the -tanaiy is dat. sg. of a -tan- stem (other forms of -an- stems[1] occur as infinitives in Indic and elsewhere, which makes it unlikely that -tanaiy is loc. sg. of a -tana- stem).

§239. THE PARTICIPLES FOUND IN OP include the present active with suffix -nt-; the present middle with suffix -mno-; the perfect passive with suffixes -to- and -no-; the future passive in -eto-, with meaning shifted to the past.

§240. THE PRESENT ACTIVE PARTICIPLE has the suffix -nt-, before which the thematic vowel is -o-: nom. masc. pIE -ōnt or -ont-s, fem. -ontī or -onti̯ə, nt. -ont; Gk. φέρ-ων -ουσα -ον; Skt. bháran, bhárantī or bháratī, bhárat. Where (Aryan) thematic forms have -at- rather than -ant-, it is by extension from non-thematic forms, where -nt- became -n̥t- because of the preceding consonant; conversely, non-thematic forms might have (Aryan) -ant- by imitation of thematic forms or because the suffix, when accented, took the pIE value -ent- or -ont-. The OP examples are nsm. tunuvā, from -ōnt, probably with added -s in Iranian (§188.II), to present *tunau-ti; asm. tunuvaⁿtam; gsm. tunuvaⁿtahyā, with thematic declension: the nom. -s and the -ant- of the stem agree with the Avestan formations. There is also an uncertain restored asf. yau[daⁿtim], regularly formed to pres. *yaudati.

The old neuter in pAr. -at survives in the first element of the compounds Dāraya-va^hu- 'Darius'. Viⁿda-farna^h- 'Intaphernes', Vāya-spāra- (§162); and in the derivative hašiya- 'true', = Skt. satyá-, pIE *sn̥t-i̯o-, where (Skt.) sát is nt. ptc. to root as- 'be'.

§241. THE PRESENT MIDDLE PARTICIPLE has the suffix -meno-, which is seen in Gk. φερόμενος, but has a lengthened vowel in Skt., as in bhára-māṇas, or a zero grade, as in Av. barəmna-. The thematic vowel preceding -meno- is seen in Gk. to be -o-; but it is -e- in Gk. βέλε-μνον 'missile', which has the suffix in the form -mno-. The OP examples are xšayamna 'ruling', jiyamnam 'ending, end'.

§242. THE PERFECT PASSIVE PARTICIPLE IN -to- may be formed to any verbal root, whether transitive or intransitive; when the root is intransitive in meaning, the participle is active in meaning, as

in OP para-itā 'having gone forth','marta 'having died'.

I. The participial suffix -to- is accented, and the verbal root is therefore regularly in the zero grade: thus para-itā, Skt. itá-, to ay- 'go'; [p]išta ni-pišta-, Skt. piṣṭá-, to paiθ- 'adorn'; xšnuta- to xšnav-; a-xšata, Skt. kṣata-, to xšan-; ava-jata, Skt. hatá-, to jan-; karta-, Skt. kr̥tá-, to kar-; u-barta- parā-bartam, Skt. bhr̥tá-, to bar-; marta-, Skt. mr̥tá-, to mar-; arta-, Skt. r̥tá-, to ar-; perhaps parta[m] to par-; dītam, cf. Av. zyā-; hita- in An-ā-hitā, of uncertain connections.

The cluster of a voiced aspirate stop + t in pIE resulted in pIE voiced cluster of non-aspirate + aspirate, the product of which remained in Indic, but which was replaced in Iranian by an analogical non-aspirate voiceless cluster:

pIE *dhreugh-: ptc. *dhrugh-to- > *dhrugdho-, pAr. *drugdha-, Skt. drugdhá-; but pIr. *druxta-, GAv. druxtō, OP duruxtam.

pIE *bhendh-: ptc. *bhn̥dh-to- > *bhn̥dzdho- (§58.D), Skt. baddhá-, but Av. basta-, OP basta-.

pIE *gendh-: OP gasta- 'evil', cf. Skt. gandhá- 'smell'.

II. The -to- is sometimes attached to the strong grade of the root, as the result of leveling to the vocalism which stands in other verbal forms; in some instances the inconvenience of the consonantal clusters in the zero-grades was a factor.

pIE *dhē-: *dhə-to-, Skt. hitá-; but Av. dāta- 'right', OP dātam 'law'.

pAr. pā- 'protect': Skt. pāta-, Av. pāta-, OP pāta-.

pIE *mē-: *mə-to-, Skt. mitá-, Av. mita-; also Av. māta-, OP ā-mātā, fra-mātam.

OP šiyāta 'happy', Av. šyāta-, Lt. quiētus.

Skt. khatá- 'dug' to root khan-; but Av. kanta-, OP kaⁿtam 'excavation'.

pIE *preḱ- 'ask': *pr̥ḱ-to-, Skt. pr̥ṣṭá-, Av. paršta-; but OP u-frašta- u-frasta- 'well punished' (where the change of p to f shows that consonantal r immediately followed, §74.I).

pIE *neḱ- 'perish': *neḱ-to- with strong grade, Skt. naṣṭá-, Av. našta-, OP vi-nastahyā.

pIE *reĝ- 'direct': *rēĝ-to- with lengthening of the vowel (§93.n2), Latin rēctus, Av. rāsta-, OP rāstam 'straight, right'.

pIE *ghrebh- 'seize': pAr. gr̥bhī-ta- (on -ī-, §217), Skt. gr̥bhītá-, OP ā-garbīta-.

Here belong, probably, also garta- in Asagarta

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[1] Cf. Bv. Origines 105–6; Sturtevant, Lg. 20.206. The restored [da]rtanayā may belong to this type of formation, by transfer to the -a- stems, where it was felt as a loc. and took the postposition -ā like other locatives.

(see Lex. s.v.), *māta-* in *Gaumāta* (hardly the same as *māta-* in *āmātā*, above); *marta-* as base for *martiya-* (see Lex. s.v.).

