either past or present time ("aorist"). Anticipated action before another, \textit{pëş awa-\textit{i} 'before'}, requires the subjunctive:

\[ \text{ka bû ba sa\textit{\textbar}t dwânza, nân-mân xwârd} \]

'when it was (became) twelve o'clock we ate';

\[ \text{ka gayst-in-\textit{a avê, kûrêz-êk-im bô bi-nûs-in} \]

'when you-2p get ('got') there send me a letter';

\[ \text{pëş awa-\textit{i b-\textbar{e}-yn bô sinif 'before we come to class'}.} \]

5.5.2 Conditional clauses

5.5.2.1 Real, possible, and irreal conditions

Conditional clauses precede the main clause, and are normally, but not necessarily, introduced by \textit{agar} 'if'.
Real conditions, or conditions presumed as fact, are in the indicative; potential or probable conditions are in the subjunctive; and counterfactual or irreal conditions are in the “conditional” mood.

There are various patterns of the tense-mood sequences in protasis and apodosis, which will be indicated in the examples below.

(1) Factual conditions:
   (a) present + present:

   \[ \text{agar a-zān-ī īmān bē tāqqat-ī, dukhtar-e ā-nās-im a-čānă-ā lē-y} \]
   ‘if you think you are still indisposed, I know a doctor to whom we will go’;

   (b) present + imperative:

   \[ \text{hāz a-kā-yt. tō-s waṭ-a pyāsā bi-ka-yu} \]
   ‘(if) you feel like (it), you too come for a stroll’ (‘that we stroll’).

(2) Possible conditions:
   Subjunctive + present,

   \[ \text{agar dā nās-im, dirān a-b-ē} \]
   ‘if I sit down I will be late’;

   \[ \text{wā bi-zān-im, min-īs kabāb bi-xō-m bās-ā} \]
   ‘thus I should think, “(if) I too should eat some kabob, it’s fine”’, i.e.
   ‘I think I should have some kabob too’.

(3) Counterfactual conditions:

   The basic pattern in counterfactual conditional clauses is that the condition in the protasis is marked by the conditional forms in -ā-y-a, followed in the apodosis by either the imperfect or the past perfect in their counterfactual function:

   \[
   \begin{array}{ll}
   \text{Protasis} & \text{Apodosis} \\
   \text{Imperfect:} & \text{bī-kird-... ā-y-a} \quad \text{ā-... kird} \\
   \text{Past perfect:} & \text{bī-kird-ī bw-... ā-y-a} \quad \text{kird-ī bā-...} \\
   \end{array}
   \]

   Of these, the imperfect form may refer to both present and past contexts, but the past perfect form only to anterior contexts. Occasionally, the imperfect and past perfect may occur in the protasis as well:

   imperfect + imperfect

   \[ \text{agar xanjar-akā-ā-t-mān ng-dā-yāt-ā-y-awa, čī-t a-kird?} \]
   ‘if dagger- you-2s (-ft)-we-AG had not given-it-COND what-you-AG would do-IMPF
   ‘if we hadn’t given you back your dagger, what would you have done?’.

   Here the verb is dā-n-awa ‘give back’, whose positive conditional form would be bi-dāf-ā-y-a]-awa.
5.5.2.2 agīna 'if not, otherwise'

This explicit apodosis conjunction is regularly followed by the imperfect in its modal function:

\[ na-m-zānī na-xās bū-y, agīna na-a-qū-m \]

'I didn't know you were sick, otherwise I wouldn't have gone':

\[ agīna dwēnē hār sār-im a-dā-y la ātēl-aka. \]

'Otherwise I would certainly have visited you at the hotel yesterday' (sar dā-n la 'to drop in on, visit').

5.5.2.3 Wishes

Wishes are introduced by the particle xozga 'would that' (< xwaz ka 'wish that') and parallel conditional clauses. Fulfillable wishes are in the subjunctive, unfulfillable ones in the imperfect:

\[ xozga lē-m bi-tirs-in 'I hope they will (may) be afraid of me': \]

\[ xozga jār-ēk-ē tīr-ēs a-hāt-īt-awa nāw-mān 'I wish you-2s would come again (and live) among us'. \]

5.5.3 Causal clauses

Causal clauses that imply a reason or condition precede the main clause, and are introduced by demonstrative relative phrases such as la-bar awa-i 'on that' + ka. Those that are explanatory follow the main clause, usually introduced by ēyj-ka:

\[ la-bar awa-y-ka a-č-in bō baya bi-xwēn-in, 'since you are going to Baghdad to study ('that you study'), \]

\[ kāyaz-ēk a-nūs-im bō rāsōl I'll write a letter to Rashol'; \]

\[ ba rāstī, hāz nā-ka-m dā nūs-im-subj, 'to tell the truth, I don’t want to sit down, \]

\[ ēyj-ka a-m-awē tōz-ēk pyāsa bi-ka-m-subj because I want to take a little stroll'. \]

5.5.4 Purpose clauses

Clauses expressing purpose generally follow the main clause, with the verb properly in the subjunctive. They may be introduced by the adverbial phrase bō awa-i 'in order that', or hatā, tā 'so that', but often occur without overt conjunctive. The latter is also the typical pattern for potential action after verbs and phrases implying purpose:

5.5.4.1 Potential action

\[ dā nūs-a, tōz-ēk qīsa bi-ka-yīn 'sit down (dā), (so) we can talk a bit'; \]
kāyaz-ēk a-nūs-im bō hawt-im
'I'll write my father a letter,

bō awa-ī yārmāt-tān bi-d-ā ka gayš-in-a awē
so that he will help you when you get there;

hatā sar bi-kaw-in 'that you-2p fall ahead', i.e. 'in order for you to succeed'.

5.5.4.2 Non-factive phrases

zōr ūa a-ka-m šōl-ēk-tār bi-ē-im bō amārika bi-xwēn-im
'I very much want to go to America next year to study' ('that I study');

hiwađā-im la xōšī-w baxtīyārī-dā b-in
'I hope (that) you-2p will live ('be') in happiness and prosperity';

bīyrār-mān dā bi-ē-im bō sāyān
'we decided to go on a picnic' ('that we go');

mīn āmādā-m bō-t yārmāt bi-ka-m
'I am ready to help you' ('that I do help');

rāj ha-y-a halparkēś krā b-ēt
'perhaps there was folk-dancing, too' (lit. 'may have been done').

5.5.4.3 Suggestions

Independent subjunctive clauses express proposed actions and questions about actions:

bō kām lā bi-ē-im? 'which way shall we go?' (lā 'side').

Usually there is an introductory hortative bā 'let' (bā-d 'may it be') for suggestions:

bā bi-ē-im! 'let's go!'; bā b-ēt! 'have him come!';

bā hār qaṣa ng-k-am 'I'd just better not say anything.'

6 LEXIS

6.1 Word formation

6.1.1 Derivation

6.1.1.1 Nouns

-ēk, occupation: bōyāčī 'bootblack' (bōyā 'shoe shine');
-ōka, diminutive: minalōka '(dear) little child' (minal 'child').

6.1.1.2 Nouns or adjectives

-ī, abstractions, quality or state, -ness, -hood: dāyki 'motherhood'; jwānī 'beauty';
-ā-y-at-ī, abstractions: sarōkāyatī 'leadership' (sarōk 'leader');
-ī, gentilic, origin: ūzāyī 'Christian';
-gâ, place: kârgâ 'workplace' (kâr 'work');
-xâng, building, room: câyxâna 'tea-house' (cây 'tea');
-â, quality or condition: sârdâ 'coldness'.

6.1.1.3 Adjectives

-â-wâ, covered with: qôrâwi 'muddy';
-bâw, of the shade of: sârbâw 'reddish'.

6.1.1.4 Negation

na-, nü-, unstressed; nü- seems to be used more than na- for figurative meanings; with nouns, adjectives, verb stems:

(1) xôs 'good, fine': naxôs 'ill, sick'; náxôs 'unpleasant'; fâm 'comprehension': nafâm 'innocent (child)'; náfâm 'ignorant';
(2) others: nâkas 'baseborn' (nobody); nâbû 'non-existent'; namîr 'undying, immortal'.

6.1.2 Compounding

6.1.2.1 With or without a composition vowel:

cwârpê 'quadruped' ('four-foot'); màrmâsî 'eel' (snake-fish'); gîyânlabar 'animal' ('soul-upon'); cîwɔrê 'expecting, in wait' ('eye-to-road'); qîsaxôs 'witty' ('speech-pleasant'); dîrîdrêk 'prolonged, in detail' ('far-and-long').

6.1.2.2 Verbal component

noun + verb: rásmgîr 'photographer' ('picture-taker'), dîlgîr 'sad' ('heart-taken'), maâšxôr 'employee' ('salary-eater', cf. Persian -xor); fôzhâhît 'sunrise; east' ('sun-upcoming'); adjective + verb: dârîbîn 'telescope' ('far-seeing').

6.1.2.3 Reduplication

Reduplicated nominals are most frequently nouns and adjectives, with either distributive meaning, like damdam 'from time to time', from dam 'period of time, a while', or intensified meaning, like palapal 'great haste' from pala 'haste'. The latter example illustrates the elision of word-final -a.

6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects

6.2.1 Registers

Modern Standard Kurdish constitutes the literary register of Sulaimani Kurdish. It is characterized by primarily literary expressions, e.g. tanânat 'then', and by none of the consonantal morphophonemic changes discussed under Phonology. The imperfective aspect marker in MSK is da- rather than a-; it is the prefix found in most Sorani outside of Sulaimania. There is also a spoken Formal register, a deliberate variation in which, for example, the palatalization of k and g may be blocked.
6.2.2 Modes of address

Polite forms consist of second person plural verb forms or pronouns used in addressing an individual, and in the use of specialized honorific lexical items. Illustrations of the latter are the verb *farmū-n* 'to order, command' which in the imperative means "please (do the honor of) . . ." as in *farmū dū nīš-a* 'please sit down' and in the indicative means "speak, talk" as in *wakū a-farmū-y* 'as you say [polite].

The expression *öyir* 'blessed goings and comings' occurs in the polite expression *öyir-bē* 'where are you going?' and its response *öyir-tūn xēr-bē* 'may your goings be blessed' (bē < b-ēt 'may it be'), and in the verbal phrase *öyir kird-in* 'to depart'. *kāk-a* 'sir!', vocative of *kāk* 'older brother', is commonly used as a term of respect for older men.

7 DIALECTOLOGY

The major work on comparative Kurdish dialectology remains MacKenzie (1961), together with his other comparative publications. More recently numerous scholars have contributed both comprehensive studies, particularly Fattah (2000) for Southern Kurdish, and typologically oriented studies. A notable recent contribution is the succinct overview of Kurmanji by Haig and Paul (2001). The following highlights the major features in dialectal variation.

The major break, defined by convergent bundles of isoglossic lines, is that between Northern Kurdish and Sōrānī. Northern Kurdish itself shows a western and eastern division (not discussed here).

7.1 Phonology

The basic differences in the phonological systems between Northern and non-Northern Kurdish are shown in the following synoptic tables. In the vocalic system, typical for the latter is the retention of ā, and the phonemic status of ū in Sulaimania. A feature that is common to all dialects of Kurdish is that the most common allophone of a is [a].

In the consonantal system, the most salient Northern feature is the phonemic opposition between aspirated and non-aspirated stops, undoubtedly due to contact with Armenian in Eastern Anatolia. In turn, non-Northern are the lenization of intervocalic -d- to a glide (Zagros-d), and the phonemic status of velar ţ and of velarized l, as found in Sulaimania.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 10.15: COMBINED KURDISH VOWEL PHONEMES</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ ] = only Sul.; ( ) = only North.; a mostly /a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High long short</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mid long short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 10.16: COMBINED KURDISH CONSONANT PHONEMES

[ ] = only Sul., [x] = Zagros-d; ( ) = only North

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<tr>
<td>asperate</td>
<td>(pʰ)</td>
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<td>č</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
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<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
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<td>voiced</td>
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<td>Fricatives</td>
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<td>voiceless</td>
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<td>š</td>
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<td>h</td>
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<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
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<td>(ẑ)</td>
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<td>γ</td>
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<td>Glides</td>
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<td>Nasals</td>
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<td>[ŋ]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flap/Lateral</td>
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<tr>
<td>plain</td>
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<tr>
<td>trill/velarized</td>
<td>ñ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

7.2 Nominal inflection

The typical system of nominal inflection in northern Kurdish has binary distinction in number, case, as well as gender, but confined to the singular. Number and gender are also marked in the Kurdish izāfa construction. The direct plural is typically zero vs. the oblique -ān. The following examples show the pattern in the northern variety of Cizre-Botan (Jizre-Bohtān) spoken south of Lake Van (adapted from Haig and Paul 2001).

TABLE 10.17: PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN CIZRE-BOTAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D1R</td>
<td>ez</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>ew</td>
<td>em</td>
<td>hūn</td>
<td>ew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>m. wē′</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>w-ān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 10.18: NOMINAL INFLECTION IN CIZRE-BOTAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indef.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izāfa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Def.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This table includes indefinite plural forms in -in, which are cited in certain grammatical descriptions, but may be doubtful (here marked by '?' — cf. Standard Persian indefinite plurals such as mard-hā-i 'certain men' in specific contexts).

Sulaimani Kurdish and the Wārmāwa variety to its south represent a distinct island within the Kurdish expanse. They have lost nominal inflection (except for the reflexes in the vocative and a few locative/temporal forms mentioned above), and have generalized the oblique plural ending -ān as plural marker, and the indefinite masculine marker of the izāja, -I.

The northern dialects lack the definite marker -aka, while -a with preceding demonstratives is confined to the proximate in a subset of those dialects.

The retention of gender and case distinction in Northern Kurdish may well be due to the Zāzākī dialects where an even more complex system is found, particularly in the izāja construction, both adjectival and nominal, and in combination (see also section 4.2.1 Ezāfe constructions in the Zāzākī Chapter 9 in this volume). The northern pattern is shown in the following examples (adapted from Schroeder 2002):

adjectival: sav-ā cū-y-ī = night-EZ-F gone = 'last night',
indefinite: gund-ak-i xwašık = village-EZ-INDEF-EZ-M nice = 'a nice village';
nominal: dast-ē kačık-ē = hand-EZ-M girl-OBL-F = 'the hand of the girl', 'the girl's hand'.

When combined, the adjective qualifying the head noun is postponed after the inserted possessor, e.g.:

hawš-ā w-ān-ā marmari
courtyard-EZ-F they-OBL-3p-EZ of-marble = 'their marble courtyard'.

Northern Kurdish also shares with Zāzākī the loss of the personal enclitics. These dialects therefore differ remarkably from the others where particularly in transitive past tenses one finds complex patterns of postverbal sequencing of personal agent and patient marking, as shown above for Sulaimani.

7.3 Verb system

Northern Kurdish has a modal particle for future, (d)ē, followed by the present tense (cf. Zāzākī). It has a periphrastic passive construction, and lacks the morphologically derived passives. In turn, it has retained the ergative construction with past transitive verbs, where the agent is in the oblique, and the patient in the direct case and marked by the verbal ending: min (DIR) tō (DIR) ʿafō kir-ī = I thou forgiveness made-2s = 'I have forgiven you' (Akre variety). This contrasts with the agential construction, where the agent is marked by the personal enclitic, as described for Sulaimanī above.

8 SAMPLE SŌRĀNĪ TEXT

This excerpt is from a short story "Kwā kuř-aka-m?" by Mistifā Sālih Karīm about a man who is in the hospital after having saved a boy from a raging flood, thinking that he was saving his own son who has in fact perished in the flood. Here he is talking to his wife Galawezh (Abdulla and McCarus 1967: 49).
**kwâ**

kuč-aka-m?

where-is son-the-my

'Where is my son?'

...............

ma-gir-i, ga-lawêz, ma-gir-i.

not-cry-2s Gaławezh not-cry-2s

'Don't cry, Gaławezh, don't cry.'

tâ pê-m bi-lê sîzâ la kwê-y-a? la mäl-awa-y-a.

you to-me IMPV-say Sîza in where-is in house-is

'Now, tell me where Sîza is.'

‘He’s at home.’

ay, bê na-t-hêno la-gal xô-t?

hey why not-you-brought with self-your?

'Well, why didn’t you bring him with you?'

râstê-ka-y dil-im na-a-hât (< râstê-aka-i)

truth-the-its heart-to me not was-coming

'The truth of the matter is that I didn’t have the heart

pê-y bi-lê-m tô la naxôs-xânâ-y. (-y < -î(t))

to-him subj-say-l you in hospital-are
to tell him that you are in the hospital.'

axîr nô-bê, min a-m-awê bî-bîn-im. (3s nô-bê < na-a-bê(t))

after all not-will-be I IMPF-me-want subj-him-see-I

'Come, now, that won’t do. I want to see him.'

la dwâyê-y-â ka čâk a-bît-awa

in later-in when good IMPF-be-you-again

'Later, when you are well again,

dê-t-a darê a-y-bîn-i. (d- < dê, dial. var. of a-)
come-you-to outside-at IMPF-him-see-you
you will come out and see him.'

galawêz min minâl nê-m, a-zân-im

Gaławezh, I child not-am I IMPF-know-I

'Gaławezh, I'm not a child; I know

ka lêra ba-zîndûwî nôn-y-ê-m-a dar-awa.

that from-here with-being alive not-come-I-to outside
that I will not get out of here alive.'

a-mîr-im. tû-xwâ gagar wê bi-lê-y!*

IMPF-die-I by God if thus subj-say-you

'I am dying.' 'Please, don’t talk like that!'

da bûs-a am jûr-a bî-hên-a la-gal xô-t

EMPH good-is this-time IMPV-him-bring-I with self-you

'That’s enough! Next time bring him with you.'
*tū-xwā, agar wā bī-tē-y! implies: 'if you should talk like that, beware of God' (tū-xwā < tū ʔ xudā '(between) you and God'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my gratitude to Gernot Windfuhr for many suggestions, additions, and improvements.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

BALOCHI

Carina Jahani and Agnes Korn

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Balochi (Bal.) is spoken in south-western Pakistan, in the province of Balochistan as well as by smaller populations in Punjab and Sindh, and by a large number of people in Karachi. It is also spoken in south-eastern Iran, in the province of Sistan and Baluchistan, and by Baloch who have settled in the north-eastern provinces of Khorasan and Golestan. It is furthermore spoken by smaller communities in Afghanistan (particularly in the province of Nimruz), in the Gulf States (especially in Oman and the United Arab Emirates), in the Marw/Mari region in Turkmenistan, in India, East Africa, and nowadays also by a considerable number of Baloch in North America, Europe and Australia.

It is difficult to estimate the total number of Balochi speakers. Central authorities readily underestimate ethnic minorities, while members of ethnicities sometimes do the opposite. Censuses generally ignore the bi- or multilingual situation of most speakers. Moreover, large numbers of those who identify as Baloch do not speak the language any more, particularly in the areas bordering Indian languages in Punjab and Sindh, on the one hand, and in Khorasan and Golestan, on the other hand, as well as in East Africa and in the Gulf States. In contrast, Balochi has been retained quite well in Turkmenistan due to the adherence to a traditional rural lifestyle and the generally low level of education. The total number of speakers of Balochi has been estimated as being between 5–8 million (Jahani 2001: 59), but might also be somewhat higher than that.

From a historical point of view, Balochi is classed as a North-Western Iranian language (see also Korn 2003, 2005a: 328–330), although it is spoken in the south-eastern corner of the Iranian linguistic area today. It is likely that the original habitat of the Baloch was in the north-western part of the Iranian linguistic area, and that they migrated south-eastwards under pressure from the Arabic and Turkic invasions of the Iranian plateau (from mid-seventh century AD onwards). It also appears that tribes and groups of various ethnic origins, including Indo-European, Semitic, Dravidic, Turkic, Bantu and others, have been incorporated into the very heterogeneous ethnic group today known as the Baloch (see e.g. Spooner 1989: 599–600, 606–607, Korn 2005a: 43–51). On the other hand, the Balochi epic tradition provides them with a ‘true Islamic’ genealogy, according to which they are of Arabic origin and migrated from Aleppo in Syria after the battle of Karbala, where, despite the fact that the majority of the Baloch today are Sunni Muslims, the epic tradition has it that they fought on the side of the Shi‘ite Imam Hussein against his enemy, the Umayyad caliph Yazid (Dames 1907, I: 1–2).

Balochi is surrounded by languages belonging to at least five language families. In the
Balochi mainland it stands in contact with other Iranian languages, Persian (Farsi and Dari) in the west and north-west, and Pashto in the north and north-east, as well as with Indic languages: Urdu, Panjabi, Lahnda and Sindhi in the north-east and east. In the Gulf States, Balochi is spoken alongside Arabic, and in East Africa with languages such as Swahili. In the central parts of Pakistani Balochistan, the Dravidian language Brahui has lived in symbiosis with Balochi for centuries, and in Turkmenistan, Balochi is in contact with Turkmen (a Turkic language). In the diaspora, Balochi is meeting new languages, mainly of the Indo-European family. It is only natural that Balochi has been influenced by all these languages, some of which are official languages and languages of education in the various states where the Baloch live. The influence of neighbouring languages will be evident in many of the sections to follow.

Balochi is neither an official language nor a language of education in any of the countries where it is spoken. This is reflected, for example, in the lack of a standard written norm for Balochi (see 1.3). There is also a dispute about which dialect, or dialects, ought to be the basis of the literary language (on the importance of the dialects, see 1.2). On the whole, writing and reading Balochi is at the moment an exclusive activity carried out by a limited number of persons belonging to the Balochi literary elite. Balochi is, as a minority language, largely restricted to traditional and informal domains such as home, neighbourhood, and traditional occupations (e.g. pastoralism and agriculture), and a career outside these traditional sectors is to a great extent linked to higher education and a good mastery of the national language. Efforts to preserve and promote the Balochi language are mainly of an unofficial character, based on private initiatives. However, there is a growing concern among the Baloch that their language may well be lost within a few generations if it does not develop a written standard.

Thus, a number of educated Baloch, mainly from Pakistan, where conditions for a long time were less unfavourable than in Iran, have since the 1950s actively attempted to preserve and promote Balochi by creating a literature in this language, establishing ‘language academies’ and literary societies, running periodicals, publishing dictionaries, oral poetry and folk-tales, etc. They have also tried, although with little success, to promote Balochi as a language of education. Quetta and Karachi are the main centres of these activities, although this effort has in later years spread to other places inside and outside of Balochistan where culturally active Baloch reside.

There is a Balochi Academy in Quetta, founded in 1961, the most important activities of which are the publication of books (mainly in Balochi), and arranging literary meetings. A number of periodicals have been published in the language for varying lengths of time (see Dashtyari 2003). There have also been some attempts at starting primary education in Balochi. In 1991 a state programme for mother tongue education in the Province of Balochistan, Pakistan, was launched, but it did not last long; neither did it result in any official decision on matters of language standardization. In the higher education system it is at the moment possible to study Balochi at the University of Balochistan in Quetta. Private initiatives have also been taken to teach Balochi. Radio broadcasts in Balochi are taking place in Iran and Pakistan, and there are also TV programmes in Balochi broadcast from Quetta.

Balochi oral literature remains rich when it comes to both prose and poetry. The poetic tradition consists of a large number of heroic and romantic epic poems, mainly centred on the tribal wars of the Baloch, where the two main tribes contesting for power were the Rind and Lashari tribes, and on the contests between the Baloch and the Europeans. Some of the famous Baloch heroes, who are still referred to with great pride, are the tribal chiefs Mir Chakar and Mir Gwahram as well as Hammal-i Jiand, who fought against the
Portuguese. There are also romantic ballads of a more common Islamic origin such as those of the famous couples Dosten and Shiren, and Hani and Shih Murid. The first Balochi poet known by name is Jam Durruk, court poet of Nasir Khan I of Kalat (1749–1794). As for prose, there is a rich tradition of fairy tales, tales of the life of the Prophet and his companions, and other stories told for entertainment and to teach moral lessons. Some attempts at collecting and publishing these stories have been made. The most active editors of Balochi oral literature, apart from the Baloch themselves, are M. L. Dames and Josef Elfenbein. Modern short story and novel writing is still a new genre in Balochi, although some good novelists and short story writers are emerging, particularly in Pakistan. Some factual prose writing also takes place.

1.2 Dialects and other variations

Owing to the fact that Balochi does not have a standard language (nor a standardised orthography) or standardised variants within the individual dialects, it is impossible to discuss any phenomenon of the Balochi language without making constant reference to its dialects. For a synchronic description of Balochi, it is not a viable method to present one variant as the standard and describe the others in terms of deviations from that system. Rather, the Balochi dialects need to be presented as grammatical systems in their own right (thus Rossi 1979: 179 for the Bal. phonemic systems).

The main dialect split is between Western (WBal.), Southern (SBal.) and Eastern (EBal.) Balochi. This is a very broad dialect division, within which further dialect demarcations can be made. Some dialects do not easily fit any of these groups. This is true, for example, of the dialect spoken in Iranian Sarawan, which shows transitional features between Western and Southern Balochi.

The fact that the Balochi speakers are separated into several countries with various official languages (see 1.1) is another factor which increases dialect differentiation in Balochi. The dialects in Pakistan are not only influenced by neighbouring languages, but also by the national language Urdu, and by English, the official language in British India and also in Pakistan, where it is the most important language both in administration and in higher education.

There are also sociolectal variations, often coinciding with generatiolects, since it is mainly the younger generation that has received education and thereby also a better command of the national language.

It is access to data and linguistic consultants rather than the relative importance of the dialect in question that has determined which dialects have been better described than others. Among the Pakistani dialects, the most comprehensive modern description is that of Noshke Balochi (Barker/Mengal 1969). Earlier works from Pakistan were mostly on Eastern Balochi: Dames (1891, 1907) and Gilbertson (1923, 1925). Farrell (1989, 1990, 2003) has described the Southern Balochi dialect of Karachi and Collett (1986) that of Oman. The Western Balochi dialect of Turkmenistan has attracted much interest from Russian linguists, e.g. Sokolova (1953), Sokolov (1956), Zarubin (1932, 1949) and Axenov (2006). The most comprehensive description of the dialect spoken in Afghanistan is based on data from only one speaker (Buddruss 1988). Nawata (1981) provides another brief description of this dialect. As for Iranian Balochi, descriptions are available for the Central Sarawani dialect (Baranzehi 2003) and the Lashari dialect (Yusefian 1992).
1.2.1 Western Balochi

The Western dialects are spoken in:

(a) the Mari region of Turkmenistan (TBal.);
(b) eastern Iran (IrBal.), in pockets in Khorasan and Golestan, then further south in Sistan and in the northern parts of Balochistan around Zahedan and Khash, with varieties often referred to as Sistani (not to be confused with the symbiotic cross-border dialect of Persian) and Sarhaddi (IrBalSarh.);
(c) southern Afghanistan (AfBal.);
(d) south-western Pakistan, including the dialects spoken in the districts of Chagai, Kharan and Kalat where the dialect around Noshke / Nushki (WBaINosh.) is of particular importance, because it is spoken by several well-known poets and writers.

WBal. dialects have sometimes collectively been referred to as Rakhshani, and sometimes this term is used for WBal. dialects spoken in the valley of the river Rakhshan in Pakistani Balochistan.

Transitional dialects between Western and Southern Balochi include Sarawani in Iran (IrBalSarw.) and Panjguri in Pakistan.

1.2.2 Southern Balochi

The Southern dialects are spoken in:

(a) the southern parts of Iranian Balochistan, up to Iranshahr, dialects including Lashari, Bampuri and Sarbazi;
(b) south-western Pakistan, up to the Kech Valley;
(c) the Kech Valley itself;
(d) the coastal areas and in the Gulf States;
(e) the city of Karachi. Karachi Balochi (SBaI Kar.) is mainly based on SBal. dialects spoken in Iran (from where there was a heavy influx of Baloch especially after 1928) but is today also under heavy influence from surrounding Indic languages, particularly Urdu.

In particular, the Sarbazi and Kechi dialects have been important vehicles of Balochi poetry.

1.2.3 Eastern Balochi

The Eastern dialects constitute a conglomerate of dialects often referred to by their respective tribal names, and include (a) Marţì; (b) Bugţì; (c) Leghari; (d) Mazari (both not on the map), (e) Upper Sindhi, and (f) Kasrani. There is too little material available to make well-motivated dialect divisions within this group, even though some of the early descriptions of Balochi (e.g. those by Dames and Gilbertson) were based on Eastern Balochi. Not only is this area largely inaccessible, particularly to foreigners, but there is also very little modern literary output.
1.3 Writing systems

Although there have been many suggestions concerning a suitable orthography for Balochi, based on Arabic/Persian/Urdu (see e.g. Jahani 1989: 134–143), Roman and Cyrillic scripts (see e.g. Axenov 2000), no one orthography has won general acceptance among the Balochi cultural elite.

When Balochi is written by the Baloch themselves, the default script employed is an Arabic-based script because it is the script used for the national languages in the countries where Balochi is predominantly spoken.

Questions concerning the pronunciation and the rendering of borrowed phonemes in the Arabic script are likewise hotly debated among the Baloch (cf. Jahani 1989: 150ff.). The typically Arabic sounds found in loans (six pharyngeals and two interdentals) are
### Table 11.1: Alphabet Commonly Used for Balochi in Pakistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Represents the following phoneme(s)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ə</td>
<td>also for V in vocalic onset</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>in Pers.-Ar. loanwords, ɔ in Eastern Balochi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x, k, h</td>
<td>see 2.1.2.1 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>in Pers.-Ar. loanwords, ɔ in Eastern Balochi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>in Pers.-Ar. loanwords</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g, g</td>
<td></td>
<td>see 2.1.2.1 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f, p</td>
<td></td>
<td>see 2.1.2.1 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k (also: x, h, ɔ)</td>
<td>see 2.1.2.1 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ň</td>
<td>see 2.1.2.1 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w, u, ē</td>
<td>nasal element of a nasalized vowel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū, ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pronounced without those features, as in New Persian (Pers.), i.e. \( t \) is rendered as \( t \); \( s \) and \( z \)
are rendered as \( z \); \( \ddot{z} \) and \( \dddot{z} \) as \( z \); \( h \) as \( h \) (see also 2.1.2.1 (2), 2.1.2.2). These letters, as well as
those for the peripheral and borrowed phonemes /fl/, /sl/, /l/; and /q/ (see also 2.1.2.1 (2)
and 2.1.2.2) are treated in various ways in the Balochi orthographies. While some writers
use the Pers.-Ar. spelling of loanwords, others prefer to indicate the actual Balochi pronuncia proximity. Mixed strategies are also found. The problem is rendered even more difficult
by the use of some 'Arabic letters' for certain phonemes of the Eastern Balochi dialects
(see 2.1.2.3 (2)).

Another phenomenon that has entered the Balochi writing system is 'morphophonemic writings' which means that a particular morpheme is represented by a special
sign. Various such writings have been suggested for Balochi (see Jahani 1989: 153–155),
but the ones that are the most commonly accepted are : for the oblique singular case
ending -\( a \) (in some dialects pronounced -\( a \)) and : for the genitive singular case ending -\( ay \)
(also pronounced -\( e \), or even shorter) and : for the word 'and'.

In Turkmenistan, Balochi has been written in Cyrillic and Roman script (cf. Axenov

Also among the literary elite in Pakistan there has been a debate for and against
Roman script (cf. Jahani 1989: 144–149 and Elfenbein 2000) and in the 21st century, the
'lay' use of Roman letters for representing Balochi in emails, SMS and on Internet pages
has again stirred up this discussion.

1.4 Descriptive approach

The text below describes grammatical phenomena for a wide range of Balochi dialects.
The description is not exhaustive, though, since not all variants have been investigated
yet, and the sources for some dialects do not contain information about all features to be
discussed here. While phonology and morphology have been reasonably well investigated
for a number of dialects, there are until now few phonetic descriptions for specific
Balochi dialects. There are also few descriptions of sentence level syntax, particularly
hypotaxis, and none as yet of discourse structure.

Particularly in the field of syntax there is a considerable degree of divergence between
the written and the spoken language. However, no systematic studies have yet been made
of the different registers of Balochi. Therefore the main variants of Balochi that will be
described are those based on geographical distribution (geolects) rather than those based
on literary register or variations that are to be attributed to social or other factors
(sociolects, etc.).

Since a mere listing of the various systems might be confusing to the reader, the text
will occasionally make use of the concept 'Common Balochi' (ComBal.), which is meant
to refer to an abstract (reconstructed) entity which does not show the characteristics of a
particular dialect. The term Common Balochi is thus used to illustrate which elements
are common to all or most variants of Balochi.

For the sake of brevity, the description makes only few references to the sources used in
the language description. All the examples will, however, contain a reference specifying
the dialect and/or source. They are here somewhat unified in transcription and the (rather
literal) translation, glosses are mostly added.
2 PHONOLOGY

Owing to the fact that the Balochi dialects do not share a common phonemic system (nor a common morphology and syntax), in principle, a separate description would need to be done for each variant (cf. Rossi 1979, Elfenbein 1997). More details about the words mentioned may be found in Korn (2005a: 54–70, 171–286), on which this section is largely based.

2.1 Inventory

2.1.1 Vowels

2.1.1.1 Common Balochi vowel phonemes

Phonologically, Balochi has five vowels and a quality contrast (short vs. long) for the high vowels and for the low one \( a, i, u \), while the middle vowels \( \acute{e}, \acute{o} \) do not have short counterparts.

The sequences \( ay, aw \) have generally been analysed as diphthongs in descriptions of Balochi, but the analysis as \( V + C \) \( (a + y, a + w, \text{see } 2.1.3.2) \) is to be preferred in view of the syllable patterns in Balochi (see 2.1.3.1). The sequences \( ay, aw \) are nevertheless included in the vowel charts since they do not pattern the same way in some variants as would \( a \) plus other consonants.

The ComBal. system of vowel phonemes can be posited as in Table 11.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>( i, I )</th>
<th>( e, \acute{e} )</th>
<th>( u, \acute{u} )</th>
<th>( a, \acute{a} )</th>
<th>( ay )</th>
<th>( aw )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Nasal vowels are found in the vast majority of Balochi dialects. In most cases, they can be analysed as allophonic sequences of \( V + n \) (for which see 2.3.1), but there are dialects where at least some nasal vowels seem to have acquired phonemic status (cf. Jahani 1989: 80ff.; Farrell 2003: 173ff.).

In some SBal. and EBal. dialects, a fronting of \( \acute{u} > i \) has taken place (e.g. SBal. buč ‘was’ vs. other dialects buč). Owing to adoption of loanwords it seems that there is no Balochi variant from which \( \acute{u} \) is entirely absent.

Several Balochi variants (independent of their affiliation to one of the major dialect groups) show a loss of quantity contrast for word-final vowels. This chiefly applies to word-final \( a \), but in some dialects also to other vowels (see Korn 2005a: 251, 260).

2.1.1.2 Vowel systems of Balochi dialects

Phonetically, the Balochi dialects vary in their pronunciation of \( /i/, /u/ \) and of \( /a\acute{e}/ \) and \( /aw/ \). As in many languages, the short high vowels tend to be pronounced more open than the long ones. Still, the vowel system of the dialects spoken in Afghanistan (AfBal.) and Turkmenistan (TBal.), as well as of most dialects spoken in Pakistan, is close to the system shown in Table 11.2.
Persian influence has effected a pronunciation of /i/, /u/ as e, o in most Balochi dialects spoken in Iran, and of ay and aw as approaching ey, ow in some of them. Also, /l/ moves to an open back position under the influence of Persian in some dialects spoken in Iran. Some of these also show the break up of ē, ā, ĩ as approaching e, o, ey, ow in some of them. The diphthongs ie, ue differ from ey, ow in terms of syllable weight (see 2.1.3). These dialects show the vowel system in Table 11.3.

**Table 11.3: Vowel Systems Occurring in Balochi Dialects in Iran**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>( \ddot{e} )</th>
<th>( \ddot{u} )</th>
<th>( \ddot{\ddot{e}} )</th>
<th>( \ddot{\ddot{u}} )</th>
<th>( \ddot{a} )</th>
<th>( \ddot{\dot{a}} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diphthongs</td>
<td>ey</td>
<td>ow</td>
<td>ey</td>
<td>ow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**2.1.2 Consonants**

*Common Balochi consonant phonemes*

While the Balochi vowel system is essentially in line with that of other Iranian languages, the Common Balochi consonant system is simpler than one might expect from a comparative Iranian perspective (Table 11.4).

**Table 11.4: Consonant Phonemes of Common Balochi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops and affricates</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 11.5: Eastern Balochi Consonant Shift**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ComBal.</th>
<th>EBal.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>word-initial and postconsonantal position</td>
<td>postvocalic position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( p, t, k )</td>
<td>aspiration: ( p^{h}, t^{r}, k^{t} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( b, d, g )</td>
<td>(no change: b, d, g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \ddot{c}, \ddot{j} )</td>
<td>aspiration: ( \ddot{c}^{h} (\text{no change: } \ddot{j}) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( w )</td>
<td>aspiration: ( w^{h} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The main feature distinguishing the dialects of the EBal. group from the Southern and Western ones (collectively noted SWBal.) is a lenition of consonants in postvocalic position, which shifts voiceless and voiced stops to the corresponding fricatives and effects a loss of the dental element in the affricates (see Table 11.5). Retroflex consonants (see 2.1.2.1 (1)) are not affected by this shift.

2.1.2.1 Specific consonant classes

Contemporary Balochi dialects diverge from the system shown in Table 11.4 in several ways, but chiefly by the adoption of retroflex consonants and by the addition of fricatives.

(1) Retroflex consonants

The phonemic systems of the contemporary Balochi dialects include the retroflex phonemes $t, d$ and $r$, which mainly occur in loanwords from Indic (Ind.) languages, but are also found as results of developments within the language. Retroflex consonants are rather frequent, indicating that they are an integral part of the phonemic systems of most Balochi variants (for a discussion of $r$ see Rzehak 1998: 152). There are, however, a small number of dialects spoken in the westernmost parts of Iranian Balochistan without retroflex consonants.

In SBal., $n$ is attested only in a limited number of loanwords and it seems uncertain whether a majority of speakers pronounce it, or rather replace it by $n$ (Collett 1986 does not include $n$). However, $n$ seems to have acquired phonemic status in Eastern Balochi (Bashir 2008: 58).

The retroflex consonants of Indic loanwords are pronounced as such in Balochi. $/t/ \text{ and } /d/ \text{ in loanwords from English (which has alveolar rather than dental } /t/ \text{ and } /d/ \text{) are often replaced by retroflex consonants in Pakistani Balochi as they are in Modern Indic languages, e.g. $t\text{-}k\text{-}a\text{t} \text{ 'ticket', } k\text{-}a\text{b\text{-}a\text{t} \text{ 'cupboard', } f\text{-}u\text{b\text{-}a\text{l}, } p\text{-}u\text{b\text{-}a\text{l} \text{ 'football'; } d\text{-}\text{a\text{-}k\text{\text{-}a\text{r} \text{ 'doctor', } d\text{-}s\text{ 'satellite) disk'.}$}

(2) Fricatives and $q$

While the ComBal. phonemic system (see Table 11.4) does not include fricatives other than the sibilants and $h$, the fricatives are integrated to varying degrees in the various contemporary dialects.

The complete set of $f, \theta, x, (\beta?), \delta, \gamma$ is present as regular phonemes in EBal. (see 2.1.2.3 (2)). In SWBal., the fricatives $f, x, \gamma$ (which chiefly occur in Persian and Arabic loanwords, but also in loanwords from other languages and potentially from Eastern Balochi) are found as peripheral phonemes (see 2.1.2.3 (1)). The tendency to replace them by sounds found in the core of the phonemic system is strong in SBal., where the fricatives are absent from the repertoire of most speakers, but weaker in the WBal. dialects. In IrBal., the pronunciation of $f, x$ and $\gamma$ in loanwords has become more usual in recent times because of the increasing influence of Persian via television and the educational system. Also, speakers of Balochi with higher education may use a ‘learned pronunciation’, specifically for Pers.-Ar. words from the sphere of religion. So there are doublets of ‘common’ and ‘learned’ pronunciation of the same word: $k(a)r\text{-}\acute{\text{r}}\text{\text{-}a\text{b} \text{ 'bad (Pers.-Ar. } x\text{-}r\text{\text{-}a\text{b 'out of order'); } k\text{-}u\text{d\text{-}a, } x\text{-}u\text{d\text{-}a, } h\text{-}u\text{d\text{-}a 'God (Pers. } x\text{-}u\text{d\text{-}a); } k\text{-}\text{\text{-}a, } x\text{-}y\text{\text{-}a\text{, } h\text{-}y\text{\text{-}a \text{ 'thought, opinion (Pers.-Ar. } x\text{-}y\text{\text{-}a\text{, } x\text{-}y\text{\text{-}a \text{ 'imagination, idea); } k\text{-}\text{\text{-}a\text{t, } (h)\text{-}\text{\text{-}a\text{t, } x\text{-}a\text{\text{-}y\text{\text{-}a \text{ 'health, well-being (Pers.-Ar. } x\text{-}a\text{\text{-}y\text{\text{-}a \text{ 'welfare'.}$}

When the fricatives are not retained, Pers.-Ar. $f$ is replaced by $p$: $p\text{-}\text{\text{-}i\text{\text{-}d\text{-}a, } f\text{-}\text{\text{-}i\text{\text{-}d\text{-}a}$.}
'advantage' (Pers.-Ar. fāʿida), pilm (English film). For x, the most common substitution is that by h: hālīg 'empty' (Pers.-Ar. xālīf), halās 'finished' (Pers.-Ar. xalās), halk 'village, people' (Pers.-Ar. xalq). Since h disappears in some WBa! dialects (see 2.1.2.3 (1)), x in a loanword may appear as zero (cf. e.g. Buddruss 1988: 44; Axenov 2006: 35–36): dās 'finished', alkh 'village, people', ayyān 'surprised', (h)abar 'news, talk' (Pers.-Ar. xabar). The substitution of k for x appears to be a more recent phenomenon and has been attested, for example, in Karachi Balochi (Farrell 2003: 176): kāmōs, xāmūs 'quiet' (Pers. xāmūs), kat, xat(t) 'letter' (Pers.-Ar. xatt 'line'). The sound g is replaced by g in most cases: garīb 'poor' (Pers.-Ar. ġarīb), ġalat 'wrong' (Pers.-Ar. ġalat 'mistake'), gam(m) 'grief' (Pers.-Ar. ġam(m)); augān 'Afghan' (Pers. āfān). In Afghanistan and Turkmenistan Balochi, the pronunciation of x and ġ is common (Buddruss 1988: 44; Axenov 2006: 43).

The uvular plosive q is as a rule replaced by k; substitution by x and h also occurs: āqībat, ākubat, āxībat 'future' (Pers.-Ar. āqībat), kīsmat 'destiny' (Pers.-Ar. ġīsmat), kulīf, kulīf 'door-lock' (Pers.-Ar. ġulīf), pakīr 'beggar' (Pers.-Ar. ġakīr), ārad 'sweat' (Pers.-Ar. ārad), wahād (Ar. waqāt, Pers. vāxt). As q and ġ fall together in some variants of Modern Persian, borrowings in Balochi may also have ġ or g: alga-gas 'earring' (Pers.-Ar. ġalqā 'ring'), āšīq, āšíx, āšīk 'lover' (Pers.-Ar. āšīq), āgā 'lord' (Pers.-Turkic āqā).

(3) Aspiration

As a rule, plosives and affricates are unaspirated in Western and Southern Balochi. However, aspiration is found in several SWBal. variants.

The EBal. consonant shift, which brings about aspirated voiceless stops and cʰ in word-initial position (see Table 11.5), has been used as a criterion to differentiate Balochi dialects. However, the EBal. aspirated voiceless stops and c are still the word-initial allophones of the unaspirated counterparts. Also, it seems that the significance of EBal. aspiration has been slightly overestimated. Aspiration of word-initial stop followed by a sonorant seems to be weak (if there is any) so that unaspirated word-initial stops have probably always been present to some degree in Eastern Balochi. In fact, aspiration of word-initial voiceless stops has been observed in other dialects as well (Farrell 2003: 179).

Aspirated voiced stops (bʰ, dʰ, gʰ) and the affricate jʰ likewise occur in Indic loanwords in Eastern Balochi, but insofar as these sounds occur at all, they may be considered borrowed phonemes. However, the EBal. dialect from Kohlu district described by Bashir (2008: 58–59) appears to have contrastive aspiration for voiceless and voiced stops and sonorants.

Apart from this, aspiration does not seem to be phonemic in Balochi. In this sense, the only reason to note aspiration of voiceless stops in Eastern Balochi is that EBal. words have been cited this way so far.

(4) Gemination

With the exception of y, h and the peripheral phonemes, all consonants may be geminated. Geminates only occur under certain conditions, though (see 2.1.3.3). They are mainly found in loanwords, but are also the result of sound changes in Balochi words.

Dialects and sources vary significantly in the occurrence (or notation) of geminates. The details remain to be studied. So far, it seems that geminates are frequent in some Western dialects and less frequent elsewhere, and gemination also appears to depend on the subdialect or other sort of variant involved.

In what follows, gemination is noted as C(C): ācam(m) 'eye', duč(z) 'thief', meaning that one or several sources show gemination whereas others do not.
2.1.2.2 Pronunciation of loanwords

'Foreign' consonants other than those mentioned in 2.1.2.1 are rendered as follows in Balochi:

The majority of the Arabic loans are likely to have entered Balochi via Persian, so it is not surprising that they show features also exhibited by their form in Persian. However, Arabic words may also have been adopted via Indic languages or via direct contact. Since the source of a particular word may be difficult to determine, these words will be labelled 'Pers.-Ar.'.

Arabic 'āyn (ݑ) disappears in word-initial position (as it does in Persian, for the treatment of Arabic 'āyn in Persian, see Jahani 2005a): adālat(t) 'court' (Pers.-Ar. 'idālat 'justice'), izzat 'honour' (Pers.-Ar. 'izzat), uzr 'excuse' (Pers.-Ar. 'uzr), akl, aql 'intelligence' (Pers.-Ar. 'aql), ayb 'fault' (Pers.-Ar. 'ayb). See also 2.1.3.1.

In postvocalic position, 'āyn lengthens the preceding vowel (as in Urdu and in spoken Persian); bād 'later' (Pers.-Ar. ba'd), tārīf 'praise' (Pers.-Ar. ta'rīf), tām 'taste' (Pers.-Ar. ta'm), dāwā 'lawsuit' (Pers.-Ar. da'wā). Postvocalic word-final 'āyn seems to be lost: tanā 'desire' (Pers.-Ar. ṭanā').

The loss of intervocalic 'āyn or hamza (១) may result in a sequence V + V: pāīda, fāīda 'advantage' (Pers.-Ar. fā'īda). A glide may then be inserted (see 2.3.2.1): sāḥat, saḥat 'hour, time' (Pers.-Ar. sāḩat).

Sindhi d: is replaced by dh or dh. The other implosive consonants are replaced by the corresponding non-implosive consonants.

Although v in loanwords (see also 2.1.2.3 (2)) is as a rule replaced by w, some cases of word-initial v- show up as g- or b- (and in Iran, also v-) when taken over into Balochi (see Korn 2005a: 279–280).

2.1.2.3 Consonant systems of Balochi dialects

(1) Southern and Western Balochi

As the divergences between the SWBal. consonant systems are rather minor, it is convenient to present the overall system as shown in Table 11.6.

**Table 11.6: Consonants in Southern and Western Balochi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops and affricates</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>ʈ</th>
<th>ʂ</th>
<th>k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceled</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ʐ</td>
<td>ʐ</td>
<td>(ɣ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taps</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ʈ is rare in SWBal. (comparable to its status in Persian), but as there are minimal pairs, it should be considered a separate phoneme.

h is absent from the WBal. dialect of Turkmenistan and weak in the other WBal. dialects (thence noted as optional e.g. in Barker/Mengal 1969).

f, x, and g are peripheral phonemes (see 2.1.2.1 (2)).
(2) Eastern Balochi

The EBal. consonant system (Table 11.7) differs markedly from that of the other dialects by the integration of a series of voiceless and voiced fricatives. For the status of aspiration, see 2.1.2.1 (3).

Historically, the EBal. fricatives started out as allophones of the corresponding stops, but when the consonant shift (see 2.1.2 (2)) had ceased to operate, the adoption of loanwords containing postvocalic stops and fricatives not only in postvocalic position created a new phonemic opposition.

The number of labial fricative / glide phonemes in Eastern Balochi is not entirely clear (see Korn 2005a: 61–62 for discussion). Some authors have assumed the presence of a glide w corresponding to ComBal. w (with a word-initial aspirated, or maybe rather devoiced, allophone wʰ), and of a fricative β (noted β here for systematic reasons, without implications as to its pronunciation) resulting from postvocalic ComBal. b via the EBal. consonant shift. Other authors assume only one phoneme w, with or without an allophone wʰ. It might also be possible that there is a phonemic opposition between w and β in some EBal. dialect(s) and none in others.

On a synchronic level, the EBal. palatals correspond to the set seen in the other dialects. However, owing to the sound change described in Table 11.5, the status of ź within the phonemic system is much stronger than in the other dialects. The affricates ĝ, Ž have been reintroduced in Eastern Balochi in postvocalic position via borrowings from other languages and dialects.

**TABLE 11.7: CONSONANTS IN EASTERN BALOCHI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops and affricates</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>pʰ</th>
<th>tʰ</th>
<th>cʰ</th>
<th>ĝʰ</th>
<th>kʰ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ğ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fricatives</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>š</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>h</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>f(?)</td>
<td>δ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>ġ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasals</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>(n)</th>
<th>(n)</th>
<th>(?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taps</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w(ʰ)</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some EBal. dialects spoken in Sindh the dental fricatives ď, ď change to the corresponding sibilants s, z (e.g. ēdāš 'spring, fountain' vs. ēdāď, SWBal. ēdā, šūz 'hunger' vs. šūd, SWBal. šud, cf. Geiger 1891: 428, Grierson 1921: 414), yielding a simpler system of consonant phonemes (Table 11.8).

**TABLE 11.8: CONSONANTS IN EASTERN BALOCHI DIALECTS OF SINDH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops and affricates</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>pʰ</th>
<th>tʰ</th>
<th>cʰ</th>
<th>ĝʰ</th>
<th>kʰ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ğ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fricatives</th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>š</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>h</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>f(?)</td>
<td>δ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>ġ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasals</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>(n)</th>
<th>(n)</th>
<th>(?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taps</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.3 Syllable structure and consonant clusters

The points described below instantiate a common principle: namely, they restrict the maximum weight of a syllable.

2.1.3.1 Syllable patterns

There are nine possible syllable patterns in Balochi (see Table 11.9). In all these syllable patterns, the vowel may be either long or short.

**TABLE 11.9: SYLLABLE PATTERNS IN BALOCHI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Example 1</th>
<th>Example 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>u'and', a 'that, he, she', ð 'this'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>ãs 'from', ẹp 'water', ẹr 'down, below'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCC</td>
<td>ārs 'ear (n.)', ãmr 'life', ārt 'flour'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>na 'no', bō 'smell', tū 'big'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>man 'I', nōd 'cloud', sēr 'lion'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCC</td>
<td>mark 'death', gorm 'warm', bāsk 'upper arm'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV</td>
<td>bra 'go (imper. 2S)', trā 'aunt', brā 'brightness'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVC</td>
<td>gwar 'beside', sēn 'loins', brōs 'brother'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVCC</td>
<td>bramš 'twinkle', drač 'tree', prōši 'break' (pret. 3S)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pronunciation of a syllable with an initial V after a pause normally starts with a non-phonemic consonantal feature (glottal plosive or glottal fricative) (cf. also Jahani 2005a). In the northern parts of the WBal. area, the glottal plosive is normally encountered. Word-initial h is also normally dropped (see also 2.1.2.3). In some dialects, e.g. IrBal. of Sarbaz, the common consonantal onset feature is h, e.g. [h]asp / [h]aps 'horse', [h]ošter 'camel'. In the SBal. variant of Chabahar the two onset features are employed side by side, even by the same speaker, e.g. [h]awr / [ʔ]awr 'rain', [h]astěl / [ʔ]astě 'he/she/it is'.

Onset clusters found in a large variety of Balochi dialects are:

- any plosive (except the retroflex ones) and s, z + r: prušag 'to break (itr.)', bramš 'twinkle', tramp 'drip of water', drāj 'long', krinč 'wrinkle', grand 'thunder', sēn;
- b, d, g, j, n, s, z + w: dwārag 'again', gwarā 'beside', jvān 'good, well', mvāsag 'grand-child', svār 'riding, mounting', šwānag 'shepherd', zring 'well';
- any plosive (except the retroflex ones) and m, n, s, z + y: pyālag 'cup', tyāb 'seashore', dyār 'land', kyāmat(t) 'resurrection', gyābān 'desert', myān 'middle', nyām 'middle', syū(h) 'black', zyūt 'much';
- sp, st, sk: spēt 'white', stār/stāl 'star', skūl 'school' (these clusters are, however, often pronounced with a prothetic i-: ispēt, istāl/istāl, iskūl);
- For consonant clusters involving the modal prefix bi-, see 2.3.2.2.

The number of possible coda clusters found in Balochi is much greater than the onset clusters. (Intrasyllabic clusters are not discussed here.) Some examples of coda clusters are:

- C plus plosive: -pt ([h]apt 'seven'), -tk (izbōt̪ 'lovage (ligusticum ajowan)'); -čk (drač 'tree'), -f̪g (mafg 'marrow, brain'); -sp, -št, -šk (mušk 'mouse', trušp 'sour', gōš 'meat'); -sk, -sp, -st (āsk 'gazelle', bwašp 'sleep', busti 'stand up (both imper. 2S)'); -hd (wahd 'time'); -mp (tramp 'drip of water'), -nt, -ŋt, -nd, -nk, -ng (pant 'advice', lunť 'lip');
rand 'after', gurānd 'ram', tēlānk 'pushing', jang 'fight'); -rp, -rt, -rd, -rk, -rg (barp 'snow', ārt 'flour', mark 'man', mark 'death', murg 'bird'), -lp, -lk, -lg (kulp 'lock', (h)alk 'settlement, encampment, village', balg 'leaf'); -wt (rawt 'he/she/it goes'), -yp, -yb, -yk, -yt (kayp 'pleasure', aby 'fault', hayk 'egg', kayt 'he/she/it comes');
• C plus sibilant or affricate: -ne, -nj, -nz (pane 'five', brinj 'rice', pōnz 'nose'); -ms (brams 'twinkle'), -bz (labz 'word'); -rc, -rs, -rz (kārē 'knife', ars 'tear (n.)', burz 'high'); -vš, -wz (kavš 'shoe', jawn 'walnut'), -yš (ayš 'luxury');
• combinations of stop plus sonorant: -br, -tr, -dr, -kr (zabr 'good', putr 'enter, sneak in (imper. 2S)', nadr (an interjection of appreciation), pikr 'thought'); -kl, -km (akl 'reason', (h)ukm 'order');
• other combinations: -sn, -zn (gušn, gužn 'hunger'); -sl, -sm (gusl 'washing', kism 'kind, sort'), -zm, -zr (izm 'permission (to leave)', uzr 'excuse'); -hl, -hm (tahl 'bitter', tuhm 'seed'); -lm (zuhm 'oppression'), -rm, -rn (garm 'warm', karn 'century'); -wl, -wm, -wn, -wr (kawl 'promise', kawm 'people', sawn 'divorce', hawr 'rain'); -yl, -yr (sayl 'looking', hayr 'well').

2.1.3.2 Diphthongs

The sequences ay and aw (see 2.1.1.1) often referred to as 'diphthongs' are biphonemic combinations of a plus a glide, which implies they are never followed by another consonant cluster or a geminate. Conversely, ē and ë (including the IrBal. variants ie and ue, see 2.1.1.2) may be followed by two consonants, but not by a geminate.

2.1.3.3 Geminated consonants

As a rule, the geminated consonants (see 2.1.2.1 (4)) are limited to the position after short vowels. Gemination is also limited to word-final or intervocalic position. According to Elfenbein (1991: 115), a word-final geminate is shortened when the next word begins with a consonant. So from the perspective of the sentence as a whole, geminates only occur in intervocalic position. Geminates count as consonant clusters in metrical texts.

Some SBal. dialects appear to geminate consonants after ī and û. Other cases of geminates after long vowels are specific to some sources, and all of them are likely to be loanwords, e.g. šādād 'joy' (WBaINosh., BMC).

2.2 Non-segmental features

2.2.1 Word stress

The scarce information available on word stress in Balochi suggests that it differs considerably among the dialects, and even in the very principles it follows. The diverging stress patterns appear to mirror language contact (see Korn 2005a: 67–70).

Western Balochi

For the Western Balochi dialect of Turkmenistan (cf. Axenov 2006: 48–50, partly revising Rastorgueva 1966: 328f., 334–336; Moshkalo 1991: 40, 67ff.) and Afghanistan (Buddruss 1988: 45ff.), a system of stress has been noted which is similar to that of New Persian. The stress is on the last syllable of the word as a rule, except for the individuation marker (see 4.2) -ē, the pronominal suffixes and the present copula, which are enclitic. The verbal
stem is also stressed on the last syllable, but the endings of the present tense are usually stressed. The negative prefix \textit{na-} and the prohibitive prefix \textit{ma-} attract the stress. Verb forms with the prefix \textit{b(i)-} (see 3.2.5.2) likewise have the stress on the first syllable (thus on the first syllable of the stem if the vowel of the prefix is omitted, see 2.3.2.2), and the nominal part of complex predicates takes the phrase stress. Case endings added to monosyllabic nouns always bear the stress (on their first syllable if the ending has more than one syllable), whereas polysyllabic nouns are stressed on the last syllable of the stem, all case endings being enclitic. Inflected forms of the interrogative pronouns \textit{če} ‘what’ are stressed on the first syllable, however. There are also a few adverbs that are stressed on the first syllable.

\textit{Southern Balochi}

According to available data (which, however, would need careful checking), the stress patterns in the SBal. dialect of Karachi differs markedly from the WBal. system in that the place of the stress depends on the weight of the syllables. A heavy syllable is one which contains a long vowel or diphthong or a short vowel followed by more than one consonant. The nasal element of nasal vowels does not count as a consonant. A word-final long vowel and a word-final short vowel followed by one consonant count as light syllables. The domain of the stress is the last three syllables of a word. Counting from the end of the word, the stress is on the first syllable that is heavy. A secondary stress may fall on the initial syllable of longer words, and some morphologically conditioned rules may override these principles.

In the SBal. dialect of Chabahar (Iran), however, stress is on the final syllable irrespective of syllable quantity.

\textit{Eastern Balochi}

Information on the EBal. stress is particularly scarce. The description by Gilbertson (1925/II: 797), although presented in categories different from those used here, seems to suggest rules very similar to (if not identical with) those observed for Karachi Balochi: i.e. essentially, the last heavy syllable of a word is stressed. Complex verbs and preposition + noun are treated as a unit as far as stress is concerned.

2.2.2 \textit{Intonation}

There is contrastive intonation in Balochi. Declarative sentences and sentences with question words are characterized by a falling pitch on the final syllable of the sentence. Interrogative sentences without a question word have a gradually rising pitch towards the end while an added tag question has a falling tone.

2.3 \textit{Conditioned morphophonemic changes}

2.3.1 \textit{Nasal vowels}

Nasal vowels are widespread in Balochi, specifically in the Eastern and Southern dialects; some WBal. dialects do not have nasal vowels at all. In most instances nasalisation is not phonemic, and nasal vowels can be analysed as allophonic sequences of V + n. There is often a pronunciation Vn when a vowel follows: OBL.P -\textit{än} + V vs. -\textit{ā} + C, adj. suffix -\textit{ēn} + V vs. -\textit{ē} + C.
Nasalisation mostly affects ān and ēn; the number of dialects that show nasalisation of other vowels is smaller. In some dialects, Vn may yield a nasal vowel as well: zânt vs. zâ ‘knows’, int vs. ē (3S copula) in Karachi Balochi.

In some dialects, certain nasal vowels have acquired phonemic status. This applies to ā and ē in the EBal. dialect described by Bashir (2008: 60), to the vowels just mentioned and to ē in Karachi Balochi (Farrell 2003:174), and to all vowels in Sarawani (Baranzehi 2003: 81).

In the following sections, nasal vowels (e.g. ā) will be noted when the given dialect(s) do not have a non-nasalised variant; otherwise the notation will be Vn (e.g. ān).

2.3.2 Consonants

2.3.2.1 Hiatus

Adjacent vowels may be separated by a hiatus-deleting consonant (HI, see Korn 2005a: 162, 235, 242, 249, 259). This applies to hiatus caused by absence of C (e.g. šā(h)jīr ‘poet’ (Pers.-Ar. šā‘jīr), māhī ‘May’) and to the addition of suffixes to stems in vowels (e.g. ā-h-ān lā-y-ān / ā-w-ān DEM-HI-POBL. ā-h-ān ‘tea (POBL.)’, zā(h)-l zā-y- ‘give birth’, gū(t- w)- ‘weep’). In other cases, the vowel hiatus remains (see 2.1.2.2).

To some extent, the use and the choice of the consonant depend on the dialect involved. The use of h is widespread, with WBal. dialects also making use of w and y.

2.3.2.2 The modal prefix bi-

The vowel of the modal prefix bi- (see 3.2.5.2) may be rounded before back vowels in the following syllable (e.g. bu-pāš ‘put on (clothes)’), or it may be omitted. In this case it often assimilates to the following consonant (cf. Buddruss 1988: 59); p-kass ‘pull!’ (Baranzehi 2003: 96), p-kan ‘do’, b-gind ‘see’, b-čār / p-čār ‘look’, b-šōd / p-šōd ‘wash’, b-nīnd / m-nīnd ‘sit’. It may merge with p- and b-, e.g. pur ‘enter’, bar ‘carry’. Before vowels, it displays the variants b- (before back vowels) e.g. b-ōšt ‘stand’, b-ust ‘stand up’, or by-, e.g. by-ār ‘bring’ (all examples are imperative 2S).

2.3.2.3 Verbal suffixes

Parallel to the nasalisation of vowels (see 2.3.1), the form of some verbal suffixes may depend on the following sound. In some dialects, there is a tendency for the -t of the 3S and the 3P (see 3.2.4) to be limited to the position before vowel while there is a reduced or nasalised form in other contexts (Baranzehi 2003: 88 note 22, cf. also the frequent alternation ōrmānī ‘(God) commands’ vs. ōrmānītī (with 3S pronominal suffix) in Farrell 2008: 130ff.).

Similarly, the perfect participle (see 3.2.3.2) is mostly -ag before a suffix with vowel, but often -a otherwise.

2.3.2.4 Metathesis

There are several instances of metathesis of consonant clusters (see Korn 2005a: 176–178, 234, 240–241, 265–267). One type involves stops or a stop plus s: waps- vs. wasp- ‘sleep’, bak- ‘forgive’ (also bak-š-) (vs. Pers. baks-); SBal. ĝētk vs. WBal. ĝēt < *gēxt- past stem of ĝē- ‘throw’), others arrange syllables according to the preferred sonority pattern (kulp vs. Pers.-Ar. qafl ‘lock’, tahl vs. Pers.-Ar. talx ‘bitter’).
3 MORPHOLOGY

Balochi dialects differ considerably in many aspects, and the morphology is no exception. For the notation of nasal vowels, see 2.3.1.

3.1 Nominal morphology

3.1.1 Nouns

3.1.1.1 Nominal categories

There is no grammatical gender in any dialect of Balochi.

The categories relevant for the Balochi nominal system are case and number (singular (S) and plural (P), see also 4.5.1).

