

LESSON 8

PHONOLOGY. THE /r/ PHONEME.

The “syllabic” (or “sonantic”) *r*, different from the combination *a + r*, is expected from a historical point of view, both from comparison with Avestan and Old Indic and because of the different developments of *r* and *ar* in Middle Persian (see lesson 2). The two are rendered differently also in the Elamite transcriptions, while no distinction is made in the Akkadian transcriptions, compare:

<p>OPers. / ar / <a-ra-i-ya-a-ra-ma-na-> = <i>Ariyāramna-</i> <fa-ra-va-ra-ta-i-> = <i>Fravarti-</i> <vi-i-da-fa-ra-na-ha-> = <i>Vindafarnah-</i></p>	<p>Elamite <i>ar</i> har-ri-ja-ra-um-na pir-ru-mar-ti-iš mi-in-da-par-na</p>	<p>Akkadian <i>ar</i> ar-ja-ra-am-na-² pa-ar-ú-mar-ti-iš ú-mi-in-ta-pa-ar-na-²</p>
<p>OPers. / r̥ / <a-ra-ša-a-ma-> = <i>Aršāma-</i> <a-ra-ta-xa-ša-ça-> = <i>Artaxšaça-</i> <a-ra-ta-va-ra-da-i-ya-> = <i>Artavardiya-</i> <ba-ra-di-i-ya-> = <i>Bardiya-</i> <da-a-da-ra-ša-i-> = <i>Dādarši-</i> <vi-i-da-ra-na-> = <i>Vidarna-</i> <xa-ša-ya-a-ra-ša-na-> = <i>Xšaya-aršan-</i></p>	<p>Elamite <i>ir</i> ir-ša-um-ma ir-tak-ša-aš-ša ir-du-mar-ti-ja Bir-ti-ja da-tir-ši-iš mi-tir/tar-na ik-še-ir-šá</p>	<p>Akkadian <i>ar</i> ar-šá-am-ma-² ar-tak-šat-su ar-ta-mar-zi-ja bar-zi-ja da-da-ar-šú ú-mi-da-ar-na-² hi-ši-²-ar-šá, etc.</p>

In order to determine whether we should read *ar*, *ar*, or *ra*, we must consult the related languages. The correspondences are as follows:

Indo-Iranian	Old Indic	Avestan	Old Persian	Middle Persian
* <i>ar</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>ar</i> , <i>ār</i>
* <i>r̥</i>	<i>r̥</i>	<i>arə</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>ir</i> , <i>ur</i>
* <i>r̄</i> (< * <i>r̄H-C</i>)	<i>ir</i> , <i>ūr</i>	<i>arə</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>ar</i>
* <i>r̄HV</i>	<i>ir</i> , <i>ur</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>ar</i>

Examples:

<i>martiya</i>	<i>mašīia</i>	<i>martiya</i>	<i>mard</i>
<i>kṛta</i>	<i>kərəta</i>	<i>karta</i>	<i>kird</i>
<i>dīrgha</i>	<i>darəya</i>	<i>darga</i>	* <i>darg</i> > <i>dagr</i> (> <i>dēr</i>)
<i>hiranya</i>	<i>zarainīia-</i>	<i>daraniya</i>	<i>zarr</i>

In a few cases the evidence is inconclusive, for instance, *vi-marda-* (cf. Pers. *māl-* < **mard-*) is related to OInd. *mṛj-*, Av. *mərəz-*.

WORD FORMATION. COMPOUNDS.

Adjectival compounds (= compounds that are adjectives) consisting of adjective + noun indicating possession are frequent in Old Persian, for instance *tigra-xauda-* “he who has a pointed hat” and *Ariya-ciça-* “whose stock is Aryan.” Such compounds are called *bahuvrīhis*, a Sanskrit word literally meaning “he who has much (*bahu*) rice (*vrīhi*).” Adjectives with the prefix *hu-* + noun, e.g., *huv-asa-* and *hu-martiya-* “he who has good horses, men” can also be *bahuvrīhis*.

The compounds *hamarana-kara-* and *asa-bāra-* are of a different kind. Here a kind of case relationship must be assumed between the two elements, such as, “he who does battle (accusative)” and “he who is carried or rides on a horse (instrumental).” Such compounds are called *tatpuruṣas*, literally “(the one who is) his (genitive) man.”

Note that the prefix *hu-* takes on different forms according to the following sound: before a consonant it

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is written *u-*, before a vowel *uv-*. A following *h-*, which is from Indo-Iranian **s-*, becomes *š-* by the “ruki” rule (see lesson 2 on the nom. sing.), but the *h-* is restored by analogy with the simple noun, and *-šh-* is written: **hu-* + *hamaranakara-* > **hu-šamaranakara-* > *huš-hamaranakara-*. This new prefix *huš-* rhymes with its opposite, *duš-* “bad,” found in *duškarta-* “evil deed” and *dušiyāra-* “bad year, famine.”

NOUNS. CONSONANT STEMS.

The most common consonant stems are the *r-*, *n-*, and *h-* stems. The *r-* stems include the family terms (*pitar-*) and agent nouns (*framātar-*). The *n-* and *h-* stems include some important neuter nouns (*nāman-*, *cašman-*, *manah-*). Few forms—only singular—are attested in Old Persian:

	<i>r</i> -stem	<i>n</i> -stems		<i>h</i> -stems	
		masc.	neut.	masc.	neut.
nom.	<i>pitā, brātā</i>			<i>Aspacanā^h, tauvīyā^h</i>	<i>draya^h, manaš-cā</i>
acc.	<i>framātāram</i>	<i>asmānam</i>	<i>cašma</i>	<i>nāham</i>	
gen.-dat.	<i>piça^h</i>				
loc.			<i>barzmani^y</i>		<i>drayahayā</i>

Notes:

On the sandhi form *manaš-cā* < **manas-ča* see lesson 12).

The gen.-dat. *piça^h* is from **piθrah* with *ç* < **θr* (see lesson 13).

The gender of *barzmani^y* is not known for certain.

The old *h*-stem *māh-* “moon, month” appears to have been transferred to the *ī*-declension: gen.-dat. sing. *māhayā^h* (see above).

Other consonant stems (only sing. forms attested):

nom.	<i>napā^t</i> (<i>t</i> -stem), <i>tunuvā</i> (<i>nt</i> -stem), <i>xšaçaṣpāvā</i> (<i>n</i> -stem or <i>nt</i> -stem)
acc.	<i>θardam</i> (<i>d</i> -stem), <i>tunuva^{ntam}</i>
gen.-dat.	<i>θardā^h, xšapa^h</i> (<i>p</i> -stem), (<i>tunuva^{ntahayā}</i> : thematized)
loc.	<i>viθiyā</i> (<i>θ</i> -stem), <i>apiyā</i> (<i>p</i> -stem)

Examples:

n-stems:

baga vazarka Auramazdā haya avam asmānam adadā “a great god is Ahuramazdā, who put in its place yonder sky” (after DSe)

Auramazdām yadataiy ąrtācā barzmani^y “he worships Ahuramazdā according to the Order in the height” (XPh 53-54)

nt-stems:

tunuvā skauθim miθa naiy kunautiy “the strong does not harm the weak” [POS]

naiy škauθim naiy tunuvatam zūra akunavam “I did wrong to neither the weak nor the strong” (DB 4.65)

n- or *nt*-stems:

Dādaršiš nāma Pārša manā badaka Bāxtriyā xšaçaṣpāvā “a Persian, my subject, by name Dādarši, satrap in/of Bactria” (DB 3.13-14)

h-stems:

pasāvašaiy adam nāham frājanam “Then I cut off his nose.” (after DB 2.73-74)

aitamaiy aruvastam upariy manašcā ušicā “This is my ability in both thought and understanding.” (DNb 31-32)

yadiy abiy draya avārasam “when I came down to the sea” (DB 5.23-24)

tayaiy drayahayā “those (peoples) that (are) in the sea” (DB 1.15)

r-stems:

Kabūjīyahayā brāt[ā Bardi]ya nāma āha hamātā hamapitā Kabūjīyahayā “Cambyses’s brother was called Smerdis. He had the same mother and father as Cambyses.” (DB 1.26-32)

avam framātāram hamīçiyam avāja “He killed that rebellious commander.” (after DB)

manā piça puçā aniyaiy āha “My father had other sons.” (after XPf 28-29)

viθ- “house”:

mām Auramazdā pātuv utāmai viθam “May Ahuramazdā protect me and my house!” (DH 7-8)

mayuxa kāsakaina Dārayavahauš XŠhayā viθiyā karta “(This is) a glass doorknob made in the house of king Darius.” (DPI)

ap- “water”

The word for “water,” *āp-/ap-*, has the regular forms loc. sing. *apiyā* and inst.-abl. plur. *abiš* (< *ap-biš*, see lesson 9), but the nom. sing. appears to have been transferred to the *ī*-declension (*āpišim* < *āpiš-šim* or *āpiš-šim*), for good reason, as the original nominative would probably have become **ā* (< *āf-š*) in Old Persian.

aniya api[y]ā [ā]hā[ya]tā āpišim parābara “Another (group) was thrown into the water. The water carried it (i.e., the other group) away.” (DB 1.95-96)

NOUNS. THE VOCATIVE.

Only vocative forms of *a*-stems are found. The ending is *-ā*, e.g., *martiyā*.

VERBS. THE IMPERATIVE.

The imperative in Indo-Iranian (and Indo-European) had a special set of endings. The simplest form was that of the 2nd sing., which in thematic conjugations was identical with the stem. The endings are:

	athematic	thematic	athematic	thematic
Active Sing.				
2	<i>-diy</i>	<i>-ā</i>	<i>jadiy, paraidiy, pādiy</i>	<i>paribarā, paṛsā</i>
3	<i>-tuv</i>	<i>-atuv</i>	<i>*astuv, pātuv, dadātuv, kunautuv</i>	<i>baratuv</i>
Plur.				
2	<i>-tā</i>	-	<i>paraitā, jatā</i>	-
3	<i>-ⁿtuv</i>	-	<i>pāⁿtuv</i>	-
Middle Sing.				
2	<i>-šuvā</i>	<i>-a^huvā</i>	<i>kuⁿšuvā</i>	<i>patipayahuvā</i>
3	-	<i>-atām</i>	-	<i>vaṛnavatām</i>

The verb *šiyava-* has no imperative “go!” in the inscriptions. Instead *paraidiy* and *paraitā* are used.

The form **astuv* is attested only in an Elamite inscription as *aš-du*.

SYNTAX. VOCATIVE AND IMPERATIVE.