§243. THE PERFECT PASSIVE PARTICIPLE IN *-no-* is seen in Skt. *sanná-* 'seated' to *sad-*, Gk. ἁγνός 'holy' to ἅζομαι 'I revere', Latin *plēnus* 'full' to *plē-* 'fill', and in the Germanic participles such as Gm. *gesprochen*, Eng. *spoken*, etc. These formations also normally have the root in the zero grade, but show the same variation as do the *-to-* participles (§242). There are two examples in OP, both serving as the second element of personal names:

OP *ā-bigna-*, to an unidentified root, in *Bagābigna-*.
OP *ā-baušna-*, late form for **ābauxšna-*, to root *baug-* 'free', seen in Av. *pouru-baoxšna-*; in OP *Āθiyābaušna-* (see Lex. s.v.).

The same formation probably stands also in the adv. *ašnaiy* (see Lex. s.v.).

§244. THE FUTURE PASSIVE PARTICIPLE IN *-eto-* is typified by Skt. *yajatá-*, Av. *yazata-* 'worthy of worship', to (Skt.) *yaj-* 'worship'; but the formation often comes to have virtually the force of a perfect passive in *-to-*: cf. Skt. *pacatá-*, but Gk. πεπτός, Lt. *coctus* 'cooked'. Cf. also Gk. ἄ-σχετος 'unchecked', to ἔχω 'I hold, have'. The OP examples happen to be from intransitives, and are therefore active in meaning: nsn. *θakatam*, npn. *θakatā* 'past', to root *θak-* 'pass'; and *-gmata-* 'gone' to *gam-* 'go', in npm. *ha^m-gmatā* 'assembled', nsf. *parā-gmatā* 'gone forth', perhaps nsf. [*ava-gmat*]*ā* 'gone down, fallen', cf. Av. γəmata- as well as the regular passive participle *gata-* (pIE **g^um̥-to-*, also in Skt. *gatá-*, Gk. -βατος, Lt. *ventum*).

CHAPTER VII. SYNTAX AND STYLE

§245. THE SYNTAX OF OP has few features which differentiate it from that of other related languages; but from the paucity of the texts and the large amount of repetition in them the variety of constructions is very limited. As text and translation are both accessible in this volume, many examples are cited by reference and text, without translation; others are cited by reference only.

§246. THE SYNTAX OF THE NOUN IN OP follows the expected lines, in the main. Its special features are the anacoluthic use of the nominative (§§312-4), the disappearance of the dative form and the assumption of the dative uses by the genitive form (§250), and a certain amount of syncretization of the locative, ablative, and instrumental cases (§254).

§247. THE NOMINATIVE CASE is found in OP in the following uses:

A. As subject of a finite verb expressed or implied: DB 1.1 *adam Dārayavauš*, 1.3f *θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya*.

B. As predicate to a nominative subject: DB 1.1 *adam Dārayavauš*, 1.7 *vayam Haxāmanišiyā θahyāmahy*, 2.27 *avaθāšām hamaranam kartam*.

C. As appositive to a nominative: DB 1.1 *adam Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vazraka*.

D. By anticipation for another case, normally with a resumptive pronoun or adverb which defines the case-use; see §312, §314.

E. In late inscriptions, as a general form replacing a genitive (§313) or an accusative: A³Pa 5f *hya mām Artaxšaçā xšāyaθiya akunauš* 'who made me, Artaxerxes, king'.

§248. THE VOCATIVE CASE is used in direct address: *martiyā* DNa 56.

§249. THE ACCUSATIVE CASE is found in OP in the following uses:

A. As direct object of a transitive verb: DB 1.19 *manā bājim abaratā* 'they bore tribute to me'.

B. As direct object of a verbal noun: DB 4.55f *Auramazdā θuvām dauštā biyā* 'may Ahuramazda be a friend unto thee'.

C. As direct object anticipating the subject of an object clause: DB 1.52f. *māiyamām xšnāsātiy tya adam naiy Bardiya amiy* 'lest (the people) know me, that I am not Smerdis'.

D. As double object, one of the person and the other of the thing: DB 1.44f *aita xšaçam tya Gaumāta hya maguš adīnā Kabūjiyam* 'this kingship which Gaumata the Magian took away from Cambyses' or 'of which Gaumata deprived Cambyses'; so also 1.46f, 59, 65f, and its passive in 1.49f *hya avam Gaumātam tyam magum xšaçam dītam caxriyā* 'who might make that Gaumata the Median deprived of the kingship'. DB 4.65 *naiy škaurim (= skauθim) naiy tunuvatam zūra akunavam* 'neither to the weak nor to the powerful did I do wrong'. DPd 20-2 *aita adam yānam jadiyā-*

miy Auramazdām 'this I ask as a favor of Ahuramazda'. In the passive, the accusative of the thing remains unchanged: DNb 8f *tya skauθiš . . . miθa kariyaiš* 'that the weak should have wrong done to him'; also DNb 10f, and DB 1.49f (above).

E. As appositive to another accusative: DB 1.49f *Gaumātam tyam magum*; DPd 2f *hauv Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam adadā* 'he created King Darius'.

F. As predicate to the direct object of a facitive verb: DNa 5f *hya Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam akunauš* 'who made Darius king'; and of other verbs, cf. *yānam* in DPd 20-2 (quoted under D).

G. To express the goal; names of places are often used thus without a preposition (regularly with *fra-aiš-*, *ar-*, *ava-ar-*, *parā-ar-*, *šiyav-*), but names of persons always have the preposition: DB 3.82 *abiy avam Arxam ašiyava Bābirum*; exception DB 5.21f *ašiyavam abiy Sakām*, cf. DB 2.72, 3.73f (*šiyav-*), 2.72f (*fra-aiš-*), DB 5.23f (*ava-ar-*), DPe 24 (*ni-ar-*). With *ay-* 'go' places as well as persons take prepositions, cf. DB 1.91f, 3.73, DZc 11 for places, DB 1.93, 2.32f for persons.

H. With prepositions and postpositions, denoting not merely goal but sometimes other ideas, see §269.

I. With *kāma* 'desire', apparently a terminal accusative indicating that the desire has reached the person and is felt by him (JAOS 66.44-9): DB 4.35f *yaθā mām kāma* 'as was my desire', XPf 21f *Auramazdām avaθā kāma āha* 'thus was the desire unto Ahuramazda'.

J. To express duration of time, as in the adv. *dargam*: DB 4.56 *dargam jīvā* 'mayest thou live long'.

K. To express time when, as in the adverbs *paranam* and *paruvam* 'formerly', and with the postposition *patiy*: DB 1.20 *xšapavā raucapativā ava akunavayatā* 'either by night or by day, that was done'; DB 2.61f *θūravāharahya māhya jiyamnam patiy avaθāšām hamaranam kartam* 'on the last of the month Thuravahara, then by them the battle was fought'.