Mass nouns like āp ‘water’, čā ‘tea’, nān ‘bread’, göšt ‘meat’, galla(g) ‘wheat’, etc. are treated as plural nouns and used with a 3P verb when they denote a certain quantity:

\[ ē čammag-ay yaxx-ēn u pāk-ēn āp-ānā-a war-ant \]

DEM spring-GEN ice-ATTR and pure-ATTR water-POBJ-VEL drink.PR-3P 'they drink the cold and pure water of this spring'. (TBal., ABT: 68)

In the generic meaning, they are treated as singular:

\[ āp-a war-ant \]

water-VEL drink.PR-3P 'they drink water'. (WBal.)

3.1.1.2 Case system

(1) There is no agreement in grammatical descriptions of Balochi on the number of cases and what they should be called (see Korn 2005b, 2008b). Essentially there are the following cases (see also 3.2.7, 4.1 and 4.4 for discussion of case marking):

- The direct (DIR) case (also called nominative by some authors) denotes the subject in sentences constructed nominatively and the patient in sentences constructed ergatively.
- The oblique (OBL) case is used for the agent in ergative sentences, with prepositions and in locative and adverbial functions.
- The object (OBJ) case is employed for direct and indirect objects in sentences with nominative-accusative alignment. The oblique case is also used in this function.
- The genitive (GEN) case is used for possessors and with postpositions.
- The vocative (VOC) case is used in direct address.

Points of much variation are the use of the object case suffix -rā, and of the genitive case. The WBal. dialects have -ay for the GEN.S and -ārā or -ānā for the OBJ.P. The SBal. system has genitive singular -ē and the OBJ.P is marked with -ānā(rā), -ānā or -ānrā. In EBal., the suffix -ān may optionally be used in the DIR.P. The object case has the suffixes -ār(a) (S), -ār(ȧ) (P). The GEN.S may be marked with -ē, -a or zero.

(2) Table 11.10 shows the case system common in dialects spoken in Pakistan.

(3) In the Balochi dialects of Afghanistan and Turkmenistan (Table 11.11), there is no separate form of the object case in the singular and the marker of the GEN.S is -ay for nouns while -ī is used on xudā ‘God’ and on names. Objects are found in the OBJ case.
The element -rā is not systematically used for nouns, but occurs in the pronominal paradigms as marker of the object case.

More noteworthy is a case called 'oblique II' by Buddrus (1988: 45–52) and 'locative' by Axenov (2006: 80–83, 104), which is used in local/directional function (cf. Korn 2008a). Its marker is composed of the oblique case ending -ā, which is suffixed to that of the genitive, thence -ay-a or -i-ā, pl. -ān-i-ā.

(Note that the case ending -ā in these dialects is glossed in two different ways, OBJ when it is an object (direct or indirect) and OBL elsewhere.)

(4) In IrBal., there is a restructuring in progress towards a primary contrast between singular and plural, whereas the opposition between direct vs. oblique case tends to get lost (cf. Jahani 2003). The suffix -ān is used for the functions that DIR and OBL case have in the other dialects, while the OBL.S is mostly not marked in functions other than objects (i.e. -Ø after prepositions, for adverbial use and for the agent in ergative constructions), yielding a system that may be described as in Table 11.12. As in AfBal. and TBal., the element -rā is not systematically used for nouns, but occurs in the pronominal paradigms as case marker of the OBJ.

### Table 11.10: Case System of Pakistani Balochi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ārā</td>
<td>-ay, -ē, -ī</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-ān</td>
<td>-ānā</td>
<td>-ānī</td>
<td>-ānī</td>
<td>-ān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 11.11: Case System of Turkmenistan and Afghanistan Balochi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-ā</td>
<td>-ay, -ī</td>
<td>-ayā, -ā</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-ān</td>
<td>-ānā</td>
<td>-ānī</td>
<td>-ānī</td>
<td>-ān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 11.12: Case System of Iranian Balochi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-ā(rā)</td>
<td>-ēy</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-ān</td>
<td>-ānā</td>
<td>-ānī</td>
<td>-ān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note, however, that in the southernmost IrBal. dialects (spoken in, for example, Sarbaz, Kaserkand and Chabahar) the case system is similar to that of Pakistani Balochi, insofar as the DIR.P is unmarked and the OBL.P takes the ending -ān, but follows the IrBal. system for OBJ/OBL.S and OBJ.P. There are also intermediary dialects with -ān for the DIR.P.

IrBal. dialects also use the ezāfe construction (see Jahani 1994, 2003: 128, cf. also 3.1.3 (1)). In the dialect of the Central Sarawan valley, the GEN is replaced by the ezāfe construction (Baranzehi 2003: 81, see Table 11.13).
### 3.1.2 Pronouns and deixis

Balochi pronouns exhibit a variation in number and function of cases similar to the one observed for nouns in 3.1.1.2. As the pronouns present more complex systems than the nouns in several respects (cf. also Korn 2005b), they are kept as one unit (i.e. without hyphens) in the morphological analysis.

#### 3.1.2.1 Personal pronouns

Tables 11.14 and 11.15 display the pronouns for the 1st and 2nd persons. They show the same form for the DIR and OBL in several dialects. It is not clear whether the contrast DIR vs. OBL noted in the earlier sources for the EBal. 1S pronoun is (still) valid, and if so, in which dialect(s). Bashir (2008: 48) has loggedin, loggedin for both direct and oblique case.

#### TABLE 11.14: PRONOUNS FOR THE 1ST AND 2ND SINGULAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct, Oblique</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1S</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBal.</td>
<td>ma, mā, mā</td>
<td>manā, manā</td>
<td>ma, mā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBal.</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>manā, manārā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBal.</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>m(a)nā</td>
<td>m(a)nā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afgh.+Turkm.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mānā</td>
<td>mnāa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IrBal.</td>
<td>mon</td>
<td>mona</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarawani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2S</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBal.</td>
<td>ʃaw, ʃa</td>
<td>ʃar(ā)</td>
<td>ʃa, ʃā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBal.</td>
<td>taw, tō</td>
<td>t(a)rā, tarārā</td>
<td>tāi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBal.</td>
<td>taw</td>
<td>t(a)rā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afgh.+Turkm.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tī</td>
<td>tāa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IrBal.</td>
<td>taw, ta</td>
<td>tarā, torā</td>
<td>ta, ta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarawani</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>tarā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 11.15: Pronouns for the 1st and 2nd Plural

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct, Oblique</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>EBal. mā</td>
<td>mārā</td>
<td>mā, māl</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SBal. mā</td>
<td>mārā</td>
<td>mā, mē</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WBal. Pakistan</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>mārā</td>
<td>may</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AfBal.+TBal. am(m)ā</td>
<td>am(m)ārā</td>
<td>am(m)ay</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IrBal. mā</td>
<td>mārā</td>
<td>may</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarawani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>EBal. š(a)wā, šā</td>
<td>š(a)wār, šār</td>
<td>š(a)wāt, šāt</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SBal. šumā</td>
<td>šumrā</td>
<td>šumē</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WBal. Pakistan</td>
<td>š(u)mā</td>
<td>š(u)mārā</td>
<td>š(u)may</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AfBal.+TBal. š(u)mā</td>
<td>š(u)mārā</td>
<td>š(u)may</td>
<td>š(u)mayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IrBal. š(o)mā</td>
<td>š(o)mārā</td>
<td>š(o)mey</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sarawani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the functions of the non-direct cases, pronominal suffixes are also used (see 3.1.2.2), and possessive adjectives may be used instead of the genitive (see 6.1). Demonstrative pronouns are employed for the 3rd person (see 3.1.2.3). A separate form for the 1P inclusive (mā-š(u)mā) is found in the Balochi dialects of Afghanistan (Buddruss 1988: 51), Turkmenistan (Sokolov 1956: 69) and some IrBal. dialects, e.g. Sarawani; the latter also has an additional 1P exclusive (mā-wat, lit. 'we ourselves'), and dual (mā-taw 'I and you.S') (Baranzehi 2003: 85).

#### 3.1.2.2 Pronominal suffixes

In addition to the independent pronouns, there are pronominal suffixes, also called enclitic pronouns (ENCL.PRO, Table 11.16), which are used in all functions of the oblique case, i.e. agent of ergative constructions (see 3.2.7, 4.4.1), direct and indirect objects (4.4.2), and as possessive pronouns.

### Table 11.16: Pronominal suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EBal.</td>
<td>SBal.</td>
<td>WBal., IrBal.</td>
<td>SBal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sg.</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>-on, -om</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl.</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ē, -iē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The pronominal suffixes are used to markedly varying degrees. Balochi dialects in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan use them mainly for the 3rd person, although in the literary language (e.g. oral and written poetry, modern short stories and novels) other persons are also encountered. IrBal. dialects use them frequently for all persons.

3.1.2.3 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are inflected essentially in the same way as the nouns. The distal demonstratives are also used as personal pronouns for the 3rd person.

The attested stems differ across the dialects (Table 11.17). Some demonstrative pronouns only occur in adjectival function, that is, in attributive position. Frequently, demonstratives take the prefix ham for emphasis ((h)am-ā, (h)am-e, EBal. hav-). In some dialects, these forms have become the usual forms of the demonstratives.

TABLE 11.17: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOMINAL STEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2se</th>
<th>Dialects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proximal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>attributive, in direct case also substantive</td>
<td>all dialects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēš</td>
<td>inflected</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēn</td>
<td></td>
<td>several dialects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>attributive, in direct case also substantive</td>
<td>EBal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)ē-</td>
<td></td>
<td>several dialects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td></td>
<td>SWBal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ān</td>
<td></td>
<td>EBal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.2.4 Other pronouns

The pronouns kay ‘who’ and čē čē ‘what, which’ are inflected like demonstrative pronouns. The pronoun wat ‘self’ is used as a reflexive pronoun for functions entirely parallel to that of Persian xod (both < *lwaṭ-). Its case forms are, depending on the dialect, OBL wat(ā), OBJ watā l wat(ā)rā, GEN watī. When the possessor coincides with the subject, waṭ must be used for all persons, for example

\[
\text{man waṭī pādīsār u taxt-ā tark-a kan-īn}
\]

I self:GEN kingdom and throne-OBJ abandoning-VEL do. PR-1S

‘I will leave my (lit. own) kingdom and throne’. (TBal.)

3.1.3 Adjectives

(1) Attributive adjectives usually precede the head noun. In this position, they are used with the suffix -ēn: warā-ēn bačak(k) ‘the young boy’, waš(š)-ēn hāl ‘good news’. Adjectives can also be used as nouns, in which case they take case endings: (h)am-ē warā-ā ‘that young (man) (OBL/OBJ)’. When postposed to a noun for emphasis and clarification, the adjective is treated as a noun:
In fixed phrases (and in IrBal. also elsewhere), ezāfe constructions are used. Here, the adjective is found with or without the attributive suffix:

\[
gunākārī-ē \ mazan-ēn-ā
\]
\[
sin-INDEF \ big-ATTR-OBJ
\]

‘a big sin’ (TBal., ABT: 88)

(2) The comparative is formed by adding -tir, and the superlative by adding the attributive ending -ēn to the comparative: \(\text{sar}(r)\)-tir ‘better’, \(\text{sar}(r)\)-tirēn ‘better, the best’ (\(\text{sar}(r)\) ‘good’). This means that sar tirēn kitāb-ē (with the individuation suffix -ē) means ‘a better book’ and without this suffix ‘the best book’. Noteworthy irregular forms are mas-tir and kas-tir (for mazan ‘big’ and kasiin ‘small’). The adposition used in comparisons is \(\text{sa} \ l \ êh\) (etc., see 3.1.5) ‘from, than’.

(3) A number of dialects also have analytic expressions with \(\text{sa} \ l \ êh\):

\[
aāā \ êh \ mazan
\]
\[
 DEM.OBL \ from \ big
\]

‘bigger than he/she’, ‘lit. ‘from him/her/it big’ (SBal., Karachi dialect, Farrell 2003: 197)

\[
man \ žāg-ā \ ţu \ at-un
\]
\[
I \ from \ child-OBL \ big \ COP.PT.1S
\]

‘I was bigger than the child’. (AfBal., BLB: 50)

The superlative form occurs in attributive position and when the adjective functions as a noun. In predicative position the formulation ‘than all’ is added to the comparative to give the superlative meaning.

\[
tāfīr \ bi \ swār-ānī \ mastirēn-ā \ gušt
\]
\[
merchant \ to \ rider-P.GEN \ big.SUP-OBL \ say.PT.3S
\]
\[
ki \ pādīsā-ay \ ẓāmās \ am-êh \ int
\]
\[
CL. \ king-GEN \ son-in-law \ EMPH-DEM \ COP.PR.3S
\]

‘the merchant told the eldest (lit. biggest) of the riders that this was the king’s son-in-law’. (TBal.)

\[
mastirēn \ gušt \ mnī \ piss \ nāʔf̱r \ at
\]
\[
big.SUP \ say.PT.3S \ I.GEN \ father \ ill \ COP.PT.3S
\]

‘the eldest one said: my father was ill’. (TBal.)

\[
aspswār-ay \ ẓām \ ʒa \ mučē-ān \ ţu-tir \ at
\]
\[
rider-GEN \ sword \ from \ all-P.OBL \ big-COMPV \ COP.PT.3S
\]

‘the sword of the rider was the biggest’. (TBal., ABT: 90)
3.1.4 Adverbs

Adjectives normally also function as adverbs in Balochi: ħwân int ‘it is good’ vs. ħwân kurt ‘he/she did well’ (WBal.). Certain adjectives in the OBL may function as adverbs: dûr-â ‘hard’ (adv.), johâl-â ‘deep down’ (see also 3.1.1.2 (1)).

Further adverbial expressions can be formed with the help of the postposition sarâ ‘on’ (see 3.1.5), e.g. zôr-ê sarâ ‘powerfully’ (SBalKur., FBB: 68), or the preposition pa ‘for’, e.g. pa drög ‘liingly’ (TBal., ABT: 97).

3.1.5 Adpositions

Prepositions, postpositions as well as circumpositions are found in Balochi. Table 11.18 shows some frequently encountered adpositions.

**TABLE 11.18: BALOCHI ADPOSITIONS (SELECTION)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prepositions</th>
<th>Postpositions</th>
<th>Circumpositions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa lâl ašl ač ‘from’</td>
<td>eč ‘from’</td>
<td>sa ... puštâ (etc.) ‘from behind (etc.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa(r) ‘for’</td>
<td>puštâ ‘behind’</td>
<td>pa ... xātirâ ‘for, for the sake of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi ‘to’</td>
<td>tahâ ‘inside’</td>
<td>bi ... tahâ ‘into’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gôn ‘with’</td>
<td>sarâ ‘on (top of)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dêmâ ‘in front of, before’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>čèrâ ‘under’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nêmagâ ‘towards’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nyânâ ‘between, among’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Many postpositions are originally nouns in the OBL (literally ‘at the front/back/top of’ . . . ), so the noun or pronoun is in the genitive: ēukk-ê dêm-â ‘in front (lit. face) of the child’ (SBal.); ēš-ânî pad-â ‘behind them’, lit. ‘in the footstep of them’ (WBal.).

2. Prepositions are for the most part used with the OBL of nouns and pronouns, e.g. pa zâg-â ‘for the child’, sa man ‘from me’, gôn âw-ân ‘with them’ (WBal.).

3. Circumpositions occur in most dialects; they are composed of one of the most common prepositions, i.e. mostly ač, ęa (etc.) ‘from’, pa ‘for’ and to some degree also bi ‘to(wards)’, and one of the postpositions. The noun or pronoun normally follows the rule for postpositions, i.e. is in the GEN: pattî pad-â ‘after you’ (TBal., ABT: 150), pa wântîn-ay xâtir-â ‘for the sake of studying’ (TBal., ABT: 150), až ... p’ad-â ‘behind’ (EBal., Dames 1891: grammar: 37).

4. The dialects heavily influenced by Persian prefer prepositions, but those in direct contact with Indic languages chiefly use postpositions (cf. Jahani 2003: 127; Farrell 2003: 195ff.). The difference can conveniently be exemplified with two of the most common adpositions, namely the preposition sa (with variants) ‘from’, which is a postposition in Karachi Balochi (eč), and the postposition tahâ ‘inside’, which is often encountered as a preposition in IrBal.
3.1.6 Numerals

Table 11.19 gives the ordinals found in the various dialects and sources presenting the most common variant(s) first. ° means that the given item is found as second member of a compound (like nine in thirty-nine).

**TABLE 11.19: CARDINAL NUMBERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1-9</th>
<th>11-19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yak(k)</td>
<td>yāzda(h), yānzda(g), EBal. yāzdah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dā, du</td>
<td>d(u)wāzda(h), dwānzda(g) EBal. dwāzdah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sai, saē, sē, sah</td>
<td>sāzda(h), sēnzda(h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cār, EBal. cyār</td>
<td>cārda(h), BMC cārda(g), EBal. cārdah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponē, ponj</td>
<td>pānzda(h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šā(s)</td>
<td>sānzda(h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)apt, (h)af</td>
<td>(h)abda(h), havda(h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)af</td>
<td>(h)aḍda(h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō, nuh, nu, 9nau</td>
<td>nōzda(h), nōzda(g), nōzdah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da(h), FBB dā, BMC *da(g)</td>
<td>sad '100'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bīst, EBal. gīst</td>
<td>hazār '1,000'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sī</td>
<td>lak(k) '100,000'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cīl(l), cīhil</td>
<td>kurōr '10,000,000'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponjā(h)</td>
<td>arab '1,000,000,000'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāst, šāst, EBal. sai-gīst, sah-gīst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)apūd, (h)aʃdād, EBal. sai-gīst-u-dah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)aʃdād, EBal. cyār-gīst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navad, nuvad, EBal. cyār-gīst-u-dah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly, there is a system of counting by 20s in EBal. (For more details about the attestation and history of the numerals, see Korn 2006).

arab is 1,000 million in FBB and Sayad Hashmi 2000, but 100 million in BMC (which is indeed the meaning of Urdu arab). Numbers like '21' are compounds made in the same way as in Persian (thus bīst-u-yak, EBal. gīst-u-yak). 200 etc. is dōldu-sad etc.

According to Dames (1913:13ff.), subtraction strategies also occur in EBal. (e.g. say k'ām yāzdāl-gīst '3 less than 11 times 20' = 217).

3.2 Verb morphology

3.2.1 Simple and complex verbs

Balochi verbs are either simple or complex. Complex verbs may have a noun, adjective or preposition (preverb) as their first element (e.g. sar kan- ‘bring, deliver’, tarr kan- ‘wet’, dar kan- ‘take out, remove’). Borrowed verbs are often incorporated in this way, e.g. pūn kan- (SBal. of Karachi, Farrell 2003: 185), zang jan- (WBal. of Iran) both meaning ‘phone’, tačīt kan- ‘sharpen’ (TBal., Axenov 2003: 250), ġarwšak kan- ‘wait’ (TBal., Axenov 2003: 251), but may also be incorporated as simple verbs, e.g. dār- ‘hold, have’, likk- ‘write’, ʧut- ‘be freed’ (Korn 2001, A. 1).
3.2.2 Stem formation

3.2.2.1 Present and past stems

As in most Iranian languages, Balochi verbal morphology is based on the dichotomy of present stem (PR) and past stem (PT).

Most past stems are formed from the corresponding present stems by adding the suffix -it (which is productive and the most common suffix, also for borrowed words and denominatives), -t, or, more rarely, -āt, e.g. PR gwār- 'rain' → PT gwār-t, ēār- 'look' → ēār-it, bašk- 'forgive' → bašk-āt.

Some verbs have synchronically unpredictable past stems, reflecting Old Iranian formations (e.g. kal1- 'do', gild- 'see'). Others show retention of historically regular, but synchronically irregular forms: rud- → rust 'grow', waps- → wapt 'sleep'. For a list of verb stems, see e.g. Moshkalo (1991: 53–62) or Korn (2005a: 312–322, 344–416).

3.2.2.2 Causatives and double causatives

Causatives are formed by suffixing -ēn- to the present stem. Double causatives occur in many dialects. The suffix for double causatives is SWBal. -ēen- / EBal. -ain-:

\[
\text{man ēuk-ā ras-ēn-ā}
\]

'I transport the children', lit. 'cause the children to arrive'.

\[
\text{man āyā ēā ēuk-ā ras-ēen-ā}
\]

'I make him/her transport the children', lit. 'I cause the children to be transported by him/her'. (both SBalKarb., FBB: 49).

3.2.3 Non-finite forms

3.2.3.1 Infinitive

The formation of the infinitive depends on the dialect. Most dialects use -ag added to the present stem: kan-ag 'to do'. In a number of dialects, all from the WBal. group, the infinitive is formed by adding -in to the past stem; thus from kan- → kurt- 'do': kan-ag / kurt-in 'to do'. Infinitives may be used and inflected as a verbal noun, e.g. pa wānt-in-ay xātirā 'for reasons of the studying' (TBal., ABT: 291).

3.2.3.2 Participles

A present participle is formed by adding -ān to the present stem, e.g. kan-ān 'doing', raw-ān 'going', kāy-ān 'coming'.

The perfect participle is derived from the past stem by the suffix -ag l -a (see 2.3.2.3), e.g. kur-t(a)g 'done', ūt-t(a)g 'gone', likkīt-t(a)g 'written'.

3.2.3.3 Gerundive

The gerundive is formed by adding -ī to the infinitive, e.g. man guš-ag-ī ā l un 'I am about to say' (SBal/WBal).
3.2.3.4 Agent noun

There is an agent noun with -ök added to the present stem: kus-ök 'killer', niwís-ök 'writer', which to a certain extent may also be used as a present participle.

3.2.4 Person marking and auxiliaries

The verbal endings are largely identical with the corresponding forms of the copula. Where no separate forms are given in Table 11.20, the quoted forms apply for both.

**TABLE 11.20: VERBAL ENDINGS AND COPULA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EBal.</th>
<th>SBal.</th>
<th>WBal.</th>
<th>Sarawani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ending present</td>
<td>-ān, -ān</td>
<td>-ān, -ān</td>
<td>-ān, -ān</td>
<td>-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copula</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ending past</td>
<td>-ān</td>
<td>-un, -ān</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>endings &amp; copula</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-ay</td>
<td>-ey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ending present</td>
<td>-īθ, -t</td>
<td>-īt, -t</td>
<td>-ēt, -t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copula</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>int</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ending past</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ending present, copula</td>
<td>-ān</td>
<td>-ān, -ān, -ān</td>
<td>-ān, -ēn</td>
<td>-ēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ending past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ēθ, -ē</td>
<td>-ēt, -ē, -ēt</td>
<td>-ēt</td>
<td>-ēt, -ē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ānt, -ā</td>
<td>-ānt</td>
<td>-ānt</td>
<td>-ent, -ē</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3S ending -t is confined to certain verbs, and some of these forms lengthen the preceding vowel. Some of these verbs even have an alternative reduced form: dan-t 'gives', jan-t 'hits', kan-t 'does', zān-t 'knows', raw-t 'goes'; with lengthening: gīr-t 'takes', wār-t, wā 'eats', bār-t, bā 'carries'.

The imperative has the ending zero in the 2S: b-ra 'go!', p-kan 'do!', b-gir 'take!' (see 3.2.6.3).

Note that in Balochi dialects that pattern ergatively (see 3.2.7), the past endings in Table 11.20 only apply to intransitive verbs, while transitive ones do not agree with the agent in the verb forms from the past stem.

Most Balochi dialects have a past tense for the copula which is composed of a stem at- (SBal. sometimes it-) and the copula forms from Table 11.20 (the 3S is without ending: at). Some SBal. dialects use the past stem of 'become' plus verbal endings. The copula is also used for the compound tenses (see 3.2.8.2) and in some periphrastic aktionsart and modal constructions (see 4.5.3).
The present stem of 'become' is (depending on the dialect) bay-, bē(y)-, bā-, bū-, b-, its past stem is bāt / bī (see 2.1.1.1). This verb is also used as an auxiliary for the passive voice (see 3.2.6.4) and in some of the aktionsart and modal constructions (see 4.5.3).

The *verbum existentiae* ('to be, to exist') is 3S (*hast* 'there is' (negative nēst 'there is not'), 3P (*hast-ant* (see also 3.2.8.4). Its other TAM-forms are supplied by the verb 'become'.

Other verbs used in an auxiliary-like function in some aktionsart and modal constructions include dār- 'hold', kān- 'do' and lōf- 'want' (see also 3.2.8.4 and 4.5.3).

3.2.5 Aspectual-modal affixes and negation

3.2.5.1 Imperfective markers

(1) In many dialects, some or most verbs with a word-initial vowel show a prefix k- in the present indicative (e.g. k-āy-īn 'I come', WBaINosh.), the present participle (k-āy-ān 'coming') and (where applicable) in the imperfective aspect of the past tense. In most IrBal. dialects (except in the very south), the verb stem is often found with a prothetic y- instead (y-āy-īn 'I come', WBal. of Iran).

hāndā āhinkār-e-ā k-ār-ān
tomorrow blacksmith-INDEF-OBL V.PREF-bring.PR-1P
'tomorrow we will bring a blacksmith'. (WBaINosh.)

māčē mardum șa ham-ōdā āp-ā k-āwurt-ant
all human from EMPH-there water-VEL V.PREF-bring.PT-3P
'all the people used to bring water from there'. (TBal.)

(2) In several Balochi dialects, a 'verbal element' -a marks the imperfective aspect (see Buddruss 1977: 9–13, 1988: 62–65; Axenov 2006: 166–170); in the non-past tense the verbal element also marks the indicative mood as opposed to the subjunctive mood (see 3.2.6.2 and 4.5.2.6).

While morphologically, the element belongs to the verb, it is enclitic to the word preceding the verb phonologically (and thus generally written as if it were a suffix). It can therefore not occur in clause initial position or after a pause. Other restrictions apply as well (for details, see Axenov 2006: 168–170).

3.2.5.2 Modal markers

The prefix bī- (see 2.3.2.2 for its variants and 3.2.6.3 for its use) marks the imperative and the subjunctive: bī-ka(n) 'do!', bī-kan-it 'that he/she do', bī-kurt-ēn 'he/she would do.' The prefix is often omitted in complex verbs, e.g. bir gard 'return!', sōj kān 'ask!' (TBal., ABT: 165), dūr (p-)kan 'remove!'.

The past subjunctive adds -ēn- to the past stem, usually also employing bī- at the same time.

The optative is marked by the suffix -āt- (see 3.2.6.3).

3.2.5.3 Negation

The negative prefix is na-; the prohibitive prefix is ma- (occasionally na- in IrBal.), which is used for all non-indicative forms, i.e. those that also use positive bī-, with which both are mutually exclusive (see 3.2.5.2). In compound TAM-forms, complex verbs and periphrastic aktionsart and modal constructions, na- and ma- are added to the main verb.
3.2.6 System of tense, aspect, mood and voice

3.2.6.1 Tense

Balochi dialects essentially contrast non-past (present/future) and past tense. There is no separate construction to express the future tense.

3.2.6.2 Aspect

Several Balochi dialects show an opposition of perfective vs. imperfective aspect in the indicative mood (see also 4.5.2.5 and 4.5.2.6). In some of these dialects (WBal. of Iran, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan, Sarawani) the 'verbal element' -a (see 3.2.5.1 (2)) is employed to mark the imperfective aspect in the past tense:

\[
\text{dars-}a \quad \text{wānt} \quad \text{he/she used to study (imperfective aspect)}, \quad \text{as opposed to} \quad \text{dars} \quad \text{want} \quad \text{he/she studied (perfective aspect)}.
\]

3.2.6.3 Mood

Balochi dialects show indicative, imperative, subjunctive and optative mood. The optative mood has a limited distribution (see 4.5.2.4), but is attested in, for example, IrBal. of Lashar and Pakistani WBal.

(1) In many Balochi dialects, the prefix bi- (see 3.2.5.2) is employed in a way parallel to Persian to generate the imperative and subjunctive. In EBal. dialects, the corresponding forms are more often found without bi- (cf. Bashir 2008: 75–77).

\[
\text{bi-} \quad \text{plus the present stem yields the imperative sg.; the pl. is identical with the 2P subjunctive (see 4.5.2.3). bi-} \quad \text{is used with the forms of the present tense to form a subjunctive (see 4.5.2.2).}
\]

(2) The optative adds the suffix -āt- plus the copula to the present stem, e.g. nend-āt-en(t) 'may they sit' (IrBal., Yusefian 1992: 66). The 3S has either the copula 3S or zero suffix:

\[
\text{ahmad yāy-āt-e} \quad \text{PN come.PR-OPT-COP.PR.3S} \quad \text{would that Ahmad came} \quad \text{(IrBal., Yusefian 1992: 59)}
\]

(3) In WBal. dialects spoken in Iran, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan the verbal element -a is found in the indicative mood of the non-past tense (parallel to the Modern Persian use of the prefix mī-), so for the non-past tense, it marks indicative mood rather than aspect (see also 3.2.6.2).

3.2.6.4 Voice

Notwithstanding the existence of ergativity in many Balochi dialects (see 3.2.7), a passive voice is also found. However, owing to the predominantly oral style of Balochi texts, it is not frequently used, and rare with an explicit agent.
It is constructed by (1) the past participle or (2) the infinitive (see 3.2.3.1) with bay- ‘become’ as auxiliary:

ar dukên-ânî sar burrit-ag bût
each two.ATTR-P.GEN head cut.PT-PF become.PT.3S
‘the heads of both of them were cut off’. (TBal., ABT: 200)

ê mardom-ân ëfat-en bût-ê
DEM human-P.DIR hit.PT-INF become.PT-3P
‘these people were beaten’. (IrBalSarw., BSD: 100)

maskat-ê tôkâ lânê gir-ag bît-ag-it-â
PN-GEN in boat take.PR-INF become.PT-PF-COP’PT-3P
‘boats had been caught in Muscat’. (SBal.Kar, Farrell 1989: 37)

3 Eastern Balochi has acquired a morphological passive, which is formed by affixing -fû- to the present stem of the verb (see Bashir 2008: 60–64 for discussion).

agar ta âhi bârara taârk-ê kan-ay
if you.S DEM.GEN about talk-INDEF do.PR-2S

3.2.7 Transitivity and ergativity

Transitivity is an important category in Balochi, since the construction of verb forms and the marking of arguments depend on this feature. Many dialects of Balochi show split ergativity (cf. Farrell 1989, 1995, Korn 2008c and forthcoming): while an intransitive verb is inflected according to the nominative pattern throughout (namely, the endings of the verb indexing subject), transitive verbs follow a different pattern in all verb forms based on the past stem (see 3.2.2.1), including those formed from the perfect participle (see 3.2.3.2) and the past subjunctive (see 3.2.6.3 and 4.5.2.9).

Balochi ergative constructions show the logical subject (i.e. agent) in the OBL case and the object (patient) in the DIR case by default. It is common to use pronominal suffixes (see 3.1.2.2) for the agent (particularly in IrBal. dialects); they may occur in addition to an overt agent, to which they are never suffixed (see also 4.4 for further discussion).

There is no person (or gender, see 3.1.1.1) agreement of the verb with the patient in any dialect of Balochi, but there is an optional agreement in number for 3rd person patients, i.e. the 3P ending is optionally added if the patient is understood to be plural. This marking of plurality for patients is independent of animacy and definiteness.

Janên-â mard-ê bi bêtshâh-ay nêmãgû dêm dût
woman-OBL man-INDEF to king-GEN beside face give.PT
‘the wife sent a man to the king’. (WBalNosh.)

bânuk-â zahm kaššit drust ëfat-ant
lady-OBL sword pull.PT all hit.PT-3P
‘the lady drew the sword and struck [them] all’. (SBal., Elfenbein 1983: 14)

ahmad-â ê ketâb zort-ant
PN-OBL DEM book take.PT-3P
‘Ahmad bought these books’. (IrBal of Sarbaz)
Balochi dialects differ to a considerable degree in their use of the ergative construction, ranging from a rather consistent ergative pattern to a complete substitution by the nominative construction in some WBal. dialects, particularly AfBal. and TBal. In these variants, the category of transitivity is not relevant:

\[ \text{Balochi} \]
\[ \text{DEM. OBJ much letter write.PT-IP} \]
\[ 'we wrote many letters to him/her'. \]

In those IrBal. dialects that show a restructured case system (see 3.1.1.2 (4)), both agent and object of ergative constructions are in the DIR case. The agent is often also referred to by a pronominal suffix.

\[ \text{PN \ wife-ENCL.PRO.3S-ENCL.PRO} \]
\[ \text{kill.PT-PF and flee.PT-PF} \]
\[ 'Ali has killed his wife and run away'. \]

\[ \text{lesson-ENCL.PRO.1P-V.EL read.PT DEM time-OBL} \]
\[ 'we used to study in those days'. \]

3.2.8 Individual verb forms

3.2.8.1 Simple tenses

The endings shown in Table 11.20 are joined to the present stem to build the simple present (sometimes also called aorist). The preterite (simple past) is built by suffixing the verbal endings to the past stem. However, in the Balochi dialects with ergative patterning (see 3.2.7), this applies only to intransitive verbs whereas the bare past stem is used with transitive verbs. In EBal. dialects, the present perfect is used instead of the preterite (see 4.5.2.7).

With the affixes shown in 3.2.5, the present and preterite can be converted into modal and aspectual forms. For examples, see 4.5.2.

3.2.8.2 Compound tenses

Compound tenses are based on the perfect participle (see 3.2.3.2). They are constructed ergatively in dialects that pattern ergatively if the main verb (that is, the one represented by the perfect participle) is transitive (note the contrast to the periphrastic aktionsart and modal constructions mentioned in 4.5.3, where it is the transitivity of the finite verb that determines the type of construction).

The present perfect uses the perfect participle with the present copula, but omitting the copula in the 3S:

\[ \text{man kapt-ag-\textcircled{1} \ a kapt-a \ man gust-a} \]
\[ 'I have fallen'; 'he/she has fallen'; 'I have said . . .' \]

(all SBalKar., FBB: 73)
The past perfect uses the perfect participle or the past stem with the past copula or the auxiliary ‘become’ (see 3.2.4):

\[ \text{kaľāt-č} \quad \text{bast-ag-at-ant} \quad \text{rapt-at-ant} \]
fort-IND build.PT-PF-COPPT-3P   go.PT-COPPT-3P
‘they had built a fort’   ‘they had gone’
(WBalNosh., BMC I:348)   (IrBalSarh., ASG: 17)

intransitive

\[ \text{man kapt-a} \quad \text{biit-ag-ð} \quad \text{âyä} \quad \text{gušt-a} \quad \text{bít-a} \]
1 fall.PT-PF become.PT-PF-COPPR.1S  DEM.P.OBL say.PT-PF become.PT-PF
‘I had fallen’.   ‘they had said . . .’
(both SBalKar., FBB: 73–74)

3.2.8.3 Basic Balochi TAM-forms

The following tables show the basic Balochi TAM-forms, from which individual dialects may diverge to a certain extent.

Table 11.21 shows the forms which apply (with varying personal endings, here demonstrated with those of WBalNosh.) to WBal. of Pakistan, and, with the modifications noted in 3.2.4 and 3.2.8.2 also to SBal., and with those noted in 3.2.4 and 3.2.8.1 to EBal. Table 11.22 (with TBal. endings) presents those applying for systems with the verbal element -a. In these dialects the past perfect form with past stem + past copula is predominant.

**TABLE 11.21: BASIC BALOCHI TAM-FORMS: SYSTEM I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indicative</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kap-ìn</td>
<td>bi-kap-ìn</td>
<td>bi-kap-Ø</td>
<td>bi-kap-át-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kap-ay</td>
<td>bi-kap-ay</td>
<td>bi-kap-Ø</td>
<td>bi-kap-át-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kap-ít</td>
<td>bi-kap-ít</td>
<td>bi-kap-Ø</td>
<td>bi-kap-át-ít</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kap-an</td>
<td>bi-kap-an</td>
<td>bi-kap-Ø</td>
<td>bi-kap-át-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kap-it</td>
<td>bi-kap-it</td>
<td>bi-kap-Ø</td>
<td>bi-kap-át-ít</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kap-ant</td>
<td>bi-kap-ant</td>
<td>bi-kap-Ø</td>
<td>bi-kap-át-ant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>preterite</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>past perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapt-un</td>
<td>bi-kap-êń-un</td>
<td>kapta(g)-un</td>
<td>kaptag-at-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapt-ay</td>
<td>bi-kap-êń-ay</td>
<td>kapta(g)-ay</td>
<td>kaptag-at-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapt-Ø</td>
<td>bi-kap-êń-Ø</td>
<td>kapta(g)-Ø</td>
<td>kaptag-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapt-an</td>
<td>bi-kap-êń-an</td>
<td>kapta(g)-an</td>
<td>kaptag-at-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapt-it</td>
<td>bi-kap-êń-it</td>
<td>kapta(g)-it</td>
<td>kaptag-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapt-ant</td>
<td>bi-kap-êń-ant</td>
<td>kapta(g)-ant</td>
<td>kaptag-at-ant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE 11.22: BASIC BALOCHI TAM-FORMS: SYSTEM II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>indicative</th>
<th>subjunctive</th>
<th>imperative</th>
<th>optative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present indicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a kap-ln</td>
<td>(bi-)kap-ln</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(bi-)kap-at-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a kap-ay</td>
<td>(bi-)kap-ay</td>
<td></td>
<td>(bi-)kap-Ø</td>
<td>(bi-)kap-at-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a kap-it</td>
<td>(bi-)kap-it</td>
<td></td>
<td>(bi-)kap-at-Ø</td>
<td>(bi-)kap-at-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a kap-an</td>
<td>(bi-)kap-an</td>
<td></td>
<td>(bi-)kap-at-ên</td>
<td>(bi-)kap-at-ên</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a kap-it</td>
<td>(bi-)kap-it</td>
<td></td>
<td>(bi-)kap-it</td>
<td>(bi-)kap-at-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a kap-ant</td>
<td>(bi-)kap-ant</td>
<td></td>
<td>(bi-)kap-ant</td>
<td>(bi-)kap-at-ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past preterite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapt-un</td>
<td>-a kapt-un</td>
<td>bi-kapt-ên-un</td>
<td>kapt(ê)-un</td>
<td>kapt-at-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapt-ay</td>
<td>-a kapt-ay</td>
<td>bi-kapt-ên-ay</td>
<td>kapt(ê)-ay</td>
<td>kapt-at-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapt-Ø</td>
<td>-a kapt-Ø</td>
<td>bi-kapt-ên-Ø</td>
<td>kapt(ê)-Ø</td>
<td>kapt-at-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapt-an</td>
<td>-a kapt-an</td>
<td>bi-kapt-ên-an</td>
<td>kapt(ê)-an</td>
<td>kapt-at-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapt-it</td>
<td>-a kapt-it</td>
<td>bi-kapt-ên-it</td>
<td>kapt(ê)-it</td>
<td>kapt-at-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapt-ant</td>
<td>-a kapt-ant</td>
<td>bi-kapt-ên-ant</td>
<td>kapt(ê)-ant</td>
<td>kapt-at-ant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.8.4 Possession

There are various constructions for the concept 'to have' in Balochi (see Jahani 1995):

1. A construction corresponding to the Latin *mihi est* 'to me there is' is used to express permanent ownership (in EBal., ownership in general). Forms that are used for this purpose are the 3S of the copula or *verbum existentiae* (when existence or non-existence is in focus) (see 3.2.4), with or without agreement in number with the items possessed. The possessor is in the OBJ or GEN case, for example:

   manâ daqâr ast
I.OBJ land V.EX.3S 'I have land'.
(WBalNosh., BMC I: 69)

   tara brâs nêst
you.S.OBJ brother NEG.V.EX.3S 'you don’t have brothers'.
(WBalNosh., BMC I: 73)

   manî bâz brâs ant
I.Gen much brother COPPR.3P now you.S.OBJ leisure COP.PR.3S 'I have many brothers'.
(WBalNosh., BMC I: 74)

   nî òara mahal ë
(WBalNosh., Gilbertson 1923: 187)

2. Adpositions are used to express temporary ownership:

   tâi kitâb gô manî brâs-a int
you.S.GEN book with I.Gen brother-OBL COPPR.3S 'my brother has your book',
lit. 'your book is with my brother'. (WBalNosh., BMC I: 73)
man bāz kitāb ant
with I much book COP PR.3P
'I have many books (in the sense of: I have them with me, without necessarily owning
them)'. (WBaINosh., BMC I: 73)

taī kirrā dān ast-ē
you.S GEN beside rice VEX.3S COP PR.3S
'do you have rice?',
lit. 'is there rice at your side?' (SBaIKar., FBB: 27)

(3) In some dialects (e.g. TBal., AfBal. and some IrBal. variants) the verb dār-/dāšt
(which otherwise means 'hold, keep, protect') is used for 'have':

yē dēb mazan-ēn xazāneg-ē dār-ēt
DEM demon big-ATTR locker-INDEF hold PR.3S
'this demon has a big locker'. (TBal.)

čākar u hānī sey zahg dār-ant
PN and PN three child hold PR.3P
'Chakar and Hani have three children'. (IrBal. of Zahedan)

4 SYNTAX

4.1 Noun phrase structure

(1) As a rule, the Balochi noun phrase is head-final (left-branching): genitives and attributive
adjectives are placed before the head noun. The same applies to adpositions (see
3.1.5) since, on the whole, postpositions dominate.

mni bras-ay kitāb
I. GEN brother GEN book
'my brother's book(s)'

mazan-ēn asp
gis-ay puštā
big-ATTR horse house GEN behind
'big horse(s)' 'behind the house'. (all WBal.)

(2) When two semantically similar nouns are enumerated, nominal endings are used
only once, at the end of the phrase ('group inflection'):

bāḍšāh u wazīr-ay jīnkīk āht-ant
king and minister GEN girl come PT 3P
'the king's and the minister's daughters came'. (WBaINosh.)

4.2 Definiteness

There is no definite article in Balochi. The term 'indefinite article' has been used for the
suffix -ē, whose main function is to mark an indefinite specific form in the singular.
Except for its function of marking antecedents of restrictive relative clauses (see 5.2.2), it
is not used with plural nouns in Balochi. So -ē might be better termed 'singularity
marker' or 'individuation marker', e.g. kitāb-ē 'a [certain] book' (not 'any [one] book').

Definiteness also plays a role in word order and in the marking and placement of
objects (see 4.3.1 and 4.4.2.1), but not for verbal agreement in ergative constructions (see
3.2.7).
4.3 Clause structure and word order

4.3.1 Word order

The default word order is SOV (Subject - Object - Verb). Adverbial phrases generally follow the verb. Balochi is a pro-drop language. The order between the direct and indirect object is not fixed. A definite direct object tends to precede the indirect object, whereas an indefinite or generic one usually follows it. Alternative constituent orders may occur for pragmatic reasons (see 4.3.2).

\[
yakk \ pîr \ elliga-kaš-es \ mana\ dami-\ddot{e} \ sopl-\ddot{e}
\]
\[
\text{one} \ \text{holy.man} \ forty-pull.PR-INDEF \ I.OBJ \text{blessed-ATTR} \ \text{apple-INDEF give.PT-3S}
\]

'\text{a holy man observing a period of fasting and praying gave me a blessed apple}'.  
(WBalNosh.)

\[
\text{man digar-ay röse-â bitta dät-ag-} \ \text{na-kan-în}
\]
\[
\text{I other-GEN daily.bread-OBJ to.you.S give.PT-PF-VEL NEG-do.PR-1S}
\]

'I cannot give someone else's daily bread to you'. (AfBal.)

\[
\text{šut-ant bâdšahi märît-\ddot{a}}
\]
\[
\text{go.PT-3P royal mansion-P.OBL}
\]

'\text{they went to the royal mansions}'. (WBaINosh.)

\[
\text{bakî-yl-â dät bi râ-y-i xudå}
\]
\[
\text{rest-HI-OBJ give.PT.3S to way-HI-EZ God}
\]

'he gave the remainder as charity'. (AfBal.)

4.3.2 Focus and prominence

A constituent can be placed in the postverbal or preverbal position, or be left-dislocated to the beginning of the sentence for prominence.

\[
sunduk-\ddot{a} \ moûld-\ddot{a} \ \text{bač-} \ \text{dät-} \ \text{ant}
\]
\[
\text{chest-OBL maidservant-P.OBL back give.PT-3S}
\]

'the maidservants carried the chest'. (WBaINosh.)

\[
\text{put \ am-\ddot{e} \ sandûx-ay tå}
\]
\[
\text{enter.PR.SBJ EMPH-DEM chest-GEN in}
\]

'get inside this chest!' (TBal., ABT: 233)

\[
\text{ē kår-\ddot{a} \ man kurt-un}
\]
\[
\text{DEM work-OBL I do.PT-1S}
\]

'it is I who has done this'. (WBaINosh.)

Cleft constructions are another strategy for marking focus:

\[
\text{a čez-\ddot{e} \ ki šmå dîst-ag-} \ \text{it}
\]
\[
\text{DEM thing-INDEF CL you.P see.PT-PF-COPPR.2P}
\]

\[
\text{a mardum-\ddot{e} \ bûr-} \ \text{a}
\]
\[
\text{DEM human-INDEF become.PT-PF.3S}
\]

'what you have seen turned out to be a man'. (TBal., ABT: 240)
4.3.3 Nominal clauses

Balochi also employs nominal clauses, but only for the 3S of the non-past indicative. These sentences have a nominal predicate followed by the individuation marker -ē (see 4.2), e.g.:

\[ \text{murg-ē} \quad \text{‘it is a bird’}, \text{but} \\ \text{murg-ē at} \quad \text{‘it was a bird’}, \text{and} \\ \text{bačakk-ē ay} \quad \text{‘are you a boy?’} \]

4.4 Case marking

4.4.1 Subject marking

In nominative constructions, the subject is in the direct case, which has a zero suffix in both the singular and the plural (except in IrBal., see 3.1.1.2 (4)). This applies to the transitive agent of verb forms based on the non-past stem, to the intransitive subject in all dialects, and to the transitive agent in non-ergative dialects (see 3.2.7).

In ergative constructions, the agent is in the oblique case. This applies to the transitive agent of verb forms based on the past stem in ergative dialects. Since pronominal suffixes (see 3.1.2.2) function as unstressed variants of the oblique case pronouns, they may also be used for ergative agents.

\[ \text{wāja āli gopt-i} \quad \text{baḍd-i} \quad \text{ko} \quad \text{karbās-ānā} \]
\[ \text{mister PN say.PT-PRO.3S back-PRO.3S do.PT cotton-P.OBJ} \]
\[ \text{‘Mr. Ali said . . . ’} \quad \text{‘she carried the cotton’}. \]
\[ \text{(IrBalSarw., BSD: 105)} \quad \text{(IrBalSarw., BSD: 106)} \]

4.4.2 Object marking

4.4.2.1 Direct object

The marking of the direct object by the oblique and object case is governed by the principles of DOM (differentiated object marking). A direct object that is generic/indefinite, non-specific and inanimate is in the direct case (see also Farrell 1990: 65) whereas definite direct objects are in the oblique or object case (see 3.1.1.2 (I)).

In sentences constructed ergatively, the direct object is usually in the direct case, but it may also be in the oblique or object case if it is definite. This is even the predominant pattern for the 1st and 2nd person pronouns (cf. Farrell 1995, Korn, forthc.), but the DIR of these pronouns is occasionally found when a pronominal clitic follows.

\[ \text{nām-ā har kas-ā zānt dīt-iš mard-ārā} \]
\[ \text{name-OBL each person-OBL know.PT see.PT-PRO.3P man-OBJ} \]
\[ \text{‘everyone knew the name’}. \quad \text{‘they saw the man’}. \]
\[ \text{(SBal., Elfenbein 1983: 30)} \quad \text{(SBal., Elfenbein 1983: 16)} \]

\[ \text{čsān ki wāja panč-kuš-ā dīst sakk waššāl bāt-ant} \]
\[ \text{DEM.POBL CL mister five-kill.PR-OBL see.PT very happy become.PT-3P} \]
\[ \text{‘when they saw Mr. Five-slayer, they became very happy’}. \text{(WBalNosh., BMC II: 178)} \]
Indirect objects are marked with OBL or OBJ. OBL is used only for nouns, and in dialects following the case system outlined in Table 11.10. OBJ can also be used to mark nouns as indirect objects in these dialects.

In TBal., AfBal. and IrBal. indirect objects constructed with the preposition bi ‘to’ (dative drift) are frequently encountered:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta be ĉakar manā bakset} & \quad \text{you.S to PN I.OBJ give.PT} \\
\text{you gave me to Chakar'. (IrBal. of Khash, Jahani 2003: 126)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms

4.5.1 Concord

Except for ergative constructions (see 3.2.7 and 4.4), verbs most often agree with the subject in number and person (see also 3.1.1). However, there are cases of 3P subject with singular verb:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ar dukēn-ānī sar burrit-ag būt} & \quad \text{each two.ATTR-P.GEN head cut.PT-PF become.PT.3S} \\
\text{the heads of both of them were cut off'. (TBal., ABT: 200)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

670 THE IRANIAN LANGUAGES
4.5.2 Use of TAM-forms

4.5.2.1 Present indicative

The present indicative basically denotes continuous and habitual actions and states. It may also imply present continuous and future time reference. It is thus used for habitual actions or states and ongoing actions in the non-past temporal field, as well as for general truths and future events. It is, furthermore, used for past events in narrative style (historical present). See 3.2.5.1 (1).

\[ \text{man ham-ë} \quad \text{rang-ë} \quad \text{mard-ë} \quad \text{un} \]
\[ \text{EMPH-DEM kind-ATTR man-INDEF COP-PR.1S} \]
\[ \text{u} \quad \text{ë} \quad \text{dawl-ë} \quad \text{stüh-änä} \quad \text{k-arz-än} \]
\[ \text{and DEM kind-ATTR praise-POBJ V-PREF-deserve.PR-1S} \]
\[ \text{‘I am such a man and I am worthy of this kind of praise’. (WBaINosh., BMC II: 173)} \]

\[ \text{man wati} \quad \text{latt} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{kawš-änä} \quad \text{badal-ä} \quad \text{gir-än} \]
\[ \text{self.GEN stick and shoe-P.GEN exchange-OBL take.PR-1S} \]
\[ \text{‘I will take revenge for having been beaten up’. (WBaINosh.)} \]

\[ \text{šumā} \quad \text{šut-ag-it} \quad \text{mā} \quad \text{k-ā-h-än} \]
\[ \text{you.P go.PT-PF-COPPR.2P we V-PREF-come.PR-HI-IP} \]
\[ \text{‘you have gone [to the afterworld already], we will come [as well]’. (Badalkhan 2008: 302)} \]

\[ \text{gwašt-ag-ën} \quad \text{dawr} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{zacän-än} \quad \text{yakk warna-ë} \]
\[ \text{pass.PT-PF-ATTR period and time-POBL one young.man-INDEF} \]
\[ \text{pa} \quad \text{dükšändär-ay} \quad \text{jinen-ä} \quad \text{ašg-a bit} \]
\[ \text{for shopkeeper-GEN woman-OBL enamoured-VEL become.PR.3S} \]
\[ \text{‘in ancient times a young man fell in love with the shopkeeper’s wife’. (TBal., ABT: 183)} \]

4.5.2.2 Present subjunctive

The present subjunctive denotes uncertain actions and states (irreals) in the non-past temporal field. It is employed in modal constructions (see 3.2.6.3 and 4.5.3) and various types of subordinate clauses (see 5.2.3) as well as in exhortations, admonitions, wishes, etc.

\[ \text{marōči madrasag-ë-ä} \quad \text{bi-rav-in} \]
\[ \text{today school-INDEF-OBBL SBJ-go.PR-1S} \]
\[ \text{balkin} \quad \text{čr-ë} \quad \text{by-ăr-in} \]
\[ \text{perhaps thing-INDEF SBJ-bring.PR-1S} \]
\[ \text{‘let me go to school today, maybe I will bring something [from there]’. (WBaINosh.)} \]

\[ \text{aga da} \quad \text{b-day-ay} \quad \text{sud-a dant} \]
\[ \text{if ten SBJ-give.PR-2S hundred-VEL give.PR.3S} \]
\[ \text{‘if you give ten, he will give a hundred’. (AfBal.)} \]

4.5.2.3 Imperative

The imperative is used for commands.
the holy man said: Well, take this stick, [and] go and hit the apple tree over there'.

(WBalNosh.)

4.5.2.4 Optative

The optative is used in literary style and formalized phrases to communicate wishes. Most dialects (in non-literary style all dialects) replace it with the subjunctive.

\[ \text{gul bi-rič-āt} \]
flower SBJ-pour.PR-OPT.3S
'may flowers shower [down]'. (Badalkhan 2008: 302)

\[ \text{durāh bāt-ay} \]
healthy become.PR.OPT-2S
'farewell', lit. 'may you be healthy'. (WBaINosh.)

\[ \text{manī zīrd-ay sirāb-ēn wāhag int ki} \]
I.Gen heart-GEN burning-ATTR desire COPPR.3S CL
'sorrow-GEN warm-ATTR wind you.S.GEN face-OBL PROH-pull.PR-OPT.3S
'the burning desire of my heart is that the hot wind of sorrow should not blow upon your face'. (WBal.)

4.5.2.5 Preterite

The preterite (simple past) indicates past tense with perfective aspect, that is, events completed in the past and viewed as a whole with no internal time structure. It is the most common verb form in narratives. It is additionally used as a relative tense referring to future events in temporal and conditional clauses (see 5.2.3.1 and 5.2.3.6) when the subordinate clause is backgrounded and/or assumed to take place before the main clause and for events which are about to happen.

\[ \text{poryāgir paṭṭīt dīst šīnık-ā gipt} \]
labourer search.PT.3S see.PT.3S goat.kid-OBL take.PT.3S
\[ \text{dast-ā burt šīnık-ay nukk-ā} \]
hand-OBL take.PT.3S goat.kid-GEN mouth-OBL
\[ \text{inčük-ē trišk-ē kaśšit jān-ā dāt-ē} \]
such-ATTR piece-INDEF pull.PT.3S wife-OBL give.PT.3S-ENCL.PRO.3S
'the labourer searched and saw the goat kid, caught it and put his hand in the goat kid's mouth, pulled out a small (lit. such a) piece and gave it to the wife'.
(WBalNosh.)

\[ \text{yakk sōp-ē kapt kapp-ē wātī jān-ā b-day} \]
one apple-INDEF fall.PT.3S half-INDEF self.Gen wife-OBL SBJ-give.PR
'[if] one apple falls, give half [of it] to your wife'. (WBalNosh.)
eso yaht-ē
look! come.PT-3P
'here they come (lit. came)'. (IrBalSar., BSD: 92)

4.5.2.6 Imperfect

In those dialects that have a distinct imperfective past it is used for ongoing and habitual states or events in the past temporal field. Dialects without this verb form employ the preterite in these instances.

iskārī pa wātī kār-ā bāz bāz pašōmānī-a kaššīt
hunter to self.GEN work-OBL much much regret-VEL pull.PT.3S
'the hunter was (being) very regretful of his deed'. (TBal., ABT: 190)

4.5.2.7 Present perfect

The present perfect expresses events in the past which are relevant to the present. For transformative verbs ('lie down', 'stand up', 'sit down', etc.) it has a stative meaning. In EBal. the perfect form is also used where other dialects have the preterite (and imperfective past), see 3.2.8.1.

dist-ī kī āā mazār pa radi-ā
see.PT-ENCL.PRO.3S CL DEM.OBJ tiger for mistake-OBL
gipt-ā u bast-ā
take.PT-PF and tie.PT-PF
'he saw that he had caught and tied up the tiger by mistake'. (WBaINo sh., BM C II: 177)

yakk ballī-ē nīst-a
one grandmother-INDEF sit.down.PT-PF.3S
sīr u šīlānč kan-āg-ā int
milk and whey do.PR-INF-OBL COPPR.3S
'an old woman is sitting and making whey (out of milk)'. (WBaINosh.)
mā zahn ār̃aq-āg-ant
I.OBL sword bring.PT-PF-3P
'I have brought the swords'. (EBal., Gilbertson 1923:113)

There also seems to be an inferential use of the perfect (for assumptions, indirect report, etc., see also Rossi 1989).

wat dōsī bē-wāb būt-ā u atk na-kan-t
self last.night without-sleep become.PT-PF.3S and come.PT NEG-do.PR-3S
'as for him, he was sleepless last night and can't come'. (WBaINosh., BMC II: 177). Actually, he was not sleepless according to the story, but the wife reports him to have been sleepless as an excuse.

4.5.2.8 Past perfect

The past perfect indicates that the situation in question is located prior to another reference point in the past. For transformative verbs (see 4.5.2.7) it expresses a past state.
naryān ki hičč svārī na-dīst-ag-at,
stallion CL any rider NEG-see.PT-PF-COPPT:3S
traḍa-a u hwānz war-ānā ām pa laśkār-ay
skip.PR-PART and swing eat.PR-PART-OBL face to army-GEN
towards go.PT:3S
'the stallion, which had not carried (lit. seen) any rider [before], went skipping and
swinging towards the army'. (WBaINosh., BMC II: 180)
pūl-ē
tamām kort-at
money-ENCL.PRO.1P finished do.PT-COP.PT
zang-ē jat ke pūl be-y-ār-ēt
phone-ENCL.PRO.1P hit.PT CL money SBJ-HI-bring.PR-2P
'we had run out of money, [so] we phoned [and told them]: bring money'.
(IrBalSarw., BSD: 95)
yak rōč-ē sardār bi watī gis-ā ništ-at u
one day-INDEF chief in self.GEN house-OBL sit.PT-COPPT:3S and
gwarag-ay kabhāb wārt-ī
lamb-GEN roast.meat eat.PT:3S-ENCL.PRO.3S
‘one day the chief was sitting in his house and ate roast lamb’. (TBal., ABT: 197)

4.5.2.9 Past subjunctive

The past subjunctive expresses counterfactual events or actions such as doubts, unreal
conditions and wishes in the past and non-past temporal fields.

na-ke ēda be-rāpt-ēn-ā
NEG-CL there SBJ-go.PT-SBJ-1S
‘I wish I had gone there’.
(IrBalSarw., BSD: 99)
aga e jāga-ay badalā taw diga bādāhi-ā būt-ēn-ay,
if DEM place.GEN instead you.S other kingdom-OBL become.PT-SBJ-2S
tāi bāz qadr u wāhaq būt
you.S.GEN much recognition and desire become.PT:3S
‘if you had been in another kingdom instead of in this place you would have been
given due honour’. (WBaINosh., BMC II: 172)

It can also be used in counterarguments:

mnī piss mnā arčōn dōst dāšt-ēn ham,
I.GEN father I.OBJ although friend hold.PT-SBJ:3S also
pa wānt-in-ay xāṭirā mnā-ā gipt u jat
for study.PT-INF-GEN sake I.OBJ-VEL take.PT:3S and hit.PT:3S
‘even though my father loved me very much, he took and beat me because I did not
study’. (TBal., ABT: 265)

In subordinate clauses it may denote iterative past:
puč wa nān wa masrap-ē ki
clothes and bread and consumption-INDEF CL
4.5.3 Aktionsart and modal constructions

There are various periphrastic constructions that express both aktionsarten and modalities. These are either nominal constructions or, in Persian style, double finite constructions (for the nominal forms, see 3.2.3), as shown in Table 11.23 and 11.24. For a (not necessarily exhaustive) list of the dialects in which these constructions are found, see the examples.

4.5.3.1 Aktionsart constructions

**Table 11.23: Aktionsart Constructions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Constructions</th>
<th>Persian-style Constructions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Progressive / Ingressive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF-OBL + COP</td>
<td>golāyēš + COP + SBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR.PART + COP</td>
<td>dār- l dāšt 'hold' + SBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF-OBL + lagg- / laggit 'begin'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bi) INF-OBL + bīnā kan- / kurt 'begin' or bīnā kan- / kurt + bi + INF-OBL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Terminative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF-OBL + īl- / īst 'leave'</td>
<td>āy- āt 'come' + ki + SBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Immediate Future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Progressive / Ingressive

Several Balochi dialects have a syntactic construction comparable to the English ‘continuous form’, employing the infinitive (see 3.2.3.1) in the OBL (thus a kind of locative expression) with the copula to express the progressive.

\[\text{man } \text{guś-ag-ā } \text{un} \quad \text{man } \text{guś-ag-ā } \text{it-ē}\]

'I am saying' (WBal.)

'Ve were busy recording'. (Ir BaISarw., BSD: 90)

In Pakistani SWBal. there is a continuous construction based on the present participle + copula:

\[\text{wājā } \text{panč-kuś } \text{bi } \text{har-ā } \text{swār } \text{rav-ān at}\]

'mister five-kill.PR to donkey-OBL riding go.PR-PART COP.PPT.3S

'Mr. Five-slayer kept moving forward riding on his donkey'. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 178)

Central Sarawani has a special progressive construction consisting of golāyēš + copula employed with the present form of the verb:

\[\text{golāyēś-ē } \text{zapt-a } \text{kan-ē}\]

'we are busy recording'. (Ir BaISarw., BSD: 90)
Some variants of Ir. Bal. (e.g. Sarhaddi Balochi of Granchin, described by Ahangar 2007) have acquired a progressive/ingressive construction modelled on the Persian construction with the verb ֿdār- / ֿdaft 'hold, have':

\[
\text{dāst-on} \quad \text{rapt-on} \quad \text{ke} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{yaht-e} \\
\text{hold.PT-1S} \quad \text{go.PT-1S} \quad \text{CL you.S} \quad \text{come.PT-2S}
\]

'I was about to go when you came'. (IrBalSarh., ASG: 14–15)

\[
\text{kessa} \quad \text{dār-it} \quad \text{gehter} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{gehter-a} \quad \text{bāt} \\
\text{story hold.PR-3S} \quad \text{better and better-VEL become.PR-3S}
\]

'the story is getting better and better'. (IrBalSarh., ASG: 11–12)

Ingressives may be expressed by the infinitive in the oblique with the verb ֿlagg- / ֿlaggit 'begin'. In TBal., ֿbinā kan- / ֿkurt 'to start' may also be used in this sense.

\[
\text{man} \quad \text{gū-ag-ā} \quad \text{lagg-ā} \\
\text{I say.PR-1INF-OBL start.PR-1S}
\]

'I begin to say'. (SBal.Kar., FBB: 76)

\[
\text{čārit-in-ā} \quad \text{laggit} \quad \text{binā} \quad \text{kurt} \quad \text{bi} \quad \text{zulm-ay} \\
\text{look.PT-3INF-OBL start.PT-3S} \quad \text{building do.PT-3S} \quad \text{to cruelty-GEN}
\]

'it started to graze'. 'he started to do cruel things (lit. cruelty)'.

(both TBal., ABT: 218)

\[
\text{nān} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{āp-ay} \quad \text{jōr} \quad \text{kurt-in-ā} \quad \text{binā-a} \quad \text{kan-t} \\
\text{bread and water-GEN ready do.PT-3INF-OBL building-VEL do.PR-3S}
\]

'she starts to prepare the meal'. (TBal.)

