

Martin L. West  
Old Avestan Syntax and Stylistics

Abhandlungen  
der Akademie der Wissenschaften  
zu Göttingen

Neue Folge, Band 13



De Gruyter

Martin L. West

# Old Avestan Syntax and Stylistics

With an edition of the texts

De Gruyter



Vorgelegt von Martin West in der Sitzung vom 29. April 2011

ISBN 978-3-11-025308-5  
e-ISBN 978-3-11-025309-2  
ISSN 0930-4304

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data:*

West, Martin L.  
Old Avestan Syntax and Stylistics / Martin L. West.  
p. cm. -- (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften  
zu Göttingen; n. F., Bd. 13)  
ISBN 978-3-11-025308-5  
1. Avestan language--Syntax. I. Title.  
PK6103.W47 2011  
491'.525--dc23

2011021417

*Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek*  
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation  
in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten  
sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

© 2011 Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, Berlin/Boston

Druck: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen  
∞ Gedruckt auf säurefreiem Papier

Printed in Germany

[www.degruyter.com](http://www.degruyter.com)

## Preface

There is no full and comprehensive modern study of Avestan syntax. The description in C. de Harlez's *Manuel de la langue de l'Avesta* (2nd ed., Paris 1882), 112–35, was no more than a rough sketch, and the examples given are almost all from Younger Avestan. Spiegel (1882) and Reichelt (1909) gave more useful accounts, but they again did not distinguish systematically between Old and Younger Avestan, and so far as the *Gāthās* are concerned they were hampered by the fact that comprehension of the texts was more limited in their time than it is now—not that all the obscurities have now been overcome, of course, but morphological analysis has made great advances and much is better understood. A. V. Williams Jackson announced in the preface to his *Avesta Grammar* (1891) that ‘the second volume (Part II), a sketch of the Syntax, with a chapter also on Metre, is already half in print, and is shortly to appear’, but it never did. Berthold Delbrück cited Avestan sporadically in the three volumes of his great *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen* (1893–1900), but he was not able to draw on any ample collections of material as he could for Vedic, and he felt that the basic work was still to be done. Christian Bartholomae did not include a chapter on syntax in his account of Avestan and Old Persian in the *Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie* I. 1 (Strassburg 1895–1901), 152–248. The slight work by Maria Wilkins Smith, *Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas of Zarathushtra* (1929), disappoints expectations aroused by its title. In the past fifty years much important work has been done on Avestan phonology and morphology, but comparatively little on syntax. R. S. P. Beekes has nothing to say of it in his *Grammar of Gatha-Avestan* (1988). Jean Kellens and Éric Pirart offer extensive compilations of material on certain particular topics in the second volume of *Les textes vieil-avestiques*, but its value is limited by their idiosyncratic interpretations of many passages. The syntax chapter in the *Introducción al Avestico* by Javier Martínez and Michiel de Vaan (Madrid 2000) is too brief to be useful to any but beginners. Recently P. O. Skjærvø (2009) has published a 150-page survey of the Old Iranian languages (Old and Young Avestan, Old Persian) of which a little over half is devoted to syntax and stylistics: it is good as far as it goes, but only one or two Old Avestan examples are given under each heading.

Old Avestan lends itself to a separate study. The text corpus is clearly delimited, and it is small enough to allow comprehensive treatment, yet large enough to provide adequate documentation of most phenomena. The fact that it comes from a single region and a narrow timespan (probably not more than a single generation), with perhaps only three authors represented, favours sharpness of focus. The fact that it contains only composition of a stylized cha-

racter is a limitation; on the other hand, there is both verse and prose, giving us two different varieties of stylization.

The present monograph is a by-product of my recent translation of the Old Avestan texts (*The Hymns of Zoroaster*, London 2010). It aims at a thorough and systematic treatment of syntax, word order, and stylistic features in these texts. It is a strictly synchronic account, taking no notice of Younger Avestan. I am well aware that most of what I describe is paralleled in and could be amply illustrated from Vedic, but I abstain almost entirely from making the comparisons. I am not concerned to reconstruct proto-Indo-Iranian or proto-Indo-European syntax, though I expect my work will be of some interest to those who are.

All references to texts are to the *Yasna*; those from the *Yasna Haptaṅhāiti* are distinguished by the abbreviation *YH*. I provide translations of all passages quoted except in a very few places where it is unnecessary for my purpose. The translations are based on my own understanding of the texts: some will disagree with them in some cases, but I expect not to the extent of discrediting the principles being proposed and illustrated. For convenience of reference I have attached as an appendix an edition of the texts, punctuated and where necessary emended as I see fit, with a critical apparatus.

I wish to express my great gratitude to Dr Almut Hintze (London) and Dr Philomen Probert (Oxford) for reading the manuscript and providing valuable criticism and guidance; it has benefited from their comments in many places. I am likewise grateful to the Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen for accepting the work for publication in its series of *Abhandlungen*.

M. L. West  
January 2011

# Contents

Preface .....	v
Abbreviations .....	xi
I. The Structure of Discourse .....	1
Sentence and Clause in Old Avestan .....	2
Verbal and Nominal Predication .....	3
Interrogative sentences .....	4
Negation .....	5
II. Morphosyntax .....	9
Concord .....	9
Apposition .....	10
Nouns and Adjectives .....	11
Abstracta .....	12
Verbal Nouns (nomina agentis, actionis) .....	13
Nominal Composition as Syntax .....	14
Degrees of Comparison .....	15
Gender .....	16
Number .....	17
Singular .....	17
Dual .....	17
Plural .....	18
The Cases .....	18
Nominative .....	19
Accusative .....	20
Instrumental .....	24
Dative .....	29
Ablative .....	33
Genitive .....	36
Locative .....	40
Vocative .....	43
Pronouns .....	44
Personal pronouns and adjectives .....	44

Demonstrative pronouns .....	46
Demonstrative adverbs of manner, time, and place .....	49
Relative pronouns .....	50
Relative adverbs/conjunctions .....	50
Interrogative pronouns .....	51
Interrogative adverbs .....	52
Indefinite pronouns .....	52
Verbs .....	53
Person and Number .....	53
Voice .....	54
Aspect .....	55
The present: aorist opposition .....	56
The perfect .....	58
Tense and Modality .....	59
Present time .....	59
Future time .....	61
Past time .....	63
Mythical time .....	64
Potentiality .....	65
Prayers, wishes, aspirations .....	66
Requests, injunctions, prohibitions .....	67
Infinitives .....	68
Participles and Verbal Adjectives .....	72
Verbal adjectives in <i>-ta-</i> .....	75
Gerundives in <i>-iia-</i> .....	75
Verbal Modifiers (Preverbs) .....	76
Dependent Clauses .....	77
Relative clauses .....	77
Restrictive (defining) .....	77
Appositive (non-defining) .....	79
Features common to both restrictive and appositive clauses ....	80
The relative pronoun as quasi-article .....	82
Temporal clauses .....	83
Causal clauses .....	85
Comparative clauses .....	86
Final and consecutive clauses .....	86
Conditional clauses .....	87
Object clauses .....	88
Indirect statements and questions .....	89
Recapitulation: Uses of the Moods .....	90
Indicative and injunctive .....	90
Subjunctive .....	91
Optative .....	91
Imperative .....	92



Quotation of Direct Speech .....	92
Particles .....	93
Sentence particles .....	94
Relational particles .....	97
Focusing particles .....	99
III. Word Order .....	105
The Placing of Emphatic Elements .....	106
Initial position .....	106
Final position .....	108
Distribution of emphasis by distraction .....	108
The Placing of Unemphatic Elements .....	110
Enclitics .....	110
Unemphatic elements in initial position .....	111
Commatization .....	112
Order of Words within Cola .....	113
The contextual force field .....	113
Relative bulk .....	115
Subject, verb, object .....	116
Further remarks on verb placement .....	117
Subject and predicate in nominal sentences .....	120
Secondary (predicative) accusative .....	120
Datives .....	120
Attributive adjective .....	121
Dependent genitive .....	123
Other adnominals .....	123
Vocatives .....	124
Extension .....	126
Interlacing .....	128
IV. Stylistics .....	131
Economy of Expression .....	132
Pleonasm .....	134
Understatement (Litotes) .....	134
Rhetorical Questions .....	135
Parenthesis .....	135
Figures .....	137
Conjunction of contrary terms .....	137
Conjunction of related terms .....	138
Anaphora .....	139
Augmented triads .....	142

Appendix The Old Avestan Texts .....	143
A. The Verse Texts .....	143
B. The Yasna Haptaṅhāiti .....	172
 Bibliography .....	 177
 Indexes .....	 179
I. Avestan words .....	179
II. Passages .....	180
III. Topics .....	181

## Abbreviations

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
al.	and other passages
aor.	aorist
dat.	dative
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
<i>HS</i>	<i>Historische Sprachforschung</i>
<i>IF</i>	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
<i>IJ</i>	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
ind.	indicative
inj.	injunctive
instr.	instrumental
intrans.	intransitive
lit.	literally
loc.	locative
masc.	masculine
<i>MSS</i>	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i>
neut.	neuter
nom.	nominative
opt.	optative
pl.	plural
pres.	present
RV	Rigveda
sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
var.	variant reading(s)
voc.	vocative
Y.	Yasna
<i>YH</i>	<i>Yasna Haptaṅhāiti</i>
Yt.	Yašt
<i>ZVS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung</i>



## I. The Structure of Discourse

1. Syntax is the grammatical regimen that informs meaningful discourse. It is concerned with the relationship between the forms and functions of words in context (morphosyntax) and with the principles that shape their arrangement in sequence (word order).

Extended discourse is divisible into a sequence of grammatically autonomous units, which for want of a clearer term will here be called *sentences*. They are those units which can be marked off in writing by full stops, corresponding to breaks in syntactical continuity between successive units.

2. A sentence may consist of a single word or of many. Each word has a grammatically definable form appropriate to its function in the utterance. The sentence as a whole is an organic structure, in principle internally coherent, though in practice the coherence may break down if the speaker or writer switches from one construction to another, having forgotten how the first one started out, or having found it inconvenient to continue with it; such a switch is termed *anacolouthon*.

Being a grammatical and not a logical unit, the sentence does not necessarily give explicit expression to a self-sufficient piece of meaning. The sense intended may be apparent only when two or more sentences are taken together, or when the words are mentally supplemented from the context or from an understanding, shared between author and recipient, of the conceptual framework, factual background, or immediate situation to which the utterance has reference.

3. In nearly all sentences a grammatical subject and predicate can be identified, whether or not they are explicitly expressed.<sup>1</sup> In an inflected language both are often expressed in a single word, as in Latin *dixi* 'I have spoken'.

The grammatical 'subject' is not necessarily the main topic or referent upon which attention is being directed (cf. §315). Its status is purely syntactical: in a verbal sentence it determines the choice of the verb (and in inflected

---

1 Often one or the other is understood from the context. Sentences not so analysable would include: (1) imperatives such as 'come here', 'shut up'; (2) vocatives and other exclamations, e.g. 'Veronica!' or 'Hell!'; (3) utterances such as 'yes' and 'no', which are tokens standing for the subject-predicate sentences 'it is so', 'it is not so', 'I refuse', etc.; (4) subjectless verbs such as Latin *pluit* 'it is raining'. On these last see Delbrück iii. 23-37; Brugmann (1925), 17-41.

languages its marking for person, number, and voice); in a nominal sentence (§8) it is the prior element in the equation.

‘Predicate’ refers to the use made of the subject. The term suggests a statement about it, but it may equally be a surmise, a question, or a wish concerning it.

4. The subject–predicate synthesis, whether explicit or implicit, is the essential nucleus of most sentences. When explicit, its expression may require several words, depending on how unitary the subject and predicate are and on the linguistic resources available for their formulation. The subject may be non-unitary, for example, because it consists of two or three named persons, ‘A and B and C’. The predicate may be non-unitary because it makes a connection among several distinct entities, as in ‘(Diomedes) sent the horses of Aeneas to the Achaean camp by means of his servant’.

5. The subject–predicate nucleus can be built upon in various ways, for example by adding further information about the subject, or about one or more of the persons or things present in the predicate, or about the manner in which an action is performed. These amplifications may be achieved with single words, with longer phrases, or with whole extra clauses that contain their own subject–predicate syntheses. When these are attached to the original nuclear clause in certain grammatically defined ways, we deny them the status of independent sentences and classify them as subordinate clauses.

A sentence is complete, not when a self-sufficient grammatical structure has been formed or a self-sufficient piece of sense expressed, but only when the author of the discourse stops adding to the structure he has built on the nucleus and starts a new construction on a different one.

## Sentence and Clause in Old Avestan

6. Sentences in Old Avestan, especially in the *Gāthās*, show great variation in their extension, from nuclear brevity to protracted utterances of considerable syntactic density. The shortest sentences are mostly answers to questions, where the question sets up the syntactic frame into which the answer fits: 43. 7–8 “*ciš ahī?*” ... “*Zaraduštrō*”, ‘who art thou?—Zarathushtra’; 43. 9 “*kahmāi vīuūduiīē vaši?*” ... “*ϑβahmāi āvrē*”, ‘whom dost thou wish to serve?—Thy fire’; 51. 22 *yehiā mōi ... vahištəm yesnē paiī, vaēdā: Mazdā Ahurō*, ‘I know in whose worship my best (interest lies): (it is) Mazdā the Lord’.

7. Occasionally one sentence is inserted parenthetically into another (§378). A main clause is often preceded or followed by one or more subordinate clauses; a subordinate clause may also be embedded inside a main clause, or further material may be appended to the main clause after a subordinate clause. A sub-

ordinate clause may sprout a further dependent clause of its own, and that one a third, so that there is a syntactic hierarchy, as in 43. 4,

*aṭ ʔβā mōnghāi taxmāmcā spəntəm, Mazdā,  
hiiat tā zastā, yā tū hafsi auuā  
yā dā ašiš drəguuāitē ašāmaēcā ...  
hiiat mōi vaṅhəuš hazē jimaṭ manəḡhō.*

I will think thee bold and bounteous, Mazdā,  
when by that hand, in which thou holdest those  
rewards which thou hast set for the wrongful one and the righteous ...  
the force of good thought comes to me.

By far the greatest number of subordinate clauses are relative clauses. Others can be classified as temporal, causal, comparative, final, conditional, and object clauses, though the classification is often open to interpretation, especially as the same subordinating conjunction *hiiat* is used in more than one function. No example of a concessive clause occurs.

Old Avestan also has other means of attaching secondary subject–predicate syntheses to the main clause, by using verb–derived forms (infinitive, participle, *nomen agentis*, *nomen actionis*) capable of fitting in to the construction as nouns while at the same time exercising verbal rection. In this way the sentence may develop an outgrowth analogous in function to a regular subordinate clause. The creation of nominal compounds containing verbal elements can achieve the same effect on a small scale.

## Verbal and Nominal Predication<sup>2</sup>

8. The finite forms of the verb serve to make (or contribute to) the predicate in a main or subordinate clause. But frequently the predicate is verbless, giving what is called a *nominal sentence*. The predicate in this case may be a noun or noun phrase, a pronoun, an adjective, or an adverb (cf. §133). Nominal syntax occurs both in main and in subordinate clauses. It is the normal way of saying ‘A is B’; the verb *ah-*, which may serve as a copula ‘be’, does not in fact occur in this function in the *Gāthās* in the 3rd sg. or pl. of the present indicative, and it can be omitted even in 1st- and 2nd-person statements.<sup>3</sup>

Examples of nominal main clauses: 28. 9 *yūžəm zəuuištiiāḡhō*; *īšō xšəṭrəmcā sauuaḡḡam*, ‘ye (are) the promptest ones; (your) powers and domain

2 Reichelt §715.

3 The primary meaning of *ah-* was not ‘be (the same as)’ but something like ‘be there, be available, be palpably present’; cf. Delbrück iii. 12–14. It retains this sense in passages such as 29. 5 *ā huuā*, 9 *aḡḡaṭ*; 31. 16 *aḡḡaṭ*; 43. 16 *xiiāṭ*; 50. 7 *xiiāṭā*. In YH 35. 6 *aḡḡā ... yaḡḡā īt asī* means ‘so, just as it (actually) is’ (as opposed to how it might be misrepresented); it is more than a simple copula. In 27. 14, *ašəm vohū vahištam asī, uštā asī*, it should perhaps be given a more emphatic translation than simply ‘is’.

(are) of strengths'; 29. 8 *aēm mōi idā vistō*, 'this man here I have found'; 31. 6 *Mazdāi auuaṭ xšaθrəm, hiiat* ..., 'that (is) dominion for Mazdā, what ...'; 31. 7 *huuō xraθβā dāmiš Ašəm*, 'he by his sapience (is) the creator of Right'; 31. 20 *diuuamnəm hōi aparəm xšaiiō*, 'radiance (is) his hereafter to possess'; 31. 22 *ciθrā ī hudāḡhē*, 'these things (are) clear for the well-doer'; 32. 16 *hamōm taṭ vahištā-cīt*, 'that (is) equal to the very best'; 48. 7 *aṭ hōi dāmaṃ θβahmī ā dāṃ, Ahurā*, 'his lodgings (are) in thy house, Lord'; 51. 10 *huuō dāmōiš drūjō humuš; tā duždā, yōi hənī*, 'he (is) a son of the creator of Wrong, and thus (is) a malefactor (of all) who exist'; 51. 16 *spəntō Mazdā Ahurō*, 'bounteous (is) Mazdā the Lord'.

Examples of nominal relative clauses:<sup>4</sup> 28. 2 *ahuuā, astuuatascā hiiatcā manāḡhō*, 'both existences, the material one and (the one) that (is) of thought'; 31. 5 *voḥū manāḡhā ... yehiiā mā θrəšiš*, 'with Good Thought, the one whose prophet (I am)'; 31. 7 *tā ... mainiiū uxšiiō, yē ā nūrəmcīt ... hāmō*, 'through that will ... thou dost increase, which even now (is) the same', or perhaps 'who (art) the same'; 31. 12 *yaθrā maēθā*, 'where (there is) uncertainty'; 31. 13 *yā frasā āuušiiā* 'the question that (is) overt'; 31. 21 *yē hōi mainiiū šiiəoθnāišcā uruuāθō*, '(to him) who (is) his ally in will and deeds'; 32. 16 *xšaiiṃ ... yehiiā mā aiθišcīt duuaēθā*, 'in control of (that) whose danger (is) a threat'; 33. 3 *yē ašāunē vahištō*, 'he who (is) best to the righteous one'; 33. 6 *yē zaotā ašā θrəzuš, huuō ... kaiiā*, 'I who (am) a straight minister in accord with Right, desire'; 33. 11 *yē səuuīštō Ahurō*, 'thou who (art) the strongest Lord'; 34. 13 *mīždəm, Mazdā, yehiiā tū daθrəm*, 'the reward, Mazdā, of which thou (art) the gift'; 44. 5 *kē yā ušā arəm.piθβā xšapācā*, 'who (is it) through whom (there are) morning, noon, eve?'

Nominal conditional clauses occur in three places: 31. 2 *yezī āiš nōiṭ uruuānē aduuā aibī.dəraštā vašiiā*, 'if through these (words) the better way (is) not in plain view to the soul'; 32. 6 *pourū aēnā ānāxštā yāiš srauuahiiēiṭ, yezī tāiš aθā*, 'the many offences against peace by which he seeks renown, if by them (he is doing) so'; 44. 6 *yā frauuxšiiā yezī tā aθā haiθiiā*, 'if the things I am about to say (are) true thus'.

## Interrogative sentences<sup>5</sup>

9. Most interrogative sentences are introduced by an interrogative pronoun or adverb such as *kē* or *ciš* 'who?', *kaṭ* 'what?', 'est-ce que ...?', *kadā* 'when?', *kaθā* 'how?', *kudā* or *kuθrā* or *kū* 'where?', 'whither?', *katāram* 'which of the two?' These always stand in initial position. See further §§136–9.

Interrogative sentences are not necessarily signalled in this way. In oral delivery they were no doubt distinguished by a particular intonation, but in the

4 Cf. Caland 17–28; Benveniste 215–21.

5 Reichelt §§722–4.



texts, in the absence of one of the above question-markers, we cannot identify them by any formal feature such as word order. In two passages they are indicated by accompanying references to questioning: 29. 5 *hiiat Mazdām duuaidī frasābiiō*: ‘*nōit arəžəjiōi frajiiāitiš, nōit fšuiieņtē drəguuasū pairi?*’ ‘as we set Mazdā to our questions: “Is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stock-raiser, among the wrongful?”’; 44. 10 *tať v̄βā pərəsā, əraš mōi vaocā, Ahurā: tať daēnať, ... ārmatōiš uxδāiš šīiaov̄nā əraš daidiiat?* ‘This I ask thee, tell me straight, Lord: that religion, ... do they with pious words and deed have a true conception of it?’

In other cases the interpretation of sentences as interrogative depends on the sense of the passage.

Examples of interrogative nominal sentences: 29. 2 *kađā tōi gauuōi ratuš, hiiat hīm dātā xšaiiaņtō?* ‘how (was) thy ruling for the cow, when ye powers put her here?’; 29. 5, see above; 29. 7 *kas.tē, vohū manajhā yā ...?* ‘whom hast thou, who by good thought ...?’; 29. 11 *kudā ašəm vohucā manō xšāvramcā?* ‘where (are) Right and Good Thought and Dominion?’; 34. 5 *kať vā xšāvram, kā ištīš?* ‘what (is) your power, what your ability?’, cf. 48. 8, 49. 12; 44. 3 *kas.nā zađā ptā Ašahiiā paouruiō? ... kā yā mā uxšiiieitī nərəfsaitī v̄βat?* ‘who (was) the father-begetter of Right in the beginning? ... Who (is it), through whom the moon waxes or wanes?’

## Negation

**10.** The regular particle of negation in the *Gāthās* is *nōit*. In *YH* we find only *naē* (once): 35. 2 *naē naēstārō yađənā vohunam mahī*, ‘we are not revilers of what is good’.<sup>6</sup> In the *Gāthās* this appears only in *naē.ciš*, *naē.cit*, ‘no one’, ‘nothing’.

In prohibitions the negative is *mā* (§192). In wishes and advice expressed in the optative, however, it is *nōit* (§§188–9).

**11.** Adjectives and nouns may be negated with the prefix *a-/an-*. These negative forms are often juxtaposed with the corresponding positive ones for rhetorical effect; see §§381–4. In at least some such cases the negative form appears to be newly coined *ad hoc*. Thus in 31. 10 the *a-* prefix is used to create a nonce antithesis between herdsman (*vāstriiō*) and non-herdsman (*auuāstriiō*); it corresponds to *vāstriiāt vā ... yā vā nōit aňhať vāstriiō* in the preceding stanza, ‘the herdsman or he who is not a herdsman’.

The same form of negation is used with participles, as 28. 3 *ayžaon-uuamnəm* ‘unimpaired’; 31. 12 and 17 *əuuīduuā* ‘unknowing’; 31. 15 *adrujiiāņtō* ‘innocent’; *YH* 35. 4 *asrunuuatascā ... axšaiiaņtascā* ‘not hearing, not having

6 See Narten 91 f.

authority'.<sup>7</sup> And with *nomina actionis* in *-ti-*: 30. 11 *ānaitī* 'through failure'; 34. 9 *auuisī* 'through non-acquisition'.

12. *nōit* may negate a whole sentence or clause, or a single word within it. When it negates a single word, that word generally contains a verbal element, as in 29. 3 *ahmāi Aṣā, nōit sarōjā ... paitī.mrauuat*, 'to him Right, not a union-breacher, will answer'; 49. 4 *yaēšam nōit huuarštāiš vaš dužuuarštā*, 'through whose not doing-good-deeds the ill deeds prevail'; apparently 46. 6 *yas.tēm nōit nā isəmnō ā (i)yāt*, 'the man who comes to him unwanted', though if this is the correct analysis it is an exception to the principle that participles are negated by *a-*.

In a nominal sentence *nōit* may be equivalent to 'there is not': 29. 1 *nōit mōi vāstā xšmat aniiō*, 'I have no pastor other than you'; 29. 3 *auuaēšam nōit vīduiē*, 'of those things (there is) no knowing'; 29. 6 *nōit aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš ašātēt hacā*, 'indeed no patron has been found, nor a ruling in line with Right'. Similarly in a question: 29. 5, quoted in §9.

*nōit* is several times used in contrastive expressions of the type 'A, not B'; see §383. 'Not A ... nor B' is *nōit ... naēdā ...*, as in 29. 6 just quoted; 46. 1, where A and B are again nouns; 49. 2, where they are verbal clauses.

13. If it is a whole main clause that is negated, the negative particle regularly stands in initial position, unless preceded by a demonstrative adjective or pronoun (with any subjoined enclitic), as in 28. 9 *anāiš vā nōit ... yānāiš zaranaēmā*, 'with these prayers may we not anger you'; 29. 3 *auuaēšam nōit vīduiē*, 'of those things there is no knowing'; 30. 6 *aiiā nōit ərəš višūitā daēuuācinā*, 'between those two even the Daevas do not rightly discriminate'. In 32. 7 the demonstrative is accompanied by its noun: *aēšam aēnaḥam naēcēt vīduuā aojōi*, 'of those offences I declare that I know nothing'.

The same rule applies to subordinate clauses, where the negative normally follows the relative pronoun or other connective: 31.15 *yā nōit jiiōtūm hanarā vīnastī vāstriehiiā aēnaḥō*, 'who cannot find a livelihood without wronging the herdsman'; 31. 5; 34. 8; after relative + enclitic, 51. 6 *yā hōi nōit vīdāitī*, 'who will not serve him'. In 44. 13 the relative pronoun has an adjectival phrase appended to it before the negative: *yōi asruštōiš pəranāḥō nōit Ašahiiā ādūuuieinī hacānā*, 'who, being full of non-compliance, do not strive for the companionship of Right'. Demonstrative intervening before the negative: 31. 2, quoted in §8; demonstrative + enclitic, 45. 3 *yōi im vā nōit iḍā maḍrəm varāšəntī*, 'those of you who do not so act on this prescript'.

In one passage the *nōit* is further delayed: 44. 19 *yas.taṭ mīzdəm hanəntē nōit dāitī*, 'he who does not give that reward to one earning it'. Here the demonstrative *taṭ* brings its noun with it (as in 32. 7 above), but then *hanəntē nōit dāitī* is preferred to *nōit hanəntē dāitī* to avoid the suggestion of 'gives to one not earning it'. It should not be supposed that the negative is attracted to the verb; in a

7 Cf. Delbrück ii. 529–31.

number of places we find initial *nōi* combined with a verb in penultimate or final position. Penultimate: 43. 15; 49. 2, 9. Final: 31. 10; 45. 1 (end of verse), 2; 46. 8; similarly with *naē* in *YH* 35. 2.



## II. Morphosyntax

### Concord<sup>1</sup>

14. In general the usual Indo-European rules of grammatical concord apply: adjectives and pronouns agree in number, gender, and case with the nouns to which they refer; verbs agree in number with the subject.

15. Neuter plural subjects take a singular verb, reflecting the original nature of the neuter plural as a collective: 29. 4 *sax<sup>v</sup>ārā ... yā zī vāuuarəzōi pairī ciṭīṭ ... yācā varāšaitē aipī ciṭīṭ*, ‘initiatives ... those that have been taken in the past and those that may be taken hereafter’; 31. 14 *tā ūβā pərəsā, ... yā zī ā <aē>itī jānghaticā*, ‘I ask thee about those things that are approaching and will come’; 32. 7 *aēšqam aēnaḥqam ... yā jōiā sānghaitē*, ‘of those offences which are decreed to be matters of life’; 49. 4 *yaēšqam nōiṭ huuarštāiš vaš dužuuarštā*, ‘through whose not doing-good-deeds the ill deeds prevail’; 50. 10 *yācā vohū cašmqam arajat manahā*, ‘and those things that have a claim on the eyes in accord with good thought’.

16. A singular verb may also be found where two or more non-neuter subjects are conceived as a unitary group:<sup>2</sup> 29. 1 *ā mā aēšomō hazascā ramō hišāiā dərəš tauuišcā*, ‘fury and force, cruelty, violence, and aggression hold me bound’; 44. 20 *yāiš qam Karapā Usixšcā aēšmāi dātā*, ‘with whom the Karpan and the Usij put the cow to violence’. So in 32. 15 we have *anāiš ā vī.nānāsā yā Karəpōtāscā Kəuuitāscā*, ‘by these activities the Karpanhood and the Kavihood have lost their way’; but in the succeeding sentence they are referred to with a plural verb (as they stand for a multiplicity of priests), and then with a dual pronoun: *auuāiš aibī yəṅg daintī, ... tōi ābiā bairiāntē*, ‘those whom they implicate in them will be borne away from them both.’

17. In 31. 4 we find the so-called *schema Alcmanicum*, by which a singular subject is followed by a plural verb in anticipation of the addition of a further subject: *yadā Ašəm zəuūim aḥhən Mazdāscā Ahurāḥhō*, ‘when Right is (lit. are) to be invoked, and Mazdā and the Lords’.<sup>3</sup>

---

1 Cf. Delbrück iii. 229–54; Brugmann (1925), 148–86; Reichelt §§602–8.

2 Cf. Delbrück iii. 237–40.

3 Cf. RV 1. 32. 13; Schwyzer–Debrunner 612.

**18.** There may be imperfect concord between a subject and something with which it is equated, as in 32. 3 *aṭ yūš daēuuā vīspāṅhō Akāt Manayhō stā ciḍram*, ‘but you Daevas are all spawn from Evil Thought’; 32. 10 *yā acištem vaēnājhē aogadā gam ašibiiā huuarēcā*, ‘who declares that the worst thing (neut.) to behold with the eyes is the cow (fem.) and the sun (neut.)’; 33. 13 *yā vā ā bifrā, ... yā vaṅhēuš ašiš manayhō*, ‘those virtues(?) of yours, which (neut. pl.) are the reward (fem. sg.) of good thought’; 43. 1 *tat mōi dā ... rāiiō ašiš*, ‘give me that (neut. sg.) as the rewards (fem. pl.) of munificence’; 43. 11 *sādrā mōi saš mašiiāēšū zrazdāitiš*, ‘trust (fem. sg.) in mortals reveals itself to me as grief (neut. pl.)’. In 51. 14 a plural noun is taken up as a singular in a relative clause: *xʷāiš šiiāoḍnāišcā sēnghāišcā; yā īš sēnghō apēməm Drūjō demānē ādāt*, ‘by their actions and teachings; which teaching will consign them at the last to the house of Wrong’.

In 33. 2 a relative clause in the singular, defining a class of person, is taken up by a plural in the main clause: *aṭ yā akəm draguuāitē ... varāšaitī, vaṅhāu vā cōiḍaitē ašīm, tōi vārāi rādāṅtī*, ‘he that does evil to the wrongful one, or instructs his comrade in goodness, they (= such men) will be prompt to (Mazdā’s) will’.

### Apposition<sup>4</sup>

**19.** One noun may be placed beside another in apposition to give it greater definition: 44. 3 *zqḍā ptā*, ‘father-begetter’; perhaps 31. 9 *ṽβō ā gēuš tašā as xratus mainiiōuš*, ‘thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will’.<sup>5</sup>

In other examples a longer noun phrase is appended in apposition to expand on the meaning: 28. 7 *tam ašīm, vaṅhēuš āiiaptā manayhō*, ‘that reward, the blessings of good thought’; 31. 6 *yā mōi vīduuā vaocāt haiḍīm, maḍrəm yim hauruuatātō ašahiiā amərō<ta>tātascā*, ‘who knows and speaks my truth, the prescript of health, right, and continuing life’; 34. 12–13 *sīšā nā ... paḍō vaṅhēuš xʷaētōṅ manayhō, tēm aduuānəm, Ahurā, yōm mōi mraoš*, ‘teach us the paths of good thought that are well to travel—that road, Lord, of which thou tellest me’.

**20.** A pronoun may be followed up by a noun or noun phrase in apposition, to make its reference more explicit or simply to add extra predication: 29. 5 *vā ... mō uruuā gēušcā*, ‘we two, my soul and the cow’s’; 29. 8 *aēm mōi idā vistō, ... Zaraḍuštrō Spitāmō*, ‘this man here I have found, Zarathushtra Spitama’; 30. 1 *aṭ tā vaxšiiā... yā mazdāḍā ...: staotācā Ahurāi yesniiācā Vaṅhēuš Manayhō*, ‘now I will tell those things that you are to bring to the attention ..., praises

4 Cf. Delbrück iii. 195–9.

5 One might alternatively say that *tašā* is being used adjectivally; on this property of *nomina agentis* cf. Wackernagel (1926–8), ii. 53 f.

for the Lord and worship of Good Thought'; 30. 3 *aṭ t̄ā mainiiū, paouruiiē yā yēmā x'afēnā asruuātēm, manahi[cā] vacahicā šiiāoṭvanōi hī, vahiiō akəmčā*, 'they are the two Wills, the twins who in the beginning made themselves heard through dreaming, those two thoughts, speeches, actions, the better and the evil'; 32. 1 *axiiācā x'aētus̄ yāsaṭ, ahiiā vərəzēnəm maṭ airiiamnā, ahiiā daēuuā mahmī manōi, Ahurahiiā uruuāzēmā Mazdā*, 'suppose for his the clan prays, for his the village with the tribe, for his the Daevas, in my fancy, for the Lord Mazdā's bliss-giving'; 32. 3 *yūš daēuuā vīspāḡhō*, 'all you Daevas'; 44. 7 *ṭβā fraxšnī auuāmī, Mazdā, spəṅtā mainiiū vīspanəm dātārəm*, 'I am concerned to promote thee, Mazdā, (thee) the ordainer of all things through thy bounteous will'; 46. 19 *yē mōi ašāṭ haiṭīm hacā varəšaitī, Zaruṭuštrāi, hiiāṭ vasnā frašōtəməm*, 'whoever in accord with Right will make real for me, for Zarathushtra, the utmost splendour of my desiring', cf. 51. 12; 47. 2 *huuō ptā Ašahiia, Mazdā*, 'he is the father of Right, he Mazdā'.

21. 'Both A and B' may be expressed by A-cā B-cā (§§287–9), or more emphatically by the dual pronoun *ubē* 'both' followed by the two singular nouns in apposition: 34. 11 *ubē hauruuāscā ... amərətātāscā*, 'both (fem. things,) health and non-dying'.

## Nouns and Adjectives

22. Morphologically nouns and adjectives belong in a single class. Syntactically they differ in that adjectives mostly occur in apposition or predicatively, and that they align their gender, as a noun does not, with that with which they are in apposition or to which they are predicative.

In some circumstances adjectives may assume the independence of nouns:

23. A masc. adjective (sg. or pl.) is often used in general propositions, standing for any or all persons characterized by a certain quality; it may also denote specific persons. Examples: 30. 7 *aēšəm ... paouruiiō*, 'their first one (leader)'; 30. 11 *drəguuōdəbiiō ... ašauuabiiō*, 'for the wrongful ... for the righteous'; 33. 7 *vahištā*, 'O best ones'; 34. 7 *kuṭrā tōi arədrā?* 'where are thy zealous ones?'; 34. 8 *pourubiiō*, 'for many'; 34. 10 *huxratuš*, '(any) wise man'; 43. 15 *pouruš drəguuatō ... vīspəṅg ašāunō*, 'the many wrongful ... all the righteous'; 44. 5 *cazdōḡhuuantēm*, 'the prudent man'; 49. 1 *dušəṛəṭrīš*, 'the ill-protected'; 53. 8 *dužuuaršnaḡhō ... vīspāḡhō*, '(the) evil-doers, all of them'. Not to be overlooked is 28. 1 (and *passim*) *Mazdā* 'the Mindful One' as alternative to *Mazdā Ahurā* 'the Mindful Lord' or *Ahurā* 'the Lord'.

In 44. 4 *kē vātāi duuənmaibiiāscā yaogəṭ āsū?* 'who yoked the winds' and the clouds' swift pair?', the masc. dual adjective *āsū*, 'swift ones', stands for 'swift steeds'.

24. A neut. sg. adjective may stand for an absolute quality or indefinite entity: 28. 8 *vahištəm*, ‘the best thing’, cf. 31. 6, 32. 16, 43. 2; 31. 6 *haiθīm*, ‘a truth’; 31. 19 *vajhāu*, ‘in the good’, cf. 33. 2; 33. 2 *akəm*, ‘evil’, cf. 51. 8; 43. 10 *parštəm*, ‘question’; 44. 2 *aḡhāuš vahištahiiā paouruuīm*, ‘the best existence’s first (beginning)’, cf. 45. 2, 3 (twice).

25. A neut. pl. adjective may stand in a more general sense: 32. 12 *akā*, ‘evil things’; 30. 2 *vahištā*, ‘the best things’, cf. 43. 15, 45. 6; 30. 5 *acištā*, ‘the worst things’; 31. 12 *maēθā*, ‘uncertainties’, cf. 34. 6; 33. 1 *dātā*, ‘ordinances’; 33. 1 *miθahiiā*, ‘false deeds’; 33. 6 *vāstriiā*, ‘pastoral works’; 34. 7 *sādrā*, ‘sadnesses’, cf. 43. 11, 45. 7; 43. 12 *nōiṭ asrūštā*, ‘things not unheeded’; 44. 3 *tāciṭ ... aniiācā*, ‘these things and other things’; 44. 16 *ciθrā*, ‘clarity’; 46. 19 *manē.vistāiš maṭ vīspāiš*, ‘with all spiritual acquisitions’; 49. 4 *huuarštā, dužuiarštā*, ‘good deeds, bad deeds’; 53. 3 *spēništā ārmatōiš hudānū*, ‘piety’s most liberal benefactions’; YH 35. 2 *humatanəm hūxtanəm huuarstanəm*, ‘of things well thought, well spoken, well done’; *ibid. vohunəm*, ‘of good things’.

### Abstracta

26. Zarathushtra’s thought moves in abstract realms, and he makes free use of abstract nouns. He does not hesitate to make them the subject of a sentence, as in 30. 7 *aṭ kəhrpēm utaiiūtiš dadāṭ, ārmaitiš aṇmā*, ‘then vitality informs the body, piety the soul’; 30. 8 *yadā aēšəm kaēnā jamaiṭi aēnaḡham*, ‘when the punishment comes for their offences’. Sometimes the language suggests a degree of personification, as in 29. 1 *ā mā aēšəmō hazascā rəmō hišāiiā dərəš tauuišcā*, ‘fury and force, cruelty, violence, and aggression hold me bound’; 30. 6 *hiiaṭ iš ā dābaomā pərəsəmnōḡ upā jasaṭ*, ‘because delusion comes upon them as they deliberate’; 31. 20 *tēm vā ahūm ... daēnā naēšaṭ*, ‘that is the existence to which your morality will lead you’; 32. 3 *Akāt Manaḡhō stā ciθrəm ... Drūjascā Pairimatōišcā*, ‘ye are seed (sprung) from Evil thought and from Wrong and Contempt’; 43. 15 *daxšaṭ uxšiiāi tušnāmaitiš vahištā*, ‘silent meditation teaches me the best things to say’; 49. 2 *nōiṭ spəṇṭəm dōrašt ahmāi stōi Ārmatīm, naēdā Vohū ... fraštā Manaḡhā*, ‘he has not embraced bounteous Piety to make her his, nor taken counsel with Good Thought’.

27. The figures of *Ārmiti-* ‘Piety’, *Vohu- Manah-* ‘Good Thought’, and *Ašəm* ‘Right’ are constantly treated as quasi-divine beings associated with Ahura Mazda. In several passages where Right is directly addressed or treated as a living agent, the neuter *Ašəm* (= Vedic *Rtám*) appears to be given animate status by transfer to the masculine gender, with both nominative and vocative appearing as *Ašā*: nom. 29. 3; 30. 9; 46. 9; voc. 28. 3, 5, 6, 7.<sup>6</sup>

6 I take the nom. *Ašā* (for expected *\*Ašō* or *\*Ašā*) to be an irregular modernization of an original *\*Araḡ*. See further West (2007b), 76 f.



28. Abstract stands for concrete in 32. 15 *Karpōtâscā Kauuītâscā*, ‘the Karpanhood and the Kavihood’, for ‘the Karpans and the Kavis’; and in a different type of idiom in 46. 3 *saošiiantam xratauuō*, ‘the sapiences of the Promoters’, for ‘the sapient Promoters’. There is what looks like a similar phrase in 48. 10 *yācā xratū dušxšāvrā daxiiunam*, ‘and the misruling sapiences of the regions’, though the form *xratū* is problematic: if it is a dual, the reference will be to a particular pair of bad rulers, but conceivably it is a neuter plural in a collective sense (cf. §39).

In several places abstracts serve as predicates to personal subjects:<sup>7</sup> 34. 13 *mīzdām, Mazdā, yehiiā tū daθrām*, ‘the reward, Mazdā, of which thou art the gift’; 43. 8 *haiθiiō duuaēšā hiiat isōiiā drəguuāitē, aθ ašāunē rafnō xiiām aojōghuuat*, ‘may I be in reality, as I would wish, a bane to the wrongful one, but to the righteous one a strong support’; 53. 9 *tōi narapīš rafīš*, ‘they are waning(?) and darkness(?)’; YH 36. 1 *yā ā axtiš ahmāi, yēm axtōiiōi dāghē*, ‘(thy Fire), which is torment for him whom thou putttest to torment’; 41. 3 *aθā tū nā gaiiāscā astētāscā xiiā*, ‘so mayest thou be our life and substance’.

#### Verbal Nouns (*nomina agentis, actionis*)

29. Agent nouns formed from verbal roots have a certain ambivalence as between noun and verb status. The object of the inherent verb usually appears in the genitive (nominal rection): 29. 2 *tašā gōuš*, ‘the fashioner of the cow’; 31. 17 *vaḡhēuš fradaxštā manavhō*, ‘the teacher of good thought’; 32. 13 *aḡhēuš maraxtārō ahiiā*, ‘destroyers of this existence’; 44. 4 *vaḡhēuš ... dāmiš manavhō*, ‘the creator of good thought’; 44. 7 *vīspanam dātārām*, ‘ordainer of all things’; 48. 12 *hamaēstārō aēšmahiiā*, ‘the smiters of violence’; 50. 6 *dātā xratāuš*, ‘the giver of wisdom’; 50. 11 *dātā aḡhēuš*, ‘the ordainer of the world’; 51. 10 *dāmōiš Drūjō*, ‘of the creator of Wrong’. But *dāmiš* ‘creator’ is also used with the object in the accusative (verbal rection): 31. 7 *huuō xraθβā dāmiš ašām*, ‘he by his wisdom is the creator of Right’; 45. 7 *tācā xšāvrā Mazdā dāmiš Ahurō*, ‘of those realms too Mazdā is the creator’; and similarly with *manaθrī-*, 44. 5 *yā manaθrīš cazdōḡhuuantām arəθahiiā*, ‘which are admonishers (of) the prudent man of his endeavour’.

In YH 35. 2 agent nouns are construed with the copula to characterize the subject: *humatanam hūxtanam huuarštanam ... mahī aibījaratārō; naē naēstārō yaθnā vohunam mahī*, ‘we are approvers of good thoughts, good words, good deeds ... we are not revilers of what is good’.

30. *Nomina actionis* too are occasionally construed with verbal rection: 32. 11 *aḡhīšcā aḡhauascā apaiieitī raēxənavhō vaēdām*, ‘by the depriving (instr.) matrons and masters (acc.) (of) the possession (acc.) of their inheritance (gen.)’; 34. 7 *Vaḡhēuš vaēdanā Manavhō sēnghūš raēxnā*, ‘by possession of Good

7 Cf. Humbach i. 102 f.

Thought's decrees (and) legacies'; 43. 11 *mašiiāēšū zrazdāitiš*, 'trust in mortals (loc.)'; 45. 9 *pasūš vīrāng ahmākōng fradaṭāiiā*, 'for the furtherance of our herds (and) men', cf. 31. 16; 48. 5 *yaoždā ... zaṭōam*, 'purification of breeding'; *YH* 35. 9 *ašam manaiiā vahehiā*, 'with better thinking (on) Right'; 40. 4 *ištām rāitī*, 'with (our) offering (our) capability(?)'.

**31.** *Nomina actionis* in *-ti-* are sometimes used in preference to a construction with a finite verb or infinitive: 33. 6 *tā tōi iziiā, Ahurā Mazdā, darštōišcā hām.parštōišcā*, 'with that (mind) I long, Mazdā, for beholding and conferring with thee'; 34. 9 *vayhēuš auuistī manayhō*, 'in (their) non-acquisition of good thought'; 44. 4 *kas.nā dərətā zāmcā adē nabāscā auuapastōiš?* 'who held the earth from beneath and the heaven from falling down?'; 46. 4 *aṭ tōng drəguuā ... pāt gā frōrətōiš*, 'but the wrongful one keeps those oxen from coming forth'.

### Nominal Composition as Syntax

**32.** The creation of nominal compounds was an ancient and productive strategy of Indo-Iranian discourse. Those that contain a verbal component effectively compress a verbal phrase into a single grammatical element capable of being deployed in a larger sentence in any of the relationships that its various case-endings provide for. The compound may simply be an ornamental adjunct that contributes nothing essential to the purpose of the sentence. Or it may, especially if it is newly coined *ad hoc*, carry a pointed or pregnant sense. For example, in 29. 3 the sense 'Right does not want to break ranks with the other Ahuras, and he has no hostility to the cow, so he answers' is packed into the sentence *ahmāi Ašā, nōiṭ sarəjā, aduuāēšō gauuōi, paiṭi.mrauuat*, 'to him Right, not a union-breacher, unhostile to the cow, will answer'. In 32. 4 what may be paraphrased as 'the worst things that mortals are to do, so that the Daevas are more pleased with them' is expressed as *yā mašiiā acištā danṭō vaxšəntē daē-uuō.zuštā*, 'the worst things, by doing which mortals will wax Daeva-favoured'. In 44. 2 the proposition that a man with certain qualifications has a healing effect on the world is expressed by *huuō ... ahūm.biš*, 'that man is a world-healer'. In 53. 6 the idea is that when the wrongful get their deserts, they will be given only foul food to eat, they will be lamenting, they will lose all amenities, because they have diminished Right: the words (following a lacuna) are *vaiiū.bərədbiiō dušx<sup>v</sup>arəṭāem; nəsaṭ x<sup>v</sup>āṭrəm drəguuōdəbiiō dējīṭ.arətaēibiiō*, 'for the Alas-utterers bad-food; well-being is lost for the wrongful Right-diminishers'.

Degrees of Comparison<sup>8</sup>

**33.** The comparative degree of adjectives or adverbs has two distinct uses. It may signify that something has a greater degree of some quality than something else; if the point of reference is given, it stands in the ablative, as in 43. 3 *vañhāuš vahiiō*, ‘better than good’; 51. 6 *akāt ašiiō*, ‘worse than bad’. Or it may just have contrastive force, as in 30. 3 *manahī vacahicā šīiaoðanōi hī, vahiiō akamcā*, ‘those two kinds of thought, of speech, of deed, the better one (= the good one) and the bad one’; 45. 2 *yaiiā spaniiā ūitī mrauuat yām angrām*, ‘(the two Wills,) of whom the (more) Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one’; 34. 8 *hiiat as.aojā nāidiiāñhām*, ‘as a strong man a weaker one’; 48. 4 *yē dāt manō vahiiō ... ašiiascā*, ‘he who sets in place better thought or worse’; 31. 20 *yē āiiat ašauuanām, diuamnām hōi aparām xšaiiō*, ‘whoso goes to the righteous one, radiance is his to possess afterwards (in contrast with now)’, cf. 45. 11. In 34. 6 *yaðā vā yazōmnascā uruuāidiiā stauuas aiiēnī paiī*, ‘that I may come to you worshipping and praising you more gladly’, one may take the comparative either way, as ‘more gladly than I would otherwise’, or as ‘gladly as opposed to miserably’.

It will be seen from the passages quoted that while two contrasted terms may both be put in the comparative (48. 4), more often one has the comparative form and the other the positive.

**34.** The superlative degree too has two uses. It may signify absolute supremacy within a given category (identified in the genitive): 29. 3 *hātām aojištō*, ‘mightiest of beings’, cf. YH 35. 3; 45. 6 *vīspanām mazištām*, ‘the greatest one of all’; 45. 4 *añhāuš ahiiā vahištām*, ‘the best one in this world’; YH 36. 6 *sraēštām ... kahrpēm kahrpām ... barēzištām barēzimanām*, ‘fairest body of bodies ... highest of the high’. Where there is no genitive, the absolute value of the superlative may be indicated by other means, as in 33. 5 *vīspā.mazištām*, ‘all-greatest, supreme’; 46. 19 = 50. 11 *hiiat vasnā frašōtāmām*, ‘what is most splendid by way of my desiring’, i.e. what I desire as being supremely splendid.

The superlative agrees in gender with the noun of which it is predicated, not with the genitive: 44. 10 *tām daēnām, yā hātām* (neut.) *vahištā* (fem.), ‘that religion which is the best of existing things’.<sup>9</sup>

**35.** Or the superlative may be simply relative, indicating a high degree of the quality in question. Thus in 30. 4 *vahištām manō*, ‘best thought’, is merely a metrical alternative for *vohū manō*, ‘good thought’, cf. 32. 11; and likewise with 28. 8 *Ašā vahištā*, 30. 5 *mainiiuš spāništō* (contrasted with positive *yē drōguuā*), 30. 6 *acištām manō*, 46. 6 *vahištō* (parallel with positive *friiō*); 33. 1 *šīiaoðnā razištā*, ‘by action most just’; 45. 5 *spəntōtāmō*, ‘the most bounteous one’; 49. 8 *fraēštāñhō*, ‘best friends’; 53. 7 *zrazdištō*, ‘fully trusting’.

8 Skjærvø 124 f.

9 Cf. Delbrück iii. 248 f.

**36.** Certain superlative forms are made on verbal roots and have verbal rection: 46. 19 *tācīt mōi sṣ tuuōm ... vaēdištō*, ‘(of) those things thou seemest to me the best provider’, cf. 32. 7; 29. 4 *sax<sup>v</sup>ārē mairištō*, ‘most heedful (of) initiatives’; 51. 1 *xšāθrəm ... bāgəm aibī.bairištəm*, ‘dominion most productive (of) fortune’.

### Gender<sup>10</sup>

**37.** The masculine is the default gender for persons of unspecific identity or for classes of person in general propositions; cf. §23 on the substantival use of masculine adjectives. In 53. 4, where the reference is to women getting married, we have the generic feminine *ašāunī*, ‘a righteous woman’.

In *YH* 39. 2 *ašāunəm āat urunō ... narəmcā nāirinəmcā*, ‘the souls of the righteous, both men and women’, both sexes are then covered by the masculine pronoun *yaēsəm*, ‘whose’. In 39. 3, on the other hand, we have *yazamaidē vaṅhūšcā īt vaṅhūšcā īt, ... yōi vaṅhōuš ā manəḥō šīieinī, yāscā ūitī*, ‘we worship the good Ones (masc.) and the good Ones (fem.), ... those (masc.) that dwell on the side of Good Thought, and those (fem.) likewise’.

**38.** When personalized language is used of abstract entities it is appropriate for them to have animate gender. Those that already have a lexical masculine or feminine gender retain it. So *ārmaiti-* is treated as a female being; cf. 49. 2 *nōit spəntəm dōrəšt ahmāi stōi Ārmaitīm*, which may be understood as ‘he has not embraced bounteous Piety to make her his’. But the neuter *aša-*, when so far personified as to speak or be spoken to, is transferred to the morphologically closest animate gender, the masculine; see §27.

**39.** The neuter plural represents a collectivity and is treated as a singular when the subject of a verb (§15). In §28 I have raised the possibility that in 48. 10 the normal masc. pl. *xratauuō* is replaced by a neuter pl. *xratū* to represent the collectivity of bad regional rulers.<sup>11</sup>

Sometimes a neuter plural pronoun is used in summing up a mixed list of items: 31. 13 *yā frasā āuušīiā, yā vā ... pərəsaētē taiiā, yā vā ..., tā ... aibī ašā vaēnahī vīspā*, ‘the questioning (fem.) that is overt, or the secrets (neut.) that the two debate, or if someone ..., all those things thou regardest with Right’; 34. 1–2, where a set of things consisting of two neuter plurals (*šīiaoθnā, vacaṅhā*) and a masculine (*yasna-*) are summed up first in *aēšəm* ‘of these’ (masc. or neut.) and then in the neut. pl. *ī (... vīspā)*; 34. 11.

10 Delbrück i. 89–133; Reichelt §§412–16.

11 For neut. plurals of masc. nouns cf. Delbrück i. 123–8.

Number<sup>12</sup>

## Singular

**40.** The singular is often used in a representative sense, standing for a whole class: 44. 20 *Karapā Usixšcā ... Kauuā*, ‘the Karpan and the Usij ... the Kavi’; 29. 5 *nōiṭ arəžəjiōi frajiiāitiš, nōiṭ šsuiientē?* ‘is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stock-raiser?’; 31. 11 *vasā*, ‘the free agent’; 31. 17 *katārēm ašauuā vā drəguuā vā vərənauuaitē maziio?* *vīduuā vīdušē mraotū, mā auuīduuā aipī dēbāuuaiiat*, ‘which is to be the more persuasive, the righteous one or the wrongful? Let the knowing one speak to the knowing; let the unknowing delude no longer’; 32. 12 *vahištāt šīiaodnāt*, ‘from the best action’. In 30. 4 singular and plural are used equivalently: *acištō drəguuatəm, aṭ ašāunē vahištəm manō*, ‘that of the wrongful (pl.) the worst (existence), but for the righteous one, best thought’, and similarly in 31. 14 and elsewhere.

**41.** In 31. 18 *aṭā iš sāzdūm snaiṭiṣā*, ‘so cut them down with axe’, the imperative is plural, being addressed to an entire audience, but *snaiṭiṣā* is instr. sg. because each man will wield a single axe. But more often the plural is used for things of which a plurality of people each have one or a pair: 29. 5 *aṭ vā ustānāiṣ ā huuā zastāiṣ*, ‘but we two are here with outstretched hands’ (pl. not dual); 30. 2 *sraotā gēušāiṣ vahištā*, ‘hear with your ears the best things’, and similarly in 51. 3; 31. 11 *hiiat nē ... gaēṭāscā tašō daēnāscā ... xratūšcā*, ‘since thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves and intellects’; 32. 14 *nī Kāuuaiiascīt xratūš dadaṭ varēcāhīcā*, ‘the very Kavis give up their intellects and dignities’; 34. 13 *daēnā saošiiantəm*, ‘the Promoters’ moral selves’, cf. 49. 9; 46. 11 *xsaṭrāiṣ*, of the Karpans’ and Kavis’ authorities; 33. 9 *aiiā ārōi hākurənəm, yaiiā hacīntē uruuqñō*, ‘the fellowship of those two is assured, whose (dual) souls (pl.) agree (pl.)’, cf. 45. 2.

## Dual

**42.** The dual is regularly used when two persons or things are considered together. So with bodily parts: eyes, 32. 10; hands, 33. 2; thighs, 53. 7. Of a pair of animals: 44. 4 *āsū* ‘swift pair (of steeds)’; 51. 12 *vāzā* ‘pair of draught animals’; 46. 19 *gāuuā azī* ‘pair of milch cows’, or perhaps ‘a milch cow with a bull’. The duality may be resolved into its constituents: 28. 2 *ahuuā, astuuatascā hiiatcā manahō*, ‘of the two existences, the material one and that of thought’; 30. 3 *mainiiū, ... yēmā ..., manahī vacahicā šīiaodanōi hī, vahiiō akəmcā*, ‘the two Wills ... those twins ... the two thoughts, speeches, deeds, the better one and the evil’. Of morally antithetical pairs also 31. 3 *rānōibiiā*, ‘the two parties’, cf. 31. 19; 43. 12; 47. 6; 51. 9; 51. 5 *ašiiā*, ‘the two (alternative) rewards’.

12 Delbrück i. 133–72; Reichelt §§417–24.

43. When two things with separate names are conceived as a linked pair, we find the dual dvandva construction, by which both nouns are put in the dual: 34. 11 *utaiiūiti tēuuīšī*, ‘vitality and strength’, cf. 43. 1, 45. 10, 48. 6, 51. 7; 45. 5 *hauruuātā aməratātā*, ‘health and non-dying’, cf. 45. 10, 47. 1, 51. 7; but on the other hand 34. 11 *ubē hauruuāscā ... aməratatāscā*, ‘both (dual) health (sg.) and non-dying (sg.)’, where the emphasis is on Mazdā’s having these two sources of nourishment to add together.

Normally the duals in this construction are placed in immediate juxtaposition with no other word separating them, but in 48. 6 we find *utaiiūiti dāt tēuuīšī*.

### Plural

44. Certain nouns are *pluralia tantum*: *apō* ‘the waters’ (44. 4; YH 37. 1, 38. 3, 5); *raocā* ‘the light (of day)’ (30. 1, 31. 7, 44. 5, 50. 10; YH 36. 6, 37. 1). *təmah-* ‘darkness’ occurs in the sg. in 31. 20, but in the pl. when coupled with *raocā* in 44. 5.

45. With other nouns the plural gives a nuanced meaning: 29. 10 *yā hušəitiš rāmaqā dāt*, ‘by which one may establish well-ordered dwelling (pl., sc. in different settlements?) and peace’; 33. 10 *vīspās tā hujītaiiō*, ‘all those good lives’ (pl. of abstract *hujīti-* ‘good living’); 33. 13 *frō ... daēnā daxšaiiā*, ‘teach (me) moral principles’; 44. 1 *friiā hākurənā*, ‘friendly relations’ (sg. 33. 9, ‘fellowship’ of two persons); 45. 10 *yasnāiš āmatōiš*, ‘with worships of piety’, i.e. pious acts of worship; 48. 7 *aṭ hōi dāmaq vībahmī ā dām*, ‘his lodgings are in thy house’; 51. 4 *kuḍrā vīβā xšəḍrā*, ‘where are thy areas of control?’; YH 38. 2 *Īžā, Yaoštaiiō, Fəraštaiiō, Āmataiiō*, ‘the Libations, the Purifications, the Consummations, the Pieties’, as personified objects of veneration.

The plural proper name in 46. 15 *Haēcəṭaspā ... Spitamāṅhō*, ‘O Haecat-aspā Spitāmas’, refers to members of a particular branch of the Spitāma family, one of whose women is designated in 53. 3 as *Pourucistā Haēcəṭaspānā Spitāmī*.

### The Cases

46. Old Avestan has the eight inherited cases, nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, vocative. All of them are in active use, with only limited support from appositives.<sup>13</sup> The syntactical density obtained by combining several cases in one sentence may be exemplified by 47. 6:

*tā dā spəntā mainiū, Mazdā Ahurā,  
āḍrā vayhāu vī.dāitīm rānōibiīā  
āmatōiš dəbqazəḥā ašaxiiācā.*

13 I use the term ‘appositive’ to cover prepositions, postpositions, and preverbs.

Through that bounteous will thou didst establish, Lord Mazdā,  
the allocation of the good by fire to the two contestants  
with the reinforcement of piety and right.

The sentence contains a single verb and nine nouns or noun phrases: in sequence, an instrumental, vocative, instrumental, locative, accusative, dative, genitive, instrumental, genitive. Several of the cases are adnominal, *ādrā*, *vaṅhāu*, and *rānōibiā* all being dependent on the verbal noun *vī.dāitīm*, and the two genitives on *dəbazaṅhā*.

#### Nominative<sup>14</sup>

**47.** The subject of a main or subordinate clause, where expressed, stands in the nominative. With an active verb it represents the agent, with a passive verb the topic.

**48.** The nominative is used in the predicate for that which is equated with the subject, whether by means of the verb ‘be’ (expressed or understood; see §8) or by such connections as ‘seem to be’, ‘be found to be’, ‘be given to be’, ‘be declared to be’: 31. 17 *zdī nā*, *Mazdā Ahurā*, *vaṅhōuš fradaxštā manayhō*, ‘be for us, Lord Mazdā, our teacher of good thought’; 46. 19 *tācīt mōi saš tuuām*, *Mazdā*, *vaēdištō*, ‘of those things thou, Mazdā, appearest to me the best provider’; 48. 2 *hā zī aṅhōuš vaṅhī vistā ākarētīš*, ‘for that is the pattern of existence found to be good’; 33. 8 *dātā vē amərətāscā ... hauruuatās draonō*, ‘non-dying and health were established as your portion’; 48. 12 *tōi zī dātā hamaēstārō aēšmahiiā*, ‘for they are appointed as smiters of violence’; 48. 8 *kā v̄βōi ... vaṅhōuš mainii-āuš šīiaodnanam jauuarō?* ‘what (potency) is thine, as stimulus(?) for enactments of the Good Will?’; 32. 7 *aēšam aēnaṅham ... yā jōiiā sōnghaitē*, ‘of such offences which are decreed to be matters of life (and death)’; 50. 11 *aṭ vē staotā aojāi*, ‘I will declare myself your praise-singer’; 53. 8 *anāiš ā duzuuaršnaṅhō dafšniā hāntū zaxiiācā vīspānhō*, ‘hereby let the evildoers be thwarted and mocked, all of them’; YH 41. 4 *aēšācā v̄βā əmauuantascā buiiāmā*, ‘may we become potent and strong through thee’; 41. 5 *v̄βōi staotarascā maḍranascā ... aogamadaēcā usmahicā vīšāmadaēcā*, ‘thy praisers and prophets we declare ourselves and desire (to be) and stand ready (to be)’.

**49.** In other circumstances too a nominative, referring to the subject, may appear as part of the predicate: 28. 1 *yāsā nəmanhā ustāna.zastō*, ‘I pray you in reverence with outstretched hands’; 31. 7 *yas.tā mantā paouruiiō ... x’ādrā*, ‘he who first conceived these felicities’, cf. 44. 11; 46. 9; 31. 13 *tā ... hārō aibī ... vaēnahī vīspā*, ‘all those things thou regardest watchful’; 32. 4 *mašiiā ... vax-šantē daēuuō.zuštā*, ‘mortals will grow Daeva-favoured’;<sup>15</sup> 44. 12 *huuō, nōit*

14 Delbrück i. 393 f.; Reichelt §§429–31; Skjærvø 103 f.

15 Unless *daēuuō.zuštā* is the locative of an otherwise unattested noun \**daēuuō.zuštī-*.

*aiiām, angrō mainiiētē*, ‘he, not the other, thinks as an enemy’; 51. 15 *garō dāmānē Ahurō Mazdā jasaṭ paouruiiō*, ‘Lord Mazdā enters the house of song first’; 53. 7 *yauuaṭ āzuš zrazdištō*, ‘he will apply his penis in full confidence’.

50. In one passage the leading ideas of the sentence are presented in a series of nominatives, but then the construction changes, and they become the object in a new subject–predicate formulation: 31. 20 *darəgēm āiiū təmaṅhō, duš-xʷarəθīm, auuaētās vacō, tēm vā ahūm, drəguuaṅtō, ... daēnā naēšaṭ*, ‘a long age of darkness, foul food, crying of woe (nom.) by way of speech—that existence (acc.), ye wrongful, your morality will bring you to’.

For the use of the nominative together with a vocative in the so-called *Vāyav Indraśca* construction see §118.

### Accusative<sup>16</sup>

51. The accusative may be considered as the focusing or limiting case: it serves to bring definition and closure to an open-ended or incomplete predicate. For example, a transitive verb such as ‘create’ or ‘choose’ does not by itself constitute a meaningful predication of a subject; we need to know who or what was created or chosen, and if the verb is in the active, that information is expressed in the accusative. If the verb is ‘go’, we shall often need to know the destination, and this too is given in the accusative: 29. 3 *yahmāi zauuōng jimā*, ‘to whose calls I will go’; 43. 12 *ašəm jasō*, ‘go (to) Right’; 30. 6 *aēšəməm hēṅ.duuārəntā*, ‘they scurry (to) violence’; 44. 8 *kā mē uruūā vohū uruūāxšaṭ āgmatā?* ‘(to) what good destinations will my soul journey?’; cf. 31. 20; 34. 13; 44. 17; 45. 5; 46. 1; 48. 2; 53. 8; 44. 12 *yē mā drəguuā vβā sauūā paiṭi.əratē ciiāṅhaṭ*, ‘the wrongful one who enjoys opposing (lit. going at) thy gains’. With *gam* in the sense of ‘accede to’ a wish: 43. 13 *yōm vā naēcīš dāršt itē*, ‘(a desire) (to) which no one forces you to accede’.

52. With verbs of speaking the accusative may specify the thing spoken of, as in 34. 10 *ahiiā vaṅhēuš manəṅhō šiiəoθnā vaocaṭ gərəbəm huxratuš*, ‘(of) this Good Thought’s deeds the wise man says “let them be seized hold of”’; 34. 15 *aṭ mōi vahištā srauūāscā šiiəoθanācā vaocā*, ‘tell me the best things to be known for and to do’. In 45. 2 the accusative specifies the person addressed: *spaniiā ūitī mrauuaṭ yōm angrəm*, ‘the Bounteous (Will) speaks thus (to) the Hostile one’, though elsewhere the dative is used (§78).

Similarly with *man* ‘think on’: 34. 8 *yōi nōiṭ ašəm mainiiāntā*, ‘those who did not think on Right’; 43. 9 *rātəm nəmaṅhō Ašahiiā ... mainiiāi*, ‘the tribute of reverence of Right I shall hold in mind’. In the preceding sentence the accusative is apparently used of a question answered by speaking: *ahiiā frasēm*

16 Spiegel §§303–11; Delbrück i. 360–93; Reichelt §§436–43; T. Gotō in H. Hettrich (ed.), *Indogermanische Syntax. Fragen und Perspektiven* (Wiesbaden 2002), 21–42; Skjærvo 105–8.



‘*kahmāi vīuuīduiīē vašī?*’, *adā* ‘*ṭṣahmāi āḍrē*’, ‘(at) his question “whom dost thou wish to serve?” I declare “Thy fire”’, as it were ‘his question I deal with by declaring’.<sup>17</sup>

With a middle verb, 30. 5 *yā xraoḷdištēng asānō vastē*, ‘who clothes himself (in) the hardest stones’.

With an intransitive verb, specifying something internal to the subject: 33. 10 *uxšiiā ... tanūm*, ‘grow in body’.

53. In §§29–30 examples have been given of *nomina agentis* or *actionis* governing accusative objects. The same happens with adjectives that contain a verbal root or notion: 32. 8 *yā mašiiēng cixšnušō ahmākēng*, ‘who sought to gratify our mortal race’, cf. 43. 15, 45. 9, 49. 1; 34. 7 *yōi ... sādrcīt caxraiiō ušaurū*, ‘who make even sorrows innocuous’; 32. 12 *išanam drujam*, ‘of those desirous (of) wrong’; 34. 14 *xratēuš ašā frādō vərəzēnā*, ‘of the wisdom promotive (of) communities with Right’, cf. 46. 12; 44. 2 *irixtəm vīspōibiiō hārō*, ‘observant (of) the outcome for all’; 45. 7 *yā nərəš sādrcā drəguuatō*, ‘which are griefs (to) wrongful men’; 46. 2 *rafədrēm caguuā*, ‘affording support’. Cf. also the superlative forms noted in §36.

54. Some verbs naturally require two specifications and take two accusatives. ‘Ask’, ‘pray’, ‘order’, or ‘teach’ may require both a recipient and a content for the question, the prayer, the command, or the lesson. So 51. 21 *tām vaṅhīm yāsā ašim*, ‘him I pray (for) good reward’, cf. 28. 1; 49. 8; 31. 14 *tā ṭṣbā pərəsā*, ‘these things I ask thee’; 43. 3 *yā nā ərəzūš sauuaṅhō pavō sīšōit*, ‘who should teach us the straight paths of advancement’, cf. 34. 12; 45. 6. ‘Deprive’ requires both a person who is deprived and something of which he is deprived: 32. 9 *apō mā ištīm yaṅtā*, ‘he takes capability away from me’; 32. 11 *aṅhīscā aṅhauascā apaiieitī ... vaēdam*, ‘by deprivation (*nomen actionis*) (of) matrons and masters (of) possession’. And as verbs of motion take an accusative of the destination, a verb meaning ‘lead’ may logically take a double accusative, as in 31. 20 *tām vā ahūm ... daēnā naēšat*, ‘that is the existence to which your morality will bring you’.

In 34. 6 *yezī aḍā stā haiḍim, ... at taṭ mōi daxštəm dātā*, ‘if ye are truly thus, then give a proof (of) that to me’, *daxštəm dātā* ‘give a proof’ is apparently treated as equivalent to ‘prove’, governing the object *taṭ*.

55. Several verbs are construed with two accusatives of which one represents a secondary predicate: give or find A as a B; make A (into) B; think, declare, know, wish A to be B, etc.

*dā* ‘give, establish’: 33. 14 *at rāṭəm Zarəduštrō tanuuascīt xaxiiā uštanəm da-dāitī*, ‘Zarathushtra dedicates his own body’s energy as an offering’, cf. 34. 3; 43. 1, 2, 5. In 50. 6 *dātā xratēuš hizuuō raidim stōi mahiiā*, ‘the giver of wisdom

17 I follow Insler’s reading and interpretation.

to be the charioteer of my tongue’, it is as if we had *dātā xratūm*, with *raiθīm* following as a matching accusative and subject of the infinitive *stōi*.

*vid-* ‘find’: 28. 5 *manascā vohū vaēdāmnō gātūmcā Ahurāi ... sraošəm Maz-dāi*, ‘finding Good Thought and, as a path (or throne) for the Lord Mazdā, compliance’.

*han-* ‘earn, deserve’: 46. 19 *ahmāi mīzdəm hanaṇtē parāhūm*, ‘to him, who deserves the world beyond as reward’.

Verbs of making: 32. 10 *yascā dāθōṅg drəguuatō dadāt*, ‘and he who makes the upright wrongful’, cf. 34. 6, 15; 43. 10; 30. 9 *yōi īm frašōm kərənāun ahūm*, ‘who will make this existence splendid’, cf. 44. 7; 46. 19 *yē mōi ... haiθīm ... varāšaiti ... hiiat vasnā frašōtaməm*, ‘he who will make real for me the utmost splendour of my desiring’.

*man-*: 29. 10 *azēmciṭ ahiia ... θβqam mōjhī paouruūm vaēdəm*, ‘I think thee the first procurer of that’, cf. 43. 4; 46. 13.

Verbs of speaking: 32. 10 *yē acištəm vaēnaṇhē aogədā qam ašibiiā huuarēcā*, ‘who affirms the worst thing to behold with the eyes to be the cow and the sun’; 43. 11 *hiiat mōi mraotā vahištəm*, ‘what you tell me is best’; 43. 15 *aṭ tōi vīspāṅg aṅgrōṅg ašāunō ādarē*, ‘they have declared all the righteous their enemies’; YH 36. 6 *sraēštəm aṭ tōi kəhrpēm kəhrpam āuuaēdaiimahī ... imā raocā*, ‘fairest body of thy bodies we proclaim this daylight’.

*vid-* ‘know’: 28. 10 *yāṅg ... vōistā ... dāθōṅg*, ‘those whom thou knowest to be upright’; *ibid.*, *aṭ vē xšmaibiiā asunā vaēdā xʷaraiθiia vaiṇtiia srauua*, ‘I know that well-purposed hymns of homage to you are not in vain’; cf. 34. 10; 46. 10.

*vas-*: 29. 2 *kām hōi uštā ahurəm?* ‘whom did you wish to be her lord?’; cf. 29. 9.

*fra.var-*: 31. 10 *frauuarētā vāstrīm axiia fšuiiaṇtəm ahurəm*, ‘she chose the herdsman, the stock-raiser, as her lord’.

In YH 37. 3 we have accusatives both of the one worshipped and of the names or manifestations under which he is worshipped: *təm aṭ ahūiriia nāmānī mazdā.varā spəṇtōtēmā yazamaidē ... tēm ašāunqam frauuašiš ... yazamaidē*, ‘him we worship (in) the names (of) Lord, Wisdom-choosing, Most Bounteous ... him we worship (in) the commitments of the followers of Right’.<sup>18</sup>

56. The accusative is used in various adverbial expressions, perhaps a reflection of its general limiting function. It can express duration of time, as in 43. 2 *vīspā aiiārē*, ‘all days’ = ‘for ever’; analogously perhaps 34. 6 *ahiiā aṅhōuš vīspā maēvā*, ‘through all the vicissitudes of this existence’. A different sort of idiomatic use is seen in 30. 2 *vīciṭahiiā narēm narəm xʷaxiia tanuiē*, ‘of the decision (made) man by man for his own person’.<sup>19</sup>

18 On the grammar of this difficult sentence cf. the full discussion in Hintze (2007), 177–86.

19 On the type of iteration (in Sanskrit grammar called *āmreḍita*) cf. Delbrück iii. 142–4.

57. A neuter adjective in the accusative singular may have adverbial value:<sup>20</sup> 28. 1 *paouruūim* ‘firstly, in the first place’ (cf. 43. 8, 11; 51. 2); 28. 3 *apaouruūim* ‘as never before’; 45. 1 *daibitīm* ‘a second time’; 34. 6 *haiḍīm* ‘in truth’; 34. 9 *maš* ‘greatly, a great distance’ (cf. perhaps 32. 3); 31. 17 *maziio* ‘more’; 28. 5 *mazištəm* ‘most fully’; 30. 3 *əraš* ‘rightly’ (cf. 30. 6; 44. 1); 31. 20 *aparəm* ‘afterwards’; 30. 4 *apēməm* ‘finally’ (cf. 48. 4; 51. 14); 51. 1 *vahištəm* ‘best’; YH 41. 4 *darəgəm* ‘for long’.

#### *Accusative with appositives*

58. Verbs of motion towards are sometimes reinforced with the preverb *ā*, with the destination in the accusative, as in 28. 3 *ā mōi ... zauuōng jasatā*, ‘come (to) my calls’; 30. 6 *hiiaṭ iš ā dəbaomā ... upā jasaṭ*, ‘because delusion comes upon them’; 33. 7 *ā mā idūm*, ‘come to me’; 43. 10 *iṭ ā <a>rəm*, ‘I have started towards it’; 44. 11 *kaḍā tōng ā vi.jēmiiṭ ṛmaitiš?* ‘how might piety spread to them?’, cf. 48. 11.