In Old Persian, the vocative is used when addressing somebody directly. The verb of the sentence is then often an imperative or a form of similar function. This restriction of the usage is due to the nature of the text. Another common context of the vocative is in questions.

The imperative is used principally in positive commands. Negative commands or wishes are expressed with the injunctive and the optative (see later).

The 3rd person imperative may be translated as “may he do!,” “let him do!”

martiyā dargam jīvā “O man, live long!”

LESSON 8

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕𐾖𐾗𐾘𐾙𐾚𐾛𐾜𐾝𐾞𐾟𐾠𐾡𐾢𐾣𐾤

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mānaya-, mānaiya- < √man: to await, wait for
Mārgava-: Margian
Māru-: name of town
ni-kan-: to destroy
nāh-: nose
para-i- < √ay: go (forth)
pā- < √pā: to protect
rasa- < √ras: to arrive
raxθa-: ?
škauθi- = skauθi-: weak

taya: that (conjunction)
tauvīyah-: stronger, mightier
tunuva^{nt}-: mighty
uṣī (nom.-acc. dual): conscience, intelligence
Vidāna-: proper name
xšaçapāvan-: satrap
yātu-: sorcerer
zūrah- neut.: crooked deed, wrong(doing)

LESSON 9

PHONOLOGY. CONSONANT PHONEMES.

The Old Persian consonant phonemes are the following:

p	t	k	c [tš]	r	v (u)	s	š	ç	h
b	d	g	j [dž]	l	y (i)	z	(ž?)		
f	θ	x							
m	n								

The phonemes /u/ and /i/ are here written /v/ and /y/ for convenience. In the Old Persian writing system we always have <uv> and <iy> after consonants and sometimes after the vowel *a*: <Cuv> and <Ciy> = /Cv/ and /Cy/, and <av>, <auv> and <ay>, <aiy> = /av/ and /ay/. In view of these spellings there may have been no phonemic oppositions /av/ ~ /auv/ or /ay/ ~ /aiy/ before vowel.

The only new phoneme in Old Persian from an Old Iranian point of view is /ç/. The exact nature of the phoneme /ç/ as well as its phonetic realization is uncertain, and it is unclear how it fits into the phonological system. Historically it is derived from earlier *θr* or, rarely, *sr*, and in Middle Persian it coincided with regular *s*, e.g., *puça-*, Av. *puθra-*, MPers. *pus*. The sound is transcribed as *š* in Elamite and *t-s* or *s-s* in Akkadian in the name of Artaxerxes: *Artaxšaça-*, Elam. *ir-tak-ša-aš-ša*, Akk. *ar-tak-šat-su/-as-su*,²⁰ cf. Aram. ʾrthššš, Gk. *Artakséssēs*. Its phonemic and phonetic values may also have changed during the Achaemenid period, as the name is spelled *Ardaxcašca* in a late inscription from the reign of Artaxerxes III (?).

The assumption of a phoneme /ž/ is based mainly on historical considerations. There is no separate sign for [ž] in the OPers. syllabary. The only example of the phoneme is *nijāyam*, presumably /nižāyam/ < *niž-āyam < *niš-āyam. It may be simpler to assign [ž] to the phoneme /j/ and assume that it was pronounced [dž] as written. Alternatively, OPers. <j> was actually pronounced [ž], and there may have been no phoneme /j/.

Note also that in Avestan the prefix *duš-* becomes *duž-* before vowel, e.g., *dužiāra-*, so it is possible that OPers. *dušiyāra-* contains an unmarked [ž].

The phonetic realization of /č/ also appears to have changed throughout the Achaemenid period. Under Artaxerxes II we find the spellings *haša*, [*usta*]canā-, and *Xšayārca-* beside *hacā*, *ustašanā-*, and *Xšayārša-*, which seem to point to a merger of [č] and [š]. Alternately, the *š* is written for *ž* (see the remark on *dušiyāra-* above).

There is finally some vacillation between *t* and *d*: *dacara-* (DSd) beside *tacara-* and *Ardaxcašca* (just quoted).

NOUNS. THE INSTRUMENTAL-ABLATIVE.

The endings of the OPers. instrumental-ablative are inherited from Old Iranian instrumental and ablative forms. The forms are:

	<i>a</i> -stems	<i>ā</i> -stems	<i>u</i> -stems	<i>ū</i> -stems
Sing.	<i>draugā</i>	<i>haināyā</i>	<i>Bābirauš, Bābirauv</i>	<i>Ufrātuvā</i>
Plur.	<i>bagaibiš</i>	-	-	-

	<i>n</i> -stems	<i>h</i> -stems	<i>θ</i> -stems	<i>p</i> -stems
Sing.	<i>baršnā, vašnā</i>	<i>manahā</i>	<i>viθā°</i>	-
Plur.	-	<i>rauca^hbiš</i>	<i>viθbiš</i>	<i>abiš</i>

²⁰ See Stolper, 1999.

LESSON 9

In Old Persian, the Indo-Iranian endings of the instr. and abl. sing. of *a*-stems became identical: *-ā* and *-āt* both > *-ā*. The plural ending *-(ai)biš* was originally instrumental. The two endings of the *u*-stems are both originally abl.: *-auš* is the old genitive-ablative ending, while *-auv* is probably the same as Av. *-aot*, in which the *-š* of the old genitive-ablative ending has been replaced with the *-t* of the *a*-stems (Av. *-at*).

Note that *baršnā* and *vašnā* are probably instr.-abl. of stems in *-zan-*, zero grade *-šn-*: *barzan-/baršn-* and *vazan-/vašn-*. The nom.-acc. of **vazan-* may have been **vazār*, from which *vazarka-* was derived. This kind of declension is called the heteroclitic *r/n*-declension. Examples from other languages include Latin *femur* “thigh,” gen. *feminis*, English *water* as opposed to Norwegian-Swedish *vatt*, and Greek *húdōr* “water,” gen. *húdatos* < **hudn-t-os*.

PRONOUNS. THE INSTRUMENTAL-ABLATIVE.

The pronominal masc.-neut. instr.-abl. ending is *-anā*, as in *anā* (< *ima-*), *avanā*, *tayanā*, *aniyanā*.

The instr.-abl. enclitic pronouns are 1st sing. *-ma* and 3rd sing. *-šim*.

The complete attested singular and plural (dual see lesson 10) paradigm of the far-deictic demonstrative pronoun is:

	masc.	fem.	neut.
Sing.			
nom.	<i>hauv</i>	<i>hauv</i>	<i>ava, avaš-ci-y</i>
acc.	<i>avam</i>	<i>avām</i>	=
instr.-abl.	<i>avanā</i>	-	<i>avanā</i>
gen.-dat.	<i>avahayā</i>	-	<i>avahaya^o</i>
Plur.			
nom.-acc.	<i>avaiy</i>	<i>*avā</i>	<i>avā</i>
gen.-dat.	<i>avaišām</i>	-	-

PRONOUNS. PERSONAL PRONOUNS. THE ENCLITIC 3RD SING.

The enclitic pronominal stem *di-* is specifically Iranian (Av. and OPers.). It probably developed through wrong division of combinations such as **ād-im* “then ... him,” etc. > **ā-dim*.

The enclitic pronouns in *š-* are originally sandhi forms of the pronominal stem *ha-/hi-*, which by “ruki” became *ša-/ši-*. In Avestan the original distribution is still found, but in Old Persian the stem *ša-/ši-* has been generalized to all positions.

Enclitic pronouns were originally (e.g., in Old Iranian) attached to the first word of the sentence, but in Old Persian there is some relaxation of this rule.

The complete attested paradigm is:

	masc.	fem.	neut.
Sing.			
acc.	<i>-šim, -dim</i>	<i>-šim, -dim</i>	<i>-šim</i>
instr.-abl.	<i>-šim</i>		
gen.-dat.	<i>-šaiy</i>		<i>-šaiy</i>
Plur.			
acc.	<i>-šiš, -diš</i>	<i>-šiš, -diš</i>	
gen.-dat.	<i>-šām</i>	<i>-šām</i>	

Examples:

Auramazdāmaiy upastām abara “Ahuramazdā bore me aid.” (DB 1.25)

pasāvašim Arbairāyā uzmayāpatiy akunavam “Then I impaled him at Arbela.” (DB 2.90-91)

martiya haya hataxšataiy anudim [ha]kartaḥayā avaθādim paribarāmiy haya [v]ināθayatiy anudim

LESSON 9

vinastahā[yā ava]θā parsāmiy “The man who makes an effort, him I reward according to (his) achievement. The one who commits an offense, him I punish according to (his) offense.” (DNb 16-18)

martiya taya kunautiy yadivā ābaratiy anuv taumanišaiy xšnuta amiy “What a man does or endeavors (to do) according to his powers I am pleased (with).” (DNb 25-26)

*vašnā Auramazdāha utāmai*y “by the greatness of Ahuramazdā and me” (DB 4.45-47) (cf. *vašnā Auramazdāhā manacā Dārayavahauš xšāyaθiyahayā* (DPd 9-11)

In the following example *-diš* “them” refers to the collective singular *kāra-* “army, people”:

adam niyačārayam kārahayā abicarīš ... tayādiš Gaumāta haya maguš adīnā “I restored to the people the pastures ... that Gaumāta the magian had taken from them.” (DB 1.64-66)

Note that for emphasis the non-enclitic pronoun may be placed at the beginning of the sentence, before the subject:

mām Auramazdā pātuv “May Ahuramazdā protect me!” (XPc 12)

avataiy Auramazdā ucāram kunautuv “May Ahuramazdā make that easy for you!” (DB 4.76)

manā Auramazdā upastām baratuv “May Ahuramazdā bear me aid!” (DPd 13-14)

SYNTAX. INSTRUMENTAL-ABLATIVE.

The functions of the OPers. inst.-abl. incorporate the functions of the OIran. instrumental and ablative.

Instrumental functions.

1. means and instrument and expressions signifying “according to” (sometimes + *hacā*), “with respect to” and “because of”:

vašnā Auramazdāha “by the greatness of Ahuramazdā.”

manahā *uvaipašiyahayā dārša[m] xšayamna a[m]jiy* “By/through my mind I am strongly in control of myself.” (DNb 14-15)

imā dahayāva tayanā manā dātā *apariyāya* “These lands behaved according to my law.” (DB 1.23)

artācā < *artā^hacā* (Av. *ašāt haca*) “according to the (cosmic and ritual) Order”

XL arāšnīš barsnā ... XX arāšnīš barsnā “forty cubits in depth, twenty cubits in depth” (DSf 26-27)

kāra haya Naditabairahayā Tigrām adāraya avadā aištātā utā abiš nāviyā āha “The army which belonged to Nidintu-Bēl held the Tigris: there it stood. And it (= the Tigris) was *deep with waters.” (DB 1.85-86) (or: “had to be crossed by ship because of the waters”; cf. the Akk. version: *Diglat* (ÍD.IDIGNA) *mali* “the Tigris was full”).