(2) Terminative
TBal. also has a terminative construction with ֿill- / ֿišt 'to leave':

\[
\text{waṭi} \quad \text{jang} \quad \text{kurt-in-ā} \quad \text{išt} \\
\text{self.GEN fight do.PT-3INF-OBL leave.PT-3S}
\]

'he stopped quarrelling'. (TBal., ABT: 218–219)

(3) Immediate future
TBal. also has a construction for immediate future, in the present or past, employing the motion verb ֿāy- / ֿāt 'come' followed by a purpose clause in the subjunctive:

\[
\text{pādūsā} \quad \text{k-ayt} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{āyrā} \quad \text{malanţ} \quad \text{u} \quad \text{mašxara} \quad \text{b-kan-t} \\
\text{king V-PREF-come.PR-3S} \quad \text{CL} \quad \text{DEM.OBJ joke and ridicule} \quad \text{SBJ-do.PR-3S}
\]

'the king is going to ridicule him'. (TBal.)

\[
\text{āt} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{dār-ānā} \quad \text{baṣḍa} \quad \text{kan-t} \\
\text{come.PT-3S} \quad \text{CL} \quad \text{wood-OBJ back do.PR-SBJ-3S}
\]

'he was just going to load up the wood on his back'. (TBal.)
4.5.3.2 Modal constructions

**TABLE 11.24: MODAL CONSTRUCTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal constructions</th>
<th>Persian-style constructions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Ability / possibility</td>
<td>t(o)wān-/ t(o)wānt ‘be able’ + SBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability may be expressed with kan-/ kurt ‘do’ as auxiliary:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dis-t-ag-a kan-ay</td>
<td>shut na-kurt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see: PT-PF-V.EL do.PR-2S</td>
<td>go.PT NEG-do.PT.3S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you can see’ (TBal., ABT: 223)</td>
<td>‘he could not go’. (WBal.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kut kan-ē ayyā kapt kut-ag-ā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do.PT do.PR-2S</td>
<td>DEM.POBJ fall.PT do.PT-PF-3P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you can do’</td>
<td>‘they could have fallen’. (both SBalKar., FBB: 58, 75)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In IrBal. this construction is less frequently found. Instead, the construction modelled on Persian with t(o)wān-/ t(o)wānt ‘be able to’ + subjunctive of the main verb is normally used to express ability:

| mō šerā na-towān-ā čest kan-ā | |
| I DEM.OBJ NEG-be.able.PR-1S lifting do.PR.SBJ-1S | |
| ‘I cannot lift this up’. (IrBal Sarw., BSD: 97) |

(2) Intention / ability

Pakistani SWBal. also has constructions expressing intent, ability and necessity based on the gerundive (see 3.2.3.3) + copula.

| man rav-ag-ī un | |
| I go.PR-INF-GERV COP.PR.1S | ‘I intend to / will be able to / have to go’. (WBalNosh., BMC I: 238) / the same construction means ‘I am about to go’ in (SBalKar., FBB: 76) |

(3) Necessity / intention

| manā rav-ag-ī int | |
| I OBJ go.PR-INF-GERV COP.PR.3S | ‘I have to go’. (WBalNosh., BMC I: 240; same construction SBalKar., FBB: 76) |

Another construction expressing necessity, which consists of infinitive + the verb lōs- lōstit ‘want, wish’, is found in SBal. of Karachi:
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\[ \text{manā likk-ag lōt-ı } \]
\[ \text{I.OBJ write.PR-INF want.PR-3S} \]
'\text{I should write}', lit. 'to me it needs to write'. (SBalKar., FBB: 45)

(4) Desiderativity
The verb \( \text{lōt-ı lōt-it} \) 'want, wish' is also used to express desiderativity. In some Balochi dialects the construction employs the infinitive + \( \text{lōt-ı (rav-ag lōt-in)} \), in others it is constructed in the Persian way with the subjunctive of the main verb, e.g. \( \text{lōt-in b-rīn ‘I want to go’} \). This is particularly common in Balochi dialects in close contact with Persian (IrBal., TBal., AfBal.).

\[ \text{lōt-it ki mnā watī zāmās b-kan-t } \]
\[ \text{want.PT.3S CL I.OBJ self.GEN son-in-law SBJ-do.PR-3S} \]
'\text{he wanted to make me his son-in-law}'. (TBal.)

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES
5.1 Coordinate clauses
The most common coordinate conjunctions are \( \text{u, av, wa ‘and’, balē, wālē, ammā ‘but’, yā ‘or’} \). Coordination may also be accomplished by the reduplicated conjunctions (h)am . . . (h)am ‘both . . . and’, yā . . . yā ‘either . . . or’, and na . . . na ‘neither . . . nor’.

Examples:
\[ \text{watī ēnt rōč-ay āp u nān-ā zurt } \]
\[ \text{self.GEN some day-GEN water and bread-OBJ take.PT.3S and} \]
\[ \text{ham-ā šār-ay rāh-ā watī dēmā gipt} \]
\[ \text{EMPH-DEM town-GEN way-OBJ self.GEN before take.PT.3S} \]
'he took [enough] bread and water for a few days and set out for that very town'. (TBal.)

\[ \text{bādšāh gōn watī laškar-ā bi šahr-ā atk balē wāja pān-kuš} \]
\[ \text{king with self.GEN army-OBL to town-OBL come.PT.3S but mister five-kill.PR} \]
\[ \text{ča āhā pēsar bi watī lōg-ā atk u rast} \]
\[ \text{from DEM.P.OBL before to self.GEN house-OBL come.PT.3S and arrive.PT.3S} \]
'\text{the king came to the town with his army but Mr. Five-slayer had reached his house before them}'. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 178)

\[ \text{am ērēt u am gal-ā kurt-ı} \]
\[ \text{also cry.PT.3S and also joy-VEL do.PT.3S-ENCL.PRO.3S} \]
'he both cried and rejoiced'. (TBal.)

5.2 Subordination
There are few descriptions of subordination in Balochi. The most comprehensive one so far is that of Axenov (2006: 243–267) for TBal., on which this section is largely based (examples are mainly from TBal. and other WBal. dialects). As Balochi is primarily a spoken language, the syntax is usually fairly simple. Subordination closely follows the basic pattern of Persian, and several conjunctions have been borrowed from neighbouring languages (e.g. \( \text{agar ‘if’, lēkin ‘but’} \).
Subordinate clauses sometimes precede and sometimes follow the matrix clause, into which they can also be embedded. The particle ki serves as a general subordinator: it introduces complement and relative clauses as well as quoted speech. It may also introduce adverbial clauses. Other subordinating conjunctions are mainly formed with ki as their basis, e.g. wahde ki ‘when’, pa(r)de ki ‘because’, tan ki ‘in order that’.

Sometimes a subordinate argument is asyndetically connected to the matrix clause (i.e. without a conjunction):

\[ \text{mis} \ [ \text{ } \text{ } ] \text{ you.S God-LOC go.PR-2S you.S God-OBJ SBJ-say.PR CL} \]
\[ \text{am} \text{-} \text{yak} \text{-} \text{r} \text{-} \text{e} \text{ } \text{m} \text{-} \text{n} \text{-} \text{l} \text{-} \text{p} \text{-} \text{a} \text{ } \text{sa} \text{ } \text{n} \text{-} \text{a} \text{ } \text{EMPH-DEM one day-INDEF 1.GEN belly-OBJ from bread-OBL} \]
\[ \text{ser k} \text{on full do.PR.SBJ} \]

‘Moses, [when] you go to God, tell him to fill my belly with food even if only for one day’. (AfBal.)

\[ \text{k} \text{as} \text{-} \text{e} \text{ } \text{ha} \text{st} \ [ \text{ } \text{ } ] \text{ man} \text{ } \text{ka} \text{mm} \text{-} \text{en} \text{ } \text{ap} \text{ } \text{bi} \text{-} \text{dant} \]
\[ \text{person-INDEF V.EX.3S 1.OBJ little-ATTR water SBJ-give.PR.3S} \]

‘is there anyone [who could] give me a little water?’ (WBal.)

5.2.1 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are normally introduced by the subordinator ki. Complements may constitute either the subject or the direct object of the main clause.

\[ \text{t} \text{arik \ a} \text{t} \text{ } \text{u} \text{ } \text{zabr} \text{ } \text{m} \text{al} \text{a} \text{-} \text{m} \text{-} \text{a} \text{ } \text{na} \text{-} \text{b} \text{-} \text{ut} \]
\[ \text{dark COP.PT.3S and good evident-V.EL NEG-become.PT.3S} \]
\[ \text{ki} \text{ } \text{m} \text{ardum} \text{-} \text{e} \text{ } \text{ya} \text{ } \text{di} \text{ga} \text{ } \text{em} \text{-} \text{e} \]
\[ \text{CL human-INDEF or other thing-INDEF} \]

‘it was dark and it was not quite clear whether it was a man or something else’. (TBal., ABT: 247)

\[ \text{na} \text{-} \text{zam} \text{-} \text{a} \text{ } \text{ki} \text{ } \text{man} \text{ } \text{n} \text{-} \text{m} \text{wa} \text{j} \text{a} \text{ } \text{pan} \text{-} \text{ku} \text{-} \text{sh} \text{ } \text{int} \]
\[ \text{NEG-know.PR-2S CL 1.GEN name mister five-kill.PR COPPR.3S} \]

‘don’t you know that my name is Mr. Five-slayer?’ (WBalNosh., BMC II: 172)

Quoted speech can be considered a subtype of object complement.

\[ \text{j} \text{anen} \text{-} \text{a} \text{ } \text{gwa} \text{st} \text{ } \text{ki} \text{ } \text{n} \text{-} \text{et} \text{ } \text{gapp} \text{ } \text{e} \text{ } \text{int} \]
\[ \text{woman-OBL say.PT.3S CL now talk what COPPR.3S} \]

‘the woman said (that:) what is the matter (lit. talk) now?’ (WBalNosh., BMC II: 175)

Non-finite complements employing infinitives are also common.

\[ \text{m} \text{en} \text{-} \text{m} \text{-} \text{a} \text{ } \text{xi} \text{z} \text{matt} \text{ } \text{kur} \text{-} \text{in} \text{ } \text{cho} \text{-} \text{m} \text{-} \text{e} \text{ } \text{asal} \text{-} \text{ay} \text{ } \text{w} \text{a} \text{sh} \text{ } \text{int} \]
\[ \text{guest-GEN service do.PT-1NF like-EMPH-DEM honey-LOC good COPPR.3S} \]

‘to pay honour to a guest is sweet like honey (lit. this honey)’. (TBal., ABT: 246)
5.2.2 Relative clauses

The subordinator *ki* also introduces relative clauses. Head nouns of restrictive relative clauses are introduced by a demonstrative or indefinite pronoun (functioning as an adjective) and/or marked by the individuation suffix -e (see also Jahani 2008).

If the antecedent has the syntactic function of subject or direct object in the relative clause, it can be resumed either by zero (more common) or by a pronoun (less common). If the antecedent carries another syntactic function, which is very rare in Balochi, there must be a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause.

(Temporal and locational clauses are structurally relative clauses, but are used as adverbial complements and do not require a resumptive pronoun, see 5.2.3.1 and 5.2.3.2).

\[\begin{align*}
\text{čěz-č-rā} & \quad \text{ki dīn guš-št wāqīyat dār-št} \\
\text{thing-INDEF-OBJ CL religion say.PR-3S truth hold.PR-3S} \\
\text{‘what religion says holds true’. (AfBal., Jahani 2008: 147)}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
ta & \quad p-č ĺār-ān ki man-č a kan-čn baxt na-dār-ay \\
you.S for-DEM work-P.OBL CL I-VEL do.PR-1S luck NEG-hold,PR-2S \\
\text{‘you don’t have any success in the things that I occupy myself with’. (TBal., Jahani 2008: 148)}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
gls-č & \quad \text{ki mni balluk bi ĺāī tāḥā zindagi-a kurt} \\
\text{house-INDEF CL I.GEN grandmother in DEM.GEN inside life-VEL do.PT.3S} \\
\text{annūn bēxī wayrān int} \\
\text{now totally destroyed COP.PR.3S} \\
\text{‘the house in which my grandmother lived is now totally in ruins’. (TBal., ABT: 251)}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
mard-č & \quad \text{ki ča panč mazār-ay kuš-ag-ā baʃʃ na-wārī} \\
\text{man-INDEF CL from five tiger-GEN kill.PR-INF-OBL fear NEG-eat.PR.3S} \\
\text{e yakk-č mazār-ay kuš-ag pa ār} \\
\text{DEM one-ATTR tiger-GEN kill.PR-INF for DEM.OBL} \\
\text{hič čī-č būt na-kan-č} \\
\text{any thing-INDEF become.PR NEG-do.PR-3S} \\
\text{‘to kill this one tiger cannot be any problem for a man who is not afraid of killing five tigers’. (WBalNosh., BMC II: 174–175)}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
čōš-č & \quad \text{mard-č bī ki gunāh ċī na-kāv-dā-a} \\
such-ATTR man-INDEF become.PR.3S CL sin thing NEG-do.PT-PF \\
\text{‘it should be such a man who has not committed any sin’. (EBal., Dames 1891: Part I:5)}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
pa-čč & \quad \text{am-č lunka-č ki ār-ay ki b-ōr-ay} \\
\text{for-what EMPH-DEM mouthful-INDEF CL come.PR-2S CL SBJ-eat.PR-2S} \\
\text{am-čyṛā um padā iśt-ay} \\
\text{EMPH-DEM.OBJ also afterwards leave.PT-2S} \\
\text{‘why did you leave the mouthful that you were about to eat’? (TBal.)}
\end{align*}\]
5.2.3 Adverbial clauses

5.2.3.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are introduced by one of the conjunctions wahd-e ki / waxt-e ki, (h)ar (kaidên ki ‘when’, an-čö ki, (h)am-e ki ‘as soon as’ and tā(n) ki, tā wahd-e ki ‘until’, or by the subordinator ki, which in this function is placed after the first word or phrase of the clause. In some dialects the main clause is frequently resumed by ta, tō, gudā ‘then’.

In narratives, the time frame is generally the past, and the preterite is used in the temporal clause. In the non-past temporal field, the indicative denotes certainty and the subjunctive uncertainty. Also, the preterite can be used as a relative tense in non-past temporal clauses with the matrix clause as the deictic centre: it puts the matrix clause in the foreground and the temporal clause is construed as background information.

\[
yakk \text{ rōc-ē} \quad \text{idā} \quad \text{bēväss}
\]

one day-INDEF when CL DEM poor.one

\[
ča \text{ pōryāt-ā} \quad \text{bi gis-ā} \quad \text{atk} \quad \text{u rast}
\]
from work-OBL to house-OBL come.PT.3S and arrive.PT.3S

\[
ta \quad \text{ār} \quad \text{čanm bi panč mušk-ānī} \quad \text{sarā kapt}
\]
then DEM.GEN eye to five mouse-PGEN on fall.PT.3S

‘one day when that poor one came home from work his eye fell on five mice’. (WBaINos h., BMC II: 172)

\[
jīnēnāg \text{ ki ša ḍānā k-ayt}
\]
woman CL from outside V.PREF-come.PR.3S

\[
pādištā \text{ kitāb-ā} \quad \text{by-āl-a} \quad \text{dant}
\]
king book-OBJ to-DEM.OBL -V.EL give.PR.3S

‘when the woman comes from outside, the king gives her the book’. (TBal., ABT: 254)

\[
arkadēn \text{ ki watī čez-ānā} \quad \text{bā} \quad \text{b-kon-īn}
\]
when CL self.GEN thing-POBJ sale SBJ-do.PR-1S

\[
pā \quad \text{wat čez} \quad \text{b-zin-īn} \quad \text{ra-īn}
\]
for self thing SBJ-buy.PR-1S go.PR-1S

‘whenever I sell my things and buy something for myself, I will go’. (TBal., ABT: 254)

\[
waxtē \text{ ki ta mardum āwurt-ay am-ē gis-ay tā}
\]
when CL you.S human bring.PT.2S EMPH-DEM house-GEN in

\[
ša \quad \text{muč-ān} \quad \text{dēmā ta} \quad \text{wat putr}
\]
from all-Pobl before you.S self enter.PR.SBJ

‘when you bring people, go into this house, yourself, before everyone [else]’. (TBal., ABT: 255)

5.2.3.2 Locational clauses

In locational clauses, ki is preceded by an adverb or a noun indicating place, e.g. idā ‘here’, ḍū ‘here’, (h)ar jā / (h)ar kaf ‘wherever’. Depending on the prominence of the two clauses and the degree of realis of the locational clause, the preterite, past subjunctive, or non-past indicative or subjunctive may be used in this clause.
arja ki oštât, zân-ay
wherever CL stand.PT.3S know.PR-2S
ki tî brâs am-ôdôn ant
CL you.S.GEN brother EMPH-there COP.PR.3P
‘know that your brothers are wherever it stops’. (TBal.)

esana āwurt am-ôdâ
DEM.POBJ bring.PT.3S EMPH-there
ki wazîr-ay ĵînîk-kû-a sîd-ant
CL minister-GEN girl-OBJ-VEL wash.PR-3P
‘he brought them to the place where they were washing the minister’s daughter’.
(TBal., ABT: 257)

5.2.3.3 Clauses of manner

Clauses of manner are linked to the matrix clause by, for example, čôn ki ‘like’, and the
matrix clause may be resumed by an adverb of manner such as amû rang ‘in that way’.

nôkâr un čôn ki šā abbâs guşt-at-î
servant also like CL king PN say.PT-COP.PT.3S-ENCL.PRO.3S
am-â rang kurt
EMPH-DEM kind do.PT.3S
‘and the servant did it the way that Shah Abbas had told him’. (TBal., ABT: 262)

5.2.3.4 Causal clauses

Causal clauses are most frequently introduced by pa(r)-êe ki or š-am-â ki ‘because’. The
subordinator ki and other conjunctions also have this function. Since the causal clauses
express factual circumstances, the verb is in the indicative mood.

bê-sâkk taî nâm panêkuş int
without-doubt you.S.GEN name five-kill.PR COP.PR.3S
parêe ki â panê-ê muûk tâi janîk-ê ant
because CL DEM five-ATTR mouse you.S.GEN slayer-ATTR COP.PR.3P
‘undoubtedly your name is Mr. Five-slayer because you have slain those five mice’,
lit. ‘those five mice are your slain’. (WBaINosh., BMC II: 172)

šamâ ki mnî gîs-â-a kûy-ay
because CL I.GEN house-OBJ-VEL VPREF-come.PR-2S
mnî mêmân am bûz-â bay-ant
I.GEN guest also much-VEL become.PR-3P
‘I will have many guests because you come to my house’,
lit. ‘my guests will be many, too’. (TBal., ABT: 259)

mnâ yakk rûpî-ay brinj b-day
I.OBJ one rupee-GEN rice SBJ-give.PR
ki mnî mard-ay dil pa palûv-â mant-a
CL I.GEN man-GEN heart for rice.dish-OBL remain.PT-PF.3S
‘give me one rupee[’s worth] of rice because my husband’s heart is longing for pilaw’.
(TBal., ABT: 259)
5.2.3.5 Consecutive and final clauses

Consecutive (resultative) and final (purposive) clauses are both introduced by the subordinator *ki*. The only difference between these two types is that the indicative mood is used in consecutive clauses, since they describe real events, whereas final clauses always exhibit the subjunctive mood, owing to the fact that they state a desired purpose.

Result (indicative)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ē dēb-ā yakk zām-ē ħan-t} \\
\text{DEM demon-OBJ one sword-INDEF hit.PR-3S} \\
\text{ki sarag-ī ādā-a kap-īt} \\
\text{CL head-ENCL.PRO.3S there-VEL fall.PR-3S}
\end{align*}
\]

‘he strikes the demon with a sword once so that his head falls far away’. (TBal., ABT: 260)

Purpose (subjunctive)

\[
\begin{align*}
sakk gō zamzīl-ān bi-band-ī \\
\text{hard with chain-OBL SBJ-tie.PR-ENCL.PRO.3S} \\
\text{ki wat-ā pāčē kurt ma-kan-t u ma-ravīt} \\
\text{CL self-OBL open do.PR PROH-do.PRO-3S and PROH-go.PRO.3S}
\end{align*}
\]

‘tie it tight with chains so that it can not untie itself and get away’. (WBaINosh., BMC II: 176)

A non-finite construction with the infinitive in the oblique case is also common to express purpose.

\[
\begin{align*}
štū kū-ā āp kaš-šag-ā \\
\text{go.PR.3S well-OBL water pull.PR-1NF-OBL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘he went to the well to pull up water’. (WBaINosh.)

5.2.3.6 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced by the conjunction *aga(r) (ki)*. The matrix clause is sometimes resumed by the particle *tō / ta*.

Hypothetical conditions have either a preterite (relative tense) or a non-past subjunctive form of the verb depending on focus.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{age be bāzūr rapt-ō ēz-ē ger-ō} \\
\text{if to market go.PR-1S thing-INDEF take.PR-1S}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I will buy [a little] something if I go to the market’. (IrBal. of Lashar, Mahmoodi Bakhtiar 2003: 138)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{agar ki ēla-ī ma-kan-t mnī dīl patta-ā} \\
\text{if CL free-ENCL.PRO.3S PROH-do.PRO-3S 1.GEN heart for.you.S-VEL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{suč-īt burn.PR-3S}
\]

‘if he does not set him free, I will feel sorry for you’. (TBal., ABT: 264)

Counterfactual conditions have a past subjunctive form in the conditional clause and an imperfect form in the main clause in dialects with the verbal element *-a* (see 3.2.2.1 (2)). In other dialects the verb form in the main clause is preterite.
aga taw manī nām wāJa panč-kuš ēr ma-kurt-ēn
if you.S I.GEN name mister five-kill.PR down PROH-do.PT-SBJ
u manī sitā-ā ma-kurt-ēn
and I.GEN praise-OBL PROH-do.PT-SBJ
ta par ē marōčī ē balāh manī sarā kapt
then for what today DEM calamity I.GEN on fall.PT.3S
‘if you had not called me Mr. Five-slayer and praised me, why then would this calamity have befallen me’. (WBaINo sh., BMC II: 175)

5.2.3.7 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses are marked by (h)ar-ēnikas, (h)ar-ēči, (h)ar-ēčūn ‘even if, although’ (+ kt). The matrix clause is sometimes resumed by balē ‘but’. The verb in the concessive clause is found both in the indicative and in the subjunctive (see also 4.5.2.9 for an additional example).

harēnikas ki Janēn-ā dil Jamā dāt
although CL woman-OBL comforting give.PT
balē wāJa panč-kuš na-mannit
but mister five-kill.PR NEG-obey.PT.3S
‘even though Mr. Five-slayer’s wife comforted [him], he did not calm down’ (i.e. did not listen to her). (WBaINo sh., BMC II: 177)

6 WORD FORMATION

6.1 Nominal word formation

Common nominal suffixes are -ag, -k, -ak(k), -ik, -uk (see Korn 2005a: 163–169), which in many cases do not change the meaning of the word, and are also used interchangeably, e.g. ādēn vs. ādēnk, ādēnag, all ‘mirror’.

Several of these suffixes are also used to derive adjectives from nouns, as are the suffixes -ig and -ig. Here as well, there is a certain degree of interchangeability of suffixes, e.g. ūdē ‘hunger’ → ūdēag, ūdēig, ūdēik ‘hungry’. However, the most productive adjective suffix is -i, e.g. nōsī ‘tasty’ (from nōs ‘drink(ing)’), waxti ‘on time, timely’ (from waxt ‘time’).

Adjectives derived from personal pronouns with the suffix -īg are used in the function of predicative possessives in some dialects, e.g. manīg ‘mine’, taig ‘yours’, āig ‘his, hers, its’, mayg ‘ours’, ṣumayg ‘yours’, āvānīg 1 āvānīg ‘theirs’.

The suffixes -ik(k), -uk and -luk (to a certain extent also -ak(k)) (also) have a diminutive function; -uk is particularly productive (also on names, cf. Badalkhan 2003: 297).

Another suffix -i derives abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives (e.g. waš(š)i ‘happiness’ from waš(š) ‘good, nice’; duž(z)i ‘theft’ from duž(z) ‘thief’), and -ok forms agent nouns from the present stem of verbs (see also 3.2.3.4). Both suffixes are productive.

6.2 Verbal word formation

(1) Denominative verbs can be formed from inherited as well as borrowed nominals without adding a suffix, that is, by using the noun as the present stem, e.g. čōp- ‘hit’ (from
Very frequently, inherited and borrowed nominals are converted into verbs by combining them with a light verb to give a complex verb (see 3.2.1). Common light verbs are *kač-‘do’* and *jan-‘hit’* for actions with the feature [+ control], and *war-‘eat’* (see Farrell 2008: 126–127 for a list of examples), *gir-‘take’* and *bey-‘become’* for [– control].

(2) The formation of causative verbs is productive. Causatives are formed by suffixing -eṇ- to the present stem; double causatives use the suffix -aṇ- (see 3.2.2.2).

7 SAMPLE TEXTS

The two sample texts below are intended to illustrate the great variation among the Balochi dialects. Karachi Balochi is located in the very south-east of the Balochi linguistic area and Turkmenistan Balochi in the very north. The first sample text is from Farrell 2003: 207–209, and the second is an excerpt from the text A 1.5 published by Axenov 2006: 291–293 (with glosses added), both with a few minor changes in text and/or translation.

**Karachi Balochi: Fishing**

amatlab iš ē jō ast-e,
meaning DEM COP.PR.3S REL V.EX.3S-COP.PR.3S
‘It means that, you know’,

idā jō dar k-āy-ant-e,
here when out V.PREF-come.PR-3 P-COP PR.3S
‘when they leave here’,

tēlānī takriban tēm bit-e dā baj-e tēm-a
DEM.P.GEN about time become.PR-3S-COPPR.3S ten hour-GEN time-OBL
‘it will be about ten o’clock for them’.

dā baj-e tēm-a, jō ast-e
ten hour-GEN time-OBL REL V.EX.3S-COPPR.3S
‘At ten o’clock, you know’,

ē māhōr-a dawr dē-ant-e,
DEM net-OBL throwing give.PR-3P-COPPR.3S
‘they will throw out the net’.

dā baj-e tēm-a, na?
ten hour-GEN time-OBL NEG
‘At ten o’clock, right?’

dī-ē tēm-a māhōr-a dawr dē-ā.
ten-GEN time-OBL net-OBL throwing give.PR-3P
‘They throw out the net at ten’.

māhōr-a dawr dē-ā, dāki saē baj tak, jō ast-e,
et-OBL throwing give.PR-3P until three hour until REL V.EX.3S-COPPR.3S
‘They throw out the net until three o’clock, you know’,
"مهور" گو سرپوش بیا.
DEM net-POBL with busy become.PR-3P
'they will be busy with the nets'.

آن‌های ره‌انت یاسا، پادا چار بای تاک
so pour.PR-3P DEM.POB then four hour until
'So they throw them out, and then, until four o'clock',

کامنک نیند‌ا، ارئم کان‌ا را.
DEM little sit.PR-3P quiet do.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S
'they sit a bit and rest'.

سافی‌ا یاپ دا... مهور، یو است‌ا,
whole-ATTR night until net REL V.EX.3S-COP.PR.3S
'All night until... the nets, you know',

آپ‌ا تاها بیا‌ا.
water-GEN inside become.PR.3S-COP.PR.3S
'[they] are in the water'.

هم‌ا سوب‌ا سر راکبیان پانچ بایا تهم‌ا,
EMPH-DEM morning-GEN on about five hour-GEN time-OBL
'Early that morning at about five o'clock',

پانچ‌ا تهم‌ا، نا?
five-GEN time-OBL NEG
'... at five o'clock, right?'

نی مهور‌ا کاشف‌ا ندراکیبان پانچ بایا تهم‌ا,
now net-GEN pull.PR-INF-OBL start do.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S
'Now they begin to pull in the net'.

داکی یاپ‌ا، ماشنار بها بای تاک ا مهور
until night-GEN meaning day-GEN twelve hour until DEM net
کاشف‌ا را.
pull.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S

'Until twelve at night, I mean day, they pull in the net'.

مهم‌ر ا کاشف‌ا یاکه‌ا الاگ کان‌ا
net-OBL pull.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S fish-POBL separate do.PR-3P
'They pull in the net [and] separate the fish'.

یاکه‌ا الاگ کان‌ا، بارف‌مارف کاشف‌ا را
fish-POBL separate do.PR-3P ice-DBL cut.up.PR.3P-COP.PR.3S boat-GEN on
'They separate the fish, they cut up ice, on the boat'.

سراب بای، یاک بای لاج‌ا، یاریگ بیا‌ا,
half twelve hour one hour take.PR-3S free become.PR-3P
'When it turns half past twelve or one o'clock, then they are free [for that day]',

پادا ورگ‌مارگ وار‌ا را.
then food-DBL eat.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S boat-GEN on
'and eat some food, [right there] on the boat'.

لاچ‌ا سرای

ata ce bad watî mâhôr-ä sâid-ä kan-ant-ë,
DEM.OBL from after self.GEN net-OBL side-OBL do.PR-3P-COP.PR.3S
‘After that they [again] put their net to the side’
padä mâhôr-ä reç-ä ñp-ä
then net-OBL pour.PR-3P water-OBL
‘and throw the net into the water’.

Turkmenistan Balochi: My Childhood

gwandâkkî-ä man watî ãnd-ay gis-ay mâl-ânä-a
childhood-OBL I self.GEN self.GEN house-GEN cattle-POBJ-V.EEL
cârënt-un.
graze.CAUS.PT-1S
‘When I was a child, I used to graze the sheep of our household’.                           
ammä nazzîk-i sad pas däst-an.
we near-EZ hundred sheep hold.PT-1P
‘We had almost one hundred sheep’.

man u mâni bräs usmân u sapar wâri-pa-bëri mâl-ânä-a
I and 1.GEN brother PN and PN turn-by-turn cattle-POBJ-V.EEL
cârënt-an.
graze.CAUS.PT-1P
‘I and my brothers Usman and Sapar took turns grazing the sheep’.

ammä pa watî mâl-än yakkyakkî nâm išt-at-an,
we for self.GEN cattle-POBL one.by.one name leave.PT-COP.PT-1P
‘We had given names to each one of our sheep’.

âwánä bâz döst däst-an u zâbr drust-a kurt-an.
DEM.POBJ much friend hold.PT-1P and good recognized-VEL do.PT-1P
‘We loved them very much and would recognize [each one] right away’.

gis-ay dopä bâg u pälëz ham kîšt-an.
house-GEN in.front.of garden and melon.field also plant.PT-1P
‘We planted a garden and a melon field in front of our house as well’.

man da-dwâzza sâlagî-ä gô ar-ä alap-ä k-âwurt-un.
I ten-twelve year.old-OBL with donkey-OBBL grass-V.EEL V.PREF-bring.PT-1S
‘When I was about ten or twelve years old, I used to fetch grass with the donkey’.

ham-ä waxt-ä yakk spêt-ën ar-ë däst-an,
EMPH-DEM time-OBL one white-ATTR donkey-INDEF hold.PT-1P
‘At that time we had a white donkey’,

nâm-i dabbû at.
name-ENCL.PRO.3S PN COP.PT.3S
‘its name was Shorty’.

mînî piss mnä ša panč-šâss sâlagî-ä
1.GEN father 1.OBJ from five-six year.old-OBL
‘From the age of five or six, my father’.
qurān-ay wānt-in-ā ēl dāt.
Quran-GEN read.PT-INF-OBL learning give.PT.3S
'taught me [mnī] to read the Quran'.

man gāwaxt-a na-wānt-un, ša āī dēmā-ā . jīst-un.
I sometimes-VEL NEG-read.PT-1S from DEM.GEN before-V.EL flee.PT-1S
'Sometimes I did not study, I ran away from him'.

mnī piss mnā arçōn dōst dāšt-ēn ham,
I.GEN father 1.OBJ even.though friend hold.PT-SBJ.3S also
'[And] even though my father loved me very much',

pa wānt-in-ay xāîrā mnā gipt u jat.
for read.PT-INF-GEN sake 1.OBJ take.PT.3S and hit.PT.3S
'when it came to studying, he used to take me and hit me'.

man zār-a būt-un, tā ēunt rōč
I angry-VEL become.PT-1S until some day
'[And then] I got angry, [and] for several days'

gō iċkass gis-ay tā abar-a na-dāt-un.
with nobody house-GEN in word-VEL NEG-hit.PT-1S
'I did not talk to anyone in the house'.

nūn, waxt-ē ki tū būt-un, sarpad-a bāîn
now time-INDEF CL big become.PT-1S aware-VEL become.PR.1S
'Now that I have grown up, I understand

ki mnī piss zabr kurt-a ki mnā jat-a,
CL I.GEN father good do.PT-PF.3S CL 1.OBJ hit.PT-PF.3S
'that my father did a good thing to beat me:'

agar ma-jat-ēn, man-a na-wānt-un.
if PROH-hit.PT-SBJ.3S I-VEL NEG-read.PT-1S
'if he hadn’t beaten [me], I wouldn’t have studied'.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABT  Axenov 2006 (TBal.)
AfBal. Balochi spoken in Afghanistan
ASG  Ahangar 2007 (IrBalSarh.)
Bal. Balochi
BLB  Buddruss 1988 (AfBal.)
BMC  Barker/Meng al 1969 (WBalNosh.)
BSD  Baranzehi 2003 (IrBalSarw.)
ComBal. Common Balochi (see 1.4)
EBal. Eastern Balochi dialect(s)
FBB  Farrell 1990 (SBalKar.)
IrBal. Balochi spoken in Iran
IrBalSarh. Iranian Balochi of Sarhadd
IrBalSarw. Iranian Balochi of Sarawan
SBal. Southern Balochi dialect(s)
SBalKar. Southern Balochi of Karachi
SWBal. Southern and Western Balochi
TBal. Balochi spoken in Turkmenistan
WBal. Western Balochi dialect(s)
WBalNosh. Western Balochi of Noshke, Pakistan

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CHAPTER TWELVE

PARACHI

Charles M. Kieffer

1 INTRODUCTION

Parachi (Parācī) is spoken north-east of Kabul in three valleys in the southern foothills of the western Hindukosh by a total of approximately 3,500 speakers (as of 1981): in the Shotol valley, north of Golbahār, with approx. 1,500 speakers; in the Pacheghan branch of the Nejraw valley, north-east of Golbahār, with approx. 1,200 speakers; and in the Ghochūlān branch of the same valley, with approx. 700 speakers (see Map 14a.1). These represent remnant linguistic pockets of an earlier dialect continuum (cf. Morgenstierne 1970: 350-2; Kieffer 1979a: 45-47; 1983: 512).

The earliest references to the Parachi date to the sixteenth century. One is by the emperor Babur (Beveridge 1922: 207) in his memoirs, where they are mentioned in a list of tribes in the region of Kabul. The other is by the Ottoman admiral Ali Reis (1899: 65) in his travelogue to the eastern regions. They are next mentioned in the nineteenth century by the travelers Elphinstone (1815: 316) and Masson (1842 I, 219: 221-22). The earliest reference to their specific location, though without mention of their name, also dates to the sixteenth century, and is found in an eyewitness report on an Islamic jihad in Kafiristan by Qadi Muḥammad Salim (Scarcia 1965: 73), who cites “the pagan populations of Nejraw and Pacheghan”.


Kieffer established that Parachi is still spoken in the same separate locations as in 1924, but is confined to use among members of extended families, who are bi- and multilingual, and even individually show considerable variation. Nevertheless, he found relatively few substantial changes in phonology and grammar between 1924 and today, except for an increase in Persian patterns as could be expected. It should also be noted that the medium of data collection then and now was the Persian of Afghanistan.
2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory and distribution

2.1.1 Vowels

The system of vowel phonemes has not been established with certainty, and may be shown as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualitative Characteristics</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid close</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid open</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ā̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ā̄</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The long back rounded vowels tend to be fronted: ā > ā̄, and in Shotol particularly long ā̄ > ā [o] in most instances. Low back ā̄ tends to be rounded, and raised pre-nasally. Mid front ē is tense and tends to be raised.

The long vowels are fairly stable, but tend to be shortened in unstressed position. Thus, the unstressed mid vowels ē ā tend to merge with ē o, and ā i, ā u.

The short vowels show considerable variation: ē o vary between high and mid-high position, [ē ~ i, o ~ u]; ē is reduced to [a] in unstressed position; a is often fronted and raised to [ā].

Length distinction appears to be upheld only in Persian loans. While there is strong systemic interference from Kaboli Persian, the system of Parachi appears to be more determined by vocalic quality than length, and thus tends toward a system similar to Pashto, except for phonemic ā in the latter.

Note: For practical purposes, in the following discussion vowels will be represented in a broad transcription, and umlaut will only rarely be indicated.

2.1.1.1 Diphthongs

Diphthongs do not appear to have phonemic status, and are best analyzed as vowel + semivowel. They tend to be reduced particularly in rapid speech, thus final aw > a, and final ow, ōw > ō: personal enclitics 2s -aw - a, 2p -ōw - o. Medial ay and aw, āw, which only occur in loans, are mostly reduced to e ā i and ā, respectively. The causative infix ēw + vowel often contracts to ē: dal-ēw-em ~ dal-e-m 'that I tear'.

2.1.2 Consonants

Like its neighbor languages, Parachi has developed a series of retroflex phonemes. What distinguishes Parachi most is the frequency of aspiration, which is confined to initial and medial position. It is found in loans from Indian: phōr 'fruit', dhār 'hill', but also originates in Iranian word-initial voiceless fricatives, mostly x > kh: khān- 'to laugh', khar 'donkey'. It is prominently the result of the metathesis of earlier medial h: ēhē 'to
go' < *ēh- < OIr. *ēiyuta-, but may also be quite recent: mhetar ‘groom’ < Persian mehtar. There is also secondary aspiration. Even though the phonemic status of the aspirates remains to be determined, they are listed in the following chart. Two of the phonemes, q and y, are confined to loanwords, where q alternates with k.

TABLE 12.2: CONSONANTS

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<td>aspirate</td>
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<tr>
<td>aspirate</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>jh</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives, voiceless</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirate</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>(r)</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirate</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>(η)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mh</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirate</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirate</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(y)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Non-segmental features, stress

The accent in Parachi is one of intensity, and is free to the extent that it may fall on any one of the last three syllables of a word. This system is obscured by two main factors, coupled with the different chronological levels: One is the large loan component from the Kohestani Persian koine, with its different system of stress, in particular final stress in nominals, and the liberal switch of these bilinguals between the two languages, and thus their stress patterns. The other is that fact that during the elicitation of materials, researchers tend to pay less attention to suprasegmental aspects. For practical purposes, in the following accent is indicated by the underlining of the respective vowel.

Stress alternation is particularly evident with nominal inflectional endings, which appear to have been unstressed. Instructive examples are the plural marker and the singular ablative ending -i: The unstressed general plural ending -ān alternates with the stressed ending -ān, on the model of the Persian plural ending -ān. The optional stress on ablative -i is most likely due to the stressed -i in Persian adverbial noun phrases (be zīd-i ‘in quickness, quick’, az khoshhal-i ‘from ~ out of happiness').

In general, it appears that word stress is superseded by a yet unexplored indigenous pattern of rhythmic, if not prosodic, sequences of stressed and unstressed syllables.

2.3 Morphophonemic changes

Like other Iranian languages, Parachi inherited the morphophonological changes between present and past stems of many verbs. Singular-plural ablaut is found in remnants. The only regular morphophonemic change is that of a > o in closed syllables. It is
most prominent in the 3s forms of the past tense: *nhašt-em* 'I sat down' vs. *nhost* 'he, she sat down'.

### 3 MORPHOLOGY

#### 3.1 Nominal morphology

##### 3.1.1 Nouns

**3.1.1.1 Gender**

There is no morphological distinction of gender. As elsewhere, natural gender may be expressed lexically by different etyma, and by classifiers such as *nar* 'male', *māda* 'female' for animals, either as a regular *N₂-N₁* compound, or *ezāfe* construction: *nar-gu* vs. *māda-gu*, *māda-yasō* or *yasō-e māda* (*gu* 'cow, bull', *yasō* 'calf').

**3.1.1.2 Number**

The plural marker is *-ān* (ā strongly rounded, [Â]) for both animates and inanimates. It is mostly stressed (after Pers. *-ān*), but may alternate with unstressed *-ān*, which appears to be the original pattern: *yos-ān* 'houses', but *ketāb-ān* 'books', *biyār-ān* 'brothers' (sg. *biyā*). The rare ending *-a* occurs only after numerals, including indefinities, and is probably a numerative (cf. Sogdian): *hodi biyār-a* 'both brothers'. Paired nouns may inflect as a group: *dāst o rafig-ān* 'friends and comrades'.

The marker *-ēhā* (unstressed) is found in the elliptic duals *bāw-ēhā* 'father and son', *māw-ēhā* 'mother and daughter'.

Ablaut plural is found in two loans: sg. *phör*, pl. *phar* 'fruit, grain' (cf. Pashai *phāl*), also itemizer (Pers. *dāne*, *tā*), and the progressive participial suffix sg. *-tōn*, pl. *tan* (cf. Pashai *-tā*).

**3.1.1.3 Declension**

There are three inflectional cases in singular and plural: direct (DIR), oblique (OBL), and ablative (ABL). The singular oblique has the variants *-eka*, *-ikī*, but *-ān* for personal names (and pronouns, cf. below). The oblique *-āna* and ablative *-ān* are rarely distinguished. For the numerative *-a* see section 3.1.6 Numerals, specifically 3.1.6.5a.

#### TABLE 12.3: NOMINAL DECLENSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>ḍosp</td>
<td>ḍosp-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>ḍosp-eka, All-ān</td>
<td>ḍosp-āna ~ ḍosp-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ḍosp-ē</td>
<td>ḍosp-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td></td>
<td>ḍosp-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Adpositional Cases (singular)**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACC, spec.</td>
<td>ṁa ḍosp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>ḍosp-kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC/DIR</td>
<td>ḍosp-tar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST/COM</td>
<td>ḍosp-pen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other case relations are expressed by unstressed adpositions. These include prominently (1) the preposition *ma* for specific direct object (ACC), (2) the postpositions *kon* for dative (DAT), *tar* for locative-directive (LOC/DIR), and (3) *pen* for instrumental-comitative (INST/COM). The basic paradigms are shown above, with *əm* 'horse'.

The vocative may be indicated by particles such as *ai*, *wọ* preceding the direct case.

### 3.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are morphologically unmarked, unless functioning as a noun. There is no comparative or superlative marker: *biyə-e ghand* 'elder brother'. The referent is marked by -*tar* 'from, than', and *kol-tar* 'than all', respectively: *kaʃtə-tar ghand-a* 'he is bigger than the girl'. Note *godar-* 'to pass, surpass' in *ən [tə]-tar ham godar-em, [Məmad Hanifə]-tar na* 'I (an) surpass even (ham) thee, but not M.H.'.

### 3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

#### 3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

The independent personal pronouns distinguish direct and oblique case, and the direct object. The personal enclitics of the 1p, 3p have mostly coalesced. In synopsis, the inflectional forms of personal and demonstrative pronouns are as follows:

**TABLE 12.4: PERSONAL PRONOUNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| DIR    | ən   | tʊ (tʊ) | ʊ   | mə | wə | ʊ-
| OBL    | mon, mun | ɪ-ʊ (tʊ) | ʊd-ʊ | mə | wə | ʊ-
| DAT    | mon kon | ɪ-ʊ kon | ʊd-ʊ kon | mə kon | wə kon | ʊ-
| ACC    | mə mun | mə tʊ | m-ʊnd-ʊ | mə mə | wə | m-
| POSS   | man-ən | t-ən | od-ən | mək-
| ENCLITIC | -(o)m | -(w)a(w) | -(w)-ə | -(w)-ən | -(w)(w) | -(w)-ən* |

* -(w)- = postvocalic glide

#### 3.1.3.1a Exclusive forms

A singular pronoun may combine with another to form quasi-exclusives: *dəl [mə o tʊ] 'with us' (we and thee); *[mə o tʊ] par-a-man 'let us go' (we and thou).

#### 3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstratives show binary deixis. Of the two, the far member has largely become the independent 3s pronoun, while the near member has become the general, deictically neutral referent, often with article-like function in noun phrases (see examples in section 8 Sample text). A typologically prominent feature is various degrees of focus, which may re-combine. The basic deictics and two of the combinatory ones are shown here.
### TABLE 12.5: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative and Deictic Patterns</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Attributive</th>
<th>Location-Direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>far</td>
<td>near</td>
<td>far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked</td>
<td>ө</td>
<td>ө</td>
<td>ө</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selective</td>
<td>hөwɛyɛк</td>
<td>hөwɛyɛk</td>
<td>hөwɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphatic</td>
<td>ok-wiɛyɛк</td>
<td>ek-wiɛyɛк</td>
<td>өк-ө</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>өнɛк</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>өнɛк</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also pө, pө ‘that, this side’.

### Independent Demonstrative Inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIR</th>
<th>'that'</th>
<th>'this'</th>
<th>'those'</th>
<th>'these'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ө</td>
<td>ө</td>
<td>ө-ән</td>
<td>ө-ән</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ОBL</td>
<td>өд-ә</td>
<td>өд-ә</td>
<td>өд-ә-ән</td>
<td>өд-ә-ән</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>өд-ә kon</td>
<td>өд-ә kon</td>
<td>өд-ә-ән kon</td>
<td>өд-ә-ән kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>m-әnd-ә</td>
<td>m-әnd-ә</td>
<td>m-әnd-ә-ән</td>
<td>m-әnd-ә-ән</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>өд-ә</td>
<td>өд-ә</td>
<td>өд-ә-ән</td>
<td>өд-ә-ән</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Demonstrative Inflection, Selective Focus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIR</th>
<th>'that same'</th>
<th>'this same'</th>
<th>'those same'</th>
<th>'these same'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hөwɛyɛк</td>
<td>hөwɛyɛк</td>
<td>hөwɛyɛк</td>
<td>hөwɛyɛк</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ОBL</td>
<td>edhөk</td>
<td>edhөk</td>
<td>edhөk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>edhөk kon</td>
<td>edhөk kon</td>
<td>edhөk kon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>m-әndhөk</td>
<td>m-әndhөk</td>
<td>m-әndhөk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>edhөk(-ән)</td>
<td>edhөk(-ән)</td>
<td>edhөk(-ән)</td>
<td>edhөk(-ән)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.1.3.3 Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is xө ‘self’, obl. xө-к-ән; emphatic form: xө xo.

#### 3.1.3.4 Interrogative-indefinite pronouns and related adverbials

Interrogatives mostly function also as indefinites, either by themselves or in combination with others:

- pronoun: animate, кө, obl. k-ән ‘who’ (sg. and pl.); ka + copula; inanimate, чө, чө + N ‘what’;
- selective: khөн (+ N), obl. -ека ‘which one, some one’; khөн-zө ‘which thing, something’ (zө ‘thing’); khөн-ja-‘t’from what place, from some place’;
- location: кө ‘where’; көңд ‘from where, somewhere’; кө-өңөк ‘where to, somewhere to’;
- time: көби ‘when’;
- manner & measure: аа ‘how, why’; чө(өәр)+ N ‘how many’; чөқа ‘how much’ (see also 3.1.6 Numerals);
- kind: zөңө ‘what kind’; zөңө-ө ‘how, what manner’.
- inclusive: har ‘every, each’ + interrogative: har кө ‘every one’; har khөн ‘every which one’; har кө ‘everywhere’; har көби ‘anytime’;
3.1.4 Adpositions

3.1.4.1 Prepositions

The preposition *ma* marks (1) the specific direct object, and specific location, time and goal (cf. Ormuri *ku*): *ma dur* ‘at the river’; *ma dōwās* ‘at 12 o’clock’; *ma [zū qāter] suvār nōhōś* ‘he sat down on mounted [a mule]’. It also marks (2) the recipient, or dative, with ‘to give’ and ‘to say’ (similar to *kon*): *[ma gu-γ-ōn]* āo dhay-m ‘I shall give water [to the cows (gu-)]’.

Other prepositions include: *men* ‘in, among’, *men yanir* ‘in the middle of the terrasse’, *men āvīmān* ‘among (the) Afghans’; *dāl* ‘in front of, before, with’: *dāl mon* ‘in front of me, with me’ (Kb. pēš-e man).

3.1.4.2 Ablative -ī and postpositions

Ablative -ī, direction ‘from’ (singular): *mhaawr-ī* ‘out of the garden’; *qala-ī nary-ō* ‘he left the farm’; *kābol-ī āy-ō* ‘he has come from Kabul’; *xōm-ī čid-ī* ‘he woke up from sleep’; *hāvī wāxt-ī* ‘from that time on’.

*kou*, direction ‘to, towards; till’: *sāt-kon* ‘to the village’, *zā sar-kon* ‘till next year’; *tū M-kon āsēq čī-ē* ‘thou becamest a lover to/of M.’; *[mon-kun]-e yār-av* ‘for me, your friend’ (ezāfe); *gu-γ-ōn-kun-ē dā* ‘he (-ē AG) gave to the cows’.

*tar*, bi-directional general location and direction, ‘in, to’ and ‘from’: *tar-ē* ‘before him’; *dārī-tar hos mor* ‘all (hos) died from the medicine (dārū)’.

*pen*, instrumental, comitative: *DIR, naʃiq-pen-ē* ‘with his (-ē) friend’; *paʃ-pen* ‘with the axe’; OBL -ān of person: *[Māmad Hanīf]-ān-pen* ‘with M. H.’.

The locative adpositions frequently combine with each other, and may form circumpositions (for prepositional adverbs with ezāfe, see 4.2 Noun phrase structure): *[men]-xo [-tār] ‘in, among themselves’; *[ma] yōs [-t] čī-ē* ‘he left went from, the house’; *[dāl]-mā[-t] čī-ē* ‘he went away from (before) me’ (often in allegro form: *dāmaa* ‘from us’); *č [sōr ēsp]-tā-ār-ī [dharma]-tār* ‘she fell from the top of the horse to the ground’; *[dōs sar]-tār-ī* ‘ten years ago, earlier’ (= Kb. pēš az da sāl).

3.1.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are not morphologically marked, except for focus -k: *bete* ‘again’, *badē* ‘now’, *nī* ‘now, today’, *nī-hēk* ‘right now’, *nī xawān* ‘tonight’; *aze* ‘yesterday’, *sabā* ‘tomorrow’, *āsar* ‘this year’; *wakhē, waæhanē* ‘up’; *pastā* ‘down’ (for further locative and temporal adverbs, cf. pronouns above).

3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

The decades 60–90 are based on the vigesimal system, *yoʃt-ak* ‘unit of twenty’; note Indic *lak*.
### Table 12.6: Numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1–9</th>
<th>11–19</th>
<th>10–90</th>
<th>100+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zh</td>
<td>žwōs</td>
<td>dōs</td>
<td>sō</td>
<td>hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dī</td>
<td>dowās</td>
<td>yōst</td>
<td>hazār</td>
<td>thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sī</td>
<td>sidōs</td>
<td>sōs</td>
<td>lak</td>
<td>hundred-thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čōr</td>
<td>čadōs</td>
<td>čhel</td>
<td>dōs lak</td>
<td>ten lak = one million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōnē</td>
<td>paes</td>
<td>penjā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xē</td>
<td>sodōs</td>
<td>šīyoštak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōt</td>
<td>hatōs</td>
<td>šīnim yoštak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āōt</td>
<td>aštōs</td>
<td>čōr yoštak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nō</td>
<td>nams</td>
<td>čōr nim yoštak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Digits follow the decades: yōst o žū '21'; hundreds have -sōy, or Kaboli -sat: dī-sōy, čōr-sōy; dōs-sōy 'ten-hundred' = 'one thousand', or dī- sat '200', sī sat '300', etc.

#### 3.1.6.2 Ordinal Numbers

The ordinal numbers include: avvalī 'first', āxer 'last'; others have the suffix -om-i: sī-om-i 'third'; substantive -gī: čōr-om-gī 'the fourth one'.

#### 3.1.6.3 Distribution

Distribution is indicated by repetition: žū žū 'by one, one each'.

#### 3.1.6.4 Other Numerals and Measure

These include (1) preposed: hōdi, pl. hōdi-n-ān 'both'; hos, pl. hosī-n-ān 'all'; kol 'all'; yalaba 'many, very'; yolū 'many, very'; čāvar, čā 'several'; and (2) postpositional ġāl 'a crowd, many'; and others. Examples: kol-e wā-k-ān 'all of you', čāvar mazdūr 'several servants', yalaba sāl 'many years'; mà ġāl 'we all'.

#### 3.1.6.5 Numerals and Case Marking

##### 3.1.6.5a Numerative -a

Numerals larger than one may take what appears to be a numerative ending -a: yalaba biyār-ā 'many brothers', dī bāl-ā bēn 'there were two boys' (sg. bāl-ē).

##### 3.1.6.5b Genitive of Measure

The partitive genitive is used with measure: yōst sīr bīz-eka '20 sirs of grain'; hazār naifar-eka 'one thousand persons'; hos-e seb-eka 'all of the apples'.

##### 3.1.6.5c Plural of Specificity

Numerals implying specificity as a rule take the plural: hōdi puš-ān 'both sons'; havī yudū āsp-ān 'these many horses'; hos dōšt-ān 'all the hair', [hosi-n-ān]-an-a 'it is (-a) all (pl.) of theirs (-an)'.

3.2 Verb morphology

3.2.1 Stem formation

The verbal system is based on two stems, present and past. Past stems originate in a dental (except for two verbs: pec-Ip(h)ak- 'to cook', ?hušk- 'to dry'), which may be retained, or lost (examples are cited as: present/past).

Regular verbs ('weak') have past stems in -i (< *-i): berkhl-berkhhl- 'to fear'.

Irregular ('strong') verbs mostly show morphophonemic change. The dental may be retained, contracted to r < *urd, or post-vocally lost: (a) pâr-lpânt- 'to know', bež-lbast- 'to bind', nhân-inhašt- 'to sit down'; (b) kan-lkor- 'to do' (< *kurâd < *krtâ); (c) ošt-l oštâ- 'to stand (up)' (cf. Pers. ľštâd); dah-ldâ(-w)- 'to give' (cf. Persian dâd) vs. regular deh-l dehl- 'to hit'. Note that short a is rounded before clusters in pause: nhâšt-am 'I sat down', but nhâšt 'he sat down'.

Suppletive stems are žâ-lâya- 'to come' (cf. Pers. ľâ-lâmad), while čh-lčhâ- 'to go, to become' takes the present stem of par-a- 'to go, walk, wander' as a suppletive in the present-future.

Causative stems are regular, and marked by -ewl-ew-f-: berkhl-ewl-berkhhl-ew-f- 'to frighten'; in context: pres. ľn-e.SBJ dal-ew-em 'that I (ān) tear', past mun dal-ew-e 'I (mum.AG) tore'.

3.2.2 Nominal forms

There are a good number of nominal forms (for their individual use, see discussions below):

3.2.2.1 Forms based on the present stem

(1) The progressive participle in sg. -tōn, pl. -tan (cf. Pashai -tō): kan-tōn 'be doing'.
(2) The verbal noun, or infinitive, in -en, only with nar- 'to be able': kan-en 'doing, to do'.
(3) The passive participle in -en in the passive construction (cf. Pashai -en): kan-en 'be done'.
(4) The present conjunctive participle in -en, -ēn, mainly with verbs of movement (cf. Pashai -mana).
(5) The absolutive in -āmān.
(6) The attributive gerundive in -ānē: čhem-ānē 'to be done' (čhēm-čhemē- 'to go, move, wander, become').
(7) The deverbal noun in -ō: mer-ō 'death' (mer-Imuř- 'to die').

3.2.2.2 Forms based on the past stem

(1) The perfect participle in -ō: nhašt-ō 'having sat down' = 'seated'.
(2) The verbal noun in -ō: rhânt-ō 'weeping' (ruh-Irânt- 'to weep').
(3) The perfect adjective in -ō-ī.
### Existential Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>(h)ē-m</td>
<td>(h)ē-</td>
<td>(h)ā</td>
<td>(h)ē-man</td>
<td>(h)ē-r</td>
<td>(h)ē-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>(h)gast-ām</td>
<td>(h)gast-</td>
<td>(h)ōst</td>
<td>(h)gast-āman</td>
<td>(h)gast-ar</td>
<td>(h)gast-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR inan.</td>
<td>sī</td>
<td>sī</td>
<td>sā bō-n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT inan.</td>
<td>sī (cf. PT)</td>
<td>sī (cf. PP)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Copula and 'to be'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>-ēm/-ēm-</td>
<td>-ī</td>
<td>-al-ā</td>
<td>-ēman</td>
<td>-ēr</td>
<td>-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>bē-m</td>
<td>bē</td>
<td>bē-n</td>
<td>bē-man</td>
<td>bē-r</td>
<td>bē-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBJ</td>
<td>bī-n</td>
<td>bī</td>
<td>bē</td>
<td>bē-man</td>
<td>bē-ōr</td>
<td>bē-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Personal Endings, intransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>-ēm</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-ēman</td>
<td>-ēr</td>
<td>-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>-T-ōm</td>
<td>-T-ē</td>
<td>-T</td>
<td>-T-ēman</td>
<td>-T-ēr</td>
<td>-T-ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>-T bē-m</td>
<td>-T bē</td>
<td>-T bō-n</td>
<td>-T bē-man</td>
<td>-T bē-r</td>
<td>-T bē-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>-ē-n</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-ēman</td>
<td>-ē-r</td>
<td>-ēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>-ē bē-m</td>
<td>-ē bē</td>
<td>-ō bō-n</td>
<td>-ē bē-man</td>
<td>-ē bē-r</td>
<td>-ē bē-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperative 2s is generally the bare present stem, while the ending of the 2p is -ōr: da(h), dehl-ōr 'give (2s, 2p)!'

### 3.2.4 Negation

There is only one general marker na: na xor-om 'I did not eat'; na hēm 'am not', nā 'is not'. The negation usually precedes the verb form immediately, but the copula and the personal ending may be attached to it: na-m bōc-etōn 'I am not seeing (it)', na-m narī 'I could not'. Persian prohibitive ma is rarely used. Note that apprehension, such as 'to fear', requires the negation:

ān-em berkhi-tōn-em, ēc mēri-en [na] par-ī
I-am fearing-am that killed not he go
'I am afraid, that he may be killed';

jīgar-om xīn kor, [na]-ī ēc xēsem kor-ō bē
liver-my blood made not-he.AG that anger he have done-subj
'I am distressed, that he may have gotten angry',

### 3.2.5 System of tenses and moods

The basic system is defined by the opposition between present and past tense, and continuous (imperfective) and perfect (perfective) aspect. The perfect also distinguishes temporary state. There are corresponding non-indicative moods. Transitive past tenses have the ergative construction.
3.2.5.1 General present and past

The simple present and past forms are based on the bare present and past stems. The subject is either marked by the personal ending, or, in the ergative transitive past, by the agent enclitic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pres., ān nhrn[-em]} ‘I (shall) sit down’</td>
<td>pres., kan[-em] ‘I (shall) do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past, nhašt[-em]} ‘I sat down’;</td>
<td>past, kør[-om], [-om] kør ‘I did’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5.1a Past immediacy marker

In familiar speech, the enclitic -(n)a, attached to the past of the 3s appears to indicate immediacy: āyw-a-na ‘he arrived, there he is’ (cf. Kb. āmad-ak ‘the “guy” is here’).

3.2.5.1b Continuous present and past

The continuous, i.e. ongoing or habitual, present and past is a participial construction. It is marked by the formant sg. -tōn, pl. -tan, added to the present stem. The copula marking the subject may be attached to the participle, or precede it:

kan-tōn[-em] or ān[-em] kān-tōn ‘I am doing’;
ān fārsi [hast-am] xān-tōn ‘I was studying, used to study, Persian’.

While the continuous present expresses ongoing and habitual action, the general present may express: (1) unspecified present and future action, including suggestions and intention, as well as (2) dependent potential action, i.e. the subjunctive.

The unmarked past expresses the completion of an action, which may include repeated action seen as a whole. A distinctive use of this form is to express completion or anticipated certainty of an action in dependent clauses, most conspicuously in conditional clauses (see section 5.5.2).

3.2.5.1c Temporary state present and past

State is expressed by the perfect participle with the copula in the present, and hāsta- in the past. It is mostly found with change-of-state verbs: nhašt-o (h)ēn, nhašt-o (l)hāsta-n ‘they are, were sitting’ (‘to sit (down)’). The distinction between temporary state and the perfect forms is clearly seen in the past perfect ēh[-ē] bē-n ‘they have sat down’ vs. ēh[-ē] bē-n ‘they were seated’.

3.2.5.2 Present perfect and past perfect

The forms of the present and past perfect are based on the perfect participle and the present and past forms of the copula with intransitive verbs, and the agent enclitic with transitive verbs:

Intransitive,

perfect, ē āyw[-ē] ‘he has arrived’, ē dāl[-ē] ‘he has been torn, he burst’;

Ergative transitive,

perfect, [-om] kör-o ‘I have done’;
past perf., [-om] kōr-a bōn ‘I have done, I had done’.
3.2.5.3 Dubitative

3.2.5.3a Dubitative-future, xo

Dubitative is marked by the particle xo preceding the unmarked present and past forms:

present, m-ond-ē [xo] mēr-a 'he may, might kill him (m-ond-ē)
(c.f. Kb. xāt ū-rā be-koš-eš, xāt košt-eš);
past, bālō [xo] bin 'it may, could be the boy (bālō)' (c.f. Kb. xāt būd).

3.2.5.3b Dubitative future perfect, xāhāt

An apparent future perfect form, with xāhāt followed by the past stem, is found in the following:

ma mā ham [xāhāt dehī] 'you will indeed (ham) have beaten us'.

3.2.5.4 Subjunctive and conditional

3.2.5.4a Present subjunctive and conditional

The only verb to distinguish the subjunctive is 'to be' (see section 3.2.3 Person marking). With other verbs the subjunctive is identical with the unmarked present-future, used prominently in dependent clauses: bōch(e)-em 'that I see' (cf. Kb. be-bin-am). To it corresponds the rare conditional with the invariant conditional of the copula, bē:

na-m kor [bē] 'if only I had not done (it)' (c.f. Kb. na-mē-kad-om).

3.2.5.4b Continuous subjunctive

A further, apparently continuous, subjunctive is constructed with the present participle in -en:

xoxo-e.SBJ rafq-penē ais kan[-en] bē
'may she be enjoying herself (xoxo) with her friend'.

3.2.5.4c Perfect subjunctive and conditional

(1) The perfective subjunctive is marked by the subjunctive forms of 'to be':

magam mardun-ikē nhāmor [ēch-ō bē]
perhaps people-EZ memory it will have gone
'people will probably have forgotten (me)'.

(2) The perfect conditional is expressed by the past perfect:

aze āya bē, mon ū ēha-tikī dē bē
yesterday hadst thou come I.AG one rupee had given-us

'had thou come yesterday, I would have given thee a rupee (ēha-tikī)',
where bē is 2s past of 'to be' (<bē-ē).
3.2.5.5 Note on contracted past and perfect forms

Verbs with past stems in -t, prominently the regular verbs, distinguish past and perfect forms clearly only in the 3s. These stems derive from *-t̂d, e.g. *cĥ̲d̲̂ 'gone' (< *ciyuta-), and show contraction with the personal endings due to the loss of intervocalic *-d- as follows: *-t̂d̄ before vowel > -t̂-, but > -t in pause.