L. To express specification: *nāmā* as in *Marguš nāmā dahyāuš* 'a province Margiana by name' (DB 3.11), if *nāmā* is really acc. nt. and not loc. with long-grade vowel (see Lex. s.v. *nāman-*).

§250. THE GENITIVE CASE appears in OP in the following uses:

A. Possessive,[1] as in DB 2.19f *manā badaka* 'my subject'; DB 4.82f *anušiyā manā* 'my followers', whence also with its opposite in DB 2.79f *hauwmaiy hamiçiya abava* 'he became rebellious toward me' (also DB 3.11, 4.12, instead of *hacāma* 'from me' and the like, DB 1.40, 2.6f, 3.27, 3.78, 3.81f); DB 1.4 *manā pitā*, 1.29f *Kabujiyahyā brātā*, and with other words of relationship. This is found also in the predicate: DB 3.9f *pasāva dahyāuš manā abava* 'afterwards the province became mine', cf. DB 5.19f, 35f, and DB 3.58f *avam kāram hya Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahyā gaubataiy* 'that army which calls itself King Darius's'.

B. Subjective, as in DB 1.11f *vašnā Auramazdāha* 'by the favor of Ahuramazda', DNa 56f *hyā Auramazdāhā framānā* 'Ahuramazda's command'; especially with passive participles, where it develops into the agent: DB 1.27 *tya manā kartam* 'which has been done by me', XPf 38 *tyamaiy piça kartam āha* 'which had been built by my father'. Alternative ways of expressing the agent are the genitive with postposition *rādiy* (see K), the ablative with *hacā* in *hacā-ma* (see §271 and Lex. s.v. *hacā*), and apparently by the accusative alone (A³Pa 22f *mām upā mām kartā* 'made by me in my time', A³Pa 26 *mām kartā* 'made by me'; both probably corrupt, but cf. the *mām kāma* idiom, §249.I).

C. Objective, as in DB 4.78f *Auramazdātaiy jatā biyā* 'may Ahuramazda be a smiter of thee' (unless this is a dative use); and especially with *xšāyaθiya* and *framātar-*, as in DB 1.1f *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām* 'king of kings' and DNa 7f *aivam parūvnām framātāram* 'one lord of many'. But only a plural genitive is used with *xšāyaθiya*; in the singular the locative is used (§251.A). The genitive with the verb 'to rule' probably belongs here: DNa 18f *adamšām patiyaxšayaiy* 'I ruled over them; DNb 15 *uvaipašiyahyā xšayamna* 'ruling over my own (impulses)'.

D. Partitive, expressing the whole: DB 1.37f

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[1] The disappearance of dative forms in OP and the assumption of dative functions by the genitive form makes it impossible to differentiate possessive datives with the copula, from possessive genitives; thus in XPf 28f *Dārayavauš* (error for *-vahauš*) *puçā aniyaiciy āhatā* 'Of Darius other sons there were', the genitive may be either a true genitive of possession, or a possessive dative. When an orthotone genitive follows the word on which it depends, however, there may be a presumption in favor of the dative use; cf. §309.

Viyaxnahya māhyā XIV raucabiš θakatā āha '14 days of the month Viyakhna were past'; DB 1.49 *naiy amāxam taumāyā kašciy* 'not anyone of our family', cf. *amāxam taumāyā* DB 1.28f depending directly on *Kabūjiya*; DPd 1f *hya maθišta bagānām* 'the greatest of the gods'.

E. Expressing time within which: DB 4.4f *hamahyāyā θarda* 'in one and the same year'; from this use came the use of the genitive *xšapa*, DB 1.20, in a riming pair with acc. *rauca* and enclitic *patiy*, to indicate time when.

F. As appositive to a genitive, as in DB 3.58f *Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahyā*.

G. As dative of indirect object, in DB 1.12 *Auramazdā xšaçam manā frābara*, DB 1.31f *kārahyā naiy azdā abava* 'it was not known to the people', DB 1.75 *kārahyā avaθā aθaha*, DSa 5 *visahyā frašam θadayātaiy*.

H. As dative of reference, in DB 1.87 *aniyahyā asam frānayam* 'for the rest I brought horses', DNa 3f *hya šiyātim adā martiyahyā* 'who created happiness for man'; including the dative of possession, as in DB 4.56 *utātaiy taumā vasiy biyā* 'and to thee may there be family in abundance'.

I. As dative of goal, in DB 1.13 *imā dahyāva tyā manā patiyāiša* 'these are the provinces which came to me'.

J. With the idea of *hama-* 'like' in compounds: DB 1.30 *hamātā hamapitā Kabūjiyahyā* 'having the same mother and father as Cambyses'; the position of the genitive after the adjectives suggests that this is a dative use rather than a true genitive use (cf. §309).[2]

K. With prepositions, the mixed use with *-patiy* (see E); DB 3.32 *pasā manā* 'behind me'; with *anu-* 'according to', in DNb 16, 18; with following *rādiy*, to express agent, in DNb 9, 10f; with enclitic *-rādiy*, in *avahyarādiy* 'on account of this'.

§251. THE LOCATIVE CASE appears in OP in the following uses:

A. Expressing place where, without a preposition, as in DB 1.34f *pasāva drauga dahyauvā vasiy abava utā Pārsaiy utā Mādaiy utā aniyāuvā dahyušuvā* 'afterwards the Lie waxed great in the country, both in Persia and in Media and in the other provinces'; DB 2.75 *duvarayāmaiy basta adāriya* 'he was held bound at my palace en-

trance'; DB 2.76 *pasāvašim Hagmatānaiy uzmayā-patiy akunavam* 'afterwards I put him on the stake (= impaled him) at Ecbatana'; DB 1.15 *tyaiy drayahyā* '(those) who (dwell) by the sea' (not 'islanders', since the term denotes the satrapy of which Dascylium was the capital, JNES 2.304). With 'king', singular nouns are in the locative, as in DB 1.2 *xšāyaθiya Pārsaiy* 'king in Persia', though plurals are in the genitive (§250.C); similarly DB 1.81 *xšaçam tya Bābirauv* 'the kingship in Babylon'. It is a substitute for the genitive in DB 2.23f *hya Mādaišuvā maθišta āha* 'who was chief among the Medes' (cf. §250.D).