In these cases it is more natural to regard the *ā* as belonging with the verb than as a pre- or postposition conditioning the accusative. But it appears rather in the latter function in 33. 5 *apānō darəgō.jiiāitīm ā xšaḍrəm Vajhōuš Manajhō*, ‘after reaching the long life, the realm of good thought’; 44. 13 *kaḍā drujəm nīš ahmaṭ ā nāšānā, tōng ā auuā, yōi ...*, ‘how are we to drive Wrong out from ourselves down upon those who ...’; 44. 14 *ā iš duuafšōng ... nāšē*, ‘to bring pains upon them’; 46. 8 *paitiiaogəṭ tā ahmāi jasōiṭ duuaēšajhā, tanuuōm ā*, ‘may (his actions) recoil on him with hostility, on his person’. In 30. 2 it is apparently placed initially with the verb and repeated with the noun: *ā vaēnatā sūcā manajhā ā varənā*, ‘behold with lucid mind the two choices’.

*ākā* ‘in the presence of, facing’: 48. 8 *Ašā, ākā arədrōng išiiā*, ‘O Right, thou longed-for one in the presence of the zealous’; 50. 4 *ākā arədrōng dəmānē garō sraošānē*, ‘facing the zealous I will be heard in the house of song’.

*əəānū* ‘along, among, throughout’: 32. 16 *hiiaṭ aēnajhē drəguuatō əəānū išiiōng ajhaiiā*, ‘whatever is for the wrongful one’s hurt, I will set in place(?) throughout the desirable people’.<sup>21</sup>

*paiṭi* ‘at, to’, as preverb with a verb of motion: 44. 12 *yā mā drəguuā ṭβā sauuā paiṭi.əratē ciiajhaṭ*, ‘the wrongful one who takes pleasure in opposing (lit. going at) thy gains’; 49. 11 *aṭ dušxšaḍrōng ... akāiš xʷarəḍāiš paiṭi uruuəṇō yeiṇ-ti*, ‘the souls come to the ill-dominion with foul food’.

*parā* ‘beyond’: 33. 7 *yā sruiiē parā magāunō*, ‘for which I am renowned above the sacrifice-patrons’.

*parā* ‘before’ takes the accusative only in the combination *parā hiiaṭ*, which serves as a conjunction ‘before’: 43. 12, 48. 2 (§246).

20 Cf. Delbrück i. 610–14.

21 Reading *ajhaiiā* (causal of *ah-*; subjunctive with disyllabic *-ā*).

Instrumental<sup>22</sup>

**59.** With a nominative and an accusative one can give a basic, one-dimensional representation of an event or situation: the priest has killed the cow; the student goes to university. The instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, and locative cases each provide different means of filling out the picture with circumstantial detail.

The instrumental expresses concomitance; it marks a person or thing whose presence beside the subject or object is relevant to the matter. Under this general formula we may distinguish several more specific uses: (a) a modal use, of the instrument or means by which something is effected; (b) a causal or agentive use, of a factor because of which, or an agent through whose involvement, something happens; (c) a circumstantial use, of a relevant state or condition obtaining; and (d) a sociative-comitative use, of a person or thing found in company with another.

Instrumentals occur with great frequency in the *Gāthās*. There are sometimes two or more in the same sentence, and it is not always possible to determine what relationships they denote. Especially frequent is *aṣā*, where there is the further uncertainty whether a quasi-personal power is to be understood or just the principle of cosmic Right.

**60.** Instrumental of means: 28. 5 *anā maḍrā* ... *vāurōimaidī xrafstrā hizuuā*, ‘with this prescript we might convince the predators with our tongue’; 28. 9 *anāiš vā nōiṭ* ... *vānāiš zaranaēmā*, ‘by these prayers may we not anger you’; 28. 10 *aēibiīō pārēnā āpanāiš kāmōm*, ‘fulfil their desire with attainments’; 29. 1 *aṭā [mōi] sṣtā yohū vāstriiā*, ‘so show yourselves through good pasturing’; 29. 5 *aṭ vā ustānāiš ā huuā zastāiš frīnōmnā Ahurāiiā*, ‘but we two are there propitiating the Lord with outstretched hands’; 30. 2 *sraotā gōušāiš*, ‘hear with your ears’; 31. 3 *taṭ nō ... vaocā hizuuā ūḡbahiiā āḡhō*, ‘tell us that with the tongue of thy mouth’; 32. 10 *vaēnaḡhē ... aṣibiīā*, ‘to behold with the eyes’; 32. 12 *yōi gōuš mōrēṇḡan uruuāxš.uxfī jiiōtūm*, ‘who pervert the cow’s life with the cry “Get going!”’; 31. 1 *yōi uruuātāiš Drūjō Aṣāhiiā gaēṭā vī.māṇcaitē*, ‘who with the rules of Wrong destroy Right’s flock’; 31. 2 *yezī āiš nōiṭ uruuānē aduuā aibī.darāštā vaxiiā*, ‘if through these (words) the better way is not in plain view to the soul’; 31. 18 *aṭā iṣ sāzdūm snaiṭiṣā*, ‘so cut them down with axe’; 33. 3 *vīdṡas vā ūḡbaxṣaḡhā gauuōi*, ‘or tending the cow with care’, cf. 46. 12; 34. 13 *tām aduuānōm ... daēnā saoṣiiāṇṡam yā ... uruuāxṣaṭ*, ‘that road by which the Promoters’ moral selves advance’, cf. 51. 16; 43. 11 *hiiṡ xṣmā uxḡāiš dūdaiḡhē*, ‘because I am learning through your utterances’; 43. 4 *yā dā aṣiṣ ... ūḡbahiiā ḡarōmā āḡrō*, ‘the rewards that thou givest by means of thy fire’s heat’, cf. 51. 9; 49. 1 *aṭ mā yauuā bāḡnduuō pafrē*, ‘the polluter(?) has fed himself full on my life’; 51. 1 *vī.dīṣōmnāi iṣācīṭ*, ‘certainly for one liberal with libation’; 51. 22 *ta yazāi*

22 Spiegel §§313–19; Delbrück i. 231–74; Reichelt §§427, 445–55; T. Pobożniak, *Folia Orientalia* 7 (1965), 119–71; Kellens–Pirart ii. 3–20; Skjærvø 113–15.

x'āiš nāmānīš, 'them I will worship using their own names'; 53. 5 vaēdōdūm daēnābīš ... ahūm yā vaḡhēuš managhō, 'be acquiring by your moralities the life of good thought'; 53. 8 rāmamcā āiš dadātū, 'and let peace thereby be established'; YH 36. 3 hiiaṭ vā tōi nāmanam vāzištəm, ... tā ōβā pairi.jasāmaidē, 'or whatever is thy preferred(?) name, with that we attend thee', cf. 36. 1, 4/5; 39. 5.

**61.** Instrumental of cause: 31. 20 tām vā ahūm ... šīiaoḡnāiš x'āiš daēnā naēšaṭ, 'that is the existence to which, on account of your own actions, your morality will bring you'; 32. 3 šīiaoḡm aipī daibitānā, yāiš asrūdūm, 'your duplicitous deeds too, because of which you became renowned', cf. 32. 11; 33. 7; 32. 7 aēšam aēnaḡham ... yāiš srāuū x'aēnā aiaḡhā, 'of those offences on account of which one is tried by means of the glowing metal', cf. 32. 12; 34. 9 vaḡhēuš auuistī managhō, 'from non-acquisition of good thought'; 34. 14 taṭ zī ... vairīm astuuaitē uštānāi dātā vaḡhēuš šīiaoḡnā managhō, 'for that is the prize ye will bestow on material life on account of enactment of good thought', cf. 45. 5; 47. 1; 46. 2 mā kamnašuuā, '(I am ineffectual) because of my poverty in cattle'; 46. 4 x'āiš šīiaoḡnāiš ahōmustō, 'disagreeable because of his deeds'; 49. 4 yaēšam nōit huuarēštāiš vaš dužuarēšta, 'because of whose not doing-good-deeds the ill deeds prevail'; 51. 15 tā vā ... sauuāiš cōuūšī, 'these (laudations) were assigned to you because of your power to strengthen'; YH 40. 1 rāitī tōi xrapaitī, 'because of (our) offering it will befit thee (to grant our prayer)'.

**62.** Instrumental of agency, with passive verbs and participles: 29. 4 yā zī vāuorēzōi pairī ciṭiṭ daēuūāišcā mašīiāišcā, 'those things done in the past by Daevas and mortals'; 30. 1 yā raocōbīš darasatā uruuāzā, 'the joys beheld by the light'; 34. 1 aēšam tōi ... āhmā pourutemāiš dastē, 'of these is offering made thee by us in great numbers'; 43. 10 parštām zī ōβā, 'the question asked by thee'; 44. 8 yācā Vohū uxḡā ... Managhā yācā Ašā, 'and the words spoken by Good Thought and those (spoken) by Right', cf. 43. 11; 48. 1; 53. 8 huxšadrāiš jēnarām xrūnarām, 'by good rulers let them be beaten and bloodied'.

With non-passive verbs: 44. 3 kā yā mā uxšīieitī? 'who is it through whom the moon waxes?', cf. 44. 5; 50. 5 ārōi zī xšmā ... hiiaṭ ..., 'for it is established by you that ...', cf. 34. 3; 53. 9 dužuarēnāiš vaēšō rāstī, 'at the hands of ill-choosers decay takes hold'; YH 41. 4 aēšacā ōβā ōmauuantascā buiāmā, 'may we become potent and strong through thee'.

**63.** Instrumental of attendant circumstance: 43. 2 ciciṭōβā ... vaḡhēuš māiā managhō višpā aiiārē darēgō.jiātōiš uruuādaḡhā, 'understanding the transforming powers(?) of good thought all his days, with enjoyment of long life'; 44. 15 hiiaṭ hēm spādā anaocaghā jamaētē auuāiš uruuātāiš, yā tū ... dīdēražō, 'when the two hostile armies meet on those terms which thou wouldst uphold'; 44. 19 orēž.uxḡā, 'on agreed terms', 'when it been agreed'; 50. 7 zauuīštīiḡḡg auruuatō jaiiāiš pēraḡūš, 'the swiftest steeds, wide with victories (? = widely victorious)'. So perhaps 43. 4 ōβahiiā garamā ādrō ašā aojaghō,

‘by the heat of thy fire that is mighty with (or through) Right’, cf. 43. 16; 44. 2 *ašā spəntō*, ‘liberal with Right’; 51. 21 *spəntō huuiō cistī, uxδāiš, šīiaoδnāi*, ‘he is liberal by insight, words, deed’; 43. 6 *mazdā xšadrā*, ‘mindful in dominion’, cf. 45. 9; 47. 1. Many further passages containing *ašā* might be assigned to this category.

Of mental or moral state or disposition: 28. 1 *yāsā nəmanhā*, ‘I pray in reverence’, cf. 34. 3, 50. 6, 51. 20; 29. 6 *viduuā vafūš viianaiiā*, ‘knowing the designs in his wisdom’, cf. 44. 7; 34. 8 *tāiš zī nā šīiaoδnāiš biianū ... v̄bahiiā ... aštā uruuātahiiā*, ‘for by those actions they intimidate us in hatred of thy law’; 44. 11 *vīspəng aniiōng mainiiəuš spasiā duuaēšahhā*, ‘all others I regard with hostility of spirit’; 46. 6 *rasnā juuqas*, ‘living in rectitude’.

Of mental faculties shaping perceptions: 31. 8 *at v̄βā mājhi ... yazūm stōi manahhā*, ‘I think of thee as being young in my thought’; 34. 15 *frašəm vasnā ... ahūm*, ‘the existence that is splendid in my desiring’, cf. 46. 19.

**64. Sociative-comitative:** 30. 8 *taibiō xšadrəm Vohū Manahhā vōiuuī-dāitē*, ‘for thee, together with Good Thought, will be found dominion’; 31. 4 *yadā Ašəm zəuūim aḡhən Mazdāscā Ahurāḡhō Ašicā Armaidī*, ‘when Right and Mazdā and the Lords are to be invoked with Reward and Piety’, cf. 33. 7; 32. 11 *yōi drəguuaḡntō mazbiš cikōitərəš*, ‘the wrongful who together with the grantees have distinguished themselves’; 33. 3 *yā ašāunē vahištō xvaētū vā at vā vərəzēniō airiāmnā vā*, ‘he who is best to the righteous one, whether with his clan or as a villager or with his tribe’; 34. 6 *yezī adā stā haiḡim, Mazdā Ašā Vohū Manahhā*, ‘if ye are truly thus, O Mazdā with (= and) Right (and) Good Thought’, cf. 34. 5; 46. 18; 50. 5, 7, 9; 51. 3, 15;<sup>23</sup> 44. 20 *aēibiō kəm, yāiš gəm Karəpā Usixšcā aēšmāi dātā*, ‘for the sake of those in company with whom the Karpan and Usij put the cow to violence’; *YH* 40. 4; 46. 10 *frō tāiš vīspāiš Cinuuatō frā pərətūm*, ‘with all of them I shall cross the Arbiter’s Crossing’, cf. 46. 16; 46. 17 *yā vī.cinaoḡ dāvəmcā adāvəmcā dangrā mantū Ašā*, ‘who discriminates between the just man and the unjust with his sage adviser Right’; perhaps 50. 10 *at yā varāšā ... xšmākāi Ašā vahmāi, Mazdā*, ‘whatever things I do ... are for your lauding with Right (= and Right’s), Mazdā’; *YH* 38. 2 *vəḡhīm ābiš Ašim, vəḡhīm Išəm ... yazamaidē*, ‘besides them we worship good Reward, good Vigour ...’.

Of concord or union with: 28. 8 *v̄βā ... yəm Ašā vahištā hazaošəm*, ‘thee that art concordant with best Right’, cf. 29. 7; 32. 2 *Ašā huš.haxā xvaḡnuuatā*, ‘friendly with Right the sunny’; 32. 16 *haməm taḡ vahištācīt*, ‘that is equal with the very best’; 34. 2 *yehiiā uruuā ašā hacaitē*, ‘whose soul keeps company with Right’, cf. 43. 10, 12; 44. 10; 46. 1, 16; 31. 7 *raocābiš rōiḡβan xvaḡrā*, ‘amenities combining with the daylight’; 46. 11 *yūḡen Karpanō Kā-uaiāscā akāiš šīiaoδnāiš ... mašim*, ‘the Karpan and Kavis yoke the mortal with (= to) bad deeds’, cf. 49. 9 *ašā yuxtā* ‘yoked with Right’; 46. 16 *yadrā Ašā*

23 On these passages cf. Risch (1964), 57–61; Kellens–Pirart ii. 50–2.

*hacaitē Ārmaitiṣ*, ‘where Piety keeps company with Right’; 48. 11 *kōi drāguuōdabiṣ xrūrāiṣ rāmaṇ dāntē?* ‘which men will make peace with the savage wrongful ones?’; 49. 5 *yā daēnaṇ vohū sārṣtā manajhā*, ‘who unites his moral self with good thought’, cf. 32. 2; 49. 9 *sarēm ... drāguuātā*, ‘union with the wrongful one’.

Of speaking or conferring with: 31. 12 *aḍrā vācēm baraitī mi-ḍah.uuacā vā ərəṣ.uuacā vā ... ahiiā zərədācā manajhācā*, ‘there it may be one of false words or one of true words who makes speech with that man’s heart and mind’; *ibid.*, *Ārmaitiṣ mainiiū pərəsaitē*, ‘Piety debates with the will’; 44. 12 *kā aṣauuā, yāiṣ pərəsāi?* ‘who is righteous (of those) with whom I debate?’; 49. 2 *naēdā Vohū ... fraṣtā Manajhā*, ‘nor has he taken counsel with Good Thought’, cf. 45. 6; 47. 3, 51. 11; 53. 3 *aḍā hēm.fraṣuuā [ḍβā] xraḍβā*, ‘so take counsel with thy reason’.

**65.** Intermediate between the modal and the sociative instrumentals is the usage with *i-* or *gam-* where the meaning is ‘come with’ in the sense of ‘come bringing’: 30. 7 *ahmāicā xṣaḍrā jasaṭ manajhā vohū aṣācā*, ‘but suppose one comes with dominion for him, with good thought and right’; 49. 11 *akāiṣ xʷarəḍvāiṣ paiṭi uruuṇō yeiṇṭi*, ‘the souls come to them with foul food’; 51. 10 *maibiiō zbaiiā Aṣəm vaṇhuiiā aṣi gatē*, ‘for myself I will call upon Right to come with the good reward’. Similarly 46. 3 *kadā ... yōi uxṣānō asnaṇ ... frō aṣahiiā ərəṇtē vərəzdāiṣ sānghāiṣ*, ‘when will those Oxen of Days set forth on the path of right with stouter declarations?’

**66.** Adverbial usages: 49. 2 *daibitā*, ‘deceitfully’; adjective with fem. ending and presumably a noun suppressed, 48. 10 *aṅgraiiā*, ‘cruelly’. The frequent instr. *aṣā* is perhaps sometimes to be understood as a virtual adverb, ‘rightly’, but it is difficult to isolate such cases on contextual grounds.

Of time: 29. 9 *kadā yauuā*, ‘when ever?’<sup>24</sup>

**67.** The instrumental of the demonstrative pronoun, *tā*, has meanings corresponding to those distinguished above: ‘thereby, in that manner’, 45. 11; 51. 2, 12, 13; ‘because of that, so’, 51. 10. Likewise the relative *yā* may be ‘how’ (34. 12, cf. 31. 16 *yā.ṣiiaodnascā* ‘and how actioned’) or ‘on account of what’ (46. 2).

**68.** Instrumentals in any function may be adnominal: 28. 1 *ahiiā yāsā ... rafədrahiiā ... ṣiiaodnā. Vaṇhēuš xratūm Manajhō yā xṣnəuiiṣā*, ‘I pray for his help by means of an action through which thou couldst satisfy Good Thought’s purpose’; perhaps 29. 2 *yā drāguuōdabiṣ aēṣeməm vādāiōiṭ*, ‘who might repulse violence (committed) by the wrongful’ (unless it is ‘together with the wrongful’); 29. 11 *āhmā rāiōiṣ*, ‘liberality by us’; 31. 19 *ḍβā aḍrā suxṣrā*

<sup>24</sup> Cf. RV 4. 53. 7 *kṣapābhir āhabhiṣ ca*, ‘night and day’; Delbrück i. 245 f.; Brugmann (1902) §545(b); Hirt vi. 34; Krahe 98 f. The adverb *fraidiuuā* ‘daily’ (32. 14) shows an instr. ending.

... *vī.dātā*, ‘at the allocation by means of thy flaming fire’, cf. 51. 9; 33. 8 *utai-ūīfī hauruuatās*, ‘health with vitality’; 33. 12 *yaṅhuiiā zauuō ādā*, ‘promptness with good allocation’; 34. 4 *zastā.ištāiš dərəštā.aēnaṅhəm*, ‘a manifest harm by main force’; 44. 17 *sarōi ... hauruuatā amərətātā*, ‘for union with health and non-dying’;<sup>25</sup> 47. 2 *hizuuā uxδāiš ... zastōibiīā šīiaoθnā*, ‘by utterances with the tongue ... by action with the hands’; 48. 12 *šīiaoθnāiš ašā*, ‘by actions (done) with right’; YH 40. 3 *nərəš ... ahmā.rafanəṅhō*, ‘men who have support by us’.

69. A good example of multiple instrumentals in one sentence is 43. 6,

*yahmī spəntā θβā mainiiū uruuāēsē jasō,*  
*mazdā xšaθrā, ahmī Vohū Manaṅhā,*  
*yehiiā šīiaoθnāiš gaēθā ašā frādəntē, ...*

at the bend where thou comest with thy bounteous will,  
 mindful in dominion, at that (bend) with Good Thought,  
 by whose actions the flock prospers with right, ...

#### *Instrumental with appositives*

70. The sociative instrumental is sometimes reinforced with *maṭ* ‘together with, beside’: 32. 1 *vərəzənəm maṭ airiiamnā*, ‘the village with the tribe’; 34. 11 *Ašā maṭ Ārmaitiš*, ‘Piety together with Right’; 43. 14; 44. 7; 45. 9; 46. 19; 48. 11; 50. 8 *maṭ vā padāiš yā frasrūtā ižaiiā pairi.jasāi ... ustānazastō*, apparently ‘together with what are known as the Footsteps of Libation I will approach you with outstretched hands’.

Similarly with *hadā* ‘with’: 29. 2 *hadā vāstrā gaodāiō θβaxšō*, ‘cattle-tending (lies) with the pastor’; perhaps 46. 17 *hadā vā stōi<sup>26</sup> vahmāṅg sraošā rādaṅhō*, ‘so that there are for you, besides compliance, praises of the Caring One’; 50. 4 *aṭ vā yazāi stauuas, Mazdā Ahurā, hadā Ašā Vahištācā Manaṅhā*, ‘I will worship you with praise, Lord Mazdā, (you) together with Right and Best Thought’ (cf. §122).

And with *hadrā* ‘with’: 28. 4 *yē uruuānəm mān gairē vohū dadē hadrā manəṅhā*, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought’; YH 38. 1 *iməṅ āaṭ zaṅ genābīš hadrā yazamaidē*, ‘this Earth together with its Dames we worship’.

*parē* ‘beyond’ is construed with the instrumental in 34. 5 *parē vā vīspāiš vaoxmā daēuuāišcā xrafstrāiš mašiiāišcā*, ‘we have declared you (to be) beyond all predators, both Daevas and mortals’. It is not obvious what function of the instrumental this relates to, but the usage is paralleled with Vedic *parās*.

*pairī* ‘before’ is construed with the instrumental in 50. 10 *aṭ yā varāšā yācā pairī āiš šīiaoθnā*, ‘whatever things I do and whatever (I did) before them’.

25 But with *sarē* the genitive is more often used, cf. §99.

26 *vā stōi* is my emendation for the manuscripts’ *vāstā* or *vīstā*.



Dative<sup>27</sup>

71. The dative expresses orientation: the person to whom, or thing to which, something is present, or available, or advantageous or disadvantageous, or apparent, or directed; or the purpose towards which some action is aimed.

72. Dative of interest (advantage, disadvantage, possession, etc.): 28. 3 *yaēibiiō xšadr̥m̥cā ayž̥aonuuamn̥m varədaitī ārmaitiš*, ‘(you) for whom piety augments unimpaired dominion too’, or ‘whose unimpaired dominion too piety augments’; 28. 8 *vahišt̥m θ̥βā ... yāsā vāunuš narōi Frašaoštrāi maibiiācā*, ‘(for) the best (gift) I pray thee longingly for the manly Frashaushtra and myself’; 28. 10 *aēibiiō p̥r̥ənā āpanāiš kām̥m*, ‘fulfil their desire with attainments’; 29. 1 *kahmāi mā θ̥βarōzdūm?* ‘for whom did you shape me?’, cf. 29. 6; 29. 2 *kaθā tōi gauuōi ratuš?* ‘how (was) thy judgment for the cow?’; 29. 5 *nōit̥ orōž̥jiiōi frajiiāitiš, nōit̥ fsuiientē?* ‘is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stock-raiser?’; 29. 7 *kas.tē ... yē ī dāiāt̥ d̥əāuuā marōtaēibiiō*, ‘who is there for thee who could establish those things for mortals?’; 30. 11 *hiiatcā darōgēm dr̥oguūōdēbiiō rašō sauuacā aš̥auuabiiō*, ‘the lasting harm that is for the wrongful, and the blessings for the righteous’, cf. 31. 3; 31. 4 *išasā ... maibiiō xšadr̥m̥ aojōḡhuuat̥*, ‘I shall seek a strong authority for myself’; 31. 6 *ahmāi aḡhaṭ vahišt̥m, yē ...*, ‘it will go best for him who’; 31. 10 *aṭ hī aiā frauuaratā vāstrīm ax̥iīāi ... ahur̥m*, ‘but she of these two chose for herself the herdsman as lord’, cf. 46. 3; 31. 15 *yā maēniš, yē dr̥oguūāitē xšadr̥m̥ hunāit̥*, ‘what the punishment (is for him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’; 32. 10 *yascā vadarə vōizdat̥ aš̥āunē*, ‘and he who raises a weapon against the righteous one’; 33. 1 *š̥iiaodnā razištā dr̥oguūataēcā hiiatcā aš̥āunē*, ‘by action most just both for the wrongful one and as regards the righteous’; 34. 8 *š̥iiaodnāiš ... yaēšū as pairi pourubiiō iḡiiejō*, ‘by their actions, in which there was danger for many’; 44. 4 *kē vātāi duuḡnmaibiiāscā yaogṭ āsū?* ‘who yoked the swift pair (of steeds) for the wind and clouds?’; 46. 11 *Drūjō d̥amānāi astaiiō*, ‘as guests (destined) for the house of Wrong’; 46. 13 *ahmāi gaēḡā Vohū frādat̥ Manayhā*, ‘for him the flock (= his flock) he promotes with Good Thought’; 49. 2 *nōit̥ sp̥ənt̥am̥ dōrašt̥ ahmāi stōi Ārmaitīm*, ‘he has not embraced bounteous Piety (so as for her) to be his’; 50. 3 *aṭcīt̥ ahmāi ... aḡhaitī, yaḡm̥ hōi ... cōišt̥*, ‘yet his will be (the cow) which one assigns to him’; 53. 5 *taṭ zī hōi hušēn̥m aḡhaṭ*, ‘for that will be profitable for him’; 53. 6 *n̥asaṭ x̥ʷadr̥m̥ dr̥oguūōdēbiiō d̥ājīt̥.arōtaēibiiō*, ‘well-being is lost for the wrongful diminishers of right’; YH 36. 1 *yē ā ax̥tiš̥ ahmāi*, ‘which is torment for him’.

73. The dative of interest is used of a person to whom someone comes bringing benefit or the opposite: 29. 3 *yahmāi zauuōḡ* (acc.) *jimā*, ‘to whose calls I will come’; 43. 4 *hiiat̥ mōi varjhāuš hazē jimaṭ manayhō*, ‘when the force of

27 Spiegel §§320–4; Delbrück i. 277–306; Reichelt §§457–71; Kellens–Pirart ii. 20–30; Skjærvø 110 f.

good thought comes to me’, cf. 43. 12; 44. 16; 44. 1 *yaðā nē ā Vohū jimaṭ Manajhā*, ‘so that it will come to us with Good Thought’, cf. 46. 3; 44. 11 *yaēi-biiō ... θβōi vašiietē daēnā*, ‘to whom thy religion issues forth’; 46. 8 *paitiaogəṭ tā ahmāi jasōiṭ duuaēšəḡhā*, ‘may they recoil on him with hostility’; 49. 1 *gaidī mōi, ā mōi rapā*, ‘come to me, support me’. Note that the dative is not used of going ‘to’ a place, and these examples are not to be so understood.

74. Of attitudes towards someone: 29. 3 *aduuaēšō gauuōi*, ‘not hostile to the cow’; 29. 7 *huuō urušaēibiiō spəntō*, ‘he is bounteous to the needy’; 31. 1 *yōi zrazdā aḡhan Mazdāi*, ‘who will be faithful to Mazdā’; 31. 21 *yā hōi ... uruuəðō*, ‘who is his ally’, cf. 51. 11; 33. 3 *yā ašāunē vahištō*, ‘he who is best to the righteous one’, cf. 45. 5; 43. 8 *haiθiiō duuaēšā ... drəguuāitē, aṭ ašāunē rafə-nō xiiēm aojōḡhuuaṭ*, ‘may I be the true enemy of the wrongful one, but to the righteous a strong support’; 47. 4 *ašāunē kəðə ... akō drəguuāitē*, ‘kind to the righteous one ... malign towards the wrongful one’; 44. 7 *uzəmēm ... puðrəm piðrē*, ‘the son respectful to the father’; 45. 11 *yā hōi arēm mainiiatā*, ‘who is properly disposed towards him’.

75. The enclitic dative pronouns *mōi tōi hōi nē vā*, placed after the first word or tonal unit in the clause, often serve to mark possession of something specified by a following noun, or personal interest in the predicate as a whole:<sup>28</sup> 29. 8 *yā nē aēuuō sāsna gūšata*, ‘who alone listens to our guidance’; *ibid.*, *hiiaṭ hōi hudəmēm diiāi vaxəðrahiia*, ‘as I harness his well-constructed utterance’; 31. 6 *yā mōi viđuuā vaocat haiθim*, ‘who, knowing it, speaks my truth’; 31. 11 *hiiaṭ nē, Mazdā, paouruuim gaēðascā tašō daēnāscā*, ‘since first, Mazdā, thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves’; 32. 2 *spəntəm vā arəmaiṭim vajhīm varəmaidī; hā nē aḡhaṭ*, ‘your liberal piety, (as it is) good, we adopt; it shall be ours’; 32. 6 *θβahmī vā ... xšaθrōi Ašāiēcā sənḡhō vī.đəm*, ‘in thy domain let your decree and Right’s be given out’; 34. 11 *aṭ tōi ubē hauruuāscā ... aməratatāscā*, ‘both health and non-dying are thine’; 44. 17 *hiiaṭcā mōi xiiiaṭ vāxš aēšō*, ‘and that my voice be effective’; 45. 5 *yōi mōi ahmāi sraošəm đəṇ caiiāscā*, ‘whatever people comply with it for me’, or ‘whatever people I get to comply with it’; 47. 3 *aṭ hōi vāstrāi rāmā dā arəmaiṭim*, ‘and for her pasture thou didst establish peace and piety’; 51. 2 *tā vā ... dōišā mōi ištōiš xšaθrəm*, ‘so I will show you my command of competence’.

76. The dative of interest may be adnominal: 28. 5 *gātūmcā Ahurāi*, ‘and (as) a path (or throne) for the Lord’; 30. 1 *stətatācā Ahurāi*, ‘praises for the Lord’; 30. 2 *vīciθahiiā narēm narəm xaxiiāi tanuiiē*, ‘of the decision (made) man by man for his own person’; 44. 2 *irixtəm vīspōibiiō hārō*, ‘observing the outcome for all’; 48. 8 *ašōiš θβaxiiā maibiiō*, ‘of thy reward for me’; 51. 5 *dāvaēi-biiō əraš.ratūm*, ‘the straight judgment (appointed) for the just’; 51. 14 *gauuōi*

28 Cf. W. Havers, *Untersuchungen zur Kasussyntax der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Strassburg 1911), 47–61.

*ārōiš*, ‘of harm to the cow’; YH 40. 3 *haxmainē ahmaibiiā*, ‘for association to us’.

77. The dative is used for the indirect object after verbs of giving, assigning, effecting: 28. 7 *dāidi tū ... Vištāspāi īšəm maibiiācā*, ‘give enablement to Vishtaaspa and to me’, cf. 29. 10; 44. 14 *kaḏā Ašāi Drujōm diiḡm zastaiiō*, ‘how might I give Wrong into the hands (loc.) of Right (dat.)?’, cf. 30. 8; 31. 9 *hiiat axiiāi dadā padḡm*, ‘when thou didst offer her a path’; 43. 5 *hiiat dā ... akēm akāi, vaḡhīm ašīm vaḡhaouuē*, ‘when thou didst set evil for the evil one, a good reward for the good’; 49. 7 *yā vərəzēnāi vaḡhīm dāt frasasūm*, ‘that will give the community a good renown’; 28. 8 *yaēibiiascā iḡ rāḡhaḡhōi*, ‘and those on whom thou wilt bestow it’; 31. 3 *yaḡm ... cōiš rānōibiiā xšnūtām*, ‘the atonement that thou didst assign to the two parties’, cf. 47. 6; 33. 2 *aḡ yā akēm droḡuuāitē ... varāšaiti*, ‘now he who does evil to the wrongful one’; 48. 5 *yaoždā ... zaḡḡm ... gauuōi vərəziātḡm*, ‘let purification of breeding be effected for the cow’; YH 41. 1 *stūtō garō vahmōḡg Ahurāi Mazdāi dadəmahicā cīšmahicā ā.cā vaēdaiimahī*, ‘praises, songs, laudations we dedicate and assign and proclaim to Lord Mazda’.

78. Likewise for the indirect object after verbs of speaking or showing: 29. 3 *ahmāi Ašā ... paiḡmrauauat*, ‘to him Right will answer’, cf. 32. 2; 30. 1 *yā mazdāḡvā hiiatciḡ vīdušē*, ‘things that you are to bring to the attention even of one who knows’; 31. 3 *taḡ nā ... vaocā*, ‘tell us that’, cf. 44. 1; 31. 17 *vīduuā vīdušē mraotū*, ‘let the knowing one speak to the knowing’, cf. 43. 12; 53. 5; 32. 9 *tā uxḡā ... yūšmaibiiā ḡərəzē*, ‘these words I utter in complaint to you’, cf. 29. 1; 44. 20 *yācā Kauuā ḡnmēnē urūdōiiatā*, ‘and the things the Kavi makes her lament to her soul’; 43. 8 *aḡ hōi aojī*, ‘to him I say’; 33. 13 *dōiši mōi yā vā ā bifrā*, ‘show me the virtues(?) that are yours’, cf. 43. 10; 51. 2, 17.

79. Certain verbs that denote beneficial action take the dative: 29. 5 *fīnəmnā Ahurāiiā*, ‘propitiating the Lord’, cf. 49. 12; 33. 3 *vīdḡs vā ḡβaxšḡhā gauuōi*, ‘or by tending the cow with care’, cf. 51. 6, 53. 4; 33. 11 *sraotā mōi, mərəždātā mōi*, ‘hear (my prayer) for me, have mercy on me’; 43. 9 *kahmāi vīuuīduiiē vaši?* ‘whom do you wish to serve?’; 49. 1 *gaiḡi mōi, ā mōi rapā*, ‘come to me, support me’; 50. 5 *hiiat yūšmākāi maḡḡrānē vaorāzavā*, ‘that you will be benign towards your prophet’; 51. 6 *yascā hōi vārāi rādat*, ‘and whoever will be prompt to his will’, cf. 33. 2.

80. Dative of the observer from whose viewpoint something is seen: 31. 2 *uruuānē ... aibi.dərəštā*, ‘in plain view to the soul’; 31. 22 *ciḡrā i hudāḡhē yaḡḡnā vaēdəmnāi manḡhā*, ‘these things are clear to the well-doer as he apprehends them in his mind’; 43. 11 *sādrā mōi sḡs mašiiāēšū zrazdāitiš*, ‘trust in mortals seems to me grief’; 46. 19 *tāciḡ mōi sḡs tuuēm ... vaēdištō*, ‘of those things thou appearest to me the best provider’.

With a verbal adjective of passive sense it becomes in effect a dative of the agent: 29. 8 *aēm mōi idā vistō*, ‘this man here (has been) found by me’;

31. 1 *aguštā vacā sēnghāmahī aēibiīō yōi ...*, ‘we proclaim words unheeded by those who ...’ (rather than ‘we proclaim unheeded words to those who’); cf. 43. 12.<sup>29</sup>

81. In the usages described in §§72–80 the dative practically always refers to a person or persons. It is otherwise with the dative of purpose: 28. 3 *ā mōi rafədrāi zauuōng jasatā*, ‘come to my calls, for (= to give) support’, cf. 33. 13, 54. 1; 28. 4 *yē uruuānēm mēn gairē ... dadē*, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song’; 29. 11 *aṭ maṃ ... mazōi magāiīā paiṭi.zānatā*, ‘acknowledge me for the great rite’, cf. 46. 14; 31. 16 *huuō yē ... fradaṽāiīā spərəzatā*, ‘he who is eager for the furtherance’, cf. 45. 9; 31. 19 *ərəž.uxdāi vacaṇḥam xšaiiamnō hizuuō*, ‘being master of his tongue for true voicing of words’; 34. 11 *aṭ tōi ubē hauruuāscā xʷarəṽāiīā amərətatāscā*, ‘both health and non-dying are thine for nourishment’; 44. 17 *sarōi būždiīāi*, ‘to work for union’; 46. 1 *kam nēmōi zaṃ, kuṽrā nēmōi aieni?* ‘what land for refuge, where am I to go for refuge?’; 46. 3 *kadā ... yōi uxšānō asnaṃ aṇhəuš darəṽrāi frō ... ārəntē?* ‘when will those Oxen of Days come forth for the upholding of existence?’; *ibid.*, *maibiīō ṽβā sastrāi vərənē*, ‘for myself I choose thee for direction’; 46. 7 *hiiaṭ mā drəguuā dīdarəšatā aēnaṇḥē*, ‘when the wrongful one seeks to seize me for maltreatment’, cf. 32. 16; *ibid.*, *taṃ mōi daṣtuuṃ daēnaiīāi frā.uuaocā*, ‘tell forth that information for my moral guidance’; 47. 3 *aṭ hōi vāstrāi rāmā dā ārmaitīm*, ‘and for her pasture thou didst establish peace and piety’; 50. 7 *mahmāi xiiātā auuṇḥē*, ‘may you be (there) for my succour’; 50. 10 *aṭ yā varašā ... xsmākāi Ašā vahmāi*, ‘whatever things I do ... are for your lauding with Right’, cf. 46. 10; 53. 2 *scantū ... xšnūm Mazdā vahmāiīā fraorət*, ‘let them accord in what gratifies Mazdā devotedly (with devotion) to his praise’; *YH* 36. 2 *yātāiīā paiṭi.jamiīā ... mazištāi yāṇḥam paiṭi.jamiīā*, ‘for our supplicating mayest thou come ... for our greatest of supplications mayest thou come’; 40. 3 *dāidi aṭ nərəš ... darəgāi ižiīāi bezuuaitē haxmainē ahmaibiīā*, ‘grant (us) men for enduring, nourishing, solid association with us’.

82. In several of the above examples we have a double dative, one of interest, the other of purpose: 28. 3; 33. 13; 34. 11; 46. 3; 47. 3; 54. 1 *ā Air-iīāmā ... rafədrāi jaṅtū nərəbiiascā nāribiiascā Zaraṽuštrahē*, ‘let Aryaman come for (= to give) support for the men and women of Zarathustra’.

83. A particular idiom that belongs here is the use of *dā-* in the middle voice with accusative object and dative of purpose: 29. 5 *hiiaṭ Mazdāṃ duuaidi frasā-biīō*, ‘as we two set Mazdā to (our) questions’, i.e. question him; 43. 7 *kaṽā aiīārə daxsarā frasaiīāi dīšā?* ‘could you set a day for asking information?’; 44. 20 *yāiš gaṃ Karapā Usiṣcā aēšmāi dātā*, ‘with whom the Karpan and the Usij put the cow to violence’; 46. 8 *yē vā mōi yā gaēṽā dazdē aēnaṇḥē*, ‘or the one who is putting my flock to maltreatment’; 46. 18 *yē nā aštāi daidūtā*, ‘who would

29 Cf. Delbrück i. 300; Brugmann (1902) §554; Benveniste 177–86; Skjærvø 111.

subject us to (acts of) hatred'; YH 36. 1 *ahmāi yām axtōiiōi dāyhē*, 'for him whom thou putttest to torment'.

**84.** Related to the dative of purpose is the temporal use in the phrase *vīspāi yauuē* (28. 8; YH 40. 2; 41. 2) or *yauuōi vīspāi* (46. 11), 'for all time'; likewise 28. 11 *yauuaētāitē*, 'for eternity'. Cf. YH 35. 3 *yā hātqam śīiaodnanam vahištā xīiāt ubōibiiā ahubiiā*, 'which may be the best of actions in the world for both existences', cf. 35. 8; 38. 3; 40. 2; perhaps 34. 5. *kaṭ vā xšadram, kā īštiš śīiaodnāi?*, 'what is your power, what your ability for action?'

**85.** Untypical uses of the dative are: 46. 10 *ašim ašāi*, 'reward for right' (for normal gen., cf. §100); 51. 3 *yōi vā śīiaodnāiš sārəntē*, 'who by their actions are uniting with you' (for normal instr.); YH 40. 3 *haxmainē ahmaibiiā*, 'association with us' (for expected instr.).

For dative infinitives see §§194–204.

### Ablative<sup>30</sup>

**86.** The ablative marks that *from which* there is movement or separation, or something derives; or a reference point from which something is measured or considered. It occurs predominantly with singular nouns.<sup>31</sup>

**87.** Ablative of separation. (a) Where motion is involved: 32. 4 *vayhōuš sīzdiiamnā manahō*, *Mazdā Ahurahiā xratōuš nasiiantō Aštātca*, 'retreating from good thought, losing the way from Lord Mazdā's sapience and from Right', cf. 34. 9; 32. 15 *tōi ābiiā bairiiāntē Vayhōuš ā dəmānē Manahō*, 'they will be borne away from them both into the house of Good Thought'; 45. 1 *yaēcā asnāt yaēcā dūrāt išavā*, 'you who come eagerly from near and far'; 46. 4 *yas.tēm xšadrāt ... mōivāt jiiātōuš vā*, 'whoever dispatches him from authority or from life', cf. 53. 9; 46. 5 *uz.ūiīiōi īm ... xrūniāt*, 'to help him escape from bloodshed'.

(b) Where no motion is involved: 34. 8 *āēibiiō dūirē vohū as manō*, 'from them good thought was far away'. Especially of keeping apart: 32. 5 *tā dəbənaotā mašim hujiiātōiš amərə<ta>tātascā*, 'so you cheat the mortal out of good living and security from death'; 32. 11 *yōi vahištāt ašāunō ... rārəšiiqan manahō*, 'who will divert the righteous from best thought', cf. 32. 12; 47. 4; 49. 2; 32. 13 *yā īš pāt darəsāt ašahiiā*, 'which will keep them from the sight of Right', cf. 46. 4, 8; 44. 4 *kas.nā dərətā zqmčā adē nabāscā auuapastōiš?* 'who held the earth from beneath, and the sky from falling?'; 33. 4 *yā ūβat ... asruš-tīm ... yazāi apā ... gəušcā vāstrāt acištəm maṅtūm*, 'I that will seek by worship (to keep) disregard away from thee ... and from the cow's pasture the worst

30 Spiegel §§325–30; Delbrück i. 200–17; Reichelt §§472–85; Kellens–Pirart ii. 36–9; Skjærvø 112 f.

31 Cf. Delbrück i. 182.

counsellor'; 46. 1 *pairī x<sup>v</sup>aētōuš airiiamnascā dadaitī*, 'they set (me) apart(?) from clan and tribe'; 49. 3 *aņtarā vīspāṅg drāguuatō haxmāṅg mruuiē*, 'I ban all wrongful ones from my company'.

**88.** Ablative of source: 32. 3 *Akāt Manajhō stā ciḍram*, 'you are seed (sprung) from Evil Thought'; 34. 2 *aṭcā ī tōi manajhā mainiiēušcā vanjhōuš vīspā dātā spəntaxiiācā nərəš šiiiaoḍnā*, 'they are all dedicated to thee by the thought (instr.) and out of the good intent (abl.) and by the deed (instr.) of a liberal man'; 34. 13 *daēnā saošiiantəm yā ... ašātcīt* (v.l. *ašācīt*) *uruuāxšaṭ hiiat cəuuištā hudābiiō mīzdəm*, '(the road) on which the Promoters' moral selves advance from Right itself to the reward ye assigned to well-doers'; 51. 12 *caratascā aodərəšcā zōišənū*, 'trembling from the journey and the cold'.

**89.** Ablative of comparison or contrast: 43. 3 *vanjhōuš vahiiō*, 'better than good'; 51. 6 *vahiiō vanjhōuš ... akāt ašiiō*, 'better than good ... worse than bad'; 29. 1 *xšmat aniiō*, 'other than you', cf. 34. 7; 45. 11; 46. 7; 50. 1; 51. 10; 32. 12 *yāiš grāhmā ašāt vərətā Karpā*, 'with whom the Karpan chooses gluttony(?) over right'.

**90.** Ablative of reference: 28. 10 *yōṅ Ašāatcā vōistā vanjhōušcā dāvōṅ manajhō*, 'those whom thou knowest to be upright from (the standpoint of) right and good thought'; 31. 15 *pasēuš vīrāatcā adrujiiantō*, 'innocent before man and beast'; 46. 5 *yā vā xšaiiṅs ā dəm drītā aiiantəm uruuātōiš vā ... miḍrōi-biiō vā*, 'or a man who on his own authority should take into his house one coming on the basis of a promise or agreements'; 51. 14 *nōit uruuāḍā dātōi-biiāscā Karpānō vāstrāt arēm*, 'the Karpans are not fit allies from (the standpoint of your) ordinances and the pasture'.

#### *Ablative with appositives*

**91.** Several appositives are construed with the ablative, the most frequent being *ā* and *hacā*.

*aibī*: in YH 35. 5 and 40. 1 the phrase *ahmat hiiat aibī* evidently means 'insofar as comes from us', i.e. depends on us. In 35. 10 *staotāiš ṽβāt ... staotōibiiō aibī*, *uxdā ṽβāt uxḍōibiiō*, *yasnā ṽβāt yasnōibiiō* we may render 'be it with praises where praises are (the point of departure =) concerned, or with utterances where utterance is concerned, or with act of worship where acts of worship are concerned'.

*ā* reinforces ablatives of more than one kind without, in many cases, any obvious modification of the sense. If its basic meaning is 'forward, onward', it may perhaps sometimes emphasize the idea of forward progression from the point of origin, 'forth from' as against simple 'from'.<sup>32</sup>

32 Cf. Delbrück i. 757.

With abl. of separation: 44. 13 *kaṭvā drujəm nīš ahmat ā nāšāmā?* ‘how are we to drive wrong forth from ourselves?’

With abl. of source: 30. 10 *aṭ āsištā yaojanṭē ā hušitōiš Vaḡhēuš Manaḡhō,* ‘and the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked (to come forth) from the fair dwelling of Good Thought’; 31. 21 *Mazdā dadāt ... būrōiš ā ... x<sup>v</sup>āpaiṭiiāt xšaṭrahiīā,* ‘Mazdā gives forth from the rich sovereignty of his domain’; 33. 5 *Ašāt ā ərašūš paṭō,* ‘the straight paths (leading) from Right’; 33. 6 *mainiiēuš ā vahištāt kaiiā ahmāt,* ‘(drawing) from this best will I desire’; 44. 1 *taṭ ṽβā pərəsā ... nəmanḡhō ā,* ‘this I ask thee out of reverence’; 45. 9 *vaḡhēuš ... haozaṭṽβāt ā manaḡhō,* ‘out of familiarity with good thought’; 51. 4 *kuṭrā ārōiš ā fsəratuš, kuṭrā mərəždikā ā xštaṭ?* ‘where will respect (?) appear out of (= to replace) harm, where mercy?’

In 48. 7 *yōi ā Vaḡhēuš Manaḡhō dīdrayžōduiīē,* ‘you who wish to secure yourselves to Good Thought’, the ablative marks the point of attachment from which a connection is made.

In 31. 9 *hiiaṭ axiiāi dadā paṭəm vāstriiāt vā ā itē yē vā nōiṭ aḡhaṭ vāstriiō,* ‘when thou didst offer her (the cow) a path, to proceed either from the herdsman or (from him) who is not a herdsman’, the sense is ‘to be on the herdsman’s side, be associated with him’. Similarly 47. 5 *Akāt ā siias Manaḡhō,* ‘abiding on the side of Evil Thought’; YH 39. 3 *yōi Vaḡhēuš ā Manaḡhō šīiein- tī,* ‘those who abide on the side of Good Thought’.

*ēānū:* the basic sense is ‘along, following the course of’. So 47. 2 *hizuuā uxōaiš vaḡhēuš ēānū manaḡhō* may be rendered ‘by utterances with the tongue according to (proceeding from and remaining in line with) good thought’.

*parā* ‘before’: 30. 2 *parā mazē yaḡhō,* ‘before the great supplication’. This is perhaps in essence an ablative of comparison. The meaning of 53. 6 *āiesē †hōiš piṭāt tanuuō parā* is obscure.

*hacā* ‘in accord with, in line with’: 28. 2 *maibiiō dāuoi ... āiiaptā ašāt hacā,* ‘to give me blessings in line with Right’, cf. 27. 13; 29. 6; 31. 2; 43. 14; 45. 4; 46. 19; 47. 1; 51. 5, 22; 53. 1; YH 35. 10; 28. 11 *frō mā sīšā ṽβahmāt vaocaḡhē mainiiēuš hacā,* ‘teach me to voice (my hymns) in line with thy will’; 32. 2 *aēibiiō Mazdā ... xšaṭrāt hacā paiṭi.mraot,* ‘to them Mazdā answers in accord with his authority’; 44. 17 *kaṭvā zərəm carānī hacā xšmat?* ‘how am I to reach my desire in accord with you?’; 53. 6 *drūjō hacā rāṭəmō,* ‘a man attached to wrong’, cf. 44. 17; YH 37. 2 *yōi gēuš hacā šīieinṭi,* ‘who dwell in accord with the cow’. But a different sense must be sought in 31. 14 *yā išudō dadəntē dā-ṭranəm hacā ašāunō yāscā ... drəguuōdēbiiō,* ‘what requitals will be given for gifts from the righteous one and what (for gifts) from the wrongful’.

*hanarē* ‘without’: 31. 15 *yē nōiṭ jiiōtūm hanarē vīnastī vāstriēhiīā aēnaḡhō,* ‘who cannot find a livelihood without violation of the herdsman’; 47. 5 *hanarē ṽβahmāt zaošāt drəguuā baxšaiti,* ‘it is without thy favour that the wrongful one partakes (of good things)’.

Genitive<sup>33</sup>

**92.** The genitive, unlike the other oblique cases, is primarily adnominal. It defines the realm or domain within which something has its place. Various categories may be distinguished.

**93.** Genitive of ownership:<sup>34</sup> 28. 1 *Vaṅhəuš xratūm Manəṅhō ... gəušcā uruuānəm*, ‘Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’; 31. 12 *ahiiā zərədācā manəṅhācā*, ‘through that man’s heart and thought’; 32. 12 *gəuš ... jiiōtūm*, ‘the cow’s life’; 43. 7 *kahiiā ahī?* ‘who do you belong to?’; 44. 3 *ptā Ašahiiā*, ‘the father of Right’, cf. 46. 12; 47. 2, 3; 44. 3 *xvəng strəmca dāt aduuānəm*, ‘set the path of the sun and the stars’;<sup>35</sup> 46. 11 *Cinuuatō pərətuš*, ‘the Arbiter’s Crossing’; 49. 4 *drəguuatō daēnā*, ‘the wrongful one’s religion’, cf. 34. 13; 51. 13; 53. 2; 53. 1 *vahištā īstiš srāuuī Zərəduštrahē*, ‘best is the competence that became renowned as that of Zarathushtra’; 53. 7 *mainiiuš drəguuatō*, ‘the wrongful one’s intent’.

Generally of relationships where something belongs to something or someone, is an inherent part, property, adjunct, etc.: 33. 4 *vərozənaṅxiicā nazdištəm drujəm ariiamnascā nadəntō*, ‘and the village’s nearest (neighbour), wrong, and the detractors in the tribe’; 48. 10 *saošiantō daxiiunəm*, ‘the Promoters in the regions’; 50. 3 *ašōiš aojəṅhā*, ‘by the strength of (= by virtue of) the reward’; 54. 1 *nərəbiiascā nāiribiiascā Zərəduštrahē*, ‘for Zarathushtra’s men and women’.

**94.** A possessive adjective and a genitive may be used in parallel: 29. 5 *mā uruuā gəušcā aziīā*, ‘my soul and the milch cow’s’; 51. 13 *xvāiš šiiəodnāiš hizuuascā*, ‘through his own actions and his tongue’s’; YH 39. 1 *ahmākəng āat urunō pasukanəmcā*, ‘our souls and those of the livestock’.

**95.** Subjective genitive: 33. 8 *yasnəm ... xsmāuuatō*, ‘the worship of (= performed by) your follower’, cf. 29. 11; 44. 1; 46. 10; 34. 2 *spəntaxiiicā nərəš šiiəodnā*, ‘and by the deed of a liberal man’, cf. 34. 10, 43. 6; 46. 15 *dātāiš paouruiiāiš Ahurahiiā*, ‘by the Lord’s original ordinances’; 50. 8 *arədraxiiicā nəməṅhā*, ‘and with a zealous man’s reverence’. Here may be placed the genitive found with *bərəxḍa-* ‘esteemed (of)’: 32. 9 *apō mā īštīm yəntā bərəxḍəm hāitīm Vaṅhəuš Manəṅhō*, ‘he takes away the potency that is esteemed of (by) Good Thought’, cf. 34. 9; 48. 6.

**96.** Genitive of source. Related to the subjective genitive is the type that indicates a source from which something comes: 28. 4 *ašīšcā šiiəodnanəm*

33 Spiegel §§331–7; Delbrück i. 307–60; Reichelt §§487–508; Kellens–Pirart ii. 30–6; Kellens (1997); Skjærvø 108–10.

34 This is more accurate than the conventional term ‘possessive genitive’, (contingent) possession being expressed rather by the dative. Cf. Benveniste 196 f.; Watkins (1994), 127–34.

35 Here a genitive is used where a dative might well have been; cf. Delbrück i. 192 f.



*vīduš Mazdā*, ‘and knowing Mazdā’s repayments of actions’, cf. 54. 1; 28. 6 *daibišuuatō duuaēšā*, ‘the foe’s acts of enmity’; 31. 18 *drəguuatō maḍraścā ... sāsnāścā*, ‘the wrongful one’s prescripts and teachings’, cf. 32. 13; 32. 9 *tā uxδā mainiiūš mahiiā*, ‘these utterances of my will’; 34. 12 *ašiš rāšnaṃ*, ‘the rewards of (= stipulated by) thy rulings’; 43. 6 *ratūš ... ōβahiiā xratūš*, ‘the verdicts of thy sapience’, cf. 46. 18, 49. 6; 43. 13 *arəθā ... kāmahiiā tēm mōi dātā*, ‘the endeavours of (= springing from) the desire you have given me’; 44. 11 *mainiiūš ... duuaēšajhā*, ‘with hostility of spirit’; 45. 7 *yehiiā sauuā ... rādanhō*, ‘the Caring One whose strengthening powers’; 45. 8 *staotāiš nəmanhō*, ‘with reverence’s (i.e. reverent) praises’, cf. 43. 9; 44. 10 *ārmatoiš uxδāiš*, ‘with pious words’, cf. 45. 10, 47. 2, 53. 3; 48. 5 *vanhuiiā cistōiš šiiiaodnāiš*, ‘with deeds of good insight’, cf. YH 36. 4; 48. 11 *vanhēuš ... mananhō cistiš*, ‘good thought’s insight’; 50. 10 *raocā x’əng*, ‘the light of the sun’; 51. 18 *hiiat ... rapōn tauuā*, ‘what is supportive from thee’; 53. 1 *daēnaiiā vanhuiiā uxδā šiiiaodnācā*, ‘the Good Religion’s speech and conduct’.

97. Objective genitive: 28. 4 *aēšē Ašahiiā*, ‘in search of Right’; 28. 9 *dasəmə stūtəṃ*, ‘in offering of praises’; 29. 2 *tašā gəuš*, ‘the maker of the cow’; 31. 8 *ašahiiā daṃmim*, ‘the creator of right’, cf. 34. 10; 30. 1 *yesniiācā Vanhēuš Mananhō*, ‘and worship of Good Thought’, cf. 51. 22; 31. 10 *vanhēuš fšəjhm mananhō*, ‘the cultivator of good thought’; 31. 15 *hanarə ... vāstriehiiā aēnaḥhō*, ‘without mistreatment of the herdsman’; 31. 19 *ərəž.uxδāi vacanḥəṃ*, ‘for true voicing of words’; 32. 11 *raēxənanhō vaēdəm*, ‘possession of their inheritance’; 32. 13 *darəsāt Ašahiiā*, ‘from the sighting of Right’; 33. 11 *ādāi kahiiācīt paiitī*, ‘at the allocation of whatever’; 34. 8 *ōβahiiā ... aštā uruuātahiiā*, ‘in hatred of thy law’; 34. 9 *vanhēuš əuuisti mananhō*, ‘in their non-acquisition of good thought’; 43. 5 *anḥēuš zaḍōi*, ‘at the generation of the world’; 43. 14 *sardanā səngahiiā*, ‘detractors of the law’; 46. 3 *anḥēuš darəθrāi*, ‘for the upholding of the world’; 46. 4 *ašahiiā važdrəng*, ‘bringers of right’; 46. 17 *vahməng ... rādanhō*, ‘praises of the Caring One’; 48. 10 *hamaēstārō aēšmahiiā*, ‘smiters of violence’; 50. 6 *hizuuō raidīm stōi mahiiā*, ‘to be the charioteer of my tongue’; 50. 11 *dātā anḥēuš*, ‘the ordainer of the world’, cf. 44. 7; 51. 20 *nəmanḥā Mazdā*, ‘in reverence of Mazdā’; 53. 2 *xšnum Mazdā*, ‘the gratification of Mazdā’, cf. 48. 12; 54. 1 *vanhēuš rafəθrāi mananhō*, ‘for the support of good thought’; YH 35. 2 *humatanəṃ hūxtanəṃ huuarštəṃ ... mahī aibi.jarətārō; naē naēstārō yaḍənā yohunəṃ mahī*, ‘we are approvers of good thoughts, good words, good deeds ... we are not revilers of good things’; 35. 9 *ōβəṃ aṭ aēšəṃ paitiiāstərəmcā fradaxštərəmcā dadəmaidē*, ‘we make thee both recipient and teacher of these (words)’.

98. Partitive genitive: 28. 1 *ahiiā yāsā ... rafəθrahiia ... vīspəng*, ‘I pray you all for (some of) his support’; 29. 3 *hātəṃ huuō aojištō*, ‘he is the mightiest of beings’, cf. 43. 2; 44. 10; 45. 6; 48. 3; YH 35. 3; 36. 2, 3, 6; 41. 2; 30. 5 *aiiā mainiiuā vərətā yē drəguuā*, ‘of these two Wills, the Wrongful one chooses’, cf. 33. 9; 45. 2; 31. 10 *aṭ hī aiiā frauuəratā vāstrim*, ‘but she of these two chose the

herdsman'; *ibid.*, *nōiṭ* ... *auuāstriiō* ... *humarātōiṣ* *baxštā*, 'the non-herdsman did not get a share in her goodwill'; 32. 8 *gēuṣ* *bagā*, 'portions of the cow'; 33. 6 *tā tōi iziīā* ... *darštōiṣcā hēm.parštōiṣcā*, 'with that (mind) I long for (some) seeing and conferring with thee'; 34. 1 *aēšam* *tōi* ... *dastē*, 'of these is offering made to thee'; 34. 12 *kaṭ vaṣī*, *kaṭ vā stūtō*, *kaṭ vā yasnahiiā*? 'what dost thou wish, what of praise, or what of worship?'; cf. 49. 12; 50. 1; 44. 15 *kuṭrā aiīā*, *kahmāi vananam dadā*? 'where between the two, to whom dost thou give the victory?'; 45. 2 *aṅhēuṣ* ... *paouruiiē*, 'at the world's beginning', cf. 44. 2; 45. 3; 50. 6 *dātā xratēuṣ* ... *rāzēng* *vohū sāhīṭ mananḥā*, 'may the giver of wisdom teach me (something of) his regimen together with good thought'; 53. 7 *būnōi haxtiiā*, 'at the base of her thighs'; *YH* 35. 8 *kahmāicūt hātam*, 'for anyone of (living) beings', i.e. anyone in the world; 37. 2 *yasnanam pauruātātā*, 'with primacy of rites', cf. 33. 14; 40. 2 *ahiiā huuō nē dāidī*, 'grant us of it'.

Further examples that may be considered partitive are: 29. 3 *auuaēšam nōiṭ vīduiiē*, 'of these things there is not to know (= no knowing)'; 45. 8 *Vaṅhēuṣ Mainiiēuṣ śīiaodnahiiā uxḍaxiiācā vīduṣ*, 'knowing (something) of the Good Will's deed and utterance', cf. 44. 8;<sup>36</sup> 44. 13 *asruštōiṣ pōrēnāḥhō*, 'full of non-compliance' (the contents of a full receptacle are drawn from a larger pool);<sup>37</sup> 46. 3 *kadā* ... *yōi uxšānō asnam* ... *frō ašahiiā āraṅṭē*? 'when will those Oxen of Days come forth (somewhere on the path) of Right?'; 46. 4 *aṭ tēṅ draguuā* ... *pāt gā frōrātōiṣ śōiḍrahiiā vā daxiiēuṣ vā*, 'but the wrongful one keeps those oxen from coming forth (anywhere) in district or region'; 46. 6 *huuō tēṅ frō gā paḍmāṅg* ... *carat*, 'he will take those oxen forward on the path'.

**99.** Defining or characterizing genitive: 28. 2 *ahuuā astuuatascā hiiatcā mananḥō*, 'the two existences, the corporeal one and that of thought', cf. 43. 3; 28. 8 *vīspāi yauuē vaṅhēuṣ mananḥō*, 'for the whole lifetime of good thought', cf. 43. 1, 53. 5; 28. 9 *išō xšadrəmcā sauuanḥam*, 'your powers and domain are of strengths'; 29. 7 *tām āzūtōiṣ* ... *māḍrəm*, 'that prescript concerning butter', cf. 31. 6; 31. 20 *darəgēm āiiū tamanḥō*, 'a long age of darkness'; 34. 2 *garōbiṣ stūtam*, 'with songs of praise'; 43. 2 *darəgō.jiiātōiṣ uruuādayḥā*, 'with bliss of long life'; 46. 3 *uxšānō asnam*, 'the Oxen of Days'; 46. 4 *paḍmāṅg hucistōiṣ*, 'the path of enlightenment', cf. 34. 12; 43. 3; 50. 4; 51. 13; 53. 2; 47. 4 *kasāuṣcīt nā*, 'even a man of little (property)'; 51. 21 *ārmātōiṣ nā*, 'a man of piety', cf. 46. 12, 49. 5; 48. 10 *mānarōiṣ narō*, 'the men of Observance(?)'; *ibid.*, *mūḍrəm ahiiā madahiiā*, 'the piss of this liquor'; 50. 4 *dəmānē garō*, 'in the house of song'; 50. 7 *zəuuiṣtiiēṅ auruuatō* ..., *vahmahiiā yūšmākahiiā*, 'the swiftest steeds, those of your laudation'; 50. 8 *padāiṣ yā frasrūtā iḗzaiiā*, 'the "footsteps" known as (those) of libation'; 53. 8 *dərəzā mərəḍḍiaoš*, 'with the fetter of death'; *YH* 36. 1 *ahiiā* ... *āḍrō vərəzənā*, 'with this fire's community'; 39. 5 *vaṅhēuṣ x'aētēuṣ x'aētātā*, 'with a good clan's clanship'.

36 For the genitive after verbs of knowing cf. Wackernagel (1926–8), i. 68.

37 The verb *par-* 'fill (with)' can also be construed with the instrumental: see 28. 10 and 49. 1 quoted in §60. Cf. Krahe 97 f.

In the following passages the genitive refers to an association that would be expressed with the instrumental if the governing noun were replaced by the corresponding verb: 44. 13 *frasaiiā Vaṅhāuš ... Manaṅhō*, ‘in consultation with Good Thought’; 49. 3 *Vaṅhāuš sarē iziiāi Manaṅhō*, ‘I desire union with Good thought’, cf. 31. 21, 49. 8, 53. 3; YH 35. 8; YH 40. 2 *tauuacā haxemā ašaxiiācā*, ‘association with thee and Right’. The instrumental is also found with *sarē*, cf. §68.

**100.** Words meaning ‘reward’, ‘punishment’, etc., take a genitive to specify the context, i.e. what is being rewarded or punished: 28. 4 *ašiš šīiaodnanam*, ‘repayments for actions’; 43. 1 *rāiiō ašiš*, ‘as reward for (my) munificence’; 30. 8 *aēšam kaēnā ... aēnaṅham*, ‘the requital for those misdeeds’; 31. 13 *yā vā kasāuš aēnaṅhō ā mazištam yamaitē bījəm*, ‘or if anyone for a minor misdeed receives the greatest punishment’; 31. 14 *yā išudō dadəntē dādranam*, ‘what requitals will be given of gifts’, cf. 34. 15; 44. 19 *ahiiā maēniš*, ‘punishment for that’; 53. 4 *manaṅhō vaṅhāuš x’ənuuat haṅhuš*, ‘the sunny fruits of good thought’; 53. 7 *atcā vā mīzdəm aṅhaṭ ahiiā magahiiā*, ‘but you will have a reward for this ceremony’. More loosely, 29. 11 *nū nā auuarē əhmā rātōiš*, ‘(come) down to us now in return for our munificence’.

**101.** Words meaning ‘rule’, ‘have power’, take a genitive of the realm over which authority is exercised: 31. 2 *yaṭā ratūm Ahurō vaēdā ... aiiā əsaiiā*, ‘how the Lord has made judgment on those two portions’, cf. 27. 13; 31. 16 *dəmanahiiā xšədrəm šōiṭrahiia vā*, ‘authority over house or district’, cf. 51. 2, 16; 31. 19 *xšaiiamnō hizuuō*, ‘being master of his tongue’, cf. 32. 15, 16; 44. 15; 48. 9; 50. 9; 51. 5; 47. 4 *isuuācīt haš paraoš*, ‘even one who disposes of much (wealth)’, cf. 50. 1; 44. 9 *hudānaoš paitiš ... xšədrahiia*, ‘the master of a beneficent dominion’.

**102.** The following examples are not easily classified but still fall under the general principle of identifying a domain:

30. 2 *varənā vīciṭahiiā*, ‘the choices in the decision’; 30. 3 *āscā hudāṅhō əraš vī.šīiātā*, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly’, cf. 30. 6; 32. 8 *aēšam aēnaṅham Vīuauṅhušō srāuuī Yimascīt*, ‘in respect of these offences Vīvahvant’s son was renowned, even Yima’; *ibid.*, *aēšamcīt ā ahmī ṭbahmī ... vīciṭōi aipī*, ‘in respect of these (deeds) I am (= depend) on thy decision’, where the genitive may be regarded either as dependent on *vīciṭōi* or as more loosely defining in advance the context of the whole sentence; 31. 19 *vaṅhāu vī.dātā rənaiiā*, ‘at the two parties’ allocation in the good’; 33. 1 *dātā aṅhāuš paouruiiehiia*, ‘the ordinances of the first existence’; 34. 14 *xšmākam hucištīm ... xratōuš ašā frādō vərəzənā*, ‘your enlightenment in the wisdom that promotes communities with Right’; 45. 4 *aṅhāuš ahiiā vahištəm*, ‘the best one of this existence’, cf. 34. 6; 46. 18 *vahištā maxiiā ištōiš*, ‘the best things at my disposal’; 49. 2 *ahiiā mā bənduuaṅhiiā mānaiietī*, ‘puts me in mind of that polluter(?)’, cf. 44. 5; 51. 18 *ištōiš x’arənā*, ‘illustrious of competence’; 51. 19 *gaiie-*

*hiia* *šiiāoθnāiš*, ‘by his lifetime conduct’; YH 38. 5 *rātōiš darəgō.bāzāuš*, ‘long-armed in liberality’.

The temporal use in 51. 12 *zimō* ‘in winter’ may also be put here.

**103.** Two genitives may depend on the same noun, as in 28. 4 *ašišcā šiiāoθnanam vīduš Mazdā*, ‘and knowing Mazdā’s repayments for actions’; 43. 3 *ərəzūš sauuanhō paθō ... ahiiā aṅhōuš astuuatō*, ‘the straight paths of advancement in this corporeal existence’; 46. 6 *Drūjō ... dāman haēθahiiā*, ‘Wrong’s abodes of partnership’.

**104.** Or one genitive may depend on another: 27. 13 *ratuš ašācīt hacā vaṅhōuš ... manahō šiiāoθnanam aṅhōuš*, ‘the judgment in line with right from(?) good thought concerning the world’s deeds’;<sup>38</sup> 28. 1 *ahiiā ... rafəθrahiia Mainiiōuš ... Spəntahiiā*, ‘of his support, the Bounteous Will’s’; 30. 10 *drūjō ... skəndō spaiiaθrahiia*, ‘destruction of wrong’s prosperity’; 43. 9 *rātəm nemanhō Ašahiiā*, ‘the tribute of reverence of Right’; 43. 13 *arəθā ... kāmahiiā tēm mōi datā darəgahiiā yaoš*, ‘the endeavours (born) of the desire you have given me for long life’; 45. 8 *Vaṅhōuš Mainiiōuš šiiāoθnahiiā uxδaxiiācā vīduš*, ‘knowing (something) of the Good Will’s deed and utterance’, cf. 48. 8; 45. 11 *dəng patōiš ... uruuaθō*, ‘the ally of the master of the house’; 46. 4 *huuō təng frō gā paθmōng hucistōiš carat*, ‘he will make those oxen advance on the path of enlightenment’; 51. 10 *huuō dāmōiš drūjō hunuš*, ‘he is a son of the creator of wrong’; 53. 3 *yezuu dugədrəm Zarəvuštrahē*, ‘youngest of the daughters of Zarathustra’.

#### Locative<sup>39</sup>

**105.** The primary function of the locative is to specify a location in space, time, or circumstance. In Old Avestan it is used freely and has acquired an interesting range of applications.

**106.** Of place (real or metaphorical): 32. 3 *būmiiā haptaiθē*, ‘in earth’s seventh part’; 32. 13 *Acištahiiā dāmānē Manahō*, ‘in the house of Evil Thought’, cf. 45. 8; 46. 11; 49. 11; 50. 4; 33. 3 *Ašahiiā aṅhat Vaṅhōušcā vāstrē Manahō*, ‘he will be in the pasture of Right and Good Thought’; 33. 5 *auuaṅhānē*, ‘at the unharnessing(-place)’; *ibid.*, *paθō, yaēšū Mazdā Ahurō šaēitī*, ‘the paths on which Mazdā the Lord dwells’; 34. 8 *dūirē*, ‘at a distance, far away’; 34. 14 *gəuš vərəzānē*, ‘in the cow’s community’, cf. YH 35. 8; 43. 5 *dāmōiš uruuaēsē apəmē*, ‘at the last bend of creation’, cf. 51. 6; 44. 9 *hadəmōi*, ‘in the abode’, cf. 46. 14; 51. 12 *pəratā ... hiiat ahmī*, ‘at the crossing ... when at it’, cf. 51. 13;

38 Here *vaṅhōuš manahō* may be a third genitive (of source) or an ablative appended asyndetically to *ašācīt hacā*.

39 Spiegel §§338–9; Delbrück i. 217–30; Kellens–Pirart ii. 39–44; Skjærvø 115 f.

53. 7 *yauuaṭ āzuš ... būnōi haxtiiā*, ‘one will apply his penis at the base of her thighs’; YH 41. 2, 3 *ubōiio aḡhuuō*, ‘in both existences’.

Of movement into a place: 51. 15 *garō demānē Ahurō Mazdā jasaṭ paouruiiō*, ‘the Lord Mazdā enters the house of song first’, cf. 43. 6.

**107.** Of groups of people: 34. 3 *xšmāuuasū*, ‘among your followers’; 46. 12 *hiiaṭ us ... naptiiaēšū nafšucā Tūrahiiā jēn Friiānahiiā aojiiāēšū*, ‘when he came forth among the famed kin and descendants of Tura Friyana’; 46. 13 *martaēšū*, ‘among mortals’; 49. 4 *fšuiiasū afšuiiaṇtō*, ‘non-stockraisers among stockraisers’; 50. 2 *ərəžjīš ... pourušū huuarē pišiiasū*, ‘a true-living man among the many who blaspheme(?) the sun’.

**108.** Of organs of apperception: 31. 8 *hiiaṭ ʔβā hēm cašmainī grabəm*, ‘when I catch thee in my eye’, cf. 45. 8; 32. 1 *mahmī manōi*, ‘in my imagination’; 45. 10 *yā ʔnmānī ... srāuuī*, ‘who is heard in (my) soul’.

**109.** Of the subject’s mental condition or disposition: 28. 4 *xšāi aēšē ašahiiā*, ‘I will look out in search of Right’; 29. 11 *aṭ maḡm ... frāxšnēnē ... pai-tī.zānatā*, ‘acknowledge me in (your) providence’, cf. 43. 12; 32. 13 *yaēcā ... jḡgerəzaṭ kāmē ʔβahiiā maḡdrānō dūtīm*, ‘and those who decry in their lust thy prophet’s message’.

**110.** Of times or occasions: 30. 3 *paouruiiē*, ‘in the beginning’, cf. 44. 19; 45. 2; 31. 14 *hānkerətā hiiaṭ*, ‘as regards at the Reckoning’; 31. 19 *vī.dātā*, ‘at the allocation’; 43. 5 *aḡhōuš zaḡʔōi*, ‘at the generation of the world’, cf. 48. 6; 49. 9 *yāhī*, ‘at the Supplication’. The personal name *Maidiioi.māḡha-* (51. 19) is derived from the locative phrase *\*madyai māhi*, ‘at mid moon’.

**111.** Of activities: 28. 9 *yōiʔəmə dasamē*, ‘we are busy at the offering’; 34. 2 *aṭcā ī tōi ... vīspā dātā ... pairi.gaēʔē xšmāuuatō vahmē*, ‘they are all dedicated to thee in your follower’s hymn before his flock’; 44. 13 *nōiṭ frasaiiā Vaḡhōuš cāxnarē Manaḡhō*, ‘they have taken no pleasure in consultation of Good Thought’;<sup>40</sup> 45. 6 *yehiiā vahmē Vohū frašī Manaḡhā*, ‘in whose lauding I consult with Good Thought’; 46. 9 *šiiāoḡnōi spəṇtam*, ‘bounteous in action’; 50. 1 *zūtā*, ‘at (my) invocation’; 51. 7 *sājhē*, ‘in my teaching’.

**112.** Of abstract domains: 31. 8 *aḡhōuš ahurəm šiiāoḡanaēšū*, ‘lord in (the domain of) the world’s actions’; 32. 6 *ʔβahmī ... xšadrōi*, ‘in thy realm’, cf. 34. 10; 43. 13; 49. 5; 33. 2 *Ahurahiiā zaošē Mazdā*, ‘in Lord Mazdā’s favour’; 33. 10 *ʔβahmī hīš zaošē ābaxšōhuuā*, ‘give them a share in thy favour’; 50. 9 *hudā-naoš išaiiḡs gərəzdā xiiēm*, ‘may I be enabled in my benefactor’s favour’.

**113.** A peculiar use of the locative is to denote the prize to be awarded in some contest or distribution:<sup>41</sup> 30. 10 *yōi zazəṇṭī vaḡhāu srāuuahī*, ‘(the steeds) that will be first in (the race for) good repute’; 43. 12 *yā vī ašīš rānōibiiā sauuōi*

40 For the interpretation of *frasaiiā* as loc. rather than instr. cf. Kellens–Pirart ii. 39 f.

41 Cf. K. Hoffmann, *IJ* 10 (1968), 284 f.; Narten (1986), 295.

*dāiīāt*, ‘who should distribute the rewards to the two parties in (the allocation of) strength’; 47. 6 *āṭrā vaṅhāu vī.dāitīm rānōibiiā*, ‘the distribution of the good to the two parties by fire’, cf. 31. 19; 49. 9 *daēnā vahištē yūjōn mīždē*, ‘they yoke their moral selves in (the contest for) the best reward’; YH 41. 4 *hanaē-mācā zaēmācā ... ūβahmī rafēnahī darəgāiīau*, ‘may we earn and win thy long-lasting support’.