The perfect forms of these verbs show further contraction due to the loss of intervocalic -g- in the participial form *-t̂d̄-ag as follows: before vowel > -t̂-t̂ > -t̂-, but > -t̂-t̂ in pause. Thus, in the past, *cĥ̲d̲̂ with the personal endings -am, -e, -o, -aman, -er, -an, and in the perfect *cĥ̲d̲̂-ag- (< *ciyutaka-) with the personal endings, have the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'to go'</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>cĥ̲m</td>
<td>cĥ̲</td>
<td>cĥ̲i</td>
<td>cĥ̲man</td>
<td>cĥ̲r</td>
<td>cĥ̲n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>cĥ̲m</td>
<td>cĥ̲</td>
<td>cĥ̲i</td>
<td>cĥ̲i</td>
<td>cĥ̲r</td>
<td>cĥ̲n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5.6 Overview of past and perfect forms

The past perfect forms are subject to similar contractions. The following table shows the patterns of the various strong verbs ending in a dental or vowel, and of the weak verbs:

**TABLE 12.8: PAST AND PERFECT FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past</th>
<th>'to sit down'</th>
<th>'to die'</th>
<th>'to stand up'</th>
<th>'to come'</th>
<th>'to go'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>strong</td>
<td>*-t̂d̄-</td>
<td>3s nhašt</td>
<td>mor</td>
<td>oštä</td>
<td>aŋ-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1s nhašt-am</td>
<td>mor-om</td>
<td>oštä-€-m</td>
<td>aŋ-€-m</td>
<td>cĥ̲-m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>'to sit down'</th>
<th>'to die'</th>
<th>'to stand up'</th>
<th>'to come'</th>
<th>'to go'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*-t̂d̄-ag</td>
<td>3s nhas-t̂-o</td>
<td>mor-ō</td>
<td>oštä-w-ō</td>
<td>aŋ-ō</td>
<td>ch-ĥ̲-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1s nhašt-e-m</td>
<td>mor-ē-m</td>
<td>oštä-w-ē-m</td>
<td>aŋ-ē-m</td>
<td>ch-ĥ̲-m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past Perfect</th>
<th>'to sit down'</th>
<th>'to die'</th>
<th>'to stand up'</th>
<th>'to come'</th>
<th>'to go'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*-t̂d̄-ag-</td>
<td>3s nhašt-a bōn</td>
<td>mor-a bōn</td>
<td>oštä bōn</td>
<td>aŋ-a bōn</td>
<td>ch-ĥ̲ bōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1s nhašt-a bē-m</td>
<td>mor-a bē-m</td>
<td>oštä bē-m</td>
<td>aŋ-a bē-m</td>
<td>ch-ĥ̲ bē-m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5.7 Overview of tenses, moods, and aspect

The following synoptic table shows 1s forms of the transitive verb kan-lkor- 'to do' for the basic pattern here ergative (see section 4.3.3 Subject and object marking, and 3s forms of the change-of-state verb nhin-lnhašt- 'to sit down' for temporary state.
TABLE 12.9: SYSTEM OF TENSE, MOOD, AND ASPECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Non-Indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PR kan-em</strong></td>
<td>'will' do'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PT -om kor</strong></td>
<td>'did'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PF -om kor-ë</strong></td>
<td>'have done'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PP -om kor-ë bôn</strong></td>
<td>'had done'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Temporary State
| **PR nakt-ë a** | 'is sitting' |
| **PT nhešt-al-ë (h)ost** | 'was sitting' |

Continuous
| **PR kan-tôn-em** | 'am doing' | kan-en bi-m | 'may be doing' |
| **PT kan-tôn (h)ast-am** | 'was doing' | |

Dubitative
| **PR xô kan-em** | 'may do' |
| **PT -om xô kor** | 'might do' |

3.2.6 Aktionsart and modal constructions

3.2.6.1 Incipient action

Incipient action is expressed by the perfective verbal noun in -ë + da(r) into' and verbs of movement, such as ēh- 'to go, become', ēhar- 'to fall'; [da nayôn xor-ë] ēh-ë-'they began to eat (bread)'; [da deh-ë] ēhar-ë 'he fell = started striking' (deh-ldelî 'to hit').

3.2.6.2 Intention

Intention is expressed by phrases such as benâ kan- 'to begin, intend' and xâes dër- 'to have the wish' in ezâfe constructions with the oblique of the verbal nouns in -ë:

benâ [-ë utdêk-ûn mât-ëeka] kor
'he has the intention [of killing that one]';

xâes [-ë jînc bar-ëeka] dër-ë
'he has the wish [of taking a wife]'.

3.2.6.3 Ability and possibility

Ability or possibility is expressed by the verb nar-lnarî 'be able, be possible' and the verbal noun in -en. The construction may be (1) personal, marked by the subject endings, or (2) impersonal, marked by the personal enclitic in experiencer ('dative') function:

Personal ending,

[jâng kan-en-ë] nar-ë 'canst thou fight him (kan-en-ë)?';
[xar-en-ë] te na nar-en 'I cannot eat it (-ë)?'.

Personal enclitic,

nâ-m nar-ë xar-en 'I cannot eat it (-ë)', where nâ-m < na-om, lit. 'not-to me'.
3.2.6.4 Necessity and obligation

Necessity is expressed by the impersonal bâyat 'is necessary, must', also bâyat as(t) 'should' followed by the subjunctive (cf. local Persian bâyat, me-bâyest):

\[
[bâyat \text{ as}] \quad \text{[êe xo xo feker kan-eman]}
\]

'it should be that self thought we make', i.e. 'think ourselves'.

Obligation may be expressed by the verbal noun in -ô (past stem) together with terms implying appropriateness, such as rawâ 'agreeable', bakâr 'appropriate':

\[
[\text{êh-ô}] \text{-aw rawâ n'à}
\]

'thy going is not appropriate', i.e. 'thou shouldst not go';

\[
[\text{mâlâtat kor-ô}] \quad \text{bakâr n'à}
\]

'(thy) reproaching (him) is not good', i.e. 'appropriate, necessary'.

3.2.7 Passive and causative formations

3.2.7.1 Passive and gerundive

3.2.7.1a Passive

Passive is expressed periphrastically by the passive participle in -en and the verb êh-lêhî 'to go, become' (present-future par-ô), alternating with êhêm-lê(lt)êmi- 'to go, move, wander':

\[
[mêr-en] \text{êhî}
\]

'he was killed';

\[
a-nêm berkhi-tân-em êe \text{[mêr-en na parî]}
\]

'I am afraid that he may be killed'].

3.2.7.1b Potential passive

Passive with potential connotation: howî ker-a [êhêm-tân] 'that work can be done' (-a 'is', continuous present). Note that both uses (and the etymology) correspond to that of sodan in Persian (koste mišâvad, mišâvad kard).

3.2.7.1c Adjectival gerundive

The gerundive, present stem + -âne, is only found in adjectival position:

\[
\text{ker-e [êêm-âne] bin, êhî}
\]

'there was work [to be done], (and) it was (done)'.

3.2.7.2 Causation

Direct causation is indicated by the marker -êw (see section 3.2.1 Stem formation). Other-agent causation may be expresses by the verb dah- ba 'to give to', and the imperfective verbal noun in -ô:

\[
[\text{ba mêm-ô}] \text{-aw te dah-ôm}
\]

to be killed-thee will I give

'I will give thee over to be killed, will have thee killed'.

Together with inherited intransitives and transitive-causatives, there thus may be four forms:

Intransitive: **mer-Imor** 'to die'; **mehr-en chlech** 'to be killed';
Transitive: **mehr-Imat** 'to kill'; **ba mer-o dah-id** 'to have s.o. killed'.

4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

4.1 Conjunctions and clitics

The coordinating conjunction is *o*, postvocalic wo. The enclitic connector is *ham* 'also, even'. Alternates include *na-na* 'neither-nor'. An emphatic particle is *xo, xu*. There are two modal particles *te* and *e* used with the general present (see section 4.3.5). The general subordinating conjunction is *če*.

4.2 Noun phrase structure

Parachi belongs to those languages which are basically left branching, that is, the head noun follows dependent nominals. However, due to interference from Persian, the inverse order is equally found.

4.2.1 Noun and adjective

(1) Adjectives may immediately precede the noun, ADJ – N: *činō puš* 'little boy'.
(2) More frequently they follow the noun in an *ezāfe* construction, N-e ADJ: *puš-e činō*.
   In that case, the nominal case marker is attached to the adjective as a phrase clitic:
   *(osp-e čhatō)-eka zīn* '[the white horse]'s saddle (zīn').
(3) The inverse *ezāfe* is also found, Adj-e N: *aga bad-e gonākār ham čh-eṃ* 'even if I become an evil (bad) sinner'.

4.2.2 Noun and dependent noun

There are three options: The dependent noun in the oblique case:

(1) immediately precedes the head, OBL – N: *hōvī ādam-eka* osp '[that man's] horse'; or
(2) immediately follows the head, N – OBL: osp *hōvī ādam-eka'; or
(3) the dependent noun follows the head by *ezāfe*. In this case, it is usually in the oblique case, N-e OBL: *pā-n-ān [-e bāw-eka] 'the feet of father’s'; but it may also be in the direct case, N1-e N2: osp *[-e hōvī ādam] 'the horse of that man'.
(4) There is also a focused construction marked by an anaphoric enclitic: *[zī-e ka] nām-[ē] Air bīn*, lit. 'one's, his name was Air'.

These options may lead to ambiguity: the sequence


\[
\text{ma zīn osp-e ka pōt-tar lam da} \quad \text{ma zīn osp-ekka pōt-tar lam da} \quad \text{ma zīn [osp-eka pōt-tar] lam da}
\]

may be interpreted as

\[
\text{‘put the saddle of the horse on its back’, or} \quad \text{‘put the saddle of the horse on its back’.}
\]
4.2.3 Functions of the oblique

In overview, the functions of the oblique in noun phrases include the following:

1. possession, genitive: \([\text{Māmād Hanīfā Sāheb-eka āsp}] \) ‘M. H. Saheb’s horse’;
2. genitive of kind and measure: \([\text{nāyōn-eka}] \) thōr-ān ‘burnt pieces of bread’;
3. object of adpositions, alternating with the direct case: \([\text{Māmād Hanīf-ān}] \) pen ‘with M. H.’; but \([\text{rafiq-}] \) pen-ē ‘with his (-ē) friend’;
4. object of adverbial ezāfe constructions: \(\text{nazdik [ -ema yos-eka]} \) āya ‘he came near the house’; \(\text{peṣt-} [\text{Māmād Hanīfā Sāheb-eka āsp-eka}] \) ‘behind M. H. Saheb’s horse’; \(\text{peṣt-} [\text{e pā-n-ān -e bāw-eka}] \) ‘behind father’s feet’; \(\text{mōx-} [\text{e Mūrza, biyā-e ghanḍ-eka} -i] \) ‘on the face (mox) of M., his elder brother’.

4.3 Clause structure and word order

4.3.1 Order of constituents

Parachi is basically a SOY language. Generally, any part of speech that is determined by the semantic range of the verb occurs in immediate preverbal position. However, adverbial phrases giving a particular direction, as well as direct objects, and more rarely subjects, may be found in postverbal position.

4.3.2 Semantics and use of nominal forms

4.3.2.1 Animacy

While there is no distinction of masculine and feminine gender, there is a distinction of animacy. This includes the following:

1. the interrogative-indefinite pronoun, animate \(kī\), inanimate \(ēc\),
2. the existential verb, general and animate sg. \(hā\), pl. \(hēn\), inanimate pres. \(sī\), past sg. \(sō bōn\), pl. se bē-\(n\);
3. the singular oblique \(-ān\), with high agency pronouns and named persons as opposed to \(-eka\) with all others.

4.3.2.2 Plurality and agreement

Plural is as a rule not marked after numerals and numbers: \(zū, dī āsp \) ‘one, two horses’, \(cā phar sēb \) ‘several items apples’ (but see 3.1.6.5a Numerative \(-a\)). It is, however, mostly marked after the implicitly indefinite specific \(hōs \) ‘all’, \(hōdī \) ‘both’ (see 3.1.6 Numerals).

Bare nouns may function as collectives. In that case, the plural is generally marked in the verb, if subject:

\[\text{ganēm-ōw āsor bakār chē-n} \]
\[\text{wheat-2p this year good became-3p} \]
\[\text{‘your wheat has become good this year’}.\]

Otherwise, it is understood by context:

\[\text{man-ān xat ko xān-en na-nar-ā} \]
\[\text{‘no one (ko na-) can read my letters (sg. xat)’}.\]
Conversely, plural items or persons may have singular personal endings or pronominal referents, apparently when seen as a set:

\begin{align*}
\text{juwān-ān-e kārī-a} & \quad \text{‘they are (-a ‘is’) good young men’;} \\
\text{hō čēr-e čē-n} & \quad \text{‘those four of them (-ē ‘its, of it’) went’}.
\end{align*}

In turn, singular items or persons may be expressed by plurals:

\begin{align*}
mā-tar gur-ē & \quad \text{‘take it from us = me’}.
\end{align*}

4.3.2.3 Definiteness and specificity

The unmarked noun may be definite or indefinite, depending on the context. Similarly, the plural may be indefinite: \([jālāt-ān]-ē\) dhēwē ‘he (-ē.AG) called for (some) executioners’.

Specific indefiniteness may be indicated by the unstressed numeral \(žū ‘one’: \(žū āsp ‘one, a (certain) horse’. Also found is the Persian indefinite -ī: čhīl suvār-ī ‘some forty horsemen’. Its attachment is still rather free: jangal-tar \~ jangal-ī tār \~ [jangal-tar]-ī zāhī ‘he came to a (certain) forest’.

Definiteness may be indicated by the stressed demonstrative, usually the near demonstrative adjective: hē āsp ‘this/the horse’.

Specificity is obligatorily marked in case of the direct object, mostly with the preposition ma.

4.3.3 Subject and object marking ergative

Parachi is an ergative language. The subject in the present, and in the past of intransitives, is in the direct case, but the agent/subject of past transitive verbs is in the oblique case if pronominal, either independent or attributive: \(ōdf-ē.AG) pānt ērə . . . ‘he understood that . . . ’; \(ēd-[ē.AG) mūrza jārī ‘this scribe said’; else it is unmarked:

\begin{align*}
dukāndār & \quad jārī ma kattō zāf \quad \text{‘the shopkeeper.AG said to the old woman’}.
\end{align*}

The direct object of transitive verbs is marked by the oblique case in both the present and past. This may be the bare oblique, particularly with personal pronouns, but usually the object is marked by ma: present, \([mōn] pōt kan ‘hide me’; ān zanēng \([mā xā-m] gom kan-em) (subj.) ‘how can I lose my husband?”; past, \([mā mōn) dhūr ‘he saw me’; mon \([mā wā) dhūr ‘I saw you.p’, with agent oblique mon.

4.3.3.1 Patient ending

As seen in the examples above, the ergative in Parachi has “decayed”: patient marking in past tenses is the same as in the present, and the verb ending is usually that of the unmarked 3s. However, the materials contain several instances of the full ergative construction; in particular, the patient is expressed in the verb by the personal ending, even though the direct object/patient is marked by the oblique and ma:

\begin{align*}
\text{žū espō} & \quad [mā mon] šōnd-pen danān kōf-[ām] \quad \text{‘a dog bit me with his muzzle’}.
\end{align*}
4.3.3.2 Indirect object

The indirect object as experiencer and beneficiary may be expressed by the plain oblique case, i.e. without adposition:
(a) with ćh- ‘to happen’:

\[\text{[pus-eka] zā na ćhō bō} \]
‘nothing had happened [to the son]’;

(b) emotions and sensations:

\[\text{fejān oštā [kašt-eka] ešq sōr-tar-ē āya [šekār-eka]}\]
‘lament (fejān) rose [from the girl]; fancy (ešq) [for a hunt] came to his head’;

\[\text{[mon o tān] jang-ahē ketāb [hōwī ādam-ikā]}\]
‘there is quarrel to/between [us]’, ‘this book is [that man’s]’, lit. ‘to me and thee’.

4.3.3.3 Indirect object raising

There are likewise instances where the indirect object (‘indirect affectee’) may be raised and be marked by the personal ending as is shown in the following example:

\[\text{aze āy-ā b-ē, }\]
\[\text{mon zū chaṭak-ī dā bē}\]
yesterday come be-2s (perf. subj.), I.AG one rupee-a given be-2s (past perf.)
‘hadst thou come yesterday, I would have given thee a rupee’.

4.3.3.4 Attachment of personal enclitics

The personal enclitics function as general oblique case markers. This includes the genitive, dative, direct object, and object of adpositions, and the agent in past tenses of transitive verbs.

Their leftmost attachment includes interrogatives or conjunctions:

\[\text{ē-ē far-ē} \] ‘what art (-ē) thou saying’;
\[\text{ēe-om qasam xor} \] ‘that I (-om) have sworn an oath’.

Sequential person marking occurs frequently:

general present, \[\text{mēr[-an-om]} \] te ‘they (-an) will kill me (-om)’;
imperfective present, \[\text{larz-ēw-tōn[-om-a]} \] ‘he (-a ‘is’) making me (-om) tremble’;
perfect, \[\text{lam-ēw-ō[-i-a]} \] ‘thou hast (-a) hung it (-i) up’.

In the ergative, and in the absence of any other parts of speech, the agent enclitic is attached to the verb form: \[\text{xor[-a]} \] ‘thou (-a) attest’. Otherwise, it is mostly attached to the preverbal phrase, but may be attached to any other phrase for selective emphasis. For example, in the following sentence the parentheses indicate possible positions of 2s-a -aw:

\[\text{tū nī xawān(-a) nāgōn(-a) ēe-pen(-a) xor} \]
thou to-night bread what-with ate
‘with what attest thou the bread tonight?’
4.3.4 Types of possession

(1) The copula with the oblique marks possession: man-an-a 'it's mine'; hē ketāb ālī-an a 'that book is Ali’s'; hē ketāb [hōwī ādam-ikā] 'this book is that man’s'; plural, hē [ādam-āna] en 'these are the men’s'.

(2) In addition, there is a locative construction with ba ‘with’, probably indicating temporary possession: [ba bāw-om] čāvar mazdiīr hēn, lit. 'with my father are several servants'.

(3) Possession may also be expressed by the verb dēr-Iderē b-, subj. dērē b- 'to have, hold': aze ker dērē bīn 'I had work (to do) yesterday'.

4.3.5 Future and modal clause clitics te and e

The clause enclitics te and e disambiguate the future and potential future function of the unmarked present (cf. Northern Kurdish dē, ē, MacKenzie 1961, I: 180–182). Both occur mostly adjacent to pronominal markers, or in clause final position, which points to their focusing function.

4.3.5.1 Future clitic te

The future function of te is shown in the following sentence:

\begin{align*}
\text{γοsc-tar } & \text{jar-em dāl xā-m } \{\text{te}\}, \text{čē } \zī \text{ xī-gorōk-om mhēmān-om ēyō} \\
\text{house-in } & \text{I will tell to husband-my [will]} \text{that one sister-son guest-my has come} \\
\text{'In the house I will tell my husband, that my sister-son has come as my guest'.}
\end{align*}

This sentence is part of an extended direct speech, where a cheating wife tells a Molla what she is going to do, and where every main clause is likewise marked by te (text: Morgenstierne 1929: 209).

Similar to English 'will' as in 'that will be Harry', implying probability, te may also connote supposition:

\begin{align*}
\text{khāñ-zā-m } \{\text{te}\} & \text{gas-a 'something [seems] to be biting (gas-) me (-m)' .}
\end{align*}

4.3.5.2 Assertive clitic e

The function of the enclitic e (< 3s opt. *hē 'may be') is similar to that of te, but implies assertion (cf. section 4.5.3.2 Factual enclitix ta in Chapter 14):

\begin{align*}
\text{ţē, } & \text{če ma tō } \{-e\} \text{ gap } \text{jan-em ēr-em } \{-e\} \text{ an } \{-e\} \\
\text{come that to thee [let] talk } & \text{I hit I [shall] kill (thee)';} \\
\text{'come, let me say a word to thee';}
\end{align*}

The uncertainty implied may be emphasized by the addition of dubitative xo:

\begin{align*}
\text{bī } & \text{rafiq-om ma ṣār na } \{(\text{-e})\} \{(\text{xō)}\} \text{ par-a-m} \\
\text{without friend-my to town not [shall perhaps] I go} \\
\text{'perhaps I will not go to the town (ṣār) without my friend' .}
\end{align*}
5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

5.1 Coordinate clauses

Coordination of clauses is by far the dominant way of combining two or more clauses, with or without overt coordinating conjunctions, clitics, or conjunctive phrases. Such patterns are seen in the Sample Text below. In both coordination and subordination there is a strong tendency to follow the Persian patterns.

5.2. Subordinate clauses

The indigenous pattern appears to have been that the conjunction is placed immediately before the verb phrase. This is still found, as in the following example from the sample text below:

\[ \text{tar-e } \text{ez-ika } \text{z}_{\text{u}} \text{ bâlû } \text{êe } \text{bîn,} \]
\[ \text{from-Ez this one-OBL one boy CONJ he-was} \]
\[ \text{that one who was someone's only child . . .} \]

5.3 Relative clauses

Following the Persian pattern, the head noun phrase of the restrictive relative clause is often preceded by \(-\text{i}\), with or without demonstrative: \(\text{dâl howî zaïf-ï, ëe 'near that woman, who'}\); \(\text{hawi mänës } (-\text{i}) \text{ ëe 'this man, who'}. \) The relative \(-\text{i}\) follows postpositions: \(\text{jangal-tar-ï ëe 'to the forest which'}\).
\(\text{êe may be absent:} \]
\[ \text{ker-â kor-â, xâb ker-â} \]
\[ \text{'the work thou (-a ~ -av, agent) did, is good work'.} \]

5.3.1 Generalized clauses

Such is often the case with generalized clauses:

\[ \text{harki-} \text{an } \text{yont, mër-tan-} \text{en} \]
\[ \text{whomever they (-an) found, they used to kill',} \]
\[ \text{lit. 'they are killing' (note the present tense).} \]

5.3.2 Anaphoric pronouns

The syntactic relationships are indicated by anaphoric pronouns and similar means, and may be so even if in subject function:

\[ \text{molá nasroddín zû mänës } \text{bîn, ëe } \text{êe ma mhawër riz-ô hóst} \]
\[ \text{'Molla Nasroddin was a certain man, that he was sleeping in a garden'.} \]

Similarly, an anaphoric pronoun often follows in the main clause:

\[ \text{ma } \text{sêr, ëe wâ dhor-ô, ô ham tâb-ê manân-} \text{a} \]
\[ \text{'the lion that you saw, it also is my subject'.} \]
5.3.3 Case attraction

Case attraction, that is copying the syntactic function of the head within the relative clause onto the head, is not infrequent:

*hañi kañt-eka če dōst-ān-ē bastō bōn, thārī če* . . .

lit. ‘the girl’s that you tied her hands, said that . . .’;

*ma šēr če wā dhor-ō, 0 ham tāb-e mañān-a*

‘the lion (dir. obj.) that you saw, it also is my subject’ (cf. Payne 1982: 351 ff.).

5.4 Object clauses

Object clauses follow the main clause, with or without če. The dependent verb is as a rule in the present or present perfect of the observed action:

*dhor-an, če onhāk źī māneš našt-ō a*

‘they saw, that a man (māneš) was sitting there’, lit. ‘is sitting’.

5.5 Adverbial clauses

5.5.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses precede the main clause and are marked by the enclitic če attached to the first part of speech. The verb may be in the indicative or non-indicative, depending on the degree of reality:

*saba če čhī, wāda barābar čhī*

‘when the next day came, the marriage union (wāda) became due’;

*ma maktab če hast-am, fārsī hast-am xān-tōn*

‘when I was in school, I was studying Persian’.

5.5.2 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are mostly introduced by aga(r) ‘if’. In the protasis, most frequently found is the general present or the unmarked past, followed in the apodosis by the present-future or imperative, with or without te and e. The apodosis may be introduced by the particle xo:

*aga ēn-en-ē na nar-em, xō xar-em te*

‘if I cannot bring it, I will eat it’.

In the following example, the verb narī-m is in the unmarked past, implying real possibility and anticipated completion, followed by the unmarked present-future žī-m:

*aga narī-m, sabā žī-m*

‘if I can, I go tomorrow’.

Unfulfilled conditions are indicated by the past perfect:

*aze āy-a bē, mon źū čhañt-ī dā bē*

‘hadst thou come yesterday, I would have given thee a rupee’.
5.5.3 Causal clauses

Causal clauses usually follow the main clause, and are introduced by ćे.

na chatał-ôr, ćे े šèr mor
'don’t flee-1p, because that lion has died'.

Another frequent conjunctions is ćo-kon (će), lit. 'what for' (cf. Persian zī-rā (ke), cûn-ke).

5.5.4 Final clauses

Final clauses, implying intended or potential action, are in the general present in its subjunctive function. They may or may not be introduced by će:

yax kan-em, (će) mēr-um-aw
'I will call, that they kill thee (-aw)';

ān zanēng  ma xā-n gom kan-em-SUBJ, će kā-yanā purī-a
'how (zanēng) may I get rid of my husband, so that he goes somewhere else (kā-yanā)?'

5.5.5 Other clauses and conjunctions

Other conjunctions include tā, tā će ‘till, until’, and complex conjunctural relative phrases such as ēdē az xātē-ī ē in the thought that’, ‘in order to’; or topicalized ēdēk-tar . . . ē, ‘from this that’, ‘because’:

ēdēk-tar-om pānt, ē tamām-e jān-eka-ē tā zānū šor ṓsp larzī
'I understood (om) it for that reason, that all of her body (jān) to the knees (zānū) trembled on the horse (ōsp)'.

More complex subordination is occasionally found. Thus, the following example includes a relative clause embedding direct speech:

mōlā-ē (će jur-ō “bōn ē xī-yorōk-om-a”) alāhēdi ṭos-tar nhānt
'she (-ē, agent) put the Molla that she had said that "he is my sister-son" in another house'.

5.6 Nominalized clauses

Nominalized clauses are participial or infinitival, and prominently express temporal relations between two actions.

5.6.1 Coordinating participle in -en

This construction appears to express simultaneous or immediately successive actions:

bī-yam nhīn (khān-en)
'sit down without worry, laughing';
(m-endān-an guri-n) hā dhar-tar whē-tōn
'taking these with him, he is going to the mountains (dhar)'.

5.6.2 Subordinating participle in -amān

This construction expresses prior action if unmarked, or subsequent action indicated by the preposition tā:

\[(\text{nayōn xar-amān}) \quad \text{oṣṭa-eman} \]
\[\text{‘having eaten the bread, we got up’,}\]
cf. the finite clause
\[\text{nayōn-an ē xe xor ‘when we (-AG) had eaten (lit. ‘ate’);} \]
\[\text{tā dāda-m jōr ē-amān} \]
\[\text{‘until my father having gotten better’}.\]

An example of embedded subordination is found in

\[(\text{cēm-amān}) \quad (\text{far-amān}) \quad \text{xō-pen-om oṣṭā} \]
\[\text{‘having told (Jar-) him, upon leaving (cem-), he got up together with me’}.\]

5.6.3 Verbal noun + tar ‘from’

The ablative of the verbal noun in -ō may function similarly:

\[(\text{hē ker kor-ō}) \quad \text{-tar m-ōnде-m dhōk} \]
\[\text{‘after doing this work, I (-M.AG) said to him’}.\]

6 LEXIS AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS

6.1 Word formation

Word formation in Parachi is similar to that of Persian and other Iranian languages. Both derivation and composition are well documented in the Shotol data. Prefixation is rare, with the exception of Persian bi, bē ‘without’: bē-bān ‘dumb’, lit. ‘without tongue’. Typical derivative suffixes are the adjectival -ī and the abstract -ā: adjective from noun, dhār ‘mountain’ > dhār-ā ‘mountain’, and noun from adjective, yorčā ‘hungry’ > yorčāgī ‘hunger’. Other suffixes include diminutive -ōk: biyā-kōk ‘younger brother’, bārīk-ōk ‘very slender’; and -ak: kamān ‘gun’ > kamān-ak ‘forearm’; note, yoster-ak, the vigesimal unit for the higher decades.

Composition is prominently found with kinship terms: biyā-yorōk ‘brother-son’, and plant names. It includes largely obscured old compounds such as gū-mān ‘stable’ (gū ‘cattle’, and the obsolete mān ‘dwelling’), and loaned neologisms such as ali-kaftar ‘helicopter’, lit. ‘Ali’s pigeon’, which includes sound-play with the English term, with probable reference to the white doves of Mazār-e Sharif.

6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects and loan component

The loan component consists of two major historical layers (cf. the overview in Morgenstierne 1983: 524): Indic, specifically the neighboring Dardic language Pashai, which can be traced back to antiquity; and Persian, specifically its Kaboli variety, the main impact of which began with the Islamization of the Parachi-speaking areas in the sixteenth century. Both thoroughly affected not only the lexicon, but also phonology and grammatical structure. The Indic impact resulted in the integration of retroflex and
aspirated consonants in phonology, and in grammatical restructuring, particularly in the verb system, including loan morphemes, such as the progressive -tōn, and participial -en. The impact from Persian is evident throughout, affecting the vowel system and stress patterns, and syntax on all levels. This impact gained new impetus during the efforts of Amir Abdur Rahman at unification between 1885 and 1901, and the subsequent increasing centralization and modernization, including the building of roads into the valleys. More recently, impact comes from the expanding regional variety of Persian, known as Kohestani. The impact from Pashto, as one of the two official languages, is fairly recent and has been relatively limited. Smaller components include loans from Western languages, in particular English.

These processes of progressive acculturation are reflected throughout the lexical domains. They include both the spiritual-religious domain: ḥarām ‘forbidden’, Jen(d) ‘jinn’, nemāz ‘prayer’ parda ‘curtain, chastity, virtue’, and the material domain, with doublets such as Kb. čob ‘wood for carpentry’ vs. Par. čox ‘firewood’. A distinct sub-type are partially integrated loans and calques: Khōr-e-gū ‘hare’ < Par. Khōr ‘donkey’ and gū ‘ear’, patterned after Persian xar-gūš, tī-e bē-dāna < Par. tī ‘mulberry’ + ezāfe + Kb. bē-dāna ‘seedless’; and poetic ezāfe-compounds such as āwe-e dīdu-eka ‘tear’ < Par. āwe ‘water’ and Persian dīdu ‘eye’, with Par. oblique suffix -eka, after Persian āb-e dīdu ‘water of the eye’.

On the whole, the loan component is freely used, often without phonetic or morphological modification, while indigenous neologisms either in form or meaning are rare, and increasingly unlikely.

7 DIALECTOLOGY AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Internally, the sub-dialects of Parachi differ relatively little from each other (cf. Phonology). Given their relative locations, Shotol is in a Perso-phone environment and thus more exposed to Persian than are the others. As indicated, the number of speakers of Parachi is approximately 3,500, and is decreasing under the impact of the steadily increasing dominance of the regional and national languages, which is fostered by obligatory military service and other factors contributing to population mixture, and the impact of the media. It appears that the younger generation, already thoroughly multilingual like the older generation, has ceased to use Parachi as their preferred language of communication, even locally, and no longer regards it as part of their ethnic identity (Kieffer 1977, 1979, 1980).

8 SAMPLE TEXT

The following is a tentative broad phonemic transcription of the Pacheghan text in Kieffer 1977c: 251–252 (CONJ = conjunction; EZ = ezāfe construction; INAN = inanimate; INDEF = indefinite; NUM = numerative case; OBL = oblique case).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zh} & \text{ guesa a če e di bāl-a bē-n;} \\
\text{this one story is CONJ this two boy-NUM they-were} \\
\text{‘This is a story, that there were the two boys;’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ma & \text{ maktab hast-an.} \\
\text{in school they-used-to-be} \\
\text{‘they used to be in school.’}
\end{align*}
\]
The two boys were both classmates, in the same class.

Of these one who was someone's only child,

his father had great wealth (lit., 'to the father was')

and the other lad, who was there, as to him, he was very poor.

Both were comrades.

While he who was very unfortunate,

the one who was poor, he was working very hard,

more than the other one who was very rich.

That one made no efforts.

He used to laugh at and ridicule the other one,

laughed at the poor one.'
The poor lad thought made 'The wealth and (good) life for him'

what-Q good has-come? 'what good has come?'

'And because I have pained myself, and have endured pain,'

'so much good has happened to me!'  

'think'

'talk about this our story.'

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

PASHTO

Barbara Robson and Habibullah TegeY†

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Pashto is a principal language in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is spoken natively by over half the population of Afghanistan, an estimated 7.5 million, and an estimated 14 million (ca. 90 percent of the population) in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan. It is also spoken natively in Baluchistan, the province of Pakistan which lies directly south of central Afghanistan, and by a community of over two million native Pashto speakers in Karachi. There are also about 50,000 native Pashto speakers in Iran.

The name of the Pashto language is Romanized in several ways, such as Pashto and Pakhto which reflect dialectal differences. In the following the transcription is based on the pronunciation of the Central dialect, and most examples are from the authors’ Pashto Reference Grammar of 1996.

Pashto is the national and an official language of Afghanistan, while in Pakistan, Pashto has no official status (for Pashto identity in Pakistan, see Rahman 1995). There Pathans, who receive an education, do so in Urdu or English, or both. In fact, it is in Pakistan where, as a result of the British presence in the North west Frontier Province, there are more Pashto publishing houses, and more Pashto books are published in Peshawar than in Afghanistan.

The earliest known example of written Pashto is a multilingual book of religious verses. The text, in Pashto and Arabic, dates from the end of the sixteenth century and was written by the Afghan anti-Mughal mystic and poet Bāyāzīd Ansārī of Waziristan (ca. 1525–ca. 1573), known as Pir Roshan and founder of the Roshaniya movement. While making religious writing available to people in their own language, the Pashto in that pioneering work is a stilted, unnatural kind of rhymed prose that reflects the style of Arabic found in the Koran.

The earliest Pashto literature was written by the Khattak clan the foremost writer of which was the pre-eminent poet Khoshal Khan Khattak (1613–1689), whose adaptation of the Persian alphabet laid the foundations for the modern Pashto writing system. The Khattaks spoke the Kandahar dialect of Pashto and the spelling system still reflects the Kandahar dialect more than it does the Central or Eastern dialects.

Since Pashto is not standardized, there is no universal agreement among Pashto speakers as to what constitutes “correct” Pashto, either oral or written. One of the results of this lack of standardization is that individual Pashtun writers vary widely, both in spelling and punctuation, not only from one writer to another, but often with the same writer, and within the same document. Pashtuns in Pakistan frequently adapt the conventions of written Urdu in writing Pashto, including spelling conventions. Finally, many
Pashto texts are written by writers who have only a few years of formal schooling, and most probably not in Pashto, and their writing may reflect both lack of extensive education, and the lack of language standardization.

1.2 Writing systems

The following table lists the letters of the Pashto alphabet in their standard order (underdot = Pashto retroflex phonemes.—A = letters found mostly in Arabic loanwords; P = letters found in Persian and Pashto.—W = Western Pashto dialects; C = Central Pashto dialects; E = Eastern Pashto dialects).

TABLE 13.1 PASHTO ALPHABET

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position in Letter Group</th>
<th>End</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Begin</th>
<th>ALONE</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
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<td>se</td>
<td>s</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ch</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>h</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>də</td>
<td>dəl</td>
<td>də</td>
<td></td>
<td>dəl</td>
<td>dəl Pashto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
<td>A zəl</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>r</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>r</td>
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<td>r Pashto</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ze</td>
<td>z</td>
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<td>ze</td>
<td>z</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
<td>zhe</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>zh</td>
<td>zhe</td>
<td>zh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g Pashto</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>sin</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>sin</td>
<td>sh</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sh</td>
<td>shin</td>
<td>shin</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>shin, xin W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>sād</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>zād</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>zā</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>'ayn</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>c Pashto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>ghayn</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td></td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>gh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fe</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fe</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kāf</td>
<td>kāf</td>
<td>kāf</td>
<td></td>
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<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>P</td>
<td>gāf</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td>lām</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>mim</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory

2.1.1 Vowels

The Central dialect of Pashto has nine vowels, of which \( \text{i} \) and \( \text{u} \) are confined to borrowings, indicated by parentheses.

TABLE 13.2: VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front (unrounded)</th>
<th>Mid</th>
<th>Back (rounded)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>( i ) ( (I) )</td>
<td>( \text{e} )</td>
<td>( (\text{u}) ) ( u )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>( \text{e} )</td>
<td>( \text{e} )</td>
<td>( \text{o} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>( \text{a} )</td>
<td>( \text{a} )</td>
<td>( \text{a} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Semivowels. There are not phonemic diphthongs. Phonemically, the postvocalic semivowels \( w \) and \( y \) are consonants.

2.1.1.1 Conditioned variation

The vowel \( \text{a} \) tends to alternate with \( \text{o} \) in unstressed position. In all dialects, but particularly the Central dialect, \( \text{e} \) and \( \text{o} \) frequently become \( \text{i} \) and \( \text{u} \), respectively, if a following vowel is \( \text{i} \) or \( \text{u} \): \( \text{kégam} \) 'I do' as opposed to \( \text{kegi} \) or \( \text{kigi} \) 'he does'. \( \text{a} \) changes to \( \text{ā} \) when the following final syllable ends in \( \text{ā} \): \( \text{tārām} \) 'I tie' as opposed to \( \text{tārē} \) 'he ties'.

2.1.1.2 Distribution

Initial occurrence of \( \text{e} \), \( \text{o} \), and \( \text{u} \) is confined to borrowings, e.g. \( \text{eyjanē} \) 'agency'.

2.1.2 Consonants

2.1.2.1 Inventory

There are 32 consonants in the Central dialect.
## TABLE 13.3: CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Retr.</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Back Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Phar.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI Stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd Stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd Fricatives</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>zh</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Affricates</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd Affricates</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>j [dzh]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples**

- `p`: voiceless bilabial stop, *parda* ‘curtain’, *chap* ‘left’, *khapa* ‘unhappy’;
- `b`: voiced bilabial stop, *bal* ‘other’, *tartib* ‘order’, *bâbâ* ‘grandfather’;
- `t`: voiceless dental stop, *tashakûr* ‘thank’, *tut* ‘mulberry’, *ata* ‘eight’;
- `d`: voiced dental stop, *du* ‘this’, *tod* ‘warm’, *judâ* ‘separate’;
- `t`: voiceless retroflex stop, *tol* ‘all’, *tsat* ‘nape’, *motar* ‘car’;
- `d`: voiced retroflex stop, *der* ‘very’, *danâ* ‘valley’, *dodây* ‘bread’;
- `k`: voiceless velar stop, *ká*r ‘work’, *bárîk* ‘sensitive’, *akâ* ‘uncle’;
- `g`: voiced velar stop, *gwal* ‘flower’, *jag* ‘tall’, *bâzingar* ‘dancer’;
- `q`: voiced aspirated uvular stop, *qûr* ‘anger’, *sandûq* ‘trunk’, *daqiqâ* ‘minute’;
- `ʔ`: glottal stop, *majmu‘* ‘collection’;
- `m`: voiced bilabial nasal, *mor* ‘mother’, *salâm* ‘hello’, *mâmâ* ‘maternal uncle’;
- `n`: voiced dental nasal, *nَا* ‘not’, *tâwân* ‘burden’, *karwanda* ‘field’;
- `n`: voiced retroflex nasal, *lyne* ‘daughters’, *atan* ‘dance’;
- `f`: voiceless labio-dental fricative, *farsi* ‘Farsi’, *talaflûz* ‘pronunciation’;
- `s`: voiceless dental fricative, *sur* ‘red’, *lás* ‘hand’, *asân* ‘easy’;
- `z`: voiced dental fricative, *zoy* ‘son’, *andâz* ‘style’, *avnâza* ‘rumor’;
- `sh`: voiceless palatal fricative, *shpag* ‘six’, *shâ* ‘back’, *ashnâ* ‘familiar’;
- `x`: voiceless palatal/front velar fricative, *xa* ‘good’, *partugâx* ‘drawstring’, *paxto* ‘Pashto’;
- `kh`: voiceless velar fricative, *khwdây* ‘God’, *târîkh* ‘date’, *wakht* ‘time’;
- `gh`: voiced velar fricative, *ghûx* ‘tooth’, *rogh* ‘healthy’, *agha* ‘that’;
- `h`: voiceless glottal fricative, *ham* ‘also’, *nâha* ‘nine’.

- `γ`: voiced pharyngeal fricative, *yagol* ‘wisdom’, *tâbay* ‘subject’, *be-yamala* ‘without study’ (Arabic ‘aql, tâbt’, ‘amal, respectively);
ts: voiceless dental affricate, tso 'how many', hets 'no', natsēgi 'they dance';
dz: voiced dental affricate, dzān 'self', termandz 'between' xōdza 'woman';
ch: voiceless palatal affricate, chēra 'where', mrōch 'pepper', achatwi 'they throw';
j: voiced palatal affricate, jōr 'good', khārij 'outside', tājēk 'Tajik';
l: voiced dental lateral, láš 'hand', khpol 'his own', dolā 'here';
r: voiced dental tap or trill, rogh 'healthy', tashākīr 'thank', chēra 'where';
r: voiced retroflex flap, rōnd 'blind', zōr 'old', stōray 'tired';
w: voiced bilabial semi-vowel, wāza 'open', yaw 'one', wāwaya 'say';
y: voiced palatal semi-vowel, yaw 'one', khwdāy 'God', arāyī 'Aryan'.

Of these, /, q, H, γ occur in borrowings. In the informal speech of educated Pashtuns, and in the formal and informal speech of uneducated Pashtuns, (1) f is pronounced as p; (2) q is pronounced as k (although Pashtuns growing up in areas where there is extensive interaction with Dari speakers will often have q exclusively in the relevant words), and (3) H and γ (reflecting Arabic ℎ and ' (ayn) are dropped altogether.

The consonantal system as a whole is characterized by: (1) dental vs. palatal affricates: ts, dz and ch j [dzh]; (2) retroflex dental-alveolars: t, d, r, n (but not l); (3) palatal vs. palatal/front velar vs. velar voiceless fricatives: sh, x, kh (see section 6.1 Sub-groupings of dialects).

2.1.2.2 Distribution

h and n. In native Pashto words, h is found only in syllable-initial position; n only in syllable-final position.

2.1.3 Clusters and syllable structure

Pashto is unique among Iranian languages in the extent of permitted clustering. Binary initial clusters include stops with same-voice fricatives and continuants in first or second position (including xk and khp), and continuants with continuants, with relatively few exceptions; n does not occur in second position. Triple initial clusters are rare, and only include: skw, skhw, shkhw, khkw, khwd, khwl, and ndr. The most common final clusters in native Pashto words include: sk, st, xt, kht, ndr, nd, rkh, and rg.

2.2 Stress

Pashto is the only Iranian language to have phonemic stress:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tāngā</th>
<th>ghutā</th>
<th>aspa</th>
<th>jōr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'pear tree'</td>
<td>'knot'</td>
<td>'mare'</td>
<td>'pair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāngā</td>
<td>ghutā</td>
<td>aspa</td>
<td>gora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cart'</td>
<td>'dive!'</td>
<td>'spotted fever'</td>
<td>'look'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forō</td>
<td>gora</td>
<td>kenastō</td>
<td>kenastō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'well (f)'</td>
<td>'fair-skinned'</td>
<td>'he sat'</td>
<td>'he's sitting'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While stress is not predictable, as a general rule, stress is on the last syllable when ending in a consonant, and on the penultimate syllable if the last syllable ends in a vowel randozār 'sick' (m) vs. randozāra 'sick' (f). This rule-of-thumb, however, is contradicted
by the very name of the language, *paxtō*. The sole cases of predictable stress are the prohibitive prefix *mā*, the negative prefix *nā*, and the perfective prefix *wā*, all of which retain stress even in combination:

- *dārām* ‘I was standing’
- *nādārām* ‘I wasn’t standing’
- *wādārām* ‘I stood’
- *wānādārām* ‘I didn’t stand’.

See also Bečka (1969), and Morgenstierne (1973) for a comparative-historical study.

### 3 MORPHOLOGY

#### 3.1 Nominal morphology

Nouns, adjectives, and pronouns in Pashto distinguish masculine and feminine gender (m, f), singular and plural number (s, p); and direct and oblique case (D, O). Within each gender, there are distinct inflectional classes.

The inflections of the adjectival and nominal classes correspond to each other, one of the distinctive differences being the absence of the nominal animate and inanimate plural markers *-ān* vs. *-un* in adjectives.

A major distinction between pronouns and nouns, in addition to their morphology, is functional: pronouns as direct objects in present tenses appear in the oblique case, as opposed to the direct case of nouns.

A specific feature of number-gender assignment is the fact that the abstract categories of (1) infinitives (verbal nouns) and (2) subject, object, and complement clauses, are grammatically marked as masculine plurals.

#### 3.1.1 Nouns

##### 3.1.1.1 Gender

The most basic division of nouns is gender. In addition to natural gender, each noun is either masculine or feminine gender, which determines agreement within the noun phrase and within the sentence. Overt gender distinction is marked by:

1. the feminine ending *-ā*:

   - *parāstār* ‘nurse’ (m)  
   - *shāgārd* ‘student’ (m)  
   - *shāpan* ‘shepherd’ (m)

2. the feminine ending *-āy* in opposition to masculine *-ay*:

   - *spāy* ‘dog’
   - *wurāy* ‘lamb’ (m)
   - *kābulāy* ‘man from Kabul’

   - *spāy* ‘bitch’
   - *wurāy* ‘lamb’ (f)
   - *kābulāy* ‘woman from Kabul’.

In general, nouns ending in a consonant, *-ay* and *-u* are masculine, and nouns in unstressed *-ā, -āy, and -o* are feminine, while nouns ending in other vowels may be either gender.
3.1.1.2 Inflectional classes

The grammatical study of Pashto has not progressed to the point where there is widespread agreement on such basic topics as the number of noun classes. Writers differ in their analyses, and use different criteria for choosing the number and characteristics of classes.

The classification suggested here is largely based on the forms of plural endings. There are three classes of masculine nouns, including two sub-classes, and three classes of feminine nouns. In addition, there are irregular masculine and feminine nouns.

**Masculine nouns**

1. **M**, and **M** nouns end in a consonant; of these,
   - (a) **M** nouns are mostly animate, with animate plural marker -\(\text{\texttt{\textmd{\texttt{\textgot{n}}}}}\), while
   - (b) **M** nouns are mostly inanimate, with plural marker -\(\text{\textgot{\textmd{\textgot{\textgot{r}}}}}\);

2. **M** and **M** nouns end in unstressed or stressed -\(\text{\textgot{\textgot{\textgot{y}}}\text{\textgot{\textgot{\textgot{y}}}}}\), respectively;

3. **M** nouns end in a stressed vowel, and are usually animate.

**Feminine nouns**

1. **F**, nouns end in a vowel, usually -\(\text{\textgot{\textgot{\textgot{y}}}\text{\textgot{\textgot{\textgot{y}}}}}\);

2. **F** nouns mostly end in -\(\text{\textgot{\textgot{\textgot{y}}}\text{\textgot{\textgot{\textgot{y}}}}}\);

3. **F** nouns end in -\(\text{\textgot{\textgot{\textgot{y}}}\text{\textgot{\textgot{\textgot{y}}}}}\), sometimes in -\(\text{\textgot{\textgot{\textgot{y}}}\text{\textgot{\textgot{\textgot{y}}}}}\) or -\(\text{\textgot{\textgot{\textgot{y}}}\text{\textgot{\textgot{\textgot{y}}}}}\).

Morphologically, the three masculine and three feminine classes are correlated, **M** with **F**, **M** with **F**, and **M** with **F**.

There are two basic patterns of case marking. In most the direct singular is identical with the oblique singular, **D** = **O**, but in two, **F** and **M**, the oblique singular is identical with the direct plural, **O** = **D**. In this analysis, these alternate patterns determine the paired masculine and feminine classes, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Direct Singular</th>
<th>Oblique Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>M</strong></td>
<td><strong>D</strong> = <strong>O</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F</strong></td>
<td><strong>O</strong> = <strong>D</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M</strong></td>
<td><strong>O</strong> = <strong>D</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F</strong></td>
<td><strong>D</strong> = <strong>O</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These patterns are shown in the following table and examples.
### TABLE 13.4: NOMINAL ENDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M = final consonant -C, F -a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M =</td>
<td>mostly animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>mostly inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-a = -a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 13.5: EXAMPLES OF DECISIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ds</th>
<th>Os</th>
<th>Dp</th>
<th>Op</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>shądχrd</td>
<td>shądχrd</td>
<td>shądχrd-án</td>
<td>shądχrd-án-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>kor</td>
<td>kor</td>
<td>kor-un-a</td>
<td>kor-un-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>xadz-a</td>
<td>xadz-e</td>
<td>xadz-e</td>
<td>xadz-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.1.1.2a Irregular nouns and ablaut

Pashto has a considerable number of irregular nouns, each of which is clearly masculine or feminine, but beyond that, so varied in their oblique and plural forms that they cannot readily be grouped into any of the more regular noun classes described above.
A distinctive feature of these inflections is various types of ablaut, frequently correlated with final stress. They are mostly found with masculines, and mostly follow the pattern of Os = Dp of M₂. Feminine forms are derived from the weakest stem. Some examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pashto</th>
<th>Ds</th>
<th>Os = Dp</th>
<th>Op</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Pashtun'</td>
<td>paxt-un</td>
<td>paxt-án-ø</td>
<td>paxt-án-ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rider' (m)</td>
<td>swor</td>
<td>swáø</td>
<td>swáø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mountain' (m)</td>
<td>ghar</td>
<td>ghr-ø</td>
<td>ghr-ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Irregular nouns include some of the most common kinship terms, such as the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pashto</th>
<th>Ds = Os</th>
<th>Dp</th>
<th>Op</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'mother'</td>
<td>mor</td>
<td>mor</td>
<td>maynd-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sister'</td>
<td>khor</td>
<td>khor</td>
<td>khwaynd-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'aunt'</td>
<td>tror</td>
<td>tror</td>
<td>traynd-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'daughter-in-law'</td>
<td>ngor</td>
<td>ngor</td>
<td>ngaynd-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'daughter'</td>
<td>lur</td>
<td>lur</td>
<td>lur-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'son'</td>
<td>zoy</td>
<td>zoy</td>
<td>zámøn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'brother's son'</td>
<td>wrára</td>
<td>wrára</td>
<td>wrer-un-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'husband's brother'</td>
<td>lewar</td>
<td>lewar</td>
<td>lewr-un-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, masculine stems in -C, mostly inanimate, take "numerative" -a after cardinal numbers larger than one or other quantifiers (e.g. the terms for '100' and '1000', see section 3.1.6.1 below).

3.1.2b Dialectal variation

Irregular nouns vary widely from dialect to dialect, from speaker to speaker, and even within the same speaker at different times. For the most part, this variation arises when irregular nouns become regularized, e.g. as 'horse', which is M₁b in the Central dialect, and as such violates the "rule" that animate nouns are M₁a. In the Western dialect, however, the word occurs with both M₁a and M₁b endings. Other examples are M₁a nouns denoting inanimates, like nuk ‘finger-, toenail’ and shay ‘thing’, which frequently occur with M₁b endings.

3.1.2c Singular-only and plural-only nouns

Pashto mass nouns occur either only in singular or only in the plural. These nouns tend to denote such things as grain, food, liquid, or other elements that are not practically countable. Examples of singular-only mass nouns are: chalaw ‘(cooked) rice’, kabáb ‘kebob’, palgw ‘pilaf’, xurwa ‘soup’; examples of plural-only mass nouns are: wør ‘flour’, wobr ‘water’, khwarg ‘food’, sharáb ‘wine’, and dal ‘lentils’.

The plural-only nouns have no overt plural endings, but are determined by their plural oblique ending -ø, and by their co-occurrence with plural adjectives and verbs, as the following sentences illustrate:

\[ \text{wøbr[-ø]} \quad \text{khwag[-ø]} \quad \text{dål[-i]} \]  
\[ \text{water[-Dpf]} \quad \text{sweet[-Dpf]} \quad \text{be.PR[-3p]} \]  
'the water is sweet';
of Kabul of river of water[-OBLp] taste NEG be.EXIST
‘water from the Kabul River is not drinkable, ‘lit. ‘there is no taste to . . . ’

3.1.1.2d Inflection of infinitives and of nominal clauses

The infinitive (verbal noun), as well as subject, object, and complement clauses belong to
this masculine plural-only class:

wayəl[-o] ta ye mə gor-a
saying-INF[-OBLpm] to his PROH look.PR.IMP-2s
‘don’t look at his saying’, i.e. ‘what he says’.

3.1.1.3 Use of cases

(1) The oblique case of nouns is used for:
(a) the subject with past transitive verbs (past agent, see 3.2.6.2 Transitivity);
(b) the object of adpositions;
(c) in vocatives.

(2) The direct case is used in all other functions, including:
(a) the subject with present verbs;
(b) the subject with past intransitive verbs;
(c) the direct object with present transitive verbs;
(d) the direct object with past transitive verbs.

Usage of the two cases is illustrated in the sentences below with the irregular noun
paxtun (AG = agent; PAT = patient; D = direct; O = oblique; PR = present, PT = past;
IPFV = imperfective; PFV = perfective).

3.1.1.3a Direct case, subject in present and intransitive past tense

[paxt-un] pə kəbəl ke wos-egg-il wos-ed[-ə]
[Pashtun]-Dsm in Kabul in live.PR.IPfv-3s/live.PT.IPfv-3s
‘[the Pashtun] lives/lived in Kabul’;

[paxt-ən-ə] pə kəbəl ke wos-egg-il wos-ed[-ə]
[Pashtuns]-Dpm in Kabul in live.PR.IPfv-3p/live.PT.IPfv-3pm
‘[the Pashtuns] live/lived in Kabul.’

3.1.1.3b Direct case, direct object in all tenses

ahmad [paxtun] win-i
Ahmad [Pashtun]-Dsm see.PR.IPfv-3s
‘Ahmad is seeing [the Pashtun]’;

ahmad [paxt-ən-ə] lidəl
Ahmad [Pashtuns]-Dpm see.PT.IPfv-3pm
‘Ahmad saw [the Pashtuns]’.

3.1.1.3c Oblique case, subject in transitive past tenses

[paxt-ən-ə] topak rə-wor
[Pashtun]-OBLsm rifle here-bring.PT.IPfv-3s
‘[the Pashtun] brought the rifle’;
3.1.1.3d Oblique case, object of adpositions

[de paxt-ān-2] zāmān pā pābāl ke wos-i
[of Pashtun]-Osm sons in Kabul in live.PR.IPVF-3p
'[the Pashtun’s] sons live in Kabul’;

3.1.1.3e Oblique case, vocatives

ey nik-ū! ‘O grandfather!’, ey xādz-ū! ‘O women!’.

Masculine nouns ending in consonants, including -y, form the vocative by adding the suffix -a to the direct singular form:


3.1.2 Adjectives

3.1.2.1 Classes

As in the nominal inflection, there are three classes of adjectives in this analysis, two of which have variants, as well as a number of irregular adjectives.

1. Adj₁₄ (final syllable unstressed) and Adj₁₅ (final syllable stressed) form parallel M₁ and F₁ nouns, masculine Adj₁₄ forms adding -e in the Os/Dp.

2. Adj₂₄ (unstressed, stressed) forms parallel M₂ and F₂ nouns. The Adj₂₄ class includes the present and perfect participles (described in section 3.2.3).

3. Adj₃ forms are invariable, but may have an optional plural oblique -o.

### TABLE 13.6: ADJECTIVAL CLASSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adj₁₄ (m)</th>
<th>Adj₁₄ (f)</th>
<th>Adj₁₅ (m)</th>
<th>Adj₁₅ (f)</th>
<th>Adj₂₄ (m)</th>
<th>Adj₂₄ (f)</th>
<th>Adj₂₅ (m)</th>
<th>Adj₂₅ (f)</th>
<th>Adj₃ (m/f)</th>
<th>Ds</th>
<th>Os</th>
<th>=</th>
<th>Dp</th>
<th>Op</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>titt</td>
<td>tit</td>
<td>tit</td>
<td>tito</td>
<td>‘scattered’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīta</td>
<td>tīte</td>
<td>tīte</td>
<td>tīto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zig</td>
<td>zig₂</td>
<td>zig₂</td>
<td>zig₂</td>
<td>‘rough’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zig₂</td>
<td>zig₂</td>
<td>zig₂</td>
<td>zig₂</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāgoγ</td>
<td>tāgo</td>
<td>tāgo</td>
<td>tāgo</td>
<td>‘thirsty’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāgo</td>
<td>tāgo</td>
<td>tāgo</td>
<td>tāgo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nargγ</td>
<td>nari</td>
<td>nari</td>
<td>nari</td>
<td>‘thin’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nargγ</td>
<td>nari</td>
<td>nari</td>
<td>nari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xāystγ</td>
<td>xāysta</td>
<td>xāysta</td>
<td>xāysta</td>
<td>‘pretty’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xāysta</td>
<td>xāysta</td>
<td>xāysta</td>
<td>xāysta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xāystal</td>
<td>xāystawo</td>
<td>xāystawo</td>
<td>xāystawo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3.1.2.2 Irregular adjectives

As is the case with nouns, there are irregular adjectives, in which the feminine form is derived from the weakest ablaut stem forms; the patterns are \( oluC \sim \text{ala}C \) and \( CaliluC \sim \text{CC}C \).

#### TABLE 13.7: IRREGULAR ADJECTIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ds</th>
<th>Os</th>
<th>=</th>
<th>Dp</th>
<th>Op</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adj (m)</td>
<td>pakh</td>
<td>pakhir</td>
<td></td>
<td>pakhir</td>
<td>pakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. (f)</td>
<td>pakhir</td>
<td>pakh</td>
<td></td>
<td>pakhir</td>
<td>pakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. (m)</td>
<td>sör</td>
<td>sär</td>
<td></td>
<td>sär</td>
<td>saro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. (f)</td>
<td>sär</td>
<td>sär</td>
<td></td>
<td>sär</td>
<td>saro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. (m)</td>
<td>shën</td>
<td>shin</td>
<td></td>
<td>shin</td>
<td>shno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. (f)</td>
<td>shno</td>
<td>shin</td>
<td></td>
<td>shin</td>
<td>shno</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.1.2.3 Comparison

Pashto does not have comparative or superlative suffixes.

1. **Comparative**

   Simple comparison is expressed by the ambipositions \( I \ldots na \) 'from':

   \[ \text{asad} [I \ldots amān na] jóg da \]
   
   'Asad is taller than Aman';

   \[ de amān plār de asad [I \ldots plār na] lōg bāgh-un-a lār-i \]
   
   'Aman's father has fewer orchards than Asad's father'.

2. **Superlatives**

   Superlatives are expressed in three ways:

   (a) with \( I \ldots na \) 'from', in which the object of the ambiposition is all-inclusive:

   \[ khoshāl pā sinf ke [I \ldots alōk-ān-o na] jóg da \]
   
   'Khoshal is taller than all the boys in the class'.

   (b) A second way to express superlatives is with the adverb \( \text{der} \) 'very', in which case the sentence is ambiguous:

   \[ khoshāl pā sinf ke [\text{der} jóg] alōk da \]
   
   'Khoshal is the tallest boy in the class'.

   (c) The third way is with \( \text{der} \) 'very', but with the subject moved out of position to just before the verb, disambiguating the sentence:

   \[ pā sinf ke [\text{der} jóg] alōk khoshāl da \]
   
   'Khoshal is the tallest boy in the class'.
3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

Pashto has enclitic, proclitic and independent personal pronouns.

3.1.3.1a Enclitic pronouns

### Table 13.8: Clitic Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 pers.</th>
<th>2 pers.</th>
<th>3 pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>malam</td>
<td>malam</td>
<td>ye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The enclitic pronouns function as subjects/agents in past transitive sentences, and in possessive constructions, as do the nominal oblique cases; but different from those, they also function as direct objects in present tense sentences.

The proclitic pronouns are phonologically identical with the directional prefixes that form the first syllables of prefixed verbs described in section 3.2.2.3. This identity and the correlation between persons and directions suggests that at some earlier stage of the language the two functions were identical as well.

1. Direct object in the present tense, and as subject/agent in the past tenses of transitive verbs:

   ➤ `mach-aw-i [me]` 
   ➤ `kiss.PR.IPFV-3s [me]` 
   ➤ `he is kissing me`

2. Possessor:

   ➤ `kitāb [me], kitāb [ye]`
   ➤ `book [my], book [his]`

3. Proclitic with adpositions:

   ➤ `Asad [rā ta] akhl-i`
   ➤ `Asad horse [me to] buy.PR.IPFV-3s`
   ➤ `Asad is buying a horse for me`;

   ➤ `dā [dār sore] khānd-i`
   ➤ `she [you at] laugh.PR.IPFV-3s`
   ➤ `she's laughing at you`;

   ➤ `amān [wār sār] dz-i`
   ➤ `Aman not [him with] go.PR.IPFV-3s`
   ➤ `Aman isn't going with him`;

   ➤ `laylā [wār ta] wā-wel-e`
   ➤ `Layla [them to] PFV.tell.PT.PVF-3sf`
   ➤ `Layla told them`. 
### 3.1.3.1b Independent pronouns

#### TABLE 13.9: INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3sm</th>
<th>3sf</th>
<th>3pm</th>
<th>3pf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>zs</td>
<td>tz</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>dā</td>
<td>agha</td>
<td>agha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object/Prepos.</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>dā</td>
<td>agha</td>
<td>agha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>māl</td>
<td>tāl</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>dā</td>
<td>agha</td>
<td>agha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>lp</td>
<td>2p</td>
<td>3pm</td>
<td>3pf</td>
<td>3pm</td>
<td>3pf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj./Obj./Prep.</td>
<td>mung</td>
<td>tāse</td>
<td>duy</td>
<td>duy</td>
<td>aghuy</td>
<td>aghuy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>zmung</td>
<td>stāse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Non-Central dialects

The independent pronouns are used for emphasis:

\[
\begin{align*}
[zs]\ almaq \ n2 \ y-\am; \quad [day]\ almaq \ da \\
[I] \ stupid \ NEG \ be.PR-1s \quad [he] \ stupid \ be.PR.3sm \\
'\text{I'm not stupid; he is}'.
\end{align*}
\]

Their oblique cases function both as direct objects in the present tenses and as subjects in transitive past tenses, and occur with adpositions. In the Central dialect, the possessive forms Is \(mā\) and 2s \(tā\) are used; in other dialects, the forms \(zmā\) and \(stā\) are preferred, while the 1p and 2p forms are \(zmung\) and \(stāse\) in all dialects.

The 3rd person pronouns distinguish near and far deixis.

#### 3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in Pashto function as both as independent pronouns and as attributive adjectives. As pronouns, they have initial stress, as adjectives final stress. There is a three-way contrast, here called near, middle, and far.

#### TABLE 13.10: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc./fem.</th>
<th>Dsmf</th>
<th>Osfm</th>
<th>Dp (= sg.)</th>
<th>Op (= sg.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>Dsm</td>
<td>Osm</td>
<td>dā</td>
<td>de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Dsm</td>
<td>Osm</td>
<td>Dpm (= sg.)</td>
<td>Opm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>UGH-a</td>
<td>UGH-o</td>
<td>UGH-a</td>
<td>UGH-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>UGH-a</td>
<td>UGH-o</td>
<td>UGH-a</td>
<td>UGH-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>UGH-a</td>
<td>UGH-e</td>
<td>UGH-e</td>
<td>UGH-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>Dsf (= m)</td>
<td>Opf (= m)</td>
<td>Dpf</td>
<td>Opf (= m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>UGH-a</td>
<td>Dgh-e</td>
<td>Dgh-e</td>
<td>Dgh-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>UGH-a</td>
<td>Agh-e</td>
<td>Agh-e</td>
<td>Agh-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>UGH-a</td>
<td>UGH-e</td>
<td>UGH-e</td>
<td>UGH-o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Focus and identity is marked by the prefix \(ham\)- 'same' with bisyllabic demonstratives, e.g. \(ham-dom\) 'this very one'.
3.1.3.3 Reflexive and possessive pronouns

Reference to self is expressed by the adjective khpol (regular Adj₁ inflection) as well as the noun dzán (regular M₁ noun inflection):

\[
\text{ahmad [khpol] kitāb rā-wor}
\]
Ahmad [own] book here-bring.PT.PFV.3s
‘Ahmad brought his (own) book’;

\[
\text{ahmad [yej kitāb rā-wor}
\]
Ahmad [his] book here-bring.PT.PFV.3s
‘Ahmad brought his (someone else’s);

\[
\text{kitāb [dzán] ta akhl-om}
\]
book [self] for buy.PR.I PFV-ls
‘I’m buying the book for myself’.