B. Expressing place to which, with prep. *yātā* 'as far as', in DSf 32f *abara yātā Bābirauv* 'carried as far as Babylon', 34 *yātā Çūšāyā* 'as far as Susa'; perhaps also, because of the idea of motion which seems to be in the verbs, in *gāθavā avāstāyam* (DB 1.62f), *gāθavā niyašādayam* (DNa 36), *maškāuvā avākanam* (DB 1.86), *uzmayā-patiy* (DB 2.76, etc.).

C. Expressing specification: *nāma* 'as to name' (see Lex. s.v. for examples, and §312), and possibly *nāmā* (if long-vowel loc. and not acc.); probably Wc 1 *CXX karšayā* '120 (units) in weight', and D²Sa 1 (and A²Hb) *apadānam stūnāya* (if for *-āyā*) *aθagainam* 'palace made of stone as to its column(s)'.

D. Abnormal uses: The locative sometimes replaces the ablative with *hacā*, to denote place from which: *hacā Bābirauv* 'from Babylon' (DSf 33; but the abl. in *hacā Bābirauš* DB 2.64f), *hacā Hidauv* (DSf 44, DPh 7, DH 5f); and once even without the preposition: XPf 32–4 *yaθāmaiy pitā Dārayavauš gāθavā ašiyava* 'when my father Darius went from the throne (= died)'.

E. With prepositions: The locative is found with *yātā* (see B), *hacā* (see D), *ni-* in the adv. *ni-padiy*, *-patiy* (see A, B). Further, all locative case-forms have the postposition *-ā*, except names of places in the singular and those which function as adverbs (such as *dūraiy*, *rādiy*, *ni-padiy*, etc.).

F. As appositive to a locative, as in DB 1.34f.

§252. THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE appears in OP in the following uses:

A. With *hadā*, to denote accompaniment either friendly or hostile: DB 2.21f *pasāva hauv Vidarna hadā kārā ašiyava* 'after that this Hydarnes with the army marched forth'; DB 2.23 *avadā hamaranam akunauš hadā Mādaibiš* 'there he made battle with the Medes'.

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[2] Cf. Greek use of the dative with adjectives of which the prior element was ὁμο-; though in later times the genitive also was used with them.

B. With *pari-ay-* 'to have respect for', to de-
note association: DB 1.23 *imā dahyāva tyanā manā
dātā apariyāya* 'these provinces had respect for my
law'.

C. Alone, to denote means: DB 1.11f *vašnā
Auramazdāha aham xšāyaθiya amiy* 'by the favor
of Ahuramazda I am king'.

D. Alone, to express specification: DNb 40f
yāumainiš amiy utā dastaibiyā utā pādaibiyā
'trained am I both as to hands and as to feet'. So
also with numerals: DB 2.56 *Anāmakahya māhyā
XV raucabiš θakatā āha* 'of the month Anamaka,
15 by days were past'; Wa 1 *II karšā* '2 (units) by
weight'; cf. Lg. 19.227–9.

E. With or without prepositions,[1] to denote
place where or within which: DB 1.92 *vardanam
anuv Ufrātuvā* 'a town beside the Euphrates';
DB 3.26 *kāra Pārsa hya viθāpatiy* 'the Persian
army which (was) in the palace'; XPa 13f *vasiy
aniyašciy naibam kartam anā Pārsā* 'much
other good (construction) was built within this
(city) Persepolis'.

F. With *hacā*, to denote place from which: DPh
5 (and DH 4) *hacā Sakaibiš* 'from the Scythians';
but perhaps the ablative form in the plural had
been lost, and its functions been taken over by the
instrumental form, for there is no distinctly abla-
tive plural form recorded in OP.

G. Alone, to express cause: DB 1.86 *abiš nāviyā
āha* 'on account of the waters there was navig-
ability'; DSe 46f *didā ha[natāyā avagmat]ā* 'wall
fallen down from lapse of time' (both examples
doubtful, see Lex. s.vv.).

H. With *anuv*, to express accordance: DNb
24–6 *martiya tya kunautiy yadivā ābaratiy anuv
taumanišaiy* 'what a man does or performs ac-
cording to his natural powers'.

I. As a general case-form, added as the last of
a series of accusatives: DB 1.64f *abicariš gaiθāmcā
māniyamcā viθbišcā*; XPh 50f and 53f *Auramaz-*

dām . . . artācā. Apparently two locutions have
been contaminated: 'Ahuramazda along with
Arta' and 'Ahuramazda and Arta', giving 'Ahu-
ramazda and along with Arta'. There is a similar
but more extensive use of the instrumental as a
general case-form in Avestan.[2]

J. With prepositions: *hadā* (see A); *anuv* (see
E, H); *-patiy* (see E); *hacā* (see F).

§253. THE ABLATIVE CASE is found in OP in
the following uses:

A. With *hacā*, to express the various 'from'
ideas; listed §271.

B. With *yātā ā*, to express the goal in space:
DPh 6 (and DH 5) *yātā ā Kūšā* 'as far as Ethiopia'
DPh 7f (and DH 6) *yātā ā Spardā* 'as far as
Sardis'; but cf. §270.II.

§254. SYNCRETISM OF THE CASES may have
been a considerable factor in the forms and syntax
of OP. With the reduction of final *-s -t* to a mini-
mal sound, which perhaps was entirely lost after *ā*
(though not lost after *-ă-*), the endings of certain
cases, originally distinct, became identical. Thus
in *-ā-* stems, a form ending in *-āyā* is gen., inst.,
loc., abl.; in *-ŏ-* stems, a form in *-ā* is both inst. and
abl.; in *-ī-* stems, a form in *-iyā* is inst., loc., abl.
(and possibly gen.; no example extant); while no
such confusion is demonstrable in *-ĭ-* stems (no
inst., loc., abl. forms extant), in consonant-stems
(no abl. forms extant), in *-ŭ-* stems (no inst. or
abl. forms extant; but see remarks below). So
much for the singular; in the plural the nom. and
acc. are always alike, the gen. is distinct, the inst.
and loc. are different, the abl. form is entirely lack-
ing.