2. association; this is expressed by the preposition *hadā* + inst.-abl. in Old Persian.

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya manā Auramazdā upastām baratuv hadā visaibīš bagaibīš “King Darius announces: ‘May Ahuramazdā bear me aid together with all the gods!’” (DPd 12-15)

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya pasāva Naditabaira hadā kamnaibīš asabāraibīš amuθa Bābirum ašiyava “King Darius announces: ‘Then Nidintu-Bēl fled with a few horsemen (and) went to Babylon.’” (DB

2.1-3)

pasāva hauv Vidarna hadā kārā ašiyava yaθā Mādam parārasa Māruš nāma vardanam Mādaiy avadā hamaranam akunauš hadā Mādaibiš “Then that Vidarna went (off = left) with the army. When he arrived in Media, he fought a battle with the Medians at a town called Māru.” (DB 2.21-23)

Ablative functions.

3. The main function of the ablative is to express movement away from. In Old Persian this function has to be expressed by the preposition *hacā* + inst.-abl.

pasāva adam nijāyam hacā Bābirauš ašiyavam Mādam “Then I left Babylon (and) went to Media.” (DB 2.64-65)

hacā Bāxtriya ... hacā Uvārazmiya “from Bactria, from Chorasmia” (DSf 36, 39-40)

This function of *hacā* is also seen in the passive construction *hacāma aθahaya* “it was announced from me” (probably < “the royal command went out from me”) > “it was said by me” (see lesson 11)

4. The ablative was used to express comparison, English “than,” but only one example is found:

adakaiy fratara maniyaiy afuvāyā “Then I consider myself superior to (higher than) fear.” (DNb 38)

5. The inst.-abl. is found with pre-/postpositions: *anuv* “along(side),” *hacā* “from,” *hadā* “together with,” *patiy* “in, throughout” (in *viθāpatiy*), and (*hacā ...*) *yātā* and *yātā ā* “(from ... all the way) up to,”

Zāzāna nāma vardanam anuv Ufrātuvā avadā [hauv N]aditabaira haya Nabukudracara agaubatā āiš hadā kārā patiš [mām] “At a town called Zāzāna on the shore of the Euphrates, there that Nidintu-Bēl who called himself Nebuchadrezzar came with the army against me.” (DB 1.90-96)

θātiy Dārayavauš Xš ima xšačam taya adam dārayāmiy hacā Sakaibiš tayaiy para Sugdam amata yātā ā Kūšā hacā Hidauv amata yātā ā Spardā “King Darius announces: ‘This empire which I hold (is = stretches) from the Sakas who are beyond Sogdiana: from there all the way to Kush (and) from Sindh: from there all the way to Sardis.’” (DPH 6-8 = DH 5-6)

Note especially the use of *hacā* + inst.-abl. with the verbs *pā-* “to protect (from),” *tařsa-* “to fear, be afraid of,” and *hamiçiya- bava-* “to conspire to leave, to rebel against” (also with gen.-dat.).

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya ... imām dahqyāum Auramazdā pātuv hacā haināyā hacā dušiyārā hacā draugā “King Darius announces: ‘May Ahuramazdā protect this land from the enemy army, from famine, (and) from the Lie!’” (DPd 12-18)

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya iyam dahqyāuš Pārsa ... hacā aniyanā naiy tařsatiy “King Darius announces: ‘This land Persia fears no other.’” (DPd 5-12)

kārašim hacā dařšam atarša “The army feared him strongly.” (DB 1.50-51)

pasāva kāra haruva hamiçiya abava hacā Kabūjiyā abiy avam [a]šiyava utā Pārsa utā Māda utā aniyā dahqyāva “Then the whole army/people rebelled against Cambyses (and) went to *him* (= the false Smerdis), both Persia and Media and the other lands.” (DB 1.40-41)

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya yātā adam Bābirauv āham imā dahqyāva tayā hacāma hamiçiyā abava Pārsa Ūvja Māda Aθurā Mudrāya Parθava Marguš Ōataguš Saka “King Darius announces: ‘These are the lands that rebelled against me while I was in Babylon: Persia, Elam, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, (and) Scythia.’” (DB 2.5-8)

but:

I martiya Ciçataxma nāma Asagartiya hauvmaiy hamiçiya abava “(There was) a Sagartian man named Ciçantaxma; he rebelled against me.” (DB 2.79-80)

5. Appositions to words in the inst.-abl. are in the inst.-abl. (no examples?).

Instrumental-ablative as subject and direct object.

This unusual use of the inst.-abl. is seen in Old Persian in the dating formula and one other possible instance.

1. The dating formula:

Dates are expressed as follows:

The first: the name of month in gen.-dat. + *māhaya* I **rauca** *θakatam āha* — literally: “of the month of A, 1 day had passed.”

Other days: the name of month in gen.-dat. + *māhaya* + number **raucabiš** *θakatā āha* — literally: “of the month of A, by X days (the days) had passed.”

Comparison between these two formulas, shows that the instr.-abl. plur. *raucabiš* functions as subject.

Examples:

Viyaxanaḥayā māha[yā] XIV raucabiš θakatā āha yadiy udapatatā “It was on the 14th of Viyaxana that he rose up in rebellion.” (DB 1.37-38)

Garmapadaḥayā māhaya IX raucabiš θakatā āha avaθā xšaçaṃ aqarbayatā “It was on the 9th of Garmapada. Thus he took the power for himself.” (DB 1.42-43)

The other unexpected instr.-abl. is seen in the following passage:

adam niyaçārayam kārahayā abicarīš gaiθāmcā māniyamcā viθbišcā tayādiš Gaumāta haya maguš adīnā “I restored to the people the pastures, the cattle, the household (slaves), and the houses that Gaumāta the magian had taken from them.” (DB 1.64-66)

Here *viθbiš* clearly functions as acc. plur. parallel with the other three accusatives. If “together with the houses” were intended, we would not expect another *-cā*. It is possible, however, that the whole formula was borrowed from a text such as the Avesta, where enumerations of social units is common, and that the form *viθbiš* was taken over uncritically.

TEXTS. THE EXTENT OF DARIUS'S EMPIRE.

DPh=DH

*Dārayavauš XŠ vazarka XŠ XŠyānām XŠ dahayūvnām Vištāspahayā puça Haxāmanišiya
 θātiy Dārayavauš XŠ ima xšačam taya adam dārayāmiy hacā Sakaibiš tayaiy para Sugdam amata yātā ā
 Kūšā hacā Hidauv amata yātā ā Spardā tayamaiy Auramazdā frābara haya maθišta bagānām mām
 Auramazdā pātuv utāmai viθam*

In the heyday of his power, Darius was able to describe his empire as reaching to the four quarters of the world: from the northeasternmost Scythians to the southwesternmost Ethiopians, and from easternmost India to westernmost Sardis.

VOCABULARY 9

a ^h mata ^h : from there	mā: let not
akumā < √kar: we did	māhī-: month
amata ^h : from there	mu ⁿ θa- < √mauθ: to flee
anuv: along(side) (+ instr.-abl.)	ni-čāraya- < √sray: put back in place, restore
Arakadri-: name of a mountain	nij-ay- < niš + √ay: to go out
Arbairā-: Arbela (place name)	Paišiyā ^(h) uvādā-: place name
avadaš: thence (+ hacā)	pari-ay- mid.: to behave
ā-bara- < √bar: bring (about), endeavor, perform	pari-bara- < √bar: to reward
Ādukanaiša-: month name	pařsa- < √pars/fraθ: to ask, punish
ā-jamiyā (optative) < √gam: to come (to)	patiy postpos.: in (+ instr.-abl.)
cartanaiy < √kar: to do (inf.)	raucah-: day
dacara- = tacara-	Sugda- = Suguda-: Sogdiana
-dim: him (acc.)	Θūravāhara-: month name
-diš: them (acc.)	Ufrātū-: Euphrates
dušiyāra- neut.: bad year (famine)	vi-nasta-: offense
fratarām: beyond(?)	vi-nāθaya- < √naθ: to do harm, do wrong
Garmapada-: month name	Viyaxana-: month name
hadā + instr.-abl.: together with (people)	xšayamna- < √xšā (see lesson 13): being in control
ha ⁿ kařta-: sth. achieved, achievement	xšnuta-: pleased
huvāmařšiyu-: self-dead, i.e., without foreign intervention	Yadā-: Anshan
kaufa-: mountain	yadivā: or
Kuduru-: place name	yātā: until (temporal)
Kūša-: Ethiopia	yātā ā: up to, until (+ instr.-abl.; local)
mařiya- < √mar (cf. mařta-): to die	Zāzāna-: place name

LESSON 10

PHONOLOGY. ABLAUT.

In Indo-Iranian (and Indo-European) a vowel belonging either to the stem of a word (noun, verb) or the ending can appear in various “grades”: zero, full (Skt. *guṇa*), and long (Skt. *vṛddhi*) grade. This phenomenon is also referred to as *ablaut* (surviving in English *bite* - *bit*, *shine* - *shone*; not to be confused with the different process of *umlaut*, surviving in English *man* - *men*, *mouse* - *mice*). Examples encountered so far include the stem vowels of *i*- and *u*-stems and the vowel of the element *-tar-* in *r*- stems. (See also lesson 13.)

The original ablaut patterns were the following:

zero grade	full grade	lengthened grade	examples:
-C	aC	āC:	h -atīy ~ a^h -miy, as -tiy ~ -
i	ai	āi/āy:	Cišp- iš ~ Cišp- aīš ~ -
			para- itā ~ ai tiy ~ -
u	au	āu/āv:	°dahay- um ~ dahay- auš ~ dahay- āuš , dahay āva ;
			dur ux ta- ~ dra au ga- ~ -
a (< ṇ)	an	ān:	ja-diy ~ a- jan -am ~ -
m, a (< ṁ)	am	ām:	ha ⁿ -g m -ata ~ ā- jam -iyā
r, ar	ar	ār:	kar -ta, ca-xr-iyā ~ a- kar -iya, ca r -tanaiy ~ u-c ār -am;
			- ~ Marguš ~ Mārgava
ar (< ṛH)	ar, rā	ār, rā	darga (cf. Av. drājah-, Pers. derāz)

Note especially the suffix *-tar-*:

-ç- < -θr-	-tar-	-tār-	piça < *piθrah ~ - ~ pitā, framātāram
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As we see, ablaut plays an important role in Old Persian grammar. It also plays an important role in derivation; *vṛiddhi* is commonly used to derive nouns and adjectives from other nouns and adjectives. Compare:

Margu- “Margiana”	<i>vṛiddhi</i> + suffix <i>-a-</i> : Mārgava- “person from Margiana”
baga- “god” + *yāda- “worshiping”	<i>vṛiddhi</i> + suffix <i>-i-</i> : Bāgayādi- month name
*yau ^h man- (< √yauḡ “yoke, combine”?)	yāumani- (yāumaini-) “*coordinated, controlled”
*xšayaθa- “the wielding of power”	<i>vṛiddhi</i> + suffix <i>-iya-</i> (< <i>-i + a-</i>): xšayaθiya- “king”

When the original first term already has a long *ā*, the *vṛiddhi* is not visible:

*āç- “fire” + *yāda-	Āçiyādiya- month name
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NOUNS AND PRONOUNS. THE DUAL.