3.1.3.4 Indefinite and interrogative pronouns and related adverbials

Some basic indefinite pronouns, which also serve as interrogatives, are:

**Pronominal**

- tsok, obl. chā ‘someone; who’
- tso ‘something; what’ (no inflection)
- tsowom ‘which (number)’
- tso ‘several, how many/much’ (plural only)
- tsumra ‘that/how much’
- kum ‘(a) certain’ (Adj₁)

**Adverbial**

- kāla ‘when’
- chera, cherta ‘where’
- dō kām-a ‘where from’
- tsō wakht ‘when’
- tsō ranga ‘how’
- wali ‘why’

Other inflected pronominal adjectives include: har ‘each’, töl ‘all’, bōl ‘other, else’, nor ‘others’, dzinil-o.

These pronouns may be combined: yaw, yaw tsok, yaw tso, yaw-tso ‘somebody, some (people), something’; har yaw ‘each one’, har-tsök ‘each one’; bōl-tsök ‘somebody else’.

The negative pronoun is hets ‘any’ with negated verb, e.g. hetsok ‘nobody’; also hechera ‘nowhere (to)’, etc.

3.1.4 Adpositions

Pashto adpositions include prepositions, postpositions, and ambipositions which consist of pre- and post-nominal elements. Nominal objects of adpositions are in the oblique case, except in some literary or formal usages.
3.1.4.1 Prepositions and postposition

There are only two prepositions, which are of high frequency, and only one common postposition that we know of:

- **de** 'of' forms possessive phrases with nouns or strong pronouns: *de asad plár 'Asad's father';
- **pê** has a large range of meanings, the most common of which are 'with/by means of': *pê chärä 'with/by means of a knife', and 'at' in time expressions: *pê yawa baja 'at one o'clock';
- **ta** 'to' typically expresses the indirect object or direction, or dative: *bázär ta 'to the market', *asad ta 'to for Asad'.

3.1.4.2 Ambipositions

Most adpositions have two elements, bracketing the nominal object. The first element of these is either **pê, lê, or tor**. The second element is likely to be one of the following particles: **ke, bánde, pásê, na, tszkha, sara, lânde, pôre.** Some of the commonest ambipositions are the following:

- **pê** ... **ke** 'in, at': *pê kâbal ke 'in Kabul';
- **pê** ... **bánde** 'on/to': *pê plô bánde 'on the bridge';
- **pê** ... **pásê** 'after': *pê dars pásê 'after class';
- **lê** ... **na** 'from': *lê laylê na 'from Layla';
- **lê** ... **tszkha** 'from': *lê logar tszkha 'from Logar';
- **lê** ... **lânde** 'under': *lê plô lânde 'under the ridge';
- **lê** ... **sara** 'with': *lê asad sara 'with Asad';
- **tor** ... **lânde** 'under': *tor mez lânde 'under the table';
- **tor** ... **pôre** 'up to': *tor sahär-a pôre 'until morning'.

Either element of an ambiposition, most often the first, may be deleted: *lê asad na > asad na 'from Asad', *lê asad sara > asad sara 'with Asad'.

The first element of an ambiposition is mutually exclusive with the enclitic pronouns (described in 3.1.3.1a): *wr sara 'with him', *dêr na 'from you', and *wr bánde 'on it'.

In the ambiposition *lê ... na** 'from', -*n is frequently elided after consonants as in *lê asad na > lê asad 'from Asad' in the example above.

The alternation just cited, with *na > -a—which we have analyzed as an optional phonological process—is considered by other scholars to be a second oblique case in other analyses, notably that in Penzl (1955; in general, see also Heston 1987).

3.1.5 Adverbs

See section 3.1.1.3 Use of cases.

3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

Pashto numbers are all indeclinable adjectives of the Adj class, with optional plural
oblique -o. The exception is 'one', which distinguishes gender and case according to class Adj₧ₖ, thus yaw (m), yaw-a (f).

In the mostly irregular numbers from 11 to 99 the unit precedes the decade: dre atyā '3–80' = 83. Hundreds above 100, and thousands above 1000, follow the unit in their distinct oblique plural forms in -a: (yaw) səl '100', shp₂g səw-่วย '600', (yaw) zər '1000', dre zər-اوي '3000'. Larger compound numbers have the connective aw 'and': dre zər-اوي səw-اوي dre atyā '3683'. Nouns after numbers larger than one require the plural.

**TABLE 13.11: BASIC CARDINAL NUMBERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1–9</th>
<th>11–19</th>
<th>10–90</th>
<th>100+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yaw*</td>
<td>yaw-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwa</td>
<td>dər-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dre</td>
<td>dyar-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsar</td>
<td>tsar-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pindz</td>
<td>pindz-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shp₂</td>
<td>shp₂-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḵo</td>
<td>ḵo-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* m. yaw, f. yaw-a, Adj₧ₖ.

**TABLE 13.12: DECADES + SINGLE DIGITS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>21–29</th>
<th>31–69</th>
<th>71–99</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yawist</td>
<td>yaw-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəw-اوي</td>
<td>dər-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dər-اوي</td>
<td>dər-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsar-اوي</td>
<td>tsar-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pindz-اوي</td>
<td>pindz-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shp₂g-اوي</td>
<td>shp₂g-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḵo-اوي</td>
<td>ḵo-اوي</td>
<td>اوي</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed from the cardinal numbers by adding the suffix -ᵦm (m), -ᵦma (f). The resulting adjectival inflection has the pattern Adj₧ₖ [Os = Dp], e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'fourth'</th>
<th>'seventh'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(cardinal ends in consonant)</td>
<td>(cardinal ends in vowel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>fem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ds</td>
<td>təlary-ᵦm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Os</td>
<td>təlary-ᵦm-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dp</td>
<td>təlary-ᵦm-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op</td>
<td>təlary-ᵦm-o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3.2 Verb morphology

The verb system of Pashto is based on two stems: present/past, and two aspects: perfective/imperfective, and distinguishes gender and number in the third person. Mood is distinguished by inflection and particles. All verbs are anchored on the following four verb formations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PR</th>
<th>PT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperfective/perfective distinction appears to relate mostly to whether the action denoted by a verb has been completed or is incomplete. In some analyses, various occurrences of the perfective have been associated with subjunctive functions. These semantic distinctions are not consistent, however, and it seems most prudent—at least until further inquiry is completed—to consider the perfective a grammatical form only.

3.2.1 Person marking and 'be, become'

3.2.1.1 Basic forms

Functionally, endings agree in number person, number, and gender with either subjects or objects depending on the tense and particular construction. The forms of the verb 'be, become' exemplify the inflection of regular verbs. (Note that elements in parentheses indicate that the element -g is optional.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 13.13: PERSON MARKING AND 'BE, BECOME'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Endings</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1.2 Third person existential and modal forms

In the 3rd person the copula has three additional forms which are undifferentiated as to person, number, and gender: *sta*, *wi*, and *way*; they are negated with *nə.

1. *sta* is the existential verb: 'there is/are'; negated *nə-sta*.

2. *wi* (also referred to as subjunctive) is conjectural, used when an assumption or given fact is being discussed, in contrast to *da* and *di* which are used when reporting an
observation. The contrast between them is clear, for example, in the following sentences referring to a public picnic table:

\[ khalak\ dalta\ nāst\ [d-i] \quad \text{‘people are sitting here’ (we can see them);} \]
\[ khalak\ dalta\ nāst\ [w-i] \quad \text{‘people (may) sit here’ (we can use this table).} \]

(3) \textit{way} (also referred to as conjectural and optative) is used in irreal clauses (\textit{way} in non-Central dialects).

Note that the present and past forms of the copula, including \textit{wi} and \textit{way}, are also used to form periphrastic forms of the verb.

### 3.2.2 Stem formation and tense/aspect

Verbs may be classified according to the way in which their forms are constructed. There are three main classes of verbs: (1) simple verbs; (2) derivative verbs; and (3) prefixed stress-shifting verbs.

#### 3.2.2.1 Simple verbs

Simple verbs form their perfective stems by adding the prefix \textit{wə}- to the imperfective present and past stems.

This class includes: (1) regular verbs where the past stem is derived from the unpivoted present stem by the regular past morpheme \textit{-əl}; (2) a great number of irregular verbs where the morphological interrelationship between the two stems is opaque; (3) verbs where there is stem suppletion.

In the following examples the forms are in the 1s; forms in parentheses indicate optional omission of the element.

**TABLE 13.14: REGULAR SIMPLE VERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PR.IP.FV</th>
<th>PT.IP.FV</th>
<th>PR.PFV</th>
<th>PT.PFV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘throw’</td>
<td>shind-əm</td>
<td>shind-əl-əm</td>
<td>wə-shind-əm</td>
<td>wə-shind(-əl)-əm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘have’</td>
<td>lər-əm</td>
<td>lər-əl-əm</td>
<td>wə-lər-əm</td>
<td>wə-lər-əl-əm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 13.15: IRREGULAR SIMPLE AND SUPPLETIVE VERBS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PR.IP.FV</th>
<th>PT.IP.FV</th>
<th>PR.IP.FV</th>
<th>PT-IP.FV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘take, buy’</td>
<td>akhl-</td>
<td>akhist(-əl)-</td>
<td>‘read’</td>
<td>lwan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wear’</td>
<td>əghund-</td>
<td>aglust(-əl)-</td>
<td>‘show’</td>
<td>xəy-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘kill’</td>
<td>wəzn-</td>
<td>waz(-əl)-</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
<td>gər-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \textit{wə}- \quad \text{‘way’} \]

\[ \textit{wə}- \quad \text{‘way’} \]
3.2.2.2 Derivative verbs

Derivative verbs are transparently based on adjectives or nouns, and constitute the largest and only open class of verbs. They occur with auxiliaries.

Intransitive and transitive

(1a) the transitive PR (k)eg-, PT (k)ed(əl)- related to the full verb meaning 'be done, become', and
(1b) the transitive formants PR (k)aw-, PT (k)aw(əl)- which when used as a full verb means 'do'.
(2a) If the noun or adjective ends in a vowel, the auxiliary is a separate word, and has forms as listed below, but
(2b) when the noun or adjective ends with a consonant, the k- of the auxiliary is dropped, and the rest of the auxiliary is added to the noun or adjective to form a single word.

Note that the imperfective forms of these verbs are indistinguishable from the imperfective forms of many of the simple verbs.

Imperfective and perfective aspects

(1) Both (a) (k)eg-, (k)ed(əl) and (b) (k)aw-, (k)aw(əl) represent the imperfective forms of these verbs.
(2) The corresponding perfective forms are expressed by (a) intransitive PR s-, PT sw(əl) - 'become, occur' and by (b) transitive PR k-, PT kr(əl) -.

The pattern of these distinctions is shown in the following, again with examples in first person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 13.16: DERIVATIVE VERBS: INTRANSITIVE-TRANSITIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic auxiliary verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'be done, become'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-eg-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'do, make'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaw-qm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR.PFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zob-eg-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'injure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zobl-aw-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'become pretty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. k-eg-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'beautify'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. k-aw-om</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2.3 Prefixed stress-shifting verbs

Prefixed verbs are stress-shifting verbs where aspect is determined by the position of the stress. In the perfective forms, stress is on the nominal component or the prefix, or the first syllable of the verb, while in the imperfective forms it is on the last or penultimate syllable.
The prefixes include forms phonologically identical to the proclitic forms of the pronouns, and carry rough approximations of the meanings of the proclitics (see Proclitic pronouns under 3.1.3.1a):

- **ra** 'here' (ich-deictic)
- **dar** 'in your direction' (du-deictic)
- **war** 'there' (er-deictic)

Other prefixes include directional **ke** 'down', **pre** 'away', and **nana** 'inside' (the meanings are approximate and inconsistent), plus a number of syllables for which the meaning is not immediately apparent.

This class of verbs is very small and highly irregular, involving both morphological change and shifts in stress, in addition to idiosyncratic third person forms in the past. The complexity of these verbs is demonstrated in the following list:

**TABLE 13.17: PREFIXED VERBS: rā-, dar-, war-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PR.IPVF</th>
<th>PT.IPVF</th>
<th>PR.PFV</th>
<th>PT.PFV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>dz-om</td>
<td>tl(-al)-om</td>
<td>lār s-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'come here'</td>
<td>rādz-om</td>
<td>rā-tl(-al)-om</td>
<td>rā-s-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'go to you'</td>
<td>dar-dz-om</td>
<td>dar-tl(-al)-om</td>
<td>dar-s-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'go there'</td>
<td>war-dz-om</td>
<td>war-tl(-al)-om</td>
<td>war-s-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'give here'</td>
<td>rā-kaw-om</td>
<td>rā-kaw(-al)-om</td>
<td>rā-kr-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'give to you'</td>
<td>dar-kaw-om</td>
<td>dar-kaw(-al)-om</td>
<td>dar-kr-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'give to him'</td>
<td>war-kaw-om</td>
<td>war-kaw(-al)-om</td>
<td>war-kr-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'take, carry'</td>
<td>wr-om</td>
<td>wr-gl-om</td>
<td>wr-kr-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'transport here'</td>
<td>rā-wr-om</td>
<td>rā-wr-gl-om</td>
<td>rā-wr-at(-al)-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bring here'</td>
<td>rā-wast-om</td>
<td>rā-wast-gl-om</td>
<td>rā-wast-at(-al)-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'take there'</td>
<td>war-wr-om</td>
<td>war-wr-gl-om</td>
<td>war-wr-at(-al)-om</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 13.18: PREFIXED VERBS: ke-, pre-, nana-; NOUN + VERB**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>PR.IPVF</th>
<th>PT.IPVF</th>
<th>PR.PFV</th>
<th>PT.PFV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sit down</td>
<td>ke-n-om</td>
<td>ke-nāst(-al)-om</td>
<td>ke-n-om</td>
<td>ke-nāst(-al)-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plant</td>
<td>ke-kaw-om</td>
<td>ke-kaw(-al)-om</td>
<td>ke-kaw-om</td>
<td>ke-kaw(-al)-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>squeeze</td>
<td>ke-kāg-om</td>
<td>ke-kāg(-al)-om</td>
<td>ke-kāg-om</td>
<td>ke-kāg(-al)-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'put'</td>
<td>gd-om</td>
<td>ke-xod(-al)-om</td>
<td>ke-gd-om</td>
<td>ke-xod(-al)-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'allow'</td>
<td>pre-gd-om</td>
<td>pre-xod(-al)-om</td>
<td>pre-gd-om</td>
<td>pre-xod(-al)-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lie down'</td>
<td>pre-wzd-om</td>
<td>pre-wat(-al)-om</td>
<td>pre-wzd-om</td>
<td>pre-wat(-al)-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'arrive, enter'</td>
<td>nana-wzd-om</td>
<td>nana-wat(-al)-om</td>
<td>nana-wzd-om</td>
<td>nana-wat(-al)-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut</td>
<td>pre-kaw-om</td>
<td>pre-kaw-at(-al)-om</td>
<td>pre-kaw-om</td>
<td>pre-kaw-at(-al)-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash</td>
<td>pre-mindzd-om</td>
<td>pre-mindzd-gl-om</td>
<td>pre-mindzd-om</td>
<td>pre-mindzd-gl-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khatā 'error'</td>
<td>khatā</td>
<td>khatā</td>
<td>khatā</td>
<td>khatā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'deceive'</td>
<td>bās-om</td>
<td>yest(-al)-om</td>
<td>bās-om</td>
<td>yest(-al)-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'err'</td>
<td>khatā</td>
<td>khatā</td>
<td>khatā</td>
<td>khatā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash</td>
<td>waz-om</td>
<td>waz(-al)-om</td>
<td>waz-om</td>
<td>waz(-al)-om</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 13.19: VERBS WITH FUSED PREFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PR.IPFW</th>
<th>PT.IPFW</th>
<th>PR.PFW</th>
<th>PTPFV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'lose'</td>
<td>bāyāl-ām</td>
<td>bāyālod(-āl)-ām</td>
<td>bāyāl-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'take'</td>
<td>bāyā-ām</td>
<td>bow(-āl)-ām</td>
<td>bāz-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'get up'</td>
<td>pāts-eg-ām</td>
<td>pāts-ed(-āl)-ām</td>
<td>pāts-eg-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'open'</td>
<td>prá-niz-ām</td>
<td>prá-nast(-āl)-ām</td>
<td>prá-niz-ām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3 Nominal forms

3.2.3.1 Present participle

Present participles are adjectives in -āy of the Adj2 class, which are derived from present stems by the formant -unk, e.g. dārāv- 'threaten' > dārāv-unk-āy 'threatening'. These participles are artificial constructs, created by the Pashto Academy in the 1940s. They never caught on, and there are only a handful of words, certainly not a productive class, that made it into common usage, e.g. xōw-unk-āy 'teacher'.

3.2.3.2 Perfect participle

Perfect participles are formed by affixing -āy to the imperfective or perfective past stems of the verbs. They are of the Adj1, class, as shown with the example of the verb dār-eg-l dar-ed-āl 'stand, stop':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ds</td>
<td>Ds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Os</td>
<td>Os</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dp</td>
<td>Dp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Op</td>
<td>Op</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They function in a number of verb constructions: (a) the "perfect" tenses; (b) ablative statements; (c) the passive construction; and (d) conditional sentences.

3.2.3.3 Conditional participle

In the central dialect described here, the conditional participle is formally identical to the perfect participle: dar-ed-āl-āy. It is marked for number and gender only when used with the past conditional form of the copula, way:

... ke-nāst-āl-e ba way
'I would have sat-sf down' (female speaker).

3.2.3.4 Infinitive

Infinitives consist of the past imperfective stem + -āl. They belong to the masculine plural-only class, Dp -Ō, Op -o:

[bow-āl] dēr grān fīl day
taking very difficult verb is of Layla looking man kill.PRP.IPFW-3p

'de laylā [kat-āl] saray wazhn-i'

'bowāl is a very difficult verb';

'layla's gaze kills a man'.
3.2.4 Aspectual-modal particles and negation

3.2.4.1 Future, necessity, and obligation

There are three aspectual-modal particles, in addition to perfective ʷə:

(1) definite future is marked by ʰa; except for the infinitive, this particle co-occurs with each of the imperfective-perfective pairs;

(2) necessity is marked by ټ;

(3) obligation is marked by ʰayəd.

3.2.4.2 Negation

The prohibitive prefix is ʰm, and the general negative particle ʰn. Both always occur immediately before the inflected verb form, and attract primary stress. Thus with simple, derivative, and prefixed stress-shifting verbs these two particles are inserted after: (1) the perfective ʰə; (2) the prefix; and (3) the nominal component, respectively. (4) In the periphrastic perfect tenses (see 3.2.7.3), where the inflected component is the copular auxiliary at the end of the verb form, insertion entails reordering, by which the negated auxiliary component is shifted to the head of the construction.

(1) Simple verb, after perfective ʰə

\[ ʰə b^{a} l^{h} k^{i} w^{ə} [ʰn] l^{ə} g^{ę} \]
I  FUT  letter  PFV  NEG  send.PR.PFV-1s
'I won't send the letter'.

(2) Prefixed stress-shifting verb, after prefix

\[ ʰə b^{a} k^{e} [ʰn] n^{ə} m \]
I  FUT  pref  NEG  sit.PR.PFV-1s
'I won't sit down' (ke-n-kenəst-).

(3) Derivative verb, after nominal component

\[ ʰə b^{a} c^{h} l^{a} v^{h} p^{k} h^{k} [ʰn] k^{r} ə m \]
I  FUT  rice-sm  cooked-sm  NEG  do.PR.PFV-1s
'I won't cook the rice'.

(4) Periphrastic perfect forms

\[ t^{o} r^{o} t^{s} a^{w} k^{ə} y^{h} [ʰn] d^{a} j^{o} r^{a} k^{ə} r^{a} \]
Tor.AG  chair  NEG  COP  build-sf  became-3sf
'Tor has not built the chair'.

3.2.5 Overview of tense, mood, and aspect

Pashto verb forms and verbal constructions involve one or the other of the binary tense distinction and of the equally binary aspectual distinction, as well as various auxiliaries and particles.

The system has been described in various ways. The following analysis, which is based on the fundamental opposition between imperfective and perfective, shows the symmetry of the system. This system has the following subsets: (1) the imperative forms; (2) the
simple present and past forms; (3) the periphrastic perfect forms. In terms of non-indicative modality, there are two: (1) future forms in the present and present perfect; (2) conjunctural subjunctive forms, also in the present and present perfect, but mostly confined to use in dependent clauses. In synopsis, this system may be shown as follows (suggested by the Editor of this volume). The verb chosen here is the regular intransitive verb ras-ed-lras-ed-ol- ‘arrive’ with 2s ending.

### TABLE 13.20: PASHTO BASIC VERB SYSTEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>PERFECTIVE</th>
<th>PERFECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>raseg-a</td>
<td>w2-raseg-a</td>
<td>IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>raseg-e</td>
<td>ba w2-raseg-e</td>
<td>FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w2-raseg-e</td>
<td>SUBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>rased-e</td>
<td>w2-rased-e</td>
<td>PT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRPF</td>
<td>rased2l-ay ye</td>
<td>ba rased2l-ay ye</td>
<td>FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rased2l-ay wi</td>
<td>SUBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTPF</td>
<td>rased2l-ay we</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table excludes two periphrastic forms which only occur with irreal function in conditional constructions (see 5.5.2 Conditional clauses).

### 3.2.6 Preliminary notes on inflectional pattern

#### 3.2.6.1 Inflection of verb classes

The individual tenses and verb constructions will be discussed in sections 3.2.7–10. The example sentences given there include verb forms of the three classes of verbs: simple, derived, and prefixed stress-shifting. It is particularly the derived verbs where the inflection is distinctly more complex than that of the simple verb raseg- lrasedol- shown in Table 13.20. This is because the verb forms in certain tenses are split into (a) an inflected nominal component and (b) the auxiliary. The following table provides an overview of those patterns. See also section 3.2.3.2 Perfect participle, and Tables 13.6 and section 13.7 Adjectival classes.

Note that verbs derived from ablauting adjectives retain the ablaut as well as number and gender marking, e.g.:

- za ba chalaw [pokh] kr-om 'I will cook rice' (masc. sg. mass noun), but
tarisā ba āshak [pākh-2] kr-i ‘Theresa will cook aushak’ (masc. pl. mass noun).
### TABLE 13.21: OVERVIEW OF VERB CLASSES AND INFLECTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>‘dance’</th>
<th>‘build’</th>
<th>‘be built’</th>
<th>‘go’</th>
<th>‘take’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PR.IPfv</td>
<td>regular</td>
<td>derivative tr.</td>
<td>derivative intr.</td>
<td>suppletive</td>
<td>fused prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>gad-eg-PR</td>
<td>jor-aw-PR</td>
<td>jor-eg-PR</td>
<td>dz-PR</td>
<td>byāy-PR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT.IPfv</td>
<td>gad-ed-PT</td>
<td>jor-aw-0l-PT</td>
<td>jor-ed-0l-PT</td>
<td>tl(0l)-PT</td>
<td>bow(0l)-PT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT.PFv</td>
<td>gad-ed-PT</td>
<td>jor-0l(0l)-PT</td>
<td>jor-0l-AI s-PT</td>
<td>lār s-PT</td>
<td>boz-PR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>gad-ed-0l-ay</td>
<td>jor-AI k0l(0l)-ay</td>
<td>jor-AI sv(0l)-ay</td>
<td>tl-0l-ay</td>
<td>bol-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>gad-ed-0l-ay</td>
<td>jor-AI k0l(0l)-ay</td>
<td>jor-AI sv(0l)-ay</td>
<td>tl-0l-ay</td>
<td>bol-ay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PR and PT = present and past endings
0l- and sv- = present and past endings of perfective ‘be, become’
y-0l- = present imperfective of ‘be’
y-0l- = past imperfective of ‘be’
A1 = inflected as adjectival class A1
-0l- = inflected as adjectival class A1

### 3.2.6.2 Transitivity and ergative construction

Transitivity is a crucial category in Pashto (Tegey 1979). It is a split-ergative language similar to a good number of modern Iranian languages where verb forms of transitive verbs based on the past stem morphologically change the arguments from the direct-oblique pattern to the oblique-direct pattern, with a concomitant shift of person, number, and gender agreement to the patient. In the examples sentences below: AG = agent oblique case, and D = direct patient case.

### 3.2.6.3 Order of presentation

The sequence of constructions discussed in the following will be:

1. basic tenses and moods (3.2.7);
2. modal constructions (3.2.8);
3. passive constructions (3.2.9);
4. infinitives as subject and object (3.2.10).

Inside each section, the sequence will be present, past, and future forms. For ease of reference, the canonical forms of the verb *raseg-*-/rased-*-, all 2s, found in Table 13.20 will be given first.

The verbs in the examples sentences are mostly taken from the following list to show differences in construction from one verb class to the other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dance’</td>
<td>‘send’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘build’</td>
<td>‘build’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>‘take’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note that the modal markers of future ba, necessity de, and obligation bāyad are clause clitics and attached to the first simple or complex component of the clause, which may result in the change of word order.

3.2.7 Basic tense constructions

3.2.7.1 Present time constructions

3.2.7.1a Imperative

raség-alāz-raség-a

Note that positive commands usually require the perfective present stem, prohibitive command marked by prohibitive mā require the imperfective present stem.

(1) Positive (‘go’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wāq-dag-at-y</td>
<td>PFV.dance.PR.PFV-IMP.2p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsawk-y</td>
<td>chair-sf build-sf AUX.PR.PFV-IMP.2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jar-a-k-a</td>
<td>‘dance (everyone)!';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māshumān dār sāra bās-a</td>
<td>‘build the chair!';</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rāsā</td>
<td>AUX.PR.PFV-IMP.2p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Prohibitive

mā + present imperfective stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maktāb wos mā leg-a</td>
<td>wos mā dz-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>letter now PROH send.PR.IPVF-IMP.2s now PROH go.PR.IPVF-IMP.2s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘don’t send the letter now!’;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘don’t go now!’;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kār sarāk ta nizdē mā jār-av-āy</td>
<td>‘don’t build the house so close to the road’;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laylā kār ta mā byāy-āy</td>
<td>Layla house to NEG take.PR.IPVF-IMP.2p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ‘don’t take Layla home yet’.

3.2.7.1b Imperfective present

raség-e

The imperfective present expresses general, habitual, and ongoing action in the present, and contextually in the future.

(0) ‘be’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dukān-dār y-ām</td>
<td>wāq-ay y-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shop-keeper be.PR.IPVF-1s hungry be.PR.IPVF-2s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I am a shopkeeper’;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you’re hungry’;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(1a) Intransitive

\[ \text{gad-eg-3m} \quad \text{pohantun ta dz-u} \]
\text{dance.PRFV-1s} \quad \text{university to go.PRFV-1p}
‘I’m dancing/I dance’; ‘we go/are going to the university’.

(1b) Derivative class

\[ \text{tsapl-2y pə pexawər ke jor-eg-3i} \]
\text{sandal in Peshawar be made.PRFV-3p}
‘sandals are made in Peshawar’.

(2) Transitive

\[ \text{laylā khpal-e koran-zy ta pays-e leg-3i} \]
\text{Layla own family to money send.PRFV-3s}
‘Layla sends/is sending money to her family’;

\[ \text{mājā jor-aw-3i} \]
\text{mosque build.PRFV-3p}
‘they are building a mosque’.

3.2.7.1c Perfective present

\[ \text{wə-raseg-e} \]

The perfective present mostly functions as a subjunctive. It expresses admonition, doubt, or similar modalities in independent clauses, and potential action in dependent clauses (see also 3.2.8 Modal constructions).

\[ \text{asad che maktab khlas k-i, maalpən ba s-i} \]
\text{Asad when school finish-3s do.PR.PRFV teacher FUT be.PR.PRFV-3s}
‘Asad will be a teacher when he finishes school’;

\[ \text{de asad plār ghvā-i tse bāgh w-ākhll-i} \]
\text{of Asad father want.PR.PRFV-3s CONJ orchard PFV.buy.PR.PRFV-3s}
‘Asad’s father wants to buy an orchard’.

3.2.7.1d Present future

\[ \text{ba wə-raseg-e} \]

(0) ‘be’

\[ \text{tāse ba zɔr tɔg-i səy} \quad \text{day ba jɔg s-i} \]
\text{you.p BUT soon thirsty-pm be.PRFV-2s he FUT tall.sm be.PRFV-3s}
‘you all will be thirsty soon’ ‘he will be tall’.

(1) Intransitive

\[ \text{ahmad ba pə wādə ke wə-gad-eg-3i} \]
\text{Ahmad FUT at wedding at PFV.dance.PRFV-3s}
‘Ahmad will dance at the wedding’;

\[ \text{laylā ba jər-a s-i} \]
\text{Layla FUT healthy-sf AUX.PRFV-3s}
‘Layla will get better’;
3.2.7.2 Past time constructions

3.2.7.2a Imperfective past

rased-e

The imperfective past has two functions:

(a) Similar to the imperfective present, the imperfective past expresses general, habitual, and ongoing action in the present and contextually future in the past (prospective past);
(b) It expresses irreal action in expressions such as wishes, and in conditional clauses (see section 5.5.2).

(0) 'be'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{stər-ay w-əm} & \quad \text{stər-ay sw-əm} \\
\text{tired be.PT.IPVF-1s} & \quad \text{tired be.PT.IPVF-1s} \\
\text{I was tired}; & \quad \text{I became tired}; \\
\text{xowunk-ay w-ə} & \quad \text{xowunk-ay s-ə} \\
\text{teacher be.PT.IPVF-3sm} & \quad \text{teacher be.PT.IPVF-3sm} \\
\text{he was a teacher}; & \quad \text{he became a teacher}.
\end{align*}
\]

(1a) Intransitive

\[
\begin{align*}
mung wādə \quad ta tl-u \\
\text{we wedding to go.PT.IPVF-1p} \\
\text{we were going to the wedding}.
\end{align*}
\]

(1b) Derivative class

\[
\begin{align*}
tsapl-əy \quad pə \text{ pexawər ke jor-ed-əl-e} \\
\text{sandals-pf in Peshawar in be made.PT.IPVF-3pf} \\
\text{‘sandals used to be made in Peshawar’}.
\end{align*}
\]

(2) Transitive

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{laylə \quad khpəl-e koran-əy ta pays-ə \quad leg-əl} \\
\text{Layla.AG own family-O to money-Dpf send.PT.IPVF.3pf} \\
\text{‘Layla was sending money to her family’};
\end{align*}
\]
mâjât ye jor-aw-2(<-əl)
mosque.Dsm they.AG build.PT.PFV.3sm
‘they were building a mosque’;

tâse as-una bâzar ta bow-ə?
you.p.AG horses-Dpm bazaar to take.PT.PFV.3pm
‘were you taking the horses to the market?’

3.2.7.2b Perfective past

wɔ-rased-e
The perfective past expresses the action or event as a completed whole. See also Syntax for its use in 5.5.1 temporal and 5.5.2 conditional clauses.

(1) Intransitive

xɔdz-e jor-e sw-e pohantun ta lâr-u
women-pf recover-pf AUX.PT.PFV-3pf university to go.PT.PFV-1p
‘the women recovered’; ‘we went to the university’;

asad wɔ-gad-ed-ɔ
Asad.sm PFV.dance.PT.PFV-3sm
‘Asad danced’.

(2) Transitive

laylâ khpol-e koran-əy ta pays-e wɔ-leg-əl-e
Layla.AG own family to money-Dpf PFV.send.PT.PFV-3pf
‘Layla sent money to her family’;

mâjât ye jor kr
mosque.Dsm they.AG build.sm AUX.PT.PFV.3sm
‘they built a mosque’;

tâse as-una bâzar ta botl-ə?
you.p.AG horses-Dpm bazaar to take.PT.PFV-3pm
‘did you take the horses to the market?’.

3.2.7.3 Perfect constructions

3.2.7.3a Present perfect

rasedəl-ay ye
The present perfect expresses an action the result of which continues in the present.

(1) Intransitive

də asad plâr pakistân ta təl-əl-ay da
of Asad father.sm Pakistan to go- PART-IPFV-3sm be.PR.IPV.3s
‘Asad’s father has gone to Pakistan’.

(2) Transitive

laylâ lik leg-əl-ay da
Layla.AG letter.Dsm send.PART-IPFV-sm be.PR.IPV.3s
‘Layla has sent the letter’;
3.2.7.3b Past perfect

raisedəl-ay we

The past perfect expresses a remote action, or an anterior action in the past.

(1) Intransitive

de asad plār pakistān ta ti-əl-ay w-ə
of Asad father.Dsm Pakistan to go-PART.PFV-sm be.PT.IPFV-3sm
‘Asad’s father had gone to Pakistan’.

(2) Transitive

tor kor jor kər-ay w-ə
Tor.AG house.Dsm build.sm PART.PFV-sm be.PT.IPFV-3s
‘Tor had built a house’.

3.2.7.3c Future perfect

ba raisedəl-ay ye ‘will have gone’

(1) Intransitive

de asad plār ba pakistān ta ti-əl-ay w-ə
of Asad father.Dsm FUT Pakistan to go.PART.PFV-3sm be.PT.IPFV-3sm
‘Asad’s father will have gone to Pakistan’.

(2) Transitive

tor ba tsawk-əy jor-a kər-e w-a
Tor.AG FUT chair.Dsf build-sf PART.PFV-sf be.PT.IPFV-3sf
‘Tor will have built a chair’.

3.2.7.3d Conjectural perfect

raisedəl-ay wi

Similar to the perfective present as a subjunctive, the perfect subjunctive expresses conjecture and assumption, but of a completed action or event. While occurring mostly in dependent clauses, it may be used in main clauses as well, as in this example:

khalәk daṭta nāst [w-i]
people here seated be.SUBJ
‘people sit here’, lit. ‘people may sit/be sitting here’ (we can use this table).

Compare the use of wi in the following (see section 7 Sample Text):

av sar ye pə larg-ə wər-wə-pox-ə,
and head its with wood there.PFV.cover.PT.PFV.3s
che la bād av bārān-ə pək-e pə amān [wi]
that from wind and rain blow in safety be.SUBJ
and he covered it over with wood planking, so that he could live there protected from the wind and rain'.

For the use of the present and past conditional forms, see section 5.5.2 Conditional clauses.

3.2.8 Modal constructions

3.2.8.1 Ability ‘can’

3.2.8.1a Present ability

3.2.8.1b Past ability

3.2.8.1c Future ability

(1) Intransitive

(2) Transitive

Note that the auxiliary is identical with the perfective forms of ‘be, become’.

(1) Intransitive

(2) Transitive

for the use of the present and past conditional forms, see section 5.5.2 Conditional clauses.
(2) Transitive

\[
\text{laylā ha lik sabā ta wā-legel-ay s-i}
\]

Layla FUT letter tomorrow to PFV.send-PART.PFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-3s
‘Layla will be able to send the letter tomorrow’;

\[
\text{alta ha kor jor kār-ay s-e}
\]

there FUT house build PART.PFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-2s
‘you will be able to build a house there’;

\[
kār ta ha boj-lay s-e?
\]

house to FUT me take.PART.PFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-2s
‘will you be able to take me home?’

3.2.8.2 Necessity and assumption, ‘must’

de + perfective present stem, and related modal words or expressions.

The particle *de* expresses both strong and weak necessity as well as assumption, and accordingly governs the potential verb form, i.e. the perfective present. In addition, adjectives and nouns with similar semantic connotations are used.

(1) *de*

(1a) Intransitive

\[
day de wā-gad-eg-i
\]

he must dance.PFV.PR.PFV-3s
‘he must dance’;

\[
\text{laylā de kor ta lār-ā s-i}
\]

Layla must house to go-sf be.AUX.PR.PFV-3s
‘Layla must go home’.

(1b) Transitive

\[
dūy de kor sarāk tanīzde jor k-i
\]

they must house.sm road to close build.sm do.AUX.PR.PFV-3p
‘they must build the house close to the road’;

\[
asad me de kor ta boz-i
\]

Asad me must house to take.PART.PFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-3s
‘Asad must take me home’.

(2) *zarur* ‘necessary’ + ‘be’

\[
pā paxt-an-o ke dā zarur na da che melma wā-bal-ā
\]

in Pashtuns in this necessary NEG is CONJ guest PFV.invite.INF

\[
s-i
\]

be.PR.PFV-3p
‘among Pashtuns it is not necessary that a guest be invited’.
3.2.8.3 Obligation, 'should'

Obligation is expressed by bāyad + perfective present.

(1) Intransitive

\[ mung \ h\m \ bāyad \ wā-gād-e-g-u \]
we also should PFV.dance.PR.PFV-1p
'we should dance too';

\[ laylā \ bāyad \ kor \ tā \ lār-a \ s-i \]
Layla should house to go sf be.AUX.PR.PFV-3s
'Layla should go home'.

(2) Transitive

\[ dūy \ bāyad \ nəw-ay \ kor \ jo \ k-i \]
they should new house,sm build.sm do.AUX.PR.PFV-3p
'they should build a new house';

\[ mashum-ān \ bāyad \ tsok \ mel-e \ ta \ boz-i \]
children should someone picnic to take.PR.PFV-3s
'someone should take the children to the picnic'.

3.2.9 Passive constructions

Infinitive + kēg-iked-āl- in all tenses and moods

This construction is formed with the infinitive plus the tenses and moods of the auxiliary kēg-iked-āl-, which is derived from the verb 'make, do'. See also the passive-like examples of the derivative class under 3.2.7.1b and 3.2.7.2a.

(1) Present

\[ day \ waz-āl \ k-eg-i \]
he kill.INF become.AUX.PR.IPVF-3s
'he is getting killed';

\[ as \ mel-gi \ tā \ bax-āl \ k-eg-i \]
horse friend to give.INF become.AUX.PR.IPVF-3s
'one's horse is given only to friends';

\[ sar-ay \ pə \ bad-a \ wraž \ ke \ pezand-āl \ k-eg-i \]
man on bad day on know.INF become.AUX.PR.IPVF-3s
'a true man makes himself known in difficult times'(proverb), lit. 'a true man becomes known . . .'

(2) Past

\[ pə \ pexawż \ ke \ njun-e \ təx-taw-āl \ k-ēd-e \]
in Peshwar in girls-3pf kidnap.INF become.AUX.PT.IPVF-3p
'girls used to be kidnapped in Peshawar'.

3.2.10 Infinitives as subject and object

Infinitives may function as nominalized short clauses. As indicated under 3.1.1.1 Gender, they count as masculine in gender, and as plural in number.

(1) Subject

\begin{align*}
\text{bowa} & \text{r} \quad \text{der gr\text{"a}n} & \quad \text{fil day} \\
\text{take.INF} & \text{very difficult verb be.PR.3pm} \\
& \text{‘bowa}r \text{ is a very difficult verb’;}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{de layl\`a} & \quad \text{kata}l & \quad \text{zar-ay} & \quad \text{wazhn-i} \\
\text{of Layla look.INF man kill.PR.1PFV-3pm} \\
& \text{‘Layla’s gaze kills a man’;}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{il\`a} & \quad \text{me st\text{"a}r-ay} & \quad \text{kaw-i} \\
\text{go.INF me tired-D3sm do.PR.1PFV-3pm} \\
& \text{‘traveling makes me tired’}.
\end{align*}

(2) Object

\begin{align*}
\text{waya} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{ta ye m\`a} & \quad \text{gor-a, kawa} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{ta ye gor-a} \\
\text{talk.INF-OPm to his PROH look-IMP2s do.INF-OPm to his look-IMP2s} \\
& \text{‘don’t look at his words, look at his actions’}.
\end{align*}

4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

4.1 Noun phrase structure

The regular sequence of the constituent parts in the noun phrase is left-branching:

(1) Adjectives precede the noun, ADJ \(-\) N: \textit{spin notar} ‘white car’.

(2) In the extended noun phrase, demonstratives, quantifiers, and adjectives, precede the noun, in that order, and adverbs precede the adjective; the normal sequence is thus:

\begin{align*}
\text{DEM} & \quad \text{QUANT} & \quad (\text{ADV} & \quad \text{ADJ}) & \quad \text{N}.
\end{align*}

(3) Adpositions precede and/or follow the noun phrase.

4.1.1 Agreement

Adjectives and demonstrative pronouns in a noun phrase, and predicate adjectives, agree with the nouns they modify in gender, number, and case. If the noun phrase consists of both masculine and feminine genders, the adjective is masculine.

4.1.2 Dependent noun phrases

(1) Dependent possessive noun phrases, marked by the preposition \textit{de}, precede the head noun phrase, NP\(_2\) \(-\) NP\(_1\): \textit{de asad kit\text{"a}b-yn-a} ‘Asad’s books’.

(2) Demonstratives and adjectives remain with their noun phrase:
Similarly, prepositions similarly remain within their noun phrase:

\[
\text{[de asad } \text{de plār (to tsalor-o qer-o xāysta lum-o sara)]}
\]

\[
\text{of Asad of father with four very pretty daughters with]}
\]

'with Asad's father's four very pretty daughters'.

4.1.3 Topicalization

The unmarked order may be violated when the speaker wishes to focus on one or the other of the modifiers, in which case the emphasized element tends to be in first position. For example, in the following extended noun phrase, with multiple embeddings, the locative phrase \[pə kəli ke\] 'in the village' precedes the first possessive phrase \[de tor\] 'of Tor', and is also far removed from its referent \[kor\] 'house' at the end:

\[
\text{(pə kəli ke) de tor de tarikh de xowun-k-i de məshɔr wəwɔr in village in of Tor of history of teacher of older brother xāysta (kor)]}
\]

beautiful [house]

'Tor's history teacher's older brother's beautiful house in the village.'

4.2 Clause structure and word order

4.2.1 Basic word order

The basic word order in independent, coordinate, and dependent clauses is SUBJECT–OBJECT–VERB (S-O-V):

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{S} & \text{O} & \text{V} \\
\text{Asad} & \text{lik} & \text{leg-i} \quad \text{‘Asad is sending the letter’} \\
\text{to} & \text{tsō kār} & \text{k-av-e?} \quad \text{‘what work do you do?’}
\end{array}
\]

Adverbs and adverbial phrases of time are usually clause initial, followed by locational and directional phrases, which may be close to the verb depending on the semantics of the latter. However, if in a prepositional phrase the object is a proclitic pronoun, the phrase immediately precedes the verb, as shown in the following examples:

\[
\text{(parun) me (lə məlgər-o sara) pə rasturān ke kəbāb yesterday IAG with friends with in restaurant in kabob-sm wə-khərtə PFV.eat.PT.PFV-3sm}
\]

'I ate kebob at the restaurant with my friends yesterday'.

Proclitic

\[
\text{(parun) me pə rasturān ke kəbāb (wər sara) wə-khərtə yesterday IAG in restaurant in kabob-sm them with PFV.eat.PT.PFV-3sm}
\]

'I ate kebob at the restaurant [with them] yesterday'.

4.2.2 Split-ergativity and agreement

Whenever person is marked by personal endings, enclitic pronouns must drop.

With intransitive verbs, the personal endings agree with the subject in person, number, and gender in both present and past tense, and agree also with the gender of subjects in past tenses.

With transitive verbs, the pattern differs from the intransitive in past tenses, where the personal endings agree with the object in person, number, and also in gender with 3rd person objects.

(1) Nominal subject and object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present:</th>
<th>Past:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sar-ay man-a khwr-i</td>
<td>sar-i man-a khwar-3l-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-Dsm apple-Dsf eat.PR.IPFV-3s</td>
<td>man-OAGsm apple-Dsf eat.PT.IPFV-3sf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the man is eating the apple';</td>
<td>'the man was eating the apple';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xədz-e tıkr-ay akhl-i</td>
<td>xədz-e tıkr-ay akhist-ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman-Dsf scarf-sm buy.</td>
<td>woman-OAGsf scarf-Dsf buy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR.IPFV-3s</td>
<td>PT.IPFV-3sm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the woman is buying the scarf';</td>
<td>'the woman was buying the scarf'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Nominal subject, enclitic object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present:</th>
<th>Past:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zmar-ay ye rā-wal-i</td>
<td>zmar-i rā-wast-3l-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zmaray-Dsm 3s bring.PR.IPFV-3s</td>
<td>Zmaray-OAG-sm bring.PT.IPFV-3sf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Zmaray is bringing her';</td>
<td>'Zmaray was bringing her'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Ending and enclitic as subject and object, post-verbal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present:</th>
<th>Past:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khartsaw-u ye</td>
<td>khartsawəl-a mo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sell.PR.IPFV-1p 3s</td>
<td>sell.PT.IPFV-3sf we.AG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'we’re selling it';</td>
<td>'we were selling it'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Derivative verbs

In past tenses of derivative verbs whose first element is an adjective, the adjective agrees with the object of the verb if there is one, and with the subject if there is no object, in number and gender.

In the tenses formed with the perfect participle, the participle agrees in gender and number with the object of the sentence if there is one, and with the subject otherwise.

If the noun phrase consists of both masculine and feminine genders, the verb is masculine.

4.3 Rules of clitization

Besides the ergative construction, the rules for the position of the enclitic pronouns and of particles, and their order, are probably the most interesting aspect of Pashto grammar (Tegey 1975a, 1975b, 1976, 1978).
Enclitic pronouns in any syntactic function are always attached after the first stressed part in the noun phrase: (plār) me ‘my father’.

4.3.1 Sentence

The same rule holds for the sentence, where the first element may be one of a number of grammatical elements, ranging from short or extended noun phrases, to particles, to successive verbal prefixes in the absence of other elements, and to a single verb form, as is shown in the following examples:

after the subject:  
\[
\text{khoshal khān me plār da} \quad \text{‘Khoshal Khan is my father’;}
\]

after a perfective marker:  
\[
\text{wō me pezānd-ə} \quad \text{‘I recognized him’;}
\]

after a negative particle:  
\[
\text{nā me pezan-i} \quad \text{‘he doesn’t know me’;}
\]

after verb:  
\[
\text{rā-leg-ə me} \quad \text{‘I was sending it here’}.
\]

By this rule, the pronoun may be considerably separated from the referent noun:

(a) after an adverb:

\[
\text{(wrusta lō plār na) me rā-gh-ay}
\]

\[
\text{after from father from my arrive.PT.PFV-3sm}
\]

‘he arrived after my father’.

(b) after a direct object:

\[
\text{(de plār bāgh) me akhl-i}
\]

\[
\text{of father orchard my buy.PR.IPFV-3sm}
\]

‘he is buying my father’s orchard’.

4.3.2 Order of particles

The rule of enclitic attachment to the first part of the sentence also applies to various particles. These include kho ‘but, well, then, at least, maybe’, the future marker ba, and the necessitative de ‘must, should’.

The various particles and enclitics appear in the following order, with 1st person pronoun preceding the general 3rd person pronoun:

\[
kho + ba + 1p melmo + de + 3rd ye.
\]

This rigid ordering can lead to ambiguity. For example, the sentence below may be understood in two ways: me is either (a) possessive, or it is (b) the direct object, in which case de is the possessive, attached to the first stressed part of the sentence, while me is the object. In most cases the context or use of independent pronouns solves the problem, here with the pronominal clitics 1s me and 2s de in hierarchical sequence:

\[
\text{plār kho me de leg-i}
\]

\[
\text{father maybe my/me you/your send.PR.IPFV-3sm}
\]

(a) ‘maybe [my] father is sending [you]’; or

(b) ‘maybe [your] father is sending [me]’.
4.4 Conjunctions

4.4.1 Agreement

Nouns are conjoined in Pashto most simply by means of the conjunctions aw ‘and’ or yâ ‘or’.

(1) When one of the conjoined elements is a pronoun, the pronoun ordinarily comes first.

(2) When nouns conjoined with aw ‘and’ or yâ ‘or’ have the same gender, adjectives modifying both nouns agree with them in whatever the gender is, and are in the plural:

\[ x\text{kwal-e} \quad \text{nj\o-ay} \quad \text{aw} \quad x\text{dz-a} \]

pretty-pf girl-sf and woman-sf

‘pretty girl and woman’.

(3) When the nouns are of different genders, the adjective must be repeated, with endings in agreement with each noun:

\[ z\text{rawa-r-a} \quad x\text{dz-a} \quad \text{aw} \quad z\text{rawar} \quad saq-ay \]

brave-sf woman-sf and brave-sm man-sm

‘brave woman and man’.

(4) Verbs in sentences with conjoined subjects, or objects are in the plural when coordinated by aw ‘and’. When the nouns are of different genders, the verb is masculine. This is certainly the case in the Central dialect, even though there has apparently been a prescriptive tradition in the language that the verb agrees with gender of the last nominal:

\[ a\text{man} \quad k\text{hoshal} \quad \text{aw} \quad l\text{ayla} \quad \text{mel-e} \quad \text{ta} \quad l\text{ar-\text{gl}}} \]

Aman-sm Khoshal-sm and Layla-sf picnic to went.PT.PFV.3pm

‘Aman, Khoshal and Layla went on the picnic’.

(5) When nouns are connected by yâ ‘or’, the verb agrees with the noun closest to it:

\[ a\text{man} \quad y\text{a} \quad l\text{ayla} \quad w\text{ga-gad-ed-a} \]

Aman-sm or Layla-sf danced.PT.PFV-3sf

‘Aman or Layla danced’.

4.4.2 Reduplicative conjunctions

Words and phrases may be conjoined with reduplicative conjunctions, for example yâ . . . yâ ‘either . . . or’, n\o . . . n\o ‘neither . . . nor’ and ham . . . aw ham ‘both . . . and’. In this case, the second occurrence of the verb is avoided (“gapped”):

\[ a\text{man} \quad \text{ham} \quad t\text{arikh poh day} \quad \text{aw} \quad \text{ham} \quad \text{likwal} \]

Aman also historian COP.3s and also writer

‘Aman is both a historian and a writer’;
4.5 Questions

Yes–no questions are differentiated from statements solely by the rise of the voice at the end of the sentence.

statement: patang dāktar da↓ ‘Patang is a doctor’;
question: patang dāktar da↑ ‘is Patang a doctor?’

Questions pertaining to particular parts of the sentence retain the regular word order, and the question word occurs in the position of the respective part of speech (for question words, see 3.1.3.4 Indefinite Pronouns):

asad kær k-av-i Asad work do.PR.IPVF-3s ‘Asad is doing work’;
asad tsê k-av-i? Asad what do.PR.IPVF-3s ‘what is Asad doing?’

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

Noun clauses in Pashto are syntactically identical with corresponding independent sentences, and are usually introduced by the conjunctions tse or che. They function as subjects, direct objects, complements, or adpositional adverbial phrases.

Grammatically they are masculine plural, which reflects their status as abstract subjects and objects, which is evident from the verb forms preceding subject and object clauses. Especially longer noun clauses are often post-posed to the end of the sentence, with a demonstrative marker left in their place.

Adverbial clauses include causal, temporal, and conditional types. Combinations of tense and aspect frequently play a major role in these clauses.

5.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses usually follow the head noun they modify and are introduced by che or tse. The definite head noun must be marked by a demonstrative.

Within the relative clause, the head noun is referred to either by the personal ending or the enclitic pronoun if subject or object, depending on the transitivity of the verb and the tense, and in prepositional phrases by the enclitic pronoun. This includes the possessive relationship:

(1) Possessor

agh-a njal-2y tse kamis ye . . .
that girl that dress her . . .
‘that girl whose dress . . .’, lit. ‘that girl that her dress . . .’.
(2) Subject

\[ agh-a \ njal-\#y \ tse \ melmesty\text{"a} \ ta \ r\text{"a}-ghl-e \ \text{w-a}, \ de \ r\text{"a}by\text{"a} \ khor \ da \]
that girl that party to come.\text{PART-3sf} was-3sf, of Rabya sister is
\text{lit. 'had come'.}

(3) Ergative patient

\[ agh-a \ njal-\#y \ tse \ \phi \ melmesty\text{"a} \ ke \ me \ \text{w-\#id-a}, \ de \ r\text{"a}by\text{"a} \ khor \ da \]
that girl that at party at I. AG PFV see.\text{PT.PFV-3sf}, of Rabya sister is
\text{lit. 'the girl whom (3sf-a) I saw at the party is Rabya's sister'.}

(4) Adpositional

\[ agh-a \ njal-\#y \ tse \ \phi \ \text{war} \ \phi \ \text{sara} \ \phi \ n\text{"ast} \ \text{w-\#m}, \ de \ r\text{"a}by\text{"a} \ khor \ da \]
that girl that her with sitting was-Is, of Rabya sister is
\text{lit. 'the girl with whom I was sitting is Rabya's sister'.}

5.2 Noun clauses

5.2.1 Subject clauses

The verb of the main clause is (1) in the 3rd person masculine plural, or (2) in the masculine singular in the presence of a demonstrative. The subject clause is usually postponed to the end of the sentence, either with or without a demonstrative marker.

(1) Without demonstrative

\[ x-\# \ \text{sw-\#} \ \text{tse} \ \text{wakht-a} \ \text{r\text{"a}-ghl-e} \]
good-\pm be.PT.PFV.3pm that early come.PT.PFV.2s
\text{lit. 'it was good that you arrived early'.}

(2) With topical demonstrative

\[ d\text{"a} \ x-\# \ \text{sw\text{"o}} \ \text{tse} \ \text{wakht-a} \ \text{r\text{"a}-ghl-e} \]
that.sm good-sm be.PT.PFV.3sm that early come.PT.PFV.2s
\text{lit. 'it was good that you arrived early'.}

5.2.2 Object clauses

In past tenses, the verb of the main clause is in the masculine plural, agreeing with the clause in the normal ergative construction.

(1) Present

\[ w\text{"y\text{"e}}-\text{t} \ \text{tse} \ \text{de} \ \text{asad} \ \text{pl\text{"a}r} \ x-\# \ \text{sar-\text{"a}y} \ \text{da} \]
say.PR.IPFV.3p that of Asad father good-sm man-m be.PR.IPFV.3s
\text{lit. 'they say that Asad's father is a good man'.}

(2) Past ergative

\[ m\text{"a} \ \text{kat-\#l} \ \text{che} \ \text{asad} \ \text{r\text{"a}-ghl-\text{"a}y} \]
\text{I.AG saw.PT.PFV.3pm that Asad here-come.\text{PART-3sm}
\text{lit. 'I saw that Asad had arrived', lit. 'has arrived'.}
5.2.2.1 Quotations as object clauses

Quotations as object clauses are mostly direct speech. The main clause verb agrees with the clause in past tenses, and the subject in present tenses.

(1) Present

layla aman ta way-i che mel-e ta ba ashak wes-om
Layla Aman to say.PR.IPFV-3s that picnic to FUT aushak take.PR.PFV-Is
'Layla is telling Aman that she will take aushak to the picnic', lit. 'I will take'.

(2) Past

layla aman ta w-way-ol che mel-e ta ba ashak wes-om
Layla Aman to say.PT.PFV.3pm that picnic to FUT aushak take.PR.PFV-Is
'Layla told Aman that she would take aushak to the picnic', lit. 'I will take';

aman w-way-ol tse bola myast ba pakistan ta lar
Aman PFV-say.PT.PFV.3pm that next month FUT Pakistan to go.PFV be.PR.PFV-Is
'Amân said that he would go to Pakistan next month', lit. 'I will go'.

5.2.2.2 Infinitival direct object clauses

Many direct object noun clauses translate into other languages as infinitives. In fact, a sentence like the following can be heard in the Pashto variety spoken in Pakistan, possibly due to influence from Urdu or English.

khoshal kar kawal n ghwar-i
Khoshal work do.INF not want.PR.IPFV-3s
'Khoshal doesn't want to work'.

In the Central dialect, however, such clauses must be finite noun clauses with tse and a perfective verb (subjunctive):

khoshal n ghwar-i tse kär w-k-i
Khoshal not want.PR.IPFV-3s that work PFV.do.PR.PFV-3s
'Khoshal doesn't want to work', lit. 'that he work';

khoshal ghwar-i tse plår ye as w-âkhl-i
Khoshal want.PR.PFV-3s that father his horse PFV.buy.PR.PFV-3s
'Khoshal wants his father to buy a horse' lit. 'that his father buy a horse';

tarisa koshish w-kr-ô
Theresa.AG attempt PFV.make.PT.PFV.3pm
 tse aushak pakh-ô kr-i
that aushak cook AUX.PR.PFV-3p
'Theresa tried to cook aushak' lit. 'that she cook', note 3p endings.
5.3 Complement clauses

Complement clauses may be pointed to by a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause.

(1) Without demonstrative

\[ \text{omed day che sol-a ba râ-s-i} \]

hope is that peace FUT here-come.PR.PFV-3s

'\text{the hope is that peace will come}'.

(2) With demonstrative

\[ p\,\text{paxt-an-a ke dâ zarur no da che melm-a wâ-bal-sî} \]

in Pashtuns in this necessary not is that guest invited-INF

\[ s-i \]

be.PR.PFV-3p (PASS)

'among Pashtuns it is not necessary that a guest be invited'.

5.3.1 Clauses as objects of adpositions

These clauses are almost always positioned after the adposition, but occasionally at the end of the sentence, with demonstrative markers left in place.

(1) 'about', \( di\, de\, . . . p\, bârâ\, ke \)

\[ mung\, di\, de\, p\, bârâ\, ke\, che\, to\, kâr\, râ\, sara\, wâ-kr-e, \]

we of this on subject on that you work me with PFV.do.PR.PFV-2s,

\[ wâ-ghag-ed-u \]

PFV.talk.PT.PFV-tp

'we talked about your working with me', lit. 'that you work'.

(2) 'instead of ... ' \( di\, de\, . . . p\, dzäy + PR.PFV/(subjunctive) \)

\[ di\, de\, p\, dzäy\, che\, lo\, ahmad\, sara\, kâr\, wâ-kr-e, \]

of this in place that with Ahmad with work PFV.do.PR.PFV-2s

\[ mä\, sara\, ye\, wâ-kr-a \]

me with it PFV.do.IMP-2s

'instead of doing the work with Ahmad, do it with me', lit. 'that you work'.

5.4 Adverbial clauses

5.4.1 Causal clauses

Causal relationship between clauses is overtly coordinate, with the causal clause unmarked in the Central dialects.

The result clause is frequently unmarked as well in the Central dialect. It can also be introduced by: (a) no 'then, so', which is also often found in the apodosis of conditional clauses, or (b) by dzäka 'therefore', or (c) combined dzäka no, no dzäka, or (d) dzäka che particularly in literary, and in Western Pashto, calqued after Persian patterns.

\[ day\, bur-a\, no\, khwâr-i,\, tâwân\, wâ\, ta\, kav-i \]

he sugar NEG eat.PT.PFV loss him to do.PR.IPVF-3

'he doesn't eat sugar [because] it's not good for him';
5.4.2 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are among the most common subordinate clauses in Pashto. They are introduced by kalā che or che ‘when’, or by an enclitic che.

(1) ‘when’, kalā che

kalā che laylā de asad pō aksident khabar-a sv-a,
when Layla of Asad with accident informed-sf become.AUX.PT.PFV-sf
samdasti roghtun tā lār-a
immediately hospital to go.PT.PFV-3sf
‘when Layla heard about Asad’s accident, she immediately went to the hospital’;

laylā che rā-ghal-a, ḍer wakht wər sara ke-nāst-om
Layla when come.PT.PFV-sf, much time her with down-sit.PT.PFV-3s
‘when Layla came I spent a lot of time with her’.

(2) ‘as soon as’, tsonga che + PR.PFV

tsonga che kār tā lār s-e,
as soon as city to go.PFV be.AUX.PR.PFV-2s,
wər sara wə-ghag-eg-a
him with PFVtalk.PR.IMP-2s
‘talk to him as soon as you go to the city!’

(3) ‘until’, tar tso che + PR.PFV

tar tso che asad nēw-ay motar akhl-i,
until Asad new car buy.PR.PFV-3s,
de āmān motar gōrdz-aw-gl-ay s-i
of Aman car use.PART-3sm can.PR.PFV-3s
‘until Asad buys a new car, he can use Aman’s’.

(4) ‘after’, wrusta lo + PT.PFV

wrusta lo de che āshak mo wə-khwār-gl, wə-gad-ed-u
after from that that aushak we.AG PFV.eat.PT.PFV-3p, PFV.dance.PT.PFV-1p
‘after we ate the aushak, we danced’.
5.4.3 Conditional clauses

5.4.3.1 Overview

The protasis of conditional clauses is introduced by *ka* ‘if’; the apodosis may be introduced by *no* ‘then, so’. Tense and aspect determine the degree of reality.

The *conditions* in the protasis are expressed by two sets of conditions:

1. potential, either (a) as a supposition or (b) assumed to be completed before the result; They are expressed by the perfective present and the perfective past: *wə-raseg-e* and *wə-rasedəl-e*, respectively.

2. irreal, referring either to (a) the present, or (b) the past. These two are expressed by two periphrastic perfect forms (see section 3.2.3.3 and Table 13.20). Their vocalism in the Central dialect differs slightly from that in the other dialects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central dialects:</th>
<th>Irreal in present</th>
<th>Irreal in past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other dialects:</td>
<td><em>rasedəlay</em></td>
<td><em>rasedəlay way</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(invariant)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the *apodosis*, the results are expressed by three sets, two of them marked by the future particle *ba*.

1. the present result of the two potential conditions is expressed by the present future *ba wə-raseg-e*;

2. the present result of the present and past irreal conditions is expressed by the imperfective past form, *rasedəl-e*;

3. the past result of the same two irreal conditions is expressed by the future past irreal form: *ba rasedəlay way*.

**TABLE 13.22: PROTASIS AND APODOSIS IN CONDITIONAL CLAUSES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Real/potential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unreal, result in present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unreal, result in past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.3.2 Examples of conditional clauses

Note that past constructions require the ergative construction with past transitive verbs.

(1) Potential conditions, result in present

(a) supposed condition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present perfective</th>
<th>Present perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ka dāy pay-e paydā k-e</em></td>
<td><em>samdastī ba ye wə-lagaw-i</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if he money-p find AUX immediately FUT it spend.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PR.PFV-3s

PT.PFV-3pf-ERG

PFV.PR.PFV-3s

‘if he finds some money, he will spend it immediately’.

(b) assumed completed condition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past perfective</th>
<th>Present perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ka dā pay-e paydā k-e</em></td>
<td><em>samdastī ba ye wə-lagaw-i</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if he.AG money-pf find AUX immediately FUT it spend.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PT.PFV-3pf-ERG

PFV.PR.PFV-3s

‘if he finds (as soon as he finds) some money, he will spend it immediately’.

(2) Unreal conditions, result in present

(a) present condition:

*ka amān aw laylā kor ta rā-tl-əl-ay.*

if Aman and Layla house to come.

PART.IPfv

PT.IPfv-3sm (ergative)

‘if Aman and Layla came to the house, we would buy a lamb’.

(b) past condition:

*ka amān aw laylā har wakht kor ta rā-tl-əl-ay.*

if Aman and Layla each time house to come.

PART.IPfv

kili ba mo war-kər-e way

key-sf FUT we.AG give would

PART.IPfv-sf AUX

‘if Aman and Layla often came to the house, we would have given them a key’.

(3) Unreal condition, result in past

(a) present condition:

*ka zə nārogh-a nə way.*

if I sick NEG would be today class to go.

PART.IPfv-1s

‘if I weren’t sick, I would go to class today’.

(b) past condition:

*ka tā way-əl-i way,*

if you.s.AG ask would, down-sit. FUT would

PART.IPfv-pm-ERG

PART.IPfv-sf

‘if you had asked, I would have sat down’ (female speaker).

Note that the 3s patient ending \-i in this ergatively constructed conditional clause refers to the implicit object ‘(ask) a question’.
5.4.4 Consecutive clauses

Consecutive clauses frequently occur with anticipatory adverbs like *durmā* 'so' and *dāše* 'such', and are introduced by *che* or *tse*.