It may be then that (except in enclitic pro-
nouns: *-ma* in *hacāma*, *-ša* in *avadaša* etc.) the
ablative as a distinct form was lacking in OP,
since the original ablative forms had become
identical with other case-forms, notably those of
the instrumental and locative, and that therefore
certain instrumental and locative forms, not by
origin identical with the ablative, are used with
hacā 'from' (§251.D, §252.F). This would explain
also the regular use of the preposition with what
we designate as the ablative, whereas other case

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[1] Use of the instrumental without a preposition to de-
note place where or within which is not common, but is
approached in various languages; for the whole IE
field, cf. Brugmann, Gdr.² 2.2. §480 (Der Instrumentalis
als örtlicher und zeitlicher 'Prosecutivus',—der Raumer-
streckung—der Zeiterstreckung); in Sanskrit, cf.
Whitney, Skt. Gr.² §281.d (Time passed through, or by
the lapse of which anything is brought about); in Aves-
tan, cf. Reichelt, Aw. Elmb. §448 (Prosekutivus zur
Bezeichnung des Raums, mit dessen Zurücklegung eine
Bewegung voranrückt).

[2] On this subject, Ed. Schwyzer, Die sog. missbräuch-
lichen Instrumentale im Awesta, IF 47.214–71 (1929); but
for such forms in the Gathas, also Maria W. Smith,
Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas of Zarathushtra,
esp. pages 19–35 (1929).

are used both with and without prepositions, and would also motivate the single exception in XPf 33, where the loc. *gāθavā* is used without *hacā*, but in an ablatival meaning. One form remains to be noted: DB 2.65 has *Bābirauš* as the old abl. form identical with the gen., as in Sanskrit; but a later inscription, DSf, has loc. *Bābirauv* with *hacā* in line 33, and *Hidauv* occurs with *hacā* in DSf 44, DPh 7, DH 5f, showing a shift in this declension. Late Avestan also departed from the old identity of gen. and abl. (outside the -ŏ- stems!), by creating new ablatives in -*ṯ*; OP allowed a new amalgamation of the abl. with other cases to remain as normal.

§255. NUMBER has in OP its usual significance. The singular form has collective meaning in DB 1.87 *aniyahyā asam frānayam* 'for the rest I brought horse(s)'; in DB 5.24f *avadā hadā kārā pisā viyatarayam* 'there with the army I crossed by raft(s)'; and perhaps in D²Sa 1 and A²Hb *apadānam stūnāya aθagainam* 'palace stony as to column(s)' = 'palace with stone columns', if *stūnāya* is a miswriting for loc. *stūnāyā*. For *kāra* and *dahyāuš* as antecedents of plural masc. pronouns, see §258.III; for alternative singulars as antecedents of a plural pronoun, see §258.IV.

§256. GRAMMATICAL AGREEMENTS in OP follow the usual types found in IE languages, as to attributive adjectives, appositive nouns and adjectives, predicate nouns and adjectives, pronouns of the various kinds, and verbs with their subjects. A few peculiarities are listed in the following sections, with some instances of regular use.

§257. APPOSITIVES occur in the following cases; lack of examples in the other cases is accidental: nom. DB 1.1, 1.53, and almost everywhere; acc. DB 1.54, DPd 2, DNb 4f, etc.; gen. DB 3.59, DPd 9–11, XPc 14, etc.; loc. infrequent, DB 1.34f. More often the appositive, if more than a single word or if to an oblique case, is expressed by an anacoluthic nominative phrase, followed by a resumptive pronoun or adverb (§314a; §312). Partial appositives occur as in DB 1.34f *pasāva drauga dahyauvā vasiy abava utā Pārsaiy utā Mādaiy utā aniyāuvā dahyušuvā* 'afterward the Lie became great in the country, both in Persia and in Media and in other provinces'; also DB 1.40f, 1.48f, DSf 25f *θikā avaniya aniyā XL arašaniš baršnā aniyā XX arašaniš baršnā* 'the rubble

was packed down, some 40 cubits in depth, another (part) 20 cubits in depth'. Appositive substantives do not necessarily agree in gender; thus DPd 6f *iyam dahyāuš Pārsa* 'this province Persia', where *dahyāuš* is feminine and *Pārsa* is masculine.

§258. AGREEMENTS OF PRONOUNS show the expected phenomena, and some special features which are here given.

I. The pronouns *hauv*, *ava-*, *-šim*, *-dim*, and their forms are often used to refer back to a preceding phrase or relative clause; a preceding phrase is usually in the nominative, as in DB 2.30f *kāra hya hamiçiya manā naiy gaubataiy avam jadiy* 'the rebel army which does not call itself mine—that do thou smite', but sometimes in its own proper case, as in DB 2.84 *kāram hamiçiyam hya manā naiy gaubātaiy avam jatā* 'the rebel army which may not call itself mine—that do ye smite'.

II. The enclitics *-šim* and *-dim* and their forms may have antecedents of any gender, and the singular forms may refer to antecedents of any number; for details, see Lex. s.vv. *-ša-* and *-di-*.

III. Plural pronouns are often used where the antecedent is 'men' implied in a preceding *kāra* 'people, army' or *dahyāuš* 'province' or the like: thus DB 1.65 *-diš* goes back to 64 *kārahyā*; DB 2.19–21 *-šām* in two occurrences and the two plural imperatives go back to *kāram*; DB 3.11f *akunavaⁿtā* is plural by the meaning of *dahyāuš*, as are *agarbāyaⁿ* 3.48 and *agarbāyaⁿ* 3.49 by reference to *kāra* 3.45. DNa 36f *-šām* refers back to *-šim* 36, denoting 'men' (cf. II, above) implied from *būmim* 32. DB 4.5f *-šim* has the meaning 'foe(s)' by reference to *hamaranā* 'battles' (see JAOS 35.344–50, 41.74–5).

IV. Other features: In DSe 32–7 the fem. pl. *dahyāva* motivates the masc. *aniya aniyam*. In DB 4.68f the masc. pl. *avaiy* refers back to masc. sg. *martiya* to which are attached two alternative relative clauses connected by *-vā* 'or'. In XPh 30f *atar aitā dahyāva tyaiy upariy nipištā* 'within these provinces which are inscribed above', the masc. relative *tyaiy* refers to fem. *dahyāva* though *dahyāva* has the fem. attribute *aitā*. DB 1.65 *tyā* and DSs 6 [-*diš*] are neuter plurals with multiple antecedents of different genders.