The dual was still alive in Old Persian, but few examples are found, for understandable reasons.

Only masc. forms are attested, except *ušī-*. In Old Indic and Young Avestan there are three distinct forms: nom.-acc., instr.-abl.-dat., and gen.-loc. (in Old Avestan the gen. and loc. are distinct), but we do not know if this was the situation in Old Persian as well, since no instances of duals in dative or genitive function are found, except *ubānām* “of both,” which has the plur. gen.-dat. ending.

nom.-acc.	-ā; -īy	gaušā, avā, ubā; ušīy
instr.-abl.(-dat.?)	-aibiyā; -ībiyā	dastaibiyā, pādaibiyā; ušībiyā
(gen.-?)loc.	-āyā; -īyā	gaušāyā; ušīyā

VERBS. THE DUAL.

The only attested verbal form is *ajīvataṃ* “they (= the two) lived/were alive,” with the 3rd dual active ending *-taṃ*.

VERBS. PRESENT STEMS.

Present stems are grouped in thematic and athematic stems. These two groups are grouped into a number of classes according to the suffix used to form the present stem. The stems attested in Old Persian are the following:

Thematic stems:

- 1) *-a-*
 - a. + full grade: *bara-*, *bava-*, *ā-naya-*, *jīva-*, etc.
 - b. + zero grade: *ava-ḥarḍa-*
 - c. + nasal infix: *piⁿθa-* (or *paiθa-*), *muⁿθa-*
- 2) *-aya-*:
 - a. from roots in *-ā-*: *paya-*, *pati-xšaya-*, *pati-zbaya-*, *ni-saya-*
 - b. + zero grade: *θadaya-* (< √θand)
 - c. + full grade: *vi-taraya-*, *apa-gaudaya-*
 - d. + long grade: *tāvaya-*, *dāraya-*, *ni-čāraya-*, *ni-šādaya-*, *vi-nāθaya-*
- 3) *-āya-*:
 - a. from roots in *-ā-*: *ava-stāya-*, *ni-štāya-*, *fra-māya-*
 - b. other: *garbāya-*
- 4) *-ya-*:
 - a. active: *jadiya-*, *maniya-*, *durujiya-*, *mariya-*
 - b. passive: *θahaya-*, etc.
 - c. denominative: *avahaya-* (in *patiy-avahaya-*, cf. Av. *auuah-*)
- 5) *-sa-* (Skt *-ccha-*, Lat. *-sc-*)
 - a. + zero grade: *paṛsa-*, *taṛsa-*, *ā-yasa-*, *ā-rasa-*, etc.
 - b. other: *xšnāsa-* (cf. Lat. *gnōscō*)
- 6) reduplicated: *ḥaṣta-/hišta-* (< **si-šta-* < √*stā* with “ruki”)

Athematic stems

- 1) root stems: *ah-/as-*, *ai-*, *jan-*
- 2) reduplicated: *dadā-*
- 3) with suffix *-nau-/nu-*: *kunau-*, *daršnau-*, *āxšnau-*
- 4) with suffix *-nā-/n-*: *dānā-*, *dīnā-*

Athematic verbs are often transferred to the thematic conjugations: *āha* (replacing **ā* < **āst* < √*as* “to be”), *vaṛnava-* (< *vaṛnau-* “to believe”), *adīna-* (*dīnā-* “to rob”).

The present stem *rasa-* is attested only in the imperf. *arasa-* and with preverbs *parārasa-* and *nīrasa-*. The original form was **ṛsa-* (Skt *ṛccha-*), which became *rasa-* (MPers. *ras-*)—at some indeterminable time—possibly by analogy with *jas-* (attested in Avestan).

VERBS. THE AORIST.

Old Persian possesses a few forms that formally belong to the Old Iranian aorist stem of the verbs. One such form is *adā* “he placed, put in (its) place,” traditionally translated as “created,” a so-called root aorist, because it is made from the root √*dā*, as opposed to the imperfect *adadā*, which is made from the present stem *dadā-*. Other root-aorist forms are the imperatives *pādiy* and *pātuv* “protect!” and “let him protect!” from √*pā*, different from the present stem *paya-* in *apayaiy* “I protected.” Another aorist form is *adāršiy*, a so-called *s*-aorist, because it is made by affixing *-s-* (or *-š-* by “ruki”) to the root √*dar*. In Old Persian, the aorist indicative has no discernible function of its own and is only a variant of the imperfect.

The other aorist forms apparently form suppletive paradigms with present stem forms (*paya-* ~ *pā-*, *vaina-* ~ *dī-*). There are too few forms, however, to enable us to determine the exact range and use of aorist forms in Old Persian.

All the attested forms are singular:

LESSON 10

	Indicative		Imperative
	active	middle	active
Sing.			
1.		<i>a-darš-iy</i>	
2.			<i>dī-diy, pā-diy</i>
3.	<i>a-dā-^l</i>		<i>pā-tuv</i>

The forms *akutā*, *akumā*, *kušuvā* were formerly and are sometimes still considered as (root) aorists < **akṛta*, etc. The development of **kṛ-* to *ku-* is unexpected as the same verb forms the past participle *kar̥ta-*. As the irregular *ku-* is already found in the present stem *kunau-* < *kṛnau-*, it is simpler to regard them as present stem forms with loss of the second *u* before the ending: *aku^utā*, *aku^umā* or *aku^umā* (cf. Skt. *akṛṇma!*), and *ku^ušuvā* (< **kunušuvā*).

SYNTAX. DUAL.

pasāvašaiy adam utā nāham utā gaušā frājanam “Then I cut off both his nose and ears.” (DB 2.88-89)

tayataiy gaušāyā θ[ahayātiy] avašciy āxšnudiy “Listen to just that which is said into your ears.” (DNb 53-54)

utā Vištāspa utā Aṣšāma ubā ajīvatam “Both Hystaspes and Arsames were alive.” (XPf 19-21)

avākaramcamaiy ušīy u[t]ā framānā ... “And of such sort (are) my intelligence and my thought...” (XPI 27-28)

hakaram-maiy ušīyā gā[θa]vā [h]i[št]ataiy yaciy va[i]nāmiy hamīçiyam yaciy naiy vaināmiy utā ušībiyā utā framānāyā ... “Once it stands in place (= clearly) in my intelligence whatever I see (as) rebellious and whatever I do not see (as rebellious), both with my intelligence and my thought.” (DNb 34-37; de Blois, 1995, p. 62)

yāumainiš^a amiy utā dastaibiyā utā pādaibiyā “I am coordinated both with regard to (my) hands and (my) feet.” (DNb 40-41)

a. *yāunaini-* = *yāumani-*.

martiya taya patiy martiyam θātiy ava mām naiy varnavataiy yātā ubānām hadugām āxšnauvaiy “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)

WEIGHTS.

The Old Persian weight unit was *karša-*. On three weights belonging to Darius the weights are expressed as follows:

Wa *II karšā*
 Wc *CXX karšayā*
 Wd *LX karšayā*

All these forms could be dual—nom.-acc. and (gen.-?)loc., respectively, but we do not know why different cases should be used.²¹

Other interpretations include *karšā* instr.-abl. sing.: “with respect to (its) *karša* (weight),” and *karšayā* loc. sing., with an otherwise unattested use of the locative.

²¹ One is reminded of the Russian system: 2 to 4 + gen. sing. (< dual. nom.); 5 and higher + gen. plur.

LESSON 10

Margiana and Sogdiana. He smashed those Margians and Sogdians mightily who did not pay him taxes. He seized those who were their leaders and led them to his fortress. He kept them bound in a town called Aršāda. Then he led them before the king. The king cut off their nose(s) and one ear and gouged out their eye(s). When it became known in Margiana and in Sogdiana that Dātuvaḥya had killed those men, then both (of them) rebelled against him, both Margiana and Sogdiana. They sent a large army against Arachosia. They smashed the army, seized the king, cut off his nose, and impaled him at his (own) gate.

Two men lived in Skudra. They were both good horse-men. They went with (their) horses to Sardis. There they seized much gold and with that gold they paid their taxes to the king. The king was satisfied and treated those two loyal subjects of his well for their achievement.

TEXTS. THE ACCESSION OF XERXES.

XPf 15-38

*θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya manā pitā Dārayavauš Dārayavahauš pitā Vištāspa nāma āha Vištāspahyā
pitā Aršāma nāma āha
utā Vištāspa utā Aršāma ubā ajīvatam āciy Auramazdām avaθā kāma āha Dārayavaum haya manā pitā
avam xšāyaθiyam akunauš aḥayāyā būmīyā
yaθā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya abava vasiy taya fraθaram akunauš
θātiy Xšayaqršā xšāyaθiya Dārayavahauš pučā aniyaiciy āhatā Auramazdām avaθā kāma āha
Dārayavauš haya manā pitā pasā tanum mām maθištam akunauš
yaθāmai pitā Dārayavauš gāθavā ašiyava vašnā Auramazdahā adam xšāyaθiya abavam
yaθā adam xšāyaθiya abavam vasiy taya fraθaram akunavam*

The circumstances surrounding Xerxes's accession are unclear. Xerxes himself says in this inscription that, although Darius had other sons beside Xerxes, he was the one he made "greatest after himself," that is, second in command. Herodotus elaborates on the story, saying that, as was the custom, Darius had to designate a successor before he went on the Egyptian campaign, and he chose Xerxes, who was the son of Atossa, Darius's most powerful queen, over Artobazanes, who was the son of a lesser queen. There do not seem to have been any difficulties with the succession, as Babylonian documents dated 1 December 486 of Xerxes's first reign appear shortly after Darius's death in November of that year.