(1) *che* 'so that, in order to'

\[
za\ dā\ kitāb\ khpal\ wro\ ta\ war-k-aw-om,\ che\ wə\ ye\ lwal*i
\]
I this book own brother to give.PR.IPFV-1s that PFV it read.PR-3s
'I'm giving this book to my brother to read', lit. 'that he read';

\[
dā\ kitāb\ me\ khpal\ wro\ ta\ war-kr-ə\ che\ wə\ ye\ lwal*i
\]
this book LAG own brother to give.PR.PFV-sm, that PFV it read.PFV-3s
'I gave this book to my brother to read'.

(2) *durmā* . . . *che* 'so much . . . that'

\[
kala\ kala\ durmā\ zyāt-a\ wāvr-a\ wɔr-ɛg-i,
\]
sometimes so much heavy snow fall.PR.IPFV-3sf,
\[
che\ sarak-ɛ✈-a\ bikhi\ band-ɛg-i
\]
that streets completely block.PR.IPFV-3p
'sometimes it snows so much that the streets are completely blocked'.

(3) *dāše* . . . *che* 'such . . . that'

\[
dā\ dāše\ kitāb\ day,\ che\ lwast-ə\ ye\ ɡrant\ di
\]
this such book is.m, that read.INF it difficult be.PR.IPFV.3p
'this book is such that it is hard to read'.

6 DIALECTOLOGY, LEXIS AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS

6.1 Sub-groupings of dialects

The dialects and sub-dialects of Pashto have not been classified or studied to any great extent, and most Pashtuns themselves are sensitive only to the obvious differences in pronunciation and vocabulary. There are three major dialects of Pashto:

- the Western (Kandahar) dialect;
- the Central (Kabul) dialect;
- the Eastern (Ningrahār) dialect;

(for a four-fold division see Kieffer 1974; Skjervø 1989: 387).

Speakers of the Western dialect are found mostly in south-west Afghanistan and in Baluchistan; speakers of the Central dialect mostly in the Kabul, Logar, Ghazni and Parwan provinces; speakers of the Eastern dialect in the north-east sections of Afghanistan, and in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan.

The dialectal differences among these major dialect groups of Pashto are relatively minor, and the speakers of most dialects of Pashto are readily understood by almost all speakers of other dialects, as many Pashtuns have large passive vocabularies of words from other dialects. The most distinctive isoglosses are the following which reflect different diachronic development and the present phonetic realization of three central phonemes (note that Central *x* is a voiceless palatal/front velar fricative):

766 THE IRANIAN LANGUAGES
The variation between $sh \sim x \sim kh$ is the source of the different Western spellings of the name of the language.

### 6.2 Contacts

In some respects, Pashto is perhaps the most conservative among the Iranian languages. Thus, it has retained phonemic stress, the ergative construction, and gender distinction. But Pashto has also innovated both internally, and by contact, for which the retroflex consonants due to contact with Indian languages are a prominent example.

### 6.3 Lexis

Within Iranian, Pashto shares great numbers of words with Dari-Persian, including shared borrowings from Arabic, not only because the genetic relationship of the two languages, but also because Pashtuns and Dari speakers have been neighbors for centuries, and more recently have been citizens of the same country, where both are official languages. By geographic contact, the Western and Central dialects (spoken in Afghanistan) are most likely to borrow vocabulary from Persian (and its Arabic component), whereas the Eastern dialect (spoken mostly in Pakistan) is more likely to borrow vocabulary from Urdu (and its English component).

### 7 SAMPLE TEXT

Note that the Pashto variant of this sample text by the author M. Pāsanay has $sh$-$shv$- vs. the Central auxiliary $s$-$slv$- ‘be, become’ found in the variant described in the present chapter.

`de wux  pəx-a`

of camel.m leg-f

The Camel's Legs

`kəla-che (de ārchi pə daxta) wob-ə`

time-that (of Archi on plain) water-pf

`rə-spar-e  shv-e,`

here-distribute.PART-pf be.PTFV-3pf

‘When the Archi Plain was irrigated,’

`aw de dzmək-o wesh payl shu`

and of land-Opf distribution started become.PT.PFV-3sm

‘and land distribution began,’

`no hāji sayiб həm (ders jərib-a dzmək-a)`

then Haji Sayib.AG also (thirty jarib land-f)

`tər ləs-a  kr-a,`

in hand-to do.PT.PFV-3sf

‘Haji Sayib acquired thirty jaribs of land.’
'He moved his household and belongings onto his land.'

'Because on the one hand time was short,'

'there were no masons available in Archi,'

'he, like the other settlers, in desperation'

'immediately dug a hole in the ground'

'and covered it over with wood planking,'

'so that he could live there protected from the wind and rain.'

'Haji Sayib told this story,'

'One day I was sitting in my room.'

'Suddenly dust and clods of earth'
rā-toy-e shv-e.
'poured down from overhead.'

bar me wā-kātal tsw (wugd-ə shay-ān)
'I looked up to see long things'

rā-wā-dzaredāl khwadzed-ə.
'hanging down, moving,'

aw (də khun-e bām) (ye lə khwadzed-o sara)
'and as they moved, the roof of the room moved.'

wār-wā-wat-əm.

war-khata
'move.PTIPFY.3pm'

ra-barābar shmv-ay day
'had wandered onto it,'

(tsalor wār-a pəx-e ye)
'All four of his legs were hanging down through the roof,'

aw nor (de khun-e pə shātir)
'but his body was supported by the roof beam.'
wux che was har-tsumra dzân khvadzaw-i, camel that now however-many-times body moved-PR.IPFV-3sm
‘However the camel struggles,’

nê (ye pêx-e) (dzîmek-e ta) raseg-i, not (his feet-pf) (ground-Osf to) reach.PR.IPFV-3pf
‘his feet do not reach ground;’

nê (khpoI be-wâka leng-i) not (own un-controlled legs)

war-tolavêl-ay sh-i there-collect.PART can.PR-3sm
‘he can neither collect his legs’

aw nê shâtir mâteg-i, and not beam break.PR-3sm
‘nor does he break the beam.’

(yaw-tsa shib-a) ye pê nandâraw-êm; (one-some moment) it at watch.PT.IPFV-1s
‘I watched for a while,’

tso che (nor de shâw-khâ khalök) ham until (other of neighborhood people) also

khabar shw-ol news become.PT.PFV3pm
‘then others in the neighborhood also got the news,’

aw (pê der taklíf)
and (with great difficulty)
‘and with great difficulty’

mo wux khläs kâr-ay shu. we.AG camel released make.PART can.PT.PFV3sm
‘we managed to free the camel’.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

Our dear colleague Dr Habibullah Tegey died in 2005. I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the patience of his co-author, Dr Barbara Robson, with my suggestions for the arrangement of several sections.

[The Editor]
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Note: Dr. Habibullah Tegey has further numerous articles in Pashto and Dari on topics in Pashto language and literature, in such journals as Kabul (Journal of the Pashto Academy), Wazhma and Adab (published by the Faculty of Letters at Kabul University).
CHAPTER FOURTEEN A

THE PAMIR LANGUAGES

D. (Joy) I. Edelman and Leila R. Dodykhudoeva

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

"Pamir languages" is the generalized conventional term for a group of languages that belong to the eastern branch of the Iranian language family, and are spoken in the valleys of the western and southern Pamirs and adjacent regions: the Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Region (Tajik Viloyati Kuhistoni Badakhshon) of the Republic Tajikistan; the Badakhshan province in Afghanistan; parts of northern Pakistan (Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza); and parts of the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of China.

The Pamir languages constitute four distinct genetic sub-groups that derive from several distinct proto-dialects of East Iranian origin (see also Chapters 14b and 15 on Shughn(ani) and Wakhi):

1. “North Pamir” group
   (a) Old Wani (extinct), relatively close to (b) Yazghulami, and (c) the Shughni-Rushani group to the south of it (see Chapter 14b).
2. Ishkashimi group
   (a) Ishkashimi proper, (b) Sanglichi, (c) Zebaki (extinct).
3. Wakhi.
4. Also, owing to a series of features
   (a) Munji, (b) Yidgha.

Extinct Sarghulami in Afghan Badakhshan is usually included. However, the very existence of this particular vernacular is doubtful. The material, described by Prof. I. I. Zarubin in the 1920s, could never be verified. It is based on the information from a speaker of one of the neighboring villages of Sarghulam, who called it lavz-i mazor ‘the speech of mazar’, presumably referring to the Afghan village of Sarghulam, which had such a shrine.

1.2 Social status and survival

The various groups of speakers of the Pamir languages consider themselves ethnic minorities. In official statistics and the census of Tajikistan they are not recognized as such, but identified as Tajiks of the Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Region.

The official language policy until 1989 did not recognize the independent status of these languages. It was only in 1989, with the “Tajikistan Republic Law on language”, that the existence and the special status of Pamir languages was acknowledged de jure.
MAP 14A.1 PAMIR LANGUAGES, PARACHI AND ORMURI
It stipulated special actions for "the independent development and usage of the Mountainous Badakhshanian (Pamir) languages", but did not include official permission for writing in these languages. Thus, de facto the Pamir languages remain spoken languages only. In fact, one among them has gained the status of lingua franca, Shughn(ani), at least in less official situations, beside official Tajik.

All Pamir languages can be called endangered languages to a certain extent. Some of these languages were included in the "Red Book of endangered languages of the world" (UNESCO 1995), viz. Rushani, Yazghulami and Ishkashimi. However, other languages, particularly those with fewer speakers, like Roshorvi, Bartangi, Sarikoli, Khufi and Sanglich, are not included.

Moreover, a number of vernaculars are not well known to scholarship, or not described at all such as the vernaculars of Barwoz in Shughnan, Sawnob, and Bardara in Bartang. While some are still spoken, like Bajuwi and Sanglich, others, like Barwoz, are apparently no longer used, and still others have been completely lost. Only in some cases, such as Old Wanj and Zebaki, there exist short preliminary descriptions.

The official figures given for the Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Region in the census of 1989 (last Soviet census) and the census of 1999 (the first sovereign Republic Tajikistan census after the migration caused by civil war) are as follows: 1989, total 154,554 (21,000, Khorog, Taj. Khorugh, administrative center of the region; 20,150, Wanj region including Yazghulam; 17,868, Rushan; 48,806, Shughnan; 19,287, Ishkashim; 11,843, Murghab). – 1999, total 211,292 (25,000, Khorog; 29,987, Wanj region including Yazghulam; 25,157, Rushan; 37,574, Shughnan; 23,915, Roshtkala; 27,265, Ishkashim; 15,885, Murghab; Darwaz, 25,952, not included).

In rough approximation, then, the total number of speakers of Pamir languages proper in Badakhshan can be estimated to be about 120,000 for 1989 and 170,000 for 1999.

2 LINGUISTIC SETTING AND DYNAMICS

2.1 Substrate and superstrate

The Pamir languages are the successors of several distinct ancient East Iranian dialects that penetrated the region, though probably not simultaneously. It is rather difficult to ascertain the time of divergence of this group from the other Iranian languages, but it most likely coincided with the period of the disintegration of the common East Iranian proto-language some time before the end of the first millennium BC.

Spreading to the Pamir valleys and adjacent regions, speakers of these emerging Iranian dialects formed layers over a common substratum of pre-Indo-European Pamir languages, or groups of languages. This substrate layer gave the immigrating East Iranian groups as a whole a set of shared characteristics on all linguistic levels, be it phonology, morphology, syntax, or lexical inventory. Significantly, the substrate features include, in comparison with other Iranian languages, shared shifts in the semantics not only of certain sets of terms, but also of the content of some grammatical categories. Thus, numerous structural parallelisms and shared loans provide the evidence for the continuous substratal coherence of this group, even though in the course of time, there developed internal divergences in phonetics and other characteristics due to the problem of communication between the speakers of these language groups in these mountainous regions.
In turn, during the last several centuries a new unifying layer was superimposed over all languages in the Pamir region by dialects of Farsi, specifically Farsi-ye Dari of Afghanistan, and Tajiki and its regional dialects. These gradually came to function as the language of oral communication, having been first introduced in the Middle Ages through the missionary activities of Islam. Today, Modern Literary Tajik is the official language in Tajik Badakhshan.

That the original area of the Pamir languages was considerably larger than today, particularly towards the north and north-west, can be demonstrated on the basis of documented but now extinct East Iranian languages as well as the toponymy and the areal and substrate lexicon. It is apparent that the expansion of the Tajik dialects occurred not only on the margins, but also into its inner parts due to forced migrations, as shown by the dialect of Ghoron and some Tajik dialects of Ishkashim. The various Tajik dialects with which closest contacts and connections developed include Darwaz, Wanj, Vakhiyo, Qarategin, Rogh, and Badakhshan in the North and West, while various Dari dialects provided contacts in the West.

Other contact languages in the larger Pamir area include Pashto, Burushaski and the Nuristani and Dardic languages in the south, and south-east, as well as Urdu, Kyrgyz and Uzbek dialects in the east and north-east along with Uyghur and Chinese.

2.2 Genetic relationships and Sprachbund

Comparative-historical research, prominently expounded in the works of Georg Morgenstierne in the 1930s, has demonstrated that the Pamir languages show divergent historical developments. They represent several groups each with its own distinct sets of characteristic features, including shared early innovations. Significantly, the features typical for each group individually are not shared with other groups inside the Pamir region proper, but with other East Iranian groups both within or outside of the larger region. That is, the Pamir languages constitute distinct genetic sub-groups that derive from several distinct proto-dialects of East Iranian origin. These facts contradict the assumption, still sometimes found, that the Pamir languages represent a unified family of related languages that derive from a common Iranian "pre-Pamirian" proto-language.

The degree of genetic relationship among the Pamir languages varies considerably. There is only one group that exhibits a genetic relationship on the basis of their historical phonology, morphology and shared innovations that is sufficiently close to allow for the reconstruction of a common inner-Pamir proto-language, or a group of very close dialects. This is the group which by some is called the "North Pamir" group, with three members: (1) extinct Old Wanj, relatively close to Yazghulami; (2) Yazghulami; and (3) the Shughni-Rushani group to the south of it. The reconstruction of their shared proto-language was partly undertaken by Valentina S. Sokolova (1967) and D. (Joy) I. Edelman (1980, 1986, 1987, 2009).

In turn, the Shughn(ani)-Rushani group itself (see Chapter 14b) consists of several local members that genetically constitute sub-groups, with various degrees of relationship: (a) Shughn(ani)-Bajuwi-Barwozi; (b) Rushani; (c) Khufi, (d) Bartangi-Roshorvi; and (e) Sarikoli. Further, each of these has its own internal subdialects and varieties, with clear geographical boundaries and mutually intelligible.

As indicated above, genetically related to the North Pamir group are: (4) Ishkashimi with Sanglichi and extinct Zebaki; further (5) Munji with Yidgha, which constitute closely related, but relatively independent, groups that share a set of features with the
others, but show sufficient number of substantial differences that makes a close relationship doubtful; finally, (6) Wakhi, which is genetically more distant, originating in a North-East Iranian dialect (see chapters on Khotanese and Tumshuqese, and Wakhi).

At the same time, there is convergence among the Pamir groups. It is evidenced by the fact that, typologically, there is a well-defined resemblance in structure (somewhat less so for Munji and Yidgha among the six groups) as well as shared vocabulary. However, those shared features are not due to close genetic relationship, but to the effect of convergence in the region. It is a process that was enhanced by the influence first of the common early substrate and then in the last few centuries by the penetration of Tajik. We are therefore justified in considering this region to be a “linguistic area” (Sprachbund).

Table 14a.1 combines the Cyrillic and Latin transcriptions developed for the alphabets of the individual Pamir languages.

3 MAIN LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS AND TYPOLOGY

The main structural and typological characteristics (especially the more recent ones) as a whole are similar for all Pamir languages.

3.1 Phonology

3.1.1 Vocalic systems

The vocalic systems show various types of qualitative and quantitative opposition. The inherited Iranian opposition of length, \( \text{\textit{\textipa{iea \textdi{a} \textdi{a}}} vs. \text{\textipa{a}} \text{\textipa{u}}} \), is not retained as such. In general, length distinction is lost on the “margins”, but retained in the inner area. Thus, Shughni has a pair of low vowels \( \text{\textipa{a}} \) and \( \text{\textipa{a}} \), and also two series of three long vowels each which are opposed to a single short vowel, \( \text{\textipa{i}} \) and \( \text{\textipa{u}} \), respectively, which have a wide range of phonetic realizations. Similar systems are found in the other members of the Shughni-Rushani group (except distant Sarikoli), and in Munji.

In Yazghulami, Ishkashimi and Sarikoli length distinctions are essentially lost. Distinctions in vowel quality are replaced by opposition of relative stability; thus, unstable central vowels are in opposition to all the other, stable vowels. Yazghulami, though, does retain length distinction in the low pair \( \text{\textipa{a}} \text{\textipa{a}} \). Wakhi has no quantitative gradation, and length distinction is not phonemic but conditioned by position, differing by the subdialect. The various systems are shown in Table 14a.2:

3.1.2 Consonantal systems

A common typical feature of the Pamir languages is the absence of an independent phoneme /h/, and the conditioned, non-phonemic “rough breathing” sound [h] before word- or syllable-initial vowel.

3.1.2.1 Velar and uvular fricatives

In Yazghulami, the Shughni-Rushani group and in Wakhi the phonemic pair \( x \) and \( y \) has shifted to uvular position (like in Tajik), and the emptied velar place was occupied by the new phonemic velar pair \( \text{\textipa{x}} \) and \( \text{\textipa{y}} \). In Ishkashimi, however, such velar phonemes did not develop. In Munji, \( x \) remained velar, and a new pair \( \text{\textipa{x}} \) and \( \text{\textipa{y}} \) developed from other sources.
TABLE 14a.1: TRANSCRIPTIONS FOR THE PAMIR LANGUAGES

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
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<td>ideologies</td>
<td>ρ (Y, W)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B = Bartangi; I = Ishkashimi; Rsh = Rushani; S = Shughni; W = Wakhi; Y = Yazghulami.

TABLE 14a.2: PAMIR VOCALIC SYSTEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long vs. Short</th>
<th>Rushani (Shughnani-Rushani group)</th>
<th>Rushani (Shughnani-Rushani group)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>베</td>
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<td>베</td>
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<td>synthesize</td>
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<td>베</td>
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<td>베</td>
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<td>synthesize</td>
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<tr>
<td>베</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>synthesize</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stable vs. Unstable*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>* Sam</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>ū</th>
<th>ū</th>
<th>Yazghulami</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>* Sam</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>synthesize</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>* Sam</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>synthesize</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>* Sam</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>synthesize</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ū</td>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>* Sam</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>synthesize</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(For Wakhi, see also Chapter 15, section 2.1.1.)
3.1.2.2 Palatalized affricates and fricatives

In the North-Pamir languages *k and *g of the proto-language were conditionally palatalized. These variants developed into phonemic palatals in Yazghulami, and into phonemic ç/h in the Shughn(an)-Rushani group.

3.1.2.3 Labialized velars and uvulars

In Yazghulami, a series of six labialized phonemes developed as correlates of non-labialized phonemes. As a result, there is a triple post-palatal opposition (reminiscent of, but certainly distinct from, the triple Indo-European series): k-k-k and g-g-g.

3.1.2.4 Cerebrals

In Munji (with Yidgha), Ishkashimi (with Sanglichi and Zebaki), and Wakhi there developed sets of cerebral phonemes opposed to the unmarked sets varying by language group. These included the dental plosives stops, palatal affricates, and the sonorants. It is not only the very inventory of these phonemes, but more importantly the frequency of their use and their distribution (different frequency and use of classes) that show that they were not borrowed from the Indo-Aryan languages, but from a language like Burushaski. The conclusion that cerebralization in an intrusive process is further supported by the absence of cerebrals in the North-Pamir languages, i.e. Yazghulami and the Shughni-Rushani group. The various systems are shown in the following table, using digraphs for affricates.

TABLE 14a.3: PAMIR CONSONANTAL SYSTEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Sonorant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yazghulami</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>dž</td>
<td>tš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f v</td>
<td>ð ð</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>š ź</td>
<td>š ź</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shughn(an)-Rushani</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>dž</td>
<td>tš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f v</td>
<td>ð ð</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>š ź</td>
<td>š ź</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishkashimi</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>dž</td>
<td>tš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f v</td>
<td>t t</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>š ź</td>
<td>š ź</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanglichi</td>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>dž</td>
<td>tš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f v</td>
<td>t t</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>š ź</td>
<td>š ź</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued
TABLE 14a.3: Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Sonorant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Munji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>t s</td>
<td>t s</td>
<td>k g</td>
<td>(q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(t d)</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>x y</td>
<td>w y m n r l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td></td>
<td>(h)(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakhi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>t s</td>
<td>t s</td>
<td>k g</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(t d)</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>x y</td>
<td>w y m n r l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.3 Suprasegmental features

The pattern of stress in nominals tends to be word-final, while that of the verb forms varies according to language, except for obligatory stress on the negative prefix. In general word stress is rather weak and subordinate to a sentence stress.

3.2 Morphology

For nominal morphology, the absence of distinct morphological boundaries between substantive, adjective and adverb is characteristic, e.g. Bartangi tor ‘top; upwards; upper’ may function in all three categories. That is, the function is largely determined on the basis of semantic and syntactic criteria.

3.2.1 Nominal morphology and categories

3.2.1.1 Gender

The category of gender, distinguishing masculine and feminine, is preserved in a rather reduced form in Yazghulami, the Shughni-Rushani group (with the exception of Sarikoli), and Munji (with Yidgha). In Yazghulami gender is exposed only by correlation with gender-marked 3s pronouns in the oblique case which derive from demonstrative pronouns. In the Shughni-Rushani group and Munji (with Yidgha) gender is formally expressed only in a small set of nouns. Otherwise, the gender of a noun is indicated by demonstrative pronouns, as well as by those adjectives and verb forms that have retained gender distinction. In Ishkashimi, Sanglichi, Wakhi and Sarikoli the category of gender is lost.

Semantically, one observes the tendency towards transformation of the category of gender to a system that is defined by semantic classes, evidencing a shift that is due to the substratum. The process is practically completed in Yazghulami. In the Shughni-Rushani group, the category of gender is partially shifted to the category of concreteness, concrete/general (abstract). Thus, irrespective of natural gender, names of inanimate objects, of animals (when sex is not specified), and objects appear in the masculine gender when they indicate the general, categorical idea, or the totality of objects, while a concrete object is in the feminine gender. For example, in Rushani māvn ‘apple’ has feminine
gender when referring to a single apple, but masculine gender when the totality of apples is referred to.

3.2.1.2 Number

The category of number in most Pamir languages is expressed by the opposition of the bare, unmarked noun (as an object, concept, or totality) and the noun with plural markers (distributed multitude). In most of the Pamir languages the markers are agglutinative suffixes. Munji, Wakhi, and Sarikoli distinguish plural direct and oblique forms. In Bartangi plural is indicated syntactically by the combination of the bare noun with demonstrative pronoun and the verbal number markers. In all Pamir languages, with the exception of Munji, the singular is required after numbers higher than two, which thus implies totality.

3.2.1.3 Case marking

Case marking is partially preserved in Munji (and Yidgha), Wakhi, and Sarikoli, in form of two main cases: direct and oblique, sometimes with the addition of adpositions. In the Shughn(an)-Rushani group (excepting Sarikoli) the case (as well as gender and number) of the substantive is denoted by the case of a demonstrative pronoun that serves as a definite article. In Yazghulami and Ishkashimi nouns are not inflected, and their syntactic function is determined by position within the clause, as well as adpositions, adpositional phrases, and other markers such as adverbs.

3.2.1.4 Definiteness

The category of definiteness is marked morphologically by articles that have largely lost the semantic distinctions of their origin. The indefinite article is derived from the numeral 'one', usually in truncated form. Definiteness is indicated by articles that are inflectionally reduced sets of the demonstrative pronouns. The Shughni-Rushani group is noteworthy for having retained gender, number, and case distinctions in these demonstrative pronouns, which thereby serve not only as definite articles, but also to identify noun and noun phrases grammatically.

3.2.2 Adjectives

The inflection of adjectives is even more reduced than that of substantives. Gender is preserved only in the Shughn(an)-Rushani group (with the exception of Sarikoli) and in Munji (with Yidgha); number is preserved in Munji (with Yidgha); case is lost everywhere.

Comparison is marked by reflexes of OIr. *-tar-a, e.g. Sh. -di, Rsh. -dör, Y. -dür). There are also degrees of intensity, 'a little more', etc. expressed by either old or recent means such as reduplication, e.g. Sh. -dar-di, Y. -dar-dür <* -tara-tara. – The superlative is expressed descriptively.

3.2.3 Pronouns

In most of the languages the 3rd person pronoun is not developed and the demonstrative pronouns serve in this function. A special case is Yazghulamii, where historically
demonstrative sets were redistributed into personal pronoun function and demonstrative function. In general, the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns reflect the ancient personal pronouns, albeit with considerable and varying assimilations between the forms. The exception is found with the second person plural pronouns. They were innovated, on the model of substrate system, by copying initial t- from the 2s pronoun, thus, Shughni māš 'we' – tama 'you', Yazgh. mox – tamox. This is not the case in Munji (with Yidgha) and Wakhi, even though there the 2p personal pronouns are likewise innovative.

The demonstrative pronouns preserve (with the exception of Yazghulami) the ancient Indo-European system of triple deixis: (1) ich-deixis, nearest to speaker 'this' < *ima-; (2) du-deixis, nearest to addressee (interlocutor) and not that far, 'this, that' < *aita-, also used as emphatic and anaphoric pronouns 'that very', 'that one that', and (3) er-deixis, either distant or neutral, 'that; he' < *awa-.

The declension of pronouns is relatively archaic, and is preserved even in those languages that have lost the declension of other nominal classes, as is the case in Yazghulami, the Shughn(ani)-Rushani group and Ishkâshimi.

3.2.4 Numerals

Numerals up to ten are usually indigenous. Higher numbers are often loaned from Tajik (in Sarikoli from Uygur), but the older generation tends to preserve indigenous composite numbers. The teens are additive, 'ten (and) digit'. From 40 and above, Yazghulami, Munji (with Yidgha) and Wakhi have a vigesimal system; thus 'twice 20' = 40, 'twice 20 and ten and five' = 55, 'four times 20' = 80. By contrast, the system of the Shughni-Rushani group is decimal; thus 'four times ten' = 40, 'five times ten and five' = 55.

3.3 Verb morphology and system

3.3.1 Past tenses

The basic two subsystems are present and past, typical for most Iranian, and three stems, typical for this group. Present forms, present-future, and imperative, are derived from the present stems. In the past tenses, forms are based on the past stem, usually originating in the OIr. perfect participle in *-ta, very rarely in *-wa, in Wakhi also in *-na. The perfect and pluperfect forms are based on the extended participle masc. *-taka, fem. *-tačti with i-umlaut.

In the present tenses, person and number are marked by endings that reflect, on the whole, the OIr. "primary" active endings. In the past and perfect tenses, participles of intransitive verbs have gender and number agreement. Person and number in all Pamir languages are typically marked by enclitics that resulted from the partial merger of the OIr. enclitic pronouns with copula forms. By that merger the earlier ergative construction, where agents of past transitive verbs were expressed by the personal clitics, was mostly lost. However, the markers still show traces of that construction, e.g. in the Shughni-Rushani group (with the exception of Sarikoli), the 3s past marker -i with transitive verbs originates in the 3s personal enclitic *-hai.

The various patterns of present and past person markers are shown in the following table. Parentheses indicate optional marking; note that past tense markers are clause clitics.
### Table 14a.4: Pamir Person Marking in Present and Past

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yazghulami</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-ay</td>
<td>-il</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>-it</td>
<td>-an</td>
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<tr>
<td>Present</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>ay</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>af</td>
<td>an</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trans.</td>
<td>(ay)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(ay)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shughni</td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-il</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-et</td>
<td>-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
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<tr>
<td>Past</td>
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<td>i</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>an</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trans.</td>
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<td>i</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rushani</td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-il</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-at</td>
<td>-an</td>
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<td>Present</td>
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<td>Past</td>
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<td>at</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>of</td>
<td>an</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trans.</td>
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<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishkashimi</td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>-on</td>
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<td>Past</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>on</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sanglichi</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Sanglichi has the same endings, except for pres. 3s -Ø

#### 4 Lexis

##### 4.1 Word formation and semantic sets

All Pamir languages share the same word-building models. A noteworthy phenomenon is the contextually restricted use of certain sets of words and of acts, including taboos, e.g. the name of the wolf or mouse in different situations, as well as different kinds of acts of prohibition protected by taboo, such as Ishkashimi प्रभुर्ति which is the ritual prohibition to enter the house at Nawruz. In response to the need of new vocabulary items, new words with descriptive semantics or old words that already exist in some Pamir languages are used in new senses, or words are borrowed.

In general, the lexicon continues the inherited one, but also includes innovations and semantic shifts at various stages, dating from Indo-European to relatively recent periods. Thus, ancient is Yazghulami दोय 'daughter' < IE. *dhug₂-ter-, whereas Rushni razēn 'daughter' < *fra-zanyā- (fem.) 'born' is an early innovation.
4.2 Loans

The largest number of loan words in all Pamir languages comes from Tajik. Of interest are loans that have become obsolete in Tajik, as well as in Persian and Dari, though preserved in all or several Pamir languages, and sometimes show semantic shifts. There are also numerous terms loaned from Arabic via Tajik, etc. mostly in the religious and cultural spheres. Loans from Indo-Aryan and Burushaski generally are terms of material culture. There are also a small number of loans from Turkic, mainly from Kyrghyz, and from Uygur and Chinese in Sarikoli. More recent are loans from European languages, mainly Russian and English that were incorporated during a rather long period, most intensively from the end of nineteenth century onward.

There have also been some mutual borrowings among the Pamir languages. Certain lexical strata and sets of words are of substrate origin, or are areal words whose source or origin is unknown.

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Geneticheskie otnoshenia mundz-anskogo iazyka i shugnano-yazghulamskoi iazykovoi gruppy (Genetic relations between the Munji language and the Shughnani-Yazghulami language group), Leningrad: Nauka.


1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

The Shughni, or Shughnani, ethnic group, ethnonym xuyn, xuyn’m, populates the mountain valleys of the West Pamir. Administratively, the Shughni-speaking area is part of the Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Region (Tajik Viloyati Mokhiatori Kuhistoni Badakhshon) of the Republic of Tajikistan, with its major center of Khorog, Taj. Khorugh (37° 30’N, 71° 31’E), and of the adjacent Badakhshan Province of Afghanistan.

In Tajikistan, the Shughn(an)i live along the right bank of the longitudinal stretch of the river Panj from (Zewar) Dasht in the North to Darmorakht in the south, as well as along the valleys of its eastern tributaries, the Ghund (Fund, Tajik Tun) and the Shahdara (Xa’dar), which meet at Khorog. They also constitute the major population group in the high mountain valley of Baju(w)dara (Baju(w)dara) to the north of Khorog. Small, compact groups are also found in central Tajikistan, including Khatlon, Romit, Kofarnikhon, and other regions.

In Afghanistan, the Shughn(an)i have also compact settlements, mainly on the left bank of the river Panj in Badakhshan Province. A sizeable Shugh(n)anji-speaking community is also found in Kabul (cf. Nawata 1979) and in Faizabad, the capital of Afghan Badakhshan.

Linguistically, the Shughn(an)i language, endonym xuyn(l)n, xuyn(l)n’s, belongs to the Shughn(an)i-Rushani sub-group of the North Pamir languages. This group includes, in addition, Yazghulami as well as the now extinct Old Wani in Tajikistan, relatively close to the former. These languages are genetically closely tied together, and it is quite possible to reconstruct the common North Pamir proto-language, defined by numerous shared innovations in historical phonetics and morphology, a task that has been undertaken by V. S. Sokolova (1967) and by D. (Joy) I. Edelman (1980, 1986, 1987, 1990, 2009). Altogether, the Pamir languages belong to the East Iranian branch of the Iranian language family (see Chapter 14a).

The Shughni-Rushani group itself consists of some seven members. Though varying in types and degree of relationships, four genetic sub-groups can be distinguished (see also 7 Dialectology):

1. Shughni, Bajuwi, and Barwozi;
2. Rushani with Khufi to the north;
3. Bartangi with Roshorvi to the north-east (widely known in its Kyrgyz form Oroshori);
(4) isolate Sarikoli spoken in the Xinjiang-Uygur province of China.

Specifically, the location of the members of the first group and their varieties of speech are as follows:

1. Shughni proper, spoken on the banks of the river Panj from Sokhcharv in the north to Darmorakht in the south, and in the provincial center Khorog;
2. the micro-dialect Bajuwi (Baju(wi)) in the high Baju(w)darā valley, with the micro-dialects of the villages of Baju(w) and Baju(w)-pastev north to Khorog;
3. the micro-dialects of Barwoz (Barwoz) in the highest part the Shahdara valley now confined to a few families and in the process of being replaced by the common variety;
4. in addition, there are the micro-dialects of the Ghund valley, and of the lower and upper villages of the Shahdara valley, specifically from Khorog to Tavdem, and from Tavdem to Jawshanghoz. The varieties in these two valleys are to a considerable degree due to the admixture of immigrant population from Rushan, Bartang, Roshorv, Sarez, and the Wakhan-speaking areas.

The speakers of Shughn(an)i consider themselves an ethnic minority in Tajikistan. The official statistics and the census record them simply as Tajiks of the Mountainous-Badakhshan Autonomous Region. The census of 1989 gave the following numbers for that region: total population 154,554; Shughan district 48,806; the census of 1999 gave: Shughnan 37,574; Roshtqala 23,915; and Baju(w) (which is included to Rushan region) 4,150; total 65,639; for the town of Khorog, ca. 21,000 and 25,557, respectively. By unofficial indirect estimate, the total number of the Shughn(an)i-speaking residents of historical Shughnan is ca. 80,000 and 100,000.

Shughn(an)i is used mainly as a spoken language. As elsewhere in Tajikistan, Tajik is the official language. It is the only language that can be legally used for official purposes, and is mandatory in school, the mass media, etc. Accordingly, Tajik dominates even in verbal communication. For less formal purposes, however, oral communication may be conducted in the Shughn(an)i language.

In fact, Shughn(an)i serves as the de facto lingua franca for the entire Pamir linguistic area besides Tajik. In addition, a kind of regional Tajik vernacular has traditionally evolved in Badakhshan, which has at least three major inputs: It is based not only on the local dialects, and on the linguistic norms of official Soviet Tajik, which were formed not later than the 1980s and are now predominant in schools, but also on classical Farsi-Tajiki, which is popular in the region, as well as on contemporary Farsi and Dari norms.

1.2 Writing systems

Shughn(an)i, even today, is regarded as an oral language. However, in the 1930s an alphabet was developed based on Roman characters, soon after which several textbooks as well as a few works of fiction were published. For several years afterward, reading and writing instruction was conducted in Shughn(an)i in the elementary schools of the region. In the 1980s a new alphabet was created based on Cyrillic characters, with diacritics for specific Shughn(an)i phonemes (see Table 14a.1 in Chapter 14a).
2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory and distribution

2.1.1 Vowels

Vowels are characterized by qualitative and partly quantitative phonological oppositions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualitative Characteristics</th>
<th>Quantitative Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Front Center Back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The three long phonemes ū, ù, ă are opposed to the single short phoneme u, which has a wide range of phonetic variants [u, y, o, a] corresponding in quality to the long three vowels. The same holds for long i, e, ū as opposed to the single i with variants [i, ɛ, ɛ, ı, ę]. The low vowels a, ā constitute a single pair. In general, long vowels are stable, and the degree of variation is rather low.

The phoneme ū, moved forward compared to ū, is the result of, or may occur as a conditioned variant of the following: (1) long ū in prenasal position: pond > pūnd 'road'; (2) aw in preconsonantal contraction: saw-d > sū-d 'goes, is going'; (3) short u with compensatory lengthening and loss of pharyngeal: muhlat > mulat 'granted period'. In addition, ū occurs in expressive vocabulary, as in the interrogative emotive particle ū, and the interjection ăxša.

The trend towards monophthongization is well developed, and affects inherited, old and recent loans, such as nawbat > nowbat > nubat 'one's turn'.

Similarly, the phoneme e reflects the contraction of the diphthong *ai: sipēd 'white'. The phoneme ê, besides its occurrence in indigenous words such as nīšēb 'sleep', reflects a further level of contraction, that of the diphthong -ey: xeyr > xēr 'an emotional particle of surprise, also of endorsement', and is also found in pre-uvular or pharyngeal position in loans: tey 'razor'.

Prenasal raising. In general, in most of the Shughni local dialects the long mid-high phonemes are raised before nasal to the next level of narrowness: ê > ĕ > i and ū > ū > ū: *divēn- > divēn- 'winnow', *xēn > xīn 'blue' and *nōm > nūm 'name', *yūnj > yūn 'hair'. Bajuwi and some Shughn(an)i micro-dialects, however, tend to retain the broader vowels: Sh. mūn, Bju. mūn 'apple'. Nevertheless, vowels of one and the same word in Shughni and Bajuwi, while similar in their linguistic characteristics, may form different lexical variants.

Final i, i and ā, a. (1) Long i in final position is reduced to short i: tīr > ti 'upwards, upper part', dī > di 'village'. (2a) Long ā in final pre-pausal position serves as an archiphoneme for both a and ā: gārdā-y-un zošt 'I took a flat bread', but gārdā 'flat bread'. (2b) In turn, short ā may occur in final position as the result of truncation: saw > sa 'go!', a yōdā > a ḏa 'address to a young man'.
2.1.2 Consonants

The system of Shughn(ani) consonants may be shown as follows:

**TABLE 14b.2: CONSONANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>c (ts)</td>
<td>ĉ</td>
<td>ĝ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>j (dz)</td>
<td>ğ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>θ s</td>
<td>ʃ x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v</td>
<td>o ʒ z</td>
<td>ʒ γ (h)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>r, l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2.1 Back-lingual k g and fronting

In Shughni proper the phonemes k g are always back-lingual. However, in the larger Shughn(ani) group, including Bajuwi, these two are palatalized to [k, ĝ] under two conditions: before front vowels, and in final position after any vowel. In Bajuwi, pre-vocalic fronting occurs in some other positions as well: gāxt [ɡaːxt, ʃaːxt] 'appealed', kā [kā, cā] 'where'.

2.1.2.2 Uvular x y vs. velar ʃ ɣ

The uvular phonemes x y are opposed to the velar pair ʃ ɣ. These are articulated with the back of the tongue raised high, while the remainder of the tongue remains flat, or its tip is lowered. Therefore, those sounds could be considered single-focus, or double-focus phonemes with pronounced front focus: ʃac 'water', wō.ʃ 'grass'.

2.1.2.3 Palatal ě ğ vs. dental c j

Among the affricates, the double-focus palatal pair ě ğ is opposed to the dental single-focus pair c j. The latter tends to soften, or lose, occlusion, and merge with ʒ. In turn, the fricative s may be occluded to c after consonants: wižafels- 'to return'.

2.1.2.4 Labio-dental v vs. bilabial w

Labio-dental v is opposed to bilabial w. The latter is groove or slit depending on position. In word- or syllable-final position it appears as a semivowel resulting in phonetic diphthongs: źōw 'cow', baʃu(w) 'Bajuw'.

2.1.2.5 Non-phonemic h

For Shughn(ani), the absence of phonemic h is typical, although [h] occurs in recent loans from Tajik, and as an onset glide before initial vowel, alternating with [w] or [y]. This process thus contrasts with the truncation of final vowels or syllables mentioned above.
2.1.3 Consonant clusters

There are some positional alternations connected with historical processes or with the modern implementation of phonemes.

2.1.3.1 Clusters and structural assimilation

In general, there are no initial clusters. Final clusters in loans which deviate from permitted indigenous clusters are assimilated by release vowels: umr > umri ‘life’, naql > naqli ‘narration’.

2.1.3.2 Metathesis

Further, metathesis of phonemes and syllables, which is distinctive for Iranian languages, particularly East Iranian, is an intriguing phenomenon in Shughni: naṣq < Tajik naqš ‘ornament, ornamentation’, čərx ‘wheel’ < OIr. caxra.

2.1.3.3 Voice assimilation

Consonants show voice assimilation: bad-gūr > bat-gūr ‘angry’, but tūd-pīxt > tūd-bixt ‘mulberry flour’, tūd-paτ > tūd-biτ ‘the season when mulberry is ripe’.

2.1.3.4 Assimilation of n

The nasal n may have dental, palatal, and guttural varieties: rang [raŋ] ‘color’, carang [caraŋ] ‘how’. Before palatalized [k, ɻ], n could occur as post-alveolar palatalized sound.

2.1.3.5 v > δ, θ > f

In some words, v is changed to δ due to noise intensification: vlođirrm ‘besom’. In turn, the voiceless non-strident fricative θ may change to labial: Sh. širf ‘slippery’, Barwozi šir0, Sh. šagarf ‘proper name’ < šagar0 < šagar0 < šogird < Tajik šogird ‘pupil’.

2.2 Non-segmental features

2.2.1 Word stress

(1) Enclitics, including person markers, postfixes, postpositional -i (izāfi), are unstressed, or have no primary stress.
(2) Otherwise, nominal stress is final, including final derivative suffixes.
(3) Composite forms may have primary and secondary stress.
(4) Similarly stress is on the final syllable of verbal stems, and always on the negative and prohibitive markers na and mā.

2.2.2 Phrasal stress

Word stress is rather weak and is subordinated to that of the sentence or clause. Parts of a syntagm are grouped around a word on which the phrase stress falls. Phrase stress is achieved by increasing the stress of one of the words included into the syntagm, which
has a slight rise on the stressed syllable. On the last syllable of the syntagm the tone rises sharply and simultaneously the vowel is lengthened.

2.2.3 Sentence stress and intonation

(1) In declarative sentences, a syntagm, especially at the end of a phrase, has a sharp drop in the tone of the syllable on which the phrase stress rests.
(2) Interrogative sentences have distinct interrogative intonation with rising tone, which is rather prominent in Shughni: sāw-i-y-o? 'are you going?'.

2.3 Morphophonemic alternations

(1) Like other Iranian languages, Shughni inherited the morphophonological alternations between present and past stems of the verb. In addition, morphological change is found in perfect and infinitive stems as well as in forms of the 3s.
(2) A subset of nouns shows both gender and number alternation, and a subset of adjectives shows gender alternation.

3 MORPHOLOGY

Traditionally, the following basic parts of speech are distinguished: noun, pronoun, numerals, verb, preposition, postposition, particle, and conjunction. For nominal morphology, the absence of the morphological distinction between the word classes: noun, adjective, and adverb is typical, so that the identification of some words as belonging to one of these categories requires additional semantic and syntactic data.

Agglutination together with elements of internal inflection for nominal forms appears frequently, as is the case in verbal inflection in the present-future tense and the analytical structure of forms of the past tenses.

Modal and aspectual-temporal constructions are formed analytically.

3.1 Nominal morphology

Nominals possess the category distinctions between masculine and feminine gender, singular and plural number, definite and indefinite, as well as person and non-person, and alienable and inalienable possession (marked syntactically).

3.1.1 Nouns

3.1.1.1 Gender

3.1.1.1a Morphological gender

Nouns are either masculine or feminine. However, morphologically, this distinction is preserved only in a small set of substantives, animate nouns and adjectives, and is marked by ablaut: m. kud, f. kid 'dog'; m. wūyd, f. wōyd 'demonic creature'; m. ĺuš 'cock', f. ĺaš 'hen'.

Similarly, a small set of nouns functions as lexical gender markers in compounds, such as m. -buc, f. -bic 'child'; m. -gil, f. -gāl 'head'; m. -vor, f. -vēr 'a person bringing some-
thing': m. tēr-gīl, f. tēr-gāl ‘with black hair'; m. źīz-vōr, f. źīz-vēr ‘a person bringing firewood’.

Similarly, natural gender is inherent in derived nouns such as virod-ej ‘stepbrother’, nān-ej ‘stepmother’, xaray-ej ‘inhabitant of Khorog’, either male or female.

Otherwise, animate gender is expressed lexically: ērik ‘man’, ūnik ‘woman’.

3.1.1.1b Gender marking by attributives and verb forms

Nouns are not morphologically marked, but whether animate or inanimate, their gender becomes apparent by gender-marking attributive demonstratives, adjectives, and intransitive forms of the past tenses. Thus, in the adverbial phrase: wi rūz-at wam xāb ‘(for) that-OBLm day-and that-OBLf night’, the oblique pronouns masculine wi and feminine wam indicate the masculine and feminine gender of ‘day’ and ‘night’, respectively.

3.1.1.1c Classificatory gender

There is a tendency to transform the category of gender into a classificatory system according to the principles of semantic classes. Essentially, abstract nouns, such as mōj ‘famine’, are masculine, while concrete nouns are classified as masculine or feminine by semantic class, or cognitive sets. Thus, generally feminine are particular parts of the body, parts of clothes, and tools, as well as parts of landscape. The common denominator appears to be “body”, of both human and of earth, with its parts and cover, and tools to shape them. Also feminine are: mēst ‘moon’, xāb ‘night’, and xītērij ‘star’, as opposed to masculine xēr ‘sun’.

Following this tendency, terms for inanimate objects and those for animals appear in the masculine gender when referring to the general category or species in their entirety, irrespective of natural gender. For example, masculine yu rubcak ‘fox’ refers to the fox species, while the feminine yā rubcak refers to a concrete object, here a particular fox irrespective of natural gender ‘this fox’ (in some situations, even without further indication of sex).

3.1.1.2 Number


The kinship terminology uses specific suffixes side by side -ēn, including -yūn, -gūn, -jūn; and -ērij, -ērj, -ārj: xolak-ēn ~ xolak-yūn ‘uncles’; xēr-ēn ~ xēr-yūn ‘nephews, nieces’; yax-ēn ~ yax-jēn ~ yax-jūn-ēn ‘sisters’; abīn-ēn ~ abīn-ērj ‘co-wives’ (Bajuwi abīn-ōrf).

The expression for plurality may be indicated by specific markers such as -xēl ‘group’, and -gal(l)ā: ‘flock’: bač-galā ‘children’, vaz-xēl ‘goats’.

Indefinite collectiveness may be expressed by using alliterative patterns of the form c–m/p–, or suffixed -adis (lit. ‘and such’): tōōc-mōōc ‘all sorts of dishes’; tōōc-adis ‘dishes and such’.

Named human groups may be indicated by the direct and oblique 3p demonstrative pronouns, such as wōd, dādā, mādā, and wēd, dēv, mēv ‘those, they’ added to the name, though usually pronouns of the 1st and 2nd series are used (see 14b.3 Table of pronouns):
Madbek-wūd ‘Madbek and those connected with him, his group, family’ (cf. Persian [Name] in-hā). Similar meaning is expressed by the suffixes -yūn and -ēn: Mādbēk-yūn, Mādbēk-ēn ‘Madbek and those connected with him, his group, family’.

3.1.1.3 Case marking by demonstratives

Nouns do not distinguish case. The syntactic direct and oblique case in singular or plural of a noun or noun phrase is indicated by the case of demonstrative pronoun.

3.1.1.4 Definiteness

Definiteness is formally expressed by preposing forms of the remote demonstrative pronoun, serving as definite articles: m. ūt, f. và, and their corresponding oblique and plural forms: và yāc ‘that girl’, ūt vàdā ‘that boy’.

Indefiniteness is formally expressed by the cardinal number (y)īv ‘one’, usually in its reduced form (y)i, serving as an indefinite article: tār yī jingāl yō puştā ‘to a forest or a mountain plain’; cf. its use as cardinal number in: yi méō . . ., wī yi-ga méō-ard ‘for (-ard) one day . . ., (and) the other day . . .’

3.1.2 Adjectives and degree

Gender is still distinguished by ablaut in a small subset: m. rūst, f. rōst ‘red’; m. tuḵ, f. taḵ ‘sour’. There is no number distinction.

The comparative of qualitative adjectives is marked by -di. In addition, the comparison may be differentiated by degree: -di-di, approximately ‘much more’; and -dar-di, approximately ‘some, yet more’: īld ‘fast’, īld-di ‘faster’, īld-(d)ar-di ‘more fast, faster yet’. The elative is expressed lexically by lap ‘very’: lap xuštīy ‘very beautiful’. Note as kor yu gāp lap-di ət-d ‘he talks more than he works’ (lap ətō ‘to chat, talk without result’).

The superlative is expressed adverbially by words and phrases such as sar ‘top; over’, as fuk ‘than all’, bar fuk ‘upon all’, added to the comparative form: sar īld-di ‘most fast one’, as fuk bašand-di ‘best of all’, bar fuk xuštīy-di ‘most beautiful’.

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

Shugni distinguishes personal, demonstrative, reflexive-possessive, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns, which may combine with emphatic and negative components.

3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns occur for the 1st and the 2nd person; the 3rd person is indicated by demonstrative pronouns. Only the 1s has retained case distinction, wuzl/mu. The 2p Sh. tama (Bartangi, Rushani, Sarikoli tamaš) is a historical innovation with initial t- copied from 2s tu, built on a substrate model.

3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns and deixis

The demonstrative pronouns distinguish gender, and direct and oblique case in singular and plural. They preserve the ancient Indo-European triple deixis based on bicentric system that is defined by degree of distance relative to the object:
 ich-deixis, proximate, nearest to the speaker, 'this';
2) du-deixis, referring to the sphere of communicator, 'not that far', 'this' ~ 'that';
3) jener-deixis, remote 'that'. Similarly adverbials have triple deixis.

Du-deixis also serves as an emphatic and anaphoric: 'that very', 'that which', while jener-deixis serves as a definite article, as well as the 3rd person pronoun.

**TABLE 14b.3: PRONOUNS AND DEICTIC ADVERBIALS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3/Jener-Deixis</th>
<th>Du-Deixis</th>
<th>Ich-Deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRs</td>
<td>wuz</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>yu</td>
<td>yā</td>
<td>yid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBLs</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>wi</td>
<td>wam</td>
<td>dād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRp</td>
<td>māb</td>
<td>tamo</td>
<td>wādā</td>
<td>dād</td>
<td>māb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBLp</td>
<td>māb</td>
<td>tamo</td>
<td>wēv</td>
<td>dēv</td>
<td>mēv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>yam</td>
<td>'there'</td>
<td>yēd</td>
<td>'there'</td>
<td>yūd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ard 'for'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar 'to'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>az 'from'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plurals of all personal and demonstrative pronouns may have secondary forms with the nominal plural marker -en: mās-ēn, tamaš-ēn ~ tama-y-ēn; wād-ēn, wēv-ēn.

Emphatic and anaphoric forms are marked by yik- (ik-) preceding the demonstrative forms, 'the very, that which', etc. Thus, the remote or neutral demonstrative combines as follows: singular, direct case, m. yik-u, f. yik-ū; oblique, m. yik-wi, f. yik-wam; and so forth: direct case, xu vō yik-u bōzi 'then, again (there was) the very same entertainment'; oblique, mās-ām [ik-wi kōr] čūj 'we (-ām) would do (all) this (very) work'; [yik-di kōr] pōc lāw-ēn 'this (very) activity they call pōc'. Note the adverb of manner dis 'thus, in such a way'; emphatic yik-dis 'exactly this way'.

These forms are prominently found with restrictive relative clauses (see 5.3).

3.1.3.3 Reflexive and possessive pronouns

Reflexive: xubāl 'oneself', oblique xu; note yu xu-rd-āl-i lād 'he said to (-rd) himself'; possessive: xu(d) ' (one's) own'.

3.1.3.4 Interrogatives and indefinites and related adverbials

Interrogative-relative: human, čāy, oblique či 'who'; animal, non-human, čī 'what (thing)'; ca 'what, which'; ca + N: ca-waxt 'what time, when'; ca-rāng 'how'; čāz-ar’drad 'what for, why?' čādīm 'which one?'; čānd 'how much', čānd 'so much'.

Generic: ar 'each, every (one)'; ar-čāy 'every, each one'; fāk (-āl) 'all'; varō 'both'.

Indefinite: (y)ī-čāy 'anybody; somebody'; exclusive: (y)īč(-āl) — (na-)'(not) any': atā yē-čāy as wēv-andi na rīs-t 'and not anyone from among them remains'.

Interrogative adverbials follow the triple deictic system, with post- and prepositions: k-u, k-id, k-am, kā- 'where when': kād-and 'where'.
3.1.4 Adpositions

Numerous syntactic particles and words are commonly used in Shughni as in any other oral language. The adpositions selected here are based on forms that occur frequently and in multiple contexts. They reflect a highly developed system of spatial orientation and movement characteristic for the linguistic area.

3.1.4.1 Prepositions

The main prepositions are:

- **tar** horizontal movement, 'towards, to';
- **as, az** source, 'from', 'about (a topic)'; also specific direct object;
- **pi** upwards, 'on, up(to)';
- **ar** downwards, 'down, in(to)';
- **pis** final and spatial orientation and time, 'after, following';
- **či** position, 'on, at, to'; intention;
- **mi** position of something, 'at, in';
- **por** means of movement, 'by';
- **to** limit in time, space, 'till';
- **ba** instrumental; manner of action.

3.1.4.2 Postpositions

The main postpositions are:

- **-(a)nd** constant availability, presence; possession; (< *ana-*, contamination with *antar-*, cf. Av. *ana*, Yazgh. *na*);
- **-fa** location, possession;
- **-ti** location on some surface, 'at, on, upwards, for';
- **-avèn** 'for (the sake of)';
- **-aJ** direction;
- **-andir, -andi** definite, exact direction or location (often inside), location both 'in' and 'from' (inside); definite time (< *antar-*);
- **-(a)rd, -ra(d)** indefinite location and time; direction, both 'towards' and 'from'; addresser of the speech, action, aim;
- **-èc** limit, period; instrument;
- **-gati** sociative-instrument.

Postpositions require the oblique case of the pronouns.

Pre- and postpositions may combine, such as **az, as 'from' with -and and directional -ard**: **az wi xèz-and 'from his house'; as yijid-ard 'out from the sheds'**.

3.1.4.3 Case functions

As indicated, three of the postpositions also function as markers of main syntactic cases:

1. directional **-ard** for dative and experiencer or beneficiary: **mu-rd dāk 'give me', māš-ard lâv 'tell us';**
2. definite locational-directional **-(a)nd(i)** as ablative: **wēv-andi 'from them';**
3.1.5 Adverbial demonstratives and adverbs

Similar to the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, the pronominal adverbs are used concretely with pre- and postpositions, such as the directional suffix -ard in yam-ard ‘there’ (far), yêd-ard ‘there (to)’, yûd-ard ‘here (to)’; or the locational suffix -and in kûd-and ‘where’, yam-and ‘there’, yûd-and ‘here’; tar kâ ‘to(wards) where’.

3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers


Higher numbers are loaned from the Tajik. However, the older generation still preserves the indigenous decimal system and compound numbers: The three upper teens are counted by subtraction, e.g.: yîw kam ôs ôs ‘one less of two ten’ = ‘nineteen’. The higher units are multiples of ten: ôs ôs ‘two ten’ = Taj. bist ‘twenty’; cavôr ôs ôs ‘four ten’ = Taj. òl ‘forty’; ôs-ôs-ôs (-ak) ‘ten ten’ = Taj. sad ‘one hundred’; ôs-ôs-ôs-ôs-ak = hazor ‘one-thousand’.

3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed by adding the suffix -(y)um. yîw-um, ‘first’, aray-um ‘the third’; but the Tajik ordinal numerals are widely used.

3.1.6.3 Distributives

Distributive numerals are formed by adding the stressed suffix -(y)yîw-îf(yîw-î) ‘one by one’.

3.2 Verb morphology

The verb system distinguishes tense, mood, person, number, transitivity, and voice. A small set of intransitive verbs have gender distinction in past tenses.

3.2.1 Stem formation

3.2.1.1 Present, past, and perfect stems

In terms of morphophonemic alternations, there are regular and irregular verbs. Because of such alternation, a total of five (present, past, perfect, past perfect and infinitive) stems can be distinguished. In addition, the form of the 3s present may be distinct from the other persons, and the mentioned set of past intransitives has different masculine, feminine and plural stems.
(1) The present stems reflect most of the productive Old Iranian present stem classes.
(2) Past stems are formed by adding -t, -d, reflecting the Old Iranian perfect participle in *-ta. Regular verbs simply add -t, -d to the present stem: pres šām-, past šān-t- 'to understand, know'; irregular verbs show considerable stem alternation: pres. xār-, past xārd- 'to eat'.
(3) Perfect stems are formed by the suffix ū or ū (reflecting *-ka-): regular pres. palōys-, past palōys-t, perf. palōys-ū-'to work'; irregular pres. sāv-, past m. sa-t, f. sa-ū, perf. m. su-ū-f, f. si-ū, pl. sa-ū-f 'to become'.
(4) Past perfect stems are derived from the perfect stem by suffix -at (Shd. -ii; originally a past of 'to be'): su-ū-ū-at 'had become'.

3.2.1.2 Causative stems

Causative stems, intersecting with transitivity, partially reflect the Old Iranian patterns, notably in the pattern non-causative CaC- vs. causative CēlēC-, mostly with further stem alternation. Newer causative stems are derived by -ēn, which is infixed before root labial, -ē(m)b; also -īn, -īm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present/Past</th>
<th>Present/Past</th>
<th>Present/Past</th>
<th>Present/Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intr.</td>
<td>'to fly up'</td>
<td>'to stick to'</td>
<td>'to be fried'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caus.</td>
<td>'to be able'</td>
<td>'to stick to'</td>
<td>'to be fried'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note denominative: tult 'rag' > tult-ūn-t-āw 'to drag'.

3.2.1.3 Compound verbs

There are numerous denominial compound verbs, formed by a nominal with a common verb serving as auxiliary verb: vār-bēd-āw 'to be able', kār ēšī-āw 'to do work, work', onomatopoetic taq-taq 'rat-tat' > taq-t-āw 'to knock'. These include calques from Tajik: naqāl ēšī-āw 'to make a narration, to tell', Taj. naqāl kārd-āw.

3.2.2 Nominal forms

The following description is confined to the most frequently found nominal forms.

3.2.2.1 Agent noun

Agent noun, present stem + -īf: lūv-īf 'speaker'.

3.2.2.2 Infinitive

The infinitive corresponds to the past stem, usually with i-umlaut (reflecting *-ti): past tūyd-, inf. tūd 'to go'; extended form past stem + -āw: xēvd-āw, beside xēvd 'to sleep'.

3.2.2.3 Perfect participle

The perfect participle consists of the perfect stem + -ak: intransitive nīvē-ak 'weeping', transitive nīvēšt-ak 'written'.

---

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3.2.2.4 Adjectival participle

The adjectival participle consists of the perfect stem + -in: zinöõj-in 'washed'; gender is distinguished where retained in the verb: m. tüüj-in, f. tüc-in 'somebody who has gone away'.

3.2.2.5 Future participle

The future participle consists of the infinitive + -mëj and connotes intention: tüd-mëj 'preparing to go'.

3.2.3 Person marking and 'to be'

The type of conjugation of the present-future tense differs significantly from that of the past tenses. Thus, in the present-future the three persons in singular and plural are the inherited personal endings added to the present stem. In the three past tenses, however, the three persons in singular and plural are indicated by personal enclitic pronouns (resulting from the merger with the earlier copula). Unlike the personal endings, these markers are as a rule attached to the first constituent part of the clause.

The distinction between copula and present and past person marking is leveled except in the 2s and 3s. The forms of the verb vi-, vud- 'to be' replace the copula in all other tenses and contextual uses.

### TABLE 14b.4: COPULA AND PERSONAL ENDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3s</th>
<th>1p</th>
<th>2p</th>
<th>3p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Copula</td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>-at</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-ám</td>
<td>-ët</td>
<td>-ën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ti-d</td>
<td>-ám</td>
<td>-ët</td>
<td>-ën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-um</td>
<td>-at</td>
<td>intr. -Ø, tr. -(i)</td>
<td>-ám</td>
<td>-ët</td>
<td>-ën</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The existential verb is 3s yast, neg. nist, which also serves to express possession (see 4.5.1 below).

3.2.4 Negation

The general negative marker is na, which precedes the verb, including preverbs: yatt-övw-un na-vår-död 'I could not come'; nist 'is not'. The subjunctive and prohibitive marker is mä:

mä-ya(d) 'don’t come';

parwös Sindëv bëyad yu mä-vi-d
last year Sindev must he not to be
'last year he must not have been in Sindev'.
3.2.5 System of tenses

The basic inflectional system of tenses is four-fold: present-future, past, perfect, past perfect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present-Future</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Past Perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperative is distinguished by 2s -Ø; the present subjunctive by the use of the negative marker mâ-: bōyad yu mâ-vi-d 'he must not be'.

The following exemplifies typical intransitive and transitive conjugations.

TABLE 14b.5: INTRANSITIVE AND TRANSITIVE STEMS AND IMPERATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive verbs</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Infin.</th>
<th>Imper.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi-</td>
<td>vud-</td>
<td>vad-</td>
<td>vic-</td>
<td>vid</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'to be'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāw-</td>
<td>sut-</td>
<td>sat-</td>
<td>sic-</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>sāw, sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'to become'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>tūyd-</td>
<td>tūyd-</td>
<td>tūyj-</td>
<td>tīl</td>
<td>ti, tē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'to go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive verbs</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Infin.</th>
<th>Imper.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>f.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin-</td>
<td>ĉūd-</td>
<td>ĉūj-</td>
<td>ĉīd</td>
<td>ki(n)</td>
<td>'to do'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palōys-</td>
<td>palōyst-</td>
<td>palōysč-</td>
<td>palōyst</td>
<td>palōys</td>
<td>'to work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āžēr-</td>
<td>āžērt-</td>
<td>āžērč-</td>
<td>āžēr</td>
<td></td>
<td>'to moisten'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.6 Transitivity and voice

3.2.6.1 Transitivity

The differential marking of the 3s is a major indicator of transitive verbs as opposed to intransitives. In turn, the distinction of transitivity is marked in intransitive verbs where in a small, but significant set gender and number are marked by means of ablaut. Both features reflect an earlier ergative system (see section 7 Dialectology).

3.2.6.2 Passive

Passive is expressed by the perfect participle of transitive verbs usually marked by the suffix -ak, followed by the auxiliary verb sitt-ow 'to become': yā xat nivīšč-ak sat 'that (f.) letter (xat) written was (f.)'.
### TABLE 14b.6: INTRANSITIVE CONJUGATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past, m.</th>
<th>f./pl.</th>
<th>Perf. m.</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>Past Perf. m.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to be'</td>
<td>vi-um</td>
<td>vud-um</td>
<td>vad-um</td>
<td>vi-um</td>
<td>vic-um</td>
<td>vi-um-at-um</td>
<td>vic-at-um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>vi-i</td>
<td>vad-at</td>
<td>vad-at</td>
<td>vi-at</td>
<td>vic-at</td>
<td>vi-at-at</td>
<td>vic-at-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>vi-at</td>
<td>vad</td>
<td>vud</td>
<td>vic</td>
<td>vic-at</td>
<td>vic-at-at</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>vi-at</td>
<td>vad-at</td>
<td>vad-at</td>
<td>vi-at</td>
<td>vic-at</td>
<td>vi-at-at</td>
<td>vic-at-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>vi-at</td>
<td>vad-et</td>
<td>vad-et</td>
<td>vi-at-et</td>
<td>vic-et</td>
<td>vic-et-at</td>
<td>vic-et-at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'to become'</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past, m.</th>
<th>f./pl.</th>
<th>Perf. m.</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>Past Perf. m.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>suti-um</td>
<td>sut-at</td>
<td>sat-at</td>
<td>suti-at</td>
<td>sic-at</td>
<td>suti-at-at</td>
<td>sic-at-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>suti-at</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>suti</td>
<td>sic</td>
<td>sic-at</td>
<td>suti-at-at</td>
<td>sic-at-at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'to go'</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past, m.</th>
<th>f./pl.</th>
<th>Perf. m.</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>Past Perf. m.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>tiiy-um</td>
<td>tiiy-at</td>
<td>tiiy-d</td>
<td>tiiy-at</td>
<td>tic-at</td>
<td>tiiy-at-at</td>
<td>tic-at-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>tiiy-at</td>
<td>tiiy-d</td>
<td>tiiy-d</td>
<td>tiiy-d</td>
<td>tic</td>
<td>tiiy-at</td>
<td>tic-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>tiiy-at</td>
<td>tiiy-at</td>
<td>tiiy-at</td>
<td>tiiy-at</td>
<td>tic-at</td>
<td>tiiy-at-at</td>
<td>tic-at-at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clause clitics include: -atii (-ata, -at, -a, -tii, -ta, -ii, -a) 'and, but'; -xu 'and, then'; -mis 'also'; -wá 'again'; others include: interrogative -ô; referential -ik; and intensifying -aô.