§259. AGREEMENT OF PREDICATES is of the normal types. But an adjective in the singular neuter

may be used as predicate to any subject:[1] DB 2.18f *kāra Pārsa utā Māda hya upā mām āha hauv kamnam āha* 'the Persian and Median army which was with me—this was a small thing'; so also DB 1.47 *uvāipašiyam* (referring to *Pārsam utā Mādam utā aniyā dahyāva*), DNa 39 *ciyākaram āha avā dahyāva*, DNb 6f *avākaram amiy*, DNb 27f *avākaram-ca-maiy ušiy utā framānā*, DNb 50f *ciyākaram amiy ciyākaram-ca-maiy ūvnarā*. A neuter subject may have a masculine substantive as predicate: DNb 11f *tya rāstam ava mām kāma* 'what is right, that is my desire'.

In DB 2.92f *Parθava utā Varkāna hamiçiyā abavaⁿ hacāma Fravartaiš agaubaⁿtā* 'Parthia and Hyrcania became rebellious from me, they called themselves Fravartis's', the plural verbs indicate that the predicate adjective *hamiçiyā* is plural rather than dual, although it is predicate to two singular nouns.

In DB 1.8 *hacā paruviyata hyā amāxam taumā xšāyaθiyā āha*, the probability is that *xšāyaθiyā* is nom. pl. 'kings', in which case *āha* is plural, agreeing with its predicate; but if *xšāyaθiyā* is taken as nom. sg. adj. 'royal', *āha* is singular, agreeing with its subject *taumā* 'family'.

§260. THE PRONOUNS OF OP, including those which have also adjectival use, are the following:

I. The personal pronouns *adam* 'I' and *tuvam* 'thou' have no peculiarities of syntax; the genitive forms are used in all uses and not replaced by possessive adjectives (unlike the use of Latin *meus* and *tuus* to replace the possessive genitive, and sometimes other genitive uses). The only use of *tuvam* and its forms is, from the nature of the texts, to refer to a hypothetical second person of general character.

II. The enclitic pronouns of the third person, -*šim* and -*dim* and their forms, show no variation of form for gender; cf. Lex. s.vv. For forms of -*dim* written as separate words, see Lex. s.v. -*di*-, and §133.

III. Certain other pronouns may be grouped together as Demonstratives, though they seem to combine demonstrative and determinative mean-

ings that cannot be definitely separated from each other; these are all used both as pronouns and as adjectives:

hauv (§263), much like Latin *is*.

ava- (§264), equivalent to Latin *ille*.

iyam and its suppletions (§265), like Latin *hic* and *is*.

aita- (§266), like Latin *hic*.

All these are used as resumptive pronouns, referring to something already mentioned which is frequently without grammatical construction (§314, §312), as well as in more usual ways. The adverbs *avadā* and *avaθā* are also used as resumptives.

The adverb *amata* 'from there' indicates a stem *ama*- 'that', found in OP in the adverb only.

IV. The relative pronoun of OP is *hya hyā tya* (§261), used also as definite article (cf. §262) and (rarely) as pronoun of the third person.

V. The interrogative-indefinite pronoun, pIE *$q^u o$- $q^u i$*-, has a few remnants in OP; see §201.

VI. The pIE relative *$i̯o$*- also has a few remnants in OP; see §197.

§261. THE RELATIVE DEMONSTRATIVE of OP is *hya hyā tya*, in form and in functions combining Skt. demonstrative *sa-s sā tad* and relative *ya-s yā yad* (cf. Gk. ὁ ἡ τό, ὅς ἥ ὅ). In OP the use as relative occurs much more commonly than the use as article or demonstrative pronoun. Scrutiny of the examples makes it probable that the original dominant use was that of the relative; that in attributive clauses modifying a nominative the omission of the copula led to an understanding as an appositive marked by the article; that this use was extended to accusative antecedents, and rarely to substantives in other cases; that the appositive shifted to a mere attribute and was occasionally placed before the modified substantive; that the article was ultimately preposed to an adjective in a generic sense.[1]

I. The relative use is clear where the clause has a finite verb, as in DB 1.51, or a participle without the copula as the passive equivalent of an active actually found: DB 4.1f *tya manā kartam* 'what (was) done by me' = DB 4.3f *tya adam akunavam* 'what I did'; also when the relative differs in case from its antecedent: XPf 22f *Dārayavaum hya manā pitā*, cf. DSf 57f, DSf 42, DPh 5f.

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[1] Cf. the predicate neuter to a masc. or fem. subject sometimes used in Latin: Verg. Ecl. 3.80 *triste lupus stabulis*, Aen. 4.569f *varium et mūtābile semper fēmina*. Similarly in Greek: Xen. Anab. 2.3.15 (τὰ τραγήματα) ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ἡδὺ μέν, κεφαλαλγές δέ, 3.2.22 εἰ . . . τοὺς . . . ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι.

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[1] Lg. 20.1–10 (1944), with details of the argument leading to the views summarized in this section.

II. From the originally relative type *Gaumāta hya maguš* (DB 1.44, etc.) without the copula, there came the accusative type *Gaumātam tyam magum* (DB 1.49f, etc.), where the articular use is assured.

III. This pronoun as article is used after a noun to introduce modifiers: an appositive substantive alone (DB 1.44, 1.50) or with preceding genitive (XPf 30, DB 1.39); a common adjective (DB 2.25f, DPe 3f, DSf 30f, 37), two successive common adjectives (DSf 11f), an ethnic (DBk 2, DB 1.79, 2.21); a superlative with following genitive of the whole (DSf 9); a possessive genitive of a personal name (DB 1.89) or of a pronoun (DB 2.35, 1.69); a locative substantive (DB 1.81 *xšaçam tya Bābirauv*) or an instrumental with enclitic postposition (DB 3.26 *kāra Pārsa hya v⁰θapatiy*).

IV. This pronoun as article occasionally precedes its noun to attach to it an adjective or a genitive; there are these examples: DB 1.8 and DBa 12f *hyā amāxam taumā*; DB 1.23 *tyanā manā dātā*, cf. DNa 21; DB 3.32 *hya aniya kāra Pārsa*; DB 4.87f *tyām imaišām martiyānām taumām*; DB 5.12 *tyamšām maθištam*; DNa 56f *hyā Auramazdāhā framānā*; DSf 12f *hya manā pitā Vištāspa.²*

V. This pronoun as generic article has two occurrences in DSe 39f *hya tauñyā tyam skauθim*; elsewhere generic force is given by use of *martiya-* 'man', as in DNb 12 *martiyam draujanam*, or is unmarked, as with *skauθiš* DNb 8f, *tunuvā* DNb 10.