VOCABULARY 10

āciy: until, as long as
apataram: further away (from), in addition to (+ hacā)
Asagarta-: Sagartia
Asagartiya-: Sagartian
asman-: sky
avašciy < ava^t + -ciy (lesson 12): just that
avākaram: of such a sort
ay-/i-: to go
ā-naya- < √nay: to bring (people to)
ā-xšnau- < √xšnu act./mid.: to hear
basta- < √band: to bind
Bāgayādi-: month name
bāji-: tribute; bājim bara-: pay tax to
būmī- fem.: earth
Ciça⁽ⁿ⁾taxma-: proper name
daraniya- neut.: gold
dānā-/dān- < √xšnā: to know (sb.)
dāriya- < √dar: to be held (passive)
dīdiy < √vain, day/dī: to see, look at
fra-jan- < √jan: cut off

framānā-: intelligence, thought(?) (Akk. *ṭēmu* "mind")
gauša-: ear
ḥadūgā-: testimony
Kaṛka-: Carian
karša-: a measure of weight = 83.33 g.
Kūšiya-: Ethiopian
ni-šādaya- < √had/šad: to set down
paradraya^h: beyond the sea
pād(a)-: foot
Putāya-: Libyan
Skudra-: a people north of Greece
takabara-: petasos-bearing
Taxmaspāda-: proper name
ubā: both
vaja- < √vaj: to gouge out
yaciy: whatever
yau^htī- (fem.): (being) in turmoil
Yauna-: Ionian
yāumani-, yāumaini-: coordinated, being in control

LESSON 11

SCRIPT. UNWRITTEN SOUNDS.

Comparison with Avestan, etc., and Middle Persian, as well as the spellings in neighboring languages, permits us to conclude that in the OPers. writing system

1. preconsonantal nasals were not written
2. *h* was not written before *u*. It was also not written before *i*, or *hi* was written <ha>:

OPers.	Elamite	Akkadian	Aramaic	Greek
<ca-i-ča-ta-xa-ma>	Ciçantaxma-	zi-iš-šá-an-tak-ma	ši-it-ra-an-tah-ma	
<ka-ba-u-ji-i-ya>	Kambūjiya-	kán-bu-zi-ia	kam-bu-zi-ia	kmbwzy Kambúsēs
<ba-da-ka>	bandaka, cf. MPers. bandag.			

For *h* before *u* Elamite never indicates the presence of any *h* (but *h* is not a phoneme in Elamite), Akkadian sometimes writes *ḥ*, sometimes not,²² while Greek shows initial *k* or *kh*:

OPers.	Avestan	Elamite	Akkadian	Greek
<i>Uvārazmī-</i>	<i>Xvāirizəm</i>	ma-ra-iš-mi-iš	ḥu-ma-ri-iz-ma- ²	<i>Khorazmia</i>
<i>Uvaxštra</i>		ma-ak-iš-ta-ra	ú-ma-ku-iš-tar	<i>Kuaksárēs</i>
<i>Auramazdā</i>	<i>Ahura- Mazdā-</i>	u-ra-maš-da	ú-ra-ma-az-da, a-ḥu-ru-ma-az-da- ²	<i>Ōromazdēs</i>
<i>uvaipašiya</i>	Av. <i>xvāēpaθiia-</i> , cf. MPers. <i>xwēbaš</i>			

Between vowels *h* was sometimes lost, compare:

ai- < *ahi-*: <a-i-ša-ta-> <a- + *hišta-*
-ā- < *-āha-*: *āhaya* < **ahahi*; *maniyāiy* < **manyāhai*; *artācā* < **artā-haca*; *θātiy* < **θahatiy*, cf. *aθaha*

Note Elamite *tur-mar* = **Tūrvār* for OPers. *Ōūravāhara*.

Before *m*, *h* was not usually written:

taumā- “family” < *tauhmā-*, cf. Av. *taoxman-*;
amiy “I am” vs. *ahmiy* in XPI.

A possible explanation of the non-writing of *h* in the above instances is that the *h* devoiced the preceding and/or following vowels.

In words from Median, however, *xm* is found, as in *Taxmaspāda-*, proper name, with *taxma-* (= Av.) “brave.”

Final consonants other than *m* and *š* are not written, but that does not necessarily prove that they were not pronounced. The spread of *-š* as the ending of the 3 sing. and plur. in *akunauš* and similar forms, however, strongly indicates that the corresponding forms of *a*-stems in fact had no consonantal ending, see lesson 6.

Final *-a* < *-an* may, of course, also have been nasalized [ã]. The final *-n* is written in *abaran* XPh 17, unless 𐎠 is a mistake for 𐎡 (*abaraha* in DNa 19-20) as suggested by Kent.

ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS. COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE.

The comparative and superlative of adjectives and adverbs are formed with the suffixes *-tara-* (*-θara-*) or *-īyah-* and *-tama-* or *-išta-*:

The comparative and superlative of adjectives are usually formed from a different stem than the base form. Thus *tunuva^{nt}-* “strong, mighty” (< √tav) has the comparative *tauvīyah-* “stronger, mightier,”

²² Note also that Akkadian appears to use Median forms more often than Persian forms. See Zadok, 1976\$\$.

LESSON 11

vazarka- “great” the superlative *maθišta-* “greatest,” and *dūra-* “far, long-lasting” the superlative *duvaišta-*. The comparative **vahayah-* “better” (cf. Av. *vaxiih-*, *vañhah-* < **vahjah-* < *vahu-* “good”) is only found in the proper name *Vahayaz-dāta-*.

Comparative and superlative forms of adverbs include *apataram* < *apa-* “further away” and *fratarā-* (*fraθarā-*) and *fratama-* < *fra-* “superior, supreme.” The attested forms are:

Comparative	
-tara- (-θara-)	<i>apataram, fratarā- (fraθarā-)</i>
-iyah-	<i>tauvīyah-, Vahayaz-dāta-</i>
Superlative	
-tama-	<i>fratama-</i>
-išta-	<i>maθišta-, duvaišta-</i>

ADJECTIVES. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

As we have seen in earlier lessons, a number of adjectives are partly inflected like pronouns. This feature is Indo-Iranian (and Indo-European). The forms attested are (from *aniya-* “other,” *haruva-* “all, every,” and *hama-* “one and the same”):

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing.			
nom.	<i>aniya, haruva</i>	<i>aniyaš-čiy</i>	<i>aniyā</i>
acc.	<i>aniyam</i>	<i>aniya, haruva^o</i>	<i>aniyām</i>
instr.-abl.	<i>aniyanā</i>		
gen.-dat.	<i>aniyahyā</i>		<i>hamahayāyā</i>
loc.			<i>haruvahayāyā</i>
Plur.			
nom.-acc.	<i>aniyaiy, aniyāha</i>		<i>aniyā</i>
loc.			<i>aniyāuvā</i>

The adjective *vispa-*, *visa-* “all” has neut. nom.-acc. *visam* and no attested pronominal endings.

ima taya adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāha hamahayāyā θarda “This which I did, by the greatness of Ahuramazdā, I did it in one and the same year.” (DB 4.3-5)

adam Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vazarka xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām xšāyaθiya dahayūnām xšāyaθiya haruvahayāyā būmiyā Vištāspahayā puça Haxāmanišiya (DSb) “I am Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of lands, king of the whole earth, son of Vištāspa, an Achaemenid.”

Note the use of *aniya-* *aniya-* to express “one another” or “one ... the other ...”:

ava adam akunavam [vašnā] Auramazdāhā yaθā aniya aniyam naiy jatiy “That I accomplished, by the greatness of Ahuramazdā, that they no longer kill one another.” (DSe 34-36)

kāra haya Naditabairahayā Tigrām adārāya ... nāviyā āha pasāva adam kāram maškāuvā avākanam aniyam ušabārim akunavam aniyahayā asam frānayam “The army that belonged to Nidintu-Bel stood by the Tigris. It was deep (with water). Then I loaded the army onto inflated hides. Another (part of the army) I mounted on camels, another (still) I brought horses for.” (DB 1.85-87)

VERBS. THE PASSIVE.

There are two ways of expressing passive in Old Persian, either by middle forms or by the special passive stems formed from the zero grade of the root + suffix *-ya-*, e.g., *θahaya-* “be said,” *karīya-* “be done.” No verbs use both methods.

Note that *Cr + ya > Čariya-*, not †*Criya-*.

Note that the endings of the passive forms are the “active” endings, even though the meaning is “passive,” e.g., *θahayāmahay, akariya*.

SYNTAX. COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE.

haya tauviyā tayam skauθim naiy jatiy naiy vimardatiy “(that) he who is stronger does not crush the weak (one), nor wipe (him) out” (DSe 39-41)

Auramazdā vazarka haya maθišta bagānām “great Ahuramazdā, who (is) greatest of the gods” (DPd 1-2)

imā dahayāva tayā adam aqarbāyam apataram hacā Pārsā “These (are) the lands that I seized away from (in addition to ?) Persia.” (DNa 16-18)

fratarā maniyaiy afuvāyā “I feel myself superior to fear.” (DNb 38)

vasiy taya fraθaram akunauš (XPf 26-27)

martiyā tayaišaiy fratamā anušiya āhatā “the men who were their foremost followers” (DB 2.77)

SYNTAX. PASSIVE.

The passive is the form a transitive verb must take when no agent (logical subject) is expressed. The majority of passive constructions in Old Persian are of this type. If an agent is expressed, then the passive construction is an alternative to an active construction. The vast majority of constructions containing expressed agents in Old Persian are active.

There are, however, a few instances of passive constructions with expressed agent as well. In such constructions the agent has to be indicated by special means. In English, for instance, the agent is indicated by means of the preposition *by*: “the rebel was killed *by* the king.”

Three constructions are found in Old Persian to express the agent with passive verbs: 1. with the prep. *hacā* (with *aθahaya*), 2. with the postpos. *rādiy* (with *kariya-*); 3. using an enclitic pronoun (with *ayadiya*). The material is too limited (the only examples are the ones below) to decide whether one of these was the preferred or “regular” construction.

The 3rd plural can be used in the sense of “one” instead of a passive construction.

vayam Haxāmanišiyā θahayāmahay “We are called Achaemenids.”