**114.** The verb *dā-* (or *ā dā-*, *nī dā-*) is often construed with the locative to mean ‘place in’: 28. 2 *yāiš rapəntō daidīṭ xʷāṭre*, ‘by which one could set one’s supporters in well-being’, cf. 50. 5; 30. 8 *yōi Ašāi dadən zastaiiō Drujəm*, ‘who give Wrong into the hands of Right (dat.)’, cf. 44. 14; 31. 18 *ā zī dəmānəm vīsəm vā ... dāt dušitācā marəkaēcā*, ‘for he will give house or manor into chaos and ruin’; 32. 14 *ahiiā grēhmō āhōiṭōi nī Kāuuaiiascīt xratuš dadaṭ*, ‘into its fetter the glutton(?), the very Kavis surrender their reason’; 45. 9 *varəzī nā diiāt Ahurō*, ‘may the Lord set us to work’; 45. 10 *xšəṭrōi hōi hauruuātā aməratātā ahmāi stōi dən*, ‘into his control they give health and continuing life to be his’; 51. 14 *yā īš sēnghō ... Drujō dēmānē ā.dāt*, ‘a teaching that will consign them to the house of Wrong’.

**115.** Miscellaneous usages: 31. 2 *yezī āiš nōiṭ uruuānē aduuā aibī.dəraštā vaxiiā*, ‘if through these (words) the better way is not in a conspicuous place (= clearly visible) for the soul’; 43. 16 *xʷəṅg darəsōi*, ‘in sight of the sun’; 33. 2 *vaṅhāu vā cōiṭāitē astīm*, ‘or instructs his comrade in goodness’; 43. 11 *mašiiāē-šū zrazdāitiš*, ‘trust in mortals’; 44. 14 *əmauuaitīm sinəm dāuuōi drəguuasū*, ‘to deliver a crushing blow on the wrongful’; 45. 7 *aməratāitī ašāunō uruuā aešō utaiiūtā*, ‘the righteous man’s soul is active in (a state of) continuing life (and) vitality’; 46. 16 *yaṭrā vaṅhəuš manəṅhō ištā xšəṭrəm*, ‘where the realm of good thought is at one’s disposal’, cf. 49. 12; 48. 1 *yā daibitānā fraoxtā aməratāitī daēuuāišcā mašiiāišcā*, ‘the things deceitfully asserted in (the matter of) non-dying by Daevas and mortals’; 48. 4 *ūβahmī xratāu apēməm nanā aṅhaṭ*, ‘in (the dispositions of) thy wisdom it will go differently at the last (for the good and the bad)’; YH 41. 4 *rapōišcā tū nā darəgəmcā uštācā*, ‘mayest thou long support us and (as) in our wish’, i.e. as desired; cf. *uštā* in 27. 14; 30. 11; 43. 1.

In 43. 12 *aṭ tū mōi nōiṭ asruštā pairi.aoyžā* I incline to take *asruštā* as a neuter plural, ‘thou givest me advice that will not go unheeded’, but it is also possible to construe it as a locative of *asrušti-*, ‘not without (my) heeding’, by a special usage attested in Vedic whereby a locative noun negated by *a-* is equivalent to ‘without *x*’. Another possible example is 29. 3 *aduuāēšō gauuōi*, ‘without hostility to the cow’, if *aduuāēšō* should be an endless locative from *aduuāēšas-* rather than a nom. sg. masc. from *aduuāēša-*.<sup>42</sup>

42 B. Forssman in Crespo–García Ramón 99, 100.

*Locative with appositives*

116. The locative is found in association with the following appositives.

*aiṗī*: 32. 8 *aēšamcīt ā ahmī v̄ṣahmī ... v̄civ̄dōi aiṗī*, ‘in respect of these (deeds) I am (= depend) upon thy decision’.

*aibī*: 43. 7 *frasaiiāi ... aibī v̄ṣāhū gaēv̄āhū tanušicā*, ‘for asking about thy flock and thyself’; 51. 9 *aibī ahuuāhū daxštəm dāuuōi*, ‘to establish proof about (our) mentalities’.

*ā*: 32. 7 *aojōi hādrōi ā*, ‘I declare in my righteousness(?)’; 32. 15 *Vaṗhōuš ā dāmānē Manajhō*, ‘onward into the house of Good Thought’; 34. 3 *aṭ tōi ... dāmā gaēv̄ā v̄spā ā xšāv̄rōi*, ‘we will give all our living bodies into thy dominion’; 43. 2 *ahmāi xv̄āv̄rōi ā nā xv̄āv̄rəm daidūtā*, ‘a man might add well-being to well-being for himself’; 46. 5 *yē vā xšaiiṣ ā dām drītā aiianṭəm*, ‘or a man who on his own authority should take into his house one coming’; 49. 10 *taṭcā ... v̄ṣahmī ā dām nipājhē*, ‘and that (reward) thou keepest in thy house’, cf. 48. 7; 49. 8 *dā sarōm ... ṣam vaṗhāu v̄ṣahmī ā xšāv̄rōi*, ‘grant the union that is in thy good domain’; 50. 4 *yā īšō stāṣṣaṭ ā paiv̄i*, ‘by which one may stand forth on the path of enablement’; 51. 8 *hiiaṭ akōi ā drəguuāitē, uštā yē ašəm dādrē ... ṣam xšnūtəm rānōibiiā dā*, ‘that the atonement thou didst establish for the two parties is amid ill for the wrongful one, but in bliss for him who has embraced right’ (on *uštā* see above, §115).

*paiv̄i*: 33. 11 *mərəždātā mōi ādāi kahiiācīt paiv̄i*, ‘have mercy on me at the allocation of whatever it may be’; 51. 22 *yehiiā ... yesnē paiv̄i*, ‘in whose worship’; YH 38. 5 *auuā vē, Vaṗhīs, ... nāšū paiv̄i*, ‘I will assist you, Good Ones, at your arrivings’; 40. 1 *āhū aṭ paiv̄i adāhū*, ‘at these oblations’.

*pairī*: 29. 5 *nōiṭ ərəžjiiōi frajiiāitiš ... drəguuasū pairī?* ‘is there no prospect for the righteous-living one among the wrongful?’; 34. 8 *šiiāoṽnāiš ... yaēšū as pairī pourubiiō iṭiiejō*, ‘by their actions, in which there was danger for many’.

Vocative<sup>43</sup>

117. Vocatives are very frequent in the *Gāthās*. The addressees may be specific ones, or entire classes of being, as in 30. 11 *mašiiāṗhō*, ‘O mortals’. A vocative is most often associated with another grammatical marker of allocution, a second-person pronoun and/or a second-person verb (indicative or imperative). It may appear without any such marker in a prayer, which by its nature presupposes an addressee, as in 28. 1; 30. 9; or in a question, as 31. 15; 48. 10, 11. But there are many passages where no marker is present and there is no apparent reason for an addressee to be named, as in 31. 10; 32. 11, 16; 33. 3; 45. 11; 46. 4, 5; 48. 5; 49. 3; 51. 10, 11.

43 Spiegel §§312; Delbrück i. 394–400; Smith 44–8; Kellens–Pirart ii. 44–52; Skjærvo 104 f.

**118.** Where two or more separate addressees are coupled we find the so-called *Vāyav Indraśca* construction,<sup>44</sup> by which one is put in the vocative and the other(s) in the nominative: 30. 9 *Mazdāscā Ahurāṅhō ... Ašācā*, ‘Mazdā (nom.), Lords (voc. rather than nom.), and Right (nom. rather than voc.)’;<sup>45</sup> with only implicit vocative, 33. 11 *yā səuuištō ahurō mazdāscā, Ārmaitišcā Ašəmčā ... Manascā Vohū Xšaθrəmčā, sraotā mōi*, ‘(O thou) who art the strongest Lord and the Mindful One, and Piety (nom.) and Right and Good Thought and Dominion (all neuters, presumably nom.), hearken to me’. What underlies this syntagm is the sense that ‘you’ can only refer to one specific person or group, and any others are ‘they’, so that ‘hear me, A and B and C’ is rendered as if it were ‘hear me, A, and (let) B and C (hear)’—though the ‘hear me’ is in the plural.

**119.** Analogous phenomena occur when the first addressee is associated with a second-person pronoun in an oblique case and the secondary addressees appear in that same case:<sup>46</sup> 28. 3 *yā vā Ašā ufiiānī Manascā Vohū ... Mazdəmčā Ahurəm*, ‘I who will hymn you (acc. pl.), Right (voc.), and Good Thought (acc.?) and Mazdā the Lord (acc.)’; 28. 9 *anāiš vā nōit, Ahurā [Mazdā], Ašəmčā yānāiš zara-naēmā*, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you (pl.), Lord (voc.), and Right (acc.?)’; 49. 6 *frō vā išiiā, Mazdā, Ašəmčā mrūtē*, ‘I desire you (acc. pl.), Mazdā (voc.) and Right (acc.?), to speak’; 32. 9 *tā uxδā mainiiōuš mahiiā, Mazdā, Ašāicā yūšmaibiiā gərəzē*, ‘(with) these utterances of my will, Mazdā, I complain to you (pl.) and to Right’; 34. 3 *aṭ tōi miiazdem, Ahurā, nəmajhā Ašāicā dāmā gaēvā vīspā*, ‘as oblation for thee, Lord, and for Right, we will give with reverence all our living bodies’; 51. 2 *tā vā, Mazdā, paouruūm, Ahurā, Ašāiēcā tai-biiācā, Ārmaitē, dōišā mōi ištōiš xšaθrəm*, ‘so to you (dat. pl.), Lord Mazdā (voc.), first and to Right (dat.) and to thee (new dat. pronoun), Piety (voc.), I will show the command of my competence’; cf. 32. 6.

## Pronouns<sup>47</sup>

### Personal pronouns and adjectives

**120.** Specialized personal pronouns exist for the 1st and 2nd persons (sg., dual, pl.). There are two series of forms, one emphatic, the other enclitic and unemphatic. Use of the nominative pronouns implies some emphasis, as the subject is sufficiently identified from the verb form. There is nevertheless what looks like an enclitic form *tū* beside the tonic *tuuōm* (see §283), and *as(-cīt)* in 46. 18 (in second position in the clause) has the look of an enclitic beside the initial

44 Delbrück i. 396 f.; Zwolanek (1970); S. W. Jamison, *MSS* 49 (1988), 13–59.

45 For nom./voc. *Ašā* cf. §27.

46 Cf. Reichelt §435; Risch (1964); Insler 121 f.

47 Caland (1891); Reichelt §§565–601; Skjærvø 116–24.



*azēm* of 29. 10 and 44. 7, 11, despite the apparent emphasis given to it by the suffixed particle *-cīt*; cf. 29. 10 *azēmciīt*, ‘I for one’, ‘I at any rate’. Conceivably in *ahmāi.as.cīt* the particle is to be taken as emphasizing the *ahmāi*, with the enclitic *az* tucked in between, not ‘on him I for my part’ but ‘certainly on him I’.

**121.** For the 1st and 2nd sg. and pl. persons there is a corresponding series of possessive adjectives, *ma- ōβa- ahmāka- xšmāka-/yūšmāka-*. (A further series, *māuuant- ōβāuuant- xšmāuuant-/yūšmāuuant-*, denotes ‘a person of my/your kind’ or one of similar persuasion.<sup>48</sup>) Possession can also be indicated by means of the dative enclitic pronouns; see §75. Occasionally the genitive of the emphatic pronoun is used: 43. 14 *tauuā rafənō frāxšnənəm*, ‘thy providential support’; 53. 9 *taṭ, Mazdā, tauuā xšaṽrəm*, ‘that, Mazdā, is thy dominion’.

**122.** In addressing Mazdā Zarathushtra alternates unpredictably between sg. and pl. pronouns and verb forms; the pl. is understood to include the associated powers, especially Right and Good Thought.<sup>49</sup> Sometimes, to make explicit who is included in the pl. ‘you’, he adds the name of Right or of both entities, either in the same case as the pronoun (or possessive adjective) with appended *-cā* ‘and’, or in the sociative instrumental (cf. §64).<sup>50</sup>

With *-cā*: see examples in §119.

With instrumental: 46. 13 *tēm vā Ašā mēhmaidī hušhaxāim*, ‘him we apprehend as your and Right’s good friend’; 50. 10 *xšmakāi Ašā vahmāi, Mazdā*, ‘(these things) are for your lauding with Right, Mazdā’. With *hadā*: 50. 4, quoted in §70.

In 51. 15 we find a combination of both constructions: *tā vā Vohū Manajhā* (instr.) *Ašāicā* (dat.) *sauuāiš cauuīšī*, ‘these (lauds) were assigned to you together with Good Thought and to Right because of (your) power to strengthen’, where ‘you’ = Mazdā, Right, and Good Thought.

**123.** For the 3rd person there are specialized enclitic forms; where emphasis is required, demonstratives from different roots are employed:

Sg. nom. *huuō hī taṭ*, acc. *tēm tām taṭ*, dat. *ahmāi axiiāi*, gen. *ahiiā*.

Dual gen. (all genders) *aiiā/ās-cā*.

Pl. nom. *tōi tā tā*, acc. *tōng/tā tā tā*, instr. *tāiš*, dat./abl. *aēibiiō ābiiō*, gen. *aēšqm*.

In 47. 1 *ahmāi* appears to be used with generic reference: *spəntā mainiiū vahiš-tācā manajhā ... ahmāi dan hauruuātā aməratātā*, ‘on account of bounteous will and best thought they will give one health and life’. In 46. 2 *īṭ* is used loosely of the matter that Zarathushtra is complaining of: *ā īṭ vaēnā, Ahurā*, ‘look to it, Lord’.

48 Cf. Smith 49 f.

49 Cf. Smith 36–43; Kellens–Pirart ii. 51 f.

50 Cf. Delbrück iii. 256–8; Risch (1964); Humbach i. 101.

**124.** A pronoun may be followed up by the name of the one it refers to; see examples in §20.

Contrariwise, an extended noun phrase may be summed up by a following pronoun: 33. 10 *vīspās tā hujītaiiō yā zī āṅharē yāscā hantī yāscā ... bauuainīti, ūḅahmī hīś zaošē ā baxšōhuuā*, ‘all those good lives that have been and those that are and those that will come to be, give them shares in thy favour’.

**125.** In all persons the dative and genitive emphatic pronouns serve also as reflexives: 28. 8 *yāsā vāumuś narōi Frašaoštrāi maibiiācā*, ‘I pray longingly on behalf of the manly Frashaushtra and myself’, cf. 31. 4; 46. 3; 51. 10; 34. 1 *yā yasnā aməratatātəm ašəmcā taibiiō dāṅhā*, ‘the worship through which thou takest for thyself continuing life and right’, cf. 44. 18; 43. 2 *ahmāi* ‘for himself’, cf. 27. 14; 44. 19; 49. 2; 50. 2; 51. 19; YH 35. 6; 31. 10 *axiiāi* ‘for herself’; 47. 5 *ahiiā šīiaoḅnāiš* ‘by his own actions’, cf. 48. 4; 46. 15 *xšmaibiiā* ‘for yourselves’.

The enclitic pronoun appears to be similarly used at 51. 2 *tā vā ... dōišā mōi ištōiš xšəḅrəm*, ‘so I will show you my command of competence’.

The noun *tanu-* ‘body, person’ is also used in reflexive expressions: 30. 2, see §126; 43. 7 *kaḅā aiiarē daxšārā frasaiiāi dīšā aibi ūḅāhū gaēḅāhū tanuśicā?* ‘how mightest thou take a day (for me) to ask teaching about thy flock and thyself?’

**126.** There is also a specialized reflexive adjective *x<sup>a</sup>-*, indifferent to person and number, ‘my/your/his/their own’: 31. 20 *šīiaoḅnāiš x<sup>a</sup>āiš*, ‘through your own actions’, cf. 33. 14; 46. 4; 49. 4; 51. 13, 14. *x<sup>a</sup>-* refers back to the most prominent personal presence in the sentence, which is not necessarily the grammatical subject: 30. 2 *ā vaēnatā ... ā varəḅā vīciḅahiiā narəm narəm x<sup>a</sup>axiiāi tanuiiē*, ‘behold the choices in the decision (made) man by man for his own person’; 46. 11 *yəṅṅ x<sup>a</sup>ā uruuā x<sup>a</sup>aēcā xraodaṭ daēnā*, ‘whom their own soul and their own conscience will torment’. In 51. 22 *tā yazāi x<sup>a</sup>āiš nāmēnīš*, it is not certain whether the meaning is ‘those (immortals) I shall worship using my own names’ for them, or ‘using their own (true) names’. The latter is preferable, since *tā* is an explicit topic.

### Demonstrative pronouns<sup>51</sup>

**127.** Deictic utterances in the texts refer mainly to ritual activity taking place on the spot or to things immediately visible. The usual deictic pronoun/pronominal adjective is accordingly *aiiōm* (stem *a-/i-/ima-*) ‘this’: 28. 9 *anāiš ... yānāiš*, ‘with these prayers’; 29. 8 *aēm mōi idā vistō, ... Zaraḅuštrō Spītāmō*, ‘this man here I have found, Z. S.’; YH 35. 9 *imā aṭ uxḅā vacā*, ‘these words that we speak’; 36. 1 *ahiiā ... āḅrō vərəzānā*, ‘with this fire’s community’; 38. 1 *imam ... zaṃ*, ‘this Earth’; 40. 1 *āhū aṭ paiṭi adāhū*, ‘at these oblations’. Where a second demonstrative is required for a different referent, it is *huuō*

51 Caland 4–16.

(root *auua-*): 44. 12 *katārēm ā, †anḡrō (aiiēm?) vā huuō vā anḡrō? ... huuō, nōiṭ aiiēm, anḡrō mainiiētē*, ‘which (of those I question) is my enemy, this one or that one? ... He, not the other, thinks as an enemy’;<sup>52</sup> YH 36. 6 *imā raocā ... auuat ... huuarə*, ‘this daylight ... yonder sun’.

128. These pronouns can also point forward or backward to things in the text: 47. 2 *ahiiā mainiiēuš spēništahiiā vahištəm ... vərəziiat ōiiā cistī*, ‘*huuō ptā Aša-hiiā Mazdā*’, ‘of this most bounteous will the best (showing) one effects with this insight, “he is the father of Right, Mazdā”’; 31. 15 *pərəsā auuat, yā maēniš, yē drəguuāitē xšaṽrəm hunāitī*, ‘I ask this: what the punishment is if one is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’. So with *taṭ, īt*: 44. 12 *taṭ ōβā pərəsā ... kē ašauuā, yāiš pərəsāi, drəguuā vā?* ‘this I ask thee: who is righteous or wrongful of those I question?’; 44. 20 *ciṭənā, Mazdā, huxšaṽrā daēuuā ānharō—at īt pərəsā—yōi ...*, ‘what, Mazdā, have the Daevas been good rulers—this is what I ask—they that ...’.

129. For the rest, the various demonstratives are used in anaphoric function, referring to something or someone either already identified or defined in an associated relative clause. Relative clauses very often have a correlative demonstrative in the main clause, whether this precedes or follows:

(Stem *ta-*): 30. 1 *aṭ tā vaxsiiā ... yā mazdāṽā*, ‘now I will tell those things that you are to bring to the attention’, cf. 30. 3, 11; 31. 5, 14; 30. 9 *aṭcā tōi vaēm xiiāmā, yōi ...*, ‘may we be those who’; 32. 1 *tēng dārāiō, yōi vā dai-bišəṅtī*, ‘to scatter those who hate you’; 31. 3 *hiiat uruuatəm cazdōḡhuuadabiō, taṭ nā, Mazdā, viḍuuanōi vaocā*, ‘the rule that is for the prudent, tell us it, Mazdā, for our knowledge’; 31. 13 *yā frasā āuuīšiiā, yā vā ... pərəsāētē taiiā, yē vā ... tā ... aibī ašā vaēnahī vīspā*, ‘the question that is clear-cut, or the secrets that the two debate, of if someone ..., all those things thou regardest with right’; YH 35. 3 *taṭ aṭ vərəmaidī ... hiiat ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā varəzimācā yā ...*, ‘we choose to think and speak and do those things that ...’.

(Stem *auua-*): 29. 10 *xšaṽrəmcā auuat ... yā hušəitiš rāmaṅcā dāt*, ‘and that authority by which one may establish fair dwelling and peace’, cf. 31. 6; 29. 9 *kadā yauuā huuō aḡhaṭ, yē hōi dadaṭ zastauuat auuō?* ‘when will there ever be that man who will give him physical assistance?’; 32. 10 *huuō mā nā srauuā mōrəṇdaṭ, yē acištəm vaēnaḡhē aogədā ḡm ašibiiā huuarēcā*, ‘that man perverts good repute, who declares that the worst thing to behold with the eyes is the cow and the sun’; 31. 7 *yas.tā maṅtā paouruiō ... xšaṽrā, huuō xraḍβā ḡmiš ašəm*, ‘he who first conceived these felicities, he with his sapience is the creator of Right’, cf. 46. 13.

(Stem *a-/i-/ima-*): 28. 10 *aṭ yəṅg ... vōistā ... dāṽəṅg ... aēibiiō pərənā āpanāiš kāməm*, ‘those whom thou knowest to be upright, fulfil their desire with attainment’; 30. 8 *aēibiiō sastē ... yōi Ašāi dadən zastaiō Druḡəm*, ‘to proclaim to those who deliver Wrong into the hands of Right’, cf. 31. 1; 31. 6 *ahmāi*

52 On the text cf. §300.

*aḡhaṭ vahištəm, yē mōi vīduuā vaocāṭ haiṭīm*, ‘it will go best for him who knows and speaks my truth’; 33. 9 *aiiā ārōi hākuranəm, yaiiā hacintē uruuānō*, ‘the fellowship of those two is established, whose souls accord’; 34. 1 *yā śīiaodnā, yā vacaḡhā, yā yasnā aməratātəm ašəmcā taibiiō dāḡhā, ... aēšəḡm tōi ... dastē*, ‘with which deed, with which word, with which worship thou takest for thyself continuing life and right, of these is offering made thee’.

**130.** When there is no relative clause, *huuō* is generally emphatic ‘he’ (with other stems used for other cases, cf. §123): 29. 4 *hātəḡm huuō aojištō ...*, *Mazdā*, ‘he is the mightiest of beings, Mazda’; 29. 7 *huuō urušaēibiiō spəntō sāsnaīiā*, ‘he is bounteous to the needy through his ordinance’; 29. 8 *aēm mōi idā vistō, ... Zərəduštrō Spitāmō: huuō nē ... vašfī ... carəkərəḡrā srāuuaiiejhē*, ‘this man here I have found, Z. S.: he desires to broadcast our praises’. But a speaker, after characterizing himself, can then use *huuō* of himself, as it were ‘as such a man I ...’: 33. 4–6 *yē ṭβaṭ ... asruštīm ... yazāi apā, ... yas.tē vīspə.mazištəm sraošəm zbaiiā ...*, *yē zaotā ašā ərəzuš, huuō mainiiōuš ā vahištāṭ kaiiā*, ‘I that by worship will seek to keep disregard from thee ... I that will invoke my supreme compliance to thee ... I that minister straight in accord with right, as that man I desire from best will ...’; with 3rd-person formulation, 43. 16 *aṭ Ahurā, huuō mainiiūm Zərəduštrō vərəntē*, ‘O Lord, this Z. (as portrayed in the preceding stanzas) chooses the will ...’. In *YH* we find it with 2nd-person reference: 36. 2 (following mention of the fire’s power to punish) *uruuāzištō huuō nā yātāiīā paiī.jamiiā, ātarə Mazdā Ahurahiīā*, ‘as such, most joyous, mayest thou come for our supplicating, O fire of Lord Mazda’; cf. 40. 2.<sup>53</sup>

In 32. 9 *huuō* serves as marker of a second clause in which the verb is to be supplied from the first: *dušsastiš srauuā mōrəḡdaṭ, huuō jiiātəuš sənḡhanāiš xra-tūm*, ‘the false teacher perverts good repute, he (also perverts) life’s reason with his pronouncements’.

**131.** *ta-* can be used as a placeholder for a noun previously mentioned so that a genitive can be attached to it: 43. 10 *parštəm zī ṭβā yaḡəḡnā tat †əmauuatəḡm*, ‘for the question asked by thee is like that of the †strong’.<sup>54</sup>

**132.** The neuter instrumental *tā* can function as a sentence-connective, ‘so’, ‘therefore’: 45. 11 *yas.tā daēuuōḡḡ ... mašīiəscā tarəməštā*, ‘he then who scorns the Daevas and mortals’; 51. 10 *tā duždā, yōi hənfi*, ‘so (he is) a malefactor (of all) who are’; 51. 2, 13. In 51. 12 it is correlative to *hiiəṭ* and means ‘by the fact that’, ‘in that’: *nōiṭ tā īm xšnāuš vaēpiiō Kəuuīnō pərətā ...*, *hiiəṭ ahmī uru-raost aštō*, ‘the Kavi catamite did not please him thereby at the crossing, that the emissary had barred his way at it’.

53 Cf. Delbrück i. 399 f. A different interpretation in Narten (1986), 146: ‘du dort’; cf. J. S. Klein in Crespo–García Ramón 261–4, 267 f.

54 *əmauuatəḡm* is a senseless corruption caused by *əmauuantəm* in the following line; cf. West (2008), 126.

## Demonstrative adverbs of manner, time, and place

133. *aṭā*, *iṭā* ‘thus’, especially as a predicate (with or without the verb ‘to be’), of what is true as stated: 32. 6 *yezī tāiš aṭā*, ‘if thereby (it is really) so’; 34. 6 *yezī aṭā stā haiṭim*, ‘if ye are like this in truth’, cf. 44. 6; 53. 6 *iṭā ī haiṭiā narō*, *aṭā*, *jōnaiiō*, ‘these truths are like this, gentlemen, like so, ladies’. With optatives in *YH*, 40. 3 *aṭā xʷaētus*, *aṭā vərəzōnā*, *aṭā haxōməm xiiāt*, ‘so may it be with the clan, so with the communities, so with the societies’; 41. 3.

Used with *nōiṭ* like Latin *non item*: 47. 4 *ahmāt mainiiōuš rārōšieinṭi drəguuanṭō ... spəntāt*; *nōiṭ iṭā ašauuanō*, ‘from this bounteous will the wrongful deflect people; not so the righteous’. (But a similar structure without *iṭā* in 30. 3 *āscā hudāṅhō ərəš vī.šiiātā*, *nōiṭ duždāṅhō*, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly; not (so) ill-doers’.)

Correlative with *yaṭā*: 27. 13 *yaṭā ahū vairiio*, *aṭā ratuš ... dazdā ... Mazdāi*, ‘as (he is) the master for choice, so the direction is assigned to Mazdā’; 29. 4 *aṭā aṅhaṭ*, *yaṭā huuō vasat*, ‘it will be as he will’; 33. 1 *yaṭā āiš*, *iṭā varōsaitē*, *yā dātā*, ‘as by what was ordained, so it will be carried out’; 45. 3 *yōi im vē nōiṭ iṭā* (v.l. *aṭā*) *maṭrəm varōšəṅṭi*, *yaṭā im mēnāicā vaocācā*, ‘those of you who do not act on this prescript in the way I conceive and speak it’; *YH* 36. 2 *yaṭā āṭ ... vaēdā haiṭim*, *aṭā haṭ vohū tatē āṭ ū vərəziiōtū*, ‘as anyone knows a truth, so, it being good, let him then put it into effect’, cf. 39. 4.

Introducing imperatives, *aṭā* means ‘therefore’: 29. 1; 31. 18; 34. 7; 53. 3.<sup>55</sup>

Like Sanskrit *iti*, *aṭā* can also be used to mark off a quotation of direct speech: 51. 16 *‘spəntō Mazdā Ahurō’*, *aṭā nē sazdiīāi uštā*, ‘to proclaim to us as desired, “Bounteous is Lord Mazdā”’; cf. §273.

*ūiṭi* ‘thus’: introducing direct speech, 45. 2 *yaiiā spaniā ūiti mrauuat yēm angrəm*, ‘of whom the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one’, with the speech following; to avoid repeating a phrase, *YH* 39. 3 (we worship the good entities), *yōi Vaṅhēuš ā Manəṅhō šiiēinṭi yāscā ūiṭi*, ‘those (masc.) that dwell on the side of Good Thought, and those (fem.) ditto’.

*nū* ‘now’: 45. 8 *nū †zīṭ cašmainī vī.adarəsəm*, ‘I have just now discerned him in my eye’;<sup>56</sup> in statement of intention, 51. 1 *taṭ nē nū.cīṭ varōšānē*, ‘that I will do for us right now’. In a weakened sense in appeals or exhortations, ‘come now’: 45. 1 *nū gūšōdūm*, *nū sraotā*, ... *nū im vīspā ... mazdāṅhōdūm*, ‘listen now, hear now, all now take it to heart’; 29. 11 *Ahurā*, *nū nā auuarē*, ‘Lord, now (come) down to us’.

A longer form occurs in 31. 7 *yē ā nūrēm.cīṭ ... hamō*, ‘which even now is the same’.

*adā* ‘then, thereupon’: 29. 2; 30. 10.

55 G. E. Dunkel, *HS* 101 (1988), 62 f., regards *aṭā* in this use as a different word from *aṭā* ‘thus’.

56 *zīṭ* may contain the particles *zī* *iṭ*, but there should be four syllables where we have only *nū zīṭ*.

*atā* ‘then, thereupon’, is a probable conjecture for *at ā* in 29. 6, and similarly *tatā* in *YH* 35. 6 (see §278).

*aṭrā* ‘there, in that situation’: 31. 12; ‘thither’, correlative with *yaṭrā*, 46. 16 *aṭrā tū aradrāiš idī ... yaṭrā ašā hacaitē ārmaitiš*, ‘go with the zealous ones to where Piety is together with Right’.

### Relative pronouns

**134.** Relative clauses will be discussed later (§§222–39). Regarding the pronoun, the following points may be noted here:

The neut. acc. *hiiat* is used as a conjunction introducing clauses of various types, with meanings varying accordingly: ‘(the fact) that’, ‘because’, ‘seeing that’, ‘when’, ‘in order that’; also *parā hiiat* ‘before’. For details see §§240–7, 249–50, 252, 256.

It may also be used without a verb, virtually as a particle; see §311.

The neut. instr. *yā* can mean ‘the way in which, how’ or ‘the reason for which, why’: 34. 12 *srūidiāi ... frāuuuacā, yā vī.dāiāt ašiš rāšnām*, ‘proclaim for our hearing how the rewards of (thy) rulings might be distributed’; 46. 2 *vaēdā taṭ, yā ahmī ... anaēšō: mā kamnafšuuā*, ‘I know why I am ineffectual: because of my poverty in cattle’. In 31. 16 it forms the first element of a compound adjective: *pərəsā auuat ... yadā huuō aṇhaṭ yā.šīiaodnascā*, ‘I ask this ... when such a man will exist, and how-actioned’.

The neut. abl. *yāt* means ‘from when, since’: 32. 4 *yāt yūš tā fra.mīmadā*, ‘ever since you have enjoined those things’; *YH* 36. 6 *barəzištəm barəzimanām auuat yāt huuarə auuācī*, ‘highest of the high (we proclaim) yonder sun since it was named’.

### Relative adverbs/conjunctions

**135.** *yaṭā* ‘in which way, how, as’: 30. 4; 31. 2, 14, 16; 44. 1, 18; 46. 9; 48. 9; 49. 6; 51. 5; often correlative with *aṭā* or *iṭā*, see §133; with ellipse of verb, 30. 7 *aēšqəm tōi ā aṇhaṭ yaṭā ādānāiš paouruiiō*, ‘their leader will be yours there as if in irons’. *yaṭā* can also introduce a final clause, ‘in order to’: §253.

In 34. 5 *kā ištīš šīiaodnāi, Mazdā, yaṭā vā hahmī?*, the *prima facie* meaning ‘or how I sleep’ is nonsensical; the phrase may represent an erroneous resegmentation of *hiiat ā vō ahmī* (originally *\*yat ā vah ahmī*), ‘as I am in your hands’.

*yaṭenā* ‘in the same way as, like’: 43. 10, quoted in §131; 31. 22 *ciṭrā ī hudāṅhē, yaṭenā vaēdāmnāi manāḥā*, ‘these things are clear to the well-doer just as he apprehends them in his mind’, meaning perhaps that he sees them just as they are; *YH* 35. 2 *humatanām hūxtanām huuarštānām ... mahī aibī.jarətārō, naē naēštārō yaṭenā vohunām mahī*, ‘of good thoughts, good words, good deeds we are approvers, just as we are not revilers of what is good’.

*yadā* ‘when’, of future time, as a conjunction introducing a temporal clause: §246. In an indirect question: 31. 16, quoted in §134.

*yadrā* ‘where’, local or situational: 30. 9; 31. 11, 12; 53. 7; ‘to where’, 46. 11; correlated with *adrā*, 46. 16.

*yauuat* ‘as far as’, ‘as long as’, local or temporal: 34. 9 *aēibiiō maš ašā siiaz-daŋ*, *yauuat ahmaŋ aurunā xrafstrā*, ‘from them it will retreat a great distance, as far as the savage predators from us’; 43. 8 *yauuat ā v̄βā, Mazdā, staomī ufiācā*, ‘so long as I am praising and hymning thee, Mazda’; 28. 4 *yauuat isāi tauuācā*, ‘so long as I have the ability and strength’, cf. 43. 9; 50. 11; a different form in a similar usage at *YH* 35. 7 *yātō isāmaidē*, ‘so far as we are able’.<sup>57</sup>

### Interrogative pronouns

**136.** The interrogatives are used only in direct questions, not in indirect.

*kē* ‘who, what’ can be used both as a pronoun and adjectivally: 29. 1 *kē mā tašaŋ*? ‘who fashioned me?’; 44. 5 *kē huuāpā raocāscā dāt tēmāscā*? ‘what skilful one made the light and the darkness?’; 49. 7 *kē airiamā, kē xʷaētus ... aŋhaŋ*? ‘which tribe, which clan will it be?’

In the nom. and acc. masc. sg. we also find the strengthened forms *kas.nā*, *kēm.nā* (44. 3, 4; 46. 7). In the nom. this may have been understood as ‘what man?’ (cf. 51. 11 *kē ... nā*), but the *nā* was probably an original particle. Cf. §308; Brugmann (1902) §839. 4.

The form *ciš* appears in the strengthened form *ciṽənā* (§137), but otherwise only in the question that Zarathushtra represents a stranger as asking him: 43. 7 *ciš ahī, kahiiā ahī*? ‘who art thou? whose art thou?’; possibly a dialect difference is implied, or a more conversational register.

The plural is used in questions about groups of people: 44. 6 *kaēibiiō azīm rāniio.skeraifim gəm tašō*? ‘for what people did you fashion the gladdening milch cow?’, cf. 46. 3; 48. 11.

**137.** The neuter *kaŋ* can introduce a question without relation to subject or object, ‘est-ce que ...?’: 28. 5 *Ašā, kaŋ v̄βā darəsānī*? ‘O Right, shall I see thee?’; 48. 2 *kaŋ ašauuā ... vāŋghaŋ drəguuantəm*? ‘will the righteous man vanquish the wrongful one?’; 50. 1 *kaŋ mōi uruuā isē cahiiā auuajhō*? ‘does my soul command any succour?’ (unless it is ‘what of any succour’). The position of the enclitics *v̄βā* and *mōi* precludes the translation of *kaŋ* as ‘what, ...?’ Contrast the stronger question-marker *ciṽənā* (= \**ciŋ.nā*, which replaces \**kaŋ.nā*): 44. 20 *ciṽənā, Mazdā, huxšadrā daēuuā aŋharō*? ‘what, Mazda, have the Daevas been good rulers?’

**138.** A ‘which of two’ question is introduced by the neuter *katārōm*, even if the alternatives are masculines (just as in Gk. πότερον ... ἢ ..., Latin *utrum ...*

<sup>57</sup> See Narten (1986), 119 f.

an ...): 31. 17 *katārōm* ašauuā vā drōguuā vā vərənauuaitē maziio? ‘which is to be the more persuasive, the righteous one or the wrongful?’, cf. 44. 12.

#### Interrogative adverbs

**139.** *kaṭā* ‘how?’: 43. 7; 44. 2, 9, 11, 13, etc. In 29. 2 *kaṭā tōi gauuōi ratuš?* ‘how (was) thy ruling for the cow?’, *kaṭā* is the predicate of a nominal sentence, equivalent to ‘how didst thou ordain?’

*kadā* ‘when?’ in questions about the future: 29. 9; 46. 3; 48. 9 (var.), 10, 11.

*kudā* ‘where?’: 29. 11 *kudā ašəm vohūcā manō?* ‘where are right and good thought?’

*kuṭrā* ‘(to) where?’: 34. 7 *kuṭrā tōi aradrā?* ‘where are thy zealous ones?’, cf. 51. 4; 44. 15 *kuṭrā aiiā, kahmāi vananəm dadā?* ‘where between the two, to whom dost thou give the victory?’; 46. 1 *kəm nəmōi zəm, kuṭrā nəmōi aieni?* ‘what land for refuge, (to) where am I to go for refuge?’

*kū* ‘where?’: 51. 4 *kuṭrā yasō.xiiōn ašəm? kū spəntā ārmaitiš?* ‘where is lustre-giving right? where liberal piety?’; 53. 9.

#### Indefinite pronouns<sup>58</sup>

**140.** The same forms serve for indefinite pronouns as for interrogative, but *ciš* plays a larger role:

*naē.ciš* ‘no one’, 43. 6, 13; acc. masc. *naē.cīm*, 34. 7; neut. *naē.cīt* ‘nothing’, 32. 7.

*mā.ciš* ‘let no one’, 31. 18; 48. 9 *yezī cahiiā xsaiiaṭā*, ‘if you have control of anything’; 50. 1 *kaṭ mōi uruuā isē cahiiā auuaṇhō?* ‘does my soul command any succour?’

**141.** A relative clause is given comprehensive reference by following up the relative pronoun with the corresponding part of *ciš* + *-cā*: 43. 16 *huuō mainiiūm Zaratuštrō vərəntē, Mazdā, yas.tē cišcā spəništō*, ‘this Zarathushtra chooses that will, Mazda, whichever is thy most bounteous one’; 45. 5 *yōi mōi ahmāi sraošəm dən caiiascā*, ‘whatever people give me compliance with it’; 47. 5 *ašāunē cōiš yā zī cīcā vahištā*, ‘to the righteous one thou assignest whatever things are best’.

**142.** *ka-* + *cīt* is used to mean ‘any’, ‘whatever it may be’: 33. 11 *mərəzdātā mōi ādāi kahiiācīt paiī*, ‘have mercy on me at the allocation of whatever (it may be)’; 43. 1 *uštā ahmāi, yahmāi uštā kahmāicīt*, ‘as desired by him to whom it is desirable, anyone’, cf. 44. 16; 46. 8 *paitiiaogaṭ tā ahmāi jasōiṭ duuaēšṇhā ... kācīt, Mazdā, duuaēšṇhā*, ‘may those (actions) recoil on him with hostility ...

<sup>58</sup> Caland 48–50.



yes, with whatever sort of hostility, Mazdā!'; 49. 5 *ārmātōiš kascī* *ašā huzēntuš*, 'any well-born man of piety with Right'; YH 38. 5 *kahmāicī* *hātəm*, 'for anyone in the world'.

Hence the remarkable compound in YH 39. 2 *ašāunəm āaṭ urunō yazamaidē kudō.zātanəm.cī*, 'we worship the souls of the righteous, wherever born'.

## Verbs

### Person and Number

**143.** The verb paradigms contain forms for the three persons and the three numbers (singular, dual, plural).

**144.** A single speaker may use the 1st pl. when speaking on behalf of a group, as in YH 35. 2, 3, and *passim*; so presumably 31. 1 *tā vā uruuātā marantō aguštā vacā sānghāmahī*, 'minding these rules of yours, we proclaim unheeded words'; 28. 5, 6, 7, 9. Likewise, when Mazdā speaks in the 1st pl. at 32. 2 *spəntəm vā ārmaitīm ... varəmaidī: hā nē aṭhaṭ*, 'your liberal piety we adopt: it shall be ours', or at 34. 5, this is not to be taken as a *pluralis maiestatis*<sup>59</sup> but as including the other higher entities that are constantly associated with him. It corresponds to the fact that in addressing Mazdā Zarathushtra alternates on no very clear principle between 2nd sg. and 2nd pl. forms (§122).

**145.** A speaker may refer to himself in the 3rd person: 33. 14 *aṭ rāṭəm Zərəduštrō tanuuascī xʷaxiiā uštanəm dadāitī*, 'as offering, Zarathushtra gives his own body's energy'; 43. 16 *aṭ Ahurā, huuō mainiium Zərəduštrō varəntē*, 'O Lord, this Zarathushtra chooses that will'; 50. 6 *yē maḍrā vācəm, Mazdā, baraitī, ... Zərəduštrō* 'the prophet who is bringing forth his voice, Mazdā—Zarathushtra'. Cf. 31. 6, where Mazdā is apparently answering Zarathushtra's question as to what is best, *ahmāi aṭhaṭ vahištəm, yē mōi vīduuā vaocāṭ haiḍīm ... Mazdāi auuaṭ xšādrəm, hīiaṭ hōi vohū vaxšaṭ manəḥhā*, 'it will go best for him who, knowing it, speaks my truth ... that is dominion for Mazdā, what(ever) he increases for him through good thought'.

**146.** The 3rd sg. is often used with non-specific subject:<sup>60</sup> 28. 2 *āiiaptā ... yāiš rapəntō dāidīt xʷādrē*, 'those blessings by which one could keep one's supporters in felicity'; 29. 10 *xšādrəm cā auuaṭ ... yā hušəitīš rāməmcā dāt*, 'and that dominion by which one may establish fair dwelling and peace', cf. 53. 8; 30. 4 *aṭcā hīiaṭ tā hēm mainiū jasaētəm paouruūm, dazdē gaēmcā ajiiaūm cā*, 'once those two wills join battle, a man takes for himself life or non-life'; 34. 12 *srūidiiāi*,

59 As by Wackernagel (1926–8), i. 100.

60 Cf. Delbrück iii. 127–9.

*Mazdā, frāuuuocā, yā vī.dāiiāi ašiš rāšnaṃ*, ‘proclaim for our hearing, Mazdā, how (the one responsible) may distribute the rewards of (thy) rulings’; cf. 30. 7; 32. 7; 33. 6, 9; 43. 7, 10, 14; 47. 2; 48. 1; 49. 7; 50. 3, 4, 5.

147. The 3rd pl. is occasionally used with non-specific subject: 27. 13 *Ahu-rāiiā, yim drigubiiō dadat vāstārōm*, ‘for the Lord, whom they give as herdsman to the poor’; 46. 1 *pairī xʷaētāuš airiāmnascā dadaiī*, ‘they set me apart from clan and tribe’; 46. 9 *išentī mā tā tōi*, ‘do they put those things into practice for thee?’

### Voice

148. The paradigms contain a full array of active and middle forms, and a couple of forms with distinctively passive function; otherwise passive sense is expressed with middle forms, as in 29. 4 *yā zī vāuuērāzōi ... yācā varāšaitē*, ‘those that have been done and those that will be done’, cf. 33. 1; 48. 5; 30. 8 *vōiuūdāitē* ‘will be found’; 30. 10 *yaojantē* ‘will be yoked’; 31. 14 *dadantē* ‘will be given’; 32. 7 *sōnghaitē* ‘are decreed’; 34. 1–2 *dastē ... dātā* ‘is offered ... are given’.

149. Of some 149 verbs that occur in the texts in finite forms, about two thirds are found only in the active, and some two dozen only in the middle. With some of these latter the middle form is natural in view of the subject-internal, self-referential, or reciprocal sense of the verb: *aog-* ‘declare (about oneself)’; *gārēz-* ‘complain’; *rud-* ‘lament’; *gūš-* ‘open one’s ears, listen’; *man-* ‘think’; *sar-* ‘unite (with)’; *uruuāz-* ‘be happy’; *vah-* ‘clothe oneself’; *var-* ‘choose for oneself’; *vaz-* ‘get married’.

150. Certain verbs are found only in the active when used on their own, but in the middle when linked with a preverb:

*gam-* ‘go’: twice middle with *hōm*, ‘come together’, of two adversaries meeting in conflict (30. 4; 44. 15); eight times with *pairī*, ‘attend’ a higher being in worship (28. 2; 50. 8; 51. 22; *YH* 36. 1, 3, etc.); but active of approaching a person (43. 7, etc.).

*i-* ‘go’: once middle with *ā* and twice with *paitī ā*, in the same sense as *pairī gam-* (31. 2[?]; 34. 6; 50. 9); also 33. 7 *ā idūm*, ‘come ye’, in a prayer.<sup>61</sup>

*mru-* ‘speak’: but 49. 3 *aṅtarā ... mruiiē*, ‘I interdict’ (from my company).

*nas-* ‘reach, attain’: once middle with *frā* (43. 14), but once also active (46. 8).

*pā-* ‘protect’: but 28. 11 and 49. 10 *ni.pājhē*, ‘thou keepest for thyself’.

61 I am not persuaded by the view that these examples are to be referred to the verb *yā-*. It is noteworthy that middle verbs are favoured in connection with ritual activity, as with *yaz-* ‘worship’; cf. §151.

*vid-* ‘know’ (in perfect active): but 33. 8 *frō mōi vōizdūm arəθā* (aor. middle), ‘take note of my endeavours’.

**151.** Some two dozen verbs are found in both active and middle. In some cases the distinction of meaning is clear:

	Active	Middle
<i>baj-</i>	have/get (trans.) as one’s share	partake (intrans.) of (gen.)
<i>vī ci-</i>	distinguish between (trans.)	distinguish (intrans.) between (gen.)
<i>daṅh-</i>	teach	learn
<i>dā-</i>	give; place, establish	take; subject to
<i>frās-</i>	ask (trans.)	consult with (instr.); debate (something)
<i>frād-</i>	promote, tend	prosper
<i>kar-</i>	make	activate (one’s talents) (YH 40. 4)
<i>frā nas-</i>	reach, arrive at (46. 8)	attain (one’s goal) (43. 14)
<i>par-</i>	fill, fulfil	fill oneself (49. 1)
<i>sru-</i>	hear	make oneself heard/renowned
<i>vərəz-</i>	do, act on, bring into effect	effect for oneself
<i>vid-</i>	find, acquire	apprehend mentally

In other cases it is difficult to detect any difference in meaning. How does 44. 4 *daratā* ‘held’ or ‘holds’ (the earth from beneath) differ from 49. 2 *dōrašt* ‘grasps, embraces’ (piety)? Or 48. 12 *yōi xšnūm vohū manahhā hacāntē* ... *θβa-hiiā* ... *sānghahiiā*, ‘who by good thought follow what satisfies thy law’, from 53. 2 *scantū manahhā* ... *xšnūm Mazdā*, ‘let them by their thought follow what satisfies Mazda?’ Or 53. 6 *manahim ahūm marəngəduiiē*, ‘you ruin spiritual life’, from 45. 1 *nōit daibitīm dušsastiš ahūm mərəšiiāt*, ‘may the false teacher not be ruining life a second time?’ Or 32. 4 *vaṅhəuš sīzdiamnā manahhō*, ‘retreating from good thought’ from 34. 9 *aēibiiō maš ašā sīiazdat*, ‘from them (Good Thought) will retreat a long way with Right?’ Or, within 46. 1, *nōit mā xšnəuš*, ‘does not please me’, from *kaθā θβā, Mazdā, xšnaošāi*, ‘how am I to please thee, Mazda?’ In this last case one might wonder whether the middle is conditioned by the man–god relationship; cf. what was noted above about *pairī gam-* and (*paiit*) *ā i-*, and also 28. 1 *vaṅhəuš xratūm manahhō yā xšnəuuššā gəušcā uruuānəm*, ‘by which thou (Mazdā) couldst gratify (middle) Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’; 46. 18 *xšmakəm vərəm xšaošəmnō*, ‘satisfying your (Mazdā’s and Right’s) preference’.

## Aspect

**152.** Within the active or middle paradigm there is a morphological distinction of three types of stem: present, aorist, and perfect. They are not bound to tense, as any of them may occur in relation to past, present, or future events. They relate rather to aspect. The aorist stem is appropriate to a definitive event; the present stem to a non-definitive one (one that is uncompleted, or recurrent, or preparatory to something further) or to an on-going process or

state; the perfect stem to a fulfilled state, where the actions or events that led to it are kept in view.

Of the attested verbs, three quarters appear in only a present or an aorist stem, and half a dozen only in a perfect stem.

#### The present: aorist opposition

**153.** On examination of the usages of the three dozen verbs that are attested in both present and aorist stems, it appears that the functional distinction formulated above is generally valid. In many cases, admittedly, it is not possible to determine from the context whether a definitive event or a non-definitive situation is signified. But as the distinction seems to hold in those cases where the context does provide guidance, it should be assumed to hold throughout and the indecisive passages interpreted accordingly.

The following examples will illustrate the opposition. Present-stem forms are marked with °, aorist-stem forms with +.

45. 1 *nū* °*gūšōdūm*, *nū* +*sraotā*, ‘now listen ye (open-ended), now hear ye (= take in my particular message)’.

49. 1 +*gaidī mōi*, *ā mōi* °*rapā*, ‘come to me (event), support me (open-ended)’.

45. 11 *yas.tā daēuuōng* ... *mašiiqscā* +*tarēmąstā* *yōi im* °*tarēmmainiāntā*, ‘he who so scorns (once and for all) the Daevas and mortals who scorn him (habitually)’.

*ar-*: 46. 3 *kadā*, *Mazdā*, *yōi uxšānō asnaṃ* ... *frō* ... +*ārəntē?*, ‘when, *Mazdā*, will those Oxen of Days come forth? (event)’ :: 53. 8 °*iratū iš duuafšō huuō* ... *mazištō*, ‘let that greatest woe be coming upon them’ (open-ended).

*baj-*: 31. 10 *aṭ hī aiiā* +*frauuaratā vāstrīm* ... *nōiṭ* ... *auuāstriiō* ... *huməratōiš* +*baxštā*, ‘but she of those two chose the herdsman ... the non-herdsman did not get her goodwill’ :: 47. 5 *ašāunē* +*cōiš yā zī cīcā vahištā*; *hanarə* *ṽβahmāṭ* *zaošāṭ drəguuā* °*baxšaitī*, ‘thou didst assign to the righteous one what best things there be soever; it is without thy favour that the wrongful one partakes of them’.

*vī ci-*: 46. 15 *hiiṭ dāṽōng* *vī* +*caiiavā adāṽqscā*, *tāiš yūš šīiaodnāiš ašəm* *xšmaibiiā* +*daduiiē*, ‘when ye distinguish (once and for all) between the just and the unjust, by those actions ye shall win right for yourselves’ :: 46. 17 *yā vī* °*cinaoṭ dāṽəmcā adāṽəmcā*, ‘(the Caring One) who distinguishes (habitually) between the just man and the unjust’.

*fras-*: 31. 12 *ānuš.haxš Ārmaitiš mainiiū* °*pərəsaitē*, ‘Piety debates point by point with the will’ :: 44. 8 *yācā Vohū uxδā* +*frašī Manəṭhā*, ‘and the words spoken by Good Thought which I obtained in consultation’.

*gam-*: 30. 8 *yadā aēšqəm kaēnā* +*jamaiṭi aēnaṭhəm*, ‘when the requital comes for their misdeeds’ :: 46. 8 *paitiiaogəṭ tā ahmāi* °*jasōiṭ duuaēšəṭhā*, ‘may those (actions of his) recoil on him (open-ended) with hostility’.

*man-*: 43. 4 *aṭ ʋβā +mēnghāi taxmāmcā spəntəm ... hiiat mōi vaḡhēuš hazē +jimaṭ manajhō*, ‘I shall think thee bold and bounteous when the force of good thought comes to me (event)’ :: 43. 9 *rātəm nēmajhō ... yauuat °isāi, °maniiāi*, ‘the tribute of reverence, so far as I can, I will be thinking of’.

*nīš nas-*: 44. 13 *kaṭā drujəm nīš ahmaṭ ā +nāšāmā?* ‘how are we to drive Wrong out from ourselves (once and for all)?’ :: 50. 2 *akəs tōng mā nīš °ašiiā, dāṭōēm +dāhuuā*, ‘keep driving out those evil ones, adopt the just one’.

*saḡh-*: 31. 1 *aguštā vacā °sēnghāmāhī aēibiiō yōi ...*, ‘we proclaim (now and regularly) words unheeded by those who ...’ :: 44. 1 *friiāi ʋβāuuas +saxiiāt mauuaitē*, ‘one like thee might inform a friend such as me’ (= communicate a specific piece of information). Similarly:

*sāh-*: 50. 6 *rāzēng Vohū °sāhīt Manajhā*, ‘may he teach me his rules with Good Thought’ (open-ended) :: 43. 3 *aṭ huuō vaḡhēuš vahiiō nā +aibī.jamiiāt, yē nā ərəzūš savajhō paṭō +sišōit*, ‘may that man attain better than the good who should teach us the straight paths of benefit’.

*sru-*: 50. 4 *dāmānē garō °sraošānē*, ‘I will make myself heard (open-ended) in the house of song’ :: 28. 7 *+dāstū ... yā vē maṭrā +srauūimā rādā*, ‘give thou the (particular) prescript by which we might hear your favours’.

*siiāzd-*: 34. 9 *aēibiiō maš ašā +siazdaṭ*, ‘from them it (Piety) will retreat a great distance with Right’ :: 32. 4 *yā mašiiā acištā daṭō +vaxšəntē daēuuō.zuštā, Vaḡhēuš °sīzdiiamnā Manajhō*, ‘the worst things, by doing which mortals are to wax Daeva-favoured, retreating (habitually) from Good Thought’.

*var-* ‘persuade’: 31. 3 *hiiat uruuātəm cazdōjhhuadēbiiō, taṭ nā ... +vaocā ... yā juuaṅtō vīspōng +vāuraiiā*, ‘the rule that is for the prudent, tell us that, by which I might convince everyone alive’ :: 31. 17 *katārēm ašuuā vā drəguuā vā °vəranauuaitē maziō?* ‘which of the two, the righteous one or the wrongful, will be the more persuasive?’

*vərez-*: 48. 5 *yaoždā ... zqṭəm ... gauuōi °vəreziiātəm*, ‘let purification of breeding be effected (as a general principle) for the cow’ :: 51. 1 *taṭ nā nūcīt +varašānē*, ‘this I will put into effect for us right now’.

*vid-* ‘find’: 31. 15 *duššiiāoṭnāi ... yā nōit jiiōtūm hanarā °vinastī vāstriehiiā aēnajhō*, ‘the evil-doer who finds no livelihood without wronging the herdsman’ :: 51. 5 *yadā ... ḡəm +vidat vāstriō šiiāoṭnāiš ərəšuuō*, ‘how a herdsman upright in his actions obtains a cow’.

*xšā-*: normally present-stem, ‘rule’; in 48. 5 *huxšaṭrā +xšəntəm, mā nē duš-xšaṭrā +xšəntā* the aorists perhaps have ingressive force, ‘let good rulers assume rule over us, let not bad rulers do so’.

*xšnu-*: 51. 12 *nōit tā īm +xšnāuš vaēpiiō Kōuūnō pəratā ... hiiat ahmī urū-raost aštō*, ‘the Kavi catamite did not please him thereby at the crossing, that the emissary had barred his way at it’ :: 28. 1 *vaḡhēuš xratūm manajhō yā °xšnəuuīšā ḡəušcā uruuānəm*, ‘by which thou couldst gratify Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’ (open-ended).

*zā-*: 50. 7 *aṭ vā +yaojā zəuuīštiiōng auruuatō ... yāiš ā +zādā*, ‘I will yoke you the swiftest steeds, with which ye will win’ :: 30. 10 *aṭ āsištā +yaojaṅtē ā huš-*

*tōiš Vaṅhōuš Managhō*, ... *yōi* °*zazəntī vaṅhāu srauuahī*, (when the world is made perfect) ‘the swiftest steeds will be yoked from Good Thought’s fair dwelling ... and they will be first in good repute’ (not in a particular race but generally).

### The perfect

**154.** The perfect stem denotes a state of fulfilment. The following verbs appear in the Old Avestan texts only in a perfect stem:

(*ad-*) *ād-* ‘declare, have made a declaration (of enduring validity)’: 43. 9, 15; YH 35. 8.

(*cit-*) *cikōit-/cicit-* ‘understand; be conspicuous’: 32. 11; 43. 2.

(*hi-*) *hišāii-* ‘hold bound’: 29. 1.

(*rud-*) *urūraod-* ‘be blocking’: 51. 12.

(*uruuāz-*) *vaorāz-* ‘be happy’: 50. 5.

(*yat-*) *yōit-* ‘be engaged, busy’: 28. 9.

**155.** The following examples with verbs that also show present or aorist stems will help to illustrate the nature of the perfect. Present and aorist forms are marked as above by ° or +.

*ah-*: 44. 20 *ciṭənā, Mazdā, huxšəṭrā daēuuā aṅharē*, ... *yōi* °*pišīieintī aēibiiō kəm, yāiš* ..., ‘what, Mazdā, have the Daevas been good rulers, they that blaspheme(?) for the sake of those with whom ...’. The perfect is here used in reference to a past that continues into the present.<sup>62</sup>

*ar-* ‘start into motion’; for present and aorist examples see above, §153. The perfect signifies something like ‘is up and running, is established as a principle’: 33. 9 *aiiā aṛōi hākuraṇəm*, ‘the fellowship of those two is established’; cf. 34. 3; 50. 5.

*dar-*: 49. 2 *nōit spəntəm* +*dōrašt ahmāi stōi Ārmaifim*, ‘(the wrongful teacher) does not embrace/has not (yet) embraced bounteous Piety to make her his’ :: 51. 8 *yā Ašəm dadrē*, ‘he who has embraced Right’ (once and for all).

*dā-*: 28. 4 *yā uruuānəm mān gairē* ... *dadē*, ‘I that have taken my soul in mind for praise-song’ (or *dadē* may be present, in which case it belongs under §161); YH 40. 1 *hiiaṭ mīždəm* ... *fra.dadāṭā daēnābiiō*, ‘the reward that thou hast appointed for (good) moral selves’.

*nas-*: 32. 4 *Vaṅhōuš* °*sīzdiiamnā Managhō, Mazdā Ahurahiiā xratēuš* °*nasiiantō*, ‘retreating from Good Thought, losing the way from Lord Mazdā’s sapience’ :: 51. 13 *yehiiā uruuā* +*xraodaitī Cinuuatō pəratā* ... *Ašahiiā naṣuuā paṭō*, ‘whose soul will torment him at the Arbiter’s Crossing, lost from the path of Right’.

62 Cf. Delbrück ii. 211–15. Likewise 44. 13 *yōi* ... *nōit frasaiiā Vaṅhōuš cāxnarē Managhō*, ‘who have not (ever) taken pleasure in consulting Good Thought’.

*par-*: 28. 10 *aēibiiō* °*pərənā āpanāiš kāməm*, ‘fulfil their desire with attainment’ :: 49. 1 *aṭ mā yauuā bēnduuō pafrē mazištō*, ‘that greatest polluter(?) has fed himself full on my life’.

*taš-*: 29. 1 *kā mā +tašaṭ?* ‘who created me?’ :: 29. 6 *aṭ zī ṽβā fšuiiṇtaēcā vā-striiāicā Ṭβōrāštā tatašā*, ‘the Shaper has created thee for the stock-raiser and the herdsman’ (emphasis on present status).

*vac-*: 31. 3 *aṭ nē, Mazdā, vīduuanōi +vaocā*, ‘tell us that, Mazdā, for our knowing’ :: 34. 5 *parā vā vīspāiš vaoxmā daēuuāišcā xrafstrāiš mašiiāišcā*, ‘we have declared you above all predators, both Daevas and mortals’.

*vid-* ‘know’: 33. 8 *frō mōi +vōizdūm arāṽā*, ‘take note of my endeavours’ :: 28. 10 *aṭ yāṅg ... vōistā ... dāṽōṅg*, ‘those whom thou knowest to be upright’, and *passim*.

**156.** A special use of the perfect is seen in phrases referring to the totality of past, present, and future, or just of past and future: 33. 10 *vīspās tā huṽtāiiō yā zī āṇharē yāscā °həṇṭi yāscā ... +buuainṭi*, ‘all those good lives that have been and those that are and those that shall come into being’, cf. 45. 7 *yōi zī juuā āṇharēcā buuanticā*; 51. 22 *yōi āṇharēcā həṇṭicā*; 29. 4 *yā zī vāuuərozōi pairi ciṽiṭ ... yācā +varāšaitē aipī ciṽiṭ*, ‘things that have been done in the past and things that may be done in future’; *YH* 39. 2 *yaēšqəm vahehīš daēnā °vanainṭi vā +vāṅghən vā yaonarə vā*, ‘those whose better selves prevail or will prevail or have prevailed’. In each case the totality and all its constituents are of present relevance, but that does not seem entirely to account for the use of the perfect. A stronger factor may have been the impulse to use the three different forms of stem for the three contrasted tenses; the alternative would have been to use the present or aorist stem twice, marking it with the augment for the past.

## Tense and Modality

**157.** As the passages just quoted show, the division of time into past, present, and future was a familiar concept, but the language had only limited means of expressing it. In fact, from a linguistic point of view, past, present, and future are by no means straightforward categories. Each of them embraces a range of aspects and modalities, variously reflected in the grammatical system.

### Present time

**158.** The category of the present embraces: an action or activity taking place simultaneously with the utterance, or constituted by the utterance itself; a static situation obtaining at the time; a recurrent event that may not be happening at the moment but is known to happen sometimes and may be expected to happen again; a timeless truth.

**159.** Any of these may be expressed with the present indicative, that is, the present stem with the so-called primary personal endings. This is regular in performative utterances, that is, those which themselves constitute the action described: 28. 1, 8 *yāsā* ‘I pray’; 31. 1 *sōngāmāhī* ‘we proclaim’; 31. 14 *pərəsā* ‘I ask’; 32. 7 *aojōi* ‘I declare’; 32. 9 *gərəzē* ‘I complain’; 33. 14 *Zarathuštrō ... dadāitī* ‘Zarathushtra dedicates’; 49. 3 *antarə ... mruiiē* ‘I interdict’; *YH* 35. 5 *dadəmāhicā cīšmahicā huuəṇmahicā*, ‘we dedicate and assign and institute’; 37. 1 *iθā āt yazamaidē Ahurəm Mazdəm*, ‘in this way we worship Lord Mazdā’.

**160.** So too in statements of mental disposition: 29. 8 *vaštī*, ‘he wishes’; 29. 9 and 44. 3 *vasmī*, ‘I wish’; 33. 6 *kāiīā ... iziīā*, ‘I desire ... I long’; 34. 4 *usēmāhī*, ‘we wish’; 34. 12 *kaṭ vaštī?* ‘what dost thou wish?’; 43. 16 *huuō mainiūm Zarathuštrō vərəntē*, ‘this Zarathushtra chooses that will’, cf. 46. 3; 44. 7 *auuāmī* ‘I am eager’; 44. 11 *mainiūš spasiīā duuaēšəḡhā*, ‘I regard with hostility of spirit’; 49. 2 *aṭ ahiiā mā bəṇduuahiiā mānaiieitī ūkaēšō drəguuā*, ‘of this polluter(?) the wrongful teacher puts me in mind’; 49. 6 *frō vā išiiā ... mrūitē*, ‘I desire you to speak’.

**161.** Of current activity or situation: 32. 8 *aēšəmcitī ā ahmī ūβahmī ... vīciθōi aipī*, ‘in respect of these (deeds) I am (waiting) upon thy decision’; 46. 1 *pairī xʷaētəuš airiāmnaścā dadaitī*, ‘they set me apart from clan and tribe’; 50. 1 *kaṭ mōi uruuā isē cahiiā auuaḡhō?* ‘does my soul command any succour?’; 50. 6 *yā maṭrā vācəm ... baraitī*, ‘this prophet who is bringing forth his voice’; and so perhaps 28. 4, see §155.

**162.** Of general truths: 27. 14 *ašəm vohū, vahištəm asfī*, ‘right is good, it is the best existing’; 28. 3 *yaēibiiō xšədrəmcā ... vərədaitī ārmaitiš*, ‘you whose dominion piety increases’, cf. 44. 6; 43. 6 *ūβahiiā xratəuš, yəm naēcīš dābaieitī*, ‘of thy sapience, which no one deceives’; 49. 10 *taṭcā, Mazdā, ūβahmī ā dəm nipəḡhē*, ‘and that (reward), Mazdā, thou keepest in thy house’; 53. 9 *duž-uuarənaiš vaēšō rāsfī*, ‘because of ill-choosers decay takes hold’.

**163.** Where the reference is to recurrent phenomena or habitual action, the present indicative is sometimes used, as in 30. 4 (when the two Wills join battle,) *dazdē gaēmca ajiitīmca*, ‘a man takes for himself life or non-life’; 31. 12 *aṭrā vācəm baraitī miṭah.uuacā vā əraš.uuacā vā*, ‘there speaks forth either one of false words or one of straight words’; *ibid.* *ānuš.haxš Ārmaitiš mainiū pərəsaitē*, ‘Piety debates point by point with the will’; 43. 10 *aṭ tū mōi dāiš ašəm, hiiat mā zaozomī*, ‘show me thou Right, that one I (constantly) invoke’; 44. 3 *kā yā mā uxšieitī nərəfsaitī ūβaṭ?* ‘who is it through whom the moon waxes or wanes?’; 47. 4 *ahmāt mainiūš rərəšieintī drəguuantō*, ‘from this Will the wrongful deflect people’. More often, however, we find the present or aorist injunctive, that is, the temporally and modally neutral forms that lack the specific markers of present or past time and are marked only for aspect: 30. 3 *āscā hudāḡhō əraš +vī.šiiātā, nōit duždāḡhō*, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly, but ill-doers do not’; 30. 5 *aiiā mainiūā*



+*varatā* yē *draguuā acištā vərəziio*, ‘of those two Wills, the wrongful one chooses the worst things to do’; 30. 6 *aṭ aēšəməm °hēn.duuārəntā yā °banaiien ahūm maratānō*, ‘(the Daevas) scurry together to the violence with which mortals blight the world’; 32. 5 *tā °debənaotā mašīm hujiiātōiš*, ‘so ye lure the mortal from good living’; 32. 9 *dušsastiš srauuā °mōrəndaṭ ... apō mā īštim +yantā*, ‘the false teacher perverts good repute, he takes away enablement’.

**164.** Perfect-stem verbs are used where appropriate in describing a current state of affairs, as in 28. 9 *yōi vā yōiṭəmā dasəmə stūtəm*, ‘we who are busy in the offering of your praises’; 29. 1 *ā mā aēšəmō hazascā rəməō hišāiiā*, ‘fury and force and cruelty hold me bound’; 32. 11 *yōi draguuantō ... cikōiterəš ... apaiieiṭi*, ‘the wrongful ones who have distinguished themselves by depriving’.

**165.** The aorist indicative is used when the speaker reports a perception that has just come to him: 45. 8–10 *tām ... nū zī ṭ cašmainī vi.adarəsəm ... yē anmōnī Mazdā srāuuī Ahurō*, ‘him I have just now discerned in my eye ... him who has become heard in my soul, Lord Mazdā’; 43. 5 *spəntəm aṭ ṭβā, Mazdā, mējhi ... hiiat ṭβā aṭhēuš zaṭōi +darəsəm paouruuīm*, ‘bounteous I think thee, Mazdā, as soon as I see thee at the genesis of the world’, cf. 29. 10; 31. 8; 46. 13 *tām vā Ašā mēhmaidī hušhaxāim*, ‘we apprehend him as your and Right’s good friend’; YH 35. 7 *Ahuraḥiiā zī aṭ vā Mazdā yasnəmcā vahməmcā vahištəm amēhmaidī*, ‘but it is Lord Mazdā’s worship and praise that we apprehend as the greatest good’; 43. 11 *sādrā mōi saš mašiiāēšū zrazdāitiš*, ‘trust in mortals strikes me as grief’; 46. 10 *tācīt mōi saš tuuōm, Mazdā, vāēdištō*, ‘of those things thou, Mazdā, appearest to me (as it strikes me) the best provider’.

**166.** A similar type of momentary aorist may be seen in performative function in 32. 2 *spəntəm vā āрмаitīm ... varəmaidī*, ‘your liberal piety we adopt’; YH 35. 3 *taṭ aṭ varəmaidī ... hiiat ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā varəzimācā yā ...*, ‘we choose to think and speak and do those things that ...’. Where the present stem of *var-* is used (43. 16 and 46. 3, cited in §160), we may take it as a description of attitude or principle as opposed to a declaration of commitment.

#### Future time

**167.** The future by definition consists of what has not happened yet, so it cannot be spoken of in such definite terms as the present or past. Only a few things can be predicted with certainty: in six months it will be winter; in two hundred years you and I will be dead. But for the most part propositions about the future are not statements of fact but of expectation, surmises subject to varying degrees of uncertainty. Even when I say what I myself am going to do, it is not logically on all fours with a statement of what I am now doing or have done in the past, it is a declaration of intent or resolve.

It is no accident that the only Old Avestan verb form described in the grammars as a future is restricted to the first person singular: *vaxšiiā* ‘I will

speak (of)', 30. 1; 46. 15; 51. 8; *fra.uuaxšiiā*, 44. 6; 45. 1–6. It would be better considered as a voluntative.

**168.** In general, propositions relating to the future are put in the subjunctive, the mood whose essential function is to express something not known or perceived but envisaged. The °present or +aorist stem is used according to aspect.

**169.** In first-person statements of intent or resolve: 28. 4 *yauuaṭ* °*isāi* °*tauuācā*, *auuaṭ* °*xšai* *aēšē* *Ašahiiā*, 'so long as I have the ability and strength, I will look out in search of Right', cf. 43. 9; 32. 1 *ṽβōi dūtāḡhō* °*ḡhāmā*, 'we will be thy messengers'; 34. 3 *aṭ tōi miiadzəm* ... +*dāmā gaēṽā* *vīspā ā xšadrōi*, 'as thy oblation we will give into thy dominion all our living bodies'; 51. 10 *maibiiō* °*zbaiiā* *Ašəm*, 'for myself I will call upon Right'; 51. 22 *tā* °*yazai* *xšaiš nāmēniš pairicā* °*jasai* *vanṭā*, 'I will worship them under their own names and attend them with devotion'.

**170.** In a third-person statement equivalent to a first-person decision: 32. 2 *spəntəm vā āрмаitīm* ... *varəmaidī*; *hā nā* °*anḡhat*, 'your liberal piety we adopt; it shall be ours'.

**171.** In predictions or assurances: 29. 4 *avā* [nā] °*anḡhat*, *yaṽā huuō vasat*, 'it will be as he will'; 30. 8 *taibiiō xšadrəm Vohū Manaḡhā* °*vōiuūdāitē*, 'for thee will be found dominion with Good Thought'; 30. 10 *adā zī auuā Drūjō* +*buuaitī skəndō spaiiadrāhiiā*, *aṭ āsištā* +*yaojantē ā hušitōiš* *Vaḡhōuš Manaḡhō*, 'for then destruction will come down upon Wrong's prosperity, and the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked from Good Thought's fair dwelling'; 31. 5 *vīduiē* ... *tācīt* ... *yā nōit vā* °*anḡhat anḡhaitī* *vā*, 'to know those things that will not be, or will be'; 31. 14 *tā* ... *yā zī ā* °*aēitī* +*jāḡghaticā*, 'those things that are approaching and will come'; 47. 1 *ahmāi* +*dāḡ* *hauruuātā aməratātā*, 'they will give him health and life'; 51. 14 *yā iš sēḡhō apəməm Drūjō dāmānē ā* +*dāt*, 'a teaching that will consign them at the last to the house of Wrong'.

**172.** In questions about the future: 28. 5 *Ašā*, *kaṭ ṽβā* +*darāšāni?* 'O Right, shall I see thee?'; 44. 8 *kā mē uruuā vohū* +*uruuāxšat āḡmatā?* 'to what good destinations will my soul set forth?'; 46. 3 *kadā*, *Mazdā*, *yōi uxšānō asnəm* ... *frō* ... +*ārəntē?*, 'when, Mazdā, will those Oxen of Days come forth?'; 48. 2 *kaṭ ašauuā* ... +*vāḡghat drəḡuaḡntəm?* 'will the righteous one vanquish the wrongful?'

**173.** In deliberative questions: 44. 13 *kaṽā drujəm niš ahmaṭ ā* +*nāšānā?* 'how are we to drive Wrong out from ourselves?'; 44. 17 *kaṽā zaram* °*carāni?* 'how am I to travel towards my goal?'; 46. 1 *kaḡ* *nəmōi zaḡ*, *kuṽrā nəmōi* °*aiienī?* ... *kaṽā ṽβā*, *Mazdā*, +*xšnaošai?* 'what land for refuge, where am I to go for refuge? ... How am I to please thee, Mazdā?'

174. With a perfect-stem verb, naturally, the perfect subjunctive is used: 48. 9 *kaṭ ā vaēdā?* ‘shall I know?’; 50. 5 *ārōi zī xsmā ... hiiat yūšmākāi maṭrānē vaorā-zaṭā*, ‘for it is settled by you that ye will look gladly upon your prophet’.

175. Occasionally in rhetorical questions that have to be translated with future verbs we find not the subjunctive but the injunctive: 48. 10 *kadā, Mazdā, maṇarōiš narō °vīsantā?*<sup>63</sup> *kadā ā +jēn mūṭrəm ahiiā madahiiā?* ‘when, Mazdā, will the men of Observance(?) be standing ready? When will one strike out at the piss of this liquor?’; 51. 4 *kuṭrā ārōiš ā fsəratuš, kuṭrā mərəždikā ā °xštat?* ‘where will respect(?) appear out of harm, where mercy?’

### Past time

176. For past events or situations that the speaker knows of from his own experience or from hearsay that he regards as reliable, verb forms with the so-called secondary endings are used, with or (more often) without the augment. Where the augment is lacking, these forms are formally classed as injunctives, but as in this function they seem completely equivalent to augmented forms, it seems justifiable to regard them as imperfect and aorist indicatives.

