II. Morphosyntax

Concord[1]

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. N e u t e r   p l u r a l   s u b j e c t s take a singular verb, reflecting the original nature of the neuter plural as a collective: 29. 4 *sax^vārə̄ … yā zī v̱ə̄uuərəzōi pairī ciϑīt̰ … yācā varəšaitē aipī ciϑīt*, 'initiatives … those that have been taken in the past and those that may be taken hereafter'; 31. 14 *tā ϑβā pərəsā, … yā zī ā <aē>itī jə̄nghaticā*, 'I ask thee about those things that are approaching and will come'; 32. 7 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm … yā jōiiā sə̄nghaitē*, 'of those offences which are decreed to be matters of life'; 49. 4 *yaēšąm nōit̰ huuarštāiš v̱ąs dužuuarštā*, 'through whose not doing-good-deeds the ill deeds prevail'; 50. 10 *yācā vohū cašmąm arəjat̰ manaŋhā*, '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:[2] 29. 1 *ā mā aēšəmō hazascā rəmō hišāiiā dərəš təuuišcā*, 'fury and force, cruelty, violence, and aggression hold me bound'; 44. 20 *yāiš gąm Karəpā Usixšcā aēšmāi dātā*, 'with whom the Karpan and the Usij put the cow to violence'. So in 32. 15 we have *anāiš ā v̱ī.nə̄nāsā yā Karəpōtåscā Kəuuītåscā*, '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 yə̄ŋg daintī, … tōi ā̱biiā bairiiåṇtē*, 'those whom they implicate in them will be borne away from them both.'

17. In 31. 4 we find the so-called *s c h e m a   A l c m a n i c u m*, by which a singular subject is followed by a plural verb in anticipation of the addition of a further subject: *yadā Ašəm zəuuīm aŋhən Mazdåscā Ahuråŋhō*, 'when Right is (lit. are) to be invoked, and Mazdā and the Lords'.[3]

---

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 i m p e r f e c t c o n c o r d between a subject and something with which it is equated, as in 32. 3 *aṭ yūš daēuuā vīspåŋhō Akāṭ Manaŋhō stā ciϑrəm*, 'but you Daevas are all spawn from Evil Thought'; 32. 10 *yə acištəm vaēnaŋhē aogədā gąm ašibiiā huuarəcā*, 'who declares that the worst thing (neut.) to behold with the eyes is the cow (fem.) and the sun (neut.)'; 33. 13 *yā vō ā bifrā, … yā vaŋhōuš ašiš manaŋhō*, 'those virtues(?) of yours, which (neut. pl.) are the reward (fem. sg.) of good thought'; 43. 1 *tat mōi då … rāiiō ašīš*, 'give me that (neut. sg.) as the rewards (fem. pl.) of munificence'; 43. 11 *sādrā mōi sąs mašiiaēšū 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: *xᵛāiš šiiaoϑnāišcā sōnghāišcā; yə īš sōnghō apəməm Drūjō dəmānē ādāṭ*, '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 yə akəm drəguuāitē … varəšaitī, vaŋhāu vā cōiϑaitē astīm, tōi vārāi rādəṇtī*, '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[4]

19. One noun may be placed beside another in apposition to give it greater definition: 44. 3 *ząϑā ptā*, 'father-begetter'; perhaps 31. 9 *ϑβō ā gōuš tašā as xratuš mainiiōuš*, 'thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will'.[5]