*[fravata] BU akaniya pasāva θikā avaniya ... upariy avām θikām hadiš *frāsahaya ... yakā hacā Gadārā ābariya utā hacā Karmānā ... taya ištīš ajaniya kāra haya Bābiruviya hauv akunauš ... daraniyam hacā Spardā utā hacā Bāxtriyā ābariya taya idā akariya* “Down the earth was dug. Then the gravel was *filled in. ... On top of that gravel the platform/palace was constructed. ... The sisso wood was brought/carried from Gandhara and Carmania. ... That the brick was pounded (into shape): the Babylonian contingent, it did (it). ... The gold, which was made (worked) here, was brought from Sardis and Bactria.” (DSf 23-30, 34-37)

yadāyā paruvam daivā ayadiya avadā adam Auramazdām ayadaiy artācā barzmaniy “where previously the *daivas* were worshiped, there I worshiped Ahuramazdā according to Order in the height” (XPh 39-41)

Fravartīš agarbi[ya] (or: *agrabi[ya]*) *ānayatā abiy mām* “Phraortes was seized and led/brought to me” (DB 1.73)

tayašām hacāma aθahiya ava akunava “What was said to them by me, that they did.” (XPh 17-18)

skauθiš tunuvatahaya rādiy miθa akariya “The weak was wronged by the mighty.” (after DNb 8-9)

TEXTS. THE RELIGION OF DARIUS.

DE 1-11

baga vazarka Auramazdā haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānam adā haya martiyam adā haya šiyātīm adā martiyahayā haya Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam akunauš aivam parūnām xšāyaθiyam aivam parūnām framātāram

DPd

Auramazdā vazarka haya maθišta bagānām hauv Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam adadā haušaiy xšaçam frābara vašnā Auramazdāhā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya
θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya iyam dahayāuš Pārsa tayām manā Auramazdā frābara hayā naibā uvaspā umartiyā vašnā Auramazdāhā manacā Dārayavauš xšāyaθiyahayā hacā aniyānā naiy tارسatiy
θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya manā Auramazdā upastām baratuv hadā visaibiš bagaibiš utā imām dahayāum Auramazdā pātuv hacā haināyā hacā dušiyārā hacā draugā abiy imām dahayāum mā ājamiyā mā hainā mā dušiyāram mā drauga aita adam yānam jadiyāmiy Auramazdām hadā visaibiš bagaibiš aitamaiy yānam Auramazdā dadātuv hadā visaibiš bagaibiš

DB 4.60-61

Auramazdāmai upastām abara utā aniyāha bagāha tayaiy hatiy

DSf 8-12

θātiy Dārayavauš Xš Auramazdā haya maθišta bagānām hauv mām adā hauv mām Xšyam akunauš haumaiy ima xšaçam frābara taya vazarkam taya uvasam umartiyam

To Darius the one most important god was Ahuramazdā, although he also recognized that there were others, whom he never names by name. Ahuramazdā was responsible for organizing the cosmos. In his reliefs Darius is portrayed as standing in front of the fire altar underneath the winged disk, which no doubt symbolizes the ubiquitous presence and support of Ahuramazdā and the (cosmo-political) Order that the king is supposed to enforce on earth. As ruler of the land, he would specifically implore Ahuramazdā to keep from his land three plagues: famine, which could threaten the subsistence of the land, the enemy army, which could threaten the political independence of the land, and the lie, which threatened the ideological underpinnings of the land.

VOCABULARY 11

*aguru-: baked brick	išti- fem: sun-dried brick
apadāna-: palace, throne hall	kaniya- < √kan: to be dug
avaparā: thither	Karmāna-: Kerman, Karmania
*ā-bara- < √bar: to bring (things to)	karuvaka-: artisan, craftsman
ājamiyā, opt.: may (it) come!	Labanāna-: place name
āra ⁿ jana-: decoration	naucaina-: of cedar
Çūšā: Susa	niyāka-: grandfather
daraniyakara-: goldsmith	paiθa- or pi ⁿ θa < √paiθ: to paint
dāru-: wood (ebony)	Ragā-: Rhaga, Ray
duvaišta-: longest, most enduring (superl. of dūra-)	Spardiya-: Sardinian
dūra-: far, long-lasting	sta ^m bava- < √stamb: to rebel
dūradaš: from far	θarmi-: timber
fra-haja-: to hang out (for display)	θava- < √θav: to burn (intr.)
*fra-sahaya- < √sah: to be built	θikā-: gravel
fravata ^h : down(ward)	vaniya-: to be filled into
hadīš- neut.: palace	vi-marda- < √mard: to wipe out, destroy
Ha ⁿ gmatāna-: Ecbatana, Hamadan	yakā-: yak tree, sissoo

LESSON 12

PHONOLOGY. ENCLISIS AND SANDHI.

When pronouns or other words are attached directly to a preceding word so as to form one unit, the final of the first word takes on forms different from its form in absolute final. Most importantly, sounds lost in absolute final position are sometimes kept, others (especially vowels) retain a more archaic form. In Old Persian sandhi forms are found before the enclitic pronouns, postpositions, and *-cā* “and” and *-ciy* “just” (an emphatic particle).

Before enclitics original vowel quantities are sometimes restored, for instance:

manā (< *mana*) + *cā* > *manacā*; *avahayā* (< *avahya*) + *rādiy* > *avahayarādiy*.

Note also spellings such as *pati-*, *nai-*, *hau-* for *patiy*, *naiy*, *hauv* and especially *-āḥa-* for *-āḥay* (2nd sing. subj.) before enclitics.

The compound *paru-zana-* “of many kinds (of peoples)” is sometimes spelled *paruv zana-* with word divider.

When *-cā* and *-ciy* were preceded by *-h* (= Indo-Iranian *-s*) the *-s* became *-š* by assimilation probably already in Old Iranian (cf. Old Ind. *-s + c-* > *-śc-*). When preceded by original *-t* the *-t* was assimilated to the *c-* > **-cc-* (as in Old Ind.) which was simplified to *-c-*. Mostly, however, the sandhi form *-šc-* was generalized and also substituted for the older *-cc-*. In Avestan the original forms were reintroduced (*-sc-* and *-tc-*). Examples:

Indo-Iranian	>	Old-Iranian	>	Old Persian
<i>*manas + ca</i>		<i>*manaš-ca</i> (Av. <i>manasca</i>)		<i>manaš-cā</i>
<i>*anyas + cid</i>		<i>*anyaš-cit</i> (Av. <i>ainiiascīt</i>)		<i>*aniyaš-ciy</i>
<i>*kas + cid</i>		<i>*kaš-cit</i> (Av. <i>kascīt</i>)		<i>kaš-ciy</i>
<i>*yat + cid</i>		<i>*yac-cit</i> (Av. <i>yaṭcīt</i>)		<i>yacy</i>
<i>*āt + cid</i>		<i>*āc-cit</i> (Av. <i>aṭcīt</i>)		<i>āciy</i>
<i>*anyat- + cid</i>		<i>*anyac-cit</i>	⇒	<i>aniyaš-ciy</i>
<i>*avat- + cid</i>		<i>*avac-cit</i>	⇒	<i>avaš-ciy</i>
<i>*cit + cid</i>		<i>*cic-cit</i>	⇒	<i>ciš-ciy</i>

The generalization of *-šca-* is easily explained by a proportion (without recourse to sound changes):

aniya (masc.) : *aniya* (neut.) = *aniyašciy* (masc.) : X (neut.) ⇒ X = *aniyašciy*.

Other sandhi phenomena in Old Persian:

1. initial *h* after prefixes ending in *i* or *u* becomes *š*, e.g., *ni-had-* > *nišad-* in *nišādaya-* “to place”; in this verb the sandhi form is kept even in the imperfect, *niyašādayam* (later *nīšādayam*);
2. after *hu-* the initial *h-* was restored in *huš-hamaranakara-* < **hu-šamaranakara-*;
3. *niš-* became *niž-* before vowels in Indo-Iranian, written *nij-* in *nijāyam*;
4. the final *m* in the preverb *ham-* became *n*, which was not written, before *t*, *k*, and *g*: *hamataxšaiy* ~ *hanataxšataiy*, *hanqarta-*, *hngmata-*.

Note that that double consonants are simplified (or just not written), hence *hucāram-maiy* > *hucāramaiy*.

PRONOUNS. RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

The attested forms of the relative pronouns are:

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing.			
nom.	<i>haya</i>	<i>taya</i>	<i>hayā</i>
acc.	<i>tayam</i>	<i>taya</i>	<i>tayām</i>
instr.-abl.	<i>tayanā</i>		
Plur.			
nom.	<i>tayaiy</i>		<i>tayā, tayaiy</i>
acc.		<i>tayā</i>	<i>tayā</i>
gen.-dat.		<i>tayaišām</i>	<i>tayaišām</i>

Notes:

tayaišām is fem. in DPe 3-4 *dahqyūnām tayaišām parūnām* “of many lands.”

tayaiy is fem. in XPh 30-31 *atar aitā dahqyāva tayaiy upariy nipištā* “among these lands which are written above.”

SYNTAX. RELATIVE CLAUSES.

Although most Old Persian relative clauses behave like English ones, there are some that contain constructions that are likely to cause the student some difficulty. One should beware, however, of projecting into Old Persian the New Persian “ezafe-construction,” which is of a very different nature from the Old Persian constructions that at first glance might seem to contain the New Persian construction.

Relative pronoun = subject.

The simplest relative clauses are the ones in which the relative pronoun occupies the position of subject. These clauses are identical with the corresponding English ones. If the verb of the relative clause is the verb “to be,” it may, as elsewhere, be omitted. This happens frequently in relative clauses consisting of a relative pronoun = subject + an adjective or a noun in an oblique case form, gen.-dat. or loc., for instance.

When the relative clause precedes the verb of the main clause a “resumptive” pronoun, usually *ava-*, is commonly used:

paraitā kāram hamiçiyam haya manā naiy gaubataiy avam jatā “Go forth! Crush that rebellious army, which does not call itself mine!” (DB 2.83-84)

Dārayavaum haya manā pitā avam xšāyaθiyam akunauš “Darius, who (was) my father, him he made king.” (XPf 22-24)

The resumptive pronoun is only rarely absent:

martiyā tayai-šaiy fratamā anušiya āhatā avāja “He killed the men who were his foremost followers.” (DB 3.74-75) — Perhaps for: **avā avāja?*

Such relative clauses frequently seem to function as “specifying” or “delimiting,” approximately: “that is, namely, the ... one”:²³

kāra Pārsa utā Māda haya upa mām āha hauv kamnam āha “The Persian and Median army I had at my disposal was insufficient.” (DB 2.18-29)

and

īmam Pārsam kāram pādīy “Protect this Persian people!” (DPe 21-22)

vs.

²³ Kent (pp. 84-85) regards this use of the rel. pronoun as similar to that of a definite article, but such an analysis is better avoided.

avam k̄aram tayam Mādam *jatā haya manā naiy gaubataiy* “Crush that army, which (is) Median (= the Median one), which does not call itself mine!” (DB 2.18-29)

paraitā k̄aram hamīçiyam *haya manā naiy gaubataiy avam jatā* “Go forth! Crush that army, which (is) Median, which does not call itself mine!” (DB 2.83-84)

vs.

kāra haya manā avam k̄aram tayam hamīçiyam aja vasiy “My army crushed that *rebellious* army.” (DB 2.25-26)

Vištāspa manā pitā ... hauv [Parθavaiy] āha “My father, Hystaspes, he was in Parthia.” (DB 2.93-94)

vs.