It is sometimes uncertain whether the augment or the preverb *ā* is to be recognized. The following are plausible examples of augmented forms: 30. 3 *asruuātəm* ‘they made themselves heard’; 32. 3 *asrūdum* ‘you made yourselves renowned’; 45. 8 *viiādarəsəm = vī.adarəsəm* ‘I (have just) discerned’; 46. 9 *uz.əmōhī* ‘I found out(?)’; 51. 11 *afraštā* ‘has taken counsel’ and *acistā* ‘has gained insight’; 53. 7 *anaṣat* ‘lost its way’; YH 35. 7 *amāhmaidī* ‘we (have just) apprehend(ed)’; 36. 6 *auuācī* ‘was named’.

177. These are all aorists, and in general aorists greatly outnumber imperfects. Examples of the latter are: 31. 9 *ṽβōi as ārmaitiš, ṽβā ā gəuš tašā as xratuš mainiiəuš, Mazdā Ahurā, hiiat axiiāi dadā pavəṃ*, ‘thine was piety, thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will, Lord Mazdā, when thou didst offer her a path’;<sup>64</sup> 34. 8 *tāiš ... šīiaodnāiš ... yaēšū as pourubiō iṭiiejō ...; yōi nōiṭ ašəm mainiantā, aēibiō dūirē vohū as manō*, ‘by those actions in which there was danger to many ... from those who were not thinking on Right, good thought was far away’.

178. The aorist passive in *-ī* is sometimes used almost like a perfect, of past events that are significant for the present:<sup>65</sup> 32. 8 *aēšəm aēnaṣṣəm Vīuuaj-hušō srāuuī*, ‘for these offences Vivahvant’s son became (is) renowned’, cf. 53. 1; 44. 18 *kadā aš tāṭ mīždəm hanānī ... hiiat mōi mazdā api.uuaitī?* ‘how am I

63 So A: *vīsantē* or *-nti* (indicative) other manuscripts.

64 Both halves of the line are a syllable shorter than the norm, and Kuiper suggested (*ap. Monna 24*) that *as* represents an augmented (disyllabic) form; so Beekes 151.

65 Cf. K. T. Schmidt in Crespo–García Ramón 557–69.

rightfully to earn that reward, now that mindfulness has been instilled in me?';<sup>66</sup> 43. 13 *vairiia stois, ya v̄bahmī xšaθrōi vācī*, 'a desirable thing that has been (is) said (to lie) in thy domain'; YH 36. 6 *auuat yāt huuarə auuācī*, 'that sun ever since it was named'.

**179.** Where action begun in the past continues into the present, the present tense is used: 32. 4 *yāt yūš tā fra.mīmauā*, 'ever since you have been enjoining those things'; cf. §245.

**180.** The perfect implies a past event but refers to the present state resulting from it, except in those cases where it is juxtaposed with present and/or aorist stems to represent past, present, and future (§156). Where its perfective sense is located in past time, we find what may be called a pluperfect or past perfect form, created by furnishing the perfect stem with the ending characteristic of present/aorist-stem preterites: 51. 12 *nōiēt tā im xšnāuš vaēpiiō Kəuuinō pərotā ...*, *hiiat ahmī urūraost aštō*, 'the Kavi catamite did not please him thereby at the crossing, that the emissary had barred (was blocking) his way at it'.

#### Mythical time

**181.** Zarathushtra sometimes refers to mythical or imaginary events. When it is traditional myth set in a quasi-historical past and presumably accepted as historical, there was no reason to treat it differently from other past narrative. In the prime example, 32. 8 *aēšam aēnaḡham Vīuuḡhušō srāuuī Yimascīēt, yē mašiiāḡ cixšnušō ahmākāḡḡ gəuš bagā x'ārəmnō*, 'for these offences Vivahvant's son became renowned, even Yima, who sought to gratify our mortal race by feeding them portions of the cow', the only finite verb, *srāuuī*, is an (unaugmented) aorist passive; cf. §178.

When Zarathushtra speaks of what Mazdā did at the beginning of the world, or of other original events that determined the present cosmic order, he is evidently not following any tradition but creating his own speculative narrative; in 45. 3 he says that he has received knowledge of these things from Mazdā. The relevant passages are 30. 3; 31. 3, 7–11; 43. 5; 44. 3, 5, 7; 45. 2; 47. 3; 48. 6; 51. 7. From a grammatical point of view they are generally treated in the same way as other narrative, except that in two places we find anomalous subjunctives: 45. 2 *aṡ frauuaxšiiā aḡhəuš mainiiū paouruiiē, yaiiā spaniiā uīti* °*mrauuat yəm anḡrəm*, 'I will tell forth the two Wills at the world's beginning, of whom the Bounteous one \*speak\* thus to the Hostile one'; 48. 6 *aṡ axiiā ašā Mazdā uruuārā* °*vaxšat Ahurō aḡhəuš zaḡḡōi paouruiiehiiā*, 'and for her (the cow) with Right Lord Mazdā \*grow\* the plants at the engendering of the first existence'. Clearly these do not refer to the future from Zarathushtra's

66 Following P. Thieme's interpretation of *api.uuaiti* as 'blown into' (*Asiatica* [Festschr. Fr. Weller, Leipzig 1954], 661), and taking *mazdā* as the fem. noun found in YH 40. 1. One would have expected *aipi.uuaiti*.

viewpoint; but it is possible to interpret them as future relative to the point of past time indicated, expressing the agent's intention or the impending development. The meaning would be in 45. 2 'in the beginning were the two Wills, and (the next thing to happen was to be that) the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one'; in 48. 6, 'it was for her that Lord Mazdā, when he was engendering the first existence, was going to (planned to) grow the plants'. A few similar examples occur in the Younger Avesta.<sup>67</sup> Cf. also §246 (end).

In Y. 29 we have a poem built round an imagined dialogue involving Zarathushtra himself, the Cow's soul, the Maker of the Cow, Right, and Mazdā. If it is conceived to have a place in time at all, it must be assigned to the present. The story is told in present and aorist injunctives, except that once again we encounter an isolated subjunctive. After the Maker of the Cow asks Right a question (29. 2 *tašā gəuš pərəsaŋ Ašəm*, pres. inj.), we have in 29. 3 *ahmāi Ašā ... paiŋ.mrauuat*, 'to him Right \*answer\*'. This may be explained on the same lines as the cases discussed in the preceding paragraph: in relation to the Maker of the Cow's question, the answer is what is to come. It is as if the narrative time does not advance from the moment of the question to that of the answer but remains for the moment arrested, and the answer is treated as the subject of anticipation rather than report.

In 32. 1–2 Zarathushtra imagines whole groups of mortals or Daevas addressing Mazdā with a specific affirmation, and Mazdā responding. The two 'narrative' verbs are present injunctives.

### Potentiality

**182.** The evocation of possible events or states may relate to the past, present, or future. Situated in the past or present, they fall into two categories: counterfactual possibilities (what *might have been*, or *would have been* in other circumstances, but in fact was not/is not), and cases where the speaker does not know whether the possibility was realized or not (what *may have been* or *may actually be* the case).<sup>68</sup> Future possibilities can in principle be counterfactual (if contingent on something known to be untrue), but these seldom play a part in normal discourse. We speak of things that *will* or *would* happen under certain conditions, or that *may perhaps* happen, or that *might possibly* happen.

67 Yt. 5. 62, 10. 92; Y. 9. 11, 19. 2; K. Hoffmann-J. Narten, *Der Sasanidische Archetypus* (Wiesbaden 1989), 58 n. 78; Hintze (1997), 58 f. So in Vedic: K. Hoffmann, *Der Injunktiv im Veda* (Heidelberg 1967), 244. For analogous uses of the future in other languages cf. Wackernagel (1955–79), i. 444–7, and (1926–8), i. 207.

68 In contemporary English there is a deplorable tendency to use 'may have' in counterfactual sentences instead of 'might have'. People say things like 'it was a close thing; I may have died', which in correct English means 'I have perhaps died'.

**183.** There is no mention in the Old Avestan texts of counterfactual possibilities.

**184.** For future possibilities the subjunctive or the optative may be used, depending on the degree of likelihood to be indicated. The subjunctive is appropriate for what is envisaged as a certain or likely prospect, or at least an open possibility. Its general use in predictions and expressions of resolve about the future has been illustrated above. In certain passages it represents what *can* happen or *sometimes* happens: 47. 4 *kasəušcīt nā ašāunē kəθē °anhat*, ‘even the poor man may be kind to the righteous one’; 53. 9 *taš, Mazdā, tauuā xšədrəm, yā ərəžəjiōi °dāhī drigauuē vahiiō*, ‘that, Mazdā, is thy dominion, whereby to the right-living poor man thou canst grant the better lot’.

More numerous examples occur in relative clauses, often with the effect of making them equivalent to final clauses. This will be treated later (§§226, 250–1).

**185.** The optative expresses a remoter possibility, or one that is raised more diffidently for reasons of politeness: 28. 5 *anā maḍrā mazištəm °vāurōimaidī xrafstrā hizuuā*, ‘with this prescript we might most fully convince the predators with our tongue’ (or this could be a wish, ‘may we convince’); 43. 2 *aṭcā ahmāi višpanəm vahištəm xədrōi ā nā xədrəm °daidītā ... ciciḍbā ...*, ‘but as best of all in (the sphere of) well-being, a man might receive well-being by understanding ...’; 43. 14 *hiiaṭ nā friiāi vaēdəmnō isuuā °daidīt*, ‘what a man of means, on finding it for himself, might offer his friend’, cf. 44. 1; 46. 2; 51. 8 *aṭ zī tōi vaxšiiā, Mazdā—vīdusē zī nā °mruiiāt*, ‘I will tell thee Mazdā—of course a man (in speaking to Mazdā) could (only) be speaking to one who knows’.

In questions: *kaḍā aiārē daxšārā frasaiiāi °dīšā?* ‘how mightest thou take a day (for me) to ask teaching?’ (polite request); 44. 9 *kaḍā mōi, yaṃ yaoš daēnəm °dānē, taṃ hudānaoš paitiš °saxiiāt xšədrahiia?* ‘the religion that I will perfect for myself, how might the master of a beneficent dominion proclaim it for me?’; 44. 11 *kaḍā təng ā °vījəmiiaṭ ərmaitiš, yaēibiō ...*, ‘how might piety spread to those to whom ...?’; 44. 14; 50. 2.

As with the subjunctive, there are many instances of the potential optative in relative clauses; see §§226, 250–1.

#### Prayers, wishes, aspirations

**186.** The other basic function of the optative is to express wishes, as in 30. 9 *aṭcā tōi vaēm °xiiāmā, yōi im frašəm kərənāun ahūm*, ‘may we be those who will make this existence splendid’; 43. 3 *aṭ huuō vaḡhəuš vahiiō nā °aibījamiiāt, yē nā ərəzūš sauuaḡhō pavō °sīšōiṭ*, ‘but may that man attain better than the good, who should show us the straight paths of benefit’; 43. 16 *xəng darasōi ... °xiiāt Ārmaitiš; ašim šiiədnāiš vohū °daidīt manəḡhā*, ‘may Piety be there in sight of the sun; may she be giving reward on account of actions with good thought’; 45. 9 *varəzi nā °diiāt Ahurō*, ‘may the Lord set us in action’; 48. 9 *vīdiiāt saō-*

*šiiṣ, yaṯā hōi ašiš aḡhaṭ*, ‘may the Promoter know how his reward is to be’; 50. 6 *rāzōng Vohū °sāhūt Manajhā*, ‘may he teach me his rules with Good Thought’.

**187.** A second-person wish addressed to a higher power constitutes a prayer: 50. 7 *mahmāi °xiiātā auuajhē*, ‘may ye be there for my succour’; YH 36. 2 *uruuāzištō huuō nā yātāiiā °paiṭi.jamiiā*, ‘as the most joyous one mayest thou come for our supplicating’, cf. 41. 3, 4.

**188.** The negative used with the optative in wishes is *nōiṭ*: 28. 9 *anāiš vā nōiṭ ... yānāiš °zaraēnāmā*, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you’; 45. 1 *nōiṭ daibitīm dušsastiš ahūm °marāšiiāt*, ‘may the false teacher not be ruining the world a second time’; 46. 8 *nōiṭ ahiiā mā āḍriš šīiaodnāiš frā °asiiāt*, ‘may harm not reach me from his actions’.

### Requests, injunctions, prohibitions

**189.** The optative may also be prescriptive: 46. 5 *taṭ frō xvaētauuē °mruiiāt*, ‘he should tell it to the clan’; negative, 43. 15 *nōiṭ nā pourūš drəguuatō °xiiāt cixš-nušō*, ‘a man should not be one to gratify the many wrongful’.

**190.** More direct injunctions and requests are expressed by the imperative (second or third person).

In invocations and prayers: 28. 3 *ā mōi rafəḍrāi zauuōng °jasatā*, ‘come to my calls to give succour’; 28. 6 *Vohū °gaidi Manajhā, °dāidi Ašā dā darəgāiiū*, ‘come with Good Thought, give with Right the gift of long life’; 28. 7, 10, 11; 29. 1; 33. 7, 8, 10, 11, 12; 43. 10; 44. 1, 16; 46. 7; 48. 9; 49. 1; 51. 3, 7.

In exhortations to men: 30. 2 *°sraotā gəušāiš vahištā, ā °vaēnatā sūcā manajhā āuuarəṇā*, ‘hear with your ears the best message, behold with lucid mind the two choices’; 46. 16 *Frašaoštrā, aḍrā tū aradrāiš °idi*, ‘Frashaushtra, go with those zealous ones’; 48. 7 *nī aēšmō °diiātəm, paiṭi rəməṃ °siiōdūm*, ‘let violence be tied down, cut short cruelty’; 53. 3 *aḍā °həm.frašuuā xraḍβā; spəništā āmatōiš hudānū °varšuuā*, ‘so take counsel with thy reason; perform piety’s most liberal benefactions’; 53. 5 *māṇcā ī °dazdūm; °vaēdōdūm daēnābiš ... ahūm yə vaḡhəuš manajhō; ašā vā aniiō ainim °viuuōnghatū*, ‘take these (precepts) to heart; accept in your moralities the life of good thought; let one among you vie with another in right’.

**191.** Where a vocative is present, the imperative may also be accompanied by a second-person nom. pronoun: 28. 7 *°dāidi tū, Ārmaitē, Vištāspāi išəm maibiiācā*, ‘give thou, Piety, enablement to Vishtaaspa and myself’; 28. 1 *tuuōm, Mazdā Ahurā, frō mā °sīšā*, ‘teach thou me, Lord Mazdā’; 29. 11 *aṭ maṃ ašā yūžəm, Mazdā, ... °paiṭi.zānatā*, ‘it is me by right that ye must acknowledge’; 53. 3 *°tāṇcā tū, Pourucistā*, ‘be thou resolute, Porucista’. (On *tū* cf. §283.)

**192.** Prohibitions are not expressed with a negated imperative but with *mā* and the injunctive; being an intrinsically prohibitive particle, *mā* does not call for a correspondingly marked verb form: 31. 17 *vīduuā vīdušē °mraotū, mā auūduuā aipī °dōbāuuaiiat*, ‘let the knowing one speak to the knowing, let the unknowing delude no longer’ (with pres. injunctive, inhibitive of what is already happening); 48. 5 *huxšavṛā +xšōntam, mā nē dušxšavṛā +xšōntā*, ‘let good rulers assume rule, do not let bad rulers assume rule over us’ (aor. injunctive, preventive of what is feared for the future).

**193.** Following 31. 18 *māciš aṭ vā drəguuatō maḍraścā +gūštā*, ‘let none of you heed the wrongful one’s prescripts’, the next stanza continues with *+gūštā yō +maṇtā ašəm*, ‘let him heed (rather) him who thinks on right’, where the injunctive *gūštā* is repeated in the positive injunction from the negative one. There are other places too where an injunctive (mostly aorist) is used in a positive sentence with the effect of an imperative: 28. 7 (after *dāidī, Ašā ... dāidī tū, Ārmaitē ...*) *+dās.tū, Mazdā, °xšaiiācā, yā vā maḍrā srəuūmā rādā*, ‘give thou, Mazdā, and exercise thy power (imperative), the prescript by which we might hear your favours’, cf. 43. 1; 49. 8; 34. 15 *frašəm vasnā haiṭiēm +dā ahūm*, ‘make real the existence that is splendid in my desiring’; 43. 10 *aṭ tū mōi +dāiš ašəm*, ‘show thou me Right’; 43. 12 *Ašəm °jasō*, ‘go to Right’; perhaps 46. 2 *+āxšō vaḡhōuš ašā īšūm manajhō*, ‘behold (or thou seest) the potency of thought that is good through right’.

### Infinitives<sup>69</sup>

**194.** ‘Infinitive’ is the collective name given to various forms of nominal origin, but not having a place in a nominal paradigm, embodying a verbal concept and capable of exercising verbal rection. Where a preverb is associated with them, it modifies the sense of the verb (as described in §219); it does not, like a preposition governing a noun, carry information about the word’s syntactic status in the sentence.

Infinitive forms occur frequently in the *Gāthās*. One type, ending in *-ō* (< \**-ah*), appears to be of accusative origin, the rest of dative;<sup>70</sup> there is no consistent distinction of functions, but note the observation in §196 on *-ō* infinitives as verb complements. In several cases we find more than one infinitive form from the same verb, and again it is unclear whether there is a real functional difference. Certain forms can be identified as made on a present or aorist stem. These are marked below with *°* and *+* respectively; there seems no difficulty in seeing the appropriate aspectual significance where they occur.

69 É. Benveniste, *Les infinitifs avestiques* (Paris 1935); J. Kellens, *MSS 55* (1994), 45–59; Skjærvø 145 f.

70 For the various forms see Hoffmann–Forssman 240–3.



**195.** An infinitive may appear in apposition with a pronoun or noun to expand its content into a verb phrase: 44. 15 *yezī ahiiā ašā, pōi maṭ, xšaiiehī*, ‘if thou hast this power with right, (namely) to protect me’; 43. 12 *nōit asruštā pairi.aoyžā, °uz.irəidiiāi parā hiiat mōi ā jimaṭ ...*, ‘thou givest me advice that will not go unheeded, (namely) to set forth before there comes to me’; 51. 16 *naṣaṭ ... yaṃ cistīm ašā maṇtā, °spəntō Mazdā Ahurō*, *adā nē sazdiāi uštā*, ‘he attained that insight which he meditated with right, (namely) to proclaim to us as desired, “Bounteous is Lord Mazdā”’.

**196.** An infinitive may serve as object or complement of verbs such as ‘wish’, ‘choose’. Three of the six examples of infinitives in *-ō* come under this head. The infinitive tends to come at the end of the clause, or to be followed only by the governing verb: 29. 8 *huuō nē vaštī ... carəkərədrā °srāuuaiiejhē*, ‘he wishes to broadcast our praises’, cf. 43. 9 °vīuuīduiē; 44. 3 *viduiē*; 46. 14 *fra.srūidiiāi*; 30. 5 *vəratā yā drəguuā acištā °vəraziō*, ‘the wrongful one chooses to do the worst things’, or ‘chooses the worst things to do’; 50. 18 *təṃ cistīm ... vərəntē, taṭ xšadrəm manəḡhō vaḡhəuš +vīdō*, ‘he chooses to find that insight, that realm of good thought’. Of the same type are 32. 14 *hiiat vīsəntā drəguuantəm auuō*, ‘when they set themselves to assist the wrongful one’; 43. 11 *dīdajhē ... taṭ °vəraziieidiiāi, hiiat mōi mraotā vahištəm*, ‘I am learning to do what ye tell me is best’; 44. 12 *yā mā drəguuā vβā sauuā +paiṭi.əratē ciiəḡhaṭ*, ‘the wrongful one who likes to oppose thy gains’.

**197.** With an accusative as subject of the infinitive: 34. 4 *aṭ tōi ātrəm ... usəmahī ... stōi rapantē cidrā.auuəḡhəm*, ‘we wish for thy fire(,) to be a manifest help to thy supporter’; 43. 1 *utaiiūti təuušī +gatōi vasmī*, ‘I wish for strength and vitality to come’; 46. 16 *tāiš yəng usuuahi uštā stōi*, ‘those whom we two wish to be in bliss’; 49. 6 *frō vā išiiā ... °mrūtē*, ‘I desire you to speak’; 50. 2 *yā hīm ahmāi vāstrauaitīm stōi usiāt*, ‘one who might wish her to be on his own pastureland’; YH 35. 4 *gauuōi ... frašēiiāmahī rānacā vāstrəmcā °dazdiāi srunuuatascā asrunuuatascā*, ‘for the cow we urge them that hear and them that do not hear to maintain peace and pasture’.

Similarly with ‘teach’, ‘force’: 28. 11 *frō mā sīšā ... +vaocəḡhē*, ‘teach me to voice (them)’; 43. 13 *kāmahiiā ... yəm vā naēcīš dāršt itē*, ‘my desire, to which no one forces you to accede’.

With ‘think’: 31. 8 *aṭ vβā məḡhī paouruuīm, Mazdā, yazūm stōi manəḡhā*, ‘I think of thee first, Mazdā, as being young in my thought’.

**198.** The commonest use of the infinitive, as of the dative, is to express purpose: 43. 13 *hiiat mā vohū pairi.jasaṭ manəḡhā, arəvā +vōizdiāi*, ‘when one approaches me with good thought to take note of my endeavours’; 30. 2 *ahmāi [nē] sazdiāi baodəntō paiṭi*, ‘waiting to make declaration to him’; 32. 1 *vβōi dūtəḡhō əḡhāmā, təḡg °dārāiō yōi vā daibišəntī*, ‘we will be thy messengers, to demolish those who hate you’; 32. 10 *acištəm °vəənəḡhē*, ‘the worst thing for beholding (= to behold)’, cf. 45. 5 *srūidiiāi hiiat marətaēibiō vahištəm*, ‘which

is best for mortals to hear'; 34. 5 *kaṭ vā xšaθrəm, kā īštiš ... °θrāiōidiāi drigūm yūšmākəm?* 'what is your power, what your ability to protect your poor dependant?'; 44. 16 *kā varəθrəm.jā θβā pōi sānghā, yōi hañtī?* 'who is the victorious one, to protect with thy law (all) who exist?'; 44. 17 *hiiaṭcā mōi xiiāt vāxš aēšō, sarōi būždiāi,* 'and that my voice may be effective for working for union'; 44. 20 *nōiṭ hīm mīzēn ašā vāstrəm frādaijē,* 'they do not care for her (the cow), to promote the pasture with right'; 46. 5 *taṭ frō x'aētauuē mrūiāt, uzūidiōi im ... xrūniāt,* 'he should tell that to the clan, to help him escape from bloodshed'; 46. 11 *yūjēn ... akāiš šīiaoθnāiš ahūm °mərəngəidiāi mašīm,* 'they yoke the mortal to bad deeds to ruin life'; 46. 12 *aṭ īš vohū hēm aib.mōist manajha, aēibiō rafəθrāi ... sastē,* 'he brought them into union with good thought, to proclaim it for their support'; 49. 3 *aṭcā ahmāi varənāi ... ni.dātəm ašəm sūidiāi, ikaēšāi °rāšaiiejē druxš,* 'but for this chosen path, right is laid down to strengthen (us); for that teacher, wrong to harm (him)'.

**199.** Often the subject to be understood for the infinitive is not the subject but the object or the indirect object of the main verb: 28. 1 *yā vā ... pairī.jasāi vohū manajhā, maibiō dāuuōi ahuuā,* 'I who will approach you with good thought, (for you) to give me of both existences'; 31. 3 *taṭ nē, Mazdā, viduuanōi vaocā,* 'tell us that, Mazdā, (for us) to know', cf. 34. 12 *srūidiāi*; 44. 8 *məṇ.dāidiāi*; 49. 6 *vī.cidiāi*; 31. 9 *hiiaṭ axiiāi dadā paθqəm, vāstriāt vā ā itē yā vā nōiṭ aṭhaṭ vāstriō,* 'when thou didst offer her (the cow) a path, (for her) to proceed either from the herdsman or (from him) who is not a herdsman'; 31. 20 *diuuanəm hōi aparəm °xšaiō,* 'radiance is his (for him) to possess hereafter'; 45. 10 *xšaθrōi hōi hauruuātā aməretātā ahmāi stōi dən,* 'into his control they give health and life, (for them) to be his'; 49. 2 *nōiṭ spəntəm dōrašt ahmāi stōi Ārmaītīm,* 'he has not embraced bounteous Piety (so as for her) to be his'; 50. 6 *dātā xratəuš, hizuuō raiθīm stōi mahiiā,* 'the giver of wisdom (for it) to be the charioteer of my tongue'; 51. 10 *maibiō zbaiiā Ašəm, vaṅhūiā ašī +gate,* 'for myself I will call upon Right, (for her) to come with the good reward'; 51. 17 *yaṃ hōi išiiqəm dātū ... Ahurō, Ašāhiā āždiāi gərəzdīm,* '(the Good Religion), which let the Lord make desirable to him, (for him) to attain the favour of Right'.

In 32. 5, where the subject of the infinitive is logically the indirect object of the governing verb and might have been expected to appear in the dative, it appears in the accusative: *akā šīiaoθnəm vacajhā yā fracinas drəguantəm °xšaiō,* 'by the evil speech with which he (the Evil Will) assigns the deed for the wrongful one to control'.

**200.** The infinitive introduces reference to a particular activity or state without specifying who or what it applies to: that has to be understood from the sense of the sentence (cf. §199). Accordingly it is ambivalent as to voice; the verbal notion may be simultaneously active from one point of view and passive from another. Cf. 30. 8 *taibiō xšaθrəm ... vōiuūdātē, aēibiō sastē ... yōi ...,* 'for thee will be found dominion for proclaiming (= to be proclaimed, or for

us to proclaim) to those who ...'; 32. 14 *gēuš jaidiāi mraoi*, 'the cow is spoken for killing' = 'is ordered to be killed', or 'is declared available for people to kill'; 46. 13 *huuō nā fra.srūidiāi ərəθβō*, 'that man is worthy (for people) to make famous' = 'worthy to be made famous'; 46. 14 *kē vā fra.srūidiāi vašū?* 'or who wishes for renown-making?' = 'to be renowned'.

It is sometimes claimed that the infinitive in *-diāi* has a special affinity with the middle voice,<sup>71</sup> but no clear pattern emerges from the texts.

**201.** In two passages we find three infinitives in parallel: 31. 5 *taṭ mōi vī.cidiiāi vaocā ... vīdiiē vohū manajhā mēncā daidiāi*, 'tell me so that I may distinguish it ... so I may know and take to heart'; 44. 14 *kaṭā Ašāi Drujōm diiṃ zastaiō, nī hīm °mərəždiāi ... ɔmauuaitīm sinṃ dāuuōi drəguuasū, ā īš duuafsēṃg ... °nāšē aštascā?* 'how might I give Wrong into the Hands of Right, to destroy her ..., to deliver a crushing blow on the wrongful, to bring pains upon them and woes?'

In 43. 14, where two infinitives are juxtaposed, the second perhaps depends on the first: *tauuā rafēnō frāxšnənəm ... °uz.irəidiāi azē sardanā sēṃghahiiā*, '(give me) thy providential support, (for me) to set forth to drive off the detractors of thy law'; and so 51. 9 *yṃ xšnūtəm rānōibiāi dā ... aibī ahuuāhū daxštəm dāuuōi, °rāšaiiejhē drəguuanṭəm, °sauuaiiō ašauuanəm*, 'the atonement that thou didst set for the two parties, to establish proof about our mentalities, (so as) to harm the wrongful one and strengthen the righteous'.

**202.** In a few passages the purpose stated by means of the infinitive almost acquires the force of propriety or obligation: 44. 1 *aṭ nē Ašā friiā °dazdiāi hākurenā*, 'we have friendly relations to maintain with Right'; 51. 20 *taṭ vā nē ... daidiāi sauuō*, 'this is the strengthening we have to give you'. In negative propositions it can imply impossibility: 29. 3 *auuaēšṃm nōiṭ vīdiiē*, 'of those things there is no knowing'; 45. 4 *nōiṭ °diβzaidiāi vīspa.hišas Ahurō*, 'there is no deceiving the all-observant Lord'.

**203.** By a somewhat similar use, the infinitive may serve to express what someone is suited for, as in 49. 9 *fšējhiiō suiē taštō*, 'the cultivator, made to be strong'; without anything corresponding to *tašta-*, 44. 2 *kaṭā ajh-ōuš vahištahiiā paouruūm kāṭō šūidiāi?* 'how is the man of good will for reinforcing the best existence's beginning?'

**204.** An exclamatory infinitive perhaps appears in the cow's soul's complaint at 29. 9 *aṭcā gēuš uruuā raostā, 'yā anaēšəm xšānmānē rādəm vācəm nərəš asūrahiā'*. If *rādəm* is a noun meaning 'carer', the sense is something like 'that I should put up with (am reduced to putting up with) an ineffective carer, the voice of a powerless man!' In the light of the previous paragraph we might construe it as a rhetorical question: '(am I one) who is (appropriate) for putting

71 Cf. Benveniste, *Les infinitifs avestiques*, 75–90; J. Gippert, *MSS* 43 (1984), 25–44; J. Kellens, *MSS* 55 (1994), 48–51; R. Lührs, *ibid.* 69–97.

up with ...?’ But if *rādəm* is from the verb found at 33. 2 and 51. 6, the infinitive is construed with it: ‘that I am prepared to put up with the ineffective voice’, etc.

If the first analysis is correct, it is possible that it is an inherited construction cognate with the exclamatory infinitives in Greek and Latin; in those languages, however, the subject is put in the accusative, whereas in the Gāthic passage it is the nominative relative pronoun used absolutely.

### Participles and Verbal Adjectives<sup>72</sup>

**205.** Participles in *-(a)nt-* and *-mna-* are freely used, both as nominal elements in the sentence and exercising verbal rection over ampler phrases. We also find the perfect participles *vīduuā/vīduš* ‘knowing’, *našuuā* ‘lost’, *apānō* ‘arrived at’.

The great majority of the *-(a)nt-* and *-mna-* forms are from present stems. Of the four from aorist stems (*dañtō* 32. 4, *hanañtē* 44. 19, *vīdąs* 33. 3, *xšnaošəmnō* 46. 18), all except *vīdąs* are aligned with aorist verbs in the same clause, signalled below by †.

**206.** Participle, often alone, designating a category of person: 31. 3 *juuantō vīspəng*, ‘everyone living’; 31. 17 *vīduuā vīdušē mraotū*, ‘let the knowing one speak to the knowing’, cf. 30. 1; 31. 12; 51. 8 (twice); 31. 19 *vīduuā ... ərəž.uxdāi vacaŋhəm xšaiamnō hizuuō vasō*, ‘a knowing one, one who for the true voicing of words is in free control of his tongue’; 34. 9 *θβahiiā ... vīdušō*, ‘of thy adept’; 33. 4 *nadəntō*, ‘detractors’; 34. 4 *rapəntē ... daibišiiəntē*, ‘to thy supporter ... to thy hater’; 44. 9 *θβāuuąs aš.īštiš ... hadəməi Ašā Vohucā siiąs Manəjhā*, ‘a very potent follower of thine, one who abides in their home with Right and Good Thought’; 47. 4 *isuuā.cīt hąs paraoš*, ‘even a man of much means’; 47. 6 *pourūš išəntō*, ‘many eager comers’; 48. 9 *saošiiąs*, ‘the one eager to promote’, cf. 34. 13; 45. 11; 46. 3; 48. 12; 53. 5 *vaziiamnābiiō kainibiiō ... xšmaibiiācā, vadəmnō*, ‘for girls getting married and for you, men marrying them’; YH 35. 4 *srunuuatascā asrunuuatascā xšaiiəntascā axšaiiəntascā*, ‘them that hear and them that hear not, them that have authority and them that have not authority’.

**207.** Participle or participial phrase in more pregnant application, emphasizing the property that is especially relevant in the context: 29. 2 *hiiət hīm dātā xšaiiantō*, ‘when ye, having the power, set her there’, cf. 43. 1, 10; 51. 17; 29. 6 *atō vaocaŋ Ahurō Mazdā vīduuā vafūš viiāniiā*, ‘then Lord Mazdā speaks, knowing (or the one who knows) the designs in his wisdom’; 32. 15 *auuāiš aibī yəng daiñtū nōiŋ jiiātəuš xšaiamnəng vasō*, ‘those whom they implicate in them, not being in free control of their lives’; 46. 5 *yə vā xšaiiąs ā dąm drītā aiiantəm uruuātōiš vā ... miθrōibiiō vā, rasnā juuąs ... vīcirō hąs*, ‘as for one who, having the power (to choose), should take into his house one coming on

72 Skjærvø 141–4.

the basis of a promise or agreements, one living in rectitude, being a man of discrimination'; 44. 19 *yas.taṭ mīzdam* <sup>+</sup>*hanantē nōiṭ* <sup>+</sup>*dāitī*, 'he that does not give that reward to the one who earned it'; 45. 3 *yam mōi vīduuā* *Mazdā vaocaṭ*, 'which Mazdā in his knowledge told me'; 46. 4 *aṭ tāṅg drəguuā ... pāt gā frōrətōiš ... dužazōbā haṣ*, 'but the wrongful one keeps those oxen from coming forth, abominable as he is'; 46. 6 *nōiṭ nā isəmnō*, 'a man not wanted'; 48. 3 *aṭ vaēdəmnāi vahištā sāsnaṇam*, 'but for him who apprehends it, the best of teachings'; 49. 12 *kaṭ tōi Ašā zbaiientē auuajhō Zaraduštraī?* 'what hast thou of help for him who invokes thee with Right, for Zarathustra?'; 51. 5 *vāstriiō šīiaodnāiš ərašuuō, haṣ huxratuš*, 'a herdsman upright in his actions, being prudent'; 51. 18 *hiiaṭ rapēn tauuā*, 'that of thine which gives support'; 51. 20 *hazaošajhō vīspajhō ... Ašəm ... yazəmnəjāhō*, 'all ye of one mind who worship Right'; YH 35. 6 *adā hat vohū ... vərəziiōtūcā iṭ ahmāi fra.cā vātōiiōtū*, 'so, it being good, let him both put it into effect for himself and communicate it'.

**208.** In honorific reference to a characteristic or essential property: 31. 7 *tā ... raocēbiš rōiūβən x'vādrā*, 'those amenities permeating the world of light'; 32. 2 *aēibiiō Mazdā Ahurō, sārəmnō Vohū Manajhā, ... paiti.mraoṭ*, 'to them Lord Mazdā, being united with Good Thought, answers'; 32. 9 *išfīm ... bərxəḍəm hāitīm Vajhəuš Manajhō*, 'potency, that is esteemed of Good Thought'; 33. 9 *təm mainiiūm ašā uxšaiiantəm*,<sup>73</sup> 'that intent that brings increase through right'; 45. 4 *Vajhəuš varəzaiiantō Manajhō*, 'of Good Thought that stimulates to action'.

**209.** Marking coincident activity: 28. 5 *kaṭ vβā darəsānī, manascā vohū vaēdəmnō ...?* 'shall I see thee, as I apprehend Good Thought?', cf. 31. 22; 29. 5 *aṭ vā ustānāiš ā huua zastāiš frīnəmnā Ahurāiīā*, 'but we two are here with outstretched hands propitiating the Lord'; 30. 2 *sraotā gəušāiš vahištā ... ahmāi [nā] sazdiīāi baodantō paitī*, 'hear with your ears the best message ... as ye look ahead to the declaration to him'; 30. 6 *hiiaṭ iš ā dəbaomā pərəsəmnəṅg upā jasaṭ*, 'because delusion comes over them as they deliberate'; 34. 6 *yaḍā vā yazəmnascā uruuāidiīā stauuas aiienī paitī*, 'so that I may come unto you worshipping and praising you the more gladly', cf. 45. 6; 50. 4, 9; 43. 10 *Ārmaiti hacimnō iṭ ā arəm*, 'in company with Piety I have set forth toward it', cf. 43. 12; 44. 10; 43. 14 *hiiaṭ nā friiāi vaēdəmnō isuuā daidūt*, 'what a man of means, on finding it for himself, would offer to his friend'; 49. 12 *yə və staotāiš, Mazdā, frīnāi, Ahurā, auuaṭ yāsəṣ hiiaṭ və ištā vahištem*, 'who will propitiate you with praises, Lord Mazdā, praying for that which is the best at your disposal'; 51. 19 *huuō taṭ nā ... ahmāi dazdē, daēnāiīā vaēdəmnō, yə ahūm išasəṣ aibi Mazdā dātā mrauuaṭ*, 'the man gets that (support) for himself, apprehending it with his moral self, who, in petitioning for existence, speaks Mazdā's ordinances'; 53. 7 *yauuaṭ āzuš ... parā[cā] mraocəṣ aorēcā*, 'one will apply his penis, dipping onward and down'.

73 My emendation for transmitted *ašaoxšaiiantā*, where the ending has been assimilated to the following *sarədiīaiīā*, making the sentence incomprehensible.

**210.** Expressing means or cause: 32. 4 *yā mašiiiā acištā* <sup>+</sup>*dantō* <sup>+</sup>*vaxšəntē daēuuō.zuštā*, ‘the worst things, by doing which mortals are to wax Daeva-favoured’; 32. 8 *yā mašiiəng cixšnušō ahmākəng gēuš bagā x̄vərəmnō*, ‘who sought to gratify our mortal race by feeding them portions of the cow’; 33. 3 *yē ašəunē vahištō x̄vəētū vā aṭ vā vərəzēniio airiiamnā vā ...* <sup>+</sup>*viḍas* *vā v̄βaxšənjhā gauioi*, ‘he who is best to the righteous one, whether with clan or village or tribe, or by tending the cow with care’; 34. 10 *ahiiā Vəjhəuš Manəjhō šiiəoḍnā vaocaṭ ‘gərəbəm’ huxratuš spəntəmcā Ārmaitiṃ, dəmim viḍuuā hiṭəm Ašahiiā*, ‘(of) this Good Thought’s deeds the wise man says “let them be seized hold of”, and (of) bounteous Piety, knowing her the creator (and) companion of Right’; 51. 13 *yehiiā uruuā xraodaiti Cinuuatō pərətā ākā, x̄vāiš šiiəoḍnāiš hizuuascā Ašahiiā nəsuuā pavō*, ‘whose soul will torment him as it confronts him at the Arbiter’s Crossing, lost through his own actions and his tongue’s from the path of Right’.

Perhaps concessive in 31. 10 *nōiṭ ... auuāstriio dauuəs.cina humərətōiš baxštā*, ‘the non-herdsman, drive(?) her as he might, did not get her goodwill’.

**211.** In 31. 1 an initial participial phrase lays the basis for the following main clause: *tā vā uruuātā marəntō, aguštā vacā səngəhāmahī aēbiio yōi ...*, ‘minding these rules of yours, we proclaim words unheeded by those who ...’. Relative clauses are sometimes found in a similar function, and in 28. 4 a relative clause and a participial phrase are used in parallel: *yā uruuānəm mən gairē vohū dadē haṭrā manəjhā, ašišcā šiiəoḍnanəm viḍuš Mazdā, ... xsāi aēšē Ašahiiā*, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought, and knowing Mazdā’s repayments of actions, will look out in search of Right’.

**212.** More often a participial phrase is used as a means of extending a sentence: 32. 4 (following the words quoted in §210, *yā – daēuuō.zuštā*), *vəjhəuš s̄iž-diiamnā manəjhō, Mazdā Ahurahiiā xratəuš nəsiiantō Ašəatcā*, ‘retreating from good thought, losing the way from Lord Mazdā’s sapience and from Right’; 33. 5 *yas.tē višpā.mazištəm sraošəm zbaiiā auuəjhānē, apānō darəgō.jiiātim*, ‘I that will invoke my supreme compliance to thee at the journey’s end, arrived at the long life’; 45. 8 *tām ... nū zī iṭ cašmainī vī.adarəsəm, Vəjhəuš Mainiiəuš šiiəoḍnahiiā uxḍaxiiācā viḍuš ašā*, ‘him I have just now discerned in my eye, knowing with right of the Good Will’s deed and utterance’; 46. 18 *ahmāi ascīṭ vahištā maxiiā ištōiš ...* <sup>+</sup>*cōišəm ...*, *əštəng ahmāi yā nā əštāi daidīṭā, Mazdā Ašā, xšmākəm vārəm* <sup>+</sup>*xšnaošəmnō*, ‘on him for my part the best things at my disposal I confer, (but) hatred on him who would subject us to hatred, (thereby) doing justice, Mazdā and Right, to your preference’; 47. 5 *hanarə v̄βahmāt zaošāt drəguuā baxšaiti, ahiiā šiiəoḍnāiš Akāt ā šiiəs Manəjhō*, ‘it is without thy favour that the wrongful one partakes thereof, by his own actions abiding on the side of Evil Thought’.

**213.** The verb *aog-* is construed with a participle as predicate: 32. 7 *aēšqam aēnaḡḡam naēcīṭ vīduuā aojōi*, ‘of these offences I declare I know nothing’, lit. ‘knowing nothing, I so make my declaration’.

**214.** With reduplicated desideratives we find an adjectival form in *-a-* which is in effect a participle and behaves as one: 43. 15 *nōiṭ nā pourūš drəguuatō xīiāṭ cixšnušō*, ‘may a man not be one who seeks to gratify the many wrongful’, cf. 32. 8; 45. 8–10 *tēm nā staotāiš nəməḡḡhō ā vīuuarəšō ... tēm nā Vohū maṭ Mananḡḡā cixšnušō*, ... *tēm nā yasnāiš ārmatōiš mimayzō*, ‘seeking to envelop him in our reverent praises ... seeking (also) to gratify him together with Good Thought ... seeking (also) to magnify him with our pious acts of worship’.

#### Verbal adjectives in *-ta-*

**215.** These are syntactically less flexible. The verbal element may govern a case, as in 30. 1 *raocōbīš darəsatā uruuāzā*, ‘the bliss beheld by the light’; 31. 1 *aguštā vacā ... aēibiiō yōi ...*, ‘words unheeded by those who ...’; 43. 10 *pərəsācā nā, yā tōi ōhmā parštā; parštəm zī vβā ...*, ‘and ask us the questions (to) us (acc.) that thou hast; for the question by thee ...’; 49. 9 *fšōḡḡhiiō suiiē taštō*, ‘the cultivator made for strengthening’; *ibid. ašā yuxtā ... Dejāmāspā*, ‘the Djamaspas yoked with right’. Compare, with adverbial modifier, *YH 39. 2 ašāunqam ... kudō.zātanqam.cīt*, ‘of the righteous wherever born’.

**216.** These forms can serve as predicates in nominal sentences, with the effect of a finite verb: 29. 8 *aēm mōi idā vistō*, ‘this man here I have found’, cf. 29. 6; 50. 1; 48. 2 *hā zī aḡḡhəuš vaḡḡhī vistā ākərətiš*, ‘for that is the pattern of existence found to be good’; 48. 1 *yā daibitānā fraoxtā*, ‘the deceitful things that have been asserted’; 49. 3 *aṭcā ahmāi varənāi ... ni.dātəm ašəm sūidiāi*, ‘but for this chosen path, right is laid down to strengthen (us)’.

**217.** Neuter plurals are used in a general sense: 43. 12 *nōiṭ asruštā pairi.aoyzā*, ‘thou givest advice (that will) not (go) unheeded’; 46. 19 *manā.vistāiš maṭ vīs-pāiš*, ‘with all spiritual acquisitions’; in particular, *dātā* is used substantivally of *Mazdā*’s ordinances, 33. 1; 46. 15; 49. 7; 51. 14, 19.

#### Gerundives in *-iia-*

**218.** Forms occur from four verbal roots. They are used mostly as simple attributives: 27. 13 *yāṭā ahū vairiio*, ‘as (he is) the master one would choose’; 43. 13 *vairiia stōiš*, ‘a possession worth choosing’, cf. 54. 1; substantivized, 34. 14 *taṭ ... vairīm*, ‘that thing worth choosing, that prize’; predicatively, 51. 1 *vohū xšadrəm vairīm*, ‘good command is a thing to choose’; 31. 4 *yadā Ašəm zəuūim*, ‘when Right is to be invoked’; 44. 8 *yācā ... arəm vaēdiia*, ‘and those (words)

that are fitly to be apprehended’;<sup>74</sup> 48. 8 *kā ūβōi ... išiiā?* ‘what desirable (reward) of thine (is there)?’; 51. 17 *yaṃ hōi išiiṃ dātū ... Mazdā*, ‘let Mazdā make it desirable to him’; 54. 1 *ā Airiiāmā išiiō ... jaṇtū ... Aṣahiiā yāsā aṣīm, yaṃ išiiṃ Ahurō masatā*, ‘let Aryaman the longed-for one come ... I pray for Right’s reward, the longed-for one that the Lord conceives’.

### Verbal Modifiers (Preverbs)<sup>75</sup>

**219.** With many verbs the meaning may be modified, nuanced, or sharpened by the addition of what are often called preverbs, as they usually precede the verb (sometimes with other words intervening), though some of the disyllabic ones may also follow it (usually at the end of the verse: *apā*, 33. 4; *aibī*, 51. 19; *paiī*, 30. 2; 34. 6; within the verse, 29. 7 *dāiiāt dēāuuā*). When the preverb immediately precedes the verb, the two are sometimes written as a single word, but it is doubtful to what extent real univertation occurs; the preverb does not intervene between augment and verb, cf. 45. 8 *viiādarasəm*, i.e. *vī adarasəm*, ‘I have discerned’, and in many places an enclitic intervenes between preverb and verb, as in 28. 11 *frō mā sīšā*, 33. 12 *us mōi arəšuuā*; 33. 8; 45. 6; 46. 2; 49. 1, 6; 51. 22.<sup>76</sup> Univertation, however, is seen in 46. 5 *uz.ūiīiōi im*, where *uz im ūiīiōi* might have been expected. Two preverbs appear together in 46. 12 *aṭ iš vohū hōm aibī mōist manajhā*, ‘he brought them together into union with good thought’.

**220.** The combination of preverb and verb is often complemented by a particular case of a noun, and sometimes the preverb seems to adhere more closely to the noun than to the verb; we then describe it as a preposition or postposition. Some words serve only as prepositions and not as preverbs, and vice versa:

Either preverb or preposition: *aibī aṇtarə auuā (dēāuuā) ā paiī pairī*.

Only preverb: *apā frā hōm nī nīš upā us vī*.

Only preposition: *aipī ānū (dēānū) hacā hadā hanarə hadrā maṭ parā parō*.

The prepositional uses have been analysed in the sections dealing with the accusative, instrumental, ablative, and locative cases. (The dative and genitive are not construed with prepositions.) As to the senses that particular preverbs impart to particular verbs, that falls to the province of lexicography and does not call for treatment here.

<sup>74</sup> Some manuscripts give *vaēidiīāi* (infinitive), but that would have only two syllables, and the metre calls for three.

<sup>75</sup> Reichelt §§522–64.

<sup>76</sup> In the transmitted text, when a preverb is separated from a following verb, it is regularly repeated immediately before the verb, to the detriment of metre: this clearly results from a systematic editing process.



## Dependent Clauses

**221.** We may distinguish in terms of function between relative, temporal, causal, comparative, final/consecutive, conditional, and object clauses, and indirect statements and questions. But all of these are in a sense varieties of relative clause, introduced by a pronoun or conjunction from the *ya-* stem.

### Relative clauses<sup>77</sup>

**222.** Under this heading I will consider relative clauses in the restricted sense, that is, those in which the relativizer is a pronoun referring to a nominal or pronominal ‘head’, or an adverb such as ‘where’.<sup>78</sup> The Old Avestan texts are dense with such clauses. Sometimes there are two or more in the same sentence, and there may be one subordinate to another, as for example in 43. 4, quoted in §7.<sup>79</sup>

Despite the frequency of relative clauses and the frequency of vocatives, we do not find a relative clause attached to a vocative as in ‘our father, which art in heaven’. It may however be attached to a second-person pronoun, as in 28. 8 and 11, quoted in §§238 and 231 respectively.

**223.** Relative clauses may be divided into two categories, restrictive and appositive. Restrictive (defining) clauses are those which are essential to the identification of the head; appositive (non-defining) clauses serve for the further characterization of a head sufficiently identified without them. Both types are abundant in the texts. I have counted some 270 relative clauses, of which about 70% are restrictive.

### Restrictive (defining)

**224.** Restrictive relative clauses may precede or follow the main clause or be embedded within it; about twice as many follow it as precede, and twice as many precede as are embedded. In nearly half of those that follow, and in two thirds of those that precede, the relative pronoun has a correlative demonstrative in the main clause: see §§129, 132–3.

**225.** Many relative clauses are generic in their reference, for example those specifying a class of persons who should expect particular consequences of their character or actions. The position preceding the main clause is especially fa-

77 Caland 17–46; Delbrück iii. 295–406; Bartholomae 1199–1228; Reichelt §§734–52; Seiler 53–206; Kellens–Pirart ii. 53–64; Hintze (1997); Skjærvø 154–60.

78 I use ‘head’ for what in traditional grammar is called the antecedent, a misleading term in that it often does not precede but follows the relative clause or is located inside it. Some use the term ‘nucleus’.

79 On multiple or compound relative clauses cf. B. Forssman, *MSS* 45 (1985), 55–67.

voured for these, as in 45. 3 *yōi īm vā nōiṭ iḍā maḍrām varaṣṇṭī*, ... *aēibiiō aḡh-āuš auuōi aḡhaṭ apēmām*, ‘those of you who do not so act on this prescript, for them “Woe!” will be their worldly life’s end’; 46. 18 *yā maibiiā yaoš, ahmāi ascīṭ vahištā maḡiiā ištōiš ... cōišām*, ‘who(ever) (assigns) weal to me, to him I for my part assign the best at my disposal’. As the examples indicate, the indeterminate referent may be either plural or singular.

**226.** If the reference is not to a specific person or thing but to any that may fit the case, the subjunctive is used, as in 45. 3 just cited (*varaṣṇṭī*); 28. 8 *yaēibiiascā iṭ rāḡhaḡhōi*, ‘and (those) on whom(ever) thou bestowest it’; 30. 5 *yaēcā xšnaoṣṇ Ahurām haiḍiiāiš šiiāoḍnāiš*, ‘and those who please the Lord with genuine actions’; 32. 15 *auuāiš aibi yēḡḡ dainī*, ‘those whom they implicate in them’; 44. 12 *kā aṣauuā, yāiš pərəsāi, drəḡuuā vā?* ‘who is righteous or wrongful (of those) whom I question?’; 44. 19 *yas.taṭ mīzdəm hanəṭē nōiṭ dāiṭī, yā iṭ ahmāi ərəž.uxḍā nā dāiṭē, kā tēm ahiiā maēniš aṣaṭ paouruiiē?* ‘he that does not give that reward to one who earns it, the man that takes it for himself when it has been promised, what punishment for that will catch him initially?’; 46. 1 *nōiṭ mā xšnāuš, yā vərəzēnā hēcā*, ‘I am not pleased with such communities as I consort with’; 50. 3 *yam nazdištəm gaēḍəm drəḡuuā baxšaiṭī*, ‘the neighbouring creature (any cow) that the wrongful one has’; 51. 8 *huuō zī maḍrā šiiātō, yā viḍušē mrauuaiṭī*, ‘happy that prophet who speaks to one who knows’.

For a more remote contingency the optative may be used: 46. 5 *yā vā xšaiiqs ā ḍam drītā aiaṇṭəm ... 6 aṭ yas.tēm nōiṭ nā isəmnō āiiāt*, ‘as for one who on his own authority should take into his house one coming ... But as for a man who should come to him unwanted’.

The subjunctive and optative may also be used in relative clauses to express an intended or desired outcome; see §§250–3.

**227.** The head to which a relative clause relates sometimes has to be understood from the context:<sup>80</sup> 31. 9 *hiiat axiiāi dadā paḍəm, vāstriiāt vā ā itē yā vā nōiṭ aḡhaṭ vāstriiō*, ‘when thou didst offer her a path, to proceed either from the herdsman or (from him) who is not a herdsman’; 31. 15 *pərəsā auuat, yā maēniš, yā drəḡuuāitē xšadrəm hunāiṭī*, ‘I ask this, what is the punishment (for him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’; 31. 19 *gūštā yā maṇtā aṣəm*, ‘let him listen (to him) who thinks on right’; 31. 21 *Mazdā dadāt ... vaḡhēuš vazduarē manəḡhō, yā hōi mainiiū šiiāoḍnāišcā uruuāḍō*, ‘Mazdā gives the permanence of good thought (to him) who (is) his ally in will and deeds’; 34. 14 *taṭ zī ... astuuaitē uštānāi dātā ... yōi zī gəuš vərəzēnē aziiā*, ‘for ye have set this prize for corporeal life, (for those) who (are) in the community of the milch cow’; 44. 12, quoted in §226; 45. 6 *yā hudā, yōi həṇṭī*, ‘who (is) a benefactor (of all) who are’, cf. 44. 16; 51. 10; 51. 8 *akōi ā drəḡuuatē, uštā yā Aṣəm dadrē*, ‘amid ill for the wrongful one, (but) in bliss (for him) who has embraced Right’; *YH 37. 2 tēm aṭ yasnanəm paouruuatātā yazamaidē, yōi gəuš hacā šiiēiṭī*,

80 Cf. Delbrück iii. 300–2.

‘him we worship with the primacy of rites (of those) who dwell in accord with the cow’.

**228.** In several of these cases *yā* is in effect equivalent to ‘if anyone ...’; and so it is in certain instances where the understood head has no definite grammatical status in the main clause, as in 32. 16 *hamōm taṭ vahištācīṭ, yā ušuruiiē siiascīṭ dahmahiiā*, ‘that is equal to the best (= there is nothing better than), if one just draws back to the safe haven(?) of the enlightened one’; 31. 13.

**229.** If necessary for purposes of connection, the unexpressed head is treated as being contained in the relative pronoun: 33. 1 *draguuataēcā hiiatcā ašāunē, yēxiīacā hēm.iāsaitē miḍahiiā yācā hōi ārəzuuā*, ‘for the wrongful one and as regards the righteous, and (for him) whose false and straight deeds are put in the balance’; 44. 20 *yāiš gəṃ Karapā Usixšcā aēšmāi dātā, yācā Kauuā qnmōnē urū-dōiiatā*, ‘with whom the Karpan and the Usij subject the cow to violence and (to all that) which the Kavi makes her lament to her soul’; 53. 1 *yezī hōi dāt āiiaptā ... Mazdā ... yāēcā ...*, ‘if Mazdā will grant blessings to him and (to those) who ...’.

#### Appositive (non-defining)

**230.** Appositive relative clauses normally follow the main clause, or in a few cases are embedded in it. There is no correlative, as that would imply that what is predicated in the relative clause is uniquely true of the head, making it part of its essential identity, as in a restrictive clause.<sup>81</sup>

**231.** In a few cases, however, the relative clause precedes the main clause for rhetorical purposes, to characterize the head before it plays its part in the main clause: 28. 4 *yā uruuānəm mōn gairē vohū dadē haḍrā managhā, ... xsāi aēšē Ašahiiā*, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought ... will look out in search of Right’; 28. 11 *yā āiš ašəm ni.pāṅhē manascā vohū yauuaētāitē, tuuēm, Mazdā Ahurā, frō mā sīšā*, ‘thou who with their aid dost protect thy Right and Good Thought for ever, teach me, Lord Mazdā’, cf. 33. 11; 45. 7–8 *yehiiā sauuā išāntī rādaṅhō ... tēm ... nū zī īṭ caš-mainī vī.adarəšəm*, ‘the Caring One whose strength all may activate ... him I have just now discerned in my eye’. The demonstrative *tēm* in this last passage is not a correlative of the kind typical in restrictive clauses, it is just resumptive after the lengthy preamble. The same applies to the demonstrative in the main clause following the elaborate anaphoric structure in 33. 4–6, *yā ūβaṭ, Mazdā, asrušīṃ akəmcā manō yazāi apā, ... yas.tē vīspō.mazištəm sraošəm zbaiiā auuaṅhānē ... yā zaotā ašā ərəzuš, huuō mainiiēuš ā vahištāṭ kaiiā ahmāt*, ‘I that by wor-

<sup>81</sup> So in 31. 7 *tā, Mazdā, mainiiū uxšiiō, yā ā nūrōmcīṭ ... hāmō*, ‘through that will, Mazdā, thou dost increase, ...’, *tā* should not be taken as correlative to *yā*, which is equivalent to ‘and it is’ or ‘and thou art’ (the same even unto now).

ship will seek to keep from Thee, Mindful One, disregard and bad thought ... I that will invoke (my) all-surpassing compliance to Thee at the journey's end ... I that minister straight in accord with right: as this person, from this my best will I desire ...'.

232. The head of an appended relative clause is not necessarily the most recent noun: one may have to look further back for it, as in 32. 13 *yaēcā ... jīgərəzaṭ kāmē* *ḍḅahiiā maḍrānō dūtīm, yē īš pāṭ darəsāṭ Ašahiiā*, 'and those who decry in their lust thy prophet's message, (the lust) that will keep them from the sight of Right'; 32. 14 *hiiāṭ vīsəṅtā drəguuantəm auuō, hiiāṭcā gāuš jaidiīā mraoī, yē dū-raošəm saocaiiaṭ*, 'when they set themselves to assist the wrongful one and when the cow is spoken for killing, (the wrongful one) who makes the resistant (haoma) flare up'.

233. Occasionally a relative is used to introduce an idea quite independent of what precedes, becoming in effect just a sentence-connective: 44. 10 *taṃ daēnaṃ, yā hatṃ vahištā—yā mōi gaēvā Ašā frādōiṭ hacōmnā*, 'that religion which is the best in existence—may it promote my flock in union with Right'; 45. 2 *aṭ frauuaxšiiā aṅhəuš mainiīū paouruiīē, yaiīā spaniīā ūitī mrauuat yām angrəm*, 'I will tell forth the two Wills at the world's beginning; of whom the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one'; 46. 11; 51. 13, 17.

#### Features common to both restrictive and appositive clauses

234. The head is sometimes located within the relative clause and subjected to its syntactic regimen, being put in the same case as the relative pronoun instead of that which would express its function in the main clause:<sup>82</sup> 28. 7 *dāstū, Mazdā, ... yā vē maḍrā srauuīmā rādā*, 'give thou, Mazdā, the pre-script through which we might hear your favours'; 30. 3 *aṭ tā mainiīū, paouruiīē yā yāmā x'afənā asruuātəm*, 'they are the two Wills, the twins who in the beginning made themselves heard through dreaming'; 31. 3 *hiiāṭ uruuatəm cazdōṅhuuadəbiiō*, 'the rule that is for the prudent'; 31. 13 *yā frasā āuuīšiiā, yā vā ... pərəsaētē taiiā*, 'the questioning that is overt, or the secrets that the two debate'; 32. 3 *aṭ yūš daēuuā vīspāṅhō Akāṭ Manəṅhō stā ciḍrəm yascā vā maš yazaitē*, 'but ye Daevas are all spawn from Evil Thought, and (so is) the grandee who worships you'; 32. 11 *taēcīṭ mā mōrəṅden jiiōtūm, yōi drəguuantō ... cikōitərəš ... apaiieitī*, 'those are the ones who pervert life, the wrongful who have distinguished themselves by depriving', cf. 44. 12; 32. 12 *yā rāṅhaiian srauuāṅhā vahištāṭ šiiəoḍanāṭ marətānō, aēibiiō Mazdā akā mraoṭ*, 'because of the "deed of repute" by which they divert mortals from best action, Mazdā answers them with ill'; 33. 1 *āiš ... yā dātā aṅhəuš paouruiiehiiā*, 'by the ordinances of the first existence'; 33. 13 *dōišī mōi yā vā ā bifrā*, 'show me the virtues(?) that you have'; 34. 1 *yā šiiəoḍnā, yā vacanḅā, yā yasnā amərətātātəm ...*

82 Cf. Caland 29 f.; Delbrück iii. 298 f.

*taibiiō dāghā*, ... *aēšqam tōi ... dastē*, ‘the deed through which, the word through which, the worship through which thou takest continuing life for thyself, of these is offering made thee’; 34. 13 *tēm aduuānəm ... daēnā saōšīiantqam yā hū.kəratā Ašātcīt uruuāxšať hiiať cəuuištā hudābiiō mīždəm*, ‘that road, the well-paved one on which the Promoters’ moral selves advance from Right itself to the reward that ye have assigned to well-doers’; 43. 2 *yā dā Ašā vañh-ōuš māiiā manañhō*, ‘the transforming powers of good thought that thou didst establish with Right’, cf. 43. 4; 43. 6 *yahmī ... uruuāēsē jasō*, ‘at that bend where thou comest’; 43. 10 *pərəsācā nā, yā tōi āhmā parštā*, ‘and ask us the questions thou hast of us’; 44. 8 *mən.dāidiiai yā tōi, Mazdā, ādištiš*, ‘to take to heart the instruction that is thine, Mazdā’; 45. 10 *tēm ... mimayžō, yā qnmēnī Mazdā srāuuī Ahurō*, ‘seeking to magnify him, Mazdā the Lord who is heard in my soul’; 46. 1, quoted in §226; 48. 3 *vīduuā yaēcīt guzrā sēnghāñhō*, ‘knowing even the laws that are hidden’; 49. 6 *mrūitē yā vā xratəuš xšmākahiiā ā manañhā*, ‘to speak with the sapient thought that is yours’; 50. 3, quoted in §226; 50. 10 *yā varəšā yācā pairī āiš šīiaođnā*, ‘what deeds I do and what (I have done) before’; 51. 9 *yam xšnūtəm rānōibiiā dā*, ‘the atonement that thou didst establish for the two parties’; 51. 16 *qam ... našať ... yam cistīm ašā mañtā*, ‘he attained that insight which he meditated with right’; 53. 6 *drūjō hacā rāđəmō yəm spašūđā frāidīm*, ‘the prosperity that ye see of the man attached to wrong’; YH 38. 1 *yāscā tōi gənā*, ‘and the Dames that are thine’.

**235.** In three places the head is repeated from the main clause in the relative clause: 32. 12–13 *yāiš grāhmā ašāť vərətā Karpā xšəđrəmcā išanqam drujəm, yā xšəđrā grāhmō ...*, ‘with whom the Karpan chooses glutton(?) over right, and the dominion of those who desire wrong; by which dominion the glutton(?) ...’; 50. 5–6 *hiiať yūšmākāi mađrānē vaorāzəđā ... yā mađrā vācəm, Mazdā, baraiťi*, ‘that ye will look gladly upon your prophet ... which prophet is bringing forth his voice, Mazdā’; 51. 14 *gauuōi ārōiš ā səđnā xvāiš šīiaođnāišcā sēnghāišcā; yā iš sēnghō apəməm Drūjō dəmānē āđāt*, ‘manifesters of harm to the cow by their actions and teachings; which teaching will consign them at the last to the house of Wrong’.

**236.** The relative pronoun usually occupies the initial position in the clause. In some instances it is postponed to follow another word or phrase, but it always precedes the verb if there is one: 28. 1 *Vañhōuš xratūm Manañhō yā xšnəuuišā gəušcā uruuānəm*, ‘by which Thou wouldst do justice to Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’; 30. 3, quoted in §234; 32. 5 *akā šīiaođnəm vacañhā yā fracinas draguuantəm xšaiťō*, ‘by the evil speech with which he assigns the deed for the wrongful one to control’ (here the clause boundaries overlap); 32. 15 *auuāiš aibī yāng daiñťi*, ‘those whom they implicate in them’; 34. 10 *tācā vīspā, Ahurā, vřahmī ... xšəđrōi <y>ā vōiiəđrā*, ‘and all

those excellences(?), Lord, that are in thy domain’;<sup>83</sup> 34. 13, quoted in §234; 45. 5 *vacā, srūidiiāi hīiat marātaēibiiō vahištām*, ‘the word that is best for mortals to hear’; 46. 10 *ajhāuš yā tū vōistā vahištā*, ‘what thou knowest (to be) the best things in life’.

The relative pronoun as quasi-article<sup>84</sup>

**237.** In §8 it was noted that many relative clauses are verbless, the copula being understood, and examples were quoted. Sometimes a phrase consisting of relative pronoun + (predicative) noun seems to mean no more than the noun would by itself, as in 30. 5 *aiiā mainiuuā vārātā yō drəguuā acištā vārēziō*, ‘of these two Wills the one that is wrongful chooses to do the worst things’, where *yō drəguuō* means no more than *drəguuō*; 32. 15 *yā Karpōtāscā Kəuūtāscā*, ‘the Karpanhood and the Kavihood’; 33. 1 *miḅahiiā yācā hōi ārəzuuā*, ‘his false and straight deeds’; 43. 5 *hīiat dā śīiaoḅnā mīždauuəṇ yācā uxḁā*, ‘when thou madest actions and speech wageable’; 46. 1 *daxiiḁuš yōi sāstārō drəguuantō*, ‘the wrongful governors of the regions’; 46. 3 *yōi uxšānō asṇam*, ‘the Oxen of Days’.

**238.** In this usage the relative pronoun has in effect become something like a definite article. The denaturing is still more apparent when the phrase is transposed into the accusative: 28. 8 *ḅβā ... yōm Ašā vahištā ha-zaošəm*, ‘thee, the one of one mind with best Right’, as in Greek one might say σὲ τὸν Δίκῆι ὁμόφρονα; 28. 9 *anāiš vā nōit ... Ašəmcā yānāiš zaranaēmā Manascā hīiat vahištām*, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you and Right and the Best Thought’; 32. 5 *vā ... yōng daēuuōng*, ‘you the Daevas’; 45. 2 *spaniiā ūitī mrauuat yōm angrəm*, ‘the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one’; 45. 8 *tōm ... vī.adarəsəm ... yōm Mazḁam Ahurəm*, ‘him I have discerned, Mazdā the Lord’; 46. 4 *tāng ... yōng ašahiiā važdrōng*, ‘those bringers of right’; 46. 8 *yā vā mōi yā gaēḁā dazdē aēnaḅhē*, ‘or he who is subjecting my flock to maltreatment’. In *YH* we find an example with the instrumental: 35. 4 *tāiš śīiaoḅnāiš yāiš vahištāiš*, ‘with these actions, the best ones’ (ταῖς πράξεσι ταῖς ἀρίσταῖς).

**239.** By a further extension the accusative pronoun may govern a defining phrase in a different case: 31. 6 *yā mōi vīduuā vaocaṭ haiḁim, maḁrəm yim haur-uuatātō*, ‘who, knowing it, speaks my truth, the prescript that is of health’ (ἐπιρωιδῆν τὴν ὑγίειας); 49. 8 *Ašahiiā dā sarəm ... yam vaḅhāu ḅbahmī ā xšāḁrōi*, ‘grant union with Right, the one in thy good domain’ (ἐνωσιν τὴν ἐν τῆι σῆι ἀρχῆι).

83 *xšāḁrōi yā* is my emendation, or rather reinterpretation, of *xšāḁrōiī*: West (2008), 129–30.

84 Cf. Caland 18–28; Delbrück iii. 304–9.

The attraction of the pronoun into the accusative is not invariable, cf. 53. 5 *ahūm yā* (not *yim*) *vajhēuš manajhō*, ‘the life (that is) of good thought’.

### Temporal clauses<sup>85</sup>

**240.** Temporal clauses are mostly introduced by *hiiat*, the neuter of the relative pronoun. This serves as something of a general-purpose conjunction, and one has to decide according to the sense between ‘when’, ‘seeing that’, ‘because’, ‘in order that’, ‘the fact that’. In 51. 12, for example, *nōiṭ tā im xšnāuš vāēpiiō Kəuūinō pəratā zimō ... hiiat ahmī urūraost aštō, hiiat hōi ī caratascā aodərašcā zōišnū vāzā*, we would naturally translate ‘the Kavi catamite did not please him at the crossing in the winter, when the emissary had barred his way at it, when his two draught animals were trembling from the journey and the cold’, except that the correlative *tā* in the main clause strictly requires the rendering ‘thereby, that the emissary ...’. The second *hiiat* clause is more unequivocally temporal.

*hiiat ... paouruūim* means ‘when first’, ‘as soon as’; *parā hiiat* means ‘before’.

Other conjunctions introducing temporal clauses are *yadā* ‘when’ (specifically temporal); *yauuat* ‘as long as’, ‘as far as’; *yāt* ‘since (the time when)’.

**241.** In the *Gāthās* the conjunction is regularly initial in the clause. In *YH* we (perhaps) find it postponed to second position in 38. 4 *yā vā, Vajhūš, Ahurō Mazdā nāməm dadāt, vajhudā hiiat vā dadāt*, ‘with the names that Lord Mazdā gave you, Good Ones, when the maker of good was making you’.

**242.** The temporal clause most often follows the main clause, but not infrequently precedes it, as in 30. 4 *aṭcā hiiat tā hēm mainiiū jasaētəm paouruūim, dazdē gaēmca ājiiātūmcā*, ‘once those two Wills join battle, one adopts life or non-life’; 30. 8, 11; 31. 4; 43. 12 *hiiatcā mōi mraoš ‘Ašəm jasō’ frāxšnānē, aṭ tū mōi nōiṭ asruštā pairī.aoyžā*, ‘and when in thy providence thou tellest me, “Go to Right”, thou givest me advice that will not go unheeded’; 46. 12, 15; 50. 9. In *YH* 36. 6 the main and temporal clauses are interlaced: *barəzištəm barəzi-manəm (ā.uuaēdaiiamahī) auuat yāt huuarə auuācī*, ‘highest of the high we proclaim that sun since it was named’.

In 31. 11 three successive *hiiat* clauses in asyndeton precede the main clause: *hiiat nē, Mazdā, paouruūim gaēvāscā tašō daēnāscā ... , hiiat astuuantəm dadā uštanəm, hiiat šīiaoθnācā sēnghašcā yaθrā ...*, ‘since first, Mazdā, thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves, since thou gavest corporeal vitality, since (thou gavest) the actions and pronouncements in which ...’. For two successive ones following the main clause cf. 51. 12 quoted in §240; for two connected by *-cā*, 32. 14 quoted in §244.

85 Reichelt §§755, 782, 787; Skjærvø 160 f.

**243.** When the reference is to the past, the verb is in a past tense of the indicative or injunctive: 29. 2 *kaṽā tōi gauuōi ratuš, hiiat hīm dātā xšaiiantō*, ‘how (was) thy ruling for the cow, when ye powers made her?’; 31. 9 *hiiat axiīā dadā paṽaṽam*, ‘when thou didst offer her a path’; 43. 5 *ayhāuš zaṽōi ... hiiat dā šīiaoṽnā mīzdauuān*, ‘at the genesis of the world, when thou madest actions wageable’; 46. 12 *hiiat us ašā naptiiaēšū našsucā Tūrahiiā jēn Friiānahiiā*, ‘when he came forth with right among the kin and descendants of Tūra Friyāna’; YH 38. 4, quoted in §241.

**244.** When the reference is to something that happens from time to time, or at an unspecified time, the verb is in the °present or +aorist injunctive: 29. 5 *aṽ vā ustānāiš ā huuā zastāiš frīnəmnā Ahurāiiā ... hiiat Mazdān +duuaidī frasābiiō*, ‘but we two are here with outstretched hands propitiating the Lord, as we subject Mazdā to our questions’; 30. 4 and 31. 11 quoted above, §242 (both present injunctive); 31. 8 *aṽ ṽβā mājhī ... yazūm stōi manajhā ... hiiat ṽβā hōm cašmainī +grabəm*, ‘I think of thee as being young in my thought, when I catch thee in my eye’, cf. 43. 5; 32. 14 *ahiiā grāhmō ā.hōiṽōi nī Kāuuaiiascīṽ xratūš dadaṽ ... hiiat °vīsəntā drəguuəntəm auuō, hiiatcā gāuš jaidiīā °mraoī*, ‘into its bonds the glutton(?), the very Kavis surrender their reason, when they set themselves to assist the wrongful one, and when the cow is spoken for killing’; 43. 7 *spəntəm aṽ ṽβā ... mājhī ... hiiat mā vohū °pairī.jasat manajhā °pərəsatcā mā*, ‘bounteous I think thee, when one approaches me with good thought and asks me’; 45. 10 *hiiat hōi ašā vohūcā +cōišt manajhā, xšāvrōi hōi hauruuātā aməratātā ahmāi stōi daṽ*, ‘when he with Right and Good Thought assigns (them) to him, into his control they give health and continuing life to be his’; 46. 7 *kəm.nā ... mauuaitē pāiūm dadā, hiiat mā drəguuā °dīdarəsatā aēnəjhē*, ‘whom dost thou set as protector for my kind, when the wrongful one seeks to take hold of me for maltreatment?’

**245.** When the reference is to a specific, unique activity occurring at the present time, we find the present indicative, even if the main clause refers to the past or future: 32. 3–4 *šīiaoməṽ ... yāiš asrūdūm būmiiā haptaiṽē, yāt yūš tā fra.mīmaṽā, yā ...*, ‘your deeds for which ye have become renowned in earth’s seventh part, ever since you have been enjoining those things that ...’; 43. 8 *hiiat ā būštiš vasas.xšāvrahiiā diīā, yauuāt ā ṽβā, Mazdā, staomī ufiīacā*, ‘so I may obtain the offices of him who rules at will for as long as I am praising and hymning thee, Mazdā’.

**246.** When the reference is to the future, the subjunctive is used: 28. 4 *yauuāt °isāi °tauuācā, auuāt xšāi aešē Ašahiīā*, ‘so long as I have the ability and strength, I will look out in search of Right’, cf. 50. 11; 30. 8 *yadā kaēnā +jamaitī aēnəjhaṽ*, ‘when the requital comes for their misdeeds’, cf. 31. 4; 30. 9 *aṽcā tōi vaēm xiīāmā yōi im frašəm kəronāun ahūm, ... hiiat haṽrā manā +buuat yaṽrā cistiš aṽhaṽ maēṽā*, ‘may we be the ones who will make this world splendid, as our minds come together where insight is intermittent’; 43. 4 *aṽ ṽβā*



*mēnghāi taxmāmcā spəntəm ... hiiat mōi vaṅhāuš hazē +jimat managhō*, ‘I will think thee bold and bounteous when the force of good thought comes to me’; 43. 12 *uz.iraiddiāi, parā hiiat mōi ā +jimat Sraošō*, ‘to start out before Compliance comes to me’, cf. 48. 2; 44. 15 *yezī ahiīā Ašā, pōi maṭ, xšaiiehī, hiiat hōm spādā anaocajhā jamaētē*, ‘if thou hast this power with Right to protect me when the hostile armies meet’; 46. 15 *hiiat dāḏəṅg vī +caiaḏā adāḏqscā, tāiš yūš šīiaodnāiš ašəm xšmaibiiā daduiiē*, ‘when ye distinguish between the just and the unjust, by those actions ye shall win yourselves Right’; 50. 9 *yadā ašōiš maxiiā vasē °xšaiiā, aṭ hudānaoš išaiiṣ gərazdā xiiēm*, ‘when I have my reward at my disposal, then may I be enabled in my benefactor’s favour’.—In 30. 11 *hiiat tā uruuātā sašāḏā ... aṭ aipī tāiš aṅhaitī uštā*, ‘when ye grasp those rules, then thereafter it will be as we desire’, it seems necessary to emend the present indicative *sašāḏā* to the subjunctive *sašāḏā*.