Particles include: vocative afê, ô; interjections: ô, ay, (w)ux, uxxa.

### 4.2 Noun phrase structure

Shughni is a head-final language. The unmarked sequence is:


The attribute may be represented by pronoun, noun, numeral, adjective, participle, or an infinitive and as a rule precedes the head noun.

#### 4.2.1 Attributive adjectives

In general, adjectives precede the head noun by parataxis, and agree in gender with the head where gender is retained, thus ADJ (gender) – NOUN:

*xugmân ziv* ‘Shughni language’; with gender agreement: *róšt mûn* 'red-(f.) apple', *tîc-in yûc* 'walking (f.) girl'; *tûr cîmûd* 'black basket', pl. *tûr cîmûd-ên*. 
### Table 14b.7: Transitive Conjugation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'to do'</th>
<th>'to work'</th>
<th>'to moisten'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>kin-um</td>
<td>čūd-um</td>
<td>čūrj-um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>kin-i</td>
<td>čūd-at</td>
<td>čūrj-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>kin</td>
<td>čūd-(i)</td>
<td>čūrj-(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>kin-ām</td>
<td>čūd-ām</td>
<td>čūrj-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>kin-ēt</td>
<td>čūd-ēt</td>
<td>čūrj-ēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>kin-ēn</td>
<td>čūd-ēn</td>
<td>čūrj-ēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>palōys-um</td>
<td>palōyst-um</td>
<td>palōysc-um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>palōys-i</td>
<td>palōyst-at</td>
<td>palōysc-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>palōys-t</td>
<td>palōyst</td>
<td>palōysc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>palōys-ām</td>
<td>palōyst-ām</td>
<td>palōysc-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>palōys-ēt</td>
<td>palōyst-ēt</td>
<td>palōysc-ēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>palōys-ēn</td>
<td>palōyst-ēn</td>
<td>palōysc-ēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ăzēr-um</td>
<td>ăzēr-um</td>
<td>ăzērc-um</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ăzēr-i</td>
<td>ăzēr-at</td>
<td>ăzērc-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ăzēr-t</td>
<td>ăzēr-(i)</td>
<td>ăzērc-(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>ăzēr-ām</td>
<td>ăzēr-ām</td>
<td>ăzērc-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ăzēr-ēt</td>
<td>ăzēr-ēt</td>
<td>ăzērc-ēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>ăzēr-ēn</td>
<td>ăzēr-ēn</td>
<td>ăzērc-ēn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.2.2 Pronominal adjectives

Pronominal adjectives precede the head noun with gender and number agreement: PROADJ (gender/number) – NOUN:

*yu rūz 'that (m.) day'; wam ẚāb 'that (f.) night'; dād ʃinik-ēn 'these women'.*

Note that pronouns are also marked for case, here direct *yu* and oblique *wam*, and thus not only indicate the gender of the noun, but also the case of the noun phrase.

#### 4.2.3 Dependent nouns and noun phrases

Dependent nouns and noun phrases paratactically precede the head noun or postposition, and are in the oblique case, which is evident with pronouns: NP2 (Oblique) – NP1:

>[mu bāš] mirōs 'my share of the inheritance', [wi sūrdōr] nūm 'the name of that wedding-holder'.

Postpositional phrases: [wi] garginūšā 'around him'; [wi] pāli-ndi 'on his side, beside him'.
4.2.4 Izāfa

The Tajik-type izāfa construction NP1-i NP2 is found frequently:

Shughni, sōl-ō-y-i sōl-ēc ‘for many years’ (with Shughni temporal -ēc), cf. Tajik, sol-ho-y-i sol), kām-i kām ‘little of little, at least’. Even in this loan construction, the oblique case may be marked: as nūm-i [wi] ‘in his name, on his behalf’.

4.3 Clause structure and word order

The standard sentence structure is subject-object-verb, SOV.

The syntactic function of a noun phrase is specified by its place in a sentence, pre- and postpositions, and other markers.

The predicate is usually located at the end of the sentence. However, depending on intonation, reflecting the sense and other circumstances of the utterance, the predicate can be transferred to the beginning of the sentence, thus placing it before the subject:

sūt-ām māš tar sūr
‘went-lp we to the wedding’.

In turn, location and particularly direction which semantically depends on the verb rection are often placed after the verb:

yu naštūyd tar vaj
‘he went out’.

Otherwise, adverbial phrases locating or qualifying the sentence as a whole are often in initial position.

In emotional speech, however, the word order can be disregarded. In oral Shughni speech, intonation is highly important as a means to convey the syntactical connection of words in a phrase.

4.4 Semantics and use of nominal forms

4.4.1 Person, animacy, and alienability

The category of person vs. non-person is conveyed by lexical means, and in reduced form by the interrogative-indefinite pronouns, such as personal čāy ‘who’ vs. čīz for animal, non-human, and ca for inanimate.

The category of alienable vs. inalienable possession is denoted by lexical means as well, and is overt with inalienable possession, including parts of the body, kinship terms, and others, by preposed personal pronouns: [mu] yōd ‘my memory’, [mu] dūst ‘my hand’. This distinction becomes more evident in the presence of a preposition. In that case, the possessive pronoun is focused and precedes the preposition, whereas it precedes the noun directly if alienable:

mu [pi] tanā ‘on my body’; mu [tar] dūst ‘in my hand’; mu [ba] yōd ‘in my memory’; as opposed to the unmarked order; [tar] mu ēid ‘in my house’.

Note also tu-(a)t [ca] nūm ‘what’s your name?’ and the split of (y)ik-wi in the prepositional phrase: pīrd yik[az]wi ‘before (this that)’ (Persian pīs az ān ke).
4.4.2 Syntactic cases

4.4.2.1 Subject marking

Subjects are unmarked and in the direct case.

4.4.2.2 Direct object marking

Direct objects are in the oblique case, where distinct, and may be preceded by the preposition as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mu nān} & \text{ [wēv]} \text{   wînt} \quad \text{‘my mother saw [them]’;} \\
\text{nēd-ēn} & \text{ [wî]} \ldots \quad \text{‘they place [him] on . . . ’;} \\
\text{tu} & \text{ [as wēv] na wînt} \quad \text{‘you have not seen [them]’}.
\end{align*}
\]

4.4.2.3 Indirect object marking

Indirect objects are generally marked by postpositions, but may be unmarked with the verb ḏēd-ḏaw ‘to give’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qamēč} & \text{ [mu-rd] vâr} \quad \text{‘bring [me] some bread’;} \\
\text{xinōwari} & \text{ [wî]} \quad \text{ḏ-ēn} \quad \text{‘they give [him] a washing’}.
\end{align*}
\]

4.4.2.4 Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases may stand as the plain oblique case where distinct:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[wî]} & \quad \text{sar pîrō rûz} \quad \text{‘on [that-m] very first day’;} \\
\text{[wam]} & \quad \text{xâb} \quad \text{‘(during) [that-f] night’}.
\end{align*}
\]

or may otherwise be unmarked:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xumnē sîr-ēt} & \quad \text{‘tomorrow you (will arrange) a wedding’;} \\
\text{tarū ya} & \quad \text{‘come here’}.
\end{align*}
\]

More often they are more specified by pre- and postposition:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[pi]} & \quad \text{mazōr sāw-um} \quad \text{‘I am going [to] the shrine’;} \\
\text{[tar]} & \quad \text{mu xēz ya} \quad \text{‘to my place come!’;} \\
\text{ād xēz[-and]} & \quad \text{‘[at] a house’s location, place’}.
\end{align*}
\]

4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms

4.5.1 Possession

Possession and ownership is expressed by a locative construction, where the possessor is marked by the postposition -and, and the verb is the copula, the existential verb yast, or other forms of ‘to be’, i.e. ‘to X is/was’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mu[-nd]} & \quad \text{iē-a0 pûl nîst} \quad \text{‘I have (at all) no money’, lit. ‘to me’;} \\
\text{tu[-nd]} & \quad \text{cûnd puc} \quad \text{‘how many sons do you have?’, lit. ‘to me’}.
\end{align*}
\]
4.5.2 Person, number, and agreement

4.5.2.1 Person and number

The singular refers to a single object, concept, or objects in their entirety as a class; hence numerals larger than one generally require the singular. The plural expressly refers to plurality. It is morphologically marked by agglutinative suffixes, together with ablaut in a small subset of nouns, as discussed above.

Indefinite agents are as a rule expressed by the 3p.

4.5.2.2 Subject-verb agreement

The verb is in agreement with the subject in person, number, and gender:

\[ \text{[wuz]-ta tiy[-um]} \] ‘I am going’;

\[ \text{[māš] mūm-ēn tiy[-ēn]} \] ‘our grandmothers are going’.

However, if the subject contains components like \(-gαl(l)ā\) or \(-xēl\), which connote collectivity, the predicate may be in the singular:

\[ \text{civinc [-xēl]-ta riwōz[-d]} \] ‘these wasps are flying’.

Similarly, collective nouns like \textit{mardum} ‘people’ and \textit{ādam} ‘people, humans’ usually show the 3s (for the particle \(-ta\) see 4.5.3.2)

4.5.2.3 Predicates

(1) Predicative noun phrases, even when referring to plural subjects, may be singular or plural (-ēn):

\[ \text{māš-ām tama ziryōt(-ēn)} \] ‘we are (-ām) your child/children (-ēn)’.

(2) The predicate may be expressed by finite verb forms, nouns, or other parts of speech with separable predicative copulas:

\[ \text{māš tama na-wzūn[-ām]} \] \[ \text{kasal[-um] vud} \] \[ \text{dād[-ēn] yal nist} \] ‘we don’t know you’; ‘I was sick’; ‘they have not (come) yet’.

(3) Nominal sentences in the 3s have zero marking:

\[ \text{tu-t ca nām} \] ‘what (is) thy name?’, lit. ‘thou-thy what name’.
4.5.3 Use of "tenses"

Given the fact that there are only four morphologically distinct tenses, each form functions in a variety of semantic-cognitive contexts.

The basic functions are temporal. Thus, the present-future refers to ongoing, habitual, or future actions. The past refers to past actions. The present perfect expresses present relevance: *sic* 'she has gone, left'. The past perfect refers to a past or remote result or state: *yinik-en yaðč-at-én* 'the women had come'.

Contextually all four also have modal connotations (see 5.2 Subordinate clauses).

The following notes are confined to the more salient points, here focusing on the present-future.

4.5.3.1 Present-future, modal function

\[ \text{tar kāl-tēshēj sut, } xu kāl [tēš-t] \]

to barber he went, that his head he shaves

'he went to the barber to shave his head'.

4.5.3.2 Factual enclitic *ta*

The enclitic particle *ta* disambiguates the various functions of present-future, and emphasizes the reality or fact of an action. It is usually attached to the first constituent part of the clause, as in the first sentence in Sample Text 1 below:

\[ \text{ar sōl [ta] buč-r-jēv bāt āyūm ič [anš-ēn]} \]

each year *ta* springtime Bat Ayom fest they celebrate

'every year they celebrate the Bat Ayom festival during springtime'.

The text describes the fact that the ancient customs of the New Year festival continue to be performed to this day. In fact, with its first occurrence *ta* predicates that text as a whole.

Similarly, the factual function of *ta* together with the present-future may contextually connote certainty in the completion of an action:

\[ \text{naw [ta] yu [yōō-d], xu māš ta tar maktab [sāv-ām]} \]

new *ta* he comes, then we *ta* to school we go

'as soon as he comes, then we to school will go';

\[ \text{yu [ta] ca waxt [yōō-d], māš [ta] awqōt [xār-ām]} \]

he *ta* what time comes, we *ta* dinner we eat

'when he comes, we (shall) have dinner.'

The contrast between the presence and absence of *ta* is shown in the following examples with present-future forms, where the second sentence implies that the coming may be an accomplished fact:

\[ \text{mu gumūn } yu šīč kōr [kiš-t]} \]

me assumption (is) he now work does

'I think he may be working now (*šīč*);
gumūn yā [ta yōd-d]
assumption this-f ta she comes
‘I think she may have come’
(note the use here of the English perfect tense).

4.5.3.3 Modal function of the perfect

The perfect also serves as the perfective subjunctive in parallel with the subjunctive function of the present-future. Diagnostic contexts are: necessity, wishes, and real or possible actions in conditional clauses (see the respective discussions further below).

4.5.3.4 Evidential function of the perfect

The present perfect also serves as the Shughni evidential form, as is most clearly shown in the stereotypical:

\[\text{vud\ddot{j} na-vud\ddot{j} aray vir\ddot{d}-\ddot{e}n vud\ddot{j}}\]

‘has been has not been, three brothers have been
‘once upon a time there were (three brothers)’.

4.6 Aktionsart constructions

Aktionsart constructions make use either of the infinitive, or finite verb forms.

4.6.1 Anticipated action

Anticipated action may be expressed by the prepositions či ‘to, at’ connoting intention and pay ‘before’ connoting readiness, plus the short infinitive and the verb ‘to be’:

Present: [Subject]-Person (ta) [X či Infinitive]
Past: [Subject]-Person [X či Infinitive] vud ‘was’.

(1) Present:

\[\text{wuz-um [kôr či čīł]}\]
‘I am going to begin to work’;
\[\text{šič ta wuz-um [pay ūd]}\]
‘now I am going to go’
(emphatic ta);

\[\text{wuz-um [či čīł]}\]
‘I am going to go (now)’;
\[\text{yu [či šëvd]}\]
‘he is going to sleep’;

\[\text{yā garðā [pay pëxt]}\]
‘she is going to bake bread’.

(2) Past:

\[\text{parwōs, wuz-um [kôr či čīł] vud}\]
‘last year, I was going to do this work’;
\[\text{vud\ddot{e}n [sadōs-ād ar-ēd pay-ūd]}\]
‘they were ready [to go there two years ago (sadōs)]’.
4.6.2 Inception

The inception of an action may be expressed by replacing 'to be' with the action verbs saw-, sut- 'to become', kin-, cud- 'to do', or δ̄d̄-, δ̄d̄- 'to give'. Here dar, daraw, datım are often used instead of pay and ći:

Present: [Subject] [X pay Infinitive] saw-Personal Ending.
Past: [Subject]-Person [X pay Infinitive] sut, or [Subject] [X pay Infinitive]-Person sut

(1) Present:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yac-ën</td>
<td>darldarawlpay nīvd</td>
<td>s-ën</td>
<td>girls begin to cry; (they) begin to build the walls;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[zamīn dar čērt]</td>
<td>kin-äm</td>
<td>di ḫīn [pāy vid]</td>
<td>(we) begin to plough the land; 'his wife is waiting (for a child)'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Past:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yac-ën</td>
<td>darldarawlpay nīvd</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>girls began to cry; 'that sour milk (we) began to churn';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā talaw</td>
<td>[pay ķid]</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>'that barrel began to leak';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tama yāl dakō xār-ēt-āt</td>
<td>wuz [sōz darl daraw lāvd]</td>
<td>sāw-um</td>
<td>'you-2p are still eating, and I begin to sing songs'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.6.3 Habitual action

Habitual action is expressed by preposing the adverbial dōyim(-ik) 'continuing' in the present and past:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Ending</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atā [dōyim-ik]-ēn bēx-di yō bāt ayūm</td>
<td>[lūd]</td>
<td>yō xīdīr ayūm</td>
<td>but [continuing]-AG3p more either Bat Ayom [called], or Xidir Ayom 'but they used to call (lūd) it Bat Ayom, or Xidir Ayom'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.7 Modal constructions

A broad range of modal meanings can be expressed by constructions with modal words and auxiliaries.

4.7.1 Ability

Ability is expressed by the verb vār-ōi-, past vār-ōd-, perf. vār-ōd̄- 'can, to be able'. The form of the dependent verb is either (1) the present-future; (2) the full infinitive form or (3) the infinitive in -ōw. The infinitives may precede or follow the auxiliary, e.g.:
(1) Present-future:

wuz vär-đım [säw-um] 'I can go'.

(2) Infinitive:

yu [ʃinəwari] na vär-đäd 'he can not swim'.

(3) Infinitives in -őw:

wuz [nivišt-őw] vai-ř-ɛ-y-um 'I can write';
wuz-um vai-ř-dōd [di kör ʋid-őw] 'I could do this work'.

bıyır mu műm [sifid-őw] na- vär-dōd 'yesterday my grandmother was unable to get up'.

4.7.2 Wishes

In wishes, the subject-experiencer is marked by the dative -ard, with the transitive auxiliary fört, and the extended infinitive if the action refers to the subject:

Pres.: [N-ard] Infinitive-őw fört: mu-nd ʋid-őw fört 'I want to go (home)';
Past: [N-ard]-i Infinitive-őw fört: mu-nd-i ʋid-őw fört 'I wanted to go (home)'.

bıyır mưrd fört, ili tî-t tarđ yadê 'yesterday me-for wish, ili you-you-2s here have-come-PF 'yesterday I wished you would have come'.

Alternatively the explicit term xøyiŋ kin-lëd 'make wish, want' is used (see also Wish clauses):

rōd-j-in ta wuz xøyiŋ ɛud-um, wîn wëh-um 'on the remainder (of it) ta I want to place wool myself'.

4.7.3 Intention

Intention may be expressed by the participle -mēj. This construction is confined to the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to stay’:
yu ʋid-mēj 'he is going to go' (zero copula); yâ ʋid-mēj na-vad (fem.) 'she had no intention to go'.

4.7.4 Necessity and obligation

(1) Necessity as well as obligation is expressed by bøyad 'must, to have to', followed by the present-future for present action, and by the perfect for past action; thus:

Present: [Subject] bøyad [Present-Personal Ending]
Past: [Subject]-Person bøyad [Perfect]

(a) Present:

wuz bøyad [nur memûnî sâw-âm] 'I must [go to visit my friends today (nur)]'.

(b) Perfect:

wuz-um bøyad [parâxîb memûnî suðj] 'I had to go to visit my friends the day before yesterday'.
(2) Suggested obligation may be expressed by böyad followed by the imperative; thus:

\[ \text{böyad [X Imperative]} \]

- tu böyad [namīnā sa]
  'you should [be(come) an example (for others)];
- tu böyad [qiw] wi
  'you should [call him].

4.7.5 Supposition

Supposition may be expressed by böyad followed by the present-future; negated action requires prohibitive mà, rather than na:

\[ \text{parwōs Sindēv böyad [yu mā-vi-d]} \]

last year Sindev must [he not to be]
'last year he must not have been in Sindev'.

4.7.6 Assumption

Assumption may be expressed by gunūn 'assumption, thought', extended mu gunūn 'my assumption (is)', or waz gunūn kin-um 'I make the assumption'. The dependent verb phrase is in the present-future, with additional ta when referring to a possible completion of the action:

ongoing: gunūn [X Present-Personal Ending]
completed: gunūn [X ta Present-Personal Ending]

\[ \text{mu gunūn [yu šič kōr kīx-a]} \]

'I think [he may be working];

\[ \text{waz gunūn kin-um gunūn [yā ta yōā-d]} \]

'I make the assumption [she may have come].

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

As Shughni is an oral language, the structure of the clause is usually simple. However, simple clauses may be combined into complex sentences in two ways, by coordination and by subordination, which may be conveyed by suprasegmental means of intonation and by conjunctions.

5.1 Coordinate clauses

The structure of the coordinating sentence may be asyndetic, i.e. with the omission of conjunctions in sentence constructions in which they would usually be used. This is prominently the case in the case of simultaneous, sequential, or contrasting events:

\[ \text{yu xēyd, yā šōvd} \]

'he read, she slept.'
More frequently, clauses are connected by clitic coordinating conjunctions conveying sequential or consecutive actions, or actions resulting from another, atâ, at ‘and’ and xu ‘then, and so’:

\[\text{šič qarör nil-at, wuz lîv-um}\]
‘you now keep quiet, and I (will) speak’;

\[\text{wuz-um rinüxt-at, yu-i yôdôwarî na-cûd}\]
‘I forgot, and he (-î AG) did not remind (me)’;

\[\text{yu as xu jôy-ti andîyâd-at, mâş-âm sat tar wi xêz}\]
‘he stood up from his place, and we (-âm) went to his house’;

\[\text{yu as xu jôy andîyâd-xu, mâş-âm sat tar wi xêz}\]
‘he stood up from his place, then we went to his house’;

\[\text{tar yi-cî-âd-i na čûxt-xu, ricâst}\]
‘he (-î AG) did not look at anybody, then he ran away’ (i.e. ‘without looking’).

### 5.2 Subordinate clauses

Most of the subordinate clauses in a complex sentence perform a function similar to the syntactical functions of the parts of a simple sentence. Since subordinating conjunctions have a broad range of use and functions, they occur in different types of subordinate clauses. The relative position of subordinate clauses and the placement of conjunctions and particles vary. The most frequent conjunctions and their main uses, together with the unmarked sequence of the dependent clauses, are:

Dependent clauses preceding the main clause

- ca preverbal: relative, concessive, temporal, and conditional clauses;
- aga clause initial: conditional clauses, often with ca;
- idi(idê), di, dîdi clitic: causal clauses.

Dependent clauses following the main clause

- idi, di clause initial: object, restrictive relative, consecutive, and final clauses;
- xu clitic to main clause: final clauses.

### Conjunctinal phrases

These are mostly calqued on Persian, and include:

- dünd-êc-i idi to ‘until’ (‘so much-TIME that’);
- kâd-and ca ‘while, if’ (‘where-in that’);
- ba jô-i di ‘instead of’ (Persian be ẏã-ye in ke);
- pirô yik az wi di ‘before (this that)’ (Persian piś az ân ke);
- dünd-avên idi ‘for (the sake of)’ (Persian ba-râ-ye ân ke).

### 5.3 Relative clauses

#### 5.3.1 Basic structure

Relative clauses are usually marked by preverbal ca, which is, however, not obligatory. The pronominal referent in the relative clause takes the appropriate case marker, but is usually absent:
yid tu pāxōk, navm-at safēd ca, dōnd-ga xizmat tu-rd kīx-t, yō nay?
this your dress, soft-and white-ca, such service you-to make, or not
‘this dress of yours-2s, which is soft and white, will it serve you this long as well?’.

5.3.2 Generalized relative clauses, ar-'each, all'

ar ēīz wi-nd ca vud. fuk-ā0-i binēst
every-thing him-pos what was, all he (-i AG) lost
‘he lost everything that he had’.

5.3.3 Head noun incorporation

ar ēī-nd naw na vē-d, zinōdh-in ta pinīz-d
to every whom new not is, washed ta he-puts on
‘everyone who has no new clothes puts on clean ones’.

5.3.4 Focused restrictive clauses

In focused restrictive clauses the antecedent is marked by pronominal forms with the
particle (y)ik-, followed by the conjunction īdī, īdē, with or without ca:

ōdam yast, īdē ayūm mē0 sad tarmurx yēs-t
person exists, that fest day 100 egg takes away
‘there are people who can win up to one hundred eggs on the day of the fest’;

yid ik-u ēōrik idī vēgā-y-un di ar bōzōr ca wīnt
this-very-he man that yesterday-1 him at bazaar ca saw
‘this is a man whom I saw at the bazaar yesterday’;

id ik-u ēōrik idi dam mūn az wi xēz-and-un zōxt
this-very-he man that this-OBLf apple from his-OBLm place-LOC-1 took
‘this is a man from whom I brought the apple’;

yid ik-ā ḫīnīk idi wuz ik-wām rizīn-un ēī-vid
this-very-she woman that I very-her-OBLf daughter-I am going-to marry
‘this is the woman whose daughter I am going to marry’.

5.4 Object clauses

Object clauses directly follow the main clause; here with interrogative pronoun:

wuz na fām-un, yu tar kā ravūn
I not know, he to where goes
‘I don’t know where he goes’.
5.5 Adverbial clauses

5.5.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses may precede or follow the main clause, depending on the sequence of action, with or without preverbal ca, or with conjunctival phrases, and may be followed by the clitic xu 'then, so':

\[ yu \ ta \ ca \ \omega yôd-d, \ \bar{m}aš \ ta \ awqôt \ \bar{x}år-ām \]
\[ he \ \omega ta \ ca \ what \ time \ comes-PR, \ \omega we \ \omega ta \ dinner \ eat-PR \]
'when he comes, we (would) have a dinner';

\[ nāw \ ta \ yu \ yôd-d-xu \ \bar{m}aš \ ta \ tar \ maktab \ sāw-ām \]
\[ newly \ \omega ta \ he \ comes-PR-then \ \omega we \ \omega ta \ to \ school \ we-go-PR \]
'as soon as he comes, then we will go to school';

\[ \bar{p}rō \ yik \ az \ tar \ čēd \ dēd-ōw, \ ādam \ bōyad \ xu \ būt \ wēd-d \]
\[ before \ this \ from \ \omega \ house \ \omega to \ enter-INF, \ \omega person \ \omega must \ \omega own \ \omega shoe \ \omega removes-PR \]
'before going inside the house, people should put off their shoes'.

5.5.2 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are marked by the preverbal conjunction ca, and are often introduced by the conjunction aga 'if'. These clauses are of three main types:

5.5.2.1 Real or likely conditions

Real or likely conditions are expressed by the present-future, followed by the imperative and present-future, or perfect; or by the perfect in both clauses:

5.5.2.1a Present + imperative:

\[ aga \ yu \ ca \ yôd-d, \ \bar{l}ū \ wi-\bar{r}d \ (\omega idi \ wuz \ ta \ pi \ \omega wi \ nīh-um) \]
\[ if \ he \ ca \ comes-PR, \ \omega say-IMP \ him-for \ (that \ \omega ta \ for \ him \ sit-I-PR) \]
'if he comes, tell him that I will wait for him'.

5.5.2.1b Present + present:

\[ sūr \ purrā \ ca \ naźjimb-\bar{e}n, \ kām-\bar{i} \ kām \ array \ mēθ \ darkōr \]
\[ wedding \ full \ ca \ they-perform-PR, \ little-Iz \ little \ three \ day \ necessary-PR \]
'if one wants to, to hold the wedding ceremony in full, at least three days is necessary'.

5.5.2.2 Possible conditions

Possible conditions are expressed by the present-future or perfect in their subjunctive function:

5.5.2.2a Present + perfect:

\[ tu \ wi \ ca \ fām-\bar{i}, \ \bar{t}u-\bar{r}d \ yu \ xuś \ yaθē \]
\[ you-2s \ him \ ca \ you-understand-PR, \ you-2s-for \ he \ well \ has-come-PF \]
'if you get to know him, you would like him'.
5.5.2.2b Perfect + perfect:

\[
\text{aga yu ca yaðê-} , \quad \text{mâs-âm ik-wi kôr çûñj} \\
\text{if he ca has-come-PF, we-wé the-same work have-done-PF} \\
\text{‘if he would come, we would do this work’.
}
\]

Here the perfect appears to connote possible or assumed future fact, approximately
‘once he has arrived/will have come, we will certainly have completed’, or ‘we will com-
plete all this work’.

5.5.2.3 Irreal conditions

Irreal or desirable conditions are expressed by the past perfect, followed by the past, or
more generally by the past perfect:

5.5.2.3a Past perfect + past:

\[
\text{aga yu ca yaðê-at, wi fûmt (idi yi çûrik mûñj-at)} \\
\text{if he ca had-come-PP, he understood-PT (that one man has-died-PP)} \\
\text{‘if he would have come, he would have seen that a man had been dying for him’.
}
\]

5.5.2.3b Past perfect + past perfect:

\[
tu-t wi ca fûmê-at, \quad tu-rd yu xuš na yaðê-at \\
you-you-2s him ca had-understood-PP, you-for he well not had-come-PP \\
‘if you knew him, you would dislike him’;
\]

\[
\text{aga yu šûç-ar}d \quad ca yaðê-at, \quad \text{mâs-âm ik-wi kôr çûñj-at} \\
\text{if he now-for ca had-come-PP, we-AG this-very-OBLm work had-done-PP} \\
\text{‘should he have come by now/already, we would do this work’;}
\]

\[
\text{aga yu ca yaðê-at, fûk sôi} \quad \text{soñj-at} \\
\text{if he ca had-come-PP, all fitting had-become-PP} \\
\text{‘if he had come, everything would be alright’.
}
\]

5.5.3 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses precede the main clause, and are marked by the enclitic conjunction
ca:

\[
kôr-i \quad \text{mis ca çûd, pûl-ên wi-rd na-dûd} \\
\text{work-AG3s though ca did, money-they him-to not-gave} \\
\text{‘although he did his work, he was not given money’;
}
\]

\[
pî \quad \text{wi ca qûw-um, yu na-yat} \\
to him ca call-L, he not came \\
\text{‘though I called him, he did not come’;
}
\]

\[
\text{ar çûnd-i} \quad \text{yu qûwd, wûz-um na-yat} \\
every \text{how-much-AG3s he called, L-1 not came} \\
\text{‘however often he called me, I did not come’ (Persian har êand).
}
5.5.4 Consecutive clauses

Consecutive clauses have a cataphoric antecedent and are introduced by idi:

\[
\text{\textit{wi-nd dis lap kör vud, idi yi ċīz-əd-i uspēt na-čūd}}
\]

he-for so much work was, so that one thing-3\text{AG} in time not did.

'he had so much work, that he could not do one thing in time';

\[
\text{\textit{ytu dānd-əc-i kör čūd, idi tō ušmand na-suōj}}
\]

he so much-TIME-3\text{AG} work did, so that till skilled not has become-PF

'he worked hard, until he finally became skilled enough'.

Note the negation in \textit{tō na suōj}, lit. 'till not he has become'.

5.5.5 Causal clauses

Causal clauses either precede the main clause, marked by the conjunction \textit{di}, or follow the main clause introduced by an explanatory phrase, such as \textit{di jāt} '(for) this reason' (Pers. \textit{az in jahat}):

\[
\text{\textit{parvōs di kasāl-um vud, yat-ōw-um na-wār-dōd}}
\]

last year \textit{di} ill-1 was, to come\text{-INF-1} not was able

'because I was ill last year, I could not come';

\[
\text{\textit{šītō sut, dijāt mōl ar ǧijīd}}
\]

cold became, this reason animals in sheep-cote

'it got cold; this is why the cattle (are) in a sheep-cote'.

5.5.6 Final clauses

Final clauses follow the main clause and may be introduced by the clitic \textit{xu} 'then, so (that)'. The verb is usually in the present-future in its subjunctive function:

\[
\text{\textit{tar kōl-ţēţēj sut-xu kāl tēţ-t}}
\]

to barber he-went, so that head he-shaves\text{-PR}

'he went to the barber to shave his head'.

5.5.7 Wish clauses

Wish clauses are introduced by \textit{idi} and are followed by the present-future or the present perfect in their subjunctive function:

\[
\text{\textit{mu-rd xōyīx, idi tu ya(d)}}
\]

me to wish, that you come

'I wish that you (would) come-PR;

\[
\text{\textit{parvōs-um xōyīx vud, idi tu-t tarū yaṭč}}
\]

Last year-1 I wish was, that you-you here have come

'last year I wished that you would (have) come here-PP'.
5.5.8 Request clauses

Clauses implying request are usually expressed as direct speech which is introduced by the particles nāl la), the conjunction (d)idi, with or without the verb lūvd-ōw 'to speak':

\[
yā tā mu gāšt didi ti tār ēd
\]
she to me turned that you to house!
'she turned to me: "go to the house"';

\[
yu mu-rd lūd idi tu niḍ
\]
he me-to said that you sit!
'he told me: "sit down/take a seat"'.

5.5.9 Narration and dependent speech

Constructions of indirect narration are practically not used. The usual way of conveying direct speech are the verbs lūvd-ōw 'to speak', qīvd-ōw 'to call', pēxst-ōw 'to ask': lūd: vār dēv '(he) said: "bring them", followed by the conjunction (d)idi, such as yu lūd idi 'he said that':

\[
yu yat, (lūd) idi ti-yām
\]
'he came (said) that: "let us go"';

\[
aga yu ca yō ṅ-d, lū wi-rd, idi niṭ-um pi wi
\]
'if he comes, tell him that I wait for him'.

Alternatively, the particles nā, nāla, with the meaning 'says that':

\[
yā nāla, mu-nd mu kōr lap
\]
she says mine my work much
'she (says): "I have a lot of work"';

\[
yu nāla, pi yēl garm sut
\]
'he (says): "in the mountain pasture it got hot"'.

6 LEXIS

6.1 Word formation

6.1.1 Derivation

The derivation by affixes is mostly by suffixation, some of which are closely related to Tajik equivalents. Prefixation as a model of formation is rarely used, and mostly loaned from Tajik.

6.1.1.1 Suffixation

-ī abstract nouns: rūšt-ī ‘redness’;

-gar agent nouns: vidōf-gar ‘irrigation-worker’;

-ē’ (a) the geographic origin of a person; xāf-ē’ from Khuf’, xaray-ē’ from Khorog’;
(b) general relationship of things: vidirn-ej 'bush used for making brooms';
(c) step-kinship for masculine gender: virid-ej 'stepbrother';
-ey step-kinship for feminine gender: nán-ej 'stepmother';
-ik, -ak diminutives: julik-ik 'very small', čib-ak 'small spoon';
-in (a) adjectives from nouns: šarok-in-ak 'earthenware toy' (šarok 'clay');
(b) participles: tč-in 'having come (f.)'.

6.1.1.2 Prefixation

Adjectival ba- 'with', bě nō 'without', form adjectives: ba-mazā 'delicious, taste-ful',
bě-tamīz 'shame-less'.

6.1.2 Compounding

6.1.2.1 Basic types

Juxtaposition, simple reduplicated: xěš-tabōr 'relatives' (Persian xīš-tabür); pěx-palak 'shoes, lit. '(high) boot-foot-cloth'; dil-dil čdōw 'to rock to sleep (child)'.

Alliteration, with substitution of the initial consonant mainly with m- or p: čoγ-pöy 'tea'; bač-kač 'children; family'; ciliγ-piliγ 'noise'; pūl-mūl 'money'; xōriji-mōriji 'foreigner'.

Connective formants are: (a) -at 'and', e.g. ğin-at čōr 'wife and husband, couple'; (b) others include -o, -tar, -a, -či, -ba, e.g. yev-tar-yev 'abuse', šab-o-šab 'till dawn'.

6.1.2.2 Determinative compounds

Noun-noun: būy-wōx 'aromatic herb' (būy 'aroma' + wōx 'herb'), can-kamūnak 'sling' (can 'gun' + kamūnak 'bow'), xidořf-žir 'millstone', gud-yunčā 'bud' ('flower bud').

Adjective + noun: safēd-gāl 'an old woman' (safēd 'white' + gāl 'head', fem. form).

Numeral + noun: ōu-zivak (ōu 'two' + zivak 'tongue'), varō-tanā 'both persons'.

Noun + verb stem or agent noun: žīz-vōr 'fuel gatherer', žindam-xōr 'wheat eater', xax-vārīj 'water carrier'.

Noun + lexical gender marker: m. tēr-gāl, f. tēr-gāl 'with black hair', m. žīz-vōr, f. žīz -vēr 'a person who brought firewood'.

6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects

6.2.1 Naming

Shughn(an)i anthroponyms merged with Iranian Muslim anthroponymics and are partly canonized, but have retained some specific features. Thus the tradition of preserving the name of a deceased ancestor is carried out by a ritual of transferring his name to a descendant. Ritual preserved names consist of two or three components: Mast-āli, lit. 'intoxicated (by love for the shiite champion) Ali', Yusuf-āli-šō < Yusuf-Āli-Shāh.

Nicknames are a unique source of language materials, for their anthroponymy is based on appellatives that are rarely used or not used at all in the modern language, e.g. the proper names f. Kanginā 'a type of vessel', m. Yūr-x-ak '(bear) cub'.

SHUGHNI 817
6.2.2 Kinship terms

The Shughni kinship terminology is mostly indigenous (for plural forms see Section 3.1.1.2 Number).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14b.8: Kinship Terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>pid</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>bôb</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>puc</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nibôs</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>virôd</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>xisûr</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>amak</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>xôlak</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>virôd-êj</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nân-êj</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note, **pid** also 'father-in-law'; **dôd, târ 'father' (nursery term).

Members of the family commonly address each other using these terms. To indicate an extended family or a kin, the term **awlôd** is used: **Nazarô awlôd**. The term for blood relatives is **xëx-tabôr**; others: **xël, zôt, qavmîyût (qavm 'relative'); tôyfû 'kinship; ethnic group'**.

6.2.3 Familiar address and phraseology

Polite phraseology is represented by some words of address, which are used in Shughn(an)i for socialization and friendly small talk:

- **a-ôa 'guys' < a-yîôa, â-rô 'brothers' < a-virôd, a-êcën 'children' < a-baçën;**
- **a-lô 'girl', address among girls and women; a-lô 'you-all', address to everybody.**

When an elder family member addresses a young person (son or daughter, boy or girl), he or she uses the term for his or her own kinship relation:

- **a-tât 'dad', father to youngster; a-nân 'mom', mother to youngster;**
- **a mûm 'grandmother', elder female to young; a bôb 'grandfather', elder male to young.**

When a son or a daughter is born, the person who brings the news is called **xüs-pöy-i qadam 'who has easy-going step, brings happiness'.** This person greets the happy father with the ritual phrase **Mubôrak-i tirandôz 'congratulations by a shooter'** in case of a son, and **Mubôrak-i (h)alwô-pâz 'congratulations by a person preparing sweets'** if a daughter was born.

Frequent are also such verbal formulae as **salômôlêk! 'How do you do; welcome', cf. less official salûm greetings, 'hi'.** A polite answer for greeting is **wâlêk bar salûm**, accompanied by a **das(t)-bûsî 'a gesture of ritual kissing each other’s hand'**.
7 DIALECTOLOGY AND CONTACTS

7.1 Internal dialectology of Shughni

The Shughanji linguemes that are located in neighboring valleys have rather clear geographical boundaries, but remain mutually intelligible. In their contact zones transitional dialects develop, and their level of linguistic affinity varies.

In vocabulary, there are found series of differentiations, particularly in the most active stratum of cultural lexemes. In the Shahdara subdialect the speech of residents of the lower villages, i.e. those from Tavdem to Khorog, closely resembles that of Shughni, while higher up the Shahdara river, from Tavdem to Jawshanghoz, are found some subdialectal distinctions.

The subdialect of Barwoz, which is located in highest part of the valley, is quite exclusive and can clearly be distinguished. It has developed some specific phonetic, grammatical, and lexical characteristics, which still need to be investigated in detail. This dialect is now limited to use within a few families.

The distinctive criteria applied for dialects and subdialects are usually those of a phonetic and/or grammatical nature. Regarding the consonant system, one can find several distinctions in special features of several phonemes, together with particular lexemes: in the Shughanji proper and Shahdara subdialects the consonants k g are postdorsal in all positions. In the Bajuwi and Barwoz subdialects these consonants differ from Shughanji, and by their articulation approaches that of Rushani and Khufi palatalized k g. The fricative γ in the Shughanji proper and Shahdara subdialects also has permanent postdorsal articulation. In the Bajuwi and Barwoz subdialects, fricative γ in some positions approaches that of Rushani and Khufi palatalized γ. Thus, for example, in the Bajuwi subdialect the articulation of the fricative γ in position before frontal i, i substantially moves forward, and develops into a sonant palatal variant (Karamshoev 1963: 69). Particularly noteworthy is the correspondence between Bajuwi w – Shughni γ, which reflects deeper divergent historical developments.

Distinguishing features in grammar include the prevalence of different grammatical markers, such as the plural marker Shughanji -ēn vs. Shahdara -(j)ēv, mentioned above.

Of major importance for the larger Shughanji-Rushani sub-group is the distinction between transitive and intransitive inflection in past tenses. In particular, the ergative construction is retained in Shughanji only minimally by the marker -i for the 3s agent, whereas the ergative construction is relatively better preserved in Rushani and Bartangi.

7.2 Adjacent languages and dialects

The relatively large geographic area where Shughanji is spoken is adjacent to a large variety of linguistic neighbors. In the North, the neighboring languages are Rushani and Khufi, which are closely related to Shughanji. In the south, the prevalent languages are Tajik, and then Ishkashmi and Wakhi. In the east and north-east are the Turkic Kyrghyz dialects.

The Shahdara and Ghund valleys were the destination for numerous immigrants from various regions of the West Pamir, including Rushan, Bartang, Roshorv, and even more distant Sarez and Murghab. In the upper reaches of the Shahdara valley, where the almost inaccessible mountain pass to Wakhan is located, the local people trace their grandparents to Wakhan. To this day their relationship has not been interrupted.
completely, and close marriages and social contacts with the Wakhi-speaking community are still common there.

The closest contacts and connections with the Tajik language are those with the Badakhshan Tajik subdialects in the south-west of the region, Ghoron, Ishkashim, and with some other Tajik dialects, such as Munji in Shahdara. In the west there are close contacts with the Dari dialects of Afghanistan.

7.3 Loan component

Indigenous forms are preserved in verbs, pronouns, nouns (cultural terms, body parts, crafts and occupations, agricultural, ritual terms). However, numerous terms related to traditional culture, such as the names of the seasons in the folk calendar, house utensils, types of buildings, ritual dishes, clothes, etc. are disappearing, and the older terms tend to be preserved only in bound contexts such as collocations and phraseology.

Most numerous in the contemporary language are loans from Tajik. These include terms relating to modern technology as well as traditional Islam: šarāt ‘shariat’ (the Islamic law), and šaytūn-arōba ‘bicycle’, adopted in the 1920s. Some loans include terms, which have become obsolete in the Tajik itself, and are only preserved in the Pamir languages, sometimes with shift of meanings, such as jamāt ‘family’ (beginning of the twentieth century) in the term jamōat-xinā used by the Ismaili community for a place for prayer.

There are some loanwords from Arabic that entered via classical Farsi or Tajik, but have become archaisms in contemporary Tajik. Such Shughni terms include šītō ‘cold’ < A. šītā ‘winter’, saxrā ‘stubborn fellow, country man’, Taj. saxra ‘rocks; country man (or person who lives in high mountains)’, Ar. saxrā ‘rock; stubborn’; yafīz ‘crude; inadmissible’, yafīz gāp ‘crude word(s)’, Ar. yafīz ‘coarse; large, fat’.

In turn, numerous Shughni words or their phonetic variants are used in Tajik dialects, such as yūrš ‘dung’, Taj. yūrus, f. Taj. yūšā id.; yūr-ak ‘unripe fruit’, Taj. Badakhshan yurk, yuruk id., Northern Taj. dial. yurak ‘fruiting, ovary’, yur ‘nutshell’.

7.4 Pamir languages and Indo-Aryan

There are some loan words from other Pamir languages, including the following loaned via Wakhi: “mountain stream, flow; tributary”, Barwoz micro-dialect zarās < Wakhi terav (vs. Shughni proper šarvidōr and similar in other varieties); “wolf”, Sarikoli xīṭn < Wakhi xāpt, an old taboo term < Dardic Khowar spāt < *aapita-, OInd. āapta- ‘cursed’ (vs. lexemes derived from *wārka- in most Shughni varieties, e.g. Shughni proper wārī). In general, terms borrowed from Indo-Aryan relate to material culture, such as bīrū ‘birch bark’; cipōs rīgan ‘cotton oil’ < MInd. *kappāsa- (as in Pali), OInd. karpāsā– ‘cotton’; kappur ‘vessel made of pumpkin’ < MInd. *kappa-, OInd. karpāra– ‘bowl’.

7.5 Turkic Kyrghyz

A number of loanwords are from Turkic, especially Kyrghiz, most of which relate to cattle breeding, dairy farming, housekeeping equipment (especially associated with summer pasturing).
7.6 Substrate features

A certain lexical stratum is of substrate origin. There is also a group of “areal words” which are used in different languages of the region (Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Dardic, and non-Indo-European), but whose origins are unknown.

The substratum influence was significant, and not only resulted in supplying new vocabulary items, but also caused a shift in the semantics of words that already existed in Shughni. For example, dawûm ěd-ôw 'to begin', loaned from Arabic dawâm via Tajik davâm 'continuation', could change its meaning from ‘continuation’ to ‘beginning’ not spontaneously but only under the influence of a substratum form like Burushaski dohon ‘beginning, the beginning’ (with substitution h for w). Substrate influence is also reflected in the innovative derivation of t-ama, the pronoun of the 2p, from the singular pronoun t-u.

8 SAMPLE TEXTS

8.1 Bût Ayûm 'The Spring Equinox Festival'

\[
\text{ar sõl ta buôr-jêv bût ayûm ûd anj-ên.}
\]
\[
\text{each year ta spring-TIME Bat Ayom fest they-set about}
\]
\[
\text{'In the spring of every year they celebrate the Bat Ayom fest.'}
\]

\[
yid as.fûk-a0 yulla-di ayûm mâû-and,
\]
\[
\text{this from all biggest fest us-poss}
\]
\[
\text{'This is our greatest holiday.'}
\]

\[
\text{stë ta bêx mardum dam ayûm nawrûz hûv-ên}
\]
\[
\text{now ta more people this-OBLf fest Nawruz they-say}
\]
\[
\text{'Nowadays most people call it Nawruz.'}
\]

\[
atâ döyim-ik-ên bêx-di yö bût ayûm lûd yö xidîr ayûm.
\]
\[
\text{and continuous-they more this-OBLm either Bat Ayom call-PT or elder Ayom}
\]
\[
\text{'but they used to call it either Bat Ayom or Xidir Ayom.'}
\]

\[
aḏda-um-i mûrt yö bûst-u-afûm-i amal
\]
\[
18-th-iz March or 27-th-iz Amal
\]
\[
'On March 18, or Amal 27'
\]

\[
atâ mardum ta xu kôcôr fûk-a0 as ěd-and zîvêd-ên-xu
\]
\[
\text{and people ta own thing all from house-Loc they-bring out, then}
\]
\[
\text{'people take all their belongings outside, then'}
\]

\[
xu ěd-ên tôžâ kin-ên, sipê-gîl yö gûc wêv ô-ên,
\]
\[
\text{own houses fresh they-make, white-clay or lime those-OBLp they-hit}
\]
\[
\text{'clean their houses, whitening them with white clay or lime'}
\]

\[
döyim-ên ţi̊nik-ên xu ěd bûrî-ên gûl-buri mis ěd yûf j̄ qati.
\]
\[
\text{continuous-AG3p women own house columns decoration also made-PT flour with}
\]
\[
\text{'women usually decorated the walls of their houses with flower ornaments made}
\]
\[
\text{with flour.'}
The day of the holiday people put on new clothes.

On the day of the holiday people put on new clothes, who to new not is, washed on, and 'those who have no new clothes put on clean clothes, then'

On the day of the holiday people put on new clothes, after they leave to social gatherings, afterwards go to social gatherings,

womens play local drums on the roofs of their houses,' men kid they drag and wrestling they take up 'while men compete in goat dragging and wrestling (and similar sporting events).'

And the best of all is the egg cracking competition,' there are people who can win up to one hundred eggs on the day of the fest.'

And Jesus began to speak: One man had two sons.' The younger son told his father: Give me my portion of the inheritance.'

The younger son said: My portion inheritance give, and from all more egg fighting they put 'And the best of all is the egg cracking competition,' there are people who can win up to one hundred eggs on the day of the fest.'

And Jesus began to speak: One man had two sons.' The younger son told his father: Give me my portion of the inheritance.'

And that man divided his (own) livelihood between his sons.'

After two three day the younger son gathered all his livelihood'
xu pîl-gatî tar ðaraki jôy tûyd. tar-am-i yik-dis ayîs ēid
own money-with to far-off place went there-ag3s such-way enjoyment made
‘And went with his money to a far country. There he so enjoyed himself’

idî ar erî wi-nd ca vut, fuk-am-i binîst.
that every thing his-poss ca was-m all-ag3s lost
‘that he lost everything that he had.’

atâ yik-di waxt-and yik-wi mûndakat-and möîj sut-at
and very-this-oblm time-loc very-that-oblm country-loc famine it-became-and
‘And just at that time in that country famine arose, and’

yu sof bê-navô sut.
he plain poor he-became
‘he became completely poor.’

bôd as maîtûri sut tar yi bôy xêz kûr tiläpt,
after from necessity he-went to one rich-man house work requested
‘After that he became forced to ask for work at one rich citizen’s farm,’

atâ yu bôy wi-y-i tar xu qišlôq xûg-bûmî ēid-ôw bôxt.
and that rich him-ag3s to own village swine-herding making sent
‘And that citizen sent him to his village to herd the swine.’

yu amîsû, yik-dis maîtûnî vut idî xûg-ên xûrôk-ô cît-xûd sut,
he always such-way hungry he-was that swine fodder to-eating he-became
‘He was always so hungry that he began to eat the fodder of the swines,’

dûnd-avên idî wi-rd-ên yî cît-am na-ôdôd.
such-sake that him-for-ag3s one thing not gave
‘because they gave nothing to him.’

dôô wi wûx tar vi yat-xu yu xu-nd-ô-i lûd:
then his conscience to him came-then he self-to-ag3s said
‘Then this awareness came to him, and he said to himself:’

mu dôô-and wi dûnd xizmat-gôr
my father-to that-many servant
‘My father has so many servants’

atâ yi-cûy as wêv-amî maîtûnî na-ris-t-at,
and one from them-among hungry not remains-and
‘and none of them stays hungry, and’

wêv xûrôk bêx mis ôdôd.
their food more also remained
‘there are always leftovers of their food’.
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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Wakhi (Tajik Persian wakhī, self-designation šik; Khowar xikwar, Burushaski guški, Shina guitsa) is an Eastern Iranian Pamir language. In Tajikistan and Afghanistan, Wakhi villages are situated on both banks of the Panj River (= upper Amu Darya, Oxus) below the confluence of the Wakhan River. On the Tajikistan side, Wakhi villages extend from Namadgut to Ratm, interspersed with a few Tajiki settlements. On the Afghanistan side, settlements stretch from Pštur, near Ishkashem, to Sarhad on the upper reaches of the Wakhan River. In Pakistan, the main settlements are in Gojal, including part of the upper Hunza valley and the Shimshal and Chapursan valleys; in Ishkoman; and the upper Yarkhun valley in Chitral. In China, two separate settlement clusters are in Dafdar (Sarikol) and the towns of Kiliyan and Sanja (Pishan) (Kreutzmann 1996: 137).

Wakhi is spoken (1990–91 data) by a total of around 37,570 people, of whom 12,500 live in Tajikistan, 9500 in Afghanistan, 11,770 in Pakistan, and 3800 in China (Kreutzmann 1996: 137). In the following, Wakhi dialects will be discussed with reference to national boundaries because of the dearth of comparable data from Tajikistan, Afghanistan, China, and Pakistan. Moreover, the national boundaries established during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have divided and continue to further divide a formerly more cohesive and homogeneous language area (see also 7 Dialectology). The main sources for Wakhan Wakhi (WW) are Pakhalina (1975) [hereafter P] and Gruenberg and Steblin-Kamensky (1976) [hereafter GSK]; for Hunza Wakhi (HW), Lorimer (1958), Buddrus (1986), Reinhold (1992a, b, c), Mock (1998), and the present author’s field notes from Hunza. All examples the source of which is not otherwise indicated are from Bashir’s field notes.

As far as is known, the original home of the Wakhi speakers is the area along the Wakhan River in present-day Tajikistan and Afghanistan. There is no evidence in oral tradition or onomastics that would point to immigration from any other place (Morgenstierne 1938: 435). From Wakhan proper, Wakhi speakers have migrated during historical times to Sarikol (China) and several areas in the Northern Areas and Chitral regions of Pakistan (see Kreutzmann 1996: 139 for a schematic of the migration patterns). Mock (1998: 17, 22) reports that the earliest permanent Wakhi settlements in Shimshal and Avgardh were probably established from 250 to 400 years ago, and that Chapursan was settled during the nineteenth century. Wakhi speakers migrated to Ishkoman around 1880 (Lorimer 1958: 8). Apparently there were Wakhi settlements in Chitral along the upper reaches of the Yarkhun River in the early twentieth century (Stein [1921] quoted in Payne 1989: 420).
The position of Wakhi in Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan presents an interesting sociolinguistic laboratory. In Tajikistan, the language of communication, writing, and education is Tajik Persian. Wakhi oral tradition is also bilingual in Wakhi and Tajiki and many Wakhis also speak Shughni, the second lingua franca of the Pamir region. Schooling is obligatory for everyone in Tajikistan and the medium of education is Tajiki, leaving only old women and young children monolingual. This diminishes the role of Wakhi in public contexts, though it is still preferred in domestic settings. Until very recently, Wakhi speakers in Tajikistan felt themselves a marginalized group with negative attitudes toward their language; however, the poems published in Reinhold (1992a) indicate that there is an incipient awakening of interest in local languages.

In Afghanistan, Wakhis also speak Dari Persian, or Pashto. However, literacy is not widespread and the admixture of other elements into Wakhi is less than in Tajikistan.

The situation of Wakhi in Gojal (Pakistan) is unique. Almost 100 percent of Wakhi-speaking children in Hunza now attend school, which exerts greater influence on the language than any single factor in the past. This has resulted in an enormous literacy gap between younger and older generations. All schoolgoing children and many young women up to the age of 20 know Urdu, whereas hardly any of the older generation do (Reinhold 1992b). In addition, Gojal Wakhi is being heavily influenced by both Urdu and English (Reinhold 1992b). Nevertheless, it is an increasingly vital language, and speakers have a very positive attitude toward their language, evidenced by the Wakhi Tajik Cultural Association (Mock 1998: xvi, 38).

1.2 Writing Systems

Wakhi is now being written in both Tajikistan and Gojal. The poems appearing in Reinhold (1992a) were written in modified IPA-based script inspired by the work of Gruenberg and Steblin-Kamensky. Some Wakhi literateurs, perceiving IPA as closer to English than the Perso-Arabic script, attribute some prestige to it. A similar script is being used in Gojal (Mock 1998: 36–7), and a prominent Wakhi cultural figure has published a primer for writing Wakhi (Haqiqat Ali n.d.). The symbols used in this primer are: \(<a, ã, ã, b, c, C, c, d, D, d, e, ë, ë, f, g, y, y, h, i, j, j, ñ, k, l, m, n, õ, õ, õ, p, q, ð, r, s, s, S, t, ts, u, û, v, w, x, x, y, ẑ, Z, Z>.

However, others in Pakistan prefer to use a modified Perso-Arabic script. See also the Cyrillic alphabet, Table 14a in Chapter 14a Pamir languages.

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory and distribution

2.1.1 Vowels

Wakhi dialects present some difference in their vowel inventories. The system of WW appears to have five vowel phonemes, \(i, u, ù, ò, o\). In Payne (1989), \(ù = i\). Pakhalina (1983: 411) finds this sound somewhat rounded. For HW, Buddrus (1986: 28) gives the phonemes \(i, e, o, a, u\), describing \(o\) as a high back unrounded vowel. For Gojal, Mock (1998: 37) gives seven phonemes, \(i, ù, ÷, ø, e, a\). Mock characterizes \(ø\) as a high central rounded vowel. For Sarikol, Gao (1985: 101–2) gives \(i, e, o, a, u\), and ten diphthongs. In comparison:
Hunza e corresponds to Wakhan ə: HW yem, WW yəm ‘this’, and is distinct from i and a: ən ‘male (of animals)’, ən ‘mouth’, ən ‘ear’. Gojal also has [ə], which, however, appears to be an allophone of unstressed e or a, depending on intonational factors. As in other Iranian languages, the length distinction has been replaced by the distinction between stable vowels with little allophonic variation, and unstable central vowels which show wide allophonic variation, even loss in unstressed syllables (Payne 1981: 166).

The question of vowel quantity remains problematic. All authors note that there is considerable phonetic variation in vocalic length. Pakhalina (1975: 11; 1983: 410–12) finds six basic vowel qualities with long-short pairs for each. Grünberg and Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 542–5), however, present experimental evidence that synchronic vowel length is not phonemic, but correlates with positional and intonational factors. They suggest that there co-exist two separate phonological systems, one for native Wakhi words including old borrowings and one for (more recent) borrowings. Buddruss finds no clear minimal pairs for length (1986: 29).

2.1.2 Consonants

2.1.2.1 Overview

The inventory of consonant phonemes is the same for all WW dialects studied, for HW, and for Sarikol Wakhi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 15.2: CONSONANTS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glides</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2.2 Fricatives and affricates

Wakhi is rich in fricatives, contrasting labio-dental, interdental, dental, palatal, retroflex, velar, and uvular positions: sak ‘we’, šak ‘bad’, šak ‘dew’, šak ‘to make’.
Voicing is contrastive at each of these positions. Significant features are the triple distinction of dental, palatal and retroflex affricates and fricatives, and the distinction between the two pairs of velar and uvular fricatives, \( x \), \( \tilde{x} \), and \( y \), \( \gamma \).

2.1.2.3 Interdental \( \delta \)

In the Yasin dialect (Pakistan) (Backstrom 1992: 68) and in most dialects of WW, the voiced interdental fricative \( \delta \) is being replaced by the dental stop \( d \). Langar \( pdo \), WW \( pdo \) 'foot' (Lashkarbekov 1975: 75).

2.1.2.4 \( q \) and \( k \)

With regard to the status of \( q \) and \( k \), while \( q \) may be indigenous in a few native Wakhi words, it is mostly confined to obvious loanwords, mainly Arabic and Turkic, but also Khowar, which may reinforce its phonemic status. In WW, \( q \) in loans alternates with \( k \): \( q\omega\omega\ell\kappa\omega\omega\ell\) 'bread' (GSK: 550).

2.1.3 Syllable structure and consonant clusters

Native Wakhi words consist of one or two syllables, with the exception of some three-syllable verb forms. The predominant syllable type is CV, but VC, VCC, and CVC are also frequent. In initial position, two-consonant clusters, CCV, are common: \( sp-, st-, sk-, br-, dr-, tr-, gr-, kr-, bl-, fl- \); and some triple clusters, CCCV, are found as well: \( spr-, str-, stv-, xtl- \). \( str\nu\z\nu\z \) 'large broom', \( xtl\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu \) 'Artemisia Tournifortiana'. In syllable-final position, up to three consonants may occur: \( spundr \) 'plowing implement' (GSK: 552).

2.2 Non-segmental features

Wakhi stress is strong and in most native Wakhi nominals falls on the last syllable: kitkq: 'doll', kitkangk 'little doll', kitkan-dun-zk 'place for dolls' (Pakhalina and Lashkarbekov 2000: 175). This includes nominalizations such as infinitives and participles. Grammatical suffixes and enclitics are unstressed. In verb forms with personal endings, the stress is shifted onto the initial syllable: infinitive \( \text{wizm-ak} \) 'to bring', but finite \( \text{wizim-d} \) 'brings'. Stress is indicated here and in subsequent examples by underlining stressed vowels.

3 MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Nominal morphology

Wakhi nouns and pronouns are marked for number and case, the pronominal paradigm having adopted the nominal markers. Grammatical gender has been lost, although some word forms preserve its historical traces (Pakhalina 1989: 18–20).

3.1.1 Nouns

The major distinction is between direct (DIR) and oblique (OBL). There are two oblique cases, simple oblique (OBL), and focused oblique marked by a front or mid vowel (OBL). The 1s and 2s pronouns also have a distinct possessive/genitive form (POSS). In addition, the dative/source case (GL) is marked by -(V)r(k), and the ablative/source case
These four cases may co-occur with prepositions to form circumpositions, and also with a variety of postpositional adverbial and nominal elements, which show a continuum of grammaticization from transparent nominal to opaque lexicalization. There are thus several levels of case constructs. The basic case distinctions are as follows; note that the singular OBL₁ has zero-marking:

**TABLE 15.3: CASE ENDINGS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hunza</th>
<th></th>
<th>Wakhan</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level-1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-išt</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-išt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL₁</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-ev</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level-2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL₂</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-ev-e</td>
<td>-ayl</td>
<td>-av-ayl-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative/GL</td>
<td>-e-r</td>
<td>-ev-e-r</td>
<td>-ar(k)</td>
<td>-av-ar(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative/SRC</td>
<td>-e-n</td>
<td>-ev-e-n</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-av-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Level-1 forms are the base for the level-2 case markers, e.g. WW kənd-ayl kənd-ayy 'the woman/women'; kənd-ərk kənd-ərk 'to the woman/women'; kənd-ənl kənd-ən 'from the woman/women'. OBL₂ in both WW and HW marks: (a) some transitive past tense subjects; (b) some direct objects; (c) some genitive relations; and (d) in HW some intransitive subjects. Level-2 case markers appear to be transitional between postposition and suffixal case marker. One indication of this is that the occurrence of OBL₂ varies from dialect to dialect and even speaker to speaker, especially in HW. This area of Wakhi syntax is a prime area in which to observe language change in progress.

3.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are invariant. The may also be used substantively, in which case they take the regular nominal endings: digar-ev-ər 'to the others'.

The comparative marker is -ətor: hup-ətor 'bigger'; however, comparison is usually expressed analytically, with the plain adjective and the circumposition tse NP-en:

\[ \text{yem vrul ts-a [vrul]-en zaq tei} \]

'this brother is younger (zaq “small”) than that brother' (Lorimer 1958: I, 139).

The superlative is expressed by kusht plus the ablative -ən, or kud-i ‘all’:

\[ \text{yem tsə kusht-ən dəqlay(-ətor)} \]

'she is the smallest of all' (GSK: 564).

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.3.1 Personal and demonstrative pronouns

Only the 1st and 2nd person pronouns distinguish DIR, OBL₁ and OBL₂, and also have separate possessive/genitive forms. The demonstrative pronouns have triple deixis, far,
mid, and near distance; but they do not distinguish DIR and OBL₁ in the singular. The far demonstrative pronoun often loses its deictic function, and serves as the 3rd person pronoun:

### TABLE 15.4: PERSONAL AND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS, HUNZA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hunza</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>OBL₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wuz</td>
<td>mažlma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tavltal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>yaw/lal</td>
<td>yow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mid</td>
<td>yet</td>
<td>yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3near</td>
<td>yem</td>
<td>yem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>ēw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>far</td>
<td>yaw-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3mid</td>
<td>yet-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3near</td>
<td>yem-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 15.5: PERSONAL AND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS, WAKHAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wakhan</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>OBL₁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wuzwaz</td>
<td>mažlma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tavltal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>yaw/lal</td>
<td>yow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mid</td>
<td>yet</td>
<td>yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3near</td>
<td>yom</td>
<td>yom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>sasvá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>far</td>
<td>yaw-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3mid</td>
<td>yaw-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3near</td>
<td>yom-ay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*In upper WW, the DIR plural ending -išt is extended marginally to possessive 
*sa(v)ijšt.

All demonstratives may take emphatic (h)a- (cf. Persian ham- 'same'): ha-ya vaxt 'that 
same, that very time'. (h)a also occurs with similar functions in the Dardic languages 
Pashai, Kalasha, Khowar, and Palula (Bashir 2003). Demonstrative adjectives are invari-
ant before nouns.