Dārayavaum haya manā pitā avam xšāyaθiyam akunauš “He made Darius, who (was) my father, king.” (XPf 22-24)

Assimilation of the relative clause.

The case of relative pronoun and the predicate noun or adjective may be assimilated to the case of the antecedent:

kāra haya manā avam k̄aram tayam hamīçiyam aja vasiy “My army crushed that *rebellious* army.” (DB 2.25-26)

< ***k̄aram haya hamīçiya** < [*kāra haya hamīçiya*]_{acc.}

xšāyaθiya dahayūnām tayaišām parūnām “king of the many lands” (DPe 3-4)

< * *xšāyaθiya dahayūnām tayā* ***paruviya**(?)

Assimilation of the antecedent.

The “opposite” can also happen, namely that a noun as antecedent is assimilated to the case of the relative pronoun:

martiya haya draujana astiy avam ufraštam pārsā “A man who is a liar, punish him well!” (instead of **martiyam haya draujana astiy ufraštam pārsā*) (after DB 4.68-69)

as opposed to:

Dārayavaum haya manā pitā avam xšāyaθiyam akunauš “Darius, who (was) my father, him he (= Ahuramazdā) made king.” (XPf 22-24)

imā dahayāva tayā adam aqarbāyam ... adamšām patiyaxšayaiy “these countries which I seized—I ruled over them” (DNa 6)

In the last sentence it is also possible to analyze the antecedent as a so-called *nominativus pendens* or “dangling nominative,” that is a nominative that is unaffected by the syntax of the sentence.

Antecedent inside the relative clause.

Sometimes the antecedent is, seemingly, “transposed” into the relative clause and assumes the case of the relative pronoun. In Old Persian this construction occurs frequently with the “specifying” relative clause. The phenomenon is known from other Indo-European languages, as well.

hacā paruviyata hayā amāxam taumā xšāyaθiyā āha “From old *our* family were kings.” (DB 1.8)

< ***taumā hayā amāxam** *xšāyaθiyā āha* (instead of simply **amāxam taumā*)

imā dahayāva tayanā manā dātā apariyāya “These lands behaved according to *my* law.” (DB 1.20)

< **imā dahayāva dātā taya* (or: ***tayanā manā*** *apariyāya*)

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Young man, *this* is my desire. That which Darius, king of many kings, says, mark that well! Speak that which is true! Act (= behave) according to my law! Protect the weak one! May Ahuramazdā, who is the greatest of the gods, not strike you down!”

Skunxa, who was the greatest of Sakas, was seized and led before me.

TEXTS. THE OLD PERSIAN CALENDAR.

Not all the Old Persian month names are known from the inscriptions, but the missing ones are supplied by the Elamite transcriptions (the original OPers. forms of which are not all certain). The order of the months has been established on the basis of the Akkadian equivalents. In the following list the Old Persian names have been juxtaposed with the month names of the Cappadocian calendar, which is the earliest attested “Zoroastrian” calendar in the west:

Old Persian	Elamite	Cappadocian	Av./Middle/New Persian
1 Ādukanaiša: m. of sowing?	Hadukannaš	<Hrao>artana	Frawardīn, Farvardīn
2 Ōūravāhara: strong spring?	Turmar	Artēue<s>tē	Aša vahišta, Ardwhišt, Ordībehešt
3 Ōāigrači: m. of garlic?	Sākurriziš	Aroatata	Hauruuatāt, Hordād, Xordād
4 Garmapada: station of heat	Karmabataš	Teiri	Tištīriia, Tīr [Sirius, the Dog Star]
5 *Dārnabāji: harvest	Turnabaziš	Amartata	Aməṛətāt, Amurdād, Mordād
6 *Kārapaθiya	Karbašiyaš	Ksathriorē	Xšaθra vairīia, Šahrēwar, Šahrīvar
7 Bāgayādi: m. of worship of god	Bakeyatiš	Mithrē	Miθra, Mihr, Mehr
8 *Varkazana: ?	Markašanaš	Apomenapa	Aṗam Napāt, Ābān
9 Āčiyādiya: m. of worship of fire	Hašiyatiš	Athra	Ātar, Ādur, Ādar
10 Ānāmaka: m. ?	Hanamakaš	Dathusa	Daθuš, Day, Dey [the creator]
11 ?	Samiyamaš	Osmana	< Āsmān [the sky]
12 Viyaxana: m. of cleaning the canals	Miyakannaš	Sondara<mat>	Spandārmad, Esfand[ārmod]

VOCABULARY 12

Aršāda-: place name

ati-ay- < √ay: to *pass (near) by²⁴

Āčiyādiya-: month name (Nov.-Dec.)

Ānāmaka-: month name (the month in which God's name should be mentioned in prayers?)

Gaubaruva-: Gobryas, proper name

haḡmata- pp. < ham-gam-: come together

ni-pišta- < √paiθ: written

ni-štāya- < √stā: to set down, to lay down

taya: so that

Ōāigrači-: month name

xraθu- (xratu-): reason, understanding

Vivāna-: proper name

²⁴ Thus the Akkadian.

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LESSON 13

PHONOLOGY. CONSONANT ALTERNATIONS I.

There are three principal kinds of consonant alternations in Old Persian: I. those due to historical development; II. those due to analogy; and III. those due to the existence of Median beside Old Persian forms. Here types I and II will be discussed. Type III is discussed in the next chapter.

Historical developments.

I. The consonant alternations due to historical development are of varying age: 1. some were already present in Indo-Iranian, 2. some developed in Proto-Iranian, and 3. some in Old Persian only.

Proto-Indo-Iranian alternations:

I.1. To type 1 belong the following alternations:

$k \sim c$: The alternation seen in forms of $\sqrt{\text{kar}}$ “to do”: ppp. *karta-*, but infinitive *cartanaiy*, was caused by a difference in the vowels following the k in early Indo-Iranian. Thus, $c < k$ before e , i , and y , while k remained before other vowels: *karta-* < $*k\bar{r}ta-$, but *cartanaiy* < $*kertenai$. The alternation in the interrogative pronouns $ka-$ ~ $ci-$ has the same origin, cf. Latin *quod* ~ *quid*.

θ or $s \sim \check{s}$ as in *ni-paiθ-* “to write,” ppp. *ni-pišta-*, and *parša-* “to ask, punish,” passive *fraθiya-*, and ppp. *u-frašta-*. Here OPers. θ is from IE. $*\check{k}$, which became \check{s} before t in Indo-Iranian. In *parša-* the s is from $*s\check{k}$ - with the present stem suffix $-s\check{k}$ - (as in Latin *poscō* < $pr[\check{k}]-s\check{k}-\bar{o}$), while the ppp. is from $*pre\check{k}-to-$.

Proto-Iranian alternations:

I.2. To type 2 belong the following alternations:

$d \sim s$, as in *pād-* “foot” ~ *pasti-* “foot soldier”; *bandaka-* “bondsmen” ~ *basta-* “bound” [similarly, in proto-Iranian, $t > st$, but there are no OPers. examples];

$p \sim f$, $t \sim \theta$, $k \sim x$. According to a Proto-Iranian rule the stops p , t , k became the spirants f , θ , x before r , i , u , or laryngeal (H), cf.

stop	spirant
<i>parša-</i>	<i>u-frašta-</i>
-	<i>paθi-</i> < $*patH-$
<i>tuvam</i> < $*tu-uam$	<i>θuvām</i> < $*tuām$
<i>xratum</i>	$*xra\thetauva^h$ gen.dat. (cf. below)
<i>karta-</i>	<i>ca-xr-iyā</i> (see lesson 16)

h or $s \sim \check{s}$ is the result of a type 1 alternation ($s \sim \check{s}$, the “ruki” rule) plus a type 2 alternation ($h \sim s$). According to the “ruki” rule Indo-Iranian s becomes \check{s} after r , u , k , or i , cf. *ava-stāya-* “to place,” but *ni-šāya-* “to lay down, order.” As Indo-Iranian s becomes h in Iranian except before p , t , k the “ruki” rule has the common form $h \sim \check{s}$ in Iranian, cf. *hadiš* “seat, palace,” but *ni-šādaya* “to set down”; loc. plur. *maškāhuvā* “on inflated hides,” but *Mādaišuvā* “among the Medes” and *dahayušuvā* “among the lands.”

Old Persian alternations:

I.3. To type 3 belong the following alternations:

Old Persian $\theta_i > \check{s}iy$, cf. OInd. *satya-*, Av. *haiθiia-*, OPers. *hašiya-*.

$d \sim (x)\check{s}$ with regular OPers. d from IE. $*\check{g}$ alternates with $(x)\check{s}$ before n , cf. *Bardiya-*, literally “the tall one”(?), vs. *baršnā* “in depth”; *dānā-* “to know (sth.)” (Germ. *wissen*, French *savoir*) vs. *xšnāsa-* “to know (sb.)” (Germ. *kennen*, French *connaître*).

The corresponding “Median” alternation is $z \sim \check{s}$, with “Median” z from IE. $*\check{g}$, cf. *vazarka-* ~ *vašnā*.

The alternation *tar* ~ \check{c} in the *tar*-stems has $\check{c} < *θr$, which is from $*tr$ according to type II. The only example is *piča* < $*piθrah$, cf. *pitā* and *framātāram*.

Analogy.

II. Alternations due to analogy.

The alternation *t* ~ *θ* seen in some *u*-stems and elsewhere is due to analogical leveling within paradigms and patterns of word formation. Examples are *u*-stem forms *gāθum*, *gāθavā* and *xraθum* vs. *xratu[m]* (XPI) and *fratarā* (Darius) vs. *fraθarā* (Darius and XPI).

The origin of the forms with *θ* in the *u*-stems is clear. The two forms were originally in complementary distribution: *tu* before consonant and *θv* before vowels, cf. Av. *ratusš* “master” ~ (gen.) *raθβō* and *xratuš* ~ (inst.) *xraθβa*.

The suffix *-θara* may be compared with the Old Indic superlative suffix *-thama*, which would correspond to Iranian **-θama* (not attested), which in turn might influence *-tara* > *-θara*.

In Middle Persian both forms with *t* and *θ* are reflected: *xrad* < *xratu-*, *gāh* < *gāθu-*, *fradar* < *fratarā-*, *pahlom* < **paraθama-* or **uparaθama-*.