One passage is anomalous: 46. 11 *yəṅg xṽā uruuā xṽāēcā +xraodaṭ daēnā, hiiat +aibī.gəməṇ, yaḏrā Cinuuatō pəratuš*, ‘(the Karpans and Kavis,) whom their own soul and their own morality will torment when they come to where the Arbiter’s Crossing is’. The subjunctive in the main clause suggests a prediction for the future, but the aorist injunctive in the temporal clause implies a timeless generalization as in §244. Probably *xraodaṭ* is to be taken as a ‘relative future’ of the type identified in §181: ‘whenever such people reach the Arbiter’s Crossing, it ensues that / is to be anticipated that their soul torments them’, or perhaps ‘their soul is ready to torment them whenever they reach ...’.

### Causal clauses<sup>86</sup>

247. The following clauses introduced by *hiiat* may be classed as causal: 30. 6 *aiiā nōiṭ əraš vi.šīiātā daēuuācinā, hiiat iš ā dābaomā pərasəmnəṅg upājasat* (pres. inj.), *hiiat vərənātā* (pres. inj.) *acištəm manō*, ‘between those two not even the Daevas discriminate rightly, because delusion comes over them as they deliberate, *hiiat* (because? so that? when?) they choose the worst thought’; 43. 11 *hiiat xšmā uxḏāiš dīdaijḥē paouruuīm*, ‘because I am learning by your utterances first of all’; 44. 18 *hiiat mōi mazdā api.uuaiṭī*, ‘seeing that (or now that) mindfulness has been instilled in me’;<sup>87</sup> 46. 2 *vaēdā taṭ, yā ahmī ... anaēšō: mā kamnaṣšuuā, hiiatcā kamnānā ahmī*, ‘I know why I am ineffectual: through my poverty in cattle and because I am poor in men’; 47. 3 *yā ahmāi gəṃ ... hōm.tašaṭ ... hiiat hōm Vohū ... fraštā Managhā*, ‘which fashioned the cow for him, because he took counsel with Good Thought’; 49. 9 *sraotū sāsnā fšəjḥiiō ... hiiat daēnā vahištē yūjən* (aor. inj.) *mīždē ... Djāmāspā*, ‘let the cultivator hear the teachings, since (or now that) the Djamaaspas have yoked their moral selves for the best reward’.

86 Reichelt §§756; Skjærvø 163.

87 On the interpretation of this sentence see §178.

Comparative clauses<sup>88</sup>

**248.** Comparisons are most clearly expressed with *yaðā* ‘as, just as’, with or without correlative *aðā* or *iðā*: 27. 13, 29. 4, 33. 1, all quoted in §133; 44. 18 *kaðā ašā taṭ miždām hanānī ... hauruuātā aməratātā, yaðā hī taibiio dāḡhā?* ‘how am I rightfully to earn that reward ... with health and continuing life, even as thou hast taken these for thyself?’

For 34. 5 *yaðā vā hahmī* and for *yaðənā* see §135.

**249.** Certain clauses introduced by *hiiaṭ* seem to be comparative in nature: 32. 5 *tā dəbənəotā mašīm hujiiātōiš ... hiiaṭ vā akā manəḡhā yōḡ daēuuōḡ Akascā Mainiiuš*, ‘so ye lure the mortal from good living, as (or because?) the Evil Will also (lures) you who are Daevas by evil thought’; 34. 8 *tāiš zī nā šīiaodnāiš biianṭī, yaēšū as pairī pourubiiō iðiiējō, hiiaṭ aš.əojā nāidiiāḡhəm*, ‘for they intimidate us by those actions in which there was danger to many, as a strong man does a weaker one’; 43. 8 *haiðiiō duuaēšā, hiiaṭ isōiā, drəḡuuaitē ... xiiōm*, ‘may I be in reality, as (or what) I would wish, the bane of the wrongful one’; 46. 2 *rafədrēm cəguuā hiiaṭ friiō friiāi daidīt*, ‘affording support as (or which) a friend would offer to a friend’; 46. 6 *huuō ašauuā, yahmāi ašauuō friiō, hiiaṭ daēnā paouruiā dā, Ahurā*, ‘he is righteous who has a righteous one as his friend, as thou didst establish the original moralities, Lord’.

Final and consecutive clauses<sup>89</sup>

**250.** Final clauses and those expressing an intended consequence always follow the main clause. They are introduced either by a relative pronoun referring to an agent or instrument identified in the main clause, or by *hiiaṭ* or *yaðā*. The verb goes in the subjunctive or optative. Where the verb of the main clause is a wish in the optative, that of the dependent clause is also optative. In other cases we may say that the subjunctive implies that the end is likely to be achieved, while the optative implies that it will become possible.

Purpose can also be expressed within the main clause by a dative (§§81–3) or infinitive (§§198–203).

**251.** Relative pronoun + subjunctive: 28. 6 *dā ... Zərəduštrāi əojōḡḡhuuəṭ rafənō ...*, *vā daibišuuəṭ duuaēšā tauruuaiiāmā*, ‘give Zarathushtra strong support, by which we may overcome the foe’s hostilities’; 28. 11 *frō mā sīšā ... vaocəḡhē ...*, *vāiš ā aḡhuš paouruiiō bauuəṭ*, ‘teach me to voice (those words) through which the pristine existence may come about’; 29. 10 *aogō dātā ašā xšədrəmčā auuəṭ ...*, *vā hušəitiš rāməmcā dāt*, ‘give strength with right and that dominion, by which one may establish fair dwelling and peace’; 30. 1 *aṭ tā vaxsiā ... vā mazdāvā hiiaṭcīt vīdušē*, ‘now I will tell those things that you are to

88 Reichelt §§760–3; Skjærvø 163 f.

89 Reichelt §§746, 757–8, 765–6, 787; Skjærvø 162 f.

bring to the attention even of one who knows'; 31. 2 *yaṯā ratūm Ahurō vaēdā Mazdā aiiā ašaiiā, yā ašāt hacā juuāmahi*, 'how Lord Mazdā has made the judgment concerning those two portions, (the judgment) by which we may live in accord with Right'; 50. 4 *xšaṯrācā, yā īšō stānhat ā paiṯi*, 'and with that dominion by which one may stand on the path of enablement'; 53. 4.

Relative pronoun + optative: 28. 1 *ahiiā yāsā ... rafəδrahiia ... šiiəoṯnā, Vañhəuš xratūm Manañhō yā xšnəuuīšā*, 'I pray for his help by means of an action through which thou couldst satisfy Good Thought's purpose'; 29. 2 *kām hōi uštā ahurəm, yē drəguuīdəbīš aēšəməm vādaiiōit?* 'whom did ye want as her lord, that might repulse fury by the wrongful?'; 31. 3 *taṯ nē ... vaocā ... yā juuanṯō vīspəng yāuraiiā*, 'tell us that, whereby I might persuade everyone alive'; 31. 4 *išasā ... xšaṯrəm aojōñhuuat, yehiiā vərədā vanaēmā Drujəm*, 'I shall seek a strong authority, by whose increase we might vanquish Wrong'; 46. 8 *paitiəogəṯ tā ahmāi jasōit duuaēšəñhā tanuuēm ā, yā īm hujiiāṯōiš pāiiāṯ*, 'may those (actions of his) recoil on him with hostility, on his person, so that they may keep him from good living'.

252. *hiiaṯ* + optative: 43. 8 *at ašāunē rafnō xiiēm aojōñhuuat, hiiaṯ ā būštiš vāsas.xšaṯrahiia diiā*, 'and to the righteous one may I be a strong support, so that I may obtain the offices of him who rules at will'; 43. 10 *pərasācā nā, yā tōi əhmā parštā ... hiiaṯ ṯβā xšaiiəš aēšəm diiāṯ əmauuantəm*, 'and ask us what thou hast to ask of us, so that one might, having control, make thee potent (and) strong'.

253. *yaṯā* + subjunctive: 34. 6 *yezī aṯā stā haiṯim, ... aṯ taṯ mōi daxštəm dātā ... yəṯā vā yazəmnascā uruuāidiia stauuas aiiēni paiti*, 'if ye are truly thus, then prove that to me, so that I may approach you worshipping and praising you the more gladly'; 44. 1 *at nē Ašā friiā dazdiāi hākurənā, yəṯā nē ā Vohū jimat Manañhā*, 'we have friendly relations to maintain with Right, so that it will come to us with Good Thought'; 46. 16–17 *aṯrā tū arədrāiš idī ... yaṯrā Ašā hacaiṯē Ārmaitiš ... yəṯā vā afšmāni səngəhāni*, 'go with the zealous to where Piety is together with Right, so that I may proclaim verses for you'.

### Conditional clauses<sup>90</sup>

254. Conditional clauses are normally introduced by *yezī* 'if'. In the attested examples the if-clause relates either to the present, with the verb (if any) in the present indicative, or to the future, with the verb in the subjunctive. There is no instance of a counterfactual conditional.<sup>91</sup>

With indicative: 34. 6 *yezī aṯā stā haiṯim*, 'if ye are truly thus'; 44. 15 *yezī ahiiā ašā pōi maṯ xšaiiēhī*, 'if thou hast this power with Right to protect me';

<sup>90</sup> Reichelt §§785; Skjærvø 164–6.

<sup>91</sup> For this the optative would no doubt have been used, as in Yt. 8. 52–4, 10. 55; Reichelt §792; Skjærvø 166.

48. 9 *kaṭ ā vaēdā, yezī cahiiā xšaiiaθā ... yehiiā mā āiθiš duuaēθā?* ‘shall I know it, if ye have control over anything whose danger is a threat?’

Without a verb: see §8.

With subjunctive: 48. 1 *yezī aṭ āiš Ašā Drujəm vānghaiī, ... aṭ tōi sauuāiš vahməm vaxšaṭ, Ahurā,* ‘now if thereby Right will vanquish Wrong, then one will increase thy praise together with thy strength, Lord’; 53. 1 *vahištā īštiš srāuū Zarahuštrahē ..., yezī hōi dāt āiiaptā ... Mazdā yauuōi vīspāiīā,* ‘best in renown is the capability of Zarathushtra, if (it is true that) Mazdā will grant him blessings for ever’.

255. A conditional relationship can also be expressed paratactically.<sup>92</sup> In two passages it is signalled by a peculiar use of the particle *-cā*, attached to the initial word of the first sentence:<sup>93</sup> 30. 7 *ahmācā xšadrā jasaṭ* (pres. inj.) *manajhā vohū ašācā, aṭ kahrpəm utaiiūitiš dadāt* (pres. inj.), *ārmaitiš qnmā,* ‘suppose one comes with dominion for him, with good thought and right, then vitality informs the body, piety the soul’; 32. 1 (beginning of poem) *axiiācā xʷaētus yāsaṭ* (pres. inj.), *ahiiā vərəzənəm maṭ airiiamnā, ahiiā daēuuā mahmī manōi, Ahurahiīā uruuāzəmā Mazdā: ʾθβōi dūtāḡhō āḡhāmā, tēḡ daraiiō yōi vā daibišəḡfī:* *aēibiiō Mazdā Ahurō ... paiī.mraoṭ* (pres. inj.), ‘suppose for his the clan prays, for his the village with the tribe, for his the Daevas, in my fancy, for the Lord Mazdā’s gladdening, (saying) “we will be thy messengers, to rend apart those who hate you”, to them Mazdā the Lord answers’.

In 53. 7 we find a similar structure without the *-cā*: *vī.zaiiaθā* (aor. subj.) *magəm tēm, aṭ vā ‘vaiiōi’ aḡhaiī apēməm vacō,* ‘(if) you will abandon this ceremony, then “Woe!” will be your last word’.

### Object clauses<sup>94</sup>

256. It is sometimes convenient to give a whole clause the syntactic function of a noun, so that it can serve as subject or object of a verb in the main clause. This is achieved by heading it with *hiiaṭ* ‘(the fact) that’: 44. 17 *kaṭā zarəm carānī hacā xšmaṭ, āskaiīm xšmākam, hiiaṭcā mōi xiiāṭ vāxš aēšō?* ‘how am I to journey in accord with you towards the object of my yearning(?), (namely) attachment to you, and (the goal) that my voice may be effective?’; 50. 5 *ārōi zī xšmā ... hiiaṭ yūšmākāi maḡdrānē vaorāzaṭā,* ‘for it is settled by you that ye will

92 Cf. Delbrück iii. 420 f.; É. Pirart in Crespo–García Ramón 506–24.

93 The construction is known in Vedic, and traces of a similar function of reflexes of *\*-k<sup>w</sup>e* have been found also in Hittite, Latin, and Gothic, but it has not hitherto been recognized in Iranian. Cf. Brugmann (1902) §913; Hirt vii. 140–2; Wackernagel (1955–79), i. 257–61; H. Eichner, *MSS* 29 (1971), 27–46; Watkins (1995–2008), 300–6; O. Szemerényi, *Scripta Minora* i (Innsbruck 1987), 384–6; H. Hettrich, *Untersuchungen zur Hypotaxe im Vedischen* (Berlin–New York 1988), 250–60; id. in O. Panagl–T. Krisch (edd.), *Latein und Indogermanisch* (Innsbruck 1992), 279–82.

94 Reichelt §759; Skjærvø 153 f.; cf. Delbrück iii. 324–7.

look gladly on your prophet'; after a verb of speaking, 51. 8 *aṭ zī tōi vax-šiiā ... hiiṭ akōi ā drəguuaitē, uštā yē Aṣəm dadrē, ... ʔam xšnūtəm rānōibiiā dā*, 'for I will tell thee (this truth,) that amid ill for the wrongful one, but in bliss for him who has embraced Right, is the atonement that thou didst establish for the two parties'; with correlative demonstrative, YH 35. 3 *taṭ aṭ varəmaidī ... hiiṭ ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā varəzimācā, yā ...*, 'we have chosen this, that we might think and speak and do those things that ...'.

### Indirect statements and questions<sup>95</sup>

**257.** In 51. 8, quoted in §256, we have seen one way of treating indirect speech of the type 'say that such-and-such is the case'. Simpler propositions, of the type 'say that A is B' or 'A is said to be B', are accommodated within the main clause by means of a nominative or accusative predicate; see §§48 and 55. A noun in another case may also appear as predicate after a verb of speaking, as in 43. 13 *vairiiā stōiš, yā ūβahmī xšadrōi vācī*, 'a desirable possession that is said to be in thy realm'.

**258.** Indirect questions are introduced by pronouns or conjunctions from the relative *ya-* stem, not the interrogative *ka-*. Thus to the direct question in 44. 19 *taṭ ūβā pərəsā ...: yas.taṭ ..., kā tām ahiiā maēniš ʔsat?* 'I ask this: he who ..., what punishment for that will catch him?', there corresponds the indirect one in 31. 15 *pərəsā auuaṭ, yā maēniš, yē ...*, 'I ask that, what the punishment is (for him) who ...', as if it were 'I ask about the punishment which there is'.

Further examples: 51. 22 *yehiiā mōi ... vahištəm yesnē paiṭi, vaēdā*, 'I know in whose worship is my best (interest)'; with *yā* or *yaṭā* 'how', 34. 12 *srūidiiāi, Mazdā, frāuuuocā, yā vī.dāiiāṭ ašiš rāšnəm*, 'proclaim for our hearing, Mazdā, how one might distribute the rewards of (thy) rulings'; 44. 1 *taṭ ūβā pərəsā ... nəmaṭhō ā, yaṭā nəmō xšmāuuatō*, 'I ask this out of reverence, how is the (proper) reverence of your kind'; 46. 9 *yā mā arədrō cōiṭaṭ paouruiiō, yaṭā ūβā zəuiištīm uz.əmōhī*, 'the zealous one who will be first to recognize how I found(?) thee out as the promptest'; 48. 9 *vīdiiāṭ saošiiʔs, yaṭā hōi ašiš aṭhaṭ*, 'may the Promoter know how his reward is to be'; 51. 5 *vīspā tā pərəsā, yaṭā ašāṭ hacā ʔam vīdaṭ vāstriiō*, 'all this I ask: how the herdsman gets a cow in accord with Right'.—In 31. 16 an indirect question beginning with *yaṭā* is modified into one with two different forms: *pərəsā auuaṭ, yaṭā huuō yē hudānuš... yadā huuō aṭhaṭ yā.šīiaodnascā*, 'I ask that, how the liberal man who ... when he will be there, and how-actioned'.

The *yezī* clause in 48. 9, quoted in §254, is virtually an indirect question.

95 Reichelt §789.

## Recapitulation: Uses of the Moods

**259.** Various uses of the moods, both in main and in subordinate clauses, have been illustrated in preceding sections. They may now be brought together under their own rubric. The injunctive is here considered together with the indicative; it is not really a mood in the same way as are the indicative, subjunctive, optative, and imperative, but a convenient grammatical classification for those verb forms from present or aorist stems that lack the distinctive markers of a mood.

### Indicative and injunctive<sup>96</sup>

**260.** The present indicative is regularly used in performative utterances (§159); in statements or questions regarding a current state of affairs (§§160–1); in the assertion of universal truths (§162). In temporal and causal clauses it is used of what is actually the case at the present time (§§245, 247).

In if-clauses it is used when there is an open possibility that something is the case (§254).

**261.** In relative clauses it is used both for what is actually (temporarily) the case and for general (permanent) truths.

Actually the case: 29. 9 *yām ā vasamī īšā.xšādrīm*, ‘whom I wish enabled with authority’; 31. 14 *tā ōβā pərəsā, Ahurā, yā zī ā aēitī jānḡhaticā*, ‘I ask thee, Lord, about the things that are approaching and will come’; 31. 15 *yā drəguuaitē xšādrəm hunāitī ... yā nōit jiiōtūm hanarə vīnastī vāstriiehiā aēnaḡhō*, ‘who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one ... who does not find a livelihood without wronging the herdsman’; 32. 1 *tānḡ ... yōi vō daibišantī*, ‘those who hate you’; 32. 3 *yascā vā maš yazaitē*, ‘and the grandee who worships you’; 32. 6 *aēnā ... yāiš srāuuahietī*, ‘the offences by which he seeks renown’; 33. 7, 9; 43. 14; 44. 11, 12, 13; 46. 8.

General/permanent truths: 28. 11 *yā aiš Ašəm ni.pānḡhē*, ‘thou who through them guardest Right’; 29. 3 *yā šauuaitē adrənḡ ərəšuuānḡhō*, ‘he by whom the upright promote the weak’; 30. 5 *mainiiuš spāništō, yā xraozdištānḡ asēnō vastē*, ‘the Bounteous Will, who clothes himself in the hardest stones’; 31. 11 *yadrā varənānḡ vasā dāiietē*, ‘where the free agent makes his choices’; 33. 5 *paḍō, yaēšū Mazdā Ahurō šaēitī*, ‘the paths on which Lord Mazdā dwells’, cf. 43. 3; 43. 6 *Vohū Manāḡhā, yehiiā šiiāoḍnāiš gaēḍā ašā frādētē*, ‘with Good Thought, by whose actions the flock prospers with right’.

**262.** In referring to recurrent phenomena or habitual actions the present indicative is sometimes used, but more often the present or aorist injunctive (§163). Likewise in temporal clauses (§244).

96 Kellens–Pirart ii. 65–80.

**263.** The aorist indicative (marked by the augment) is used of past events (§177), and also of perceptions that the speaker has just had (§165).

In other passages such events are referred to with unaugmented aorists, formally injunctives but treatable as indicatives (§176): 29. 1 *kahmāi mā ūβarōž-dūm? kē mā tašat?* ‘for whom did ye shape me? Who made me?’; 29. 2 *kām hōi uštā ahurəm?*, ‘whom did ye want as her lord?’; 31. 5, 7, 10, 11, etc. Likewise in temporal clauses (§243).

**264.** For the imperfect indicative<sup>97</sup> see §177.

For the perfect indicative see §§154–6, 164, 180.

**265.** Injunctive forms are used in some circumstances where a marked indicative would not be appropriate: in imaginary narrative (§181); in a quasi-conditional sentence equivalent to ‘suppose ...’ (§255); in questions about the future (§175); in prohibitions with *mā* (§192); in positive injunctions (§193).

### Subjunctive<sup>98</sup>

**266.** The subjunctive is essentially the prospective mood, expressing what is *envisaged* as opposed to being known or perceived. In main clauses it is used in statements of intent or resolve, deliberative questions, and generally in predictions, assurances, and questions about the future (§§169–74).

Occasionally it is used for what *can* happen or *sometimes* happens (§184).

In imaginary narrative, whether set in the distant past or in the present, the subjunctive may be used of something that was or is to be anticipated in a certain situation (§§181, 246).

**267.** In restrictive relative clauses the subjunctive is used when the reference is to an open class (§226); in final clauses, to express purpose or expected consequence (§§250–1, 253).

In temporal, conditional, and object clauses it is used for future time (§§246, 254, 256).

### Optative<sup>99</sup>

**268.** The optative is the mood for voicing contingent possibilities, dependent on something else that is itself uncertain. In main clauses it is used for diffident propositions or questions (§185), for wishes or prayers (§§186–8), and for prescriptions about behaviour (§189).

<sup>97</sup> Formally present injunctive, as there is no clear instance of an augmented form (though see p. 63 n. 64).

<sup>98</sup> Reichelt §§644–50; Kellens–Pirart ii. 80–8; Eva Tichy, *Der Konjunktiv und seine Nachbarkategorien* (Bremen 2006); Skjærvø 135 f.

<sup>99</sup> Reichelt §§651–5; Kellens–Pirart ii. 88–92; Skjærvø 136 f.

In restrictive relative clauses it is used for the specification of a hypothetical contingency (§226); in final clauses, to express a desired end that may become achievable if a certain wish is granted (§§250–2). Examples in object clauses are to be understood similarly (44. 17 and YH 35. 3, quoted in §256).

### Imperative

**269.** The imperative is used for requests in invocations and prayers and for positive exhortations and instructions (§§190–1).

### Quotation of Direct Speech<sup>100</sup>

**270.** Zarathushtra sometimes attributes utterances to others. As they are conceived as being syntactically complete in themselves, strategies are needed to incorporate them within his syntax while allowing their other-voice status to be apparent. The most straightforward method is to introduce them with a verb of speaking or asking, as in 29. 1 *gōuš uruuā gərəždā: ‘kahmāi mā v̄βarōž-dūm?’* ‘the cow’s soul complains, “For whom did ye shape me?”’; 29. 2 *adā tašā gōuš pərəsat Ašəm: ‘kaṽā tōi gauuōi ratuš?’* ‘then the Maker of the Cow asks Right, “How was thy ruling for the cow?”’; 29. 3, 6, 9; 31. 2; 32. 2; 43. 7, 8, 9, 12. With *ūitī* ‘thus’: 45. 2 *yaiiā spaniiā ūitī mrauuat yēm angrəm: ‘nōit nā manā ...’*, ‘of whom the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one, “Neither our thoughts ...”’.

In 32. 1 the connection between the verb and the utterance is less close: *axiiācā x<sup>a</sup>aētus̄ yāsat ... Ahurahiīā uruuāzēmā Mazdā: ‘v̄βōi dūtāghō āghāmā’*, ‘suppose the clan prays for his, for Lord Mazdā’s gladdening, (saying) “We will be thy messengers”’.

**271.** When a question has been asked, it may be followed directly by the answer, with no explicit marking of the change of speaker: 29. 7–8 *kas.tē vohū manajhā yē ī dāiiāt dēāuuā marātaēibiiō?*—‘*aēm mōi idā vistō, yē nē aēuuō sāsna gūšatā*’, ‘whom hast thou who by good thought could establish those things for mortals?’—“This man here I have found, who alone listens to our teachings”’; 31. 5–6; 34. 5; 44. 12; 46. 14.

**272.** In 44. 6, to express the idea ‘if it is a true proposition that ...’, Zarathushtra says *yā frauuaxšiiā yezi tā aṽā haiṽiiā, ‘Ašəm šiiāoṽnāiš dēbqazaitī Ārmaitiš’*, ... *kaēibiiō ... gq̄m tašō?* ‘if what I am about to say is true so: “Piety in action confirms Right ...”, for what people didst thou make the cow?’

**273.** A piece of speech, or a thought formulated as if for speech, may be introduced with a noun that indicates its status: 29. 5 *hiiat Mazdq̄m duuaidī frasābiiō:*

100 Spiegel §391; Skjærvø 99 f.



*‘nōiṭ arəžajiiōi frajiiāitiš?’* ‘as we subject Mazdā to our questions: “Is there no prospect for the righteous-living one?”’; 47. 2 *ahiiā mainiiēuš spēništahiiā vahištam ... vərəziiat ōiiā cistī*, *‘huuō ptā Ašahiiā Mazdā’*, ‘of this Bounteous Will one effects the best (showing) with this insight: “He, Mazdā, is the father of Right”’; followed up by a verb of utterance, 51. 16 *ṭam Kauuā Vištāšpō ... naṣaṭ ... yaṃ cistīm Ašā maṇtā*, *‘spəntō Mazdā Ahurō’*, *avā nē sazdiīāi uštā*, ‘the Kavi Vishtaaspa attained that insight which he meditated with Right, “Bounteous is Lord Mazdā!”’, thus to proclaim to us as we desired’. (For the *avā* cf. §133.)

**274.** An utterance of one or two words can be treated as a nominal package and made the subject or object of a verb: 34. 10 *ahiiā vaṃhēuš manahō šīiaov-nā vaocat ‘gərəbqam’ luxratuš*, ‘(of) this Good Thought’s deeds the wise man says “let them be seized hold of”’; 53. 7 *aṭ vā ‘vaiiōi’ aṃhaṭ apēməm vacō*, “‘Woe!’ will be your last utterance’, cf. 45. 3.

In other passages an exclamation is absorbed into a derived noun or compound: 31. 20 *auuaētās vacō*, ‘Woeness by way of speech; 53. 6 *vaiiū.bərədbiiō*, ‘for the Woe-criers’; 32. 12 *yōi gēuš mōrəṇḍən uruuāxš.uxfī jiiōtūm*, ‘who pervert the cow’s life with the “Move!”-shout’.

## Particles<sup>101</sup>

**275.** Particles may be divided into three categories: sentence particles, that is, those that serve to introduce a sentence, to lend it a particular tone, or to connect it with the preceding one; relational particles, those that define the relationship between parallel words or phrases within the sentence; and focusing particles, those that attach to a particular word and lend it weight or emphasis.

There are notable differences of usage between the *Gāthās* and *YH*. Several particles appear in the latter but not in the former, and there is a systematic divergence in the placing of *aṭ* (§277). The differences may be due to the difference between verse and prose, or to idiomatic differences between Zarathustra’s speech and that of the author of *YH*.

Many particles are enclitic and can only stand after a tone-bearing word. Some of these (*cā*, *cīṭ*, *cinā*, *nā*) are conventionally printed as attachments to the preceding word, but the distinction between those that are and those that are not so treated is entirely conventional; it had of course no meaning in the oral phase of transmission.

---

101 Kellens–Pirart ii. 99–189; Skjærvø 149–53.

## Sentence particles

**276.** It is a fixed characteristic of sentence particles that they stand at the beginning of the sentence, either in initial position or as enclitics following the first word.

**277.** Much the commonest is the one that appears in the *Gāthās* as *aṭ* and in *YH* mostly as *āṭ* or *āaṭ*.<sup>102</sup> In the *Gāthās* it is normally initial, but postponed to second word in 31. 18; 43. 5 (and the five repetitions of this verse in the poem); and 48. 1 if *adāiš* is to be resolved into *aṭ aiš* (§278). In 34. 15 *Mazdā, aṭ mōi* ... the sentence may be considered to begin after the initial vocative (cf. §358). In *YH*, on the other hand, the particle is only once initial and otherwise postponed; the effect is to foreground the initial word. The one passage where it is initial is the exception that proves the rule, see §334.

In general *aṭ* fulfils the role of a rather neutral sentence connective, continuative or prosecutive in effect. However, in three cases it appears at the beginning of a poem (30. 1; 45. 1; 49. 1), where it must be regarded as simply ingressive, not connective. In another passage it opens the reply to a question: 46. 14 *kas.tē ašauuā uruuāθō mazōi magāi? kē vā fra.srūidiiāi vaštū?—aṭ huuō Kauuā Vištāspō*, ‘which righteous one is thy ally for the great rite? Who wishes to be renowned?—(Well,) it is the Kavi Vishtaaspa’.

Sometimes *aṭ* seems to have a lightly adversative tone; where any translation is called for, ‘but’ is often the most suitable. It has a clearly adversative sense when used within the sentence in an antithesis between clauses (which are compressed sentences), as in 30. 4 *acištō drəguuatəm, aṭ ašāunē vahištəm manō*, ‘the worst (existence) that of the wrongful, but for the righteous one, best thought’, cf. 34. 4; 43. 8.

Following a subordinate clause *aṭ* often marks the beginning of the main clause in what might be called an ‘apodotic’ function:<sup>103</sup> 30. 8 *aṭcā yadā aēšəm kaēnā jamaiti aēnaḡəm, aṭ, Mazdā, taibiiō xšāθrəm ... vōiuūdāitē*, ‘and when the requital comes for their misdeeds, (then) for thee, Mazdā, will be found dominion’; 31. 2 *yezī aiš nōiṭ uruuānē aduuā aibī.dərəštā vaxiiā, aṭ vā vīspāṅg ā aiiōi*, ‘I through these (words) the better way (is) not in plain view to the soul, (then) I appeal to you all’; 33. 3 *yē ašāunē vahištō ... vīdāḡ vā θβaxšāḡhā gauuōi, aṭ huuō Ašahiīā aḡhaṭ ... vāstrē*, ‘he that is best to the righteous one ... or by tending the cow with care, (well,) he will be in the pasture of Right’; 43. 12 *hiiatcā mōi mraoš ‘Ašəm jasō’ frāxšnānē, aṭ tū mōi nōiṭ asruštā pairi.aoyžā*, ‘and when in thy providence thou tellest me “Go to Right”, (then) thou givest me advice that will not go unheeded’; 30. 7, 11; 34. 6; 46. 12; 48. 1; 50. 9.

102 Cf. Narten (1986), 94 f., 257–9; G. E. Dunkel, *HS* 101 (1988), 53–78; Kellens–Pirart ii. 105–20; Skjærvø 150 f. Narten and Dunkel (56) regard *aṭ* and *ā(a)ṭ* as of different origin, but apart from the matter of initial or deferred placement I can see no distinction of usage.

103 Cf. Dunkel 65–8; Kellens–Pirart ii. 107–9.

For combinations of *aṭ* with other particles (*aṭcā*, *aṭcīt*, *aṭ vā*, *aṭ zī*, etc.) see below, §§281–3, 294, 297.

**278.** In three places *aṭ* has probably been obscured in the written tradition by being run together with another monosyllabic particle or pronoun.

Twice we find in second position an obscure word *adāiš*: 48. 1 *yezī adāiš Aṣā Drujəm vānghaitī*, ‘if [ ] Right will vanquish Wrong’; YH 35. 4 *gauuōi adāiš tāiš śīiaoṽnāiš yāiš vahištāiš fraēšīīmahī rāmācā vāstrəmācā dazdīīāi*, ‘for the cow [ ], with these actions that are the best, we urge the establishment of peace and pasture’. It is persuasively resolved by Narten (following Insler) into *aṭ āiš*, ‘thereby, hereby’.<sup>104</sup>

In YH 35. 6 *yaṽā āṭ utā nā vā nāirī vā vaēdā haiṽīm, aṽā haṭ vohū taṭ ṽeāḍū vərəzīiōtūcā īṭ ahmāi*, ‘as anyone, either man or woman, knows a truth, so, it being good, let him [ ] both put it into effect for himself and ...’, the otiose *taṭ* is eliminated and the strange *ṽeāḍū* explained by Narten’s resegmentation as *tatō āṭ ū*, where *tatō* = Vedic *tátas* ‘then, thereupon’ and *ū* is the common Vedic particle *u*, not otherwise apparent in the Avesta.<sup>105</sup>

**279.** Two enclitic particles that are primarily relational, *cā* ‘and’ and *vā* ‘or’, can also be used as sentence connectives.

The special use of *cā* to introduce a conditional sentence, as it were ‘suppose’, has been dealt with in §255. In other cases *cā* simply marks a sentence as developing the content of the preceding one, as in 30. 3 *aṭ tā mainīiū, ... manahi vacahicā śīiaoṽnāi hī, vahīiō akəmācā; āscā hudāḡhō əraš vī.šīīātā*, ‘they are the two Wills, those two kinds of thought, of speech, of deed, the better and the evil; and between them well-doers discriminate rightly’; 43. 12; 47. 5; 49. 7, 10; 53. 5 *sāxvānī vazīiamnābīiō kainibiīō mraomī xšmaibiīācā, vadamnā: mōḡcā ī dazdūm*, ‘these precepts I speak for girls marrying and for you, bridegrooms; and (make sure you) take them to heart’.

*vā* is used as a sentence connective in two circumstances:

1) With a relative pronoun, making provision for an alternative hypothetical situation, as in 46. 5 *yā vā xšaiiqs ā dām drītā aiiaṅtəm*, ‘as for one who on his own authority should take into his house one who comes’, cf. 31. 13; 46. 8, 10.

2) With an interrogative pronoun in a series of questions: 34. 12 *kaṭ tōi rāzarā, kaṭ vaši, kaṭ vā stūtō, kaṭ vā yasnahīiā?* ‘what is thy rule, what dost thou wish, (or) what of praise, or what of worship?’; 46. 14; 51. 11. As if to say, ‘if you cannot answer my first question, here is an alternative one’.

Apart from the examples of conditional *cā*, sentence-connecting *cā* and *vā* are in all cases attached to an initial monosyllable.

**280.** Apart from *aṭ*, the commonest sentence particle is *zī* (enclitic; = Vedic *hi*). It generally has an explanatory force, ‘for’: 31. 18 *mā.ciš aṭ vā drəḡuātō*

104 Narten (1986), 104.

105 Narten (1986), 111–14.

*maḍraścā gūštā sāsnāścā, ā zī dāmānəm vīsəm vā ... dušitācā marakaēcā*, ‘let none of you listen to the wrongful one’s prescripts and teachings, for he will give house or manor into chaos and ruin’; 30. 10; 34. 3, 8, 14; 43. 10; 44. 2; 45. 1; 46. 6; 47. 6; 48. 2, 6, 12; 50. 5; 53. 4, 5.

In 51. 8 it is used twice in parentheses, where it is unclear what nuance it imparts: *aṭ zī tōi vaxšiiā, Mazdā (vīdušē zī nā mruiiāt) hiiṭ akōi ā drəguuaitē, uštā yē Ašəm dadrē (huuō zī maḍrā šiiātō, yē vīdušē mrauuiitī) yaṃ xšnūtəm ...*, ‘I will tell thee, Mazdā (a man would be speaking to one who knows), that amid ill for the wrongful one, but in bliss for him who has embraced Right (happy that prophet who speaks to one who knows) is the atonement which ...’.

**281.** In nine places a sentence is introduced by the combination *aṭcā*.<sup>106</sup> In 29. 9 it would seem to have adversative force, and so perhaps in 49. 3, while in the other passages (30. 4, 8, 9; 34. 2; 43. 2; 53. 2, 7) it is simply progressive.

*aṭcā* also occurs as a relational particle (§293).

**282.** In two places we find the combination *aṭ zī*. In the first it is plausible to find something of both the adversative tenor of *aṭ* and the explanatory force of *zī*: 29. 6 *nōiṭ aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš ...*, *aṭ zī ṭṣā fšuiiaṇtaēcā vāstriiācā ṭṣōraštā tatašā*, ‘indeed no patron has been found (for the cow), nor a ruling; the Shaper has created thee both for the stock-raiser and the herdsman’. One might render the particles with ‘but, you see’. In 51. 8 (quoted in §280) *aṭ zī* begins a new stanza, and it is unclear what logical relationship with the preceding one is intended.

In *YH* 35. 7 the particles appear together in the reverse order, *zī aṭ*. The *aṭ* may be the ordinary connective, enclitic as usual in *YH*. The *zī* (its only occurrence in *YH*) marks a progression from a general maxim (anyone who knows a good truth should put it into effect and exhort others to do so) to its application: *Ahurahiīā zī aṭ vā Mazdā yasnəcā vahməcā vahištəm aməhmaidī gəušcā vāstrəm: taṭ aṭ vā vərəziīamahī fracā vātēiīamahī*, ‘now, it is Lord Mazdā’s worship and praise that we have apprehended as your greatest good, and the cow’s pasture, and this we will put into effect for you and communicate’.

**283.** A further combination with *aṭ* is *aṭcīt*. (For *cīt* see §305.) In 31. 1 it is used like simple *aṭ* as the adversative in an antithesis within the sentence: *aguštā vacā səṅghāmahī aēibiiō yōi uruuātāiš drujō ašahiiā gaēvā vīmərəṇcaitē, aṭcīt aēibiiō vahištā yōi zrazdā aṇhən Mazdāi*, ‘we proclaim words unheeded by those who with the rules of Wrong are disrupting Right’s flock, yet the best for those who will be trustful towards Mazdā’. In 50. 3 it introduces a new sentence, and ‘yet’ is again a suitable rendering.

**284.** There is an enclitic particle *tū*, corresponding to Vedic *tū*.<sup>107</sup> In almost all cases it is associated (as the Vedic particle often is) with vocatives and second-

106 Cf. perhaps Latin *atque*.

person imperatives: 28. 6, 7 (twice); 34. 15; 43. 10; 46. 16; 49. 7; 53. 3; *YH* 39. 4; 41. 3, 4. This suggests that in origin it was an enclitic form of *tuuōm* ‘thou’, and in Old Avestan it may still have been felt to have this value. In 41. 2, however, it must have a less specific one: *vohū xšaθrəm tōi, Mazdā Ahurā, apaēmā vīspāi yauuē; huxšaθras.tū nē nā vā nāiri vā xšaētā ubōiio aḡhuio*, ‘thy good rule, Lord Mazdā, may we attain for evermore; and may a good ruler, whether man or woman, assume rule over us in both existences’. The particle perhaps underlines the link between *huxšaθras* and the preceding *vohū xšaθrəm*.

**285.** An asseverative particle *vōi* (= Vedic *vái*) is found only at *YH* 36. 3, *ātarš vōi Mazdā Ahurahiā ahī; mainiiuš vōi ahiiā spēništō ahī*, ‘truly, the fire of Mazdā the Lord art thou; truly, his most bounteous will art thou’.

**286.** The negative particles *nōiūt* and *mā* may also be classed as sentence particles; for them see §§10–13, 192.

For sentence-initial *atē* and *adā*, both meaning ‘then, thereupon’, *aθā* ‘therefore’ (with imperative), and hortative *nū*, see §133.

### Relational particles

**287.** The commonest of relational particles is the ubiquitous enclitic *cā*, ‘and’. Its predominant use is to link nouns or phrases that are syntactically on the same footing: pairs (or longer series) of nouns, of adjectives, of verbs, etc.

In the case of an added phrase consisting of more than one word, *cā* is attached to the first, as in 28. 1 *Vaḡhēuš xratūm Manaḡhō ... gēušcā uruuānəm*, ‘Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’. (Contrast *YH* 39. 1 *yazamaidē gēuš uruuānəmcā tašānəmcā*, ‘we worship both the soul and the maker of the cow’, where the two accusatives are both qualified by *gēuš*.)

**288.** Where there are two items to be joined, the basic pattern is A B-*cā*, = ‘A and B’. Or the *cā* may be added to both terms, A-*cā* B-*cā*, in which case we may translate ‘both A and B’: 29. 6 (quoted in §282); 30. 4 *gaēmā ajiiāitūmcā*, ‘both life and non-life’; 28. 2, 5, 10, etc.; *YH* 35. 2 *iadacā aniiadacā*, ‘both here and elsewhere’; *ibid.*, *vərəziāmananəmcā vāuərazananəmcā*, ‘both present and past’, etc. Such a pair may be in apposition to a preceding *ubē* ‘both’ (§21).

Less often *cā* is appended to the first term only: 30. 9 *Mazdāscā Ahurāḡhō*, ‘Mazdā and Lords’, cf. 31. 4; 30. 11 *xʷitičā ənəiti*, ‘through success and failure’; 33. 8 *aməratāscā utaiiūtī hauruuatās*, ‘continuing life and health with vitality’; 34. 6; 43. 4; 51. 14. This may be a poetic licence, as it does not occur in *YH*.

---

107 Cf. Bartholomae 654 f.; Narten (1968), 264 n. 46; J. S. Klein in Crespo–García Ramón 262 f.

**289.** Where there are three or more items, the primary pattern is A B-*cā* C-*cā*, as in 29. 11 *kudā aṣəm vohucā manō xšədrəmčā?* ‘where are right and good thought and dominion?’; 28. 3, 8; 32. 3. The comprehensive A-*cā* B-*cā* C-*cā* (31. 11) is suitable for solemn or hieratic formulae, and like the corresponding two-term pattern it occurs many times in *YH*.

Other arrangements, such as A B C-*cā* (30. 7, 10; 31. 6; 33. 10; 44. 5); A B-*cā* C (30. 3); A-*cā* B C-*cā* (33. 14); A B-*cā* C D E-*cā* (29. 1), are restricted to the *Gāthās*.

**290.** Words may also be joined asyndetically, with no *cā* at all, as in 28. 10 *dāθōng ... ərəθβōng*, ‘upright and worthy’; 31. 20 *darəgəm āiīu təmaṅhō, duš-xʷarəθōm, auuaētās vacō*, ‘a long age of darkness, foul food, the crying of woe by way of utterance’; 44. 10; 44. 17 *hauruuātā amərətātā*, ‘with health and continuing life’, cf. 18; 45. 7; 45. 9 *pasūš vīrōng ahmākōng*, ‘our herds and men’; 47. 3; 48. 4; in *YH* mostly with three terms (or more), 35. 2 *humatanəm hūxtanəm huuarštənəm*, ‘of good thought, good words, good deeds’; 36. 4–5 *pai-ri.jasāmaidē nəmaxiiāmahī išūidiiāmahī θβā*, ‘we attend, revere, give thee thanks’, etc.

**291.** In a couple of passages *cā* is attached to a word that is not paired with anything, and here perhaps it is to be understood as ‘also’: 28. 3 *yaēibiiō xšədrəmčā aγzaonuuanəm varəxdaitī ārmaitiš*, ‘you for whom piety increases your unimpaired dominion also(?)’; 32. 5 *tā dəbənəotā mašīm hujiiātōiš ... hiiat və akā manəṅhā yōng daēuuōng Akascā Mainiiuš*, ‘so ye lure the mortal from good living, as the Evil Will also does you who are Daevas, by evil thought’.

**292.** When two or more relative clauses are joined by *cā*, the implication is that the referents are different. So in 32. 10 *huuō mā nā srauuā mōrəndaṭ, yē acištəm vaēnaṅhē aogadā gəm ašibiiā huuarəcā, yascā dāθōng drəguuatō dadāt, yascā vāstrā vīuuāpaṭ, yascā vadarō vōiždaṭ ašāunē*, ‘that man perverts good repute, who declares that the worst thing to behold with the eyes is the cow, and the sun; and he who makes the upright wrongful, and he who destroys the pastures, and he who raises his weapon against the righteous one’, four kinds of wrongdoer are condemned, not one who does all those things; ‘and he who’ is equivalent to ‘or he who’. Likewise in 32. 14 *hiiat vīsəntā drəguuantəm auuō, hiiatcā gōuš jaidiiāi mraoi*, ‘when they set themselves to assist the wrongful one, and (or) when the cow is spoken for killing’.

**293.** A 2nd pl. pronoun or possessive adjective is occasionally accompanied by the name of someone included in the ‘you’, with *cā*: see §122. There is a similar phenomenon at 28. 6 *dāidī ... Zaruštrāi aojōnghuuat rafənō ahmaibiiācā*, ‘give strong support to Zarathushtra and to us’, i.e. ‘to us, that is to myself, Zarathushtra, and to the rest of us’.

**294.** *aṭcā*, normally a sentence particle (§281), appears at 53. 4 as a strengthened form of -*cā* in a series of nouns: *yā fədrōi vīdāt paidiācā vāstriāēibiiō*

*atcā x<sup>v</sup>aētauuē*, ‘with which a woman may serve her father and husband, the herdsmen and the clan too’, or ‘but also the clan’.

**295.** In a negative sentence parallel items are coordinated with *nōiṭ* ... *naēdā* ‘not ... nor’; see §12.

**296.** The disjunctive particle *vā* ‘or’ behaves much like *cā*, but with less variability in its placing. Thus we have A B *vā*, ‘A or B’ (34. 5); A *vā* B *vā* (31. 9, 12, 17; *YH* 41. 2); A B C *vā* (45. 11); A B *vā* C *vā* (31. 13, 16, 18); A *vā* B *vā* C *vā* (*YH* 39. 2).

For *vā* as a sentence connective see §279.

**297.** The combination *at vā* is equivalent to simple *vā*, but it precedes the host word: 33. 2 *vacanḥā vā, at vā mananḥā, zastōibiiā vā*, ‘whether by word or by thought or by hands’; 33. 3 *x<sup>v</sup>aētū vā, at vā vərəzēniio, airiiamnā vā*, ‘whether with clan or with village or with tribe’; 33. 8.

**298.** The enclitic *ṽβat* (in *YH* *ṽβāt*) is used in disjunctions where the terms are not mutually exclusive alternatives but each valid at different times; it means approximately ‘as the case may be’, ‘beziehungsweise’: 44. 3 *kā yā mā uxšiietī nərəfsaitī ṽβat?* ‘who is it through whom the moon now waxes, now wanes?’; *YH* 35. 10 *staotāiš ṽβāt ... staotōibiiō aibī, uxḏā ṽβāt uxḏōibiiō, yasnā ṽβāt yas-nōibiiō*, ‘be it with praises where praises are concerned, or with utterances where utterance is concerned, or with act of worship where acts of worship are concerned’.

### Focusing particles

**299.** In 29. 6 *nōiṭ aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš*, ‘indeed no patron has been found, nor a ruling’, *aēuuā* is evidently an intensifying particle, the counterpart of Vedic *evá*.

**300.** Besides its prepositional and preverbal usages, *ā* appears as an enclitic strengthening particle attached to relative, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns. The particle is probably a different word from the pre-verb/preposition.<sup>108</sup>

Relative: 29. 9 *yām ā vasamī iśā.xšadrīm*, ‘whom I wish enabled with authority’; 31. 7 *tā ... mainiiū uxšiiō, yē ā nūrēmciṭ ... hamō*, ‘through that will thou dost increase, which even now is the same’; 43. 8 *yauuat ā ṽβā ... staomī ufiācā*, ‘just as long as I am praising and hymning thee’; 50. 7 *yāiš ā zāḏā*, ‘with which ye will win’; *YH* 36. 1 *ahiiā ... āḏrō ... , yē ā axtiš ahmāi, yām axtōiio*

<sup>108</sup> É. Pirart argues that it represents a systematic alteration of *u* = Vedic *u* (Kellens–Pirart ii. 131–40). The hypothesis has a certain amount in its favour, though it is obscure how such a transformation should have come about. In Vedic *á* too serves as an intensifying particle, though its usage does not particularly resemble that of Avestan *ā*.

*dāḡhē*, ‘of this fire, which is torment for him whom thou puttest to torment’.<sup>109</sup>

Demonstrative (referring back): 32. 15 *anāiš ā vī.nēnāsā yā Karpōtāscā Kāuuītāscā*, ‘with these (activities) the Karpanhood and Kavihood have lost their way’; 34. 11 *tāiš ā Mazdā*, †*vīduuaēšam ōβōi ahī†*, ‘with these, Mazdā, thou ...’;<sup>110</sup> 53. 6<sup>bis</sup> *anāiš ā manahīm ahūm mərəṅgəduiē*, ‘with them ye ruin spiritual life’; 53. 8 *anāiš ā dužuuaršnaḡhō dafšniīā hōḡtū*, ‘hereby let the evil-doers be thwarted’.

Interrogative (following another question): 44. 12 *katārēm ā aiiēm<sup>111</sup> vā huuō vā aṅgrō?* ‘which is it, this one or that one who is the enemy?’; 48. 9 *kaṭ ā* [var. *kaḏā*, *kaḏā*] *vaēdā*, *yezī cahiīā xšaiiaḏā?* ‘shall I (var. when/how shall I) know it, if ye have control over anything?’

**301.** The neuter pronoun *īt* ‘it’, like Vedic *id*, can serve as an enclitic particle. Where *īt* occurs in the *Gāthās* it always has pronominal function except in the compounds *ciḏīt* (§306) and *zīt* (§311). In *YH* it is the pronoun in 35. 6 (four times), but in 39. 3 we have it (as with *ciḏīt*) reinforcing another particle: *aṭ iḏā yazamaidē vaḡhūscā īt vaḡhīscā īt*, ‘in this fashion we worship both the Good Ones (male) and the Good Ones (female)’.

**302.** *utā* ‘also’ (= Vedic *utā*) appears only in *YH*: 35. 6 *yaḏā aṭ utā nā vā nāiri vā vaēdā haiḏīm*, ‘as also either a man or a woman knows a truth’; 40. 4 *aḏā xʷaētus*, *aḏā vərəzēnā*, *aḏā haxēmam xiiāt*, *yāiš hišcamaidē*; *aḏā vā utā xiiāmā*, ‘so may it be with the clan, so with the communities, so with the societies we associate with; so also may we be for you’, i.e. ‘so may you find us also’.

**303.** The *kaṃ* that appears reinforcing a dative pronoun at verse-end in 44. 20 *yōi pišīieinī aēibiīō kaṃ*, *yāiš ...*, ‘they that blaspheme(?) for the sake of those with whom ...’, corresponds to Vedic *kām* ‘well’, which is also used after datives, especially at verse-end, meaning ‘for the sake of’.

**304.** For *cā* as a generalizing particle in relative clauses, making ‘who’ into ‘whoever’, see §141.

**305.** The most frequent focusing particle in the *Gāthās* is *cīt* (= Vedic *cid*). It emphasizes the word to which it is attached, usually a noun or pronoun, giving

109 In 28. 11 *yāiš ā aḡhuš paouruiīō bauuaṭ*, ‘through which the pristine existence may come about’, the *ā* perhaps rather modifies *bauuaṭ* so as to mean *adsit*; cf. 30. 7; 31. 9; *YH* 39. 1. In several places the addition of the particle after *yā* or *tā* would mend defective metre: 43. 4, 10; 45. 3; 49. 3.

110 Lommel’s *ōβōiiahī* ‘thou frightenest’ looks plausible, but *vī.duuaēšā-* should mean ‘countering the enemy’, ‘opposing hatred’, and so be a predicate of Mazdā himself or his supporters; in any case the *-am* ending is wrong, and the half-line has too many syllables.

111 *aiiēm* is my emendation for *aṅgrō*, which is a senseless anticipation from the end of the line: West (2008), 127.



the sense of ‘X at least’ or ‘even X’: 29. 6 *nōiṭ aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš ašāt-cīt hacā*, ‘indeed no patron has been found, nor a ruling, at any rate in line with Right’; 29. 10 *azēmciṭ*, ‘I at any rate’, ‘I for one’, cf. 46. 18; 30. 1 *yā mazdādhā hīiat.cīt vīdušē*, ‘things that you are to bring to attention even in the case of one who knows’ (cf. §312); 31. 5 *tācīt* ... *yā nōiṭ vā aḥaṭ aḥhaiṭi vā*, ‘just those things that will not be or will be’, cf. 32. 11; 44. 3; 46. 19; 31. 7 *nūrēmciṭ*, ‘even now’, cf. 51. 1 *nūciṭ* ‘right now’; 32. 8 *Vīuuajhušō ... Yīmas-cīt*, ‘the son of Vīvahvant, Yīma himself’, cf. 14; *ibid.*, *aēšamciṭ*, ‘regarding those very things’; 32. 16 *hamēm taṭ vahištācīt*, ‘that is equal to the very best’; *ibid.*, *yehiiā mā aiṭiścīt duuaēdhā*, ‘of that whose very danger is a threat’; 33. 14 *Zaradūštrō tanuuascīt xʷaxiiā uštanəm dadāiti*, ‘Zarathuštra dedicates the energy of his own very body’; 34. 7 *yōi ... aspēncīt sādrcācīt caxraiō ušaurū*, ‘who can make even misfortunes, even sorrows innocuous’; 34. 13 *daēnā saošiiantam yā hūkeratā Ašācīt uruuāxšaṭ*, ‘(the road) on which the Promoters’ moral selves advance from Right itself’; 47. 4 *kasēuścīt nā ašāunē kādhō aḥaṭ; isuuācīt haṣ paraoš akō drāguaiītē*, ‘even the poor man may be kind to the righteous one, even the man of much means malign towards the wicked’.

For the special use of *cīt* with the interrogative stem *ka-* to make an indefinite pronoun see §142. This is the only use of *cīt* found in *YH*.

**306.** In 29. 4, in a polar expression referring to past and future, the contrasted adverbs of time are each underlined with *ciṭiṭ*, a combination of *cīt* and *iṭ* (§300): *saxʷarē ... , yā zī vāuuərəzōi pairī ciṭiṭ ... yācā varəšaitē aipī ciṭiṭ*, ‘initiatives, both those that have been enacted before and those that will be hereafter’.

**307.** In negative sentences *cinā* is used instead of *cīt*: 30. 6 *aiiā nōiṭ əraš vi.šiiātā daēuuā.cinā*, ‘between those two not even the Daevas discriminate rightly’; 31. 10 *nōiṭ, Mazdā, auuāstriiō dauuāscinā humərətōiš baxštā*, ‘the non-herdsman, Mazdā, drive(?) her as he might, did not get her goodwill’.

In 29. 6 (quoted in §305), where we have *cīt*, the negative does not relate to the emphasized word in the same way; it is not ‘not even in line with Right’.

**308.** The enclitic *bā* makes an isolated appearance in Old Avestan at *YH* 35. 5, *huxšadrōtəmāi bā aṭ xšadrəm ... dadəmahičā cīšmahičā huuṇmahicā*, ‘to the best ruler we dedicate, assign, and inaugurate rule’. In the Younger Avesta, where it is commoner, it regularly comes, as here, after the first word of the sentence, to which it lends emphasis. That it takes precedence over the sentence connective *aṭ* implies its close connection with the word *huxšadrōtəmāi*.

**309.** For the particle *nā* that appears in some interrogative sentences see §136. Attached to *cīt*, it makes the question-marker *ciṭənā*, which is strong enough to stand in initial (non-enclitic) position: see §137. Attached to *yaṭ* (= *hīiaṭ*), it makes the relative adverb/conjunction *yaṭənā*, for which see §135.

**310.** Enclitic *mā* (= Vedic *sma*) has to be distinguished from three homophones: the prohibitive particle *mā*, the accusative personal pronoun ‘me’, and the instrumental of the possessive adjective *ma-* ‘my’. It is used especially after a relative or demonstrative pronoun, to emphasize that it is *that very one*. It does not occur in *YH*.

With relative (like Greek ὅς περ): 31. 5 *Vohū Manaḡhā ... yehiiā mā ərəšiš*, ‘with Good Thought, the one whose prophet (I am)’; 32. 16 *xšaiiḡs ... yehiiā mā aiθišcīṭ duuaēθā*, ‘in control of just that whose very danger is a threat’, cf. 48. 9; 43. 10 *aṭ tū mōi dāiš Aṣəm, hiiat mā zaozaomī*, ‘show me Right, the one I constantly invoke’; 44. 12 *yā mā drəguuā θβā sauuā paiṭi.ərətē*, ‘the wrongful one, the very one who takes pleasure in opposing thy gains’; 46. 9 *kā huuō, yā mā aradrō cōiṭaṭ paouruiō*, ‘who is he, that zealous one who will be the first to recognize ...?’

With demonstrative: 32. 10 *huuō mā nā srauuā mōrəndaṭ, yā ...*, ‘that is the man who perverts good repute, the one that ...’, cf. 11; 50. 2 *akəs tāng mā niš qsiā*, ‘drive out those evil ones (specifically)’.

The remaining instances are: 43. 9 *rātəm nəmaḡhō Ašahiiā mā, yauuaṭ isāi, mantiāi*, ‘the tribute of reverence of Right, so far as I can, I will be thinking of’; 46. 9 *yā tōi Aṣā, yā Aṣāi gəuš tašā mraoṭ, išəntī mā tā tōi vohū manaḡhā*, ‘what things Right said to thee, and the maker of the cow to Right, they put into practice for thee with good thought’; or more likely it is a question, ‘do they put them into practice?’

**311.** Besides its use as a sentence particle, *zī* appears a number of times following a relative pronoun in clauses of a comprehensive character, especially those embracing past, present, and future: 29. 4, see §306; 33. 10 *tā huṭtaiiō, yā zī aḡharā yāscā həṭṭi yāscā ... buuaiṭi*, ‘those good lives that have been and that are and that will come to be’; 45. 7 *yōi zī juuā aḡharacā buuaiṭicā*, ‘those living and who have been and who will come to be’. Others: 31. 14 *tā ... yā zī ā aēṭi jəṅghaticā*, ‘those things that are approaching and will come’; 34. 14 *vaḡhəuš šiiəoṭnā manaḡhō, yōi zī gəuš vərəzəṇē aziā*, ‘through enactment of good thought (by) those in the community of the milch cow’; 47. 5 *ašāunē cōiš yā zī cīcā vahištā*, ‘thou assignest to the righteous one whatever best things there be’.

In 45. 8 *nū zīṭ ... vī.adarəsam*, *zīṭ* is taken to be for *zī īṭ* and to be emphasizing *nū*, ‘just now’; cf. §133.

**312.** The neuter relative pronoun *hiiat* is used as a particle with the sense ‘when it comes to’, ‘as regards’: 30. 1 *yā mazdāθā hiiat.cīṭ vīdušē*, ‘things that you are to bring to attention even (when it comes) to one who knows’; 31. 14 *yaṭā tā aḡhan həṅkerətā hiiat*, ‘how those (requisites) will be (as regards) at the Reckoning’; 33. 1 *šiiəoṭnā razištā drəguuataēcā hiiatcā ašāunē*, ‘by action most just both for the wrongful one and (as regards) for the rightful one’; *YH* 35. 5 and 40. 1 *ahmaṭ hiiat aibi*, ‘insofar as depends on us’.

In *YH* 35. 5 it stands for ‘which is to say’, ‘namely’: *huxšəṭrōtəmāi bā aṭ xšəṭrəm ... dadəmahicā cīšmahicā huuaḡmahicā, hiiat Mazdāi Ahurāi*, ‘to the best

ruler we dedicate, assign, and inaugurate rule, that is, to Mazdā the Lord'.<sup>112</sup> In 37. 4 *Aṣəm aṭ vahištəm yazamaidē hiiat sraēštəm, hiiat spəntəm, <hiiat>*<sup>113</sup> *aməṣəm* etc., it is possible to take *hiiat* as simply the neuter pronoun after the neuter *Aṣəm*, but it may rather have the force of 'because', 'qua': 'Best Right we worship as the fairest, as bounteous, as immortal'. In 39. 2 *daitikanəmcā aidiiūnaṃ hiiat urunō*, it is 'and the souls of wild creatures insofar as they are harmless

---

112 This foreshadows the wider use of *yaṭ* as an indeclinable relative particle in the later Avesta.

113 For my insertion of the third *hiiat* cf. West (2008), 130.



### III. Word Order

**313.** Word order may be considered a part of syntax in that it is one aspect of the regimen governing the construction of sentences. In Old Avestan, however, word order does not (as in English) itself have grammatical value; it is irrelevant to the identification of the subject, the object, etc., though significant for the appreciation of expression and emphasis.

In treating of word order in Old Avestan we have to recognize that the evidence is drawn exclusively from highly stylized texts. We have no specimens of 'natural' or informal language such as might be afforded by a personal letter or a plain narrative report. *YH* at least is in prose and may be presumed free from such distortions of 'natural' word order as may have been admissible in poetry.<sup>1</sup> It is high-flown prose, marked by resonant word-groupings and balancing of phrases. We have the impression nevertheless that ordinary sentence structures are discernible underneath. Even in the *Gāthās*, where the sentences are often more tortuous and the order of words seemingly unnatural, there are clearly limits to what can be done and it is possible to observe tendencies and formulate principles.

**314.** One approach to the study of word order is to try to establish principles governing the position in the sentence of grammatical constituents such as the subject, verb, object, and modifiers of various kinds. However, the degree of inflection in a language such as Old Avestan allows considerable freedom in the ordering of such constituents, and while it is possible to detect some underlying patterns, this does not go very far towards explaining the word order of actual sentences. For this it is necessary to consider factors such as the identity of the topic in a given sentence, its need for specificity in the context, and the requisite distribution of emphasis in what is to be said about it.

**315.** The topic may be defined as the notion to which attention is primarily directed as the focus of the utterance; it is sometimes called the theme as opposed to the rheme (what is said about it). This analysis into theme and rheme is analogous to the grammatical analysis into subject and predicate (§3) but does not align with it: the topic or theme is not necessarily the grammatical subject.

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Watkins (1994), 261, 'It is a fact of earlier Indo-European literary languages—by which I mean the elevated poetry (as it usually was) of a variety of oral traditions—that they were particularly receptive to the permutation of the order of certain sentential elements as a form of verbal art.'

The topic may be one already established in the preceding sentence(s) or a new one. If it is already established, it will often be expressed by means of an anaphoric pronoun referring back to the previous sentence; often it will not be expressed at all, being understood as the subject of the third-person verb; or occasionally it may be rhetorically highlighted by repeating it explicitly in a structure matching its presentation in a previous clause (anaphora: §§389–90). In this case the topic is emphasized. But where it is represented by an anaphoric pronoun, that pronoun may or may not be an emphatic one; and where the topic is left to be understood, clearly there can be no emphasis on it.

If the topic is a new one, it may be expressed by a noun in the nominative or some other case, or by a verb or other part of speech, or by a relative clause that defines it. It will naturally and normally be placed early in the sentence.

**316.** In any sentence some words are meant to carry more emphasis than others. Emphasis is perceived by contrast, by an alternation of emphatic and unemphatic. The words requiring emphasis cannot all be put together, or they would not then come across as emphatic. There must be an alternation of peaks and troughs.<sup>2</sup> The peaks will be of varying heights, as different words in a sentence are likely to call for differing degrees of emphasis. The emphatic words will often be outnumbered by the unemphatic ones, and the troughs may be quite extended.<sup>3</sup>

**317.** As we have seen, many sentences are compound, containing one or more dependent clauses as well as a main clause. Each clause forms a distinct pericope from the point of view of word order analysis.

Within the clause some words cohere more closely than others, forming phrasal units between which one might in delivery make a very slight pause, not necessarily one sufficient to support punctuation. Such units may be called *cola* or *commata*, depending on their bulk. On their identification see §331.

## The Placing of Emphatic Elements

### Initial position

**318.** The initial position in the sentence is potentially one of moderate or strong emphasis. This is clear from several types of evidence:

1) Words highlighted by anaphora typically stand at the beginning of the clause, as in 28. 7 *dāidī*, *Aṣā*, *taṃ aṣīm*, ... *dāidī tū*, *Ārmaitē*, ... *dās.tū*, *Mazdā*, ..., 'give, Right, that reward ... give, Piety ... give, Mazdā'; 31. 9 *ūβōi* as *ārmaitiš*,

2 Delbrück iii. 56.

3 In the Rigveda it can happen that there is only one accented word in the line, as at 5. 57. 7c *prāśastim naḥ kṛṇuta Rudriyāso*.

*ϑβ̄ ā gēuš tasā as xratuš mainiiāuš*, ‘thine was piety, thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will’; further examples in §§389–90.

2) Demonstrative pronouns in initial position certainly carry emphasis in cases such as 28. 5 *anā maḍrā mazištəm vāurōimaidī xrafstrā*, ‘with this prescript may we most fully convince the predators’; 29. 7 *tām āzūtōiš Ahurō maḍrəm tašaṭ*, ‘that is the butter prescript that the Lord made’; 31. 20 *tām vā ahūm, drəguuaṇtō, šīiaoḍanāiš xʷāiš daēnā naēšaṭ*, ‘that is the existence, ye wrongful, to which through your own actions your morality will bring you’; 31. 3 *yaṃ dā ... xšnūtəm, hīiaṭ uruuātəm cazdōḡhuuadəbiō, taṭ nō, Mazdā, vīduuanōi vaocā*, ‘the atonement that thou didst establish, the rule that is for the prudent—tell us that, Mazdā, for our knowledge’; 32. 1 *axīiācā xʷaētūš yāšaṭ, ahīiā vərəzənəm maṭ airiiamnā, ahīiā daēuuā ... , Ahurahiīa uruuāzəmā Mazdā*, ‘suppose for his the clan prays, for his the village with the tribe, for his the Daevas, for the Lord Mazdā’s gladdening’; cf. 28. 1.

3) The emphatic forms of the personal pronouns are used in initial position, with evident force: 28. 9 *yūžəm zəuuištiiāḡhō*, ‘ye are the promptest ones’; 28. 11 *tuuām Mazdā Ahurā frō mā sīšā*, ‘do thou, Lord Mazdā, teach me’; 29. 10 *yūžəm aēibiō, Ahurā, aogō dātā*, ‘grant ye them, Lord, strength’; *ibid.*, *azəmci ahīiā, Mazdā, ϑβaṃ mōḡhī paouruuīm vaēdəm*, ‘I for one, Mazdā, think of thee as the prime procurer of it’. Similarly after an unemphatic sentence-connective: 29. 11 *aṭ maṃ ašā yūžəm, Mazdā, frāxšnənē mazōi magāiā pai-tīzānatā*, ‘it is me that ye should rightly acknowledge, Mazdā, in your providence, for the great rite’.

4) Interrogative pronouns, which may be supposed to carry the main emphasis in questions, regularly stand in initial position.

5) When the initial position is occupied by a word or phrase that is not the subject or the verb, in some instances at least it is evidently being emphasized by that placing (‘fronting’): 28. 1 *yaḡhēuš xratūm manāḡhō yā xšnəuuišā gēuš-cā uruuānəm*, ‘(through action) by which thou wouldst satisfy Good Thought’s wisdom and the cow’s soul’; 31. 22 *yōhū huuō xšaḍrā ašəm vacaḡhā šīiaoḍanācā haptī*, ‘with good command he holds on to Right in word and deed’; 43. 16 *astuuat Ašəm xīiāt*, ‘in material form may Right be present’; 47. 5 *hanarā ϑβah-māt zaošāt drəguuā baxšaitī*, ‘it is without thy favour that the wrongful one partakes thereof’; YH 35. 7 *Ahurahiīa zī aṭ [vā] Mazdā yasnəmcā vahməmcā vahištəm aməhmaidī*, ‘but it is Lord Mazdā’s worship and praise that we have apprehended as the greatest good’.

Similarly when such a phrase comes first after unemphatic initial particles: 29. 6 *aṭ zī ϑβā fsuiiantaēcā vāstriiāicā ϑβōraštā tatašā*, ‘but, you see, it is for the stock-raiser and the herdsman that the Shaper has fashioned thee’.

## Final position

**319.** Although unemphatic elements such as verbs and vocatives often come at the end of the sentence (§§344, 360), nouns and adjectives held back to that place can be emphatic.

We find this notably with comparatives and superlatives: 31. 2 *yezī āiš nōiṭ uruuānē aduuā aibī.dərāštā vaxiiā*, ‘if hereby the way that is better is not in plain view to the soul’; 31. 5 *hiiat mōi Ašā dātā vahiiō*, ‘that better lot you have appointed for me with Right’, cf. 53. 9; 31. 17 *katārōm ašauuā vā drəguuā vā vərənauuaitē maziio?* ‘which one, the righteous or the wrongful, is to be the more persuasive?’; 49. 1 *aṭ mā yauuā bēṇduuō pafrē mazištō*, ‘that greatest polluter(?) has fed himself full on my life’; 51. 1 *aša aṅtarə.caraiṭ šiiəoṇnāiš, Mazdā, vahištəm*, ‘through righteous actions, Mazdā, it travels across best’; 53. 9 *īratū īš duuafšō huuō dərəzā mərəṭiiaoš mazištō*, ‘let there come upon them that greatest woe with the fetter of death’.

Similarly with other absolute terms such as ‘first’ or ‘all’: 46. 9 *yē mā arədrō cōiṭat paouruuio*, ‘the zealous one who will be first to recognize’, cf. 51. 15; 31. 13 *tā cašmēṅg ṽβisrā hārō aibī Ašā vaēnahī vīspā*, ‘those things, watchful with thy blazing eye, thou regardest with Right, all of them’; 53. 8 *anāiš ā dužuaršnaḥō dafšniia hēntū zaxiiācā vīspāḥō*, ‘hereby let the evildoers be thwarted and mocked, all of them’.

Examples outside these categories: 29. 3 *yahmāi zauuōṅg jimā kərədušā*, ‘to whose calls I will come short-eared(?)’; 30. 11 *aṭ aipī tāiš aḡhaiṭi uštā*, ‘then thereafter it will be as we desire’ (end of poem); 32. 8 *aēšqam aēnaḡḡam Vī-uuaḡḡhušō srāuū Yimasciṭ*, ‘for such offences Vivahvant’s son became renowned, even Yima’; 47. 4 *ahmāt mainiiōuš rārəšiiēiṅṭi drəguuāntō, Mazdā, spəntāt*, ‘from this will the wrongful deflect us, Mazdā, from the bounteous one’; 51. 11 *kē vā vaḡḡhəuš manāḡḡhō acistā maḡāi orəšuuō?* ‘or who has gained the insight for Good Thought’s rite, what upright man?’

## Distribution of emphasis by distraction

**320.** Emphatic positions are short, as effective emphasis cannot be sustained over a series of consecutive words. It is common, accordingly, for two relatively emphatic words in a phrase, even when they belong closely together from a grammatical point of view, to be separated by one or more less emphatic ones. This may be called *distraction*. Often, as shown in the quotations below, they are wrapped round a verb, or a genitive phrase is wrapped round the noun on which it depends. Translations may here be dispensed with.

**321.** An adjective is often separated from the noun it agrees with; the adjective usually precedes. Examples: 28. 1 *Vaḡḡhəuš xratūm Manāḡḡhō*, cf. 28. 10 quoted in §323; 28. 4 (and very frequently) *vohū ... manāḡḡhā*; 28. 9 *anāiš ... yānāiš*; 28. 11 *ṽβahmāt vaocaḡḡhē mainiiōuš*; 29. 5 *ustānāiš ... zastāiš*; 30. 11



*darəgēm ... rašō*; 31. 13 *ā mazištəm yamaitē būjəm*; 31. 22 *vāzištō aṅhaitī astiš*; 43. 3 *ərəzūš sauuaṅhō paθō*; 43. 4 *ṽbahiiā garēmā āθrō*; 44. 9 *hudānaoš paitiš saxiiāt xšaθrahiia*; 44. 11 *ṽβōi vašiietē daēnā*; 44. 14 *ṽbahiiā maθraiš sēṅghahiiā*; 46. 11 *x<sup>v</sup>aēcā xraodaṭ daēnā*; 49. 2 *spəntəm ... ārmaitūm*; 49. 7 *vaṅ<sup>h</sup>īm dāt frsas-tūm*; 51. 21 *tēm vaṅ<sup>h</sup>īm yāsā ašīm*; 54. 1 *vairīm hanāt miždəm*.

Following the noun: 28. 1 *mainiiēuš ... spəntahiiā*; 31. 2 *aduuā aibī.dərəštā vaxiiā*; 32. 2 *Ašahiiā ... x<sup>v</sup>əmuuātā*; 34. 14 *gēuš vərəzōnē aziiā*; 45. 7 *nəraš ... drəguuatō*.

**322.** The same is true of dependent genitives.

Preceding the head noun: 29. 7 *āzūtōiš ... maθrəm*; 30. 10 *drījō ... spaiia-θrahiia*; 31. 8 *anhēuš ... šiiəoθnaēšū*; 32. 9 *jiiātēuš ... xratūm*; 32. 12 *gēuš ... jiiōtūm*; 32. 14 *ahiiā ... āhōiθōi*; 34. 3 *hudāṅhō ... sauuō*; 44. 3 *x<sup>v</sup>əṅg strēmca dāt aduuānəm*; 44. 11 *mainiiēuš spasiiā duuaēšəṅhā*; 44. 13 *nōiṭ ašahiiā ādīuuieieṅti hacōnā*; 45. 3 *aṅhēuš ... apēməm*; 51. 13 *drəguuatō marədaifī daēnā*; *ibid.*, *ašahiiā nəsuuā paθō*; 51. 17 *Ašahiiā āzdiūā gərəzdīm*; 54. 1 *Ašahiiā yāsā ašīm*.

Following the head noun: 30. 8 *kaēnā jamaitī aēnaṅhəm*; 31. 2 *ratūm ... aiiā ašaiiā*; 31. 14 *išudō dadəntē dāθranəm*; 43. 6 *ratūš ... ṽbahiiā xratōuš*; 43. 13 *arəθā ... kāmahiiā ... darəgahiiā yaoš*; 51. 2 *xšmākəm (xšaθrəm) ... sauuaṅhō*.

**323.** Distraction of co-ordinated elements: 28. 1 *Vanṅhēuš xratūm Manāṅhō yā xšnəuuišā gēušcā uruuānəm*, ‘through which thou couldst satisfy Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’; 28. 10 *at yəṅg Ašāatcā vōistā Vanṅhēušcā dāṽəṅg Manāṅhō*, ‘those then whom thou knowest to be upright before Right and Good Thought’; 31. 11 *gaēṽāscā tašō daēnašcā*, ‘thou madest our living bodies and moral selves’; 31. 18 *maθrašcā gūštā sāsnašcā*, ‘listen to the prescripts and teachings’; 44. 3 *tācīt Mazdā vasmī aniiācā viduiiē*, ‘these things and others, Mazdā, I desire to know’; 44. 14 *duuafšəṅg ... nāšē aštəscā*, ‘to bring pains and harassments’; 45. 11 *daēuuəṅg ... mašiiəscā*, ‘Daevas and mortals’; 46. 15 *hiiat dāṽəṅg vī caiiāṽā adāṽəscā*, ‘when you distinguish between the just and the unjust’; 47. 6 *ārmatoiš dəbəzaṅhā ašaxiiācā*, ‘the reinforcement of piety and right’; 48. 4 *yā dāt manō vahiiō, Mazdā, ašiiāscā*, ‘he who sets in place better thought, Mazdā, or worse’; 48. 6 *hā nē utaiiūifī dāt tauuūšī*, ‘she gives us vitality and strength’ (dual dvandva, cf. §43); 49. 4 *yōi ... aēšməṅ varəden ramamcā*, ‘who increase violence and cruelty’; 51. 14 *nōiṭ uruuāṽā dātōibiiascā Karpānō vāstrāt arəm*, ‘the Karpans are not fit allies from the standpoint of (your) ordinances and the pasture’; 53. 7 *parā mraocəs aorācā*, ‘dipping onward and downward’; 53. 8 *dafšniia hēntū zaxiiācā*, ‘let them be thwarted and mocked’; 53. 9 *yā iš jiiātēuš hēm.miθiiāt vasā.itōišcā*, ‘who could deprive them of life and freedom’; YH 40. 2 *ahmāicā ahuiiē manaxiiācā*, ‘for this existence and the spiritual one’.