VI. In two passages *tya-* is demonstrative: DB 3.73 *nipadiy tyaiy* 'close after them', where the text is certain, and DSf 14 *tyā* 'these two', which rests upon only slight traces of the characters.³

§262. THE ARTICLES IN OP.

I. The definite article, properly speaking, is lacking in OP, despite the uses given in the preceding section (cf. Lg. 20.6–8); for *hya hyā tya* as article function only to attach modifiers to another substantive, or to indicate generic value. Thus we find *kāra Pārsa utā Māda hya upā mām āha hauv kamnam āha* 'the Persian and Median army which was with me, this was a small thing' (DB 2.18f); *adam Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vazraka* 'I (am) Darius the Great King' (DB 1.1). It is noticeable

that Xenophon uses βασιλεύς without the article in reference to the Persian king (Anab. 1.7.1, 2, etc.).

II. The indefinite article is entirely lacking in OP, except in the phrase *I martiya* 'one man', used in introducing a new personage, where the numerical sign has virtually the value of the indefinite article (DB 1.36, 74, 77, etc.).

III. The generic article is discussed in §261.V.

§263. THE DEMONSTRATIVE *hauv* (once *hauvam*, DB 1.29) is either a pronoun referring to a previously mentioned substantive, or an adjective immediately followed by its substantive, which is then sometimes explained by a relative clause (DB 1.92; 2.66; 3.35, 54, 70).

§264. THE DEMONSTRATIVE *ava-* 'that' is similarly either pronoun or adjective; it commonly refers to something already mentioned, but sometimes has a forward reference, as in *naimā ava kāma tya tunuvā skauθaiš rādiy miθa kariyaiš* 'that is not my desire, that the mighty should have wrong done to him by the weak' (DNb 10f; also DB 3.58, 5.2f, DNa 39, DNb 20, 53, 55, 57, DSa 4, DSe 34, XPh 49, 51f). It has also the meaning 'yonder' as applied to the sky: *Auramazdā hya imām būmim ada hya avam asmānam adā* 'Ahuramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky' (DNa 1–3, etc.).

§265. THE DEMONSTRATIVE NSM.-NSF. *iyam* 'this', with its suppletions (§199), is likewise either pronoun or adjective, mainly of the following types: *iyam Pārsa* 'this is the Persian' (DN I), *hya imam tacaram akunauš* 'who built this palace' (DPa 5f), *xšāyaθiya ahyāyā būmiyā vazrakāyā* 'king in this great earth' (DNa 11f). It is a pronoun with rather distant reference in *tya imaiy kāram adurujivaša* 'so that these deceived the people' (DB 4.34f), where *imaiy* refers to the rebel pretenders listed in DB 4.7–30.

§266. THE DEMONSTRATIVE *aita-* 'this' more often refers to the preceding, but also sometimes to the following (DB 1.44, DNa 48, XPh 43, perhaps XSc 4°), when it may be repeated by *aita-* or *ava-*.

§267. THE PRONOUNS IN RELATIVE CLAUSES show some interesting syntactic features.

I. Except for *aita tya* 'this which' (DNa 48, XPh 43), the relative never has a preceding pronominal antecedent of general character; cf. DB 1.27 *ima tya manā kartam* 'this (is that) which

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² DPe 22 *hyā* is not nom. sg. fem. article before its noun, but an ablatival adverb; see Lex. s.v. ³ Lg. 20.3 for another possibility.

was done by me'. But there may be a general substantive antecedent, as in DB 1.21 *martiya hya agriya āha avam* 'a man who was excellent, him . . .'

II. A general antecedent may be incorporated within the clause, as in DB 1.57f *utā tyaišaiy fratamā martiyā anušiyā āhatā*[1] 'and those men who were his foremost followers'; but more commonly the antecedent precedes the relative, as in DB 2.77 *utā martiyā tyaišaiy fratamā anušiyā āhatā*.

III. A descriptive adjective is likewise incorporated within the clause, in DB 2.30f (and 2.50f) *kāra hya hamiçiya manā naiy gaubataiy* 'the hostile army which does not call itself mine'; but such adjectives usually stand outside, as in DB 2.84 *kāram hamiçiyam hya manā naiy gaubātaiy*, cf. also DB 2.21, 3.86.

IV. The antecedent of a relative pronoun is commonly repeated after the clause by a resumptive pronoun in its immediate context, such as DB 1.21 *avam* (see above, I); DB 4.75f *tya kunavāhy ava-taiy Auramazdā ucāram kunautuv* 'what thou shalt do, that may Ahuramazda make successful for thee'.[2] In one passage the resumptive pronoun is repeated: DNb 16f *martiya hya hataxšataiy anu-dim [ha]kartahyā avaθā-dim paribarāmiy* 'the man who cooperates, him according to his cooperative service, him thus do I reward'.

V. In one passage a relative which is the object of two verbs is repeated by *-diš* as object of the second verb: DNb 45–7 *ūvnarā tyā Auramazdā upariy mām nīyasaya utā-diš atāvayam bartanaiy* 'the skills which Ahuramazda bestowed upon me and I had the strength to bear THEM'.[3]

VI. The relative as subject is omitted before *ayauda* in XPh 31.

§268. THE PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS found in the OP texts, with certain others found only as prefixes to verbs and nouns, are given in the following list, with a summary of their uess:

ā, prep. w. adv.; postp. to loc.; pref. to verbs and nouns.

antar, prep. w. acc.

ati-, pref. w. verbs.

aθiy, prep. w. acc.

anuv, prep. w. instr. and gen.

apa-, pref. w. verbs and nouns.

abiy, prep. w. acc.; pref. w. verbs and nouns.

ava-, pref. w. verbs.

ud-, pref. w. verbs and nouns.

upā, prep. w. acc.; pref. w. verbs and nouns.

upariy, prep. w. acc.; pref. w. verbs.

tara, prep. w. acc.

ni-, prep. w. loc. in phrasal adv.; pref. w. verbs.

nij-, pref. w. verbs.

nipadiy, prep. w. acc.

patiy, prep. w. acc.; postp. w. acc., inst., loc.; pref. w. verbs and nouns.

patiš, prep. w. acc.

para, prep. w. acc.; perhaps prefix in nouns.

parā, postp. w. acc.; prefix w. verbs.

pariy, prep. w. acc.; pref. w. verbs; used as root of derivative noun.

pasā, prep. w. acc. and gen.

fra-, pref. w. verbs and nouns, and in phrasal adverb.

yātā, prep. w. loc.

yātā ā, prep. w. abl.

rādiy, postp. w. gen.

vi-, pref. w. verbs and nouns.

hacā, prep. w. abl., loc., instr., adv.

hadā, prep. w. instr.