PRONOUNS. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

Old Persian has a two-way deixis in the demonstrative pronouns, that is, it opposes *iyam/ima-* (*aita-*) “this” and *hauv/ava-* “that,” something close to the speaker and something far from the speaker. The paradigms are suppletive, that is, they incorporate forms from a variety of stems. The far-deictic demonstrative is also used as third-person personal pronoun.

The near-deictic pronouns *ima-* and *aita-*.

Of the pronoun *aita-* “this” only the nom.-acc. neut. sing. *aita* and the nom.-acc. fem. plur. *aitā* are found. The forms of *ima-* are:

	masc.	fem.	neut.
Sing.			
nom.	<i>iyam</i>	<i>iyam</i>	<i>ima</i>
acc.	<i>imam</i>	<i>imām</i>	<i>ima</i>
instr.-abl.	<i>anā</i>		
gen.-dat.		<i>ahayāyā^h</i>	
loc.		<i>ahayāyā</i>	
Plur.			
nom.-acc.	<i>imaiy</i>	<i>imā</i>	
instr.-abl.			<i>imaibiš</i>
gen.-dat.	<i>imaišām</i>		

PRONOUNS. INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

Interrogative and indefinite pronouns are barely represented in Old Persian. The only forms attested are *kašciy* and *cišciy* found in the following passage:

naiy āha martiya naiy Pārsa naiy Māda naiy amāxam taumāyā kašciy haya ... kašciy naiy adaršnauš cišciy θastanaiy “There was no man, either Persian or Median, or anybody of our family, who ... Nobody dared say anything.” (DB 1.48-49, 53)

VERBS. NON-FINITE FORMS.

The non-finite forms of the Indo-Iranian verb comprise the infinitives, the participles, the gerunds (absolutives), and the gerundives. Of these only infinitives and participles are found in Old Persian.

Infinitives.

The infinitive is formed with the ending *-tanaiy* attached to the full grade of the root. The original (Indo-Iranian) vowel of the root was *e*, as can be seen from *cartanaiy* < $\sqrt{\text{kar}}$, in which the palatalization of the initial *k-* was caused by the following *e*. Five infinitives are attested, *kaⁿtanaiy*, *cartanaiy*, *bartanaiy*,

nipaištanaiy, θaⁿstanaiy.

Present participles.

Present participles are active or middle. The active present participles are *nt*-stems. The middle present participles end in *-amna-*. The forms attested are:

Active	Middle
<i>tunuvaⁿt-</i>	<i>xšāyamna-, jiyamna</i>

The gen.-dat. of *tunuvaⁿt-* is thematic *tunuvaⁿtahayā*.

Past participles.

The endings of the past participle are *-ta-*, rarely *-ata-*, most often but not always attached to the stem in its reduced form. Not many forms are attested, and each form has to be learned separately:

Stem	Present stem	Past participle
<i>kar/car</i>	<i>kunau-</i>	<i>kār-ta-</i>
<i>paiθ</i>	<i>ni-paiθa- (ni-piⁿθa-)</i>	<i>ni-piš-ta-</i>

The meaning of this participle is active with intransitive verbs but passive with transitive verbs (as in English). Examples:

Intransitive	Passive
<i>parai-ta-, mār-ta-</i>	<i>kār-ta-, pā-ta-, etc.</i>
<i>haⁿgm-ata-, θak-ata-</i>	

Note that the verb *šiyava-* has no past participle in the inscriptions. Instead *paraita-* is used.

SYNTAX. THE NEAR-DEICTIC PRONOUN *IMA-*.

The near-deictic pronoun *ima-* refers to what is near to the speaker in time and space, contrasting with *hauv*. Specifically it refers to what is on earth, as opposed to in heaven.

Examples:

baga vazarka Auramazdā haya imām būmim adā haya avam asmānam adā “Ahuramazdā (is) the great god, who put in its place this earth, who put in its place that heaven.” (DE 1-4)

Dārayavaum haya manā pitā avam xšāyaθiyam akunauš ahayāyā būmiyā “Darius, who (was) my father, him he (= Ahuramazdā) made king of this earth.” (XPf 23-25)

baga vazarka Auramazdā haya adadā ima frašam taya vainataiy “Ahuramazdā (is) the great god, who put in its place this wonderful (work) that is seen.” (DNb 1-2)

mām Auramazdā pātuv hacā gastā utāmai viθam utā imām dahayāum “May Ahuramazdā protect me from evil, as well as my house and this land.” (DNa 51-53)

tayām imaišām martiyānām taumām [ubar]tām paribarā “Treat well the family of these men!” (DB 4.87-88)

ava ahayāyā dipiyā naiy nipištam “That is not written in this inscription.” (DB 4.47-52)

SYNTAX. THE NEAR-DEICTIC PRONOUN *AITA-*.

This pronoun refers to the matter at hand and often to what has just been said.

aita xšačam taya Gaumāta haya maguš adīnā Kabūjijam **aita** xšačam hacā paruviyata amāxam taumāyā āha “This empire which Gaumāta the magian had robbed Cambyses of (as just told), this empire belonged to our family from old.” (DB 1.43-48)

aitamaiy aruvastam upariy manašcā ušicā “This (just described) is my ability in both mind and intelligence.” (DNb 31-32)

θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya manā Auramazdā upastām baratuv ... utā imām dahayāum Auramazdā pātuv ... **aita** adam yānam jadiyāmiy Auramazdām ... **aitamaiy** yānam Auramazdā dadātuv “King Darius announces: ‘Let Ahuramazdā bring me help! ... And let Ahuramazdā protect this land! ... This (is) the favor I ask Ahuramazdā for. Let Ahuramazdā grant me this favor!’” (DPd 12-16, 20-24)

utā atar **aitā** dahayāva āha yadātaya paruvam daivā ayadiya “And among these lands (just enumerated), there was (one) where formerly bad gods had been worshipped.” (XPh 35-36)

SYNTAX. INFINITIVE.

The infinitive is used after words meaning “be able, dare, order.”

adam ni[ya]štāyam imām [yauviyā]m **katanaiy** “I gave order to dig this canal.” (DZc 8-9)

[i]mā uvnarā tayā Auramazdā [upa]r[iy mā]m niyasaya utādiš atāvayam **barta[nai]y** “These (are) talents that Ahuramazdā bestowed upon me. And I was able to bear them.” (DNb 45-47)

kašciy naiy adaršnauš cišciy **θastanaiy** pariy Gaumātam tayam magum “Nobody dared say anything about Gaumāta the magian.” (DB 1.53-54)

iyam patikara aθaⁿgaina tayam Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya niyaštāya **cartanaiy** Mudrāyaiy “This stone image that King Darius gave order to make in Egypt.” (DSab 1-2)

utā ima stānam hauv niyaštāya **katanaiy** ... pasāva adam niyaštāyam imām dipim **nipaištanaiy** “And he gave order to dig this *niche... Then I gave order to write this inscription.” (XV 20-25)

Note that in English one might also translate these sentences using a passive infinitive: “gave order for a canal to be dug, for an inscription to be written.”

SYNTAX. PARTICIPLES.

Participles are the adjectival forms of the verb and can be used in the same way as adjectives and nouns.

Present participles.

The active present participle *tunuvaⁿt-* is used as an adjective meaning “mighty, powerful”:

na[i-mā] kāma taya skauθiš **tunuvaⁿtahyā** rādiy miθa qarīyaiš nai-mā ava kāma taya **t[u]nuvā** skauθaiš rādiy miθa qarīyaiš “It is not my desire that a weak (man) should be wronged by a mighty (one), nor is it my desire that a mighty (man) should be wronged by a weak (one).” (DNb 8-11)

The middle participle *xšayamna-* is found once in a periphrastic construction with *ah-* meaning “be in command (of), in control (of)”:

manahā uvaipašiyahayā darša[m] **xšayamna** a[m]iy “By (my) mind I am strongly in control of myself.” (DNb 14-15)

The middle participle *jiyamna-* is used in the neuter in a date expression signifying “the last day of”:

Θūravāharahayā māhāyā **jiyamnam** patiy “on the last day of the month Thuravahara” (DB 2.62)

TEXTS. DARIUS'S HELPERS.

DB 4.80-86

*θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya imaiy martiyā tayaiy adakaiy avadā [ā]hatā yātā adam Gaumātam tayam
magum avājanam haya Bardiya agaubatā
adakaiy imaiy martiyā hamataxšatā anušiya manā
Vindafarnā nāma Vahāyasp[ara]hāyā puça Pārsa
[U]tā[na n]āma Θuxrahāyā puça Pārsa
[Gaubar]uva nāma Marduniyahāyā [puça P]ārsa
[Vi]darna nāma Bag[ā]bignahāyā puça Pārsa
Ba[ga]buxša nāma Dāt[u]vahāyahāyā puça Pārsa
Ar[duma]n[iš nāma] Vahau[kahā]y[ā p]uça Pārsa*

According to Darius, nobody else of the family but himself was able to challenge Gaumāta, and those who had known the real Bardiya dared say nothing for fear that they might be killed for revealing the truth. Darius decided to take matters into his own hands, and with the help of six friends killed Gaumāta in September of 522. His helpers are listed both in DB and by Herodotus:

Vindafarnah “finder of good fortune”	Intaphernes
Utāna	Otanes
Gaubaruva “*beef-eater”	Gobryas
Vidarna “*the ripper”	Hydarnes
Bagabuxša “God save!”	Megabyxus
Ardumaniš	Aspathines(!)

As we see, Darius and Herodotus agree on all but the last name. Much has been written about the discrepancy, but no good explanation has been given of Herodotus’s last name.

VOCABULARY 13

agriya-: loyal	jiyamna-: last day of the month
aḥaya-* < √ah: to throw	ka ⁿ tanay < √kan: to dig (inf.)
Ānāmaka-: month name	kašciy: anybody
arštā-: rectitude, righteousness	*nāva ^h (only restored): ships
aθaiya: *at first	Nisāya-: place name
danau-*: to flow	partana- neut.: fight, conflict
daršnau- < √darš: to dare	stāna-: *niche
dipi- fem.: inscription	upa-ay- < √ay: to come close to
duvara-: (palace) gate, court	vā: or
gasta-: evil	xraθu- = xratu-
^h u-ḅartam pari-bara-: keep in great honor	xšaya- < √xšā mid.: to rule, control (+ gen.-dat.)
^h ufrastam ^h ufraštam pařsa-: punish well	yauviyā-: canal
^h u-θa ⁿ du-: satisfied, happy	zūra ^h kara-: a doer of crooked deeds, crook, wrong-doer