**324.** In the double accusative construction where one accusative is the object of the verb and the other a secondary predicate, the two are usually not adjacent. Often the verb is interposed between them. See quotations in §55.

**325.** Correlative demonstrative and relative pronouns or adverbs are usually separated; see quotations in §129. But exceptions are not particularly rare: 31. 1 *aēibiiō yōi*; 33. 8 *tā yā*; 43. 4 *auuā yā*; 44. 16 *ahmāi yahmāi*; 44. 19 *auuam yā*; 46. 2 *taṭ yā*; 46. 16 *tāiš yāng*; *YH* 35. 6 *aēibiiō yōi*; 36. 1 *ahmāi yām*.

## The Placing of Unemphatic Elements

### Enclitics

**326.** Certain classes of word are intrinsically unemphatic, as the purposes they serve are such that emphasis is never required on them.

1) The personal pronouns have separate emphatic and unemphatic forms (§§120, 123), the unemphatic ones being chosen when no emphasis is wanted on the person to which they refer. They are enclitic, meaning that they can only occur after a more emphatic word.

2) The particles reviewed in §§275–311 are unemphatic except for the negatives *nōiṭ naē mā* and the other particles mentioned in §286. Nearly all of them, moreover, are enclitic.

The sentence-connective *aṭ* is normally treated as enclitic in *YH* (and often written *āṭ* or *āaṭ*), but in the *Gāthās* it is nearly always initial in the clause. There, while it cannot be considered emphatic, it can support an enclitic: 31. 8 al. *aṭ ṭβā*, 49. 1 *aṭ mā*, 33. 9 al. *aṭ tōi*, 43. 8 al. *aṭ hōi*, 50. 4 *aṭ vā*, 50. 7 al. *aṭ vā*; and so in the compounds *aṭcā*, *aṭ zī*, *aṭ vā* (§§281–2, 293, 296).

**327.** The relational particles *cā*, *vā*, *ṭβaṭ*, and the various focusing particles are enclitics and follow the particular word that they connect or emphasize, wherever it stands in the sentence. Enclitic sentence particles, on the other hand, regularly stand in the second position in the clause, following the initial peak of emphasis.

So do enclitic pronouns, even though in sense they are often most closely related to a word later in the sentence, as in 28. 3 *ā mōi rafəḍrāi zauuōng jasatā*, ‘come ye to my calls to give help’; 28. 7 *yā vā maḍrā srəuuimā rādā*, ‘the pre-script in which we might hear your caring’; 28. 9 *anāiš vā nōiṭ ... yānāiš zara-naēmā*, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you’.

**328.** This second position in the clause represents the clearest and most regular trough in the profile of emphasis. Here a sequence of enclitics may occur: 29. 6 *aṭ zī ṭβā*; 31. 18 *māciš aṭ vā*; 34. 2 *aṭcā ī tōi*; 34. 8 *tāiš zī nā*; 45. 3 *yōi īm vā*; *YH* 35. 5 *huxšadrōtəmāi bā aṭ*; 35. 6 *tatō āṭ ū* (? cf. §278); 35. 7 *Ahurahiiā zī aṭ*

vā (where, however, vā seems to be otiose); 36. 3 *hiiat vā tōi*; 36. 6 *sraēštam at tōi*; 39. 4 *yaθā tū ī*; 40. 4 *rapōiš.cā tū nē*.

As the examples show, sentence particles take precedence over pronouns. So does a relational particle attaching to the first word: 28. 8 *yaēibiiascā it rāḡhahōi*, ‘and those on whom thou mayest bestow it’; 40. 4 just quoted. So does a focusing particle: *YH* 41. 2 *huxšadrās.tū nē*.

**329.** Occasionally in *YH* the enclitic is displaced to follow a closely cohering two-word phrase: 35. 6 *fracā vātōiōtū it aēibiiō, yōi ...*, ‘and let him communicate it to those who ...’; 36. 2 *naḡmištahiiā nēmanḡhā nā mazištāi yāḡham pai-tī.jamiiā*, ‘with the most reverent one’s reverence mayest thou come for our greatest of supplications’; 41. 2 *voḡhū xšadrām tōi, Mazdā Ahurā, apaēmā*, ‘thy good dominion, Lord Mazdā, may we attain’.

### Unemphatic elements in initial position

**330.** We have seen that the initial position in the clause is one favoured for emphasis-bearing words. However, clauses do not necessarily begin with such a word. It was noted in §318 that the first emphatic word may be preceded by such particles as *at*, *atcā*, *at zī*, or *at vā*, and in §326 that enclitic pronouns may succeed these immediately, not only after the intervention of an emphasis-bearing word. Other unemphatic sentence-initiators with the same property are:

1) Preverbs modifying a verb that may not come till the end of the sentence or verse, as in 28. 3 *ā mōi rafōdrāi zauuōḡḡ jasatā*, ‘come ye to my calls to give help’; 31. 18 *ā zī dāmānəm vīsəm vā šōiḡrəm vā daxiiūm vā dāt | dušitācā marakaēcā*, ‘for he will give house or manor or district or region into chaos and ruin’; 33. 13 *frō spantā Ārmaitē ašā daēnā daxšaiiā*, ‘liberal Piety, teach me moral principles in accord with Right’; 34. 5 *parō vā vīspāiš vaoxmā daēuuāišcā xrafstrāiš mašiiāišcā*, ‘we have declared you beyond all predators, both Daevas and mortals’ (where the emphasis falls mainly on *vīspāiš*); 48. 7 *nī aēšmō di-iātam, pai-tī rəməm siiōdūm*, ‘let violence be tied down, cut short cruelty’; 49. 3 *antarē vīspōḡḡ drəḡuātō haxmōḡḡ mruiiē*, ‘I interdict all wrongful ones from my company’.<sup>4</sup>

2) Relative pronouns and other words introducing a dependent clause (*ya-θā*, *yadā*, *yezī*, *hiiat*, etc.). With enclitic pronoun attached: 28. 2 and 3 *yā vā*; 28. 7 *yā vā*; 28. 9 *yōi vā*; 31. 6 *hiiat hōi*; 46. 9 *yaθā θβā*; 48. 9 *yezī cahiiā*; and *passim*.

The negative particles *nōiḡ*, *naē*, *mā* are regularly initial (for *nōiḡ* fuller details are given in §13), but it is hard to determine what degree of emphasis they bear. With enclitics: 29. 1 *nōiḡ mōi*; 44. 20 *nōiḡ hīm*, etc.; 31. 18 *mā.ciš at vā*.

4 For this pattern of initial preverb + final verb cf. Watkins (1994–2008), i. 33, 39.

## Commatization

**331.** It was remarked in §317 that within clauses smaller word-groupings (cola or commata) are sometimes to be distinguished. In what follows I shall use the symbols : and ÷ to mark respectively lighter and more distinct boundaries between them.

One sign of the existence of such boundaries is the placing of enclitics, since they regularly go in the second position within their word-group. Thus in 28. 11 *tuuōm Mazdā Ahurā : frō mā sīšā*, ‘do thou, Lord Mazdā, teach me’, *frō mā sīšā*, with its initial preverb followed by the enclitic pronoun, shows the features of a new colon. The initial emphatic pronoun + vocative, accordingly, may be regarded as a first comma, as if we were to break the clause in two, ‘now, as for thee, Lord: teach me’. The two commata correspond to theme and rheme. Similarly in 33. 13 *rafədrāi vouru.cašānē : dōišī mōi yā vā ā bifrā*, ‘for (my) support, O far-seeing one, show me the virtues(?) that are yours’; 44. 7 *azōm : tāiš ōβā fraxšnī auuāmī*, ‘I with these (questions) am providently promoting thee’; 51. 21 *ārmatoiš nā : spəntō huuō cistī*, ‘the man of piety, he is liberal in insight’.

The first comma in these passages contains the topic; it prepares for the essential utterance by indicating its direction. 33. 13 is not the only place where this function is performed by an initial dative; so too 29. 1 *xšmaibiiā : gəuš uruuā gərəzdā*, ‘to you the cow’s soul complains’; 29. 3 (after the speech of the Cow’s Maker) *ahmāi : Ašā ... paitī.mrauuat*, ‘to him Right will answer’; 31. 6 *Mazdāi : auuat xšadrəm, hūiat hōi vohū vaxšaṭ manajhā*, ‘for Mazdā, that (becomes) dominion, what(ever) he increases for him through good thought’; 47. 3 *aṭ hōi vāstrāi : rāmā dā āрмаifīm*, ‘while for her pasture thou didst establish peace and piety’; YH 35. 4 *gauuōi ad.āiš : tāiš šīiaoṭənanāiš yāiš vahīštāiš fraēšiiā-mahī rāmācā vāstrəmcā dazdiīai*, ‘for the cow hereby, with these actions that are the best, we urge establishing peace and pasture’.

Likewise by an initial genitive: 30. 5, quoted in §339; 32. 7 *aēšqam aē-najham : naēcīṭ vīduuā aojōi*, ‘of such offences, I declare I know nothing’ (with the negative initial in the second colon); 32. 8, quoted in §319.

And by an initial vocative: see §358.

**332.** As an illustration of how an elaborate sentence may be analysed into cola and commata using the placing of enclitics as clues, YH 35. 6 may be divided as follows:

<sup>1</sup> <i>yaṭā aṭ</i> Ṛ <i>utā nā vā nāiri vā<sup>1</sup> vaēdā haiṭim</i> :	As either a man or woman knows a truth,
<sup>2</sup> <i>aṭā haṭ vohū</i> :	so, it being good,
<sup>3</sup> <i>tatō ad.ū</i> : <i>vərəziiōtūcā iṭ ahmāi</i> :	then let him both implement it for himself
<sup>4</sup> <i>fracā vātōiōtū iṭ aēbiio</i> :	and communicate it to those
<sup>5</sup> <i>yōi iṭ aṭā vərəziiaṇ</i> :	who will so implement it
<sup>6</sup> <i>yaṭā iṭ asī</i> .	as it is.

<sup>1</sup> Conjunction + particle; subject phrase; verb; object.

<sup>2</sup> Correlative adverb; participial phrase referring to object already identified.

<sup>3</sup> Demonstrative + particles; verb + enclitic pronoun; indirect object.

<sup>4</sup> Further (compound) verb + enclitic pronoun + indirect object.

<sup>5</sup> Relative pronoun + enclitic pronoun; demonstrative referring forward; verb.

<sup>6</sup> Conjunction + enclitic pronoun; verb.

In (<sup>1</sup>) the subject phrase occupies the first emphatic position and the verb comes next. In (<sup>3</sup>) the demonstrative suggests a new beginning after the intervention of the participial phrase. One might expect the *ī* to be added to the particle sequence *ād.ū*, but *tatō ād.ū* is apparently felt to be a sufficiently long introductory complex and the object pronoun is put after the (emphatic) verb. So again in (<sup>4</sup>), whether for the sake of parallelism or from the desire to divide the preverb from the verb by nothing more than *cā*.

## Order of Words within Cola

**333.** From the foregoing pages a basic pattern emerges: in each colon containing several words there comes first (disregarding any introductory particles) a position of greater emphasis, occupied by a single word or closely cohesive word-group, then a trough of lesser emphasis and more flexible length, in which enclitic particles or pronouns tend to congregate. A longer colon may end either with a comparatively weak position or on an emphatic note.

What further principles can be established regarding the order of words within the colon? I begin by stating two general factors that may influence it independently of grammatical categories: the contextual force field, and the relative bulk of constituent elements.

### The contextual force field

**334.** In 31. 9 and 46. 9 ‘the cow’s maker’ is *gōuš tašā*, but in 29. 2 it is *tasā gōuš*. Why? Because in this last passage we have just heard the complaint of the cow’s soul (1 *gōuš uruuā*), and now comes a speech from the cow’s maker; the word *gōuš* is necessary to the phrase but requires less emphasis than when the word was first introduced, and the order *tasā gōuš* evidently has this effect.

There are other cases where a word’s placing is affected by the fact that it has already appeared in the context:

In 30. 3 we have *āscā hudāṅhō ərəš vī.šiiātā*, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly’, but in 30. 6 *aiiā nōiṭ ərəš vī.šiiātā daēuuācinā*, ‘between them discriminate rightly not even the Daevas’, with the order of subject and verb reversed.

In 31. 14 we have *tā ōβā pərəsā, Ahurā*, ‘those things I ask thee, Lord’, but in the next stanza *pərəsā auuaṭ*, ‘I ask this’.

In 32. 10 we have *huuō mā nā srauuā mōrəndaŋ, yē ...*, ‘that man perverts good repute, who ...’, but in the next stanza *taēcīŋ mā mōrəndaŋ jiiōtūm, yōi ...*, ‘they pervert life, who ...’, with the order of object and verb reversed.

In the last line of 32. 11 we have *yōi vahištāŋ ašāunō ... rārəšiiŋ manəŋhō*, ‘who will divert the righteous from best thought’, but then in the first line of 12 (a new sentence), *yā rəŋhaiiəŋ srauuəŋhā vahištāŋ šiiəoŋnāŋ marətānō*, ‘because of the (deed of) repute by which they divert mortals from best action’, again with the verb moved forward.

In 43. 4 we have *aŋ ōβā mōŋghāi taxməmcā spəŋtəm, Mazdā*, ‘I will think thee bold and bounteous, Mazdā’, but in the next stanza (and subsequent repetitions) the order is varied to *spəŋtəm aŋ ōβā, Mazdā, mōŋhī, Ahurā*, with ‘bounteous’ promoted to leading word and ‘I think thee’ relegated to the trough of lesser emphasis.

In 47. 1 we have *spəŋtā mainiiū*, which is the usual order, but in the next stanza *ahiiā mainiiūš spəništahiiā*, ‘of this most bounteous Will’

In YH 35. 2 the positive affirmation *humatanəŋ hūxtanəŋ huuarəstanəŋ ... mahī aibi.jarətārō*, ‘of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, we are they who approve’, is complemented by a denial of its opposite: *naē naēstārō yaŋəŋā vohunəŋ mahī*, ‘we are not revilers of good things’, where *naē naēstārō* in initial position is juxtaposed with the final *aibi.jarətārō*, and the position of *mahī* in the phrase is varied.

In YH 39. 1 we have *iŋā aŋ yazamaidē*, ‘in this fashion we worship’ (as in 37. 1, cf. 38. 3), but in 39. 3 *aŋ iŋā yazamaidē*.

**335.** The structure just discussed approximates to a chiasmus, the figure in which parallel elements face each other in inverse order as in a mirror, AB:BA.<sup>5</sup> There are several clear examples in the *Gāthās*, especially where there is a contrast between good and bad: 29. 9 *yē anaēšəŋ xšəŋmānē rādəm, vācəm nərəš asūrahiiā*, ‘that I should put up with an ineffective carer, the voice of a powerless man’ (adjective: noun: noun: noun: adjective); 30. 4 *acištō drəguuatəŋ, aŋ ašāunē vahištəm manō*, ‘the worst (existence) that of the wrongful, but for the righteous, best thought’; 30. 5 *vəŋətā yē drəguuā acištā vərəziio, ašəŋ mainiiūš spəništō*, ‘the Wrongful (Will) chooses the worst things to do, but Right (is what) the Bounteous Will (chooses)’; 30. 7 *aŋ kəhrpəm utaiiūitiš dadāt, ərmaitiš ənmā*, ‘the body vitality informs, piety the soul’; 31. 1 *yōi uruuātāiš Drūjō Ašahiiā gaēŋā vīmərəŋcaitē*, ‘who with the rules of Wrong Right’s people destroy’; 31. 10 *aŋ hī aiiā frauuarətā vāstrīm ... nōiŋ, Mazdā, auuāstriio ... humərətōiš baxštā*, ‘but she of these two chose the herdsman ... the non-herdsman, Mazdā, did not get (her) good regard’; 31. 12 *miŋah.uuacā vā əŋəš.uuacā vā, viŋuuā vā əuiūduuā vā*, ‘one of false words or of straight words, a knowing one or an unknowing one’; 33. 6 *mainiiūš ā vahištāŋ kaiiā ahmāt, auuā manəŋhā*, ‘from this best will I desire, with that mind’ (with the demonstratives

5 Cf. Humbach i. 109; Skjærvø 171.

last in the first phrase, first in the second); 43. 8 *haiṭiiō duuaēšā ... drəguuāitē, aṭ ašāunē rafnō xiiēm aojōghuuat*, ‘may I be a real foe to the wrongful one, but to the righteous a strong support’; 47. 4 *ašāunē kāvōē ... akō drəguuāitē*, ‘to the righteous one, kind ... malign to the wrongful’; 49. 3 *ašəm sūidiiāi ... rā-šaiiejhē druxš*, ‘Right to strengthen (us), to harm (him) Wrong’; 51. 6 *vahiiō vaḡhōuš ... akāt ašiiō*, ‘better than good ... worse than bad’.

### Relative bulk

**336.** There is a strong tendency in the *Gāthās* for words of three or more syllables to be placed at the end of a verse or half-verse. This is probably connected with the general trend in Indo-European languages to put shorter elements before long ones rather than after them (Behaghel’s Law).<sup>6</sup> The phenomenon can be illustrated from many couplings or longer strings of parallel nouns or verbs in the Old Avestan texts: 31. 21 (et al.) *hauruuatō amərə<ta>tāscā*; 32. 3 *drūjascā pairimatōišcā*; 32. 5 *hujiiātōiš amərə<ta>tāscā*; 33. 6 *darštōišcā hōmparštōišcā*; 45. 10, 51. 7 *təuuīšī utaiiūtī*; YH 38. 2 *ižā yaoštaiiō fəraštaiiō ārmataiīō* (originally 2, 3, 3 and 5 syllables); *ibid.*, *vaḡhīm ... ašīm, vaḡhīm išəm, vaḡhīm āzūiīm, vaḡhīm frasasūm, vaḡhīm parəṇḏīm*; 38. 4 *tāiš vā yazamaidē, tāiš friiṇmahī, tāiš nəmaxiiāmahī, tāiš išūidiāmahī*, cf. 39. 4. See further §394.

**337.** This principle may explain why, for instance, in 30. 8 (*aṭcā yadā aēšəm*) *kaēnā jamaiī aēnaḡhəm* (the ending originally disyllabic, *\*-aHam*) is preferred to *aēnaḡhəm jamaiī kaēnā* (likewise with distraction, cf. §322) or *kaēnā aēnaḡhəm jamaiī*. There are many other places, especially in dependent clauses, where a verb stands in penultimate position before a longer noun that could equally have been put before it. In many cases the distraction principle is also relevant.

Examples in dependent clauses: 28. 2 *yāiš rapəṇtō daiḏiṭ xʷāvərə* (trisyllabic), ‘by which one could keep one’s supporters in well-being’; 29. 3 *yahmāi zauuōṅg jimā kərədušā*, ‘to whose calls I will come short-eared(?)’ (cf. §329); 29. 5 *hiiat Mazdaṃ duuaidī frasabiīō*, ‘as we put Mazda to our questions’; 29. 8 *hiiat hōi hudəmēm diiāi vaxədrahiiā*, ‘as I harness his good-construction of utterance’; 31. 1 *yōi zrazdā aḡhən Mazdāi* (trisyllabic), ‘who will be trustful in Mazda’; 31. 6 *yē mōi vīduuā vaocat haiṭīm* (trisyllabic), ‘who knowingly speaks my truth’; *ibid.*, *hiiat hōi vohū vaxšat manajhā*, ‘what he increases for him through good thought’, cf. 33. 8, 9; 34. 3; *hiiat astuuantəm dadā uštanəm*, ‘since thou gavest bodily vitality’; 32. 10 *yascā vadarə vōiždaṭ ašāunē*, ‘and he who raises his weapon against the righteous one’; 33. 6 *yā vərəziieidiiāi maṇtā vāstriiā* (trisyllabic), ‘by which one takes it in mind to do pastoral works’; 43. 4 *hiiat mōi vaḡhōuš hazə jimaṭ manajhō*, ‘when the force of good thought comes to

6 Wackernagel (1955–79), iii. 1868 (from 1892); O. Behaghel, *IF* 25 (1909), 110–42; for Avestan, W. Krause, *ZVS* 50 (1922), 90 f., 112–17.

me'; 45. 5 *hiiat mōi mraoṭ spəntōtamō*, 'what the most bounteous one tells me'; 46. 8 *yā vā mōi yā gaeṭā dazdē aēnaḡhē*, 'or he who is putting my flock to maltreatment'.

In main clauses: 31. 18 *aṭā īš sāzdūm snaiṭiṣā*, 'so cut them down with the axe'; 43. 1 *Mazdā dāiiāt Ahurō*, 'may Mazdā the Lord grant'; 44. 9 *kaṭā mōi ... hudānaoṣ paitiṣ saxiiāt xšaṭrahiīā*, 'how might the master of a beneficent dominion proclaim'; 44. 11, 14.

### Subject, verb, object

**338.** The default or unmarked order is subject, object, verb (SOV). The verb in any case often stands at the end of the sentence, see §344.

A pronominal subject such as *yā* or *huuō* precedes the verb or nominal predicate. Exception: 51. 21, on which see §345. (32. 9 is not an exception: §130.)

If the object precedes the subject, it is usually because it is represented by an anaphoric pronoun (demonstrative, relative, or enclitic) that has to be first or second word.

**339.** The 'normal' order may be disturbed by various factors, such as fronting of the verb or object for emphasis or to define the topic.

Fronted verb: 29. 3 *yā šauuaitē ādrōḡg ərašuuāḡhō*, 'he by whom the upright invigorate the weak'; 30. 6 *yā banaiiōn ahūm marātānō*, 'by which mortals blight the world'. In both cases the object precedes the subject (VOS), whether to keep it next to the verb or because the subject is the longer of the two nouns.

33. 8 *dātā vā aməratāscā utaiiūitī hauruuatās draonō*, 'continuing life was created as your portion, and health with vitality'; 43. 15 *daxšat ušiiāi tuš-nā.maitiṣ vahištā*, 'as for teaching (me things) things to say, silent meditation (teaches me) the best'; 53. 6 *naṣat x'āṭrəm drəguuōdabiiō dāḡiṭ.arataēibiiō*, 'lost is well-being for the wrongful diminishers of right'; 53. 7 *vī.zaiiaṭā magām tām*, 'you will abandon this ceremony, and ...' (equivalent to a conditional, §255).

29. 6 *atē vaocat Ahurō Mazdā*, 'then speaks the Lord Mazdā', varies the order in 1–2, where other speakers were introduced with the verb following the subject.<sup>7</sup> So too in 30. 6 *aiiā nōiṭ əraš vi.šiiātā daēuuācinā* and 31. 15 and 16 *pərəsā auuat* the order is affected by earlier stanzas, see §334.

In 30. 4 *yaṭā aḡhat apēməm aḡhuš*, 'how existence will be at the last', *aḡhat apēməm* may be taken as a unitary phrase.

Further examples of initial verb: 30. 4 *aṭcā hiiat tā hām mainiiū jasaētəm paouruūm, dazdē gaēmā ajiiāitīmā*, 'and once those two Wills join battle, (a man) adopts life or non-life'; 53. 7 *yauuat āzuš zrazdištō būnōi haxtiīā*, 'one will apply his penis in fullest confidence at the base of her thighs'; YH 38. 5 *auuā*

7 For the tendency for verbs of speaking to be placed early cf. Delbrück iii. 61 f., 65.



*vā*, *vaṅhīš*, *rātōiš darəgō.bāzāuš*, ‘I will assist you, Good Ones, with the long arm of my liberality’.

In 30. 5 *aiiā mainiuuā* : *vəratā yā drəguuā acištā vərəziio*, ‘of those two Wills the Wrongful one chooses to do the worst things’, the initial topicalizing genitive phrase may be treated as a separate comma (§331), so that the verb is initial in its colon.

**340.** Fronted object. As in 29. 3 and 30. 6 quoted above, verb and object usually retain adjacent places in the series, giving the order OVS: 28. 3 *yaēibiio xšaθrəmcā ayzaonuamnam varədaifi ārmaitiš*, ‘whose unimpaired dominion is increased by piety’; 32. 12 *yāiš grāhmā ašāt vərətā Karpā*, ‘with whom the Karpan chooses gluttony(?) over right’; 43. 6 *aēibiio ratūš sənghaiti Ārmaitiš θβahiiā xratāuš*, ‘to them Piety announces the verdicts of thy wisdom’; 44. 6 *Ašəm šiiəodnāiš dəbənəzaiti Ārmaitiš*, ‘Piety by its actions confirms Right’.

In 34. 10 *ahiiā Vaṅhēuš Manaṅhō šiiəodnā vaocaṭ ‘gərəbən’ huxratuš*, ‘this Good Thought’s actions, let them be seized, says the wise man’, it is the genitive phrase that is fronted, because it picks up the reference to Good Thought in the preceding stanza; its head noun *šiiəodnā* (accusative) is put with it to complete an undistracted object phrase.

In 31. 12 *adrā vācəm baraiṭi miṭah.uuacā vā ərəs.uuacā vā, vīduuā vā əuūduuā vā*, ‘there speaks forth one of false words or one of straight words, a knowing one or an unknowing one’, the predicate *vācəm baraiṭi* is fronted and topicalized as a unit, ‘as for whose voice it is that is heard, ...’; also the lengthy subject phrases are more conveniently placed afterwards.

With subject intervening between object and verb (VSO): 31. 2 *yaṭā ratūm Ahurō vaēdā Mazdā aiiā əsaiiā*, ‘according to the ruling that Lord Mazdā knows on those two lots’; 31. 11 *yaṭrā varənōng vasā dāiiētē*, ‘where the free agent makes his choices’.

### Further remarks on verb placement

**341.** While verbs (except imperatives and equivalent forms, see §343) are not often found in initial position, they frequently occur in second place (after any enclitics). This is doubtless connected with the fact that in Vedic the verb in a main clause is unaccented unless initial (or in one or two other special circumstances) and evidently unemphatic.<sup>8</sup> The inference is that the same applies in most cases to the Old Avestan verb.

Some examples of verb in second position: 28. 1 *ahiiā yāsā nəmaṅhā ustā-nəzastō rafədrahiiā*, ‘for his help I pray in reverence with outstretched hands’; 30. 10 *aṭ āsištā yəojantē ā hušitōiš vaṅhēuš manaṅhō*, ‘and the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked from the fair dwelling of Good Thought’; 31. 4 *vahištā išasā*

<sup>8</sup> But not usually as weakly emphasized as particles and pronouns, and accordingly not so regularly drawn to the second or ‘Wackernagel’ position; cf. Delbrück iii. 81 f.

*manajhā maibiiō xšadrəm aojōṅhūuat*, ‘I shall seek by best thought a strong authority for myself; 31. 6 *ahmāi aṅhat vahištəm, yē mōi ...*, ‘it will go best for him who ...’; 31. 7 *yas.tā mantā paouruiō raocābīš rōiṅβan xšadrā*, ‘he who first conceived these amenities permeating the world of light’; YH 35. 3 *taṭ aṭ varə-maidī, Ahurā Mazdā Ašā srīrā, hiiat ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā varəzimācā, yā ...*, ‘this we have chosen, Lord Mazdā with Right the comely, to think and speak and do those things that ...’.

**342.** Sometimes a verb that does not immediately appear to be in second position may be perceived as doing so when account is taken of commatization and/or the indivisibility of certain phrases so that they count in effect as one word.

So 29. 10 *azēmciṭ ahiiā Mazdā : ṅβam mēṅhī paouruūim vaēdəm*, ‘I for one, Mazdā, realize thee to be the prime procurer of it’ (the emphatic *ṅβam* begins the colon); 32. 7 *aēšqam aēnəṅḥam : naēcīṭ vīduuā aojiōi*, ‘of such offences, I declare I know nothing’ (with the negative initial in the second colon, and ‘*naēcīṭ vīduuā*’ making a cohesive unit); 32. 8 *aēšqam aēnəṅḥam : Vīuuaṅḥušō srāuūi Yimascīṭ*, ‘for such offences Vīvahvant’s son became renowned, even Yima’; *ibid.*, *aēšqamciṭ : ā ahmī ṅβahmī, Mazdā, vīciṅḍōi aipī*, ‘as to these (deeds), I rest on thy decision, Mazdā’ (the preverb *ā* begins the colon); 47. 3 *ahiiā mainiiūš : tuuōm ahī ptā spəṅtō*, ‘of this will, thou [emphatic pronoun] art the bounteous father’; *ibid.*, *at hōi vāstrāi : rāmā dā ārmaitīm*, see §331.

YH 35. 2 begins with three resonant word-groupings, three commata if you will, but all making up a single extended eight-word genitive phrase that admits no intrusion, and then comes the verb: ‘*humatanəm hūxtanəm huuarš-tanəm : iīadacā aniiadacā : vərəziiannanəmcā vāuərəzananəmcā*’ *mahī ai-bī.jarətārō*, ‘of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, here and not-here, present and past, we are they who approve’. In 35. 4, quoted in §331, ‘*tāiš šīiaodənāiš yāiš vahištāiš*’ may similarly be taken as a unit, and then the verb comes next in the colon.

**343.** Imperatives more often appear in initial position: 28. 6–7 *Vohū gaidī Manajhā, dāidī Ašā dā darəgāiū ... dāidī Ašā taṃ ašim ... dāidī tū, Ārmaitē ... dās.tū, Mazdā ...*, ‘come with Good Thought, give with Right thy enduring gift ... Give, O Right, that reward ... Give thou, Piety ... Give thou, Mazdā ...’; 30. 2 *sraotā gāušāiš vahištā, ā vaēnatā sūcā manajhā*, ‘hear with your ears the best message, behold with lucid mind’, cf. 33. 11; 31. 17 *zdī nō, Mazdā Ahurā, vaṅḥauš fradaxštā manajhō*, ‘be for us, Lord Mazdā, our teacher of good thought’; 53. 8 *īratū īš duuafšō huuō dərəzā mərəṅḍiiaos mazištō*, ‘let there come upon them that greatest woe with the fetter of death’; YH 40. 3 *dāidī aṭ nərəš*, ‘grant us men’.

Similarly with the injunctive (equivalent to an imperative, see §193) in 31. 19, *gūštā yē mantā ašəm*, ‘let him listen to him who thinks on Right’.

And with optatives: 48. 9 *vidiiāt saosiiṣ, yaḍā hōi ašiš aṅhat*, ‘may the Promoter know how his reward is to be’; YH 41. 4 *hanaēmācā zaēmācā ...*

ϑβahmī rafənahī darəgāiīau ... rapōišcā tū nā darəgəmcā uštācā, ‘may we earn and win thy long-lasting support ... mayest thou support us both for long and in the way we desire’.

**344.** Another typical position for the verb is at the end of the sentence or clause. This is particularly common in YH, and may represent a natural unmarked or default position. Verbs so placed do not seem to carry any greater emphasis than those in second position.

Examples: 31. 20 *tām vā ahūm, drəguuaṅtō, śīiaoṅānāiš xʷāiš daēnā naēšat*, ‘that is the existence, ye wrongful, to which through your own actions your morality will bring you’; 31. 22 *vōhū huuō xšəvrā ašəm vacaṅhā śīiaoṅāncā hapī*, ‘with good command he holds on to Right in word and deed’; 32. 6 *ϑβahmī vā, Mazdā, xšəvrōi Ašāiēcā səṅghō vī.dəm*, ‘in thy domain, Mazdā, let your decree and Right’s be given out’; 32. 9 *tā uxδā mainiiōuš mahiiā, Mazdā, Ašāicā yūšmaibiiā gərəzē*, ‘with these utterances of my will, Mazdā, I make complaint to you and to Right’; YH 35. 9 *imā āt uxδā vacā, Ahurā Mazdā, ašəm manaiiā vahehiiā fra.uuaocānā; ϑβəm aṭ aēšəm paitiiāštərəmcā fradaxštərəmcā dadəmaidē*, ‘these words that we speak, Lord Mazdā, we will proclaim with better thought of Right; we make Thee both their recipient and their teacher’ (but the sentence is then extended with additional phrases).

In negative sentences, usually after initial *nōit*: 31. 10 *nōit, Mazdā, auuāstriiō dauuəscinā humərətōiš baxštā*, ‘the non-herdsman, drive(?) her as he might, did not get her goodwill’; 46. 8 *nōit ahiiā mā āvriš śīiaoṅnāiš frā asiit*, ‘may harm not reach me from his actions’; YH 35. 2 *naē naēštārō yaṅṅnā vohunəm mahī*, ‘we are not revilers of what is good’.

In an interrogative sentence: 44. 6 *kaēibiiō azīm rāniiō.skərəitīm gəm tašō?* ‘for what people didst thou create the gladdening milch cow?’

With imperative: 29. 11 *aṭ məm ašā yūžəm, Mazdā, frāxšnənē mazōi magāiīa paitī.zānatā*, ‘it is me that ye should rightly acknowledge, Mazdā, in your providence, for the great rite’.

Frequently in dependent clauses: 28. 6 *yā daibišuuatō duuaēšā tauruuāiīānā*, ‘whereby we may overcome the foe’s acts of enmity’; 29. 2 *yā drəguuōdəbīš aēšəməm vādāiōit*, ‘who might repulse fury by the wrongful’; 29. 8 *yā nā aēuuō sāsna gūšatā*, ‘who alone listens to our guidance’; 30. 5 *yā xraoždištəṅ asənō vastē*, ‘who clothes himself in the hardest stones’; 30. 6 *hiiat īš ā dəbaomā pərəsəmnəṅ upājasat*, ‘because delusion comes over them as they deliberate’; 31. 3 *yā juuaṅtō višpəṅ vāuraiiā*, ‘whereby I might convince everyone alive’; 31. 11 *yaṅṅrā varənəṅ vasā dāiētē*, ‘where the free agent makes his choices’; 31. 15 *yā drəguuāitē xšəvrəm hunāitī*, ‘(for him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’; 33. 2 *yā akəm drəguuāitē vacaṅhā vā aṭ vā manəṅhā zastōibiiā vā varəšaiitī*, ‘he that either by word or thought or hands does evil to the wrongful one’.

## Subject and predicate in nominal sentences

**345.** From the examples of nominal sentences given in §8 it will be seen that the subject generally precedes the predicate. I have noted two categories of exception:

1) Where the subject is represented by an unemphatic anaphoric pronoun: 31. 22 *ciθrā ī hudāṅhē*, ‘clear are these things for the well-doer’; 32. 16 *hamōm taṭ vahištācēt*, ‘equal is that to the very best’.

2) Commendation of Mazda: 47. 1 *mazdā xšaθrā Ārmaidī Ahurō*, ‘mindful in his dominion is the Lord with Piety’; 51. 16 *spəntō Mazdā Ahurō*, ‘bounteous is Lord Mazda’.

Elements of both types appear in 51. 21 *ārmatoiš nā, spəntō huuō cistī, ux-dāiš, šūaodnā*, ‘the man of piety, bounteous is he in insight, words, conduct’. The subject does come first, but the position of *huuō* indicates that it is left as a topicalizing heading, *spəntō huuō cistī* constituting a new colon.

## Secondary (predicative) accusative

**346.** Where there are two accusatives, one of which functions as a secondary predicate (cf. §§55, 324), this latter often precedes the direct object, as in 28. 5 *gātūmcā Ahurāi ... sraošəm Mazdāi*, ‘and as a path (or throne) for the Mindful Lord (finding) compliance’; 28. 10 *aṭ vā xšmaibiiā asūnā vaēdā xʷaraiθiiā vaiṅtiīā srauuā*, ‘I know that well-purposed hymns of homage to you are not in vain’; 30. 9 *yōi im frašōm kərənāun ahūm*, ‘who will make this existence splendid’; 33. 14 *aṭ rātaṃ Zaratuštrō tanuuascēt xʷaxiiā uštanəm dadāitī*, ‘as an offering Zarathustra dedicates his own body’s energy’, cf. 34. 3; 43. 15 *aṭ tōi višpəṅ angrəṅ ašāunō ādarō*, ‘they have declared all the righteous their enemies’; 46. 19 *yē mōi ... haiθim ... varəšaitī ... hiiat vasnā frašōtəməm*, ‘he who will make real for me the utmost splendour of my desiring’; *ibid.*, *ahmāi mīzdəm hanaṅtē parāhūm*, ‘to him, who as reward deserves the world beyond’; YH 36. 6 *sraēštəm aṭ tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpaṃ āuuāēdaiimahī ... imā raocā*, ‘as fairest body of thy bodies we proclaim this daylight’.

We find the opposite order, naturally, when the direct object is represented by an initial pronoun, as in 29. 10 quoted in §342; YH 35. 9 quoted in §344.

## Datives

**347.** An indirect object in the dative tends to precede the direct object,<sup>9</sup> as in 28. 6 *Zaratuštrāi aojōṅghuuat rafənō*, ‘(give) to Zarathustra strong support’; 31. 4 *išasā ... maibiiō xšaθrəm aojōṅghuuat*, ‘I shall seek a strong authority for

9 Cf. Delbrück iii. 82 f.

myself; 31. 9 *hiiaṭ aḫiiāi dadā paḍaṃ*, ‘when thou didst offer her a path’; 31. 15 *yā draguuāitē xšaḍrəm hunāitī*, ‘who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’; 44. 4 *kē vātāi duuqnaibiiascā yaogaṭ āsū?* ‘who yoked their swift pair for the wind and the clouds?’; 44. 14 *kaḍā Ašāi Drujēm diiaṃ zastaiiō?* ‘how might I give Wrong into the hands of Right?’; 46. 7 *kām.nā, Mazdā, mauuaitē pāiiūm dadā?* ‘whom dost thou set, Lord, as protector for my kind?’; 46. 18 *yā maibiiā yaoš, ahmāi ascīṭ vahištā maxiiā ištōiš ... cōišəm*, ‘whoever (confers) weal on me, on him for my part I confer the best things in my power’; 49. 7 *yā vərəzēnāi vaṇhīm dāṭ frasastīm*, ‘which will give the community a good renown’; 49. 8 *Frašaōštrāi uruuāzištāṃ Ašahiā dā sarēm*, ‘to Frashaushtra grant that most joyous union with Right’.

**348.** Dative infinitives of purpose often precede the verb: 31. 3 *taṭ nē, Mazdā, viduuanōi vaocā*, ‘tell us that, Mazdā, for (us) to know’, cf. 31. 5; 34. 12; 31. 19 *ərəž.uxḍāi vacaṇḥaṃ xšaiiamnō hizuuō vasō*, ‘being for true voicing of words in command of his tongue as he will’; 33. 6 *yā vərəziieidiiā maṇtā vāstriiā*, ‘by which one is minded to do pastoral works’; 46. 3 *kaēibiiō ūḍāi vohū jimaṭ manahā?* ‘what people will (Right) come to aid with good thought?’

Similarly with other datives of purpose: 46. 3 *kadā ... aṇhəuš darəḍrāi frō ašahiā ārəntē?* ‘when will they set forth on the path of Right to uphold the world?’; *ibid.*, *maibiiō ḍβā sastrāi vərənē*, ‘for myself I choose thee for direction’; 47. 3 *aṭ hōi vāstrāi rāmā dā ārmaītīm*, ‘and for her pasturing thou didst establish peace and piety’.

#### Attributive adjective<sup>10</sup>

**349.** Demonstrative adjectives (‘this’, ‘that’) normally precede the noun, but sometimes follow it in the phrase *aṇhəuš ahiiā* ‘this world’ (32. 13; 45. 3, 4), where the demonstrative is not anaphoric but deictic.

The possessive adjectives *ma-*, *ḍβa-*, etc. usually precede the noun, and in their monosyllabic cases they always do so except at 31. 20 *šiiəoḍanāiš x’āiš*.

**350.** In the only example in the texts of a numeral (syntactically adjectival), it precedes its noun: 44. 18 *dasā aspā*, ‘ten mares’. So does *uba-* ‘both’: *YH* 35. 3 al. *ubōibiiā ahubiiā*, ‘for both existences’.

So does *pouru-* ‘many’: 32. 6 *pourū aēnā ēnāxštā*, ‘the many offences against peace’; 43. 15 *pourūš draguatō*, ‘the many wrongful’; 47. 6 *pourūš išəntō*, ‘(the) many proselytes’; 50. 2 *pourušū huuarē pišiiasū*, ‘the many who blaspheme(?) the sun’.

*vīspa-* ‘all’ precedes the noun in *YH* 36. 5, 37. 1, and half a dozen times in the *Gāthās*. On the other hand we find 31. 3 *juuaṇtō vīspōṅ*, ‘all the living’; 34. 3 *gaēḍā vīspā*, ‘all our living bodies’; 46. 19 *manē.uuistāiš maṭ vīspāiš*, ‘with all spiritual acquisitions’; 51. 20 *hazaōšāṇhō vīspāṇhō*, ‘all ye of one mind’. In

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Delbrück iii. 89–99; Hirt vii. 243 f.; Seiler 104–33.

expressions of time or eternity we have 43. 2 *vīspā aiiārē*, ‘all days’; 28. 8, *YH* 40. 2, 41. 2 *vīspāi yauuē*, ‘for all time’; but in 46. 11, 49. 8, 53. 1 and 4 *yavōi vīspāi(iā)*. The placing after the noun probably had a more emphatic effect. Cf. 31. 13 and 53. 8 quoted in §319.

**351.** Defining adjectives, for example those that distinguish good from bad thought or action, generally precede the noun. So regularly *vohū* (...) *manajhā*, *vajhēuš* (...) *manajhō*, *spəntā mainiiū*. But the rule is not followed consistently, cf. 28. 2 *mainiiēuš* ... *spəntahiiā*; 28. 3 *manascā vohū*; 30. 5, 7; 33. 14; 34. 2; 47. 2; 49. 10; 51. 4; 53. 4.

*paouruiia-* in the sense ‘the original’ regularly follows its noun: 28. 11 *ajhuš paouruiiō*, ‘the first existence’, cf. 33. 1; 48. 6; 46. 6 *daēnā paouruiiā*, ‘the original moralities’; 46. 15 *dātāis paouruiiāiš*, ‘by the original ordinances’.

**352.** Where a defining adjective comes after its noun, it has in most cases more syllables than the noun. (This is true of *ajhuš paouruiiō* and *dātāis paouruiiāiš*, but not of *daēnā paouruiiā*, which at the time of composition was \**dayanāh parviyāh*.) Examples: 29. 9 *nərəš asūrahiā*, ‘of a powerless man’; 33. 1 *šītaoḍnā* (disyllabic) *razištā*, ‘by action most just’; 43. 5 *dāmōiš uruuāēsē* (disyllabic) *apēmē*, ‘at the last bend of creation’; 44. 2 *ajhēuš vahištahiiā*, ‘of the best existence’; 44. 15 *spādā anaocajhā*, ‘the two hostile armies’.

In 43. 3 *ahiiā ajhēuš astuuatō*, ‘of this material existence’ and 47. 2 *ahiiā mainiiēuš spēništahiiā*, ‘of this most bounteous Will’, while here too the adjectives are longer than the nouns, the order may be affected by the initial demonstrative, which makes the adjective less essential: ‘this existence, the material one’; ‘this Will, the bounteous one’.

**353.** Adjectives that are not essential to the definition of the noun but merely honorific or ornamental generally go after the noun; again they are very often longer.

In seven places (32. 2; 33. 13; 34. 9, 10; 49. 2; 51. 4, 11) we find *spəntam ārmaitim* or *spəntā ārmaitiš*, ‘bounteous piety’, where the epithet is honorific and inessential but precedes presumably by analogy with *spəntā mainiiū*. The longer word follows the shorter (*ārmaitiš* had four syllables, \**aramatis*).

Other examples of epithet preceding: 31. 21 *būrōiš ā* ... *x’āpaiḍiiāt*, ‘from his rich autonomy’; 32. 6 *hātā.marānē Ahurā*, ‘O Lord mindful of merits’; 34. 9 *aurunā xrafstrā*, ‘the savage predators’; 43. 1 *vasō.xšaiiṣ Mazda*, ‘Mazdā who rules at will’; 44. 6 *azīm rāniō.skərətīm gəm*, ‘the gladdening milch cow’, cf. 50. 2;<sup>11</sup> 45. 4 *vīspāhišas Ahurō*, ‘the all-observant Lord’; 49. 9 *ašā yuxtā* ... *Dējā-māspā*, ‘the Djāmāspas yoked to Right’.

11 Were these passages perhaps secondary to 47. 3, where we find *gəm rāniō.skərətīm* in the expected sequence?

Dependent genitive<sup>12</sup>

**354.** The tendency for objects to precede verbs and for defining adjectives to precede nouns reflects a general principle that essential modifiers precede the modified element. On the same principle one would expect adnominal genitives generally to precede their head noun. This does indeed appear to be the underlying norm, though there is much variability, especially in the *Gāthās*.

In *YH* genitives mostly precede the head noun. Examples: 35. 7 *Ahurahiiā ... Mazdā yasnəmca vahməmca ... gēušcā vāstrəm*; 35. 8 *Ašahiiā āaṭ sairī, Ašahiiā vərəzēnē*; 36. 2 *uruuāzištahiiā uruuāziīā, nāmištahiiā nəmaṅhā*; 36. 3 *nāmanəm vāzištəm*; 37. 2 *yasnanəm pauraatātā*; 37. 3 *ašāunəm frauuašiš*; 39. 1 *gēuš uruuānəmca tasānəmca*; 39. 5 *vayhōuš xʷaētōuš xʷaētātā*; 41. 2 *hātəm hudāstəmā*. This may be considered the ‘natural’, unmarked or default position. Cf. the observation on *gēuš tašā* in §334.

A second genitive depending on the same noun may be added after it, as in 40. 2 *tauuacā haxəmā Ašaxiiācā*, ‘association with thee and Right’. Compare the examples in §94 of a possessive adjective and genitive in parallel, and §323.

The passages where a single genitive follows its head noun are: 35. 2 *naē naēstārō ... vohunəm*, for which see §334; 35. 8 *kahmācīt hātəm*, ‘for anyone in the world’; 36. 2 (cf. 3) *ātarō Mazdā Ahurahiiā*, ‘Fire of Lord Mazdā’, where the Fire has already been brought into focus in 1 and it is not a new one that is being specified; *ibid.*, *mazištāi yāṅhəm*, ‘for our greatest of supplications’; 36. 6 *sraēštəm aṭ tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpəm ... barəzištəm barəzimanəm*, ‘fairest body of thy bodies, highest of the high’.

**355.** In the *Gāthās*, as may be seen from the numerous quotations in §§93–104, adnominal genitives of all kinds occur both before and after their heads. They are sometimes separated from them by one or more other words; examples were listed in §322.

## Other adnominals

**356.** In accord with the same principle, nouns in other cases that modify a head noun or adjective also tend to precede it.

Instrumental: 29. 2 *drəguuōdabīš aēšəməm*, ‘violence by the wrongful’; 43. 16 *Ašəm ... uštānā aojōṅhuuaṭ*, ‘Right, strong in vigour’; 47. 2 *āratōiš zastōi-biiā šīiaoṅnā*, ‘by action of piety with the hands’.

Ablative: 31. 15 *vāstriehiiā ... pasōuš vīrāatcā adrujiiantō*, ‘of the herdsman innocent before man and beast’.

Locative: 43. 11 *mašīiaēšū vrazdāitiš*, ‘trust in mortals’.

12 Cf. Delbrück iii. 102 f.; Hirt vi. 120 f., vii. 247 f.; Kellens–Pirart ii. 31–5.

Vocatives<sup>13</sup>

**357.** Vocatives in Vedic behave to some extent like verbs, in that they are accented only when they stand in initial position. In Avestan too it may be supposed that in non-initial positions they are relatively unemphatic. They often occur in second position, which we have already identified as a slot for unemphatic elements. They follow any enclitic particles or pronouns that may be present. It is not really appropriate to comma the vocative off, as it is clearly part of the larger tonal unit.

Examples: 28. 2 *yē vā Mazdā Ahurā pairī.jasāi vohū manajhā*, ‘I who will approach you, Lord Mazdā, with good thought’; 28. 6–7, quoted in §343; 28. 8 *vahištəm v̄βā vahištā ... yāsā*, ‘for the best gift, O best one, I pray thee’; 28. 11 *tuuōm Mazdā Ahurā frō mā sīšā*, ‘do thou, Lord Mazdā, teach me’; 29. 10 *yūžēm aēibiiō Ahurā aogō dātā*, ‘grant ye them, Lord, strength’; *ibid.*, *azōmcīt ahiiā Mazdā v̄βam mōjyhī paouruuīm vaēdəm*, ‘I for one, Mazdā, realize thee to be the prime procurer of it’; 31. 3 *taṭ nō Mazdā vīduuanōi vaocā*, ‘tell us that, Mazdā, for our knowledge’; 31. 7 *tā Mazdā mainiiū uxšiiō*, ‘through that will, Mazdā, thou dost increase’; 31. 11 *hiiat nō Mazdā paouruuīm gaēvāscā tašō daēnāscā*, ‘since first, Mazdā, thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves’; 34. 14 *taṭ zī Mazdā vairīm astuuaitē uštānāi dātā*, ‘for this, Mazdā, is the prize you have set for material life’; 44. 3 *tācīt Mazdā vasmī aniiācā vīduiiē*, ‘these things, Mazdā, and others I desire to know’; YH 39. 4 *yaṭā tū ī Ahurā Mazdā mōnghācā vaocascā dāscā varaścā yā vohū*, ‘as thou, Lord Mazdā, dost conceive and utter and institute and do those things that are good’.

**358.** The initial (accented) position is especially appropriate when someone not hitherto addressed is hailed: 28. 5 *Ašā, kaṭ v̄βā darāsānī?* ‘O Right, shall I see thee?’; 46. 14 *Zaraduštrā, kas.tē ašauuā uruuāvō?* ‘Zarathushtra, which righteous one is thy ally?’ Other cases: 34. 15 *Mazdā, aṭ mōi vahištā srauuāscā šiiāo-ṽanācā vaocā*, ‘Mazdā, tell me the best things to be known for and to do’; 44. 1 *Mazdā, friiāi v̄βāuuqs saxiiāt mauuaitē*, ‘Mazdā, one such as thou might declare it to a friend such as me’.

Initial name with surname following after intervening words: 46. 15 *Haē-caṭ.aspā, vaxšiiā vō Spitamājhō*, ‘O Haecataspa Spitamas, I will say to you’; 46. 16 *Frašaoštrā, aṭrā tū arədrāiš idī Huuōguuā*, ‘Frashaushtra Haogava, go there with the zealous’.

The initial vocative forms a separate comma, as is evident from the placing of the enclitics in the examples after the word following the vocative; cf. §331. Indeed, the vocative could be considered a separate sentence, as it has no organic involvement in the syntax of what follows.

**359.** Sometimes the vocative is placed at the juncture between a dependent clause and the main clause: 28. 10 *aṭ yōṅg Ašāaṭcā vōistā vaṅjhēuścā dāvōṅg ma-*

13 Cf. Delbrück iii. 86–8.



*naṅhō arəθβāng, Mazdā Ahurā, aēibiiō parənā āpanāiš kāməm*, ‘those whom thou knowest to be upright and worthy before Right and Good Thought, Lord Mazdā, fulfil their desire with attainment’; 30. 1 *aṭ tā vaxšiiā, išəntō, yā mazdāθvā hiiatcēt vīdušē*, ‘now I will speak, O proselytes, of what you are to bring to the attention even of one who knows’; 31. 9 *θβā ā gēuš tašā as xratuš mainiiēuš, Mazdā Ahurā, hiiat axiiāi dadā pavqəm*, ‘thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will, Lord Mazdā, when thou didst offer her a path’; YH 40. 1–2 *hiiat mīzdəm mauuaiθīm fradadaθvā daēnābiiō, Mazdā Ahurā, ahiiā huuō nē dāidī*, ‘the [unintelligible epithet] reward which thou hast proposed for moral selves, Lord Mazdā, grant us of it’.

With apodotic *aṭ* (§277): 30. 8 *aṭcā yadā aēšqəm kaēnā jamaitī aēnaṅṅəm, aṭ Mazdā taibiiō xšaθrəm ... vōiuuīdāitē*, ‘and when the requital comes for their misdeeds, then, Mazdā, for thee will be found dominion’. The sentence continues *aēibiiō sastē, Ahurā, yōi ...*, ‘to proclaim to those, Lord, who ...’, with the further vocative between main and relative clause.

**360.** In YH a vocative, like a verb, sometimes ends the sentence: 38. 5 *apascā vā azišcā vā mātarāšcā vā agəniīā drigudāiaṅhō vīspō.paiṭīš āuuuocāmā vahištā sraēštā. auuā vā varṅhīš rātōiš darəgō.bāzāuš nāšū paiṭī yiiādā paiṭī.səndā, mātarō jūtaiiō*, ‘as the Waters, as the Milch Cows, as the Mothers, choice cows, caring for the needy, giving to all to drink, we will invoke you, O best ones, fairest ones. I will assist you, O Good Ones, with the long arm of my liberality at your arrivings, O distributors, personable ones, mothers full of life.’; 39. 4 (continuation of quotation in §357) *avā tōi dadəmahī, avā cīšmahī, avā θβā āiš yazamaidē, avā nəmaxiiāmahī, avā išūidiiāmahī θβā Mazdā Ahurā*, ‘so we dedicate (them) to thee, so we assign, so hereby we worship thee, so we reverence, so we give thanks to thee, Lord Mazdā’; 41. 2, 3, 4.

Where both a verb and a vocative come at sentence-end, the verb precedes: 35. 3 quoted in §341; 36. 1 *ahiiā θβā āθrō vərəzənā paouruiiē pai-ri.jasāmaidē Mazdā Ahurā*, ‘with this Fire’s community firstly we attend thee, Lord Mazdā’; and so in the first sentence in 38. 5 quoted above.

#### *Subsidiary modifiers*

**361.** Words or phrases that amplify the meaning without being essential to it are put in a trough between more emphatic elements, or appended after the main proposition is sufficiently formulated (cf. §§362–7).

Examples: 28. 1 *ahiiā yāsā nəmaṅṅhā ustānazastō rafədrahiiā*, ‘for his help I pray in reverence with outstretched hands’; 29. 7 *tām āzūtōiš Ahurō maθrəm tašaṭ Ašā hazaošō*, ‘that is the butter prescript that the Lord made, of one mind with Right’ (with further appendages in the next line); YH 35. 3 *taṭ aṭ varəmaidī ... hiiat ī mainimadi ... yā hātqəm šiiəoθənanəqəm vahištā xiiāt ubōibiia ahubiā*, ‘we have chosen to think those things that may be the best actions in the world, for both existences’, cf. 35. 8; 35. 5 *huxšaθrōtamāi bā aṭ xšaθrəm, ahmat hiiat aibī, dadəmahicā cīšmahicā*, ‘for the best ruler, rule (so far as lies with us) we dedicate and assign’ (between object and verbs); 35. 7 *taṭ aṭ vā vərəziiāmahī*

*fracā vātīīmahī, yātō isāmaidē*, ‘this we will put into effect for you and communicate, so far as we are able’.

### Extension<sup>14</sup>

**362.** It is very common for a sentence that is potentially complete in grammar and sense to be prolonged by adding further elements at the end. They may be modifiers of the sort described in §361, for example instrumental or locative phrases, or datives or infinitives expressing purpose. Such additions as these modify or amplify the predicate as a whole. In other cases a particular word in the first clause, usually a noun, is picked up and developed by a further noun or nouns in the same case, or by one or more epithets, or a relative clause.

For example, in 28. 9 the first verse is potentially self-sufficient: *anāiš vā nōit, Ahurā, Ašōmcā yānāiš zaranaēmā*, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you, Lord, or Right’. But in the next line the sentence is extended firstly by a further accusative, *Manascā hīiat vahištōm*, ‘and Best Thought’, and secondly by a relative clause attaching to the subject, *yōi vā yōiḍemā dasōmē stūtām*, ‘we who are busy offering your praises’. In 33. 4, again, after a self-sufficient first line *yē ḍβaṭ, Mazdā, asruštūm akōmcā manō yazāi apā*, ‘I that by worship will seek to keep from thee disregard and bad thought’, additional objects are appended, and then a phrase with a new ablative as well: *x<sup>v</sup>aētōušcā tarōmaiūm vərəzōnaxīiēcā nazdištām drujōm, airīamnascā nadōntō, gōušcā vāstrāt acištōm mañtūm*, ‘and the clan’s arrogance, and the village’s closest neighbour, Wrong, and the detractors in the tribe, and from the cow’s pasture the worst counsellor’. For the addition of further objects cf. also 28. 3; 29. 7; 33. 14; 34. 10; *YH* 37. 1, 5.

**363.** Amplification of the subject is also common, as in 29. 5 *aṭ vā ustānāiš ā huuā zastāiš frīnōmnā Ahurāiā, mō uruuā gōušcā aziīā*, ‘but we two are here with outstretched hands propitiating the Lord, my soul and the milch cow’s’; 32. 3 *aṭ yūs daēuuā vīspāḥō akāt manayhō stā ciḍrōm*, ‘but ye Daevas are all seed from Bad Thought’, *yascā vā maš yazaitē*, ‘and (so is) the grandee who worships you’; then additional ablatives, *drūjascā pairimatōišcā*, ‘and from Wrong and Contempt’; then another nominative, *šīaomām aipī daibitānā*, ‘your duplicitous deeds too’; 43. 3 *aṭ huuō vaḥhēuš vahīiō nā aibījamīiāt, yē nā ərəzūs savayhō paḍō sīšōiṭ ... arədrō ḍβāuuas huzōḥtuš spəntō, Mazdā*, ‘but may that man attain yet better than the good, who should teach us the straight paths of advancement ... a zealous follower of thine, well-born, bounteous, Mazdā’, cf. 44. 9; 46. 5; 49. 4, 5; 50. 2; 53. 4 *yā fədrōi vīdāt paiḍīiēcā vāstriiāēibiīō aṭcā x<sup>v</sup>aētauuē, ašāunī ašāuuabiīō*, ‘with which (a woman) may serve her father and husband, herdsmen, and clan too, a righteous one (serving) the righteous’.

14 Cf. Delbrück iii. 61–6; J. Gonda, *Four Studies in the Language of the Veda* (‘s Gravenhage 1959), 7–70; T. Krisch in Crespo–García Ramón 303 n. 47; K. McCone, *ibid.* 370–2.

**364.** Similarly with other cases.

Instrumental: 46. 8 *paitiiaogəṭ tā ahmāi jasōiṭ duuaēšaṅhā tanuuōm ā ... kācīṭ, Mazdā, duuaēšaṅhā*, ‘may they recoil on him with hostility, on his person ... with whatever (brand of) hostility’; 49. 5; 50. 9.

Dative: 49. 8 *Fraśaoštrāi uruuāzištəm Ašahiīā dā sarēm ... maibiiācā*, ‘to Fra-shaushtra grant that most joyous union with Right, and to me’ (and then comes a relative clause referring to *sarēm*); 28. 7; 53. 5.

Ablative: 32. 3 quoted in §363; 33. 4 quoted in §362; 46. 4 *yas.tēm xšadrāṭ, Mazdā, mōiṭaṭ jiiātēuš vā*, ‘he who dispatches him from authority, Mazdā, or from life’.

**365.** Sometimes the appendage is an apposition serving to add definition to the initial term: 28. 7 *daidī, Ašā, tēm ašim, vaṅhēuš āiiaptā manaṅhō*, ‘give, O Right, that reward, the blessings of good thought’; 31. 15 *pərəsā auuaṭ, yā māēniš, yā drəguuāitē xšadrəm hunāitī, duššiiāoṭanāi, Ahurā, yā ...*, ‘I ask this, what the punishment is (for him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one, for the evil-doer who ...’; 46. 3 *kadā, Mazdā, yōi uxšānō asnəm ... frō ašahiīā ārəntē vərəzdāiš sənghāiš, saošiiāntəm xratauuō?* ‘when, Mazdā, will those Oxen of Days set forth on the path of Right with stouter declarations, the Promoters’ sapiences?’; 44. 17 *kaṭvā zarəm carānī hacā xšmaṭ, āskaitim xšmākəm?* ‘how am I to journey towards my goal in accord with you, (namely) attachment to you?’; 44. 16 *aṭ hōi vohū sraošō jaṅtū manaṅhā, Mazdā, ahmāi yahmāi vašī kahmāicīṭ*, ‘and let compliance come to him with good thought, Mazdā, to him whomsoever thou wilt’.

**366.** Extension by apposition of epithets: 34. 4 *aṭ tōi ātrēm ... aojōṅhuuaṅtəm Ašā usōmahī, aš.īšim, əmauuāntəm*, ‘we wish for thy fire that is mighty through Right, very potent, strong’; 48. 11 *kadā ... Ašā maṭ Ārmaitiš jimaṭ xšadrā, hušaitiš vāstrauuaitī?* ‘when will Piety together with Right come in dominion, she of good living, the pastoral one?’; 53. 9 *tōi narapīš arəjīš, aēšasā dājūt.aratā, pəšō.tanuuō*, ‘they are waning and darkness(?), eager Right-diminishers, forfeit of body’; YH 38. 3 *apō aṭ yazamaidē, maēkaiiaṅtišcā hēbuuaṅtišcā*, ‘the Waters we worship, sparkling and sappy’.

**367.** This additive technique is typical of the *Gāthās*. It may be illustrated from the ramifying opening of the first poem, 28. 1–3:

*ahiiā yāsā nēmaṅhā ustānazastō rafədrahiiā,  
Mainiiūš, Mazdā, paouruuim Spəṅtahiiā ašā, višpəng, šiiāoṭnā,  
Vaṅhēuš xratim Manaṅhō yā xšnuuīšā gēušcā uruuānəm,*

*yō vā, Mazdā Ahurā, pairī.jasāi vohū manaṅhā,  
maibiiō dāuuōi ahuuā, astuuatascā hiiatcā manaṅhō,  
āiiaptā ašāṭ hacā, yāiš rapəntō daidīṭ xšadrē;*

*yā vā Ašā ufiānī Manascā Vohū apaouruuim  
Mazdāncā Ahurəm, yaēibiiō xšadrəm cā aṭzaonuuamnəm  
varədaiitī Ārmaitiš: ā mōi rafədrāi zauuōṅ jasatā.*

The first line is syntactically self-sufficient: ‘I pray in reverence with outstretched hands for his help’. Then ‘his’ is given definition by adding *Mainiiōuš* ... *Spəntahiiā*, ‘the Bounteous Will’s’, this genitive phrase being distracted by the insertion of the vocative *Mazdā* and the adverb *paouruuīm*, ‘in first place’. Then are appended successively the instrumental *ašā*, ‘with Right’, an accusative *vīspōng* to be construed with *yāsā*, ‘(I pray) all (of you)’, and another instrumental, *šīiaoθnā*, which must be construed adnominally with *rafədrahiiā*, ‘(help) through an action’. The nature of the action is then specified by means of a relative clause, of which *šīiaoθnā* is the head, *Vaṇhəuš xratūm Manaḡhō yā xšnəuuīšā*, ‘by which thou wouldst satisfy Good Thought’s wisdom’, and that is extended with an additional object, *gəušcā uruuānəm*, ‘and the cow’s soul’.

The sentence is not yet complete, for stanzas 2–3 largely consist of two further, parallel relative clauses, attaching to the ‘I’ of the opening line. First *yə vā*, *Mazdā Ahurā*, *pairī.jasāi vohū manahā*, ‘I who will approach you, Lord Mazdā, with good thought’. This is extended by a substantial infinitival purpose clause, which issues in a further relative clause: ‘(for you) to give me of both existences, the material one and that of thought, those blessings in line with Right by which one could keep one’s supporters in well-being’. Then in the third stanza comes the second ‘I who’ clause. Its nucleus, *yə vā Ašā ufiānī*, ‘I who will hymn you, Right’, is extended successively by *Manascā Vohū* ‘and Good Thought’, *apaouruuīm* ‘as never before’, *Mazdəm cā Ahurəm* ‘and Lord Mazdā’, and then comes another relative clause referring to these powers, ‘whose unimpaired dominion Piety increases’. Finally the whole elaborate structure is summed up and rounded off by a compact new sentence: ‘come ye to my calls to give help’.

### Interlacing<sup>15</sup>

**368.** A feature of word order that distinguishes the verse *Gāthās* from the prose of *YH* is the extent to which words that belong closely together grammatically are separated, sometimes by a considerable distance. The manifestations of this that we have met in the sections on distraction (§§320–5) and extension (§§362–7) are more or less intelligible. The distribution of emphasis achieved by distraction of a noun phrase (noun + epithet, or noun + genitive) will not seem strange to anyone familiar with Greek or Latin poetry; in the first few lines of the *Iliad* we have *μῆνιν* *ἄειδε* *θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος* ... *ἦ μῦρ’ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε’ ἔθηκεν* ... *Διὸς δ’ ἐτελείετο βουλή*, and in those of the *Aeneid* *Troiae* qui primus ab *oris*, *saevae memorem Iunonis* ob *iram*, and so on. ‘Extension’ served us as a rubric covering passages where a clause is followed by a continuation that in many cases takes up a word that comes early in it, while the integrity of the initial clause remains intact.

15 Cf. Humbach i. 108 f.

There remain some passages, however, where words are interlaced in ways not easily accounted for. In the following examples the related words that might be expected to stand together are picked out by <sup>a</sup>—<sup>a</sup>, <sup>b</sup>—<sup>b</sup>, etc.

28. 4 *yā uruuānəm* <sup>a</sup>*mān gairē* <sup>b</sup>*volū* <sup>a</sup>*dadē* <sup>b</sup>*hadrā* <sup>b</sup>*manajhā*, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought’.

31. 15 *yā nōiṭ* <sup>a</sup>*jiiōtūm* <sup>b</sup>*hanarə* <sup>a</sup>*vīnastī* | <sup>c</sup>*vāstriehiiā* <sup>b</sup>*aēnəjhō* *pasəuš* *vīrāaṭcā* <sup>c</sup>*adrujiiantō*, ‘who does not find a livelihood without wrong to the herdsman innocent before man and beast’.

31. 21 *Mazdā dadāṭ* *Ahurō* <sup>a</sup>*hauruuātō* <sup>a</sup>*aməratātāscā* | <sup>b</sup>*būrōiš* *ā* <sup>a</sup>*ašaxiiācā* <sup>b</sup>*xvāpaiṭiiāṭ* <sup>b</sup>*xšadrahiiā* <sup>a</sup>*sarōi* | *vajhəuš* *vazduuarē* *manajhō*, ‘the Lord Mazdā offers, for the union<sup>16</sup> of health and non-dying and right, from his rich autonomy of domain, the permanence of good thought’.

32. 5 <sup>a</sup>*akā* <sup>b</sup>*šīiaoṭnəm* <sup>a</sup>*vacəjhā* *yā* <sup>b</sup>*fracinas* *drəguuaṇtəm* *xšaiiō*, ‘(and) by evil speech, with which he assigns the deed to the wrongful one to control’.

33. 1 *yaṭā* <sup>a</sup>*āiš*, *iṭā* <sup>b</sup>*varəsaitē*, <sup>a</sup>*yā dātā* *ajhəuš* *paouruuiehiiā*, | <sup>b</sup>*ratuš*, ‘as by those which were the statutes of the first existence, so the ruling will be implemented’.

33. 14 *aṭ rāṭəm* *Zaraduštrō* *tanuuasciṭ* <sup>a</sup>*xaxiiā* <sup>a</sup>*uštānəm* | <sup>b</sup>*dadāiṭi*, <sup>a</sup>*paouruuātātəm* <sup>c</sup>*manajhāscā* *vajhəuš* <sup>b</sup>*Mazdāi* | <sup>c</sup>*šīiaoṭnahiiā* <sup>b</sup>*Ašāiiācā* <sup>c</sup>*uxdaxiiācā*, <sup>a</sup>*sraošəm* *xšadṛəmcā*, ‘as offering, Zarathushtra dedicates his own body’s energy to Mazdā and to Right, the prime of his good thought and deed and utterance, his compliance and authority’.

43. 15 *aṭ tōi* <sup>a</sup>*vīspəṅg* <sup>b</sup>*aṅgrəṅg* <sup>a</sup>*ašāunō* <sup>b</sup>*ādarā*, ‘all the righteous they have declared their enemies’.

46. 17 <sup>a</sup>*hadā* *vā* *stōi* <sup>b</sup>*vahməṅg* <sup>a</sup>*sraošā* <sup>b</sup>*rādaṅjhō*, ‘for there to be for you,<sup>17</sup> besides your compliance, praises of the caring one’.

46. 19 *yā mōi* <sup>a</sup>*ašāṭ* <sup>b</sup>*haiṭīm* <sup>a</sup>*hacā* <sup>b</sup>*vərəšaiti*, ‘he who in accord with right will make real for me’.

16 The dative *sarōi* is my emendation for *sarō*: West (2008), 131.

17 On the text cf. p. 28 n. 26.



## IV. Stylistics

**369.** In discussing word order we have touched on much that could be considered to fall within the province of stylistics. No clear boundary can be drawn. Style depends to a large extent, after all, on the ordered arrangement of words. For practical purposes, however, it was convenient to undertake a concentrated, separate treatment of word order. Now we may move on to other aspects of style as manifested in the *Gāthās* and *YH*.

As noted in §313, these are highly stylized texts. Much of the discussion will concern the occurrence of various figures of speech and other formal devices. But it will be appropriate to begin with a general characterization.

Zarathushtra's poetry in the *Gāthās* is impassioned and forthright, much of it explicitly directed at a succession of divine or human addressees, with a mixture of prayers, statements, questions, wishes, demands, and exhortations. The verse is structured in stanzas of three, four, or five lines; the stanzas are mostly self-contained in sense, comprising one or more sentences, but occasionally a complex sentence is laid out on a larger plan, with a syntactically parallel element placed at corresponding places in two or three successive stanzas. Sentences may be brief and concise, but often they are elaborate and syntactically dense.<sup>1</sup> Zarathushtra draws freely on the elevated traditional language of cult poetry, as shown by the frequency of Vedic parallels, but his own mode of thought is reflected in the abundant use of abstract nouns with varying degrees of personification (§26). He does not refrain from what may have been coarse expressions of denigration such as 48. 10 *mūṭrām ahiiā madahiiā*, 'the piss of this liquor'; 51. 12 *vaēpiiō Kāuuīnō*, 'the Kavi catamite'. His imagery is drawn from the world around him, his commonest images being those of the house and the path that leads to it: the house of Good Thought (30. 10; 32. 15; 44. 9), of Worst Thought (32. 13), of Wrong (46. 6, 11; 49. 11; 51. 14), of Lord Mazdā (49. 10), of song (45. 8; 50. 4; 51. 15); the path or paths of Good Thought (33. 5; 34. 12 f.; 51. 16), of enhancement (43. 3), of enlightenment (46. 4), of enablement (50. 4); of the path for the soul to follow (44. 8). Another desirable destination is the 'pasture' of Right and Good Thought (33. 3). Poetic composition in praise of a divinity is associated with speeding horses or a racing chariot (29. 8(?); 30. 10; 50. 6 f.). This is inherited imagery,<sup>2</sup> but that does not seem to be the case with the conception of one's life's course as

---

1 Cf. §§7 and 46. Hintze (1997), 59, contrasts the more sophisticated style of the *Gāthās* with the simpler constructions of the *Yāsts*.

2 West (2007a), 41–3.

being like a racecourse, with a ‘last bend’ and a finish line (43. 5 f.; 48. 2; 51. 6; cf. 49. 9).

*YH* is a formal text composed to be spoken by a priest before a congregation of worshippers and on their behalf, enunciating their convictions and aspirations. Its style is elevated, hieratic. Typical of it is the quasi-legal use of comprehensive polar expressions of the ‘both X and non-X’ type, to cover all eventualities, and of clusters of two or three near-synonyms to exclude any equivocation, as in 36. 4–5 *pairi.jasāmaidē nēmaxiiāmahī išūidiiāmahī ǝβā*, ‘we attend thee, we revere thee, we thank thee’; 37. 3 *ašāunam frauuašiš naramcā nāirinamcā*, ‘the fravashis of the righteous, both men and women’, cf. 39. 2, 3; 41. 2; 41. 1 *stūtō, garō, vahmōng Ahurāi Mazdāi Ašāicā vahištāi dadamahicā ciš-mahicā ācā vaēdaiiamahī*, ‘praises, songs, laudations to Lord Mazdā and best Right we dedicate and assign and proclaim’; 41. 4 *hanaēmācā zaēmācā*, ‘may we earn and win’.

### Economy of Expression<sup>3</sup>

**370.** When the same verb is to be understood in two successive clauses, it is regularly omitted in one of them, more often in the second than the first.