The inseparable prefixes are the following:

a- an-, the common negative prefix.

u- (= [h]*u-*) 'well'.

duš- 'ill'.

ha- ham-, equal in meaning to Gk. σύν and Lt. *com-* as prefixes.

The uses as prepositions (and postpositions) will be discussed in the following sections; other uses are adequately described in the Lexicon.

§269. PREPOSITIONS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE are the following; for *patiy* and *pasā*, used also with other cases, see §271:

antar 'inside', of place where.

aθiy 'to', of goal.

abiy 'to', of arrival at a goal, either person or

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[1] Bv. TPS 1945.61n suggests that the engraver accidentally omitted *martiyā* before *tyaišaiy*, and then inserted it after *fratamā* when he noticed the omission. [2] Cf. the similar usage in Latin: Caesar, BG 1.12 *quae pars cīvitātis Helvētiae īnsignem calamitātem populō Rōmānō intulerat, ea prīnceps poenās solvit.* [3] The same use occurs also in Latin: Cic. ad Fam. 12.23.2 *legiōnibus . . . quās sibi conciliāre pecūniā cōgitābat eāsque ad urbem addūcere.*

place; except in 'I was near to . . .' (DB 2.12), 'I made additions to . . .' (XPg 10).

upā 'under', always of a person, in figurative uses: 'was under me, under my command, with me' (DB 2.18, 3.30); 'under Artaxerxes, in the time of A.' (A²Sa 4); 'made under me, in my time (A³Pa 23).

upariy 'over', with slight idea of motion, shading down to 'according to' (DB 4.64); once placed as second word after its object (DNb 49, variant of 46).

tara 'through', with motion.

nipadiy 'close after', see §270.IV.

patiš 'against', governing a person as goal.

para 'beyond', of place where.

parā 'along', of motion; enclitic postposition.

pariy 'about = concerning = against', of a person.

§270. Prepositions with Other Cases are the following:

I. With the instrumental; see also *anuv, patiy, hacā,* §271.

hadā 'with', of accompaniment; of hostile association (as in DB 2.23).

II. With the ablative; see also *hacā,* §271:

yātā ā 'unto, as far as', of limit in place; see also *ā* and *yātā,* IV.

III. With the genitive; see also *anuv, patiy, pasā,* §271:

rādiy 'on account of', enclitic postposition in *avahyarādiy* 'on account of this'; also orthotone postposition, indicating the agent (DNb 9, 10f).

IV. With the locative; see also *patiy, hacā,* §271:

ā, enclitic postposition attached to the locative singular of all common nouns and adjectives except in phrasal adverbs, and to all locatives plural; also preposition with phrasal adverb *pasāva* to denote limit in time (DSe 48); see also *yātā ā,* II.

ni- 'down', only in phrasal adverb *nipadiy* 'down on the footstep, on the track of, close after', itself functioning as a preposition governing the accusative *tyaiy* (DB 3.73; for form, see §198).

yātā 'unto', of goal in place; see also *yātā ā,* II.

§271. Prepositions with Two or More Cases are the following; see also *ā, yātā,* §270.IV, and *yātā ā,* §270.II:

anuv 'along', of motion past, with instrumental; 'according to', with instrumental (DNb 25) and genitive (DNb 16, 18).

patiy with accusative, 'against' (DNb 22), 'on' in phrasal adverb *patipadam* (DB 1.62); as orthotone postposition with accusative, 'on', expressing time when (DB 2.62); as enclitic postposition, local 'in, at' with instrumental in *vⁱθāpatiy* (DB 2.16°, 3.26), 'on' with locative in *uzmayā-patiy* (DB 2.76, 91; 3.52, 92), temporal 'during' with genitive and accusative in *xšapa-vā rauca-pati-vā* (DB 1.20), with accusative in *[pa]tiy a[vā]mcᵃ ç[itām] θardam* (DB 5.2f).

pasā 'after', with accusative of time in *pasā tanūm* 'after himself' and in the phrasal adverb *pasāva* 'after that'; with genitive of place in *pasā manā* 'after, behind me' (DB 3.32).

hacā 'from', with ablative of noun or pronoun, or ablatival adverb; occasionally with nouns of locative or instrumental form (once with an anacoluthic nominative phrase, DZc 9, and once with an accusative enclitic pronoun as invariable, which it follows, DB 1.50). It governs place-names as the starting-point from which there is motion or action (DB 3.80) or extension (DPh 5, 7) or separation (XPh 16); names of persons of whom fear is felt, from whom commands proceed (= agent), from whom rebellion takes place, from whom something is taken away (DB 1.61); adverbs of time as starting-point; names of persons and things and abstracts from which protection is to be given (DPd 16f, etc.).

§272. The Voices of the Verb in OP include forms of the active, the middle, and the passive; but the meanings are not in all instances typical of the voice-forms.

§273. The Active Forms have the usual meanings of the active voice; but they are sometimes replaced, without difference of meaning, by middle forms (§274.b).

§274. The Middle Forms have usually the proper meanings of the middle voice, but sometimes the meanings of the other voices.

(a) The middle meaning is clear in such examples as the following: DB 1.41f *xšaçam hauv agarbāyatā* 'he seized the kingship for himself'; DB 1.47 *uvāipašiyam akutā* 'he made (the provinces) his own possession'; DB 1.55 *patiyāvahyaiy* 'I asked aid for myself'; DB 1.93 *hya Nabukᵘdracara agaubatā* 'who called himself Nebuchadrezzar'; DB 4.38 *patipayauvā* 'protect thyself'.