In other examples a longer noun phrase is appended in apposition to expand on the meaning: 28. 7 *tąm ašīm, vaŋhōuš āiiaptā manaŋhō*, 'that reward, the blessings of good thought'; 31. 6 *yə mōi vīduuå vaocāṭ haiϑīm, mąϑrəm yim hauruuatātō ašahiiā amərə<ta>tātascā*, 'who knows and speaks my truth, the prescript of health, right, and continuing life'; 34. 12–13 *sīšā nå … paϑō vaŋhōuš xᵛaētōŋg manaŋhō, tōm 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 gōušcā*, 'we two, my soul and the cow's'; 29. 8 *aēm mōi idā vistō, … Zaraϑuštrō Spitāmō*, 'this man here I have found, Zarathushtra Spitama'; 30. 1 *aṭ tā vaxšiiā,… yā mazdāϑā …: staotācā Ahurāi yesniiācā Vaŋhōuš Manaŋhō*, '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 *aṯ tā mainiiū, paouruiiē yā yə̄mā x^vafənā asruuātəm, manahi[cā] vacahicā šiiaoϑanōi hī, vahiiō akəmcā*, '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 <u>*ax́iiācā x^vaētuš yāsaṯ, ahiiā* vərəzə̄nəm *maṯ airiiamnā, ahiiā* daēuuā</u> *mahmī manōi, Ahurahiiā uruuāzəmā Mazdå*, '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 vīspåŋhō*, 'all you Daevas'; 44. 7 *ϑβā fraxšnī auuāmī, Mazdā, spəṇtā mainiiū vīspanąm dātārəm*, 'I am concerned to promote thee, Mazdā, (thee) the ordainer of all things through thy bounteous will'; 46. 19 *yə̄ mōi ašāṯ haiϑīm hacā varəšaitī, Zaraϑuštrāi, hiiaṯ vasnā fra-šōtəməm*, 'whoever in accord with Right will make real for me, for Zarathush-tra, the utmost splendour of my desiring', cf. 51. 12; 47. 2 <u>*huuō* ptā *Ašahiia,* *Mazdå*</u>, '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 em-phatically by the dual pronoun *ubē* 'both' followed by the two singular nouns in apposition: 34. 11 *ubē hauruuåscā … amərətatåscā*, '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 m a s c . a d j e c t i v e (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 *aēšą̇m … paouruiiō*, 'their first one (leader)'; 30. 11 *drəguuōdəbiiō … ašauuabiiō*, 'for the wrongful … for the righ-teous'; 33. 7 *vahištā*, 'O best ones'; 34. 7 *kuϑrā tōi arədrā?* 'where are thy zeal-ous ones?'; 34. 8 *pourubiiō*, 'for many'; 34. 10 *huxratuš*, '(any) wise man'; 43. 15 *pourūš drəguuatō … vīspə̄ṇg ašāunō*, 'the many wrongful … all the righ-teous'; 44. 5 *cazdōŋhuuaṇtəm*, 'the prudent man'; 49. 1 *dušərəϑrīš*, 'the ill-protected'; 53. 8 *dužuuaršnaŋhō … vīspåŋhō*, '(the) evil-doers, all of them'. Not to be overlooked is 28. 1 (and *passim*) *Mazdå* 'the Mindful One' as alterna-tive to *Mazdå Ahurā* 'the Mindful Lord' or *Ahurā* 'the Lord'.

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

24. A n e u t . s g . a d j e c t i v e 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 *vaŋhāu*, 'in the good', cf. 33. 2; 33. 2 *akəm*, 'evil', cf. 51. 8; 43. 10 *parštōm*, 'question'; 44. 2 *aŋhōuš vahištahiiā paouruuīm*, 'the best existence's first (beginning)', cf. 45. 2, 3 (twice).

25. A n e u t . p l . a d j e c t i v e 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 *nōiṯ asrūštā*, 'things not unheeded'; 44. 3 *tācīṯ … aniiācā*, 'these things and other things'; 44. 16 *ciϑrā*, 'clarity'; 46. 19 *manō.vistāiš maṯ vīspāiš*, 'with all spiritual acquisitions'; 49. 4 *huuarštā, dužuuarštā*, 'good deeds, bad deeds'; 53. 3 *spōništā ārmatōiš hudānū*, 'piety's most liberal benefactions'; *YH* 35. 2 *humatanąm hūxtanąm huuarštanąm*, 'of things well thought, well spoken, well done'; ibid. *vohunąm*, '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 *aṯ kəhrpəm utaiiūitiš dadāṯ, ārmaitiš ąnmā*, 'then vitality informs the body, piety the soul'; 30. 8 *yadā aēšąm kaēnā jamaitī aēnaŋhąm*, '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 təuuišcā*, 'fury and force, cruelty, violence, and aggression hold me bound'; 30. 6 *hiiaṯ īš ā dəbaomā pərəsəmnōŋg upā jasaṯ*, 'because delusion comes upon them as they deliberate'; 31. 20 *tōm vå ahūm … daēnā naēšaṯ*, 'that is the existence to which your morality will lead you'; 32. 3 *Akāṯ Manaŋhō stā ciϑrəm … Drūjascā Pairimatōišcā*, 'ye are seed (sprung) from Evil thought and from Wrong and Contempt'; 43. 15 *daxšaṯ uxšiiāi tušnā.maitiš vahištā*, 'silent meditation teaches me the best things to say'; 49. 2 *nōiṯ spəṇtąm dōrəšt ahmāi stōi Ārmaitīm, naēdā Vohū … fraštā Manaŋhā*, 'he has not embraced bounteous Piety to make her his, nor taken counsel with Good Thought'.

27. The figures of *Ārmaiti-* 'Piety', *Vohu- Manah-* 'Good Thought', and *Ašəm* 'Right' are constantly treated as quasi-divine beings associated with Ahura Mazdā. In several passages where Right is directly addressed or treated as a living agent, the neuter *Ašəm* (= Vedic *R̥tám*) 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.[6]

---

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

28. Abstract stands for concrete in 32. 15 *Karpōtåscā Kəuuītåscā*, 'the Karpan-hood and the Kavihood', for 'the Karpans and the Kavis'; and in a different type of idiom in 46. 3 *saošiiaṇtąm xratauuō*, 'the sapiences of the Promoters', for 'the sapient Promoters'. There is what looks like a similar phrase in 48. 10 *yācā xratū dušxšaθrā daxiiunąm*, '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:[7] 34. 13 *mīždəm, Mazdā, yehiiā tū daθrəm*, 'the reward, Mazdā, of which thou art the gift'; 43. 8 *haiθiiō duuaēšå hiiaṭ isōiiā drəguuāitē, aṭ ašāunē rafnō xiiēm aojōŋh-uuaṭ*, '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 narəpīš rajīš*, 'they are waning(?) and darkness(?)'; *YH* 36. 1 *yə̄ ā axtiš ahmāi, yə̄m axtōiiōi då̄ŋhē*, '(thy Fire), which is torment for him whom thou puttest to torment'; 41. 3 *aθā tū nə̄ gaiiascā astəṇtåscā xiiā*, 'so mayest thou be our life and substance'.

Verbal Nouns (*nomina agentis, actionis*)

29. A g e n t n o u n s 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 (n o m i n a l r e c t i o n): 29. 2 *tašā gə̄uš*, 'the fashioner of the cow'; 31. 17 *vaŋhə̄uš fradaxštā manaŋhō*, 'the teacher of good thought'; 32. 13 *aŋhə̄uš marəxtārō ahiiā*, 'destroyers of this existence'; 44. 4 *vaŋhə̄uš … dąmiš manaŋhō*, 'the creator of good thought'; 44. 7 *vīspanąm dātārəm*, 'ordainer of all things'; 48. 12 *hamaēstārō aēšmahiiā*, 'the smiters of violence'; 50. 6 *dātā xrat-ə̄uš*, 'the giver of wisdom'; 50. 11 *dātā aŋhə̄uš*, 'the ordainer of the world'; 51. 10 *dāmōiš Drūjō*, 'of the creator of Wrong'. But *dąmiš* 'creator' is also used with the object in the accusative (v e r b a l r e c t i o n): 31. 7 *huuō xraθßā dąmiš ašəm*, 'he by his wisdom is the creator of Right'; 45. 7 *tācā xšaθrā Mazdå dąmiš Ahurō*, 'of those realms too Mazdā is the creator'; and similarly with *manaoθrī-*, 44. 5 *yå manaoθrīš cazdōŋhuuaṇtəm 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: *humatanąm hūxtanąm huuarštanąm … mahī aibī.jarətārō; naē naēstārō yaθənā vohunąm mahī*, 'we are approvers of good thoughts, good words, good deeds … we are not revilers of what is good'.

30. N o m i n a a c t i o n i s too are occasionally construed with verbal rection: 32. 11 *aŋʷhīšcā aŋhauuascā apaiieitī raēxənaŋhō vaēdəm*, 'by the depriving (instr.) matrons and masters (acc.) (of) the possession (acc.) of their inheritance (gen.)'; 34. 7 *Vaŋhə̄uš vaēdənā Manaŋhō sə̄nghūš raēxnå*, 'by possession of Good

---

7   Cf. Humbach i. 102 f.

Thought's decrees (and) legacies'; 43. 11 _mašiiaēšū zrazdāitiš_, 'trust in mortals (loc.)'; 45. 9 _pasūš vīrə̄ṇg ahmākə̄ṇg fradaϑāiiā_, 'for the furtherance of our herds (and) men', cf. 31. 16; 48. 5 _yaoždå … zą̄ϑəm_, 'purification of breeding'; _YH_ 35. 9 _ašə̄m manaiiā vahehiiā_, 'with better thinking (on) Right'; 40. 4 _ištə̄m 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 hə̄m.parštōišcā_, 'with that (mind) I long, Mazdā, for beholding and conferring with thee'; 34. 9 _vaŋhə̄uš ə̄uuistī manaŋhō_, 'in (their) non-acquisition of good thought'; 44. 4 _kas.nā dərətā ząmcā adō nabåscā auuapastōiš?_ 'who held the earth from beneath and the heaven from falling down?'; 46. 4 _at tə̄ṇg drəguuå … pāt gå 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 caseendings 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, nōit sarəjā, aduuaēšō gauuōi, paitī.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 daṇtō vaxšəṇtē daēuuō.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 worldhealer'. 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 dušxᵛarəϑə̄m; nąsat xᵛāϑrəm drəguuōdəbiiō dōjīt.arətaēibiiō_, 'for the Alas-utterers bad-food; well-being is lost for the wrongful Rightdiminishers'.

Degrees of Comparison[8]

33. The c o m p a r a t i v e degree of adjectives or adverbs has two distinct uses. It may signify that something has a greater degree of some quality than some-thing else; if the point of reference is given, it stands in the ablative, as in 43. 3 *vaŋhə̄uš vahiiō*, 'better than good'; 51. 6 *akāt̰ aš́iiō*, 'worse than bad'. Or it may just have c o n t r a s t i v e force, as in 30. 3 *manahī vacahicā š́iiaoϑanōi hī, vahiiō akə̄mcā*, 'those two kinds of thought, of speech, of deed, the better one (= the good one) and the bad one'; 45. 2 *yaiiå̄ spaniiå̄ ūitī mrauuat̰ yə̄m aŋgrə̄m*, '(the two Wills,) of whom the (more) Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hos-tile one'; 34. 8 *hiiat̰ as.aojå̄ nāidiiå̄ŋhə̄m*, 'as a strong man a weaker one'; 48. 4 *yə̄ dāt̰ manō vahiiō … aš́iiascā*, 'he who sets in place better thought or worse'; 31. 20 *yə̄ āiiat̰ aš̌auuanə̄m, diuuamnə̄m hōi aparə̄m xšaiiō*, 'whoso goes to the righteous one, radiance is his to possess afterwards (in contrast with now)', cf. 45. 11. In 34. 6 *yaϑā vå̄ yazə̄mnascā uruuāidiiå̄ stauuas aiienī paitī*, '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 compara-tive form and the other the positive.

34. The s u p e r l a t i v e degree too has two uses. It may signify a b s o l u t e supremacy within a given category (identified in the genitive): 29. 3 *hātą̄m aojištō*, 'mightiest of beings', cf. *YH* 35. 3; 45. 6 *vīspaną̄m mazištə̄m*, 'the great-est one of all'; 45. 4 *aŋhə̄uš ahiiā vahištə̄m*, 'the best one in this world'; *YH* 36. 6 *sraēštą̄m … kə̄hrpə̄m kə̄hrpą̄m … barə̄zištə̄m barə̄zimaną̄m*, '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 *vīspə̄.mazištə̄m*, 'all-greatest, supreme'; 46. 19 = 50. 11 *hiiat̰ vasnā frašōtə̄mə̄m*, '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 *tą̄m daēną̄m, yā hātą̄m* (neut.) *vahištā* (fem.), 'that religion which is the best of existing things'.[9]

35. Or the superlative may be simply e l a t i v e, indicating a high degree of the quality in question. Thus in 30. 4 *vahištə̄m manō*, 'best thought', is merely a metrical alternative for *vohū manō*, 'good thought', cf. 32. 11; and likewise with 28. 8 *Aš̌ā vahištā*, 30. 5 *mainiiuš spə̄ništō* (contrasted with positive *yə̄ drəguuå̄*), 30. 6 *acištə̄m manō*, 46. 6 *vahištō* (parallel with positive *friiō*); 33. 1 *š́iiaoϑnā razištā*, 'by action most just'; 45. 5 *spə̄ntōtə̄mō*, 'the most bounteous one'; 49. 8 *fraēštå̄ŋhō*, 'best friends'; 53. 7 *zrazdištō*, 'fully trusting'.

---

8   Skjærvø 124 f.
9   Cf. Delbrück iii. 248 f.

36. Certain superlative forms are made on v e r b a l   r o o t s and have verbal rection: 46. 19 *tācīṯ mōi sąs tuuə̄m … vaēdištō*, '(of) those things thou seemest to me the best provider', cf. 32. 7; 29. 4 *sax^vārə̄ mairištō*, 'most heedful (of) initiatives'; 51. 1 *xšaϑrəm … bāgəm aibī.bairištəm*, 'dominion most productive (of) fortune'.

Gender[10]

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 *ašāunąm āaṯ urunō … narąmcā nāirinąmcā*, 'the souls of the righteous, both men and women', both sexes are then covered by the masculine pronoun *yaēsąm*, 'whose'. In 39. 3, on the other hand, we have *yazamaidē vaŋhūšcā īṯ vaŋ^vhīšcā īṯ, … yōi vaŋhōuš ā manaŋhō šiieiṇtī, yåscā 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 *nōiṯ spəṇtąm 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 n e u t e r   p l u r a l 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.[11]

Sometimes a neuter plural pronoun is used in summing up a mixed list of items: 31. 13 *yā frasā āuuīšiiā, yā vā … pərəsaētē taiiā, yə̄ 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 (*šiiaoϑnā, vacaŋhā*) and a masculine (*yasna-*) are summed up first in *aēšąm* '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[12]

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 *nōiṯ ərəžəjiiōi frajiiāitiš, nōiṯ fšuiieṇtē?* 'is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stock-raiser?'; 31. 11 *vaså*, 'the free agent'; 31. 17 *katārəm ašauuā vā drəguuå vā vərənauuaitē maziiō? vīduuå vīdušē mraotū, mā əuuīduuå aipī dōbāuuaiiaṯ*, '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 *vahištāṯ šiiaoϑnāṯ*, 'from the best action'. In 30. 4 singular and plural are used equivalently: *acištō drəguuatąm, aṯ 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 *aϑā īš sāzdūm snaiϑišā*, 'so cut them down with axe', the imperative is plural, being addressed to an entire audience, but *snaiϑišā* 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 *aṯ vā ustānāiš ā huuā zastāiš*, 'but we two are here with outstretched hands' (pl. not dual); 30. 2 *sraotā gəušāiš vahištā*, 'hear with your ears the best things', and similarly in 51. 3; 31. 11 *hiiaṯ nə̄ … gaēϑåscā tašō daēnåscā … xratūšcā*, 'since thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves and intellects'; 32. 14 *nī Kāuuaiiascīṯ xratūš dadaṯ varəcāhīcā*, 'the very Kavis give up their intellects and dignities'; 34. 13 *daēnå saošiiaṇtąm*, 'the Promoters' moral selves', cf. 49. 9; 46. 11 *xsaϑrāiš*, of the Karpans' and Kavis' authorities; 33. 9 *aiiå ārōi hākurənəm, yaiiå haciṇtē uruuąnō*, '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 *ahuuå, astuuatascā hiiaṯcā manaŋhō*, 'of the two existences, the material one and that of thought'; 30. 3 *mainiiū, … yə̄mā …, manahī vacahicā šiiaoϑanōi 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 *ašiiå*, '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 *utaiiūitī təuuīšī*, 'vitality and strength', cf. 43. 1, 45. 10, 48. 6, 51. 7; 45. 5 *hauruuātā amərətātā*, 'health and non-dying', cf. 45. 10, 47. 1, 51. 7; but on the other hand 34. 11 *ubē hauruuåscā … amərətatåscā*, '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 *utaiiūitī dāt̰ təuuīšī*.

Plural

44. Certain nouns are *pluralia tantum*: *apō* 'the waters' (44. 4; *YH* 37. 1, 38. 3, 5); *raocå* '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 *raocå* in 44. 5.

45. With other nouns the plural gives a nuanced meaning: 29. 10 *yā hušəitīš rāmąmcā dāt̰*, 'by which one may establish well-ordered dwelling (pl., *sc.* in different settlements?) and peace'; 33. 10 *vīspås tå hujītaiiō*, 'all those good lives' (pl. of abstract *hujīti-* 'good living'); 33. 13 *frō … daēnå daxšaiiā*, 'teach (me) moral principles'; 44. 1 *friiā hākurənā*, 'friendly relations' (sg. 33. 9, 'fellowship' of two persons); 45. 10 *yasnāiš ārmatōiš*, 'with worships of piety', i.e. pious acts of worship; 48. 7 *at̰ hōi dāmąm θβahmī ā dąm*, 'his lodgings are in thy house'; 51. 4 *kuθrā θβā xšaθrā*, 'where are thy areas of control?'; *YH* 38. 2 *Īžå, Yaoštaiiō, Fəraštaiiō, Ārmataiiō*, 'the Libations, the Purifications, the Consummations, the Pieties', as personified objects of veneration.

The plural proper name in 46. 15 *Haēcat̰.aspā … Spitāmåŋhō*, 'O Haecataspa Spitāmas', refers to members of a particular branch of the Spitāma family, one of whose women is designated in 53. 3 as *Pourucistā Haēcat̰.aspānā 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.[13] The syntactical density obtained by combining several cases in one sentence may be exemplified by 47. 6:

> *tā då spəṇtā mainiiū, Mazdā Ahurā,*
> *āθrā vaŋhāu vī.dāitīm rānōibiiā*
> *ārmatōiš dəbązaŋhā ašax̌iiācā.*

---

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, *āϑrā*, *vaŋhāu*, and *rānōibiiā* all being dependent on the verbal noun *vī.dāitīm*, and the two genitives on *dəbązaŋhā*.

Nominative[14]

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 nō, Mazdā Ahurā, vaŋhōuš fradaxštā manaŋhō*, 'be for us, Lord Mazdā, our teacher of good thought'; 46. 19 *tācīṯ mōi sąs tuuōm, Mazdā, vaēdištō*, 'of those things thou, Mazdā, appearest to me the best provider'; 48. 2 *hā zī aŋhōuš vaṇ'hī vistā ākərətiš*, 'for that is the pattern of existence found to be good'; 33. 8 *dātā vō amərətåscā … 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 ϑβōi … vaŋhōuš mainii-ōuš šiiaoϑnanąm jauuarō?* 'what (potency) is thine, as stimulus(?) for enactments of the Good Will?'; 32. 7 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm … yā jōiiā sōnghaitē*, 'of such offences which are decreed to be matters of life (and death)'; 50. 11 *aṯ vō staotā aojāi*, 'I will declare myself your praise-singer'; 53. 8 *anāiš ā dužuuaršnaŋhō dafšniiā hōṇtū zaxiiācā vīspåŋhō*, 'hereby let the evildoers be thwarted and mocked, all of them'; *YH* 41. 4 *aēšācā ϑβā ōmauuantascā buiiāmā*, 'may we become potent and strong through thee'; 41. 5 *ϑβōi staotarascā maϑranascā … aogōmadaēcā usmahicā vīsāmadaēcā*, '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 nəmaŋhā ustāna.zastō*, 'I pray you in reverence with outstretched hands'; 31. 7 *yas.tā maṇtā paouruiiō … x'āϑrā*, '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-šaṇtē daēuuō.zuštā*, 'mortals will grow Daeva-favoured';[15] 44. 12 *huuō, nōiṯ*

---

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

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

aiiə̄m, aŋrō mainiietē, 'he, not the other, thinks as an enemy'; 51. 15 *garō dəmānē Ahurō Mazdå jasaṯ paouruiiō*, 'Lord Mazdā enters the house of song first'; 53. 7 *yauuaṯ 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 *darəgə̄m āiiū təmaŋhō, duš-xᵛarəϑə̄m, auuaētās vacō, tə̄m vå ahūm, drəguuaṇtō, … daēnā naēšaṯ*, '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 *V́ayav Índraśca* construction see §118.

<h3 style="text-align:center">Accusative[16]</h3>

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 zauuə̄ng jimā*, 'to whose calls I will go'; 43. 12 *ašə̄m jasō*, 'go (to) Right'; 30. 6 *aēšəməm hə̄n.duuārəṇtā*, 'they scurry (to) violence'; 44. 8 *kā mō uruuā vohū uruuāxšaṯ 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 *yō mā drəguuå ṷβā sauuā paitī.ərətē ciiaŋhaṯ*, 'the wrongful one who enjoys opposing (lit. going at) thy gains'. With *gam* in the sense of 'accede to' a wish: 43. 13 *yə̄m vå naēciš dāršt itē*, '(a desire) (to) which no one forces you to accede'.

52. With v e r b s o f s p e a k i n g the accusative may specify the thing spoken of, as in 34*. 10 ahiiā vaŋhə̄uš manaŋhō šiiaoϑnā vaocaṯ gərəbą̄m huxratuš*, '(of) this Good Thought's deeds the wise man says "let them be seized hold of"'; 34. 15 *aṯ mōi vahištā srauuåscā šiiaoϑanācā vaocā*, 'tell me the best things to be known for and to do'. In 45. 2 the accusative specifies the person addressed: *spaniiå ūitī mrauuaṯ yə̄m aŋgrəm*, 'the Bounteous (Will