Verb omitted in the second clause: 30. 7 *aṭ kəhrpōm utaiiūitiš dadāt, ārmaitiš qnmā*, ‘then vitality informs the body, piety the soul’, cf. 33. 12; 31. 11 *hiiat astuuantəm dadā uštanəm, hiiat šīiaoṭnācā sōnghaścā*, ‘since thou gavest bodily vitality, since (thou gavest) actions and pronouncements’; 31. 14 *yā išudō dadōntē dāṭranam hacā ašāunō yāścā ... drəguuōdōbiiō*, ‘what requitals will be given of gifts from the righteous one and what (of gifts) from the wrongful’; 32. 1 *axiiācā xʼaētus yāsat, ahiiā vərəzēnəm maṭ airiāmnanā, ahiiā daēuuā mahmī manōi, Ahurahiīā uruuāzōmā Mazdā*, ‘suppose for his the clan prays, for his the village with the tribe, for his the Daevas, in my fancy, for Lord Mazdā’s gladdenening’; 32. 5 *tā dōbēnaotā mašim hujiiātōiš ... hiiat vā akā manajhā yōng daēuuōng Akascā Mainiiuš*, ‘so you lure the mortal from good living, as the Evil Will does you who are Daevas, by evil thought’; 32. 9 *dušsastiš srauuā mōrōndat, huuō jiiātōuš sōnghanaiš xratūm*, ‘the false teacher perverts good repute, he (perverts) life’s reason with his pronouncements’; 34. 8 *tāiš zī nā šīiaoṭnāiš biiantī ... hiiat aš.aojā nāidiiāṭhəm*, ‘for they intimidate us by those actions, as a strong man does a weaker one’; 34. 15 *aṭ mōi vahištā ... vaocā, tā tū vohū manajhā*, ‘tell me the best things, just those things do thou (tell) with Good Thought’; 43. 14 *hiiat nā friiāi vaēdōmnō isuuā daidit, maibiiō, Mazdā*, ‘what a man of means, possessing it himself, would offer a friend, (give) to me, Mazdā’; 44. 4 *kas.nā dōratā zaṃcā adē nabāścā auuapastōiš? kō apō uruuārāścā?* ‘who held the earth from beneath and the heavens from falling down? Who the waters and plants?’; 47. 4 *kasōušcīt nā ašāunē kādō anhat; isuuācīt haṣ paraoš*

3 Cf. Humbach i. 105 f.; Skjærvø 171 f.



*akō drəguuāitē*, ‘even the poor man may be kind to the righteous one; even the man of much means, malign towards the wrongful’; 50. 10 *aṭ yā varəšā yācā pairī āiš šīiaodnā*, ‘whatever things I do and whatever (I have done) before’.

The place of the omitted verb may be taken by *iṭā* or *aṭā*: 32. 6 *pourū aēnā ḡnāxštā yāiš srauahiieitī, yezī tāiš aṭā*, ‘the many offences against peace by which he seeks renown, if by those actions (he is doing) so’; 47. 4, quoted in §133.

**371.** Verb omitted in the first clause: 43. 1 *uštā ahmāi, yahmāi uštā kahmāicīṭ, vasə.xšaiiqs Mazdā dāiiāt Ahurō*, ‘his wishes to him, to whomsoever (he grants) wishes, may Lord Mazdā, ruling at will, grant’; 43. 8 *haiṭiiō duuaēšā hiiat isōiīā drəguuāitē, aṭ ašāunē rafnō xīiēm aojōḡhuuat*, ‘may I be in reality, as I would wish, a bane to the wrongful one, but to the righteous a strong support’; 46. 1, quoted in §373; 46. 9 *yā tōi Ašā, yā Ašāi gəuš tašā mraot*, ‘what Right (said) to thee, what the maker of the cow said to Right’; 46. 18 *yā maibiiā yaoš, ahmāi ascīṭ vahištā ... cōišəm*, ‘whoever (confers) weal on me, on him for my part I confer the best’ (and then in 19 *ahmāi ... gāuuā azī*, ‘on him (I confer) two milch cows’); 48. 6, quoted in §390; 51. 4 *kuṭrā ārōiš ā fsəratuš, kuṭrā mərəzdi-kā ā xštāt?* ‘where does respect(?) instead of harm, where does mercy appear?’ (and then a series of further ‘where?’ clauses with the same verb understood); YH 40. 4 quoted in §389.

**372.** On the same principle, a noun may be understood from the clause preceding: 48. 8 *kā tōi vaḡhəuš ... xšəṭrahiīā ištīš? kā tōi ašōiš ṭβaxīiā maibiiō, Ahurā? kā ṭβōi, Ašā ... ?* ‘what (is) the potency of thy good dominion? What (that) of thy reward for me, Lord? What thy (potency), Right?’; 49. 12 *kaṭ tōi ašā zbaiieṭē avanḡō Zaraṭuštrāi? kaṭ tōi vohū manajhā?* ‘what hast thou of help for him who invokes thee with right, for Zarathushtra? What hast thou (for him who invokes thee) with good thought?’

**373.** Other places where a noun or pronoun is understood from the context: 28. 11 *yā āiš ašəm ni.pəḡhē manascā vohū yauuaētāitē, tuuōm, Mazdā Ahurā, frō mā sīšā ṭβahmāt vaocajhē mainiiəuš hacā, ṭβā āəḡjhā*, ‘thou who dost by them (= hymns) protect thy right and good thought for ever, teach me, Lord Mazdā, to voice (them) in line with thy will, through thy mouth’; 43. 3 *ahiiā aḡhəuš astuuatō manajhascā*, ‘in this material existence and (that) of thought’; 46. 1 *kaḡm nəmōi zaḡm, kuṭrā nəmōi aiiēnī? pairī xʷaētəuš airiiamnascā dadaitī*, ‘what land for refuge, where am I to go for refuge? They set (me) apart from clan and tribe’; 49. 2 *ṭkaēšō drəguuā daibitā ašāṭ rərəšō*, ‘the wrongful teacher who deceitfully diverts (people) from right’. In 45. 1 *nū īm vīspā, ciṭrē zī, mazdāḡhōdūm*, ‘now all take it to heart, for it is clear’, the masc. pronoun *īm* and adjective *ciṭrē* have no explicit reference, and we must perhaps understand *maṭram*.

For relative clauses where the head has to be understood see §227.

**374.** Nominal sentences (§§8–9, 12) are such a natural and traditional form of utterance that the absence of copula in them can hardly be classed as economy of expression: rather its presence, at any rate in the 3rd person present indicative, would appear as pleonastic. One or two examples, however, stand out as genuinely brachylogical, notably 31. 5 *yehiiā mā ərəšiš*, ‘the one whose prophet (I am)’; 29. 7 *kas.tē, vohū managhā yē ...?* ‘whom hast thou, who by good thought ...?’

In 29. 11 *nū nā auuarē*, ‘now (come) down to us’, an imperative verb is to be understood.

### Pleonasm

**375.** Much rarer than economy of expression is the superfluous repetition of a word in a second clause, as in 30. 5 *aiiā mainiuuā vərətā yē drəguuā acištā vərəziio, ašəm mainiuš spōništō*, ‘of those two Wills, the wrongful one chooses the worst things to do, but the bounteous Will (chooses) Right’; 31. 9 *ūβōi as ārmaitiš, ūβō ā gəuš tašā as xratuš mainiiōuš*, ‘thine was piety, thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will’; and the three passages quoted in §235.

In 33. 6 *mainiiōuš ā vahištāt kaiiā ahmāt, auuā managhā yā vərəziieidiiā mantā vāstriiā, tā tōi iziiā ... darštōišcā hōm.parštōišcā*, ‘from this my best will I desire, with that mind by which one takes it in mind to do pastoral works, I long to see and confer with thee’, we have not only a second demonstrative pronoun as correlative where one has already been provided, but also a second main verb repeating the sense of the first.

In 43. 4 the conjunction *hiiat* ‘when’ is repeated after the intervention of a relative clause has created excessive distance between the first one and the verb it governs: *hiiat tā zastā, yā tū hafšī auuā yā dā ašiš drəguuātē ašāunaēcā ... , hiiat mōi vaḡhōuš hazō jimaḡ managhō*, ‘when by that hand in which thou holdest those rewards that thou didst set for the wrongful one and the righteous ... <sup>2</sup>when the force of good thought comes to me’.

### Understatement (Litotes)

**376.** A particular effect may be achieved by using, instead of a forceful positive statement, a negation of its opposite, as in 46. 1 *nōit mā xšnāuš, yā vərəzēnā hēcā*, ‘the communities I consort with do not please me’, i.e. they displease me; more clearly so in 51. 12 *nōit tā īm xšnāuš vaēpiio Kauinō pərətā zimō ... hiiat ahmī urūraošt aštō*, ‘the Kavi catamite did not please him thereby at the crossing in the winter, that the emissary had barred his way at it’; 46. 6 *nōit nā isəmnō*, ‘a man not wanted’. Similarly perhaps (though the degree of positive

emphasis is hard to gauge) 28. 10 *asūnā* ‘not vain’; 29. 3 *Ašā, nōit sarajā, a-duuaēšō gauuōi*, ‘Right, no breacher of unity, unhostile to the cow’.

With double negative: 43. 12 *aṭ tū mōi nōit asruštā pairiiaoyžā*, ‘thou givest me advice (that will be) not unheeded’.

## Rhetorical Questions

**377.** Of the many interrogative sentences in the *Gāthās* (§9), some appear in dialogue contexts, in the mouths of others than Zarathushtra, and receive answers: 29. 1, 2, 5, 7; 43. 7, 9. A much larger number are addressed by the prophet to Mazdā. To these too an answer may occasionally be forthcoming (34. 5; 44. 12; cf. 31. 6), but usually it is not, and we are to understand that Zarathushtra does not know what the answer is: he is using the question form to express his actual wonderment, doubt, or despair. Such questions are not put in the expectation of an answer but as a rhetorical tactic.

In one place at least we find a ‘rhetorical question’ in the accepted sense of the term, that is, a question to which the answer is meant to be obvious: 44. 20 *ciṭṭanā, Mazdā, huxšadrā daēuuā āṇharō—aṭ iṭ pərəsā—yōi pišīieṇtī aēibiū kəm, yāiš gəm Karpā Usixscā aēšmāi dātā, yācā Kauuā qnmōnē urūdōiiatā?* ‘what, Mazdā, has the Daevas’ dominion been good—that is what I ask—they that blaspheme(?) for the sake of those with whom the Karpan and the Usij subject the cow to violence and (to all the ills) that the Kavi makes her lament to her soul?’

## Parenthesis

**378.** Zarathushtra sometimes interrupts his sentences by the parenthetical insertion of shorter ones that are syntactically quite separate. Mostly they are introduced with asyndeton, but in a few cases their explanatory nature is indicated by the particle *zī* ‘for’, and in one case there is a connecting relative pronoun to mark continuity of grammatical subject.

Some of these insertions are very short, occupying less than a verse, as in: 44. 1 *taṭ ṽβā pərəsā—ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā— | nəmajhō ā*, ‘this I ask thee—tell me straight, Lord—out of reverence’; 44. 16 *kā varəṭrəm.jā ṽβā pōi sēṅghā, yōi hēntī— | ciṭrā mōi daṃ—ahūm.biš?* ‘who is the victorious one to protect with thy law (all) who exist—let me be given clarity—the world-healer?’; 44. 20, quoted in §377; 45. 1, quoted in §373; 48. 2 *vaocā mōi ā—tuuēm vīduuā, Ahurā— | parā hīiaṭ mā yāmōṅg pərəṭā jimaitī*, ‘tell me—thou (art) the knowing one, Lord—before the end of the course approaches me’; 48. 5 *huxšadrā xšēntəm—mā nē dušxšadrā xšēntā— | vaṅhūiā cistōiš śīaoṭnāiš*, ‘let good rulers rule—do not let bad rulers rule us—with enactments of good insight’; 49. 8

*Frašaoštrāi ... Ašahiīā dā | sarēm—taṭ ʔβā, Mazdā, yāsā, Ahurā— | maibiiācā,*  
‘to Frashaushtra grant union with Right—this I pray thee, Lord Mazdā—and to me’.

Others occupy a whole verse:

43. 11 *hiiaṭ xšmā uxδāiš dīdaijḥē paouruuīm | —sadrā mōi sṣas mašīiaēšū*  
*zrazdāitiš— | taṭ vərəziieidiīāi, hiiaṭ mōi mraotā vahištəm,* ‘as I am learning by  
your utterances primarily—trust in mortals reveals itself to me as grief—to do  
that which you tell me is best’.

44. 10 *təm daēnəm, yā hātəm vahištā | —yā mōi gaēḏā Ašā frādōiṭ hacēmna—*  
*| ārmatōiš uxδāiš šīiaodnā ərəš daidiiaṭ?* ‘that religion which is the best in exis-  
tence—may it promote my flock in union with Right—do they with pious  
words and deeds conceive it aright?’

49. 9 *sraotū sāsna fšōjḥiīō suiīē taštō | —nōiṭ ərəšuuacā sarēm didaṣ*  
*drəguuātā— | hiiaṭ daēnā vahištē yūjēn mīzdē ... Dājānāspā,* ‘let the cultivator  
hear the teachings, made as he is to be strong—the straight speaker does not  
preach union with the wrongful one—since they yoke their moral selves for  
the best reward, those Djamaaspas’.

An especially long parenthesis appears in 45. 7–8:

*yehiīā sauuā išānti rādayhō*  
*yōi zī juuā āḡharacā buuanṭicā—*  
*aməratāiṭi ašāunō uruuā aēšō*  
*utaiiūtā, yā nərəš sādṛā drəguuatō;*  
*tācā xšaḏṛā Mazdā dāmiš Ahurō— ||*  
*tēm nā staotāiš nəmaḡhō ā viiuarəšō*  
*nū zī iṭ cašmainī vī.adarəšem.*

The Caring One whose strengthening all may set in train,  
those living, and who have been, and who will come to be—  
the righteous man’s soul is active in continued life  
and in vitality, which is vexation to the men of Wrong;  
of those realms too the Lord Mazdā is the creator—  
him, seeking to envelop him in our reverent praises,  
I have just now discerned in my eye.

In two passages we find two parentheses in the same sentence:

43. 10 *aṭ tū mōi dāiš Ašəm, hiiaṭ mā zaozaoim—*  
*Ārmatī hacimnō iṭ ā arəm—*  
*pərəsacā nā, yā tōi ḡhmā parštā*  
*(parštəm zī ʔβā yaḏənā taṭ †əmauuantəm),*  
*hiiaṭ ʔβā xšaiṭəs aēšəm diiāt əmauuantəm.*

Show me thou Right, that one I constantly invoke—  
in company with Piety I have started towards it—  
and ask us what thou hast to ask us  
(for the question asked by thee is like that of the †strong),  
so that one might be enabled to make thee potent and strong.

51. 8–9 *aṭ zī tōi vaxšiiā, Mazdā—vīdušē zī nā mruiiāt—  
 hiiat akōi ā drəguuaitē, uštā yō ašəm dādrē  
 (huuō zī maḍrā šiiātō, yō vīdušē mrauuiāt) ||  
 yaṃ xšnūtəm rānōibiiā dā θβā ādrā suxrā, Mazdā.*

For I will tell Thee, Mazdā— a man would be speaking to one who knows—  
 that amid ill for the wrongful one, but in bliss for him who has embraced Right  
 (happy that prophet who speaks to one who knows!)  
 (is) the atonement that thou didst set for the two parties through thy flaming fire,  
 Mazdā.

## Figures

### Conjunction of contrary terms

**379.** Contrary or complementary terms are sometimes coupled together to make an emphatic expression of the totality that they embrace. This is known as polar expression; the pairings are sometimes called merisms. Examples: 45. 1 *yaēcā asnāt yaēcā dūrāt išavā*, ‘you who come eagerly from near and far’; 45. 9 *pasūš vīrōng*, ‘herds and men’, cf. 31. 15; 46. 10 *nā gōnā vā*, ‘man or woman’, cf. *YH* 35. 6; 39. 2; 41. 2.

In 29. 4 *yā zī vāuuarəzōi pairī ciθīt daēuuāišcā mašiiāišcā yācā varəšaitē aipī ciθīt*, ‘things that have been done in the past by Daevas and mortals and things that may be done in the future’, we have one merism inside another: ‘past and future’, = at any time ever, and ‘Daevas and mortals’, = anyone at all. Both are paralleled elsewhere: for past, (present,) future cf. the passages quoted in §156; for Daevas and mortals, 45. 11 *daēuuōng ... mašiiāscā*; 48. 1 *daēuuāišcā mašiiāišcā*.<sup>4</sup>

**380.** The pairing of male and female for the sake of comprehensiveness may also be expressed through gendered pronouns or adjectives; see *YH* 39. 3 quoted in §37.

**381.** A particular type of merism paralleled in Vedic, Greek, and elsewhere<sup>5</sup> is that of ‘X and non-X’, where the prefix *a(n)*- effects the negation. There are several examples in the quasi-legal stipulations of *YH*: 35. 2 *iīadacā anīiādacā*, ‘here and elsewhere’;<sup>6</sup> 35. 4 *srūuuatascā asrūuuatascā xšaiiantascā axšaiiantascā*, ‘hearers and non-hearers, rulers and non-rulers’. Cf. §11.

4 The latter phrase corresponds to Vedic *devāśas ca mārtiyāśas ca* (RV 6. 15. 8), which still has the older, more comprehensive sense of ‘gods and mortals’. Cf. West (2007a), 100.

5 West (2007a), 101 f.

6 The oddly spelled *iīadā* is an artificial back-formation from *anīiādā* ‘elsewhere’ (< *anīia*- ‘other’), as if it were formed with the negative *an*-.

With *nōiṭ*: 31. 5 *tāciṭ* ... *yā nōiṭ vā aṅhaṭ aṅhaiṭi vā*, ‘those things that will not be, or will be’.

**382.** In other passages opposed terms are linked with *cā* or *vā* to signify, not the totalities that they define, but critical alternatives: 30. 4 *dazdē gaēmca ajiīāi-tīmca*, ‘a man adopts life and (= or) non-life’; 30. 11 *xʷiticā ēnəiti*, ‘through success and (= or) failure’; 31. 12 *aṭrā vācam baraiti miṭah.uuacā vā əras.uuacā vā, viḍuuā vā auūduuā vā*, ‘there speaks forth one of false words or one of straight words, a knowing one or an unknowing one’; 45. 9 *yā nā usən cōraṭ spēṅcā aspēṅcā*, ‘who makes at will (our) fortune and misfortune’; 46. 17 *yā vī.cinaoṭ dāṭəmcā adāṭəmcā*, ‘who discriminates between the unjust and the just man’, cf. 46. 15; 48. 4 *yā dāṭ manō vahiiō ... ašiiascā*, ‘he who sets in place better thought or worse’.

**383.** A single term may be emphasized by adding the negation of its opposite: ‘X, not non-X’, or ‘X, not Y’.<sup>7</sup> So 30. 3 *āscā hudāḅhō əraš vī.šiiātā, nōiṭ duždāḅhō*, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly, (but) not ill-doers’; 31. 10 *frauuarətā vāstrim ... nōiṭ ... auuāstriiō ... huməraṭōiš baxstā*, ‘she chose the herdsman ... the non-herdsman did not get her goodwill’; 31. 17 *viḍuuā viḍuše mraotū, mā əviḍuuā aipī dābāuuaiiat*, ‘let the knowing one speak to the knowing, let the unknowing delude no longer’; 44. 12 *huuō, nōiṭ aiiēm, aṅgrō mainiētē*, ‘he it is, not the other, who thinks as an enemy’; 46. 8 *yā im hujiiātōiš pāiāt, nōiṭ dužiiātōiš*, ‘may they keep him from good living, not from bad living’; 46. 17 *yaṭā vā ašmānī sēṅghānī, nōiṭ anafšməm*, ‘so I may proclaim for you verses, not non-verses’ (i.e. nothing less than verses); 47. 4 *ahmāt mainiūš rārəšiiēiṅṭi drəguuanṭō ...; nōiṭ iṭā ašauuanō*, ‘from this Will the wrongful deflect people ...; not so the righteous’; 48. 5 *huxšadrā xšəṅṭəm, mā nē dušxšadrā xšəṅṭā*, ‘let good rulers rule, do not let bad rulers rule us’.

**384.** Other examples of opposed terms set in pointed antithesis: 43. 5 *akām akāi, vaḅhīm ašim vaḅhaouuē*, ‘evil for the evil one, a good reward for the good’; 46. 5 *yā ašauuā drəguuanṭəm*, ‘a righteous man (receiving) a wrongful one’; 49. 4 *fšuiiasū afšuiianṭō, yaēšəm nōiṭ huuarštāiš vaš dužuuarštā*, ‘non-stockraisers among stockraisers, through whose not (doing) good deeds the bad deeds prevail’.

### Conjunction of related terms<sup>8</sup>

**385.** A positive, comparative, or superlative term may be reinforced by association with another form of the same word: 43. 3 *vaḅhūš vahiiō*, ‘better than good’; 51. 6 *vahiiō vaḅhūš ... akāṭ ašiiō*, ‘better than good ... worse than bad’; *YH* 36. 2 *uruuāzištahiiā uruuāziā, nəmištahiiā nəmaḅhā*, ‘with the most joyous

7 Cf. H. Humbach, *MSS* 14 (1959), 23–33; West (2007a), 105.

8 Cf. Humbach i. 98 f.; West (2007a), 111–16.

one's joy, with the most reverent one's reverence'; 36. 6 *sraēstam at tōi kahrpēm kahrpam ... barəzištəm barəzimanam*, 'fairest body of thy bodies ... highest of the high'; 39. 5 *vajhēuš xʷaētəuš xʷaētātā*, 'with a good clan's clan-ship'.

**386.** A noun or adjective may be used twice in close association in different cases (polyptoton), usually expressing matched or reciprocal relationship: 31. 17 *vīduuā vīdušē mraotū*, 'let the knowing one speak to the knowing one'; 46. 2 *hiiaṭ friiō friiāi daiḍī*, 'as a friend would give to a friend'; 46. 6 *huuō zī drəguuā, yē drəguuāitē vahištō, huuō ašauuā, yahmāi ašauuā friiō*, 'for he is wrongful who is good to the wrongful one; he is righteous, who has a righteous one as friend'; 53. 4 *ašāunī ašāuuabiō*, 'a righteous woman (serving) the righteous'; 46. 18 *qstəng ahmāi yē nā qstāi daiḍitā*, 'hostilities on him who would subject us to hostility', cf. *YH* 36. 1; 53. 5 *aniiō ainīm vīuuōnḡhatū*, 'let one vie with another'; *YH* 35. 10, quoted in §91.

**387.** Polyptoton may also express accumulation, as in 43. 2 *xʷāθrōi ā nā xʷāθrəm daiḍitā*, 'a man might add well-being to well-being for himself'.

**388.** Further examples of the deliberate association of related terms (paronomasia): 28. 8 *vahištəm θβā, vahištā, yēm ašā vahištā hazaošəm ahurəm, yāsā*, 'for the best gift, O best one, I pray thee, the Lord of one mind with best Right'; 43. 10 *pərasācā nā, yā tōi əhmā parštā, parštəm zī θβā ...*, 'and ask us what thou hast to ask us, for what is asked by thee ...'; 44. 1 *nəmaṅhō ā, yaḍā nəmē xšməuuatō*, '(I ask) out of reverence, how (is the proper) reverence of your kind'; 45. 11 *yas.tā daēuuōnḡ aparō mašiiqscā tarəməštā yōi im tarəmainiian-tā*, 'whoever so follows us in scorning the Daevas and mortals who scorn him'; *YH* 38. 3 *frauazəṅhō Ahurānīs Ahurahiī hāuuapaṅhā*, 'the Lord's Wives that speed on by the Lord's artistry'.

### Anaphora<sup>9</sup>

**389.** Anaphora, the repetition of a word (with or without morphological variation) in successive parallel clauses or phrases, is very common. The repetition is usually twofold or threefold, but can be more. The repeated element is usually initial in the clause or phrase.

Examples: 28. 6–7, quoted in §343; 28. 11 *θβahmāt vaocaṅhē mainiīəuš ha-cā, θβā əəəṅhā*, 'to voice in line with thy will, through thy mouth'; 31. 9 *θβōi as ārmaitiš, θβā ā gəuš tašā as xratus mainiīəuš*, 'thine was piety, thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will' (note the repetition of *as*, contrary to §370); 32. 5 *hiiaṭ vā akā manəṅhā yōnḡ daēuuōnḡ akāqscā mainiīuš, akā šīiaoθnəm vacəṅhā yā ...*, 'as by evil thought the Evil Will also (lures) you who are Daevas, (and) by the evil speech with which ...'; 45. 1 *nū gūšōdūm, nū sraotā ... nū im vīspā*,

9 Skjærvø 147–9.

*ciḍrā zī, mazdāḡhōdūm*, ‘now listen, now hear, now all take it to heart, for it is clear’; 46. 11 *yōng xʷā uruuā xʷaēcā xraodaḡ daēnā*, ‘whom their own soul and their own moral self will torment’; 49. 7 *taḡcā vohū, Mazdā, sraotū manāḡhā, sraotū ašā*, ‘let a man hear this too with Good Thought, Mazdā, let him hear it with Right’.

YH 35. 8 *Ašahiiā āaḡ sairī, Ašahiiā vərəzēnē*, ‘in union with Right, in the community of Right’; 36. 4, quoted in §394; 36. 5 *vīspāiš ṽβā humatāis, vīspāiš hūxtāiš, vīspāiš huuarštāiš pairi.jasāmaidē*, ‘with all good thoughts, with all good words, with all good deeds we attend thee’; 37. 5 *vohucā manō yazamaidē vohucā xšadrəm vaḡhīmcā daēnaḡm vaḡhīmcā fsəratūm vaḡhīmcā ārmatīm*, ‘Good Thought we worship, and good Dominion, and good Morality, and good Respect(?), and good Piety’, cf. 38. 3; 39. 5; 40. 4 *avā xʷaētus, avā vərəzēnā, avā haxēmḡm xīiāt yāiš hišcamaidē, avā vā utā xīiāmā*, ‘so may it be with the clan, so with the communities, so with the societies we associate with, so also may it be with us for you’.

**390.** Some particular recurrent usages may be listed here separately.

Anaphora with the negative particle: 29. 5 *nōit ərəzəjiōi frajiiāitiš, nōit fšuiientē drəḡuuasū pairī?* ‘is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stockraiser among the wrongful?’; 44. 13 *yōi ... nōit Ašahiiā ā.dūuiieinṭi hacēnā, nōit frasaiiā Vaḡhēuš cāxnarē Manāḡhō*, ‘who do not strive for the companionship of Right, (and) have not had the pleasure of consulting Good Thought’; 45. 2 *nōit nā manā, nōit sēḡhā, nōit xratauuō, naēdā varēnā, nōit uxḡā, naēdā šīiaodnā, nōit daēnā, nōit uruuḡnō hacaiṅtē*, ‘not our thoughts, not our pronouncements, not our intellects, nor our choices, not our words, nor our deeds, not our moralities, not our souls, are in accord’.

With demonstrative pronouns: 32. 1, quoted in §318; 45. 8–10 *tām nā staotāiš nēmanāḡhō ā vīuuarəšō | nū zī īṭ cašmainī vī.adarəšəm ... || tām nā vohū maḡ manāḡhā ciḡšnušō ... || tām nā yasnāiš ārmatōiš mimayzō*, ‘him I seeking to envelop in our reverent praises have just now discerned in my eye ... seeking to make him, together with Good Thought, pleased with us ... seeking to magnify him with piety’s acts of worship’ (note the parallelism of the three desiderative participles); 48. 6 *hā zī [nā] hušōiḡēmā, hā nā utaiiūtī ḡṭ tēuūšī ... aḡ axīiāi Ašā Mazdā uruuarā vaxšaḡ*, ‘for she it is that gives us easy living, she too vitality and strength ... and for her Mazdā with Right was to grow the plants’; 51. 18 *tām cistīm Dējāmāspō ... vərəntē, taḡ xšadrəm Manāḡhō Vaḡhēuš vīdō*, ‘that insight Djamašpa chooses to find, that realm of Good Thought’; YH 38. 4 *yā vā, vaḡhīš, Ahurō Mazdā nāḡm dadāḡ, tāiš vā yazamaidē, tāiš friiḡmahī, tāiš namaxīiāmahī, tāiš išūidiāmahī*, ‘the names that Lord Mazdā gave you, Good Ones, with them we worship you, with them we propitiate, with them we reverence, with them we give thanks’.

Parallel questions with the same or different interrogative words: 29. 1 *kahmāi mā ṽβarōzḡdūm? kē mā tašaḡ?* ‘for whom did you shape me? Who made me?’; 44. 3–7, a long series of questions: note in particular 5 *kē huupā ... ḡṭ*



... *kē huuapā* ... *dāt* ...? ‘what skilful artificer made ... what skilful artificer made ...?’; 48. 8, 9–11; 49. 12.

With two interrogatives in a single sentence: 46. 1 *kam nēmōi zaṃ, kuḍrā nēmōi aiiēnī*? ‘what land for refuge, where am I to go for refuge?’; 49. 7 *kē airiiamā, kē xʷaētus dātāiš aḡhaṭ*, ‘what tribe, what clan will it be by (thy) ordinances?’; 50. 1 *kē mōi pasēuš, kē mōnā ḍrātā vistō*? ‘who has been found as my cattle’s, who as my own protector?’; 51. 4, quoted in §371; 51. 11, quoted in §370.

**391.** Parallel dependent clauses may be linked in series by anaphora.

Relative clauses: 28. 2–3, see §367;<sup>10</sup> 32. 7 *aēšam aēnaḡham ... yā jōiā sōḡghaitē, yāiš srāuuī xʷaēnā aiiḡhā, yāēšam tū ... irixtəm ... vaēdištō ahī*, ‘of such offences which are decreed mortal, for which one is tried by the glowing metal, (and) of whose consequences thou art the paramount provider’; 32. 11 *taēcīt mā mōrəḡḡden jiiōtūm, yōi drəḡuuantō mazbīš cikōiterəš ... yōi vahištāt ašāunō ... rārəšiiḡn manḡhō*, ‘those are they who pervert life, the wrongful who with the grandees have distinguished themselves ..., who will divert the righteous from best thought’; 46. 16 *yāḍrā Ašā hacaitē Ārmaitiš, | yāḍrā vaḡh-ōuš manḡhō ištā xšāḍrəm, | yāḍrā Mazdā varədəmḡm šāēitī Ahurō*, ‘to where Piety is together with Right, to where Good Thought’s realm is at one’s disposal, to where Lord Mazdā abides in abundance’.

Temporal clauses: 31. 11 *hiiat nē, Mazdā, paouruuīm gaēḍāscā tašō daēnāscā | ḍβā manḡhā xratūšcā, hiiat astuuantəm dadā uštanəm, | hiiat šiiāoḍnācā sōḡghāscā*, ‘since first, Mazdā, thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves with thy thought, and our intellects, since thou gavest bodily vitality, since (thou gavest) actions and pronouncements’.

**392.** Related to anaphora is the effect produced by the co-ordination of words sharing the same prefix: 46. 2 *mā kamnašsuuā hiiatcā kamnānā ahmī*, ‘from my poverty in herds and because I am poor in men’; 49. 11 *dušxšāḍrəḡḡng duššiiāoḍnəḡḡng dužuuacəḡhō duždaēnəḡḡng dušmanḡhō*, ‘ill-dominioned, ill-actioned, ill-speaking, ill-moralled, ill-thinking’; YH 35. 2 *humatanḡm hūxtanḡm huuarštanḡm*, ‘of good thoughts, good words, good deeds’; 38. 3 *hupərəḍβāscā vā huuōyžāḍāscā hūšnāḍrāscā*, ‘you of good fording, of good current, of good bathing-pools’; 39. 3 *yauuaējiō yauuaēsuuō*, ‘the ever-living, the ever-blessing’; 40. 3 *nərəš ... ašāunō ašacinəḡhō ... haxmainē ahmaibiiā ahmārafənəḡhō*, ‘men, right-doers (and) right-seekers ... for association with us, supporters of us’.

**393.** Parallel sentences with matching elements: YH 36. 3 *ātarš vōi Mazdā Ahurahiīā ahī, mainiiuš vōi ahiiā spēništō ahī*, ‘truly, the fire of Lord Mazdā art thou; truly, his most bounteous will art thou’.

10 Stanza 4 again begins with a *yā* ‘I who’, appearing to continue the anaphora, but it starts a new sentence and the relative clause depends on a new main verb.

### Augmented triads

**394.** In the section on word order attention was drawn to the principle that shorter elements tend to precede longer ones (§336). A special figure embodying this principle is the ‘augmented triad’, in which a colon is made up of three parallel words or phrases of which the third is the bulkiest.<sup>11</sup> Sometimes the three members are linked by anaphora.

Examples: 33. 10 *yā zī ājharō yāscā həntī yāscā, Mazdā, bauuainīti*, ‘which have been and which are and which, Mazdā, shall come to be’; 43. 7 *ciš ahī? kahiiā ahī? kaθā aiiārō daxšārā frasaiiāi dīšā ...?* ‘who art thou? Whose art thou? How mightest thou take a day for questioning?’; 45. 2 *nōiṭ nā manā, nōiṭ sēnḡhā, nōiṭ xratauuō*, ‘not our thoughts, not our pronouncements, not our intellects’; 48. 8, two one-line questions followed by a two-line question; 49. 1 *gaidī mōi, ā mōi rapā, ahiiā Vohū aošō vīdā Manajhā*, ‘come to me, support me, devise his destruction with Good Thought’.

*YH 36. 4 vohū θβā manajhā, vohū θβā ašā, vaṅhuiiā θβā cištōiš šīiaoθənāišcā vacēbīšcā pairi.jasāmaidē*, ‘with good thought, with good Right, with good insight’s deeds and words we attend thee’; 37. 2 *ahiiā xšaθrācā mazēnācā hauuapajhāišcā*, ‘through his dominion and greatness and artistries’; 38. 5 *apascā vā azīšcā vā mātərāscā vā ... āuuocāmā*, ‘as the Waters, as the Milch Cows, as the Mothers ... we will invoke you’; 41. 1 *dadəmahicā cīšmahicā ā.cā vaēdaiimahī*, ‘we dedicate and assign and proclaim’; 41. 5 *aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīšāmadaēcā* (4, 4, 5 syllables), ‘we declare ourselves and are willing and stand ready’.

---

11 This is a pattern widely found in ancient literatures of Indo-European ancestry: West (2007a), 117–19.

## Appendix

### The Old Avestan Texts

I give here an edition of the texts, articulated for reading and with a critical apparatus. Information about manuscripts and readings is drawn from the materials in Geldner's edition for the verse texts and from Narten's for the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*. I have eliminated the mass of merely orthographical variants and added notice of the most significant modern emendations known to me. From the large number of manuscripts reported by Geldner and Narten I have selected eight as being sufficient to represent the tradition; the best readings transmitted are normally to be found among them. They fall neatly into four families, as follows (Geldner's sigla in square brackets):

- m manuscripts copied by Mitrō-Āpān in 1323, namely:
  - A [J2] = Oxon. Bodl. Ms. Zend c. 1
  - B [K5]
- h lost manuscript copied by Hōshāng i Sīyāvakhsh c. 1478, represented by:
  - C [Mf1], copied in 1741
  - D [Pt4], copied in 1780
- s manuscripts of the Indian Yasna Sade, notably:
  - E [H1], not dated
  - F [J6], 16th–17th century
- v manuscripts of the Persian Vendidad Sade, notably:
  - G [Mf2], copied in 1618
  - H [Jp1], copied in 1638

I use the siglum  $\omega$  for the consensus of the manuscripts, and *dett.* (*deteriores*) for unspecified manuscripts not included in the above selection. A<sup>a</sup> and A<sup>c</sup> mean A before or after correction.

#### A. The Verse Texts

##### Yasna 27

- 13 yaθā ahū vairiio, aθā ratuš ašātcīꞥ hacā  
vaꞥhəuš dazdā manaꞥhō šiiəoθnanəꞥm aꞥhəuš Mazdāi  
xšəθrəmcā Ahurāiia, yim drigubiiō dadaꞥ vāstārəꞥm.

- 14 ašəm vohū, vahištəm astī:  
uštā astī, uštā ahmāi,  
hiiat̄ ašāi vahištāi ašəm.

### Yasna 28

- 1 ahiiā yāsā nəmanḡhā ustāna.zastō rafəδrahiīā,  
Mainiiəuš, Mazdā, paouruuīm Spəntahiiā Ašā, vīspəṅg, šīiaoθnā,  
Varḡhəuš xratūm Mananḡhō yā xšnəuuīšā gəušcā uruuānəm,
- 2 yē vā, Mazdā Ahurā, pairī.jasāi vohū mananḡhā,  
maibiiō dāuuōi ahuuā, astuuatascā hiiat̄cā mananḡhō,  
āiiaptā ašāt̄ hacā, yāiš rapəntō daidīt̄ xʷāθrē;
- 3 yē vā Ašā ufiīānī Manascā Vohū apaouruuīm  
Mazdəmčā Ahurəm, yaēibiiō xšaθrəmčā aγzaonuuamnəm  
varədaitī Ārmaitiḡ: ā mōi rafəδrāi zauuəṅg jasatā.
- 4 yē uruuānəm mēn gairē vohū dadē haθrā mananḡhā,  
ašīšcā šīiaoθnanəm vīduš Mazdā Ahurahiiā,  
yauuat̄ isāi tauuācā, auuat̄ xsāi aēšē Ašahiiā.
- 5 Ašā, kaṡ θβā darəsānī, manascā vohū vaēdəmno  
gātūmčā Ahurāi<sup>1</sup> səuuīštāi sraošəm Mazdāi?  
anā maθrā mazištəm vāurōimaidī krafstrā hizuuā.
- 6 Vohū gaidī Mananḡhā, dāidī Ašā dā darəgāiiū  
erəšuuāiš tū uxδāiš, Mazdā, Zarat̄uštrāi aojōṅghuuat̄ rafəno  
ahmaibiiācā, Ahurā, yā daibišuuatō duuaēšā tauruuāiiāmā.
- 7 dāidī, Ašā, təm ašīm, varḡhəuš āiiaptā mananḡhō;  
dāidī tū, Ārmaitē, Vištāspāi ištəm maibiiācā;  
dās.tū, Mazdā, xšaiiācā, yā vō maθrā srəuuīmā rādā.
- 8 vahištəm θβā, vahištā, yēm Ašā vahištā hazaošəm  
Ahurəm, yāsā vāunuš narōi Frašaoštrāi maibiiācā  
yaēibiiascā iṡ rāṅhanḡhōi vīspāi yauuē varḡhəuš mananḡhō.
- 9 anāiš vā nōiṡ, Ahurā [Mazdā],<sup>2</sup> Ašəmčā yānāiš zaranaēmā  
Manascā hiiat̄ vahištəm, yōi vō yōiθəmā dasəmē stūtəm:  
yūžəm zəuuīštiiāṅhō; išo xšaθrəmčā sauuanḡham.
- 10 at̄ yəṅg ašāat̄cā vōistā varḡhəušcā dāθəṅg mananḡhō  
erəθβəṅg, Mazdā Ahurā, aēibiiō pərənā āpanāiš kāməm;  
at̄ vō [xšmaibiiā]<sup>3</sup> asunā vaedā xʷaraiθiiā vaiṡtiiā srauuā.

1 ahurāiiā Gippert

2 [ ] Andreas–Wackernagel

3 [ ] Wackernagel

- 11 yē āiš ašəm ni.pąjhē manascā vohū yauuaētāitē,  
tuuōm, Mazdā Ahurā, frō mā sīšā ũβahmāt vaocaųhē  
mainiūš hacā ũβā ēāųhā, yāiš ā aųhuš paouruiō bauuaų.

### Yasna 29

- 1 xšmaibiiā gōuš uruuā gərəždā: “kahmāi mā ũβarōždūm? kē mā tašaų?  
ā mā aēšəmō hazascā rēmō [ā] hišāiiā dərəš[cā]<sup>4</sup> tēuuišcā.  
nōių mōi vāstā xšmaų aniiō; aųā [mōi]<sup>5</sup> saštā vohū vāstriiā.”
- 2 adā tašā gōuš pərəsaų Ašəm: “kaųā tōi gauuōi ratuš,  
hiių hīm dātā xšaiianųō? hadā vāstrā gaodāiiō ũβaxšō:  
kēm hōi uštā ahurəm, yē drəguuōdēbīš aēšēmēm vādāiiōių?”
- 3 ahmāi Ašā, nōių sarəjā, aduuāēšō gauuōi, paitī.mrauuaų:  
“auuaēšəm nōių vīduiiē; yā šauuaitē ādrəųg ərəšuuųųhō,  
hātəm huuō aojištō, yahmāi zauuųųg jimā kərədušā,
- 4 “Mazdā, sax<sup>v</sup>ārē mairištō, yā zī vāuuərəzōi pairī.ciųių  
daēuuāišcā mašiiāišcā, yācā varəšaitē aipi.ciųių.  
huuō vīcirō ahurō: aųā [nē]<sup>6</sup> aųhaų, yaųā huuō vasatų.”
- 5 aų vā ustānāiš ā huuā<sup>7</sup> zastāiš frīnəmnā Ahurāiiā,  
mē uruuā gōušcā aziiā, hiių Mazdəm duuaidī frasābiiō:  
“nōių ərəžəjiōi frajiiāitiš, nōių fšuiienųtē drəguuasū pairi?”
- 6 atē<sup>8</sup> vaocaų Ahurō Mazdā vīduuā vafuš viianāiiā:  
“nōių aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš aųaųcų hacā;  
aų zī ũβā fšuiianųtaēcā vāstriiāicā Ūβōrəštā tatašā.”
- 7 tēm āzūtoiš Ahurō maųųrəm tašaų Ašā hazaošō  
Mazdā gauuōi xšuuīdəmcā; huuō urušaēibiiō spəųō sāsnaiiā.  
kas.tē vohū manųhā yē ī dāiiāų ēāuuā marətaēibiiō?
- 8 “aēm mōi idā vistō, yē nē aēuuō sāsna gūšatā,  
Zaraųųtrō Spitāmō: huuō nē mazdā<sup>9</sup> vaštī Ašāicā  
carəkərəųrā srauuaieiųhē, hiių hōi hudəməm diiāi vaxədrahiiā.”
- 9 aųcā gōuš uruuā raostā, “yē anaēšəm xšənmənē rādəm,  
vācəm nərəš asūrahiiā, yēm ā vasəmi īšā.xšəųrīm.<sup>10</sup>  
kadā yauuā huuō aųhaų, yē hōi dadaų zastauuaų auuō?

4 [ ] *Andreas–Wackernagel*

5 [ ] *Andreas–Wackernagel*: aų mōi *Bartholomae*

6 [ ] *Andreas–Wackernagel*

7 *Kellens–Pirart*: ahuuā *D s v*: ahuuā *m C*

8 *Insler*: aų ē *ferē ω*

9 *dett.*: mazdā *ω*

10 *h F G*: xšəųrīm *m E*

- 10 “yūžəm aēibiiō, Ahurā, aogō dātā ašā xšaθrəmcā  
 auuəʔ vohū manəḡhā, yā hušəitiš rāməmcā dāt:  
 azəmcīʔ ahiia, Mazdā, θβəḡm mēḡhī paouruuim vaēdəm.”
- 11 kudā ašəm vohucā manō xšaθrəmcā? aʔ məm ašā<sup>11</sup>  
 yūžəm, Mazdā, frāxšnənē mazōi magāiiā paiti.zānatā.  
 Ahurā, nū nā auuarə, əhmā rātōiš yūšmāuuatəm.

### Yasna 30

- 1 aʔ tā vaxšiiā, išəntō, yā mazdāθā hiiatcīʔ vīdušē,  
 staotācā Ahurāi<sup>12</sup> yesniiācā Vəḡhəuš Manəḡhō  
 huməzdrā Ašāiiecā, yā raocəbiš darəsata uruuāzā.
- 2 sraotā gəušāiš vahištā, ā vaēnatā sūcā manəḡhā  
 ā varənā vīciθahiiā narəm narəm xʰaxiiāi tanuiiē  
 parā mazə yəḡhō, ahmāi [nə]<sup>13</sup> sazdiiai baodaḡtō paiti.
- 3 aʔ tā mainiiū, paouruiiē yā yəmā xʰafənā asruuātəm,  
 manahi[cā]<sup>14</sup> vacahicā šiiəθanōi hī, vahiiō akəmcā;  
 āscā hudāḡhō ərəš vī.šiiātā, nōiʔ duzdāḡhō.
- 4 aʔcā hiiat tā hēm mainiiū jasaētəm paouruuim, dazdē  
 gaēmcā ajiiaitīmcā, yaθā[cā]<sup>15</sup> aḡhaʔ apəməm aḡhuš:  
 acištō drəguuatəm, aʔ ašəunē vahištəm manō.
- 5 aiiā mainiuuā varətā yə drəguuā acištā vərəziiō,  
 ašəm mainiiuš spəništō, yə xraoždīštəḡ asənō vastē,  
 yaēcā xšnaošən Ahurəm haiθiiāiš šiiəθnāiš fraorəʔ Mazdəm.
- 6 aiiā nōiʔ ərəš vī.šiiātā daēuuācinā, hiiat iš ā dəbaomā  
 pərəsəmnəḡ<sup>16</sup> upā jasaʔ, hiiat vərənātā acištəm manō,  
 aʔ aēšəməθ həḡ.duuārəḡtā, yā bəḡnaiiən ahūm marətānō.
- 7 ahmāicā xšaθrā jasaʔ manəḡhā vohū ašācā,  
 aʔ kəhrpəm utaiiūitiš dadāʔ, ārmaitiš aḡnmā;  
 aēšəḡm tōi ā aḡhaʔ yaθā [aiiaḡhā]<sup>17</sup> adānāiš paouruiiō.

11 *Lommel*: mā mašā ω

12 *ahurāiiā Gippert*: ahurahiiā *Lommel*

13 [] *Kuiper*

14 [] *Bartholomae*

15 [] *Andreas–Wackernagel*

16 *Kellens–Pirart*: pərəsəmnəḡ *fere* ω

17 [] *Kuiper*

- 8 aṭcā yadā aēšam kaēnā jamaitī aēnaḥam,  
aṭ, Mazdā, taibiiō xšaṭrēm vohū manaḥhā vōiuuīdāitē<sup>18</sup>  
aēibiiō sastē, Ahurā, yōi Ašāi dadən<sup>19</sup> zastaiiō Drujəm.
- 9 aṭcā tōi vaēm xiiāmā yōi īm frašēm kərənāun ahūm,  
Mazdāscā Ahurāḥhō ā.mōiiastrā.baranā Ašācā,  
hiiat haḍrā manā buuaṭ yaḍrā cistiš aḥaṭ<sup>20</sup> maēḍā.
- 10 adā zī auuā Drūjō [auuō] buuaitī skəṇdō spaiiaḍrahiā,  
aṭ āsištā yaojaṇtē ā hušitōiš Vaḥhōuš Manaḥhō  
Mazdā Ašaxiiācā, yōi zazəṇtī vaḥhāu srauuaḥī.
- 11 hiiat tā uruuātā sašāḍā<sup>21</sup> yā Mazdā dadāt, mašiiāḥhō,  
xʷiticā ənəitī, hiiatcā darəgēm drəguuōdəbiiō rašō  
sauuacā ašauuabiiō, aṭ aipī tāiš aḥhaitī uštā.

### Yasna 31

- 1 tā vō uruuātā marəṇtō aguštā vacā səṅghāmahī  
aēibiiō yōi uruuātāiš Drūjō Ašahiiā gaēḍā vī.mərəṇcaitē,  
aṭcīt aēibiiō vahištā yōi zrazdā aḥhən Mazdāi.
- 2 yezī āiš nōiṭ uruuānē aduuā<sup>22</sup> aibī.dərəštā vaxiiā,  
aṭ vā vīspəṅg ā <a>iioi,<sup>23</sup> yaḍā ratūm Ahurō vaēdā  
Mazdā aiiā əsaiiā, yā ašat hacā juuāmahī.
- 3 yaḥm dā mainiiū āḍrācā ašācā cōiš rānōibiiā xšnūtēm,  
hiiat uruuātəm cazdōḥhuuadəbiiō, taṭ nō, Mazdā, vīduuanōi vaocā  
hizuuā ḍbahiiā ḥhō, yā juuaṇtō vīspəṅg vāuraiiā.
- 4 yadā Ašəm zəuuīm aḥhən Mazdāscā Ahurāḥhō  
Ašicā Ārmaitī, vahištā išasā manaḥhā  
maibiiō xšaṭrēm aojōḥhuuaṭ, yehiiā vərədā vanaēmā Drujəm.
- 5 taṭ mōi vī.cidiiāi vaocā, hiiat mōi ašā dātā vahiiō,  
vīduiē vohū manaḥhā mēṇcā daidiiāi, yehiiā mā ərəšiš,  
tācīt, Mazdā Ahurā, yā nōiṭ vā aḥaṭ aḥhaitī vā.
- 6 “ahmāi aḥaṭ vahištəm, yē mōi vīduuā vaocāt haiḍīm,  
maḍrēm yim hauruuatātō ašahiiā amərə<ta>tātascā.<sup>24</sup>  
Mazdāi auuaṭ xšaṭrēm, hiiat hōi vohū vaxšat manaḥhā.”

18 *m*: -tī h s v

19 *dən* *Andreas–Wackernagel*

20 aḥhaitī?

21 *West*: sašāḍā ω

22 *det.*, *Insler*: aduuā ω

23 < > *Meillet*

24 < > *Monna*

- 7 yas.tā maṇtā paouruiiō raocēbīš rōiθβēn x<sup>v</sup>āθrā,  
 huuō xraθβā dāmiš ašəm, yā dāraiaṭ vahištəm manō;  
 tā, Mazdā, mainiiū uxšiiō, yē ā nūrēmciṭ, Ahurā, hāmō.<sup>25</sup>
- 8 aṭ θβā mēḡhī paouruuīm, Mazdā, yazūm stōi manāḡhā,  
 vaḡhēuš ptarēm manāḡhō, hiiāṭ θβā hēm cašmainī [hēḡ]grabəm,  
 haiθīm<sup>26</sup> ašahiiā dāmīm, aḡhēuš ahurəm šiiāoθanaēšū.
- 9 θβōi as ārmaitiš, θβē ā gēuš tašā as xratuš  
 mainiiōuš,<sup>27</sup> Mazdā Ahurā, hiiāṭ axiiāi dadā paṭḡam  
 vāstriiāṭ vā ā itē yē vā nōiṭ aḡhaṭ<sup>28</sup> vāstriiō.
- 10 aṭ hī aiiā fra.uarētā vāstrīm axiiāi fšuiiaṇtəm  
 ahurəm ašauuanəm, vaḡhēuš fšēḡhīm manāḡhō;  
 nōiṭ, Mazdā, auuāstriiō dauuāscinā humərətōiš baxštā.
- 11 hiiāṭ nē, Mazdā, paouruuīm gaēθāscā tašō daēnāscā  
 θβā manāḡhā xratūšcā, hiiāṭ astuuāṇtəm dadā uštānəm,  
 hiiāṭ šiiāoθnācā sēḡḡhāscā, yaθrā varēnōḡḡ vasā dāiiētē,
- 12 aθrā vācəm baraitī miθah.uuacā vā ērəš.uuacā vā,  
 vīduuā vā əuuīduuā vā, ahiiā zərədācā manāḡhācā;  
 ānuš.haxš Ārmaitiš mainiiū pərəsaitē, yaθrā maēθā.
- 13 yā frasā āuuīšiiā, yā vā, Mazdā, pərəsaētē taiiā,  
 yē vā kasēuš aēnaḡhō ā mazištəm [a]yamaitē būjəm,  
 tā cašmōḡḡ θβisrā hārō aibī ašā [aibī] vaēnahī vīspā.
- 14 tā θβā pərəsā, Ahurā, yā zī ā <aē>iti<sup>29</sup> jēḡḡhaticā,  
 yā išudō dadēṇtē dāθranəm hacā ašāunō  
 yāscā Mazdā drēguuōdēbiiō – yaθā tā aḡhēn hēḡkərētā hiiāṭ.
- 15 pərəsā auuāṭ, yā maēniš,<sup>30</sup> yē drēguuāitē xšāθrəm hunāitī  
 duššiiāoθanāi, Ahurā, yē nōiṭ jiiōtūm hanarē vīnastī  
 vāstriehiiā aēnaḡhō pasēuš vīrāaṭcā adrujiiāṇtō.
- 16 pərəsā auuāṭ, yaθā huuō yē hudānuš dēmanahiiā xšāθrəm  
 šōiθrahiiā vā daxiiōuš vā ašā fradaθāiiā spərəzata<sup>31</sup>  
 θβāuuāṣ, Mazdā Ahurā – yadā huuō aḡhaṭ yā.šiiāoθnāscā.

25 yē [ā] Roth hāmō C v: haomō m D s

26 hiθḡam Kellens–Pirart; praestat hiθāum

27 B: ma(i)niūš s, -uš A h v

28 aḡhaitī?

29 < > Bartholomae

30 h v: mainiš m s

31 Insler: fradaθāi asp- ω



- 17 katārēm ašauuā vā drəguuā vā vərənauuaitē maziiō?  
vīduuā vīdušē mraotū, mā əuuīduuā aipī dēbāuuaiiaṭ.  
zdī nē, Mazdā Ahurā, vaṅhəuš fradaxštā manəṅhō.
- 18 mā.ciš aṭ vē drəguuatō maṭṭrəscā gūštā sāsnāscā,  
ā zī dēmānəm vīsəm vā šōiṭrəm vā daxiiūm vā [ā]dāṭ  
dušitācā marəkaēcā; aṭā iš sāzdūm snaiṭišā.
- 19 gūštā yē maṅtā ašəm ahūm.biš vīduuā, Ahurā,  
əwəž.uxδāi vacaṅṅəm xšaiiamnō hizuuō vasō  
ṭβā āṭrā suxrā, Mazdā, vaṅhāu vīdātā rənaiiā.
- 20 yē aiiāṭ<sup>32</sup> ašauuanəm, diuuamnəm hōi aparəm xšaiiō;  
darəgēm āiiū təmaṅṅhō, dušx<sup>v</sup>arəṭṭēm, auuaētās vacō,  
tēm vā ahūm, drəguuaṅtō, šiiəṭanāiš x<sup>v</sup>āiš daēnā naēšaṭ.
- 21 Mazdā dadāṭ<sup>33</sup> Ahurō hauruuātō amərə<ta>tātasca<sup>34</sup>  
būrōiš ā ašaxiiēcā x<sup>v</sup>əpaiṭiiāṭ xšəṭrahiā sarō<i><sup>35</sup>  
vaṅhəuš vazduarē manəṅṅhō, yē hōi mainiiū šiiəṭnāišcā uruuāṭṭō.
- 22 ciṭrā ī hudāṅṅhē, yaṭəṇā vaēdəmṅāi manəṅṅhā;  
vōhū huuō xšəṭrā ašəm vacaṅṅhā šiiəṭanēcā hapti.  
huuō tōi, Mazdā Ahurā, vāzištō aṅṅhaiti astiš.

### Yasna 32

- 1 axiiēcā x<sup>v</sup>aētūš yāsaṭ, ahiiā vərəzənəm maṭ airiiamnā,  
ahiiā daēuuā mahmī manōi,<sup>36</sup> Ahurahiā uruuāzəmā Mazdā:  
“ṭβōi dūtāṅṅhō aṅṅhāmā, təṅṅ daraiiō<sup>37</sup> yōi vā daibišəṅṅṭi”:
- 2 aēibiiō Mazdā Ahurō sārəmnō Vohū Manəṅṅhā  
xšəṭrāṭ hacā paiti.mraot, Ašā huš.haxā x<sup>v</sup>ənuuātā,  
“spəṅṅṭəm vē ərmaitim vaṅ<sup>v</sup>hīm varəmaidī; hā nē aṅṅṅṭ.”
- 3 aṭ yūš daēuuā vīspāṅṅhō Akāṭ Manəṅṅhō stā ciṭrəm,  
yascā vā maš yazaitē, Drūjascā Pairimatōišcā;  
šiiəṭməm aipī daibitānā, yāiš asrūdūm<sup>38</sup> būmiiā haptaiṭē,
- 4 yāṭ yūš tā fra.mīmaṭṭā, yā mašiiā acištā daṅṅtō  
vaxšəṅṅtē daēuuō.zuštā, vaṅhəuš siždiiamnā manəṅṅhō,  
Mazdā Ahurahiā xratəuš nasiiaṅṅtō Ašāaṭcā.

32 āiiāṭ *m h v*: dāiiāṭ *s*

33 dadāṭ *A<sup>a</sup> B<sup>a</sup> s G*

34 < > *Andreas–Wackernagel*

35 < > *West*

36 mnōi *Andreas–Wackernagel*

37 *Humbach*: dāraiio ω

38 *vel ā srūdūm*

- 5 tā dōbēnaotā mašim hujiiātōiš amərə<ta>tātascā,<sup>39</sup>  
 hiiat̥ vā akā manajhā yōṅg daēuuōṅg akascā mainiiuš,  
 akā šiiāoθnēm vacajhā yā fra.cinas drēguuaṅtēm xšaiiō.
- 6 pourū aēnā ēnāxštā yāiš srauuahiieitī, yezi tāiš aθā,  
 hātā.marānē Ahurā, vahištā vōistā manajhā;  
 θβahmī vō,<sup>40</sup> Mazdā, xšaθrōi Ašāiiecā<sup>41</sup> sōṅghō vī.dam.
- 7 aēšam aēnajham naē.cit̥ vīduuā aojōi hādrōiiā,  
 yā jōiiā sōṅghaitē,<sup>42</sup> yāiš srāuuī xʷaēnā aiiajhā,  
 yaēšam tū, Ahurā, irixtēm, Mazdā, vaēdištō ahī.
- 8 aēšam aēnajham Vīuuajhušō srāuuī Yimascit̥,  
 yō mašiiōṅg cixšnušō ahmākōṅg gōuš<sup>43</sup> bagā xʷarəmnō.  
 aēšamc̥it̥ ā ahmī θβahmī, Mazdā, vīciθōi aipī.
- 9 dušsastiš srauuā mōrəṅdat̥, huuō jiiātēuš sōṅghanāiš xratūm;<sup>44</sup>  
 apō mā ištīm [apa]yaṅtā bərəxδam hāitīm Vaṅhōuš Manajhō.  
 tā uxδā mainiiōuš mahiiā, Mazdā, Ašāicā yušmaibiiā<sup>45</sup> gərəzē.
- 10 huuō mā nā srauuā mōrəṅdat̥, yō acištəm vaēnajhē aogədā  
 gəm ašibiiā huuarēcā, yascā dāθōṅg drēguuatō dadat̥,  
 yascā vāstrā vī.uuāpaṭ, yascā vadarē vōiždat̥ ašāunē.
- 11 taēcit̥ mā mōrəṅdēn jiiōtūm, yōi drēguuaṅtō<sup>46</sup> mazbiš cikōitərəš  
 aṅʰišcā aṅhauuascā apaieitī raēxənajhō vaēdēm,  
 yōi vahištāt̥ ašāunō, Mazdā, rārēšiiṅ manajhō.
- 12 yā rāṅhāiēn srauuajhā vahištāt̥ šiiāoθanāt̥ marētānō,  
 aēibiiō Mazdā akā mraot̥, yōi gōuš mōrəṅdēn uruuāxš.uxtī jiiōtūm,  
 yāiš grēhmā ašāt̥ varētā Karpā xšaθrəmcā išanam Drujəm:
- 13 yā<sup>47</sup> xšaθrā grēhmō hišasaṭ Acistahiiā dēmānē Manajhō,  
 aṅhōuš marəxtārō ahiiā, yaēcā, Mazdā, jigərəzaṭ kāmē  
 θβahiiā maθrānō dūtīm, yō iš pāt̥ darəsāt̥ Ašahiiā.
- 14 ahiiā grēhmō ā.hōiθōi nī Kāuuaiiasc̥it̥ xratūš [nī] dadat̥  
 varēcāhicā fraidiuuā, hiiat̥ vīsēntā drēguuaṅtēm auuō,  
 hiiat̥cā gāuš jaidiiāi mraoi, yō dūraošəm saocaiiat̥ †auuō.<sup>48</sup>

---

39 < > *Monna*

40 *vī m*

41 *Kellens–Pirart: ašāēcā m h: ašāicā s v*

42 *sōṅghaitī s*

43 *Andreas–Wackernagel: gāuš ω*

44 *m h v: xratū s*

45 *xšmaibiiā Kellens*

46 *D s H: drēguuatō m C*

47 *yāiš B*

- 15 anāiš ā vī.nōnāsā yā Karəpōtāscā Kəuuītāscā.  
 auuāiš aibī<sup>49</sup> yēṅṅ daiṅtī, nōiṭ jiiātēuš xšaiamnōṅṅ vasō,  
 tōi ābiā bairiāṅtē Vaṅhēuš ā dēmānē Manaṅhō.
- 16 hamēm taṭ vahištācīṭ, yē ušuruiē siiascīṭ dahmahiiā  
 xšaiias, Mazdā Ahurā, yehiiā mā aiṭīscīṭ duuaēṭā.  
 hiiat aēnaṅhē drəguuatō, ēānū išiiōṅṅ †aṅhahiā.<sup>50</sup>

### Yasna 33

- 1 yaṭā āiš, iṭā varəšaitē, yā dātā aṅhēuš paouruiiehiiā  
 ratuš,<sup>51</sup> šiiāoṭnā razīštā drəguuataēcā hiiatcā ašāunē  
 yēxiiācā hēm.iiāsaitē miṭahiiā yācā hōi ārəzuuā.
- 2 aṭ yē akəm drəguuāitē vacaṅhā vā aṭ vā manaṅhā  
 zastōibiiā vā varəšaitī, vaṅhāu vā cōiṭaitē astīm,  
 tōi vārāi<sup>52</sup> rādəṅtī, Ahurahiiā zaošē Mazdā.
- 3 yē ašāunē vahištō x<sup>v</sup>aētū vā aṭ vā vərəzəniio  
 airiiamnā vā, Ahurā, vīdṅṅ vā ṭβaxšaṅhā gauuōi,  
 aṭ huuō Ašahiiā aṅhaṭ Vaṅhēušcā vāstrē Manaṅhō.
- 4 yē ṭβaṭ, Mazdā, asruštīm akəmcā manō yazāi apā  
 x<sup>v</sup>aētēušcā tarəməitīm vərəzənaṅxiiācā nazdištəm Drujəm  
 airiiamnascā nadəṅtō gəušcā vāstrāṭ acištəm maṅtūm,
- 5 yas.tē vīspē.mazištəm sraošəm zbaiiā auuaṅhānē  
 apānō darəgō.jiiāitīm ā xšaṭrəm vaṅhēuš manaṅhō,  
 ašāṭ ā ərəzūš paṭō, yaēšū Mazdā Ahurō šaēitī,
- 6 yē zaotā ašā ərəzūš, huuō mainiiēuš ā vahištāṭ kaiiā  
 ahmāṭ, auuā manaṅhā yā vərəziieidiiāi maṅtā vāstriiā,  
 tā tōi iziiā, Ahurā Mazdā, darštōišcā hēm.parštōišcā.
- 7 ā mā [ā]idūm, vahištā, ā x<sup>v</sup>aiṭiiācā, Mazdā, darəšaṭcā  
 ašā vohū manaṅhā, yā sruiē parē magāunō;  
 āuuiš nā aṅtarə hēṅtū nəmax<sup>v</sup>aitiš ciṭrā rātaiiō.
- 8 frō mōi [fra]uuōizdūm arəṭā tā, yā vohū šiiāuuāi manaṅhā,  
 yasnəm, Mazdā, xšmāuuatō, aṭ vā<sup>53</sup> ašā staomiiā vacā.  
 dātā vē amərətāscā utaiiūitī hauruuātās draonō.

48 *ex versu priore male repetitum: fort. haoməm*

49 *m h: aipī s v*

50 *fort. aṅhahi(a)ā*

51 *ratuš A s: ratuš B h v*

52 *vārāiā Bartholomae*

53 *F v: vā m h E*

- 9 at̥ tōi, Mazdā, tēm mainiiūm ašā uxšaiiaṇtəm<sup>54</sup> sarēidiiaiiā  
x<sup>v</sup>āθrā maēθā maiiā vahištā barētū manajhā:  
aiiā ārōi hākurenəm, yaiiā hacinētē uruuānō.
- 10 vīspās tā<sup>55</sup> hujītaiiō yā zī āṇharē yāscā hēṇtī  
yāscā, Mazdā, bauuaiṇtī, θβahmī hiš zaošē ā.baxšōhuuā;  
vohū uxšiiā manajhā xšaθrā ašācā uštā tanūm.
- 11 yē səuuištō ahurō Mazdāscā, Ārmaitišcā  
Ašəmcā frādaṭ.gaeθəm Manascā Vohū Xšaθrəmcā,  
sraotā mōi, mərəždātā mōi ādāi kahiiāciṭ<sup>56</sup> paitī.
- 12 us mōi [uz]ārəšuuā, Ahurā, ārmaitī təuuišim dasuuā,  
spəništā mainiiū, Mazdā, vaṇhuiiā zauuō ādā,  
ašā hazō əmauuat, vohū manajhā fsəratūm.
- 13 rafəθrāi, vouru.cašānē, dōišī mōi yā vē ā bifrā,<sup>57</sup>  
tā xšaθrahiā, Ahurā, yā vaṇhəuš ašiš manajhō;  
frō, spəntā Ārmaitē, ašā daēnā [fra]daxšaiiā.
- 14 at̥ rāṭəm Zaraθuštrō tanuuasciṭ x<sup>v</sup>axiiā uštanəm  
dadāitī, pauraatātəm manajhascā vaṇhəuš Mazdāi  
šiiəoθnahiiā Ašāiiācā uxθaxiiācā, sraošəm xšaθrəmcā.

### Yasna 34

- 1 yā šiiəoθnā, yā vacaṇhā, yā yasnā amərotatātəm  
ašəmcā taibiiō dāṇhā, Mazdā, xšaθrəmcā hauruuātātō,  
aēšəm tōi, Ahurā, əhmā pourutəmāiš dastē.
- 2 at̥cā ī tōi manajhā mainiiəuścā vaṇhəuš vīspā dātā  
spəntaxiiācā nərəš šiiəoθnā, yehiiā uruuā ašā hacaitē,  
pairi.gaeθē xšməuuatō vahmē, Mazdā, garōbiš stūtəm.
- 3 at̥ tōi miiəzdəm, Ahurā, nəmanjā Ašāicā dāmā  
gaeθā vīspā ā xšaθrōi, yā vohū θraoštā manajhā;  
ārōi zī hudāṇhō vīspāiš, Mazdā, xšməuuasū sauuō.
- 4 at̥ tōi ātrəm, Ahurā, aojōṇhuanəṭəm ašā usəmahī  
aš.īštīm əmauuəṇtəm stōi rapəntē ciθrā.auuəṇhəm,  
at̥, Mazdā, daiβišiiəṇtē zastā.īštāiš dərəštā.aēnaṇhəm.

54 *West*: ašəoxšaiiantā ω

55 *West*: vīspā stōi ω

56 *D E*: kahiiāciṭ *B F v*

57 *West*: abifrā ω

- 5 kaṭ vō xšaθrēm, kā īštiš šīiaoθnāi,<sup>58</sup> Mazdā, hiiat ā vō ahmī,<sup>59</sup>  
ašā vohū manaṅhā θrāiioidiiai drigūm yūšmākəm?  
“parē vā vīspāiš [parē] vaoxmā daēuuāišcā xrafstrāiš mašīiāišcā.”
- 6 yezī aθā stā haiθīm, Mazdā Ašā Vohū Manaṅhā,  
aṭ taṭ mōi daxštəm dātā ahiiā aṅhōuš vīspā maēθā,  
yaθā vā yazəmnascā uruuāidiiā stauuas aienī paitī.
- 7 kuθrā tōi arədrā, Mazdā, yōi vaṅhōuš vaēdenā manaṅhō  
səṅghūš raēxnā aspəṅcīt sādrcīt caxraiiō ušəurū?  
naē.cīm tēm aniiēm yūšmaṭ vaēdā ašā; aθā nā θrāzdūm.
- 8 tāiš zī nā šīiaoθnāiš biiāntī, yaēšū as pairī pourubiiō iθiiejō,  
hiiat aš.əojā nāidiiāṅhəm, θβahiiā, Mazdā, aštā uruuātahiiā;  
yōi nōiṭ ašəm mainiiāntā, aēibiiō dūirē vohū as manō.
- 9 yōi spəṅtəm ārmaitīm θβahiiā, Mazdā, bəxəδəm vīdušō  
duššīiaoθnā auua.zazaṭ vaṅhōuš əuuištī manaṅhō,  
aēibiiō maš Ašā siiazdaṭ, yauuaṭ ahmaṭ<sup>60</sup> aurunā xrafstrā.
- 10 ahiiā vaṅhōuš manaṅhō šīiaoθnā vaocaṭ “gəxəbəm” huxratuš  
spəṅtəmcā Ārmaitīm, dāmīm vīduuā hiθəm<sup>61</sup> Ašahiiā,  
tācā vīspā, Ahurā, θβahmī, Mazdā, xšaθrōi yā<sup>62</sup> vōiiaθrā.
- 11 aṭ tōi ubē hauruuāscā x<sup>v</sup>arəθāiiā aməxətātāscā:  
Vaṅhōuš xraθβā<sup>63</sup> Manaṅhō Ašā maṭ Ārmaitiš vaxšt  
utaiiūtī təuuišī: tāiš ā, Mazdā, †vīduuaēšəm θβōi ahī†.<sup>64</sup>
- 12 kaṭ tōi rāzarē, kaṭ vaši, kaṭ vā stūtō kaṭ vā yasnahiiā?  
srūidiiāi, Mazdā, frā.uuaocā, yā vī.dāiiāt ašiš rāšnəm;  
sīšā nā ašā paθō vaṅhōuš x<sup>v</sup>aētəṅg manaṅhō:
- 13 tēm aduuānəm, Ahurā, yəm<sup>65</sup> mōi mraoš vaṅhōuš manaṅhō,  
daēnā saošiiāntəm yā hū.kəxətā ašācīt<sup>66</sup> uruuāxšaṭ  
hiiat cəuuištā hudābiiō mīzdəm, Mazdā, yehiiā tū daθrəm.
- 14 taṭ zī, Mazdā, vairīm astuuaitē uštānāi dātā  
vaṅhōuš šīiaoθnā manaṅhō, yōi zī gəuš vəxəzənē aziia:  
xšmākəm hucistīm, Ahurā, xratəuš ašā frādō vəxəzənā.

58 *m h F*: -θnā *E*: -θnāiš *v*

59 *West*: yaθā vā hahmī *fere* ω (*ahmī F dett.*)

60 *ahmāt D*

61 *m C*: haiθəm *D s v*: haiθiiəm? *Geldner*

62 *West*: xšaθrōi ā *m h s*, xšaθrōiā *v*

63 *B*: xsaθrā *A h s v*

64 vīduuaēšəm *Insler*, θβōiiahī *Lommel*; *cf.* §300

65 *s v*: yə *m h*

66 *m D*: ašācīt *C s v*

- 15 Mazdā, aṭ mōi vahištā srauuāscā šiiāoθanācā vaocā,  
tā tū vohū manajhā ašācā išudəm stūtō:  
xšmākā xšaθrā, Ahurā, frašōm vasnā haiθiiōm dā ahūm.

### Yasna 43

- 1 uštā ahmāi, yahmāi uštā kahmāicīṭ,  
vasō.xšaiiṣ Mazdā dāiiāṭ Ahurō.  
utaiiūitī təuuīšī<sup>67</sup> gatōi vasmī,  
ašōm dərēidiiāi: taṭ mōi dā, Ārmaitē,  
rāiiō ašīš, vaṇhōuš gaēm manajhō.
- 2 aṭcā ahmāi vīspanaṃ vahištəm  
xʷāθrōi ā nā xʷāθrəm daiditā,  
θβā ciciθβā spōništā mainiiū, Mazdā,  
yā dā ašā vaṇhōuš māiiā manajhō  
vīspā aiiārē darəgō.jiiātōiš uruuādanhā.
- 3 aṭ huuō vaṇhōuš vahiiō nā aibī.jamiiāṭ,  
yō nā ərəzūš sauuaṇhō paθō sīšōiṭ  
ahiiā aṇhōuš astuuatō manajhascā,  
haiθiiōṅg āstīš, yōṅg ā.šāēitī Ahurō,  
arədrō θβāuuṣ huzəṇtuš spəṇtō, Mazdā.
- 4 aṭ θβā məṅghāi taxməmcā spəṇtəm, Mazdā,  
hiiāṭ tā zastā, yā<sup>68</sup> tū hafsi auuā  
yā dā ašīš drəguuaitē ašāunaēcā  
θβahiiā garəmə āθrō ašā.aojanhō,  
hiiāṭ mōi vaṇhōuš hazē jimaṭ manajhō.
- 5 spəṇtəm aṭ θβā, Mazdā, məṅhī, Ahurā,  
hiiāṭ θβā aṇhōuš zaθōi darəsəm paouruuim,  
hiiāṭ dā šiiāoθnā miždauuṣ yācā uxδā,  
akəm akāi, vaṇhīm ašim vaṇhaouē  
θβā hunarā dāmōiš uruuāēsē apēmē.
- 6 yahmī spəṇtā θβā mainiiū uruuāēsē jasō  
mazdā<sup>69</sup> xšaθrā, ahmī vohū manajhā,  
yehiiā šiiāoθnāiš gaēθā ašā frādəṇtē,  
aēibiiō ratūš səṅghaitī Ārmaitiš  
θβahiiā xratōuš, yēm naē.ciš dābaiieitī.
- 7 spəṇtəm aṭ θβā, Mazdā, məṅhī, Ahurā,  
hiiāṭ mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manajhā

67 təuuīšī s: -šim m h v

68 fort. yā <ā>, cf. §300

69 A h: mazdā B s v

- pərəsaṭcā mā, “ciš ahī? kahiiā ahī?  
kaṭā aiiarē daxšārā<sup>70</sup> frasaiiāi<sup>71</sup> dišā  
aibi ṽβāhū gaēṽāhū tanušicā?”<sup>72</sup>
- 8 aṭ hōi aoji “Zaraṭuštrō” paouruuīm;  
“haiṭiio duuaēšā hiiat isōiā drəguuāitē,  
aṭ ašāunē rafənō xiiēm ajojŋhuuat,  
hiiat ā būštīš vasas.xšaṭrahiiā diiā  
yauuat ā ṽβā, Mazdā, staomī ufiiācā.”
- 9 spəntəm aṭ ṽβā, Mazdā, mēŋhī, Ahurā,  
hiiat mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manajhā:  
ahiiā frasēm “kahmāi vīuuīduiē vašī?”  
adā<sup>73</sup> “ṽβahmāi āṽrē; rātəm nēmanjhō  
ašahiiā mā, yauuat isāi, maniiāi.”
- 10 aṭ tū mōi dāiš ašəm, hiiat mā zaozaomī;  
ārmaiti hacimnō iṭ ā <a>rəm;<sup>74</sup>  
pərəsācā nā, yā<sup>75</sup> tōi ōhmā parštā  
(parštēm zī ṽβā yaṭonā taṭ ṭəmauuantəm),<sup>76</sup>  
hiiat ṽβā xšaiiqaš aēšəm<sup>77</sup> diiat əmauuantəm.
- 11 spəntəm aṭ ṽβā, Mazdā, mēŋhī, Ahurā,  
hiiat mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manajhā,  
hiiat xšmā uxḍāiš didaijhe paouruuīm  
(sādrā mōi šas mašiiāešū zrazdāitiš)  
taṭ vərəziieidiiāi, hiiat mōi mraotā vahištəm;
- 12 hiiatcā mōi mraoš “ašəm jasō” frāxšnənē,  
aṭ tū mōi nōiṭ asruštā pairi.aoyžā,  
uz.irəidiiāi parā hiiat mōi ā jimaṭ  
Sraošō Aši mažā.raiiā hacimnō,  
yā<sup>78</sup> vī ašīš rānōibiiā<sup>79</sup> sauuōi [vī]dāiiaṭ.
- 13 spəntəm aṭ ṽβā, Mazdā, mēŋhī, Ahurā,  
hiiat mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manajhā

---

70 daxšārē *Insler*

71 ferasiiāi *m*

72 tanušicā *Bartholomae: tanuuicā Insler*

73 adā *Insler*, adā *A: aṭ ā ceteri*

74 < > *Bartholomae*

75 *fort. yā <ā>, cf. §300*

76 əmauuatəm *C v: fort. išəntəm*

77 *h v: aēš(ə)məm m s*

78 yē *m*

79 *C dett.: rānōibiiō m D s v*

- arəθā vōizdiiāi kāmahiīā tēm mōi dātā  
darəgahiīā yaoš, yēm vā naē.ciš dāršt itē,  
vairiīā stōiš, yā θβahmī xšaθrōi vācī.
- 14 hiiat nā friiāi vaēdəmnō isuuā daidīt,  
maibiiō, Mazdā, tauuā rafənō frāxšnənem,  
hiiat θβā xšaθrā ašāt hacā fr<a> aštā,  
uz.irəidiiāi azē sardana səŋghahiīā  
maṭ tāiš vīspāiš yōi tōi maθrā marəntī.
- 15 spəntəm aṭ θβā, Mazdā, mējhī, Ahurā,  
hiiat mā vohū pairī.jasaṭ manaṭhā:  
daxšaṭ ušiiāi tušnā.maitiš vahištā.  
nōiṭ nā pourūš drəguuatō xiiāt cixšnušō;  
aṭ tōi vīspəŋg aŋgrəŋg ašāunō ādarō.
- 16 aṭ Ahurā, huuō mainiiūm Zaratuštrō  
vərəntē, Mazdā, yas.tē ciščā spəništō.  
astuuat Ašəm xiiāt uštānā aojōŋhuuat;  
xʷəŋg darəsōi xšaθrōi<sup>80</sup> xiiāt Ārmaitiš;  
ašim<sup>81</sup> šiiəθnāiš vohū daidīt manaṭhā.