3.1.3.2 Possessive forms

The predicative adjectival forms of the 1st and 2nd pers. possessive pronouns consist of 
the ablative of the possessive/genitive: šu-n(-ən) 'mine', ti-n-ən 'yours', spə-ts-(ən) 
'ours'.

3.1.3.3 Reflexive-emphatic and reciprocal pronouns

The reflexive pronoun is šat 'self'; the attributive adjective šar, and the predicative ad­
jective ši-n-ən. The reflexive also functions as an emphatic. The reciprocals are indigenous 
WW yamun, HW alamun, and borrowed am-digar 'each other'.

3.1.3.4 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns and related adverbials

Interrogative pronominals include: kuy 'who', čiz 'what', čiz-ər, čir 'why', kum(ə) 'which, 
what kind of (of finite set)', tsum 'how much, many', star 'what (substantive)'. These 
forms also function as indefinites: kuy 'some(one), any(one)', kum-yor 'someone', čiz 
'some' (non-specific), čiz-i 'some' (specific), tsum 'some, several', tyun 'a, some, any' (non-
pecific): tyun kitob ma-r rand 'give me a book' (GSK: 573).

3.1.4 Adpositions

3.1.4.1 Prepositions

The basic indigenous prepositions express various locative relations, usually with 
reference to the parameters of horizontality or verticality:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sak/ska</td>
<td>location or direction above the reference object;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>direction or location above or horizontal to reference object;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tar</td>
<td>location horizontal to (or above) reference object;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daštə</td>
<td>direction or location (usually) horizontal to the reference object;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(V)r(V)</td>
<td>location below the reference object;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsə</td>
<td>direction away from object, usually with -ən.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They take the OBL, case: pa maž 'on me', pa daraxt 'up the tree'. They often fuse with 
their pronominal host element: sk-av 'on them' < skə-yav.
3.1.4.2 Postpositions

Postpositions take the possessive/genitive form of the personal pronouns: *ti mis* 'in front of you', *spo šičā al* 'stay with us'.

3.1.4.3 Circumpositions

Circumpositions (ambipositions) are centrally important in Wakhi, as in other Iranian languages of the region (Stilo 1987). For example, combined with the SRC marker *sa*, *pa* can mark instrument: *pa xingar-on* 'with the sword' (GSK: 581), a usage found mostly in upper WW (P: 99). Another WW instrumental usage is the simple preposition *dā: dā 0īn yēpk dā sōbhīn* 'with hot water and soap' (GSK: 639–40). In HW instrument is expressed either with -en (SRC) alone: *lup yār-an* 'with big stones', or with the circumposition *tsa-NP-an: ts(a) tambuk-an* 'with a pellet bow' (Lorimer 1958: 1, 107, 116).

3.1.5 Adverbial demonstratives and adverbs

A central aspect of Wakhi nominal morphology is the fusion of the basic locative prepositions expressing the parameters of verticality and horizontality with the demonstratives to yield a complex series of locative adverbials (see GSK: 582–7 for full paradigms). For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 15.6: ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES (SINGULAR FORMS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, the emphatic *(h)a-* precedes the preposition, *ha-PREP-DEM: *(h)a-ts-* 'from that/his/there < *(h)a-ts-*ya(w)*. In the case of reduced *yaw > -a, -n- (or *-r-* in WW) is inserted intervocically: *ha-ts-a-n-an* 'from that/him/there'.

Other adverbs are treated as lexical items, having no special morphological shape or rules of formation.

3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

Two notable features of the original Wakhi numeral system are the remnants of a vigesimal system and the (10 + n) structure for teen numerals, both characteristics shared by a number of neighboring languages (Bashir 1988; Tikkanen 1995). However, the teens and decades larger than 20 are now only used by older speakers, and except for the single digits, Tajiki numerals are used. The original Wakhi numerals are the following (GSK: 645):
TABLE 15.7: CARDINAL NUMBERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1-9</th>
<th>11-19</th>
<th>10-90</th>
<th>100+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(y)i(w)</td>
<td>ðas-yiw</td>
<td>ðas</td>
<td>pandz-bist ‘one hundred’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu(y)</td>
<td>ðas-bu(y)</td>
<td>bist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tru(y)</td>
<td>ðas-tru(y)</td>
<td>bist-ðas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsãbwør</td>
<td>ðas-tsãbwør</td>
<td>bu-bist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pandz</td>
<td>ðas-pandz</td>
<td>bu-bist-ðas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðø</td>
<td>ðas-ðø</td>
<td>tru(y)-bist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)wb</td>
<td>ðas-(h)wb</td>
<td>tru(y)-bist-ðas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)at</td>
<td>ðas-(h)at</td>
<td>tsãbwør-bist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naw</td>
<td>ðas-naw</td>
<td>tsãbwør-bist-ðas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the numerals for ‘1’, ‘2’, and ‘3’, the consonant-final forms (-w, -y) are substantive and the vowels-final forms adjectival. Nouns usually appear in the singular after cardinal numerals.

3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers and distributives

Ordinal numbers are formed by suffixing -bing: bu(y)-bing ‘second’, and distributives by suffixing -i: bu(y)-i ‘by twos’. A distributive suffix -gon is attested with ‘one’: i-gon i-gon ‘one each’ (Morgenstierne 1938: 489).

3.1.6.3 Classifiers

Wakhi makes some use of nominal classifiers, loaned from Tajik: dona ‘thing’ (for objects), nafar ‘person’ (for persons), sar ‘head’ (for animals): bist sar tuy ‘twenty goats’.

3.2 Verbal morphology

Finite verb forms mark person, number, tense, mood, and evidentiality, which is a regular development of the perfect form. There is no morphological voice opposition; an action with an unspecified agent is expressed with a 3rd person plural verbal ending: yark-ep tsar-en ‘the work will be done’ (lit. ‘they will do the work’). Wakhi does not mark aspect inflectionally; many of the functions associated with imperfective forms in other languages are performed by the particle -ʃ.

3.2.1 Stem formation

3.2.1.1 Overview

There are only about 300 simple verbs in Wakhi (GSK: 582). The rest are conjuncts of nominal elements and a small set of simple verbs (“light verbs”), which define the transitivity or intransitivity of the conjunct. The most frequent of these are tsar- ‘do’, gox- ‘do, make’, kaf- ‘put’, xaf- ‘pull’, di- ‘beat, hit’, ðwør- ‘have’ for transitives; and wots-, past vit- ‘become’ for intransitives.
Wakhi verb forms are based on three stems: present, past, and perfect. Based on the morphological relation between present and past stems, there are regular and irregular verbs.

3.2.1.2 Present and past stems

In past stems, the most numerous group of regular verbs simply suffix -tId to the present stem: pres. čok-, past čok-t- 'cut'; pres. al-, past al-d- 'remain'. Another group changes ni to o: pres. bnn-, past bnn-d- 'throw'; pres. div(uy)y-, past dowsy-d- 'steal'. These include derived causatives. The remaining verbs show various types of stem alternation: pres. yund-, past yut- 'take away'; pres. ðaw-, past ðar- 'burn'.

Some irregular verbs have past stems in -ni: pres. ðits- 'milk', past ðwy-n-.

3.2.1.3 Perfect stems

Perfect stems are formed in two ways: (1) past stem + -klg: pun- 'drink', past pit-, perf. pit-k-; (2) present stem + -etk: bnn- 'throw', past bnn-d-, perf. bnn-etk; wodawr- 'take, seize', past wodort-, perf. wod(uy)r-etk-. Class 2 includes most of the derived transitives and causatives.

3.2.1.4 Causative stems

Causative stems are formed regularly: pres. + -mlw, past + -ovdlowd: čarn- 'enter' > čarn-mlw-, past čarn-ovd 'lead into'; pun- 'drink' > pres. pun-mlw-, past pun-ovd- 'cause/give to drink'.

3.2.2 Non-finite forms

3.2.2.1 Verbal nouns or infinitives

There are two verbal nouns or infinitives: (1) present stem + ak, (2) present stem + -n (or -g, with n-final stems): kamy-ak and kamy-n 'to desire'; win-ak and win-g 'to see'. Most verbs have both infinitives, but some only one or the other. Forms in -n predominate in upper Wakhan, forms in -k elsewhere in Wakhan. In contemporary HW, n-forms predominate, perhaps partially due to recent influence from Shina and Urdu. Where both forms exist, it appears that the ak-forms are more agent-focussed, as distinguished from the activity focus of n-forms. Grunenberg and Steblin-Kamensky call WW ak-forms "infinitives", and n-forms "action nouns". The extent to which this distinction is maintained or valid for Hunza remains to be investigated. As nouns, they may assume any syntactic function, and also serve in various types of nominalized clauses (see 5.3-6).

3.2.2.2 Participles

3.2.2.2a Present participle

A present participle is derived from the verbal noun by the suffix -knzg. With k-infinitives, the suffixal -k is lost: ladown-knzg 'giving, giver' < ladown 'to give', šak-wnzg 'working, worker' < šak 'to do' (P. 88). The present participle also functions substantively as an agent noun.
3.2.2.2b Perfect participles

There are two perfect participles: one is identical with the perfect stem and functions either adjectivally: de-tek šapik 'burned bread', mer-k ſuks 'dead snake', or substantively: no-win-etk 'one who hasn’t seen'; the other consists of the perfect stem plus the adjectival ending -b111g (upper WW), -;mg (lower WW), -in (middle and lower WW) (GSK: 601): yakš-sw-atk-in yupk ‘boiled water’ (P: 89).

3.2.3 Person marking and the verb ‘to be’

3.2.3.1 Overview

Person and number are marked by personal endings in the present-future. Pronominal clitics mark the subject in all past and perfect tenses of both transitive and intransitive verbs. These clitics are homophonous in most cases with the copula and the personal desinences (Table 15.8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>-em</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-et (-o, -i)</td>
<td>-et</td>
<td>-ot</td>
<td>-ot (-2yli)</td>
<td>-ot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-o, -it</td>
<td>-tl</td>
<td>-o, -i</td>
<td>-o, -it</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-o, -ylj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-ev</td>
<td>-it</td>
<td>-ev</td>
<td>-ev</td>
<td>-ev (upper/lower)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-il/-ev</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-ev</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-ev</td>
<td>-ev</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for the 3s, which is optional and cannot attach to the verb, the pronominal clitics may attach to any constituent in the sentence, but are most often found attached to the first constituent of the clause. They may appear more than once in a clause.

3.2.3.2 Existential verb ‘to be’

There are four indicative tense forms: pres. tei, past tu, perf. tuvetk, past perf. tuvetu. These forms are unmarked for person or number, which are indicated by the pronominal clitics. The suppletive subjunctive base is HW lwimi-/WW (ylh)um(št)j-, of which only the present/future forms are attested (see Table 15.9).
TABLE 15.9: EXISTENTIAL VERB 'TO BE'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hunza</th>
<th>Wakhan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>tey-em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>tey-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>tey(-it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>tey-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>tey-ev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>tey-ev</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In copular function, the personal clitics can also attach to another constituent: -em tei, -et tei, -en tei, -ev tei.

The corresponding non-stative verb 'to become' has the following basic forms: pres. wots-, past vit-, perf. vit-k, and the two infinitives wots-ak and wots-n.

3.2.4 Aspectual-modal affixes and negation

3.2.4.1 Aspectual clitic -ş

The aspectual clitic -ş appears in numerous variants which may be summarized as -(V)ş(V) (k). Also, with consonant-final stems, a vowel harmonizing with the stem vowel of the host word appears; with vowel-final stems, -ş is either directly attached: tu-ş or is connected by a homorganic glide and vowel: tu-w-uş 'you'. -ş combines with the present-future and with the past to express specificity and immediacy, either present relevance or immediate future, and various imperfective meanings. It also expresses real conditions with the present-future, and irrealis conditions with the past and with the distant perfect (see the discussion of the individual tenses in section 3.3.5). -ş is usually enclitic to the first sentence constituent; however, it may attach to other constituents including the verb, and may also occur more than once in a clause:

yiw-iş ma-r kş-t-ş, nşy, tow-eş be yow-em ti z'man-eš be yow-em
‘throw one to me or else I am going to eat (yow-) both you and your child’ (Mock 1998: 451).

3.2.4.2 Particle -(V)p

The particle -(V)p specifies non-past situations as non-immediate, i.e. as future or as tenseless/generic (see section 3.2.5.2 Present-future).

3.2.4.3 Negative particles

The negative particles are pre-verbal na for indicative and mā for non-indicative, nāy and māy post-verbally. The negated copula is nast 'is not'. All nominal forms of the verb take no-: infinitive no-diş-ak 'not to know', perfect participle no-diş-ětk, adjectival no-diş-ětk-ın.
3.2.5 System of tense, mood, and aspect

3.2.5.1 Overview

The fundamental tense distinction in Wakhi is between past and non-past, i.e. present/future. Perfect forms indicate not tense but resultativity, stativity, or inferentiality. Non-indicative mood is morphologically distinct only in the imperative, which is zero-marked, and in the forms of the subjunctive of ‘be’, HW hüm-/-WW (ylh)humhay-. Other aspectual and modal functions are expressed contextually by the tense forms described below and/or by the aspectual clitics.

3.2.5.2 Present-future

The present-future tense consists of the present stem with the personal endings. In contrast to the pronominal clitics, these attach only to the verb, and appear only once in the clause. This tense refers to all non-past events and also functions as a historical present.

3.2.5.2a Subjunctive function without particle

Without a specifying aspectual particle, the present-future conveys various subjunctive meanings involving potential action, including suggestion, hortation, and a positive or negative wish:

wuz kuy-e rem-im
‘whom should I send?’;

salim [kum-ar] er gilt me wiz-i
‘[hopefully] Salim won’t come (down) to Gilgit’;

i wuz umy-o-m, i kampir
‘would that there would be only me and the old woman’ (GSK: 635);

zman ya-r kam hüm-i
‘she should have few children’ (lit. ‘let there be to her’) (Reinhold 1998: 345).

With 2nd person subjects, this form constitutes an imperative:

tr-a-mo-reč ṣaq-ep wots
‘don’t go there, you will slip’.

3.2.5.2b Specificity and immediacy with -š,

With the particle -š, the present-future expresses specificity or immediacy, either present relevance or immediate future:

wuz-eš coy pev-em
‘I am drinking tea’;

a-ya xalg [naql-š tso tsar-am]
‘that man [(whose) story I am telling]’ (GSK: 637);

wuz-eš [angreziv nivis-en]-iš dis-em
‘I know [(how) to write English]’.

3.2.5.2c Future and tenseless/generic function with -(V)p

With the particle -(V)p, the present-future specifies future or tenseless/generic. Pakhalina (1975:75) describes it as specifying the completion of an action in future time. GSK do
not find the future meaning in their materials and give only one example of it, in which the reading is of a timeless generic situation:

\[
\text{xalg-dp a-zi} \text{nə gox-t}
\]

'a person never does like that (a-zi)' (GSK: 654).

\(-{(V)p}\) appears more frequently in HW than in WW. Lorimer's materials show frequent use of it to indicate both generic and future actions. In Mock's texts and my materials, sentences referring to specific future actions appear consistently with \(-{(e)p}\). It occurs in both indicative and non-indicative contexts:

\[
\text{jald tuy-p nə tsar-ən}
\]

'they should/will not marry soon' (Reinhold 1998: 344);

\[
\text{tu-p \#i xun-e batken reč}
\]

'come/you will come to my house!' (batken 'up to').

3.2.5.3 Past

The (simple) past tense consists of the past stem, with the subject indexed by the pronominal clitics. When no other particle or personal marker is attached to it, the past stem ends optionally in \(-/a(y)\) (upper WW/lower WW), or \(-e/a\) (HW):

\[
\text{wuz-əm taw-ay wind-ay}
\]


In Hunza (Passu), it appears that this past tense marker is strongly preferred, perhaps even obligatory with intransitive past tenses

\[
\text{wuz-əm kand-a (*kand)}
\]

'I laughed'.

3.2.5.3a Anterior to present and conditional perfective

The (simple) past refers to events occurring prior to the time of the speech act, but it also functions as perfective in conditional clauses (see 5.7).

3.2.5.3b Imperfective meanings and conditional irrealis with -§

With the particle -§, the past expresses various imperfective meanings including progressive, durative, and habitual, as well as unrealized actions, and functions in irrealis conditional clauses (see 5.7.2):

\[
\text{naž-e§ yark kert}
\]

'I was working';

\[
\text{yaw-e§ sk-i yafčā lap multk hukumat kert}
\]

'he ruled over a very great kingdom';

\[
\text{ar ruz-as tə ku-§ rey-d-ay}
\]

'he would go to the mountain every day' (GSK: 625).

3.2.5.4 Distant past

The distant past ("pluperfect") is derived in two ways:
from the perfect base by replacing -klg with the past tense form of 'to be', HW and lower WW -tu, upper WW -twh: pres. tsar- ‘do’, past kar-, perf. kar-k, dist. past kar-tu;

(2) present base + -sitltow: pres. wyzwm- ‘bring’, past wozom-d, perf. wyz हि m-ātk, dist. past wozom-ātu (P: 77, GSK: 598–9).

3.2.5.4a Anterior to past event and distant past

The distant past refers to a past event prior to another past event, or to an event in the relatively distant past:

\[ \text{dist. past: } \text{bl vr,t pard w}=\text{tu} \]

‘my brother came last year’ (GSK: 626);

\[ \text{wuz d}=\text{ yi diw,i h}=\text{on n}=\text{tu,-t}=\text{m ū}=\text{at-ay, yaw maz-ay na wind-ay} \]

‘I hid/had hidden myself at the base of a wall, and he didn’t see me’ (GSK: 626).

3.2.5.4b Unrealized actions and irrealis conditional with -§

With the particle -§, the distant past expresses unrealized action, and appears in irrealis conditional clauses:

\[ \text{ts}=\text{al dig-an-ay yaw-i q=arib shi} \text{-tw-ow-§} \]

‘they almost killed him by beating him’ (P: 84).

3.2.5.5 Perfect

The perfect consists of the perfect stem plus the pronominal clitics. It functions as follows: the basic indicative function of the perfect is resultative-stative:

\[ \bar{\text{b}}\text{ut r k}=\text{u}nd v}=\text{it-k} \]

‘the sickle has become dull/is dull’ (P: 83),

from which develop inferential and mirative senses. Compare the simple past and perfect meanings in the following sentences:

simple past: \[ \text{salim pe=šawar rey-d-e} \]

‘Salim went to Peshawar’ (direct knowledge);

perfect (inference): \[ \text{salim-i pešawar reš-k} \]

‘apparently Salim went/has gone to Peshawar’;

perfect (mirative): \[ \text{tu ya bilafta-ot tuv-ātk} \]

‘apparently you are very stupid!’ (GSK: 625).

3.2.5.6 Perfect subjunctive

Combined with the perfect, (li)hum, i.e. non-indicative ‘be’, contributes subjunctive senses to the basic resultative meaning of the perfect. It appears as an optative, in a future perfect sense, and in conditionals:

\[ \text{salim kum-er er g}=\text{ilt ma wez-g humu-t} \]

‘I hope Salim hasn’t come down to Gilgit’;

\[ \text{piga batkenit waz yem yark-e šet-k huny-em} \]

‘by tomorrow I will have finished this work’.
3.2.5.7 Distant perfect

The distant perfect is formally a double perfect, consisting of the perfect followed by \textit{tuw-fitk}, the perfect of 'to be'.

3.2.5.7a Unwitnessed/inferred action

This form temporally distances unwitnessed/inferred action:

\begin{center}
yuk\textit{i}t\textit{a}-\textit{y}a xälg d\textit{a}yt ki yaw tat \textit{diy-\textit{at}} \textit{tuw-\textit{at}}k
\end{center}

'the same person killed the mountain goat who (previously had) killed his father' (P: 83).

3.2.5.7b Irrealis wishes in past time

The distant perfect also appears with irrealis wishes in past time:

\begin{center}
ko\textit{š}i tu ma ra\textit{x}-k \textit{tuw-\textit{at}}k
\end{center}

'if only you had not gone' (P: 83).

4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

4.1 Coordination

A native overt coordinating element is the clitic -\textit{et} (HW)/\textit{-at} (WW), which attaches to the final element of the first conjunct, either a NP: \textit{wu\textit{z-\textit{at}} tu} 'you-and I', or a clause (see 4.1). Paired coordinating elements include \textit{n\textit{a} ... n\textit{a} 'neither ... nor'; be ... be and \textit{am} ... \textit{am} 'both ... and' (P: 110).

4.2 Noun phrase structure

Wakhi is a head-final language. The unmarked word order in the noun phrase is: determiner, possessive, numeral, adjective, head noun (DET – POSS – NUM – ADJ – N).

\begin{center}
ts-\textit{an} ī\textit{bu} lup p\textit{at-r-(\textit{a}v)-\textit{an}}
\end{center}

from-this my two big son-s-from

'from these two elder sons of mine' (GSK: 659).

4.2.1 Genitive phrases

Dependent noun phrases precede the head, and are either in OBL\textsubscript{1} (a) or OBL\textsubscript{2} (b). The form with OBL\textsubscript{1} is the native Wakhi structure, and is still the most common. 1s and 2s pronouns have a special genitive form: ∫i \textit{xun} 'my house'. Less frequent in both Hunza and Wakhan is an ablative construction, approximately 'of NP his X' (c). The Persian \textit{ezåfe} construction (d) may be found as well:

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(a)] tat \textit{xun} 'father's house'
  \item[(b)] tat-i \textit{xun} 'father's house'
  \item[(c)] tat-\textit{an} yaw \textit{xun} 'the father's house'
  \item[(d)] \textit{xun}-i tat 'father's house'
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(d)] tat xun 'father's house' \textit{wra\textit{t}-\textit{av xun}} 'the brothers' house'
  \item[(b)] \textit{dawakxt-av-i palē-\i\textit{st}} 'the leaves of the tree'
  \item[(c)] \textit{dawakxt-av-an yaw palē-\i\textit{st}} 'the leaves of the trees'
\end{itemize}
4.2.2 Definiteness marking

Non-specific indefinite noun phrases are unmarked. Specific, referential indefinites are usually marked by (y)i(w) ‘a, one’, which may precede the noun or follow as an enclitic, as in the formulaic folk tale introduction:

\[\text{tu nu-tu, } i\text{ po}z\text{ tu}\]
\[\text{‘there was or there wasn’t; there was a king’ (GSK: 561);}\]
\[\text{\textit{kum} dusd-l wiz-it}\]
\[\text{‘a (some) thief is coming’ (GSK: 561).}\]

Definiteness may be marked by the far demonstrative, which often loses its deictic force and functions as a definite article.

4.3 Clause structure and word order

The unmarked clausal constituent order is SOV. The topic occupies sentence-initial position, while the focus position is pre-verbal:

\[\text{wuz-em } t\omega\text{ xun reyd-e}\]
\[\text{‘I went home’ (unmarked order);}\]
\[\text{\textit{t}o xun-em wuz reyd-e}\]
\[\text{‘it is I who went home’ (answering the question, ‘who went home?’).}\]

4.3.1 Clitics

The unmarked position for all clitics is second position, attaching to the first major sentence constituent. These include the tense/aspect clitics -(V)f(V) (immediate/imperfective) and -(V)p (non-immediate/future), the modal clitic ni ‘perhaps’, and the pronominal clitics. The position of the pronominal clitics is variable, and has semantic and pragmatic correlates. Compare the following sentences in which the shift of the pronominal clitic to the past form of the verb produces the reading of imminent future action:

\[\text{wuz-em } t\omega\text{ xun reyd-e}\]
\[\text{‘I went home’;}\]
\[\text{waz } t\omega\text{ xun reyd-em}\]
\[\text{‘I’m going home (immediately).’}\]

4.3.2 Questions

Yes-no questions are marked with a sentence-final particle -\(\alpha\) (upper WW)/-a (lower WW; HW). WH-question words are normally immediately pre-verbal.

4.3.3 Nominal sentences

In present tense nominal sentences, the pronominal clitics sometimes perform the copular function. When existence is emphatically affirmed or questioned, the copula \textit{tei} ‘is’ can co-occur with the clitics. In negative sentences, the clitic is obligatory (except for 3s), and attaches either to the negative copula \textit{nast} ‘is not’ or to another constituent:
In the past tense, *tu* 'was' is obligatory, and co-occurs with the pronominal clitics.

### 4.4 Case marking

#### 4.4.1 Subject marking

Subject marking in Wakhi depends on tense: past or non-past, and sometimes on transitivity. It also involves a choice among at least three ways of indicating the subject:

(a) personal ending (non-past), or pronominal clitic (past) alone (or zero for 3s);
(b) noun phrase alone (past);
(c) noun phrase plus personal ending or clitic; and, with (b) and (c), a choice between DIR or OBL case.

#### 4.4.1.1 Non-past tenses

In both Wakhan and Hunza, subjects of both intransitives and transitives are (usually) DIR in all dialects, and subject agreement is marked on the verb by person-number markers:

*Wuz/*maż ṭaw-أم 'I am going';
*Wuz/*maż taw-i ṭaw-أم-أث 'I see you' (Payne 1980: 180).

#### 4.4.1.2 Past tense and perfect

Case marking of nominal and pronominal subjects varies by dialect:

##### 4.4.1.2a Lower dialect of Wakhan W (Namadgut)

Here all past tense and perfect subjects are DIR, regardless of transitivity, and definite direct objects are OBL₂, yielding a NOM-ACC type pattern in all tenses:

intransitive: *yavīš* yav ṭaw-kūk rāj-[ū] 'they went to the spring';

##### 4.4.1.2b Upper dialect of Wakhan W

Here transitive subjects are oblique:

With 1s and 2s pronouns, the only singular forms that distinguish direct and oblique, both transitive and intransitive subjects may be marked either DIR or OBL:

\[ \text{mač} (\text{OBL}_1) \text{ rῶd(l-\text{y})} \] ‘I left’ (Payne 1980: 180–1).

4.4.1.2c Hunza W

Here marking of past-tense subjects is similarly complex.

(a) Intransitive subjects are usually DIR in isolated non-contextualized sentences:

\[ \text{wuz-m-č} \text{ tə-xun rɔ́d-e} \] ‘I was going home’ (DIR and clitic).

(b) Transitive nominal and pronominal subjects, however, can be DIR, OBL₁, or OBL₂, depending on grammatical person and number, referential status, and discourse variables.

Case marking thus depends on both discourse and syntactic factors, with OBL noun phrase subjects more likely to appear when one or more of the following conditions obtain:

(a) the subject/agent is different from that of the previous action;
(b) the specific identity of the agent is to be stressed;
(c) the action is perceived as volitional and active rather than “passive”.

4.4.1.3 OBL₁ and OBL₂

Further, there are two OBL cases: the clearly marked OBL₂, and OBL₁ which is overtly identical with the DIR in singular nouns and in most pronouns (see sections 3.1.1, 3.1.3 on nouns and pronouns). In general, OBL₂ has two functions:

(a) as grammatical OBL case where the DIR/OBL₁ distinction is not marked; and
(b) to mark discourse prominence.

The appearance of OBL₂ on both subjects and direct objects is thus conditioned partly by grammatical constraints, and partly by discourse semantics.

In non-contextualized sentences elicited in 1986 and 1989 from two Wakhi speakers of Passu, definite nominal and pronominal subjects of transitive past tenses appear consistently with OBL₂:

\[ \text{kač-e (OBL₂) mač wind} \] ‘the boy saw me’;
\[ \text{mač-e} \text{ eltəyow-e (OBL₂) ŋapik yit-ik} \] ‘I/you/(s)he has/have eaten food (lit. bread)’.

However, OBL₁ instead of OBL₂ in the following interrogative sentence points to the role of discourse factors:

\[ \text{taw (OBL₁) ŋapik yit-k-a?} \] ‘have you eaten (food)?’.

Lorimer noted that OBL₂ marking is optional with OBL₁ pronominal subjects in transitive past tenses, and contrasts the emphatic effect of OBL₂ vis-à-vis the pronominal clitic plus DIR subject-marking option (Lorimer 1958: 1, 97–8). A tabulation of subject marking strategies in three of Lorimer’s texts shows that of 54 OBL₂ subjects, 49 of them
occur when there is a change of discourse subject (Bashir 1986). Contemporary texts also show this effect of discourse factors; compare the first two sentences below, both with transitive past tense subjects from the same text. In the second, OBL₂ focuses attention on the identity of the fox and marks a change of subject from the previous sentence:

\[
\text{bu-i nax\text{"i}r ts-an yit (DIR, clitic -i)}
\]

'the fox ate two of them' (Mock 1998: 451);

\[
nax\text{"i}r-ay "hum hum" x\text{"a}n-\text{etk}, "yi loi be\text{"a}n-i" x\text{"a}n\text{etk} (OBL₂)
\]

'the fox said, “Hu m hum, sing it once more” he said’ (Mock 1998: 452).

Further, in Hunza it appears likely that the behavior of OBL₂ is now being influenced in bilingual speakers by the functions of the Urdu postpositions ne, which marks transitive subjects of perfective tenses, and ko, which marks specific direct objects and indirect objects.

4.4.1.4 Oblique intransitive subjects

Under certain conditions, even intransitive subjects may be OBL. In upper WW with the 1s and 2s pronouns, past intransitive subjects may be OBL₁:

\[
\text{ma\text{"a}x \text{rad(-ay) }}
\]

'I left’.

Examining the occurrence of OBL subjects in published WW materials, Bashir (1986) argues that in cases where both DIR and OBL subjects are possible, the case marking of past-tense subjects is conditioned by semantic and discourse factors.

In Hunza, this occurs in both past and non-past sentences. Thus, in the following present tense example, contrastive focus is on my daughter, as opposed to the servant girls in the story:

\[
\text{[zi\text{dey}]-e (OBL₂) dr-em-\text{et} wera-x-t}
\]

'my daughter will remain here' (Lorimer 1958: I, Text 4, #74).

In the following past tense sentence, OBL₂ points up the contrast of the grandmother’s reaction with the attitude of the previous speaker, her grandson:

\[
\text{[\text{\text{"a}y mun]-\text{ay} (OBL₂) hayron vit-k}}
\]

'and (his) grandmother was/became amazed' (Mock 1998: 454).

4.4.2 Direct object marking

4.4.2.1 Wakhan Wakhi

In WW, case-marking of direct objects depends on their referential status. Nominal direct objects are zero-marked if indefinite, OBL₂ if definite:

\[
\text{\text{"e}k rand ma-rak ‘give me bread’ (zero-marked) (GSK: 562);}
\]

\[
\text{l loy ayot aw\text{qot}-\text{ay} (OBL₂) ma-rak waz-am}
\]

'please bring me that food’ (GSK: 563).

Pronominal direct objects are either OBL₁ or OBL₂:
4.4.2.2 Hunza Wakhi

In HW, direct object marking depends mainly on tense. In non-past tenses, pronominal and definite or specific nominal direct objects appear regularly as OBL2, and non-specific direct objects are zero-marked:

- kaf-ep maţ-e wind
  'the boy will see me';
- kaf-ep ya šač-e diš-t
  'the boy will beat the dog';
- kuy-ep yem-e gox-t
  'who will do this (task)?';
- sak-eš Šapik yaw-ən
  'we are eating (bread)'.

For past tenses, comparison of elicited sentences with texts reveals a continuum of object-marking strategies. Context-free elicited sentences show a pattern in which a maximally distinguishing morphological marking strategy employing both OBL1 and OBL2 emerges. In past tenses, direct objects are OBL1 (formally identical with the DIR in nouns and 3rd person pronouns), providing contrast with the consistently OBL2-marked subjects:

- kəš-e (OBL2) maţ-e (OBL2) wind
  'the boy saw me';
- taw-e (OBL2) ya (OBL1) ژu šiš remet
  'you sent him to me';
- kaš-e (OBL2) ya šač (OBL1) diš-t
  'the boy beat the dog'.

However, OBL2 exists as an option, depending on referentiality status and discourse factors, including choice of subject marking and degree of contextualization, which may even result in the same direct object marking pattern in present and past. Texts reveal the variation expected from richly connected context and inter-speaker variability.

4.4.3 Causee marking

4.4.3.1 Pronominal causees

Pronominal causees are normally marked as direct objects, and accordingly are in the OBL2 in non-past, and OBL1 in past tenses:

- yaw-ep taw-e (OBL2) reš-əv-id
  'he will make you run away';
- yaw-e ta(w) (OBL1) reš-əv-əd
  'he made you run away'.

With causatives of “ingestive” verbs such as ‘eat, drink’, the human causee takes the dative/goal:

\[ \text{wuz tow-ør šapik yuv-um} \]
‘I will feed you’.

### 4.4.3.2 Causees with analytical causatives

In addition to morphologically derived causatives, causatives of transitives are also formed analytically, with a finite form of the verb *rem-* ‘send’ and the infinitive of the complement verb:

\[ \text{wuz tow-ør } [\text{loqpar wažm-k}] \text{ rem-im} \]
‘I will get you [to wash the clothes]’;
\[ \text{wuz-ep } [\text{ti yark-e šak}] \text{ rem-im} \]
‘I will have [your work done]’.

If the specific identity of the causee is to be stressed, it may also be indicated by the instrumental circumposition *tsa* NP-\( \text{en} \):

\[ \text{maż-e tsa } \text{taw-en } [\text{loqpar wažm-k}] \text{ remet} \]
‘I got you [to wash the clothes]’.

### 4.5 Semantics and use of verb forms

#### 4.5.1 Possession

Existential possession is expressed by the ablative-comitative form in -\((V)n\), with or without *tse* ‘from’:

\[ \text{tì-n kož to-y-a} \] ‘Do you have a knife’ (GSK: 568),
\[ \text{ži-n-ør dušman ţafč tei} \] ‘I have many (ţafč) enemies’ (Lorimer 1958: I, 106).

Such ablative-comitative forms are also used predicatively:

\[ \text{yəm kitōb tì-n-ør} \]
‘this book is yours’ (P: 55);
\[ \text{yem xu-n-i ha-yà halg-ev-én } [\text{kumad-ar ki sak-e ţi degit détk}] \]
‘this house belongs to the people [to whom we gave our daughter]’.

#### 4.5.2 Aspectual-phasal constructions

Most phasal constructions involve infinitival clauses.

*4.5.2.1 Prospective action*

Prospective action ‘to be about to’, is expressed by ‘to be’ and the dative/goal case of the infinitive:

\[ \text{wuz-ør } [\text{ts-am-ør kitōb wuzum-n}]-\text{or} \]
‘I (am) about to [bring the book from him]’;
\[ \text{čiz-em } [\text{šan-ak}-\text{ar tu} \]
‘what was (tu) I saying?’ (lit. ‘about to say’).
Prospective action may also be expressed by the present participle in -kuzg from the infinitive:

wuż-am [rač-n]-kuzg
'I am going, about to go' (P: 88).

4.5.2.2 Intended action

Pakhalina notes a specialized participial form consisting of infinitive + -mil, which indicates intention to begin an action: tuk-n-mil 'preparing/intending to go/leave' (Pakhalina 1975: 89, 221).

4.5.2.3 Inception

Inception, the beginning of an action, can be expressed in several ways, depending on the dialect:

(a) wots-, past vit- ‘become’ with a locative infinitive construction with dar ‘into’, or šik ‘to’:

[yaw wazy-ak bəɾəbər] dar yark tsər-ak vit-ay
[as soon as he came] she began to work’ (P: 86)

yaw-šik [yark ʃə-k] vit-k
‘he has begun, began to work’;

(b) wots-, past vit- ‘become’ with parsim-i + infinitive (ezāfe construction):

baytghuy-ʃ [parsim-i şən-ak] -ə-vit
‘the birds began to sing’ (-əvit ‘they became’) (GSK: 628);

(c) wudru-n, wudrok ‘to seize, catch’ + infinitive (cf. Tajik gereftan):

[xən ʃə-k]-ən wodort
‘I began to build a house’ (Lorimer 1958: 1, 189);

(d) di-, dayt ‘beat, hit’ + plus infinite (cf. Tajik and Persian zadan, also Khowar dik ‘to beat’):

yən kəmpirzan bə dayt-i [mən-ən]
‘this/the old woman also began to cry’ (GSK: 630).

4.5.3 Modal constructions

Similar to phasal constructions, most modal constructions involve infinitival clauses.

4.5.3.1 Deontic modality

Deontic modality, i.e. necessity or obligation, may be expressed in two ways:

(a) wots-, past vit- ‘become’ + infinitive:

piga sahár-ep sak [jald giz-en] wots-en
‘we will (-ep) have to get up early tomorrow’
(lit. ‘early tomorrow we [are to get up quickly]’).
(b) sequence of two finite clauses:

\[ \text{rat-i majbar vit} \]

'he had to give (it)' (lit. 'he gave it, he was obliged to') (Mock 1998: 459).

4.5.3.2 Presumption

The presumption of an action may be expressed by \textit{ni} 'perhaps' with the past tense:

\[ \text{maž-e ni xū kitūh kuy-er āet} \]

'I must have given my book to someone' (lit. 'perhaps I gave').

4.5.3.3 Ability

4.5.3.3a Wakhan Wakhi

Wakhan Wakhi uses several constructions, including the so-called "potential" construction:

(1) \textit{ko(r)tsər-}, past \textit{ko(r)kaən-} 'be able to' + infinitive, probably an original Wakhi usage

\[ \text{wuz [naw-gk] na katsər-am} \]

'I am not able [to cry]' (GSK: 630).

(2) \textit{wots-}, past \textit{vit-} 'become' + infinitive

\[ \text{yaw blænd, xalg [kət-ak] nə-wost} \]

'it (wall) is high; a man/person can not [come down]' (lit. 'it is not possible for a man to come down) (GSK: 627).

Constructions (1) and (2) correspond to the "potential" construction in Khotanese and Tumshuqese (see Chapter 7) and several other Old, Middle and New Iranian languages. The verbs \textit{*kar-} 'make, do' and its counterpart \textit{*baw-} 'become', or their equivalents, are used to express the potentiality of an action, mostly distinguishing transitive and intransitive action.

(3) \textit{bas-wazy-}, past \textit{bas-wazd-} 'be able' + infinitive

\[ \text{wuz [joə-ak] nə-bas-wazy-am} \]

'I can not [read]' (GSK: 629).

4.5.3.3b Hunza Wakhi

Ability can be expressed in HW by \textit{bas wez-} 'to be able' + infinitive, optionally marked by the OBL-2:

\[ \text{wuz-ep taw-er xū kitūh [reəəov-(e)] bas wez-im} \]

'I will (-ep) be able [to give] my book to you'.
5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

5.1 Coordinate clauses

In the most common original Wakhi strategy, a sequence of two actions by the same agent is expressed by a sequence of finite verbs in the same tense with no overt coordinating element:

\[
\text{kampir tillah dōzd-ei, tagd-ei}
\]

‘the old woman took the gold coins, and left’ (Shaw 1876: 173).

The native coordinating element -at (WW)/-et (HW), which cliticizes to the first conjunct, appears when the agents of the coordinated clauses differ:

\[
wuz mâyov raţ-am-at yaw dusnbī raţ-t
\]

‘I am going to Murghab, and he is going to Dushanbe’ (Payne 1989: 441).

In sentences like the preceding, either forward or backward deletion of the identical verb is possible.

Upper WW and HW also employ ʃe (WW)/še (HW), which typically indicates temporal succession in coordinated clauses (P: 111); the subjects of the clauses may be the same:

\[
wuz wez-im ʃe šapik yaw-em
\]

‘I will come, and (then) eat’; or different:

\[
wuz-am wezd-a ʃe tav-a šapik yit
\]

‘I came and (then) you ate’.

A borrowed construction with woz ‘again, and, but’ occurs in both HW and WW:

\[
\text{zi virut-e lahor joy-ítk, woz zi šuy-e islamabad joy-ítk}
\]

‘my brother studied in Lahore, but my sister studied in Islamabad’.

yâlyo ‘or’ and lôkin ‘but’ are borrowed Persian elements.

5.2 Subordination

The principal native subordination marker is tsə (pre-verbal)/tsøy (clause-final). Wakhi has also borrowed Tajiki clause-initial ki, which, like tsə, introduces a wide range of subordinate clauses, including relative clauses, temporal, conditional, purpose and reason clauses, and complements of verbs of cognition. Clause-initial agar ‘if’ is also borrowed from Persian.

5.3 Relative clauses

5.3.1 Finite relative clauses

Finite relative clauses (RCs) are constructed in several ways.
5.3.1.1 Relative noun in matrix clause
If the relative noun appears in the matrix clause (MC) it can be preceded by a demonstrative element, and the native subordination marker *tsَا* immediately precedes the verb of the RC:

\[ a-\bar{y}a \ xalg \ [naql-\ddot{s} \ tsَا \ tsar-\ddot{\alpha}m] \]

'that man [(whose) story I am telling]' (GSK: 637).

5.3.1.2 Relative noun in relative clause
If the relative noun appears in the RC, a resumptive pronoun co-referential with it appears in the MC:

\[ [\text{pard} \ y\dot{a} \ d\ddot{a}r\dot{a}xt \ d\ddot{a}r-\ddot{\alpha}m \ tsَا \ tu] \ yaw-\ddot{i} \ kot-\ddot{\alpha}v \]

'[last year (pard) that tree that was here], they dug it up',
i.e. 'they dug up the tree that was here last year' (P: 115).

5.3.1.3 Demonstrative + head noun in matrix clause
The head noun is in the MC preceded by a demonstrative element, and the generalized complementizer *ki* introduces the RC:

\[ yem \ xun-\ddot{i} \ ha-ya \ halg-ev-en \ [kumd-ar \ ki \ sak-e \ \ddot{x}i \ \ddot{d}eg\ddot{i} \ \ddot{d}etk] \]

'this house belongs to the people [to whom we have given our daughter]'.

5.3.1.4 *ki* and *tsَا* in relative clause
*ki* and *tsَا* co-occur in the RC; *ki* introduces the RC, and *tsَا* immediately precedes the verb. A demonstrative element precedes the relative noun in the MC, and the borrowed pre-conjunctural restrictive -i can sometimes appear:

\[ a-\bar{y}a \ nay\ddot{d}-i \ [ki \ a-\bar{y}am \ m\ddot{a}rda-v \ gur \ tsَا \ kart-\ddot{\alpha}v] \]

'that night [when they buried this corpse]' (GSK: 664).

5.3.1.5 Interrogative/indefinite pronouns
The interrogative/indefinite pronouns *kuy* 'who', *kum(d)* 'which' + *ki*, with *ki* introducing the RC and a distal demonstrative as correlative element in the MC:

\[ yem \ xun-\ddot{i} \ ha-ya \ halg-ev-en \ [kumd-ar \ ki \ sak-e \ \ddot{x}i \ \ddot{d}eg\ddot{i} \ \ddot{d}etk] \]

'this house belongs to the people [to whom we have given our daughter]'.

5.3.1.6 Headless relative clauses
The interrogative/indefinite pronoun + *ki* can also introduce a headless RC:

\[ [kāy \ ki] \ \ddot{\ddot{x}} \ \ddot{d}eg\ddot{\ddot{y}} \ nūng-\ddot{i} \ d\ddot{\ddot{i}}\ddot{\ddot{t}}], \ \ddot{\ddot{x}} \ \ddot{d}eg\ddot{\ddot{y}} \ \ddot{y}a-\ddot{r}ak \]

'[whomever guesses my daughter's name], my daughter (goes) to him]' (P: 113).
5.3.2 Participle relative clauses

Participle relative clauses are constructed with the present and perfect participles.

5.3.2.1 Present and perfect participles

1) Present participle (agent)

\[ sk-a \text{ wadek } \text{tuk-}\text{kizg} \] xalg-i \text{z}i \text{mornor}  \\
'\text{the man [walking along the road] is my friend}'.

2) Perfect participle

With the perfect participle, the relative noun can have various thematic roles—subject/agent, theme, or possessor:

(a) Agent, \[ t\tilde{\text{o}}i \text{ nx}\tilde{\text{e}}\tilde{\text{e}}\tilde{\text{t}}k \] \text{dey}d 'a girl [who hasn’t married]' (Lorimer 1958: I, 185);

(b) Possessor, \[ \text{nong } \text{ ni}\tilde{\text{e}}\tilde{\text{e}}k \] xalg ‘a [renowned] person’ (lit. ‘name having come out’) (Lorimer 1958: I, 185).

5.3.2.2 Substantival perfect participle

Substantival use of the perfect participle yields a headless relative interpretation:

\[ \text{no-win-}\text{etk} ] \text{rang gosa } \text{to } \text{xan} \\
'don’t talk like (rang) [one who has seen nothing]' (agent) (P: 107);
\[ \text{ha-yem xalg } \text{tsa} [\text{ju } \text{en-}\text{etk}] \text{on mun} \text{kir } \text{vit-a} \]  \\
'this man has repudiated [what he said]' (theme) (Lorimer 1958: I, 185).

5.4 Temporal clauses

Temporal relations are expressed with both clausal and infinitival structures.

5.4.1 Finite temporal clauses

Finite clauses use the conjunctions \( ki, \text{tsa(y)}, \text{tsoyader } \text{ki (} < \text{tsa yow yad-er).} \)

5.4.1.1 Simultaneous actions/events

Simultaneous actions/events can be expressed with \( ki \) or \( \text{tsa(y)} \):

\[ \text{da } \text{ju } \text{diy}r \text{ ki tu } \text{ar } \text{ruz-o } \text{to } \text{k}u-\text{z rayd-o}y \]  \\
'[when he was in his village] he would go to the mountain every day' (GSK: 625);
\[ \text{zi pup mort-i ts}\tilde{\text{e}}y ] \text{yaw tsum-sole } \text{tu} \]  \\
'[when my grandfather died] how old was he?' (GSK: 654).

5.4.1.2 Sequential actions

Sequential actions are expressed with \( \text{tsoyader } \text{ki ‘when’} \) with the simple past in its com­plete (perfective) meaning:

\[ \text{tsoyader } \text{ki jami}l \text{ wezd-a } ] \text{z}a-\text{i}st-ep \text{ xos wots-en} \]  \\
'[when Jamil comes] the boys will be happy'.

Such sentences with *ki*, but without a temporal adverb like *tsorjadar* 'when', may have either realis conditional or temporal interpretation.

5.4.1.3 Punctual event

A punctual event interrupting an ongoing action is introduced by a *ki*-clause following the main clause:

\[
\text{maf-eš šapik yit } [\text{ki tu-et wezd-a}]
\]

'I was eating [when you came].'

5.4.1.4 Time after which

Time after which, 'since', may be expressed by finite clauses with *tsoraγd-ān (ki)* 'since', lit. 'from that time that':

\[
[wuz-ām tsorjān t-om drom-ān nieng] tu-et ne wezd-a
\]

'you haven’t come [since I have been sitting here]' (Lorimer 1958: 1, 223).

5.4.1.5 Time up to which

Time up to which, 'until', may be expressed with both clausal and infinitival structures, marked by phrases with *batken* 'until, up to'. Notice the negative element in this 'until'-clause, as is found in Urdu (and Tajik):

1. Finite

\[
wuz ne yaw-ām [tsorjadar batken-it ki tu ne weskJ
\]

'I will not eat [until you come]' (lit. 'so long as you have not come').

2. Infinitival

\[
[tirēγ-e batken] dr-om nezd-ām
\]

'I shall sit here [until you go]' (lit. 'until your going') (Lorimer 1958: 1, 193).

5.4.2 Infinitival temporal constructions

5.4.2.1 Inception of an event

The inception of an event immediately upon completion of a preceding event, 'as soon as', may be expressed by the infinitive plus *barbar* 'equivalent, same as':

\[
\text{potso-baγa γat-ak barbar dāxišār jor-st-ey}
\]

'[as soon as the king’s son reached his own city] he asked . . .' (GSK: 628).

5.4.2.2 Sequence of two events

A sequence of two events can be expressed with the infinitive of the prior action marked as SOURCE, with various supplementary adverbials or prepositions:

\[
yafē peysa jama ša-k-e tsorjus-ān-e ep salim-e tat yi xun gox-t
\]

'[after collecting a lot of money] Salim’s father will make a house';

\[
[bad tso γar Šia-k-ān] kaf-ān banyod
\]
’[after bringing rocks] the foundation is build’ (GSK: 628);
’[ži reč-n-an tar panhit] ... 'before my going ... ’ (Lorimer 1958: I, 260).

5.5 Reason and purpose clauses

5.5.1 Reason clauses

Reason clauses are expressed:

(1) with the collocation ts-a-r-en ki ‘since/because’ and a correlative element in the MC:

[tsaren ki mur-eš diš]t ha-yə dastan sak tə xuń hul-en
‘since it is raining] for that reason we will stay at home’;

(2) with the fused prepositional-demonstrative elements (a)-sk-əm, (a)-sk-ət, (a)sk-a
‘so, therefore’:

ži tat mərt-əy [sk-a wuz-əm saying vit-əm]
‘my father died [so I became an orphan]’ (GSK: 646).

5.5.2 Purpose clauses

Purpose can be expressed in several ways:

5.5.2.1 Infinitival construction

(1) When the subject of both matrix and subordinate action is the same, the n-infinitive
of the subordinate verb can be marked as dative/goal:

wuz-əm / yow bar ṻiši-n-or] wez-g-šən-etk
‘I have come [to sweep his door],” she said’ (Mock 1998: 454).

(2) Another construction employs the k-infinitive in a nominal sentence:

wuz safar ʃaw-əm / kənd yund-ak
‘I am going on a journey [to bring a wife]’ (GSK: 628).

5.5.2.2 Finite-verb clause

The strategy of using two finite verbs in sequence is also employed to indicate purpose. In
this construction, the subordinate (purpose) clause contains an unspecified present/
future verb carrying an optative sense and follows the main clause:

t-əm mənəč nez-d-en [mər mə dix-t]
‘let us sit in this rock shelter [so that it does not rain (on us)]’ (Lorimer 1958: I, 224).

5.6 Complement structures

Semantic complement structures may be similarly finite or nominalized:

(1) The finite verb sequence strategy is employed to form a (semantic) complement of
‘to allow’:
In general, clausal complements of speaking follow the main clause, with or without ki:

maż-ər šan [(ki) (wuz) tsoyadər wez-im]
'tell me [when to come]';
wuz na diš-ən [yaw raš-k twu-ətk yə nay]
'I don’t know [(whether) he has left or not]' (P: 83).

(2) Some verbs of cognition like ‘to want’, ‘to know’, take infinitival complements:

sahar-ək, ɔb ḏur [fayzobod rečak]
'tomorrow I want (‘my wish is’) [to go to Faizabad]' (GSK: 627);
wuz-xl [to xun reč-ən-ə] zok tsar-em
'I want (‘have desire’) [to go to your house]';
wuz-eʃ [angrezī nivis-ən]-iʃ diš-ən
'I know [(how) to write English]'.

5.7 Conditional clauses

For purposes of this discussion, conditional clauses are defined as clauses referring to actions which are unrealized or of which the realization status is unknown to the speaker. With realis conditionals the action/event is still potential, while in the case of irrealis conditionals it has not happened/is (assumed to be) not the case.

5.7.1 Realis

Realis conditionals pertaining to present to future time can be constructed with present (+ -(V)ʃ (V)), simple past, present subjunctive, and perfect subjunctive verb forms in the protasis, and the present or imperative in the apodosis. The conjunctions tse in clause-final position, or ki and agar after the clause-initial element, may appear with the present or past in the protasis:

5.7.1.1 Present

yaʃt ki ʃem-ʃ wots-ən
'if they find the time . . .' (Reinhold 1992b: 5–6).

5.7.1.2 Simple past

məʃ ki diʃt-ə, sak to xun hal-en
'if it rains, we will stay at home'.

5.7.1.3 Present subjunctive

wuz humi-em digər hum-ət, farx nəst
'be it I, or another, makes no difference' (Lorimer 1958: I, 187).
5.7.1.4 Perfect subjunctive

\[
\text{zhārē tārāf nā-vēt-k wuzm-ēm, ta-r wuzm-ēm}
\]

(if the milk hasn't become sour, I will bring it to you' (P: 84).

5.7.2 Irrealis

Irrealis conditions appear with the simple past or the distant past plus the imperfective particle \(-(\text{V})\dot{\text{V}}\) in the protasis, depending on whether the reference is to future or past time, and the past or distant past with \(-(\text{V})\dot{\text{V}}\) in the apodosis. Agor may appear with simple past in the protasis:

5.7.2.1 Simple past

\[
wuz-\text{āg} agar fayzobod-\text{ā} rōyād-\text{ām}, ta-rak ėnym ċiz-\text{ā} wuzomd-\text{ām}
\]

('if I were going to Faizabad, I would bring you something' (GSK: 640).

5.7.2.2 Distant past

\[
wuz-em-\text{ā} taw-\text{ā}w, ta-r-em-\text{ā} jōrdan kāw-\text{āw}
\]

('if I had been (there), I would have helped you' (P: 84).

6 Lexis and Word Formation

Compounding in Wakhi shows the typical Iranian patterns, such as the dvandva \textit{tāt-nān} 'father and mother' = 'parents'.

There are only a few productive derivational suffixes:

- \text{-}\text{(y)} forms abstract nouns from adjectives or designations for residents of specific places: \textit{sār} 'cold', \textit{sār}\text{-}\text{(y)} 'cold(ness)'; \textit{yēm} 'place name', \textit{yēm}\text{-}\text{ī} 'person from Yām';
- \text{-}\text{ij} forms terms for secondary non-blood relationships: \textit{pāt} 'son', \textit{pāt}\text{-}\text{ī} 'stepson/child';
- \text{-vē} forms a diminutive suffix: \textit{yēs-ak} 'little horse'; \textit{ṣīv-ak} 'little sister';
- \text{-\text{āng}-\text{m}n} forms adjectives from nominals indicating time, place or number: \textit{pūr} 'evening' (noun), \textit{pūr}\text{-}\text{āng} 'evening' (adj.);
- \text{-\text{ūn}-\text{m}} derives adjectives from nouns indicating the material of which something is made: \textit{\ūn} 'wood', \textit{\ūn}\text{-}\text{m} 'wooden'. This same suffix forms a perfect participle.

7 Dialectology and Contact Phenomena

7.1 Wakhi Dialects

According to Pakhalina (1975: 8–9) and Griinberg and Steblin-Kamensky (1976: 666), the basic dialectal divisions are:

1. the Wakhi of (then Soviet) Wakhan, which itself falls into three dialect areas plus the dialects of Sarhad (the villages along the Wakhan River which fall in Afghan territory);
2. Hunza Wakhi in Pakistan; and
(3) Sarikol Wakhi in China. Afghan Wakhi, according to Pakhalina, is close to the central and upper dialects of WW. The Wakhi spoken in Pakistan, with two main variants in Gojal and Ishkoman, is probably close to the central and upper dialects of Wakhan. It is likely that all Wakhi dialects are mutually intelligible to a fairly high degree (Backstrom 1992: 68–9).

The varieties of Wakhan Wakhi constitute a dialect continuum, with influence from Tajiki strongest in the westernmost villages of lower Wakhan. The few differences in the consonantal and syllabic system include: interdental fricative \( \delta \) in Langar against the tendency of \( \delta > d \) elsewhere, and variation in consonantal onsets: \( awz \) (lower)\( hawz \) (Langar) ‘lake’; \( uz \) (lower)\( wuz \) (upper) ‘I’. Noticeable differences in the vowel systems include the following (Lashkarbekov 1975: 73–4):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Upper</th>
<th>Lower</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( i \sim \hat{e} )</td>
<td>( \hat{e} )</td>
<td>( u \sim \hat{a} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{‘root’} )</td>
<td>( bix )</td>
<td>( \text{‘dirt’} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{‘bears’} )</td>
<td>( r\hat{a}x )</td>
<td>( \text{‘dirt’} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other differences include the use of the direct and oblique cases discussed above, and the lack of n-infinitives in the lower dialect. Lexical differences due to Tajiki influence include even basic vocabulary, such as (Lashkarbekov 1975: 78–9):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘flower’</th>
<th>‘Wakhan’</th>
<th>‘bear’</th>
<th>‘rain’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tajiki</td>
<td>gul</td>
<td>waxon</td>
<td>xirs</td>
<td>boron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>gol</td>
<td>waxon</td>
<td>xers</td>
<td>boron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>spraj</td>
<td>wux</td>
<td>( n(\hat{a})yrdym )</td>
<td>ywur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.2 Adjacent languages and dialects

WW's present linguistic neighbors are: Shughni and Kirghiz on the north, Ishkashmi and Tajik Persian on the west, Khowar and Burushaski on the south, and Kirghiz on the east. Baroghil Wakhi borders Khowar on the south. HW's neighbors are: Kirghiz on the north, Burushaski on the north and south, Shina on the south and west, and Sarikoli on the east.

### 7.3 Regional contact languages

In Tajikistan, Wakhi speakers know Tajik Persian and Russian; in Afghanistan, Dari Persian is the lingua franca of the region within which Wakhi is spoken. Shughni is also an important contact language for many Wakhi speakers.

In China, Uighur and Chinese are languages of education.

In Pakistan, HW now interacts intensively with Urdu and English. In the Yarkhun (Chitral) and Ishkoman valleys Khowar is widely known and spoken.

Gojal Wakhi until recently has been under the strong influence of Persian, recognizable in the pronunciation of the long vowel [a] in Persian loans. However, this Persian influence is almost entirely restricted to lexical items and set phrases, and used by male speakers when speaking in public, or by speakers of the older generation, and has not affected the structure of the language (Reinhold 1992b).
7.3.1 The Pamir linguistic area

Multilingualism has apparently been widespread in the Pamir region since ancient times. There are indications of one or more substrates (see Steblin-Kamensky 1979; Edelman 1980; Tikkanen 1988, 1995, 1999; and Bashir 1988, 1997). It is also likely that there existed some unknown (pre-) Eastern Iranian language as a lingua franca of the Pamir. Evidence for this is the presence of ancient Iranian loans in the Pamir languages and Khowar (Morgenstierne 1936: 657). Persian has been known in the area at least since the eleventh century (Payne 1989: 422). There are also traces of Kirghiz in the language, reflecting close contact with Kirghiz herdsmen in Afghanistan (see Sharani 1979). The significant number of Wakhi loans referring to items of concrete vocabulary in Khowar argues for a long period of close interaction between Wakhi and Khowar speakers (Morgenstierne 1936, 1938: 441–2; Bashir 2001). Morgenstierne also points to a significant number of Sarikoli borrowings from Wakhi, and a smaller number from Sarikoli into Wakhi (1938: 438). Interestingly, however, Burushaski or Shina loans are lacking in Wakhi (Morgenstierne 1938: 440–1).

Wakhi has several characteristics which argue against the postulation of a unified proto-Pamir group as distinct from the rest of East Iranian (see Chapter 14a Pamir languages). A number of scholars have discussed the areal features of various sprachbund configurations that include the Pamir languages.

The Pamir languages share the following features (here cited from Payne 1989: 422, after Dodykhudoev 1975: 21 n.74):

1. vowel alternations to show morphological distinctions—gender, tense, transitivity, and also number to a limited extent;
2. three verb stems: present, past, and perfect: Wakhi al- (present), al-d (past), al-stk- (perfect) 'remain';
3. indication of person and number in tenses based on the present stem with personal endings, but the use of mobile agreement particles (pronominal clitics typically enclitic to the first major sentence constituent) in tenses based on the past and perfect stems;
4. three-valued demonstrative systems;
5. similarity of word order patterns, except for clearly borrowed patterns like the *ezāfe* construction: native ADJ-N pattern, *baf kænd* 'good wife' vs. *kænd-i-baf* 'good wife' (*ezāfe*).

7.3.2 Dardic

The Pamir languages share much with the Dardic area. Vowel alternation to indicate gender, transitivity and number is also characteristic of the Dardic languages. For example, in Dameli, Shumashti, Kalam and Indus Kohistani, Torwali, Kanyawali and Wotapuri vowel fronting or raising marks feminines. Three-valued deictic systems are also characteristic of the Dardic languages, in which the distinctions visible–not visible, or known–not known are grammaticized. Languages with three-term systems are Pashai, Shumashti, Khowar, Kalasha, Kalam Kohistani, Torwali, Indus Kohistani, Shina, and Palula (Bashir 2003). For discussion of other areal configurations, see Edelman (1980), Tikkanen (1988, 1995, 1999), and Bashir (1988 and 1997).
8 SAMPLE TEXT

The following text was written by Ghulamuddin Beg of Gulmit village in Gojal, using the IPA-based script discussed above, and given to Beate Reinhold in 1991 for publication. I thank her for allowing me to include it in this article as an example of recent Wakhi prose composition in Gojal. Reinhold’s transcription is maintained, with the exception that <ts> and <dz> have been substituted for Reinhold’s <c> and <t>. Morphemic analysis is the author’s; the gloss follows Reinhold’s translation. In addition to conventional abbreviations, note: GL = goal; SCR = source; IPV = imperfective; PC = person clitic.

\[\text{wungas tuy.} \]
\[\text{sparrow wedding.} \]
\[\text{‘The Wedding of the Sparrows’}. \]

\[\text{wungas mani vit-ay dzaq-ik prinda,} \]
\[\text{sparrow meaning become-PT small-DIM bird} \]
\[\text{‘Sparrow means a tiny bird,’} \]

\[\text{woz tuy yow-er jumat wizum-n.} \]
\[\text{and wedding he-GL wife bring-INF} \]
\[\text{‘and wedding (means) to bring him a wife.’} \]

\[\text{yam rawdā bə də gojal alaqa gadim.} \]
\[\text{this custom also in Gojal region ancient} \]
\[\text{‘This is also an old custom in Gojal.’} \]

\[\text{dzirg-ʃ xan-əŋ ki yūrk-əʃ ki peʃ-ər giz-d} \]
\[\text{like.this-IPV say-PR3p that barley-IPV when ripen-INF-GL come.up-PR3s} \]
\[\text{‘They say that when the barley is about to ripen,’} \]

\[\text{wungas-iš-əʃ yūrk yafč yav-əŋ,} \]
\[\text{sparrow-DIRP-IPV barley much eat-PR3p} \]
\[\text{‘the sparrows (can) eat much barley,’} \]

\[\text{sk-aʃ yam xudāyi gox-əŋ} \]
\[\text{from-that-IPV this sacrifice do-PR3p} \]
\[\text{‘therefore they make a sacrifice (of barley)\text{’} \]

\[\text{woz-əʃ bar go-n xudāyi,} \]
\[\text{and-IPV outside do-PR3p sacrifice} \]
\[\text{‘and celebrate the sacrifice in an open area.’} \]

\[\text{yandi dawā tsar-əŋ ki} \]
\[\text{then prayer do-PR3p that} \]
\[\text{‘Then they pray that’} \]

\[\text{fasl-əʃ ts-əm wungas-v-əŋ niyat was-t} \]
\[\text{crop-GL from-these sparrow-OBL,p-SRC blessing become-PR3s} \]
\[\text{‘the harvest be blessed by the sparrows.’} \]

\[\text{Qadim zamān tə-r bar ēz wizum-n faḍek ne tu.} \]
\[\text{ancient time from-down outside anything bring-INF road not was} \]
\[\text{‘In the old times, there were no roads to transport anything from outside (of the valley).’} \]
If the people's harvests did not develop well,

‘they would die of weakness. Land was scarce.’

Therefore, they (even) lamented about the sparrows eating (some barley).’

‘That time was a very difficult time.’

‘This custom in the last week of the English month of June,’

‘ten days before the harvest thanksgiving they do (it).’

‘This is a sacrificial rite in the name of that sparrow.’

‘that the harvest not be destroyed by these sparrows’.

NOTES

In this summary article, given the uncertainty about the analysis of the Wakhi vowel systems, dialectal variation, and lack of comparable data, the original transcriptions of the authors cited are retained, with the exception that for the voiceless dental affricate <ts> is consistently used. Lorimer’s Ɂ is rendered as חי, to avoid confusion with the use of underlining to indicate stress. Examples from my own field materials are in broad phonetic transcription.

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