#### Yasna 44

- 1 taṭ θβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā,  
nəmaṭhō ā, yaθā nəmē xšməuuatō;  
Mazdā, friiāi θβāuuqs saxiiāt mauuaitē.  
aṭ nē ašā friiā dazdiiāi hākurənā,  
yaθā nē ā vohū jimaṭ manaṭhā.
- 2 taṭ θβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
kaθā aŋhəuš vahištahiīā paouruuim  
kāθə sūidiiāi yē ī pait<T> išāt?  
huuō zī ašā spəntō irixtəm vīspōibiiō  
hārō mainiiū ahūm.biš uruuāθō, Mazdā.
- 3 taṭ θβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
kas.nā zaθā ptā Ašahiīā paouruiiō?<sup>82</sup>  
kas.nā xʷəŋg strəmcā dāt aduānəm?  
kē yā<sup>83</sup> mā uxšiiēitī nərəfsaitī θβaṭ?  
tācīt, Mazdā, vasmī aniiācā viduiiē.

80 *fort.* xšaθrā

81 *m h v:* ašəm s

82 *paouruiiē m*

83 *fort.* yā <ā>, *cf.* §300



- 4 taṭ ʋβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
kas.nā dərətā ʒamcā adē nabāscā  
auua.pastōiš? kē apō uruuārāscā?  
kē vātāi<sup>84</sup> duuʌnmaibiiascā yaogəṭ āsū?  
kas.nā vaŋhəuš, Mazdā, dʌmiš manəŋhō?
- 5 taṭ ʋβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
kē huuāpā raocāscā dāt təmāscā?  
kē huuāpā xʷafnəmcā dāt ʒaēmācā?  
kē yā ušā arəm.piʋβā xšapācā,  
yā manaʋrīš cazdōŋhuanətem arəʋahiiā?
- 6 taṭ ʋβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
yā fra.uuaxšiiā yezi tā aʋā haiʋiiā,  
“ašəm šiiəʋnāiš dəbʌzaiti ārmaitiš,  
taibiiō xšəʋrəm vohū cinas manəŋhā,”  
kaēibiiō azīm rāniiō.skərəitīm ɡəm tašō?
- 7 taṭ ʋβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
kē bərəxδəm tāšt xšəʋrā maṭ ārmaitīm?  
kē uzəməm cōrəṭ viiānaiiā puʋrəm piʋrē?  
azəm tāiš ʋβā fraxšnī auuāmī, Mazdā,  
spəntā mainiiū vīspanəm dātārəm.
- 8 taṭ ʋβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
məŋ.dāidiiāi yā tōi, Mazdā, ādištiš  
yācā vohū uxδā fraši manəŋhā  
yācā ašā əŋhəuš arəm vaēidiiā.<sup>85</sup>  
kā mē uruuā vohū uruuāxšəṭ ā.gmatā?
- 9 taṭ ʋβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
kaʋā mōi, ʒəm yaoš daənəm [yaož]dānē,  
təm<sup>86</sup> hudānoš paitiš saxiiāt xšəʋrahiiā  
ərəšuuā xšəʋrā, ʋβāuuəš aš.īštiš, Mazdā,  
hadəmōi ašā vohucā šiiəš manəŋhā?
- 10 taṭ ʋβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
təm daənəm, yā hātəm vahištā  
(yā mōi ɡaēʋā ašā frādōiṭ hacəmnā),  
ārmatoiš uxδāiš šiiəʋnā ərəš daidiiat?  
maxiiā cistōiš ʋβā ištiš usən, Mazdā.
- 11 taṭ ʋβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
kaʋā təŋg ā vī.jəmmiiāt ārmaitiš,

---

84 *m C v:* vā(,)tāiš *D s*

85 *m C:* -diiāi *D E v,* -diiāi *F*

86 *West:* ʒəm *ω*

- yaēibiiō, Mazdā, ʔβōi vašiietē daēnā?  
 azēm tōi aiš paouruiiō<sup>87</sup> fra.uuōiuuīdē;  
 vīspəṅg aniiəṅg mainiiəuš spasiia duuaēšəṅhā.
- 12 taṭ ʔβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
 kē ašauuā, yāiš pərəsāi, drəguuā vā?  
 katārēm ā, aiiēm<sup>88</sup> vā huuō vā aṅgrō?  
 “yē mā drəguuā ʔβā sauuā paiti.ərətē  
 ciiaṅhaṭ, huuō, nōiṭ aiiēm, aṅgrō mainiietē.”
- 13 taṭ ʔβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
 kaṭā Drujəm niš ahmaṭ ā [niš] nāšāmā  
 təṅg ā auuā, yōi asruštōiš pərənāṅhō  
 nōiṭ ašahiiā ā.dīuuieieṅti hacēnā,<sup>89</sup>  
 nōiṭ frasaiiā vaṅhəuš cāxnarē manəṅhō?
- 14 taṭ ʔβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
 kaṭā Ašāi<sup>90</sup> Drujəm diiaṅ zastaiiō,  
 nī hīm mərəždiiāi ʔβahiiā maṭrāiš səṅghahiiā,  
 əmauuaitīm sinəṅm dāuuōi drəguuasū,  
 ā iš duuafšəṅg, Mazdā, [ā] nāšē aštəscā?
- 15 taṭ ʔβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
 yezi ahiiā ašā, pōi maṭ, xšaiiehī,  
 hiiat hēm spādā anaocəṅhā jamaētē  
 auuāiš uruuātāiš yā tū, Mazdā, dīdərəžō,  
 kuṭrā aiiā, kahmāi vananəṅm dadā?
- 16 taṭ ʔβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
 kē vərəṭrəm.jā ʔβā pōi səṅghā, yōi həṅti—  
 ciṭrā mōi daṅm—ahūm.biš? ratūm cīždi,  
 aṭ hōi vohū sraošō jaṅtū manəṅhā,  
 Mazdā, ahmāi yahmāi vaši kahmāicīṭ.
- 17 taṭ ʔβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
 kaṭā [Mazdā]<sup>91</sup> zarəm carānī hacā xšmaṭ  
 āskəitīm xšmākəṅm, hiiatcā mōi xiiat vāxš aēšō  
 sarōi būždiiāi hauruuātā amərətātā  
 auuā maṭrā, yē rāṭəmō ašat hacā?
- 18 taṭ ʔβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
 kaṭā ašā taṭ miždəm hanānī,

---

87 *s v:* p(a)ouruiiē *m h*

88 *West:* aṅgrō ω

89 *D v:* hacəmnā (ex 10c) *C s, -imnā m*

90 ašā *m D H*

91 [ ] *West*

dasā aspā aršənuuaitiš uštrəmcā,  
hiiat mōi mazdā api.uuaitī, hauruuātā  
amərətātā, yaθā hī taibiiō<sup>92</sup> dājhā?

- 19 taṭ θβā pərəsā, ərəš mōi vaocā, Ahurā:  
yas.taṭ mīzdəm hanəntē nōiṭ dāitī,  
yē iṭ ahmāi ərəž.uxδā<sup>93</sup> nā dāitē,  
kā tēm ahiiā maēniš aṣaṭ<sup>94</sup> paouruiiē?  
vīduuā auuam, yā im aṣaṭ<sup>95</sup> apēmā.
- 20 ciθənā, Mazdā, huxšaθrā daēuuā aṅharē—  
aṭ iṭ pərəsā—yōi pišiiēiṭi aēibiiō kam,  
yāiš gəm Karəpā Usixšcā aēšmāi dātā,  
yācā Kauuā aṅmənē<sup>96</sup> urūdōiiatā?  
nōiṭ hīm mīzən ašā vāstrəm frādaiṅhē.

### Yasna 45

- 1 aṭ fra.uuaxšiiā: nū gūšōdūm, nū sraotā,  
yaēcā asnaṭ yaēcā dūrāt išaθā;  
nū im vīspā, ciθrē zī, maz.dāṅhōdūm.  
nōiṭ daibitīm dušsastiš ahūm mərəššiiat  
akā varənā, drəguuā hizuuā<sup>97</sup> ā.uuərətō.
- 2 aṭ fra.uuaxšiiā aṅhəuš Mainiiū paouruiiē,  
yaiiā spaniiā ūitī mrauuaṭ yəm aṅrəm:  
“nōiṭ nā manā, nōiṭ sēṅghā, nōiṭ xratauuō,  
naēdā varənā, nōiṭ uxδā, naēdā šīiaoθnā,  
nōiṭ daēnā, nōiṭ uruuānō hacaiṅtē.”
- 3 aṭ fra.uuaxšiiā aṅhəuš ahiiā paouruuīm,  
yā<sup>98</sup> mōi vīduuā Mazdā vaocaṭ Ahurō.  
yōi im vē nōiṭ iθā<sup>99</sup> maθrəm varəšəṅtī  
yaθā im mənāicā vaocacā,  
aēibiiō aṅhəuš auuōi aṅhaṭ apēməm.
- 4 aṭ fra.uuaxšiiā aṅhəuš ahiiā vahištəm  
ašāt hacā; Mazdā<sup>100</sup> vaēdā yē im dāt,

92 C D G: taēibiiō m D<sup>s</sup> s H

93 C v: ərəžuxδāi m D s

94 Schwyzer: aṅhaṭ ω

95 Schwyzer: aṅhaṭ ω

96 aṅmənī H, aṅmənī Geldner

97 dett.: hizuuā m h s v: fort. hizū vāuuərətō

98 F: yaṅ m h E v: yəm Humbach

99 m D v: aθā C s

- p̄tarēm Vaṇhēuš varəzaiiantō Manəṇhō;  
 aṭ hōi dugədā hušiiəoṇnā Ārmaitiš.  
 nōiṭ diβžaidiiaī vīspā.hišas Ahurō.
- 5 aṭ fra.uuaxšiiā, hiiṭ mōi mraoṭ spəntōtēmō,  
 vacē srūidiiāi hiiṭ marətaēibiiō vahištəm;  
 yōi mōi ahmāi sraošəm dān caiiascā,  
 upā.jimən hauruuātā amərətātā:  
 vaṇhēuš mainiiēuš šiiəoṇnāiš mazdā Ahurō.
- 6 aṭ fra.uuaxšiiā vīspanəṃ mazištəm,  
 stauuas ašā, yē hudā yōi hənti:  
 spəntā mainiiū sraotū Mazdā Ahurō.  
 yehiiā vahmē Vohū frašī Manəṇhā,  
 ahiiā xratū frō mā sāstū vahištā.
- 7 yehiiā sauuā išānti rādaṇhō  
 yōi zī juuā āṇharəcā buuaṇticā—  
 amərətāitī ašāunō uruuā aēšō  
 utaiiūtā, yā nərəš sādri drəguuatō;  
 tācā xšaṇrā Mazdā dāmiš Ahurō—
- 8 tēm nē staotāiš nəmaṇhō ā vīuuarəšō  
 nū z<i> iṭ cašmaini vī.adarəsəm,  
 vaṇhēuš mainiiēuš šiiəoṇnahiiā uxdašiiācā  
 vīduš ašā, yēm Mazdāṃ Ahurəm;  
 aṭ hōi vahməṇṅ dəmānē garō ni.dāmā;
- 9 tēm nē Vohū maṭ Manəṇhā cixšnušō,  
 yē nē usēn cōrəṭ spəṇcā aspəṇcā,  
 mazdā xšaṇrā; varəzi nā diiṭ Ahurō  
 pasūš virəṇṅ ahmākəṇṅ fradaṇāiiā  
 vaṇhēuš ašā haozəṇβāṭ ā manəṇhō;
- 10 tēm nē yasnāiš ārmatōiš mimaγžō,  
 yē ənməni Mazdā srāuuī Ahurō.  
 hiiṭ hōi ašā vohūcā cōišṭ manəṇhā,  
 xšaṇrōi hōi hauruuātā amərətātā  
 ahmāi stōi dān, təuuīši utaiiūiti.
- 11 yas.tā daēuuəṇṅ aparō mašiiāscā  
 tarē.məštā yōi im tarē.mainiiāntā  
 (aniiəṇṅ ahmāt, yē hōi arēm mainiiātā),  
 saošiiāntō dəṇṅ patōiš spəntā daēnā  
 uruuāṇō brātā ptā vā, Mazdā Ahurā.

## Yasna 46

- 1 kəm nəmōi zəm, kuθrā nəmōi aienī?  
 pairī x<sup>v</sup>aētēuš airriamnascā dadaitī;  
 nōiṭ mā xšnāuš, yā vərəzēnā hēcā,  
 naēdā daxiiēuš yōi sāstārō drəguuantō.  
 kaθā θβā, Mazdā, xšnaošāi, Ahurā?
- 2 vaēdā taṭ yā ahmī, Mazdā, anaēšō:  
 mā kamna.fšuuā hiiatcā kamnā.nā ahmī.  
 gərəzōi tōi:<sup>101</sup> ā iṭ [ā]vaēnā, Ahurā,  
 rafəδrēm caguuā hiiat friiō friiāi daidīt:  
 ā.xsō vaṅhēuš ašā ištīm manəṅhō.
- 3 kadā, Mazdā, yōi uxšānō asnaṃ  
 əṅhēuš darəθrāi frō ašahiiā [fr]ārəntē  
 vərəzdāiš səṅghāiš, saošiiantəm xratauuō?  
 kaēibiiō ūθāi vohū jimaṭ manəṅhā?  
 maibiiō θβā səstrāi vərənē, Ahurā.
- 4 aṭ təṅg drəguuā yəṅg ašahiiā važdrəṅg pāt  
 gā frōrətōiš šoiθrahiā vā daxiiēuš vā,  
 dužazōbā haš, x<sup>v</sup>aiš šiiəθnāiš ahəmustō.  
 yas.təm xšəθrāt, Mazdā, mōiθaṭ jiiātēuš vā,  
 huuō təṅg frō gā paθməṅg hucistōiš caraṭ.
- 5 yē vā xšaiiəš ā daṃ<sup>102</sup> drītā aiiantəm  
 uruuātōiš vā huzəṅtuš miθrōibiiō vā,  
 rašnā juuəš, yē ašauuā drəguuantəm,  
 vīcirō haš, taṭ frō x<sup>v</sup>aētauē mruiiāt  
 uz.ūiθiiōi im, Mazdā, xrūniāt, Ahurā.
- 6 aṭ yas.təm nōiṭ nā isəmnō ā ā.iiāt,  
 Drūjō huuō dāmaṅ haēθahiiā gāt;  
 huuō zī drəguuā, yē drəguuaitē vahištō,  
 huuō ašauuā, yahmāi ašauuā friiō,  
 hiiat daēnā paouruiiā dā, Ahurā.
- 7 kəm.nā, Mazdā, mauuaitē pāiiūm dadā,  
 hiiat mā drəguuā dīdarəšatā aēnaṅhē,  
 aniiēm θβahmāt əθrascā manəṅhascā,  
 yaiiā šiiəθnāiš ašəm θraoštā, Ahurā?  
 təṃ mōi dəstuuəṃ daēnaiiāi frā.uuəocā.

101 tōi <ā> *Kuiper*102 *West* (ā da *Thieme*): adəš ω

- 8 yō vā mōi yā gaēdā dazdē aēnaṛhē,  
nōiṭ ahiia mā ādriš šīiaoṇnāiš frā asiiāt;<sup>103</sup>  
paitīiaoḡəṭ tā ahmāi jasōiṭ duuaēšarhā  
tanuuēm ā, yā īm hujīātōiš pāiīāt,  
nōiṭ dužjīātōiš; kēcīṭ, Mazdā, duuaēšarhā.
- 9 kē huuō, yō mā arədrō cōiṭaṭ paouruiiō,  
yaṭā ʔβā zəuuištīm uz.əmōhī,  
šīiaoṇnōi spəṇtəm, Ahurəm ašauuanəm?  
yā tōi Ašā, yā Ašāi ḡəuš tašā mraoṭ,  
išəṇtī mā tā tōi vohū manarhā?
- 10 yō vā mōi nā ḡəṇā vā, Mazdā Ahurā,  
dāiīāt aṇhəuš yā tū vōistā vahištā,  
ašīm ašāi, vohū xšəṭrəm manarhā,  
yaṣcā haxšāi xšmāuuatəm vahmāiīā,  
frō tāiš vīspāiš Cinuuatō [fra]frā pəṛətūm.
- 11 xšəṭrāiš yūjən Karəpanō Kāuuaiiascā  
akāiš šīiaoṇnāiš ahūm mərəṇḡəidiiāi mašīm;  
yəṇḡ x<sup>v</sup>ə uruuā x<sup>v</sup>aēcā xraodaṭ daēnā,  
hiiāt aibī.ḡəmən yaṭrā Cinuuatō pəṛətuš,  
yauuōi vīspāi Drūjō dəmānē<sup>104</sup> astaiiō.
- 12 hiiāt us ašā naptīiaēšū nafšucā  
Tūrahiiā [uz]jən Friiānahiiā aojīiaēšū  
ārmatōiš gaēdā frādō ʔβaxšarhā,  
aṭ īš vohū hēm aibī.mōist manarhā  
aēibiiō rafəḍrāi Mazdā sastē Ahurō.
- 13 yō Spitāməm Zaraṭuštrəm rādarhā  
martaešū xšnāuš, huuō nā fra.srūidiiāi əṛəṭβō.  
aṭ hōi Mazdā ahūm dadāt Ahurō;  
ahmāi gaēdā vohū frādaṭ manarhā;  
təm və Ašā mēhmaidī hušhaxāim.
- 14 “Zaraṭuštrā, kas.tē ašauuā uruuāṭō  
mazōi magāi? kē vā fra.srūidiiāi vaštī?”  
aṭ huuō kauuā Vištāspō, yā <a>hi.<sup>105</sup>  
yəṇḡs.tū, Mazdā, hadəmōi minaš, Ahurā,  
təṇḡ zbaiiā vaṇhəuš uxḍāiš manarhō.
- 15 Haēcəṭ.aspā, vaxšīiā və, Spitamāṇhō:  
hiiāt dāṭəṇḡ vī caiiāṭā adāṭəscā,

103 *Humbach: fəṛōsīiāt vel fraōsīiāt libri*

104 *Insler: dəmānāi ω*

105 < > *Insler*

tāiš yūš šīiaoϑnāiš ašəm xšmaibiiā daduiiē;<sup>106</sup>  
 yāiš dātāiš paouruiiāiš Ahurahiiā  
 ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

- 16 Frašaoštrā, aϑrā tū arədrāiš idī,  
 Huuōguuā, tāiš yəṅg usuuahī uštā stōi,  
 yaϑrā ašā hacaitē ārmaitiš,  
 yaϑrā vaṅhəuš manaṅhō īštā xšaϑrəm,  
 yaϑrā Mazdā varədəməm šaēitī Ahurō,
- 17 yaϑā və afšmānī səṅghānī,  
 nōiṭ anafšməm, Dəjāmāspā Huuōguuā,  
 hadā və stōi<sup>107</sup> vahməṅg sraošā rādaṅhō,  
 yə vī.cinaoṭ dāϑəmca adāϑəmca  
 daṅgrā maṅtū Ašā, Mazdā Ahurō.
- 18 yə maibiiā yaoš, ahmāi ascīṭ vahištā  
 maχiiā ištōiš vohū cōišəm manaṅhā,  
 aštəṅg ahmāi yə nā aštāi daiditā,  
 Mazdā Ašā, xšmākəm vārəm xšnaošəmnō;  
 taṭ mōi xratəuš manaṅhascā vī.ciϑəm.
- 19 yə mōi ašāṭ haiϑīm hacā varəšaitī  
 Zaraϑuštrāi hiiṭ vasnā frašōtəməm,  
 ahmāi miždəm hanəṭtē parā.<a>hūm  
 manə.vistāiš maṭ vīspāiš, gāuuā azī:  
 tāciṭ mōi saš tuuəm, Mazdā, vaēdištō.

### Yasna 47

- 1 spəṅtā mainiiū vahištācā manaṅhā  
 hacā ašāṭ šīiaoϑnācā vacaṅhācā  
 ahmāi daṅ hauruuātā aməṛətātā;  
 mazdā xšaϑrā Ārmaitī Ahurō.
- 2 ahiiā maniiəuš spəništahiiā vahištəm  
 hizuuā uxḍāiš vaṅhəuš əəānū manaṅhō,  
 ārmatōiš zastōibiiā šīiaoϑnā vərəziiaṭ,  
 oīiā cistī, “huuō ptā Ašahiiā Mazdā”.
- 3 ahiiā maniiəuš tuuəm ahī <p>tā spəṅtō,  
 yə ahmāi gaṃ rāniiō.skəṛəṭim hēm.tašaṭ.  
 aṭ hōi vastrāi rāmā dā ārmaitim,  
 hiiṭ hēm Vohū, Mazdā, [hēm]fraštā Manaṅhā.

106 dāduiē Hoffmann–Forssman 227

107 West: vōstā h s v: vīstā m

- 4 ahmāt mainiiōuš rārēšiiēiṇtī drəguuan̄tō,  
Mazdā, spəntā; nōiṭ iṭā<sup>108</sup> ašauuanō.  
kasōušcīṭ nā ašāunē kāṭō aṇhaṭ,  
isuuācīṭ haš paraoš akō drəguuāitē.
- 5 tācā spəntā mainiiū, Mazdā Ahurā,  
ašāunē cōiš yā zī cīcā vahišṭā;  
hanarə ʔβahmāt zaošāt drəguuā baxšaitī,  
ahiiā šiiāoṭnāiš akāt ā šiiāš manarḥō.
- 6 tā dā spəntā mainiiū, Mazdā Ahurā,  
āṭrā varḥāu vī.dāitīm rānōibiiā  
ārmatoiš dəbazarḥā ašaxiiācā;  
hā zī pourūš išəntō vaurāitē.

### Yasna 48

- 1 yezī aṭ āiš<sup>109</sup> Ašā Drujəm vəṅghaitī,  
hiiat ʔašaṣutā<sup>110</sup> yā daibitānā fraoxṭā  
amərətaitī daēuuāišcā mašiiāišcā,  
aṭ tōi sauuāiš vahməm vaxšaṭ, Ahurā.
- 2 vaocā mōi ā<sup>111</sup>—tuuōm vīduuā, Ahurā—  
parā hiiat mā yāməṅ<sup>112</sup> pərəṭā jimaitī:  
kaṭ ašauuā, Mazdā, vəṅghaṭ drəguuan̄təm?  
hā zī aṇhəuš varḥī vistā ā.kərətiš.
- 3 aṭ vaēdəmnāi vahišṭā sāsnaṇəm,  
yaṇ hudā sāstī ašā ahurō,  
spəntō, vīduuā yaēcīṭ gūzrā səṅgharḥō,  
ʔβāuuas, Mazdā, varḥəuš xraṭβā manarḥō.
- 4 yē dāt manō vahiiō, Mazdā, ašiiāscā,  
huuō daēnaṇəm šiiāoṭnācā vacarḥācā,  
ahiiā zaošəṅg uštiš varəṇəṅg hacaitē;  
ʔβahmī xratāu apəməm nanā aṇhaṭ.
- 5 huxšaṭrā xšəntəm—mā nē dušxšaṭrā xšəntā—  
varḥuiiā cistōiš šiiāoṭnāiš, Ārmaitē.  
yaož.dā mašiiāi aipī zəṭəm vahišṭā  
gauuōi vərəziiātəm: təm nē x'arəṭāi fšuiiō.

108 *m s:* aṭā h v

109 *Insler, Narten:* adāiš ω (akāiš B)

110 *fort.* ašaṭ tā

111 *Kuiper:* mōi yā ω

112 *Insler:* yā məṅ ω



- 6 hā zī [nō] hušōiθōmā,<sup>113</sup> hā nō utaiiūiti<sup>114</sup>  
dāt̄ tōuuišī<sup>115</sup> vaṇhēuš manarḥō bərexθē;  
aṭ̄ axiiāi ašā Mazdā uruuarā vaxšaṭ̄  
Ahurō arḥēuš zaṭ̄ōi paouruiiehiā.
- 7 nī aēšmō [nī] diiāt̄am, paitī rəməm [paitī]siiiōdūm,  
yōi ā vaṇhēuš manarḥō didraγžōduiē.  
ašā viiām, yehiiā hiθāuš nā spəntō:  
aṭ̄ hōi dāmam θ̄bahmī ā dām, Ahurā.
- 8 kā tōi vaṇhēuš, Mazdā, xšaθrahiā ištiš?  
kā tōi ašoiš θ̄βaxiiā maibiiō, Ahurā?  
kā θ̄βōi, Ašā ākā arədrəṅg išiiā,  
vaṇhēuš mainiiēuš šiiāoθnanam jauuarō?
- 9 kaṭ̄ ā<sup>116</sup> vaēdā, yezi cahiiā xšaiiaθā,  
Mazdā Ašā, yehiiā mā aiθiš duuaēθā?  
erəš mōi [erəž]ūcam vaṇhēuš vafuš manarḥō;  
vidiiāt̄ saošiiq̄s, yaθā hōi ašiš arḥaṭ̄.
- 10 kadā, Mazdā, maṇarōiš narō višəntā?<sup>117</sup>  
kadā a.jən mūθrəm ahiiā madahiiā,  
yā angraiiā Karəpanō urūpaiieinṭi  
yācā xratū dušxšaθrā daxiiunam?
- 11 kadā, Mazdā, Ašā maṭ̄ Ārmaitiš  
jimaṭ̄ xšaθrā hušēitiš vāstrauuaiti?  
kōi drəguuōdēbiš xrūrāiš rāmam dāntē?  
kəṅg ā vaṇhēuš jimaṭ̄ manarḥō cistiš?
- 12 aṭ̄ tōi arḥən saošiiantō daxiiunam,  
yōi xšnūm vohū manarḥā hacāntē  
šiiāoθnāiš ašā θ̄βahiiā, Mazdā, səṅghahiiā;  
tōi zī dātā hamaēstārō aēšmahiiā.

### Yasna 49

- 1 aṭ̄ mā yauuā bəṇduuō pafrē mazištō,  
yē dušerəθrīš cixšnušā ašā, Mazdā.  
Vaṇ'hī Ādā, gaidī mōi, ā mōi [a]rapā:  
ahiiā vohū aošō vīdā manarḥā.

113 [] *Lommel* hu- s: u- m h v

114 s: utaiiūitīm m h v

115 *det.*: tōuuišīm m h s v

116 s: kadā m h H: kaθā G

117 višəntā A: -ṅtē B h E, -ṅti F

- 2 aṭ ahiia mā bōṇduuahiiā mānaiieitī  
 ʔkaēšō drəguuā daibitā ašāṭ rārəšō:  
 nōiṭ spəṇṭam dōrəšt ahmāi stōi Ārmaītīm,  
 naēdā Vohū, Mazdā, fraštā Manarḡhā.
- 3 aṭcā ahmāi varənāi, Mazdā, ni.dātəm  
 ašəm sūidiiāi, ʔkaēšāi rāšaiieṅhē druxš.  
 tā<sup>118</sup> vaṅhəuš sarə iziiāi manarḡhō;  
 aṇtarə vīspəṅg drəguuatō haxməṅg [aṇtarə] mruiiē.
- 4 yōi dušxraṭβā aēšməm varədən rəməmcā<sup>119</sup>  
 x<sup>v</sup>aiš hizubiš, fšuiiasū afšuiiaṇtō,  
 yaēšam nōiṭ huuarštāiš vaš dužuuarštā,  
 tōi daēuuəṅg daṇ, yā drəguuatō daēnā.
- 5 aṭ huuō, Mazdā, ižācā āzūitišcā,  
 yə daēṇam vohū sārštā manarḡhā,  
 ārmatōiš kasciṭ ašā huzəṇtuš,  
 tāišcā vīspāiš ṭβahmī xšaṭrōi, Ahurā.
- 6 frō vā [fra]išiiā, Mazdā Ašəmca, mruītē,  
 yā və xratəuš xšmākahiiā ā manarḡhā,  
 ərəš vī.cidiiāi, yaṭā ī srauuiiaēmā  
 ṭam daēṇam yā xšmāuuatō, Ahurā.
- 7 taṭcā vohū, Mazdā,<sup>120</sup> sraotū manarḡhā,  
 sraotū ašā: gūšahuuā tū, Ahurā:  
 kə airiiamā, kə x<sup>v</sup>aētuš datāiš aṇhaṭ,  
 yə vərəzənāi vaṅ<sup>h</sup>im dāt frasastīm?
- 8 Frašaoštrāi uruuāzištam ašahiiā dā  
 sarəm—taṭ ṭβā, Mazdā, yāsā, Ahurā—  
 maibiiācā, yam vaṅhāu ṭβahmī ā xšaṭrōi;  
 yauuōi vīspāi fraēštāṅhō aṅhāmā.
- 9 sraotū sāsna fšəṅhiiō suiiē taštō—  
 nōiṭ ərəš.vacā sarəm didaš drəguuatā—  
 hiiāṭ daēnā vahištē yūjən miždē  
 ašā yuxtā yāhī Dəjamāspā.
- 10 taṭcā, Mazdā, ṭβahmī ā daṇ ni.pāṅhē:  
 manō vohū urunascā ašāuṇam  
 nəmascā, yā ārmaitiš ižācā  
 mažā.xšaṭrā vazdanḡhā †auuəmīrā.

118 *fort.* tā <ā>, *cf.* §300

119 *Inslar:* rāməmcā ω

120 Mazdā *Westergaard*

- 11 aṭ dušxšaṭrəṅg duššiiəoṭnəṅg dužuuaçaṅhō  
duždaēnəṅg dušmanəṅhō drəguuatō  
akāiš xʷarəṭāiš paiṭi uruuəṅō [paiṭi]yeiṭi;  
Drūjō dəməṅē haiṭiiā aṅhən astaiiō.
- 12 kaṭ tōi ašā zbaiieṅtē auuaṅhō  
Zaraṭuštrāi? kaṭ tōi vohū manəṅhā,  
yē vē stəotāiš, Mazdā, frīnāi, Ahurā,  
auuaṭ yāsas, hiiṭ vē ištā vahištəm?

### Yasna 50

- 1 kaṭ mōi uruuā isē cahiiā auuaṅhō?  
kē mōi pasəuš, kē mēnā ṭrātā vistō  
aniiō ašāṭ ṭβaṭcā, Mazdā Ahurā,  
azdā zūtā, vahištāṭcā manəṅhō?
- 2 kaṭā, Mazdā, rāniio.skəṛətīm gəṃ išasōiṭ,  
yē hīm ahmāi vāstrauuaitīm stōi usiiṭ,  
əṛəž.jiš ašā pourušū huuarē pišiiasū?  
akəṣ təṅg<sup>121</sup> mā niš əšiiā, dāṭōm dāhuuā.
- 3 aṭcīṭ ahmāi, Mazdā, ašā aṅhaiti,  
yəṃ hōi xšaṭrā vohūcā coišt manəṅhā,  
yē nā ašōiš əojəṅhā varədaiaētā,  
yəṃ nazdištəṃ gaēṭəṃ drəguuā baxšaiti.
- 4 aṭ vā yazāi stauuas, Mazdā Ahurā,  
hadā ašā vahištācā manəṅhā  
xšaṭrācā yā išo stəṅhaṭ ā paiṭi;  
ākā arəṭrəṅg dəməṅē garō sraošānē.
- 5 ārōi zi xšmā, Mazdā Ašā Ahurā,  
hiiṭ yūšmākāi məṭrānē vaorāzaṭā  
aibi.dəṛəštā əuuīšiiā auuaṅhā  
zastā.ištā, yā nā xʷāṭrē dāiiṭ,
- 6 yē məṭrā vācəm, Mazdā, baraiti  
uruuāṭō ašā nəmanəṅhā, Zaraṭuštrō.  
dātā xratəuš, hizuo raiṭim stōi  
mahiiā, rāzəṅg vohū sāhiṭ manəṅhā.
- 7 aṭ vē yəojā zəuuīštiiəṅg auruuātō,  
jiiāiš pəṛəṭūš<sup>122</sup> vahmahiiā yūšmākahiiā,

121 *Insler*: ākā(,)stəṅg h s v, ādā stəṅg m

122 *m s*: pəṛəṭūš h v: *caedem vv.ll. Y. 64. 3*

Mazdā Ašā, ugrōng vohū manajhā,  
yāiš <z>azāθā:<sup>123</sup> mahmāi xiiātā auuajhē.

- 8 maṭ vā padāiš yā fra.srūtā ižaiiā  
pairi.jasāi, Mazdā, ustāna.zastō,  
aṭ vā ašā arədraxiiācā nəmanjā,  
aṭ vā vaṅhəuš manajhō hunarətātā.
- 9 tāiš vā yasnāiš paitī stauuas aiiēnī,  
Mazdā Ašā, vaṅhəuš šiiəθnāiš manajhō.  
yadā ašōiš maχiiā vasə xšaiiā,  
aṭ hudānaoš išaiiṣ gərəzdā xiiēm.
- 10 aṭ yā varəšā yācā pairi āiš šiiəθnā  
yācā vohū cašmąm arəjaṭ manajhā,  
raocā x'əng, asnaṃ uxšā aēuruš,  
xšmākāi ašā vahmāi, Mazdā Ahurā.
- 11 aṭ və staotā aojāi, Mazdā, aṅhācā,  
yauuaṭ ašā tauuācā isāicā.  
dātā aṅhəuš arədaṭ vohū manajhā  
haiθiiā.varštąm, hiiat vasnā frašōtəməm?

### Yasna 51

- 1 vohū xšaθrəm vairim, bāgəm aibi.bairištəm  
vīdišəmnāi<sup>124</sup> ižācīṭ; ašā aṅtarə.caraitī  
šiiəθnāiš, Mazdā, vahištəm: taṭ nə nūcīṭ varəšanē.
- 2 tā və, Mazdā, paouruuim, Ahurā, Ašāiicā  
taibiiācā, Ārmaite, dōišā mōi ištōiš xšaθrəm;  
xšmākəm vohū manajhā vahmāi dāidi sauuanjhō.
- 3 ā və gəušā hēm.iiąntū, yōi və šiiəθnāiš sārəṅtē,  
Ahurā<sup>125</sup> Ašā, hizuuā<sup>126</sup> uxđāiš vaṅhəuš manajhō,  
yaēšąm tū paouruiiō, Mazdā, fra.daxštā ahī.
- 4 kuθrā ārōiš ā fsəratuš, kuθrā mərəždika<sup>127</sup> ā xštąṭ?  
kuθrā yasō.xiiēn ašəm? kū spəṅtā ārmaitiš?  
kuθrā manō vahištəm? kuθrā θβā xšaθrā, Mazdā?

123 < > Humbach

124 m D: -mnāiš C s v

125 West: ahurō ω

126 B h: hizuuō A: hizuuā s v

127 m C s: -kāi D v

- 5 vīspā tā p̄er̄əsā,<sup>128</sup> yaṭhā aṣṣāṭ hacā ḡam vīdaṭ  
vāstriiō šiīaoṭnāiš̄ ər̄əš̄uuō, ḥas̄ huxratuṣ̄, n̄əmaṅhā,  
yē dāṭhāēibīiō ər̄əš̄.ratūm x̄šaiīas̄ aṣṣīā<sup>129</sup> cistā.
- 6 yē vahiiō vaṅh̄əuṣ̄ dazdē, yascā hōi vārāi rādaṭ,  
Ahurō x̄šāṭrā mazdā; aṭ ahmāi akāṭ aṣṣīiō,  
yē hōi nōiṭ vīdāitī, ap̄ēmē aṅh̄əuṣ̄ uruuāēsē.
- 7 dāidī mōi, yē ḡam tašō apascā uruuārāscā,  
am̄ər̄ətātā hauruuātā sp̄əništā mainiiū, Mazdā,  
t̄əuuīšī utaiiūitī manāṅhā vohū s̄əṅh̄ē.
- 8 aṭ zī tōi vaxšiiā, Mazdā—vīdušē zī nā mruiiāṭ—  
hiiāṭ akōi ā<sup>130</sup> dr̄əguuāitē, uštā yē aṣṣəm dādrē  
(huuō zī maṭrā šiiātō, yē vīdušē mrauuaitī)
- 9 yam̄ x̄šnūtəm rānōibiiā dā ṭiḃā āṭrā suxrā, Mazdā,  
aiiāṅhā x̄šustā, aibī ahuuāhū daxštəm dāuuōi,  
rāšaiiēṅh̄ē dr̄əguuaṅtəm, sauuaiiō aṣṣauuanəm.
- 10 aṭ yē mā nā mar̄əx̄šaitē aniiāṭhā ahmāṭ, Mazdā,  
huuō dāmōiš̄ dr̄ujō hunuṣ̄; tā duždā, yōi h̄əṅtī.  
maibiiō zbaiiā aṣṣəm vaṅhuiiā aṣṣī gatē.
- 11 kē uruuāṭhō Spitamāi<sup>131</sup> Zaratuštrāi nā, Mazdā?  
kē vā Aṣṣā afraštā?<sup>132</sup> kē sp̄əṅtā ārmaitiš̄?  
kē vā vaṅh̄əuṣ̄ manāṅhō acistā magāi ər̄əš̄uuō?
- 12 nōiṭ tā īm x̄šnāuṣ̄ vaēpiiō k̄əuuinō p̄ər̄ətā zimō  
Zaratuštrəm Spitāməm, hiiāṭ ahmī urūraost aštō,  
hiiāṭ hōi ī[m]<sup>133</sup> caratascā aod̄ər̄əšcā zōišnū vāzā.
- 13 tā dr̄əguuatō mar̄ədaitī daēnā ər̄əzaoš̄ haiṭīm;  
yehiiā uruuā xraodaitī Cinuuatō p̄ər̄ətā ākā,  
x̄v̄āiš̄ šiīaoṭnāiš̄ hizuuascā aṣṣahiiā ṅasuuā paṭhō.
- 14 nōiṭ uruuāṭhā dātōibiiascā Karəpanō vāstrāṭ arēm,  
gauuōi ārōiš̄ ā.s̄əṅdā x̄v̄āiš̄ šiīaoṭnāišcā s̄əṅghāišcā;  
yē īš̄ s̄əṅghō ap̄ēməm Dr̄ujō d̄əmānē ā.dāṭ.

---

128 *West*: p̄er̄əsas̄ ω

129 aṣṣīā *E*: aṣṣauuā *m F*: aṣṣiūuā *h G*

130 akōiīā ω

131 spitamāi<ā> *Beekes*

132 *det.*: āfraštā *m h v*, ā.fraštā *s*

133 [ ] *Inslar*

- 15 hiiat mīzdēm Zaruštrō magauuabiiō cōišť parā,  
garō dēmānē Ahurō Mazdā jasať paouruiiō:  
tā vō Vohū Manajhā Ašāicā sauuāiš cōuuīš.
- 16 tām kauuā Vištāspō magahiiā xšaθrā naśať  
vañhōuš padəbiš manajhō, yaťm cistīm ašā mañtā:  
“spəntō Mazdā Ahurō”, aθā nō sazdiīai uštā.
- 17 bərəxδam mōi Frašaoštrō Huuōguuō daēdōišť kəhrpəm  
daēnaiīai vañhuiīai; yaťm hōi išiiam dātū  
xšaiīas Mazdā Ahurō, Ašahiiā āzdiiīai gərəzdīm.
- 18 tām cistīm Dəjāmāspō Huuōguuō ištōišť xʷarəną  
ašā vərəntē, tať xšaθrəm manajhō vañhōuš vīdō.  
tať hōi<sup>134</sup> dāidī, Ahurā, hiiat, Mazdā, rapən tauuā.
- 19 huuō tať nā, Maidiiōimāñhā Spitamā, ahmāi dazdē  
daēnaiīā vaēdōmnō, yō ahūm išasas aibī  
Mazdā dātā mrauuať,<sup>135</sup> gaiiehiiā šiiəoθnāiš vahiiō.
- 20 tať vō nō, hazaošāñhō vīspāñhō, daidiiīai sauuō,  
Ašəm vohū manajhā uxδā, yāiš ārmaitiš,  
yazəmnāñhō nəmanjā Mazdā rafəθrəm cagədō.
- 21 ārmətōišť nā, spəntō huuō cistī, uxδāišť, šiiəoθnā,  
daēnā; ašəm spənuuať, vohū xšaθrəm manajhā  
Mazdā dadāt Ahurō: tēm vañhīm yāsā ašīm.
- 22 yehiiā mōi ašāt hacā vahištəm yesnē paitī,  
vaēdā: Mazdā Ahurō. yōi āñharəcā hənticā,  
tať<sup>136</sup> yazāi xʷāišť nāmōniš<sup>137</sup> pairicā jasāi vañtā.

### Yasna 53

- 1 vahištā ištīšť srāuuī Zaruštrahē  
Spitāmahiiā, yezī hōi dāt āiiaptā  
ašāt hacā Ahurō Mazdā yauuōi vīspāiiā, huuañhəuuīm,  
yaēcā hōi dabən saškəncā<sup>138</sup> daēnaiīā vañhuiīā uxδā šiiəoθnācā.
- 2 aťcā [hōi]<sup>139</sup> scañtū manajhā uxδāišť šiiəoθnāišťcā  
xšnūm Mazdā<sup>140</sup> vahmāiia fraoreť yasnaścā,

134 *West*: mōi ω

135 *West*: mraoť ω

136 *h v*: tām *m s*: *caedem vv.ll. Y. 15. 2, 63. 1, 65. 16, 69. 1*

137 *nāməbiš Schwyzler*

138 *saškəncā D*, *saškəmcā s*: *sašqā m*, *sašəncā C v*

139 [ ] *Kellens–Pirart*

140 *s v*: *mazdā A D*, *-ai B C*

- kauuacā Vīštāspō Zaraθuštriš Spitāmō Frašaoštrascā,  
dāṅhō ərəzūš paθō, yaṃ daēnaṃ Ahurō saošiiantō dadāt.
- 3 tēncā<sup>141</sup> tū, Pourucistā Haēcaṭ.aspānā  
Spitāmī, yezuuī dugədraṃ Zaraθuštrahē:  
vaṅhəuš †paitiiāstīm<sup>142</sup> manaṅhō ašahiiā Mazdāscā taibiiō dāt sarəm.  
aθā hēm.frašuuā [θβā]<sup>143</sup> xraθβā; spəništā ārmatōiš hudānū varšuuā.
- 4 tēm zī vō †spərədānī varānī†, yā fəδrōi vīdāt  
paiθiiāēcā vāstriiaēibiiō aṭcā x<sup>v</sup>aētauuē,  
ašāunī ašauuabiiō; manaṅhō vaṅhəuš x<sup>v</sup>ənuuāṭ haṅhuš †mēm bəəduš†<sup>144</sup>  
Mazdā dadāt Ahurō daēnaiiāi vaṅhuiiāi yauuōi vīspāiāi.
- 5 sāx<sup>v</sup>ənī vaziiamnābiiō kainibiiō mraomī  
xšmaibiiācā, vadəmnā:<sup>145</sup> mənācā ī [maṣ]dazdūm,  
vaədōdūm daēnābīš abiiāscā ahūm yə vaṅhəuš manaṅhō.  
ašā vō aniiō ainīm vīuuəṅghatū: taṭ zī hōi hušənəm aṅhaṭ.
- 6 iθā ī haiθiiā, narō, aθā, jənaiiō.  
drūjō hacā rāθəmō yəm spašuθā<sup>146</sup> fraidīm  
\* \* \* \* \*  
\* drūjō: ā.iiesē †hōiš piθā†<sup>147</sup> tanuuō parā.
- 6<sup>bis</sup> \* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* vaiiū.bərədbiiō dušx<sup>v</sup>arəθəm; nāsaṭ x<sup>v</sup>āθrəm  
drəguuōdəbiiō dəjīṭ.arətaēibiiō. anāiš ā manahīm ahūm mərəṅgəduiē.
- 7 aṭcā vō mīždəm aṅhaṭ ahiiā magahiiā:  
yauuāṭ āzuš zrazdištō būnōi haxtiiā  
parā[cā]<sup>148</sup> mraocəš aorācā, yaθrā mainiiuš drəguuatō anāsaṭ<sup>149</sup> parā.  
vī.zaiiāθā magəm tēm, aṭ vō “vaiiōi” aṅhaitī apəməm vacō.
- 8 anāiš ā dužuaršnaṅhō dafšniā həṅtū  
zašiiācā vīspāṅhō, xraosəṅtaṃ upā,  
huxšāθrāiš jənəraṃ xrūnəraṃ[cā], rāmaṃcā āiš dadātū šiiētibiiō vīžibiiō;  
iratū iš duuafšō huuō dərəzā mərəθiiaoš mazištō; mošucā astū!

141 *Inslar*: tīmcā m, tēmācā h s v

142 *paitiiāstīm m v, -stēm h s: disyllabo opus est*

143 [ ] *Kellens–Pirart*

144 *mən.bəṅduš Humbach*

145 *fort. vadəmnāṅhō*

146 *spaš<n>uθā Humbach*

147 *paθā D H, pōiθā Aa*

148 [ ] *Monna*

149 *ā nāsaṭ Inslar*

- 9 dužuuarənāiš vaēšō rāstī; tōi narəpīš rajīš<sup>150</sup>  
 aēšasā dējīṭ.arētā, pəšō.tanuuō.  
 kū ašauuā ahurō, yē īš jiiātēuš hēm.miṭiiāt vasō.itōišcā?  
 taṭ, Mazdā, tauuā xšaṭrəm, yā ərəžə.jiiōi dāhī drigauuē vahiiō.

### Yasna 54

- 1 ā Airiiōmā išiiō rafəḍrāi jaṇtū<sup>151</sup>  
 nərəbiiascā nāiribiiascā Zaratuštrahē,  
 vaṅhəuš rafəḍrāi manaṅhō, yā daēnā vairīm hanāt mīzdəm.  
 ašahiiā yāsā ašim, yaṃ išiiṃ Ahurō masatā Mazdā.

## B. The Yasna Haptaṅhāiti

### Yasna 35

- 2 humatanṃ hūxtanṃ huuarštanṃ iiadacā aniiadacā vərəziiamnanṃcā  
 vāuuərəzananṃcā mahī aibī.jarətārō: naē naēstārō yaṭēnā vohunṃ mahī.  
 3 taṭ aṭ varəmaidī, Ahurā Mazdā Ašā srīrā, hiiat ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā  
 varəzimācā, yā hātṃ šiiəṭənanṃ vahištā xiiat ubōibiiā ahubiiā.  
 4 gauuōi aṭ āiš<sup>152</sup> tāiš šiiəṭənaiš yāiš vahištāiš fraēšiiāmahī rāmācā  
 vāstrəmācā dazdiiāi srunuuatascā asrunuuatascā xšaiiantascā axšaiiantascā.  
 5 huxšaṭrōtəmāi bā aṭ xšaṭrəm, ahmaṭ hiiat aibī, dadəmahicā cīšmahicā  
 huuṃmahicā, hiiat Mazdāi Ahurāi Ašāicā vahištāi.  
 6 yaṭā aṭ utā nā vā nāiri vā vaēdā haiṭim, aṭā, haṭ vohū, tatō aṭ ū<sup>153</sup> vərəziiō-  
 tūcā iṭ ahmāi fra.cā vātōiiōtū iṭ aēibiiō, yōi iṭ aṭā vərəziiṃ, yaṭā iṭ astī.  
 7 Ahurahiā zī aṭ [və] Mazdā<sup>154</sup> yasnəmācā vahməmācā vahištəm aməhmaidī,  
 gəušcā vāstrəm. taṭ aṭ vō vərəziiāmahī fra.cā vātōiiāmahī, yātō isāmaidē.  
 8 Ašahiiā āaṭ sairī, Ašahiiā vərəzənē kahmāicīṭ hātṃ jīiṣṃ vahištṃ adā  
 ubōibiiā ahubiiā.  
 9/10 imā aṭ uxḍā vacā, Ahurā Mazdā, Ašəm maniiā<sup>155</sup> vahehiiā fra.uuaocāmā:  
 ṭḃṃ aṭ aēšṃ paitiiāstārəmācā fra.daxštārəmācā dadəmaidē, (10) Ašāaṭcā

150 *C v*, rijīš *m*: arəjīš *D E*, -zīš *F*

151 *fort.* rafəḍrāii<ā> *vel* <ā> jaṇtū

152 *Insler, Narten*: adāiš ω

153 *Narten*: taṭ əəādū fere ω

154 [ ] *West* mazdā *m h v*: mazdā *s*

155 *dett.*: manahiā *m*: maniiā *D F*, mainiiā *C E v*



hacā Vaṅhēuścā Manaṅhō Vaṅhēuścā Xšaθrāt, staotāiš θβāt [Ahurā]<sup>156</sup>  
staotōibiiō aibī, uxδā θβāt uxδōibiiō, yasnā θβāt yasnōibiiō.

### Yasna 36

- 1 ahiiā θβā āθrō vərəzēnā paouruiiē pairi.jasāmaidē, Mazdā Ahurā, θβā θβā  
mainiiū spēništā, yē ā axtiš ahmāi, yēm axtōiioi dāṅhē.
- 2 uruūāzištō huuō nā<sup>157</sup> yātāiiā paitī.jamiiā, Ātarē Mazdā Ahurahiiā, uruūā-  
zištahiiā uruūāziiā, naṃištahiiā nēmanṅhā nā mazištāi yāṅṅṅam paitī.jamiiā.
- 3 ātarš vōi Mazdā Ahurahiiā ahī, mainiiuš vōi ahiiā spēništō ahī; hiiat vā tōi  
nāmanṅam vāzištēm, Ātarē Mazdā Ahurahiiā, tā θβā pairi.jasāmaidē.
- 4/5 vohū θβā manṅhā, vohū θβā ašā, vaṅhuiiā θβā cistōiš šīiaoθēnāišcā  
vacēbišcā pairi.jasāmaidē (5) nēmaxiiāmāhī išūidiiāmāhī θβā, Mazdā Ahu-  
rā; vīspāiš θβā humatāiš, vīspāiš hūxtāiš, vīspāiš huuarštāiš pai-  
ri.jasāmaidē.
- 6 sraēštām aṭ tōi kēhrpēm kēhrpām ā.uuaēdaiiamāhī, Mazdā Ahurā, imā  
raocā; barēzištēm barēzimanṅam auuat yāt huuarō<sup>158</sup> auuācī.

### Yasna 37

- 1/3 iθā āṭ yazamaidē Ahurēm Mazdām, yē ḡamcā ašēmcā dāt, apascā dāt ur-  
uuarāscā vaṅṅhīš, raocāscā dāt būmīmcā vīspācā vohū, (2) ahiiā xšaθrācā  
mazēnācā hauuapaṅṅhāišcā.  
tēm aṭ yasnāṅam pauraatātā yazamaidē, yōi ḡōuš hacā šīieinṭī; (3) tēm aṭ  
āhūirriā nāmēnī mazdā.varā spēntōtēmā yazamaidē; tēm ahmākāiš  
azdēbišcā uštānāišcā yazamaidē; tēm ašāunṅam frauuašīš narāmācā nāi-  
rināmācā yazamaidē.
- 4 Ašēm aṭ vahīštēm yazamaidē, hiiat sraēštēm, hiiat spēntēm, <hiiat><sup>159</sup>  
aməšēm, hiiat raocōṅhuuat, hiiat vīspā.vohū;
- 5 Vohucā Manō yazamaidē, Vohucā Xšaθrēm, Vaṅṅhīmcā Daēnām,  
Vaṅṅhīmcā Fəratūm, Vaṅṅhīmcā Ārmaitīm.

156 [] West

157 s v: nā m h

158 huuarō m h, -ə H: auuarō s G

159 < > West

**Yasna 38**

- 1/2 imam āat Zəm Gənābiš haṭrā yazamaidē: yā nā baraitī yāscā tōi gənā, Ahurā Mazdā, ašāt hacā vairiā, tā yazamaidē, (2) Ižā Yaoštaiiō Fraštaiiō Āmataiō. vaṅhīm ābiš Ašīm, vaṅhīm Īšəm, vaṅhīm Āzūitīm, vaṅhīm Frastīm, vaṅhīm Parəndīm yazamaidē.
- 3 Apō at yazamaidē maēkaiiantišcā hōbuuantišcā, frauuazaṅhō Ahurānīš Ahurahiā hauuapaṅhā. huṛəṭṭβāscā vā huuōγzəṭāscā hūšnāṭrāscā ubōi-biā ahubiiā cagəmə.
- 4 ūitī, yā vō, vaṅhīš, Ahurō Mazdā nāmam dadāt, vaṅhudā hiiat vā dadāt, tāiš vā yazamaidē, tāiš friiāmahī, tāiš nəmaxiiāmahī, tāiš išūidiiāmahī.
- 5 apascā vā azīscā vā māterāšcā vā, agəniā drigudāiiaṅhō vīspō.paitīš ā.uuaocāmā, vahištā, sraēštā. auuā vō, vaṅhīš, rātōiš darəgō.bāzāuš nāšū paitī, viiādā, paitī.səṇdā, mātarō jītaiiō.

**Yasna 39**

- 1/2 iṭā at yazamaidē gəuš uruuānəmcā tašānəmcā; ahmākəṅg āat urunō pasukanəmcā, yōi nā jīišəṅtī, yaēibiiāscā tōi ā, yaēcā aēibiiō ā aṅhən, (2) daitikanəmcā aidiiūnam hiiat urunō yazamaidē. ašāunam āat urunō yazamaidē, kudō.zātanəmcīt, narəmcā nāirinəmcā, yaēšam vahehiš daēnā vanaiṅtī vā vəṅghən vā vaonarə vā.
- 3 at iṭā yazamaidē vaṅhūšcā it vaṅhīšcā it, spəṅtəṅg aməšəṅg, yauuaējiiō yauuaēsuuō, yōi vaṅhəuš ā manəṅhō šīieṅtī, yāscā ūitī.
- 4 yaṭā tū ī, Ahurā Mazdā, məṅghācā vaocascā dāscā varəšcā, yā vohū, aṭā tōi dadəmahī, aṭā cīšmahī, aṭā ṭβā āiš yazamaidē, aṭā nəmaxiiāmahī, aṭā išūidiiāmahī ṭβā, Mazdā Ahurā.
- 5 vaṅhəuš x'aētəuš x'aētātā, vaṅhəuš ašahiā ṭβā pairi.jasāmaidē, vaṅhuiā fsəratuuō, vaṅhuiā ārmatōiš.

**Yasna 40**

- 1/2 āhū at paitī adāhū, Mazdā Ahurā, mazdāmcā būiricā kərəšuuā: rāitī tōi xrapaitī, ahmat hiiat aibi. hiiat mīzdəm †mauuaiṭəm<sup>160</sup> fra.dadaṭā daēnā-biiō, Mazdā Ahurā, (2) ahiiā huuō nē dāidī ahmāicā ahuiē manāxiāicā: taṭ ahiiā, yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā, tauuacā haxəmə Ašaxiiācā vīspāi yauuē.

---

160 mauuaiṭəm *D*: mauuaēṭəm *m C F v*: mauuaiṭīm *Geldner*

- 3 dāidī aṭ nərəš, Mazdā Ahurā, aṣāunō aṣa.cinaṅhō, aidiiūš vāstriiōṅg, darə-gāi īziīai bəzuuaitē haxmainē ahmaibiiā ahmā.rafənaṅhō.
- 4 aṭā xʼaētuš,<sup>161</sup> aṭā vərəzənā, aṭā haxəmaṃ xiiāṭ, yāiš hišcamaidē; aṭā vō utā xiiāmā, Mazdā Ahurā, aṣauuanō ərəšiiā<sup>162</sup> ištəm rāitī.

### Yasna 41

- 1 stūtō, garō, vahmōṅg Ahurāi Mazdāi Aṣāicā vahištāi dadəmahicā cīšmahicā ā.cā [ā]vaədaiiamahī.
- 2 vohū xšaṭrəm tōi, Mazdā Ahurā, apaēmā vīspāi yauuē: huxšaṭras.tū nō, nā vā nāiri vā, xšaētā ubōiiō aṅhuuō, hāṭaṃ hudāstəmā.
- 3 humāim ʋβā, īzīm, yazatəm, aṣaṅhācim dadəmaidē. aṭā tū nō gaiiascā astəntāscā xiiā ubōiiō aṅhuuō, hāṭaṃ hudāstəmā.
- 4 hanaēmācā zaēmācā, Mazdā Ahurā, ʋβahmī rafənahī darəgāiiāu; aēšācā ʋβā əmauuantascā buiiāmā, rapōišcā tū nō darəgəmcā uštācā, hāṭaṃ hudāstəmā.
- 5/6 ʋβōi staotarascā maṭranascā, Ahurā Mazdā, aogəmadaēcā usmahicā vīsā-madaēcā. hiiāṭ miždəm ʧmauuaiṭəm fra.dadaṭā daənābiiō, Mazdā Ahurā, (6) ahiiā huuō nō dāidī ahmāicā ahuiē manaxiiāicā: taṭ ahiiā, yā taṭ upā.jamiiāmā, tauuacā haxəmə Aṣaxiiācā vīspāi yauuē.

---

161 xʼaētuš *A E*: -tūš *B h v*: xāetəuš *F*

162 ərəšuuā *dett*.



## Bibliography

- BARTHOLOMAE, CHRISTIAN, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin 1904.
- BEEKES, ROBERT STEPHEN PAUL, *A Grammar of Gatha-Avestan*, Leiden–New York–København–Köln 1988.
- BENVENISTE, ÉMILE, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, Paris 1966.
- BRUGMANN, KARL, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Berlin–Leipzig 1902.
- , *Die Syntax des einfachen Satzes im Indogermanischen*, IF 43 Beiheft, Berlin–Leipzig 1925.
- CALAND, WILLEM, *Zur Syntax der Pronomina im Avesta (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde 20: 2)*, Amsterdam 1891.
- CRESPO, EMILIO, and JOSÉ LUIS GARCÍA RAMÓN (edd.), *Berthold Delbrück y la sintaxis indoeuropea hoy. Actas del Coloquio de la Indogermanische Gesellschaft, Madrid, 21–24 de septiembre de 1994*, Madrid–Wiesbaden 1997.
- DELBRÜCK, BERTHOLD, *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 3 vols., Strassburg 1893–1900.
- HINTZE, ALMUT, ‘Parataxis and Hypotaxis in the Avesta’, in Éric Pirart (ed.), *Syntaxe des langues indo-iraniennes anciennes. Colloque international, Sitges (Barcelona), 4–5 mai 1993*, Barcelona 1997, 51–62.
- , *A Zoroastrian Liturgy: The Worship in Seven Chapters (Yasna 35–41) (Iranica 12)*, Wiesbaden 2007.
- HIRT, HERMANN, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, 7 vols., Heidelberg 1927–34.
- HOFFMANN, KARL, and BERNHARD FORSSMAN, *Avestische Laut- und Flexionslehre*, 2. Aufl., Innsbruck 2004.
- HUMBACH, HELMUT, in collaboration with Josef Elfenbein and Prods Oktor Skjærvø, *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra and the Other Old Avestan Texts*, 2 vols., Heidelberg 1991.
- INSLER, STANLEY, *The Gāthās of Zarathustra (Acta Iranica 8)*, Teheran–Liège 1975.
- KELLENS, JEAN, ‘Les fonctions du génitif en vieil-avestique’, in Éric Pirart (ed.), *Syntaxe des langues indo-iraniennes anciennes. Colloque international, Sitges (Barcelona), 4–5 mai 1993*, Barcelona 1997, 81–90.
- KELLENS, JEAN, and ÉRIC PIRART, *Les textes vieil-avestiques*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden 1988–91.
- KRAHE, HANS, *Grundzüge der vergleichenden Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Innsbruck 1972.

- MONNA, MARIA CORNELIA, *The Gathas of Zarathustra. A Reconstruction of the Text*, Amsterdam 1978.
- NARTEN, JOHANNA, *Der Yasna Haptayhāiti*, Wiesbaden 1986.
- REICHELT, HANS, *Avestisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1909.
- RISCH, ERNST, 'Avestisch Mazdā Ašāicā und Verwandtes', *MSS* 17 (1964), 51–65.
- SCHWYZER, EDUARD, *Griechische Grammatik, II: Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik*, vervollständigt und herausgegeben von ALBERT DEBRUNNER, Munich 1950.
- SEILER, HANSJAKOB, *Relativsatz, Attribut und Apposition*, Wiesbaden 1960.
- SKJÆRVØ, PRODS OKTOR, 'Old Iranian languages', in G. Windfuhr (ed.), *The Iranian Languages*, London–New York 2009, 43–195.
- SMITH, MARIA WILKINS, *Studies in the Syntax of the Gathas of Zarathushtra, together with Text, Translation, and Notes*, Philadelphia 1929.
- SPIEGEL, FRIEDRICH, *Vergleichende Syntax der altiranischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1882.
- WACKERNAGEL, JACOB, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, 2nd ed., Basel 1926–8; annotated translation by DAVID LANGSLOW, *Jacob Wackernagel. Lectures on Syntax*, Oxford 2009.—Cited by Wackernagel's volume and page, given in Langslow's margins.
- , *Kleine Schriften*, 3 vols., Göttingen 1955–79.
- WATKINS, CALVERT, *Selected Writings*, 3 vols., Innsbruck 1994–2008.
- WEST, MARTIN LITCHFIELD, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, Oxford 2007, = West (2007a).
- , 'The Querulous Cow: An Essay in Gāthic Interpretation', *Iran* 44 (2007), 71–85, = West (2007b).
- , 'On Editing the *Gāthās*', *Iran* 45 (2008), 121–34.
- ZWOLANEK, RENÉE, *Vāyav índraśca. Studien zu Anrufungsformen im Vedischen, Avestischen und Griechischen*, Munich 1970.

# Indexes

The numbers refer to sections throughout.

## I. Avestan words

Words are listed in Latin alphabetic order, without distinction between *a*, *ā*, and *q*, *i* and *ī*, *u* and *ū*, *t* and *ṭ*. *ə*/*ē* is placed after *e*, *ṽ* after *t*.

- ā* (preverb/preposition) 58, 91, 116  
— (particle) 300  
*adā* 133  
*adāiš* 278  
*aēuuā* 299  
*ah-* 8, 155  
*aibī* 91  
*aiiōm* 127–9  
*aipī* 116  
*ākā* 58  
*Ašəm*, *ašā* 27, 38, 66  
*aṭ* (*āṭ*, *āat*) 277–8, 326  
— *aṭcā* 281, 294; *aṭcīṭ* 283; *aṭ vā* 297;  
*aṭ zī* 282  
*atā* 133  
*aṭrā* 133, 272–3, 370  
*aṭrā* 133  
*bā* 308  
*-cā* 122, 141, 255, 279, 287–93, 382  
*cinā* 307  
*ciš* 136, 140; *cišcā* 141  
*cīṭ* 142, 305  
*ciṭṭonā* 136–7  
*ciṭṭi* 306  
*dā-* 83, 114, 155  
*ēānū* 58, 91  
*hacā* 91  
*hadā* 70  
*hanarə* 91  
*hadrā* 70  
*hiiaṭ* 134, 240, 247, 249–50, 312  
— *hiiaṭcīṭ* 305  
*huuō* 123, 127–30  
*ṭi* 301  
*iṭā* 133, 370  
*kadā* 139  
*kam* 303  
*kas*, *kaṭ* 136–7; *kas.cīṭ* 142  
*katārōm* 138  
*kaṭrā* 139  
*kū*, *kudā*, *kudrā* 139  
*mā* (prohibitive) 192  
— (focusing particle) 310  
*maṭ* 70  
*nā* (particle) 136, 309  
*nōiṭ* 10, 12–13, 133, 188, 330, 381,  
383, 390  
*nū* 133  
*pairī* 70, 116  
*paīṭi* 58, 116  
*paouruiia-* 351  
*parā* 58, 91; *parā hiiaṭ* 134  
*parō* 58, 70  
*pouru-* 350  
*ta-* 129, 131  
*tā* 67, 132

<i>tū</i> 284	<i>yā</i> 67, 134, 258
<i>ṭβaṭ</i> 298	<i>yadā</i> 135, 240
<i>ūiṭi</i> 133, 270	<i>yāṭ</i> 134
<i>utā</i> 302	<i>yaṭā</i> 135, 248, 250, 258
<i>vā</i> 279, 296, 382	<i>yaṭānā, yaṭrā, yauuaṭ</i> 135
<i>vīspa-</i> 350	<i>yezī</i> 254, 258
<i>vōi</i> 285	<i>zī</i> 280, 311; <i>aṭ zī, zī aṭ</i> 282; <i>zīṭ</i> 311
<i>x<sup>va</sup></i> - 126	

## II. Passages

Only those passages are listed where the text or interpretation are the subject of special comment.

27. 13: 104	34. 5: 135	46. 17: 70
27. 14: 8 n.	34. 6: 33	48. 1: 278
28. 1–3: 367	34. 10: 236	48. 6: 181
28. 11: 300	34. 11: 300	48. 10: 28
29. 3: 115, 181	43. 10: 131	
30. 7: 255	43. 12: 115	<i>YH</i>
31. 9: 177	44. 8: 218	35. 4: 278
32. 1: 255	44. 12: 127	35. 6: 8 n., 278,
32. 4: 49	44. 18: 178	332
32. 16: 58	45. 2: 181	
33. 9: 208	46. 11: 246	



### III. Topics

- ablative 86–91, 356
- abstracta 26–8
- accusative 51–8
  - double 54–5, 324, 346
  - subject of infinitive 197
- adjectives
  - absolute uses 23–5, 57, 217–18
  - placing 321, 349–53
  - with verbal rection 36, 53, 215
- adverbs, demonstrative 133
  - relative 135
  - interrogative 139
- amplification 362–7
- āmrēḍita* 56
- anacolouthon 2, 50
- anaphora 318, 389–93
- aoριστ 152–3, 165–6, 176–8, 181, 263
- apposition 19–21, 363–7
- appositives 58, 70, 91, 116, 219–20
  - defined 46 n.
- aspect 152–6
- asyndetic coordination 290
- augment 176, 219
- augmented triads 394
- Behaghel's Law 336–7, 352–3, 394
- cases 46–119
  - adnominal 46, 68, 76
- causal clauses 247
- chiasmus 335
- cola and commata 317, 331–2, 342, 358
- comparative 33, 319, 385
- comparison 89
  - degrees of 33–6
- concord 14–18
- conditional clauses 254–5
  - nominal 8
- conjunctions 135
  - correlatives 129, 230, 248, 256, 325
  - counterfactuals 254
  - dative 71–85
    - double 82
    - placement 331, 347–8
  - distraction (distribution of emphasis) 320–5, 368
  - dual 42–3
  - ellipse 370–4
  - emphasis 316
  - enclitics 219, 275, 326–9, 331
  - final clauses 250–3
  - fronting 318, 339–40
  - future time 167–75, 246, 254
  - gender 27, 37–9
  - genitive 92–104
    - double 103–4
    - placement 322, 331, 354–5
  - gerundives 218
  - imagery 369
  - imperative 190–1, 269, 343
  - imperfect 177
  - indirect speech 257–8
  - infinitives 194–204
  - injunctive 163, 175, 192–3, 243–4, 262, 265
  - instrumental 59–70, 356
  - interlacing 368
  - interrogatives 9, 136–9
  - litotes 376
  - locative 105–16, 356
  - merisms, *see* polar expression
  - middle, *see* voice
  - mythical time 181
  - negation 10–13, 140
  - neuter plural as collective 15, 28, 39
  - nomina actionis* 30–1
  - nomina agentis* 29
  - nominal compounds 32

- nominal sentences 8, 9, 12, 216, 345, 374
- nominative 47–50, 118
- number 40–5, 122, 143–4
- numerals 350
- object, placement 338, 340
- object clauses 256
- optative 185–9, 226, 250–2, 268, 343
- parentheses 280, 378
- paronomasia 388
- participles 205–14
- negated 11
- particles 275–312, 326–9
- passive 148, 178
- perfect 154–6, 164, 180
- performative utterances 159
- person, uses of third 145–7
- personification 26–7, 38
- pleonasm 375
- pluperfect 180
- pluralia tantum* 44
- polar expression 369, 379–81
- polyptoton 385–7
- possessive adjectives 121, 126, 349
- potentiality 182–5
- prepositions/postpositions 220; *see also* appositives
- present 152–3, 158–63, 179, 245, 260–2
- preverbs 150, 219–20, 330; *see also* appositives
- prohibitions 192
- pronouns 120–42
- demonstrative 127–33, 318, 390
- enclitic 75, 120, 121, 125–6
- followed up by noun 20
- indefinite 140–2
- interrogative 136–8, 318, 390
- personal 120–6, 318, 327
- reflexive 125
- relative 134–5, 228, 236–9, 330, 338
- questions 9, 136–9, 172–5, 185, 390
- indirect 258
- rhetorical 377
- quotation of speech 270–4
- relative clauses 221–39
- in anaphora 391
- final 250–1
- coordinated with *-cā* 292
- nominal 8
- schema Alcmaticum* 17
- singular representing a class 23, 40
- subjunctive 168–74, 184, 226, 246, 250–1, 253–4, 266–7
- in narrative 181
- superlative 34–6, 319, 385
- synonym clusters 369
- temporal clauses 240–6, 391
- tense 157–81
- time, expressions of 56, 66, 84, 102, 110
- topic 315
- understatement (litotes) 376
- Vāyav Indraśca* construction 118
- verb, placement 338–9, 341–4, 360
- ellipse 370–1, 374
- verbal adjectives 80, 214–18
- verbal nouns 29–31
- versification 336, 369
- vocative 117–19, 357–60
- voice 148–51; ambivalence in infinitive 200
- wishes 186–8
- word order 13, 236, 241, 313–68

Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen  
Neue Folge

*Wer kauft Liebesgötter? Metastasen eines Motivs*

Dietrich Gerhardt, Berlin/New York 2008

ISBN 978-3-11-020291-5

Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 1

*Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie. Das universale Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpäpsten bis zu Innozenz III*

Hrsg. von Jochen Johrendt und Harald Müller, Berlin/New York 2008

ISBN 978-3-11-020223-6

Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 2

*Gesetzgebung, Menschenbild und Sozialmodell im Familien- und Sozialrecht*

Hrsg. von Okko Behrends und Eva Schumann, Berlin/New York 2008

ISBN 978-3-11-020777-4

Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 3

*Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*

*I. Konzeptionelle Grundfragen und Fallstudien (Heiden, Barbaren, Juden)*

Hrsg. von Ludger Grenzmann, Thomas Haye, Nikolaus Henkel u. Thomas Kaufmann, Berlin/New York 2009

ISBN 978-3-11-021352-2

Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 4

*Das Papsttum und das vielgestaltige Italien. Hundert Jahre Italia Pontificia*

Hrsg. von Klaus Herbers und Jochen Johrendt, Berlin/New York 2009

ISBN 978-3-11-021467-3

Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 5

*Die Grundlagen der slowenischen Kultur*

Hrsg. von France Bernik und Reinhard Lauer, Berlin/New York 2010

ISBN 978-3-11-022076-6

Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 6

*Studien zur Philologie und zur Musikwissenschaft*

Hrsg. von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Berlin/New York 2009.

ISBN 978-3-11-021763-6

Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 7

*Perspektiven der Modernisierung. Die Pariser Weltausstellung, die Arbeiterbewegung, das koloniale China in europäischen und amerikanischen Kulturzeitschriften um 1900*

Hrsg. von Ulrich Mölk und Heinrich Detering, in Zusammenarb. mit Christoph Jürgensen, Berlin/New York 2010

ISBN 978-3-11-023425-1

Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 8

*Das strafende Gesetz im sozialen Rechtsstaat. 15. Symposium der Kommission: „Die Funktion des Gesetzes in Geschichte und Gegenwart“*

Hrsg. von Eva Schumann, Berlin/New York 2010

ISBN 978-3-11-023477-0

Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 9

*Studien zur Wissenschafts- und zur Religionsgeschichte*

Hrsg. von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Berlin/New York 2011

ISBN 978-3-11-025175-3

Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 10

*Erinnerung – Niederschrift – Nutzung. Das Papsttum und die Schriflichkeit im mittelalterlichen Westeuropa*

Hrsg. von Klaus Herbers und Ingo Fleisch, Berlin/New York 2011

ISBN 978-3-11-025370-2

Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 11

*Erinnerungskultur in Südosteuropa*

Hrsg. von Reinhard Lauer, Berlin/Boston 2011

ISBN 978-3-11-025304-7

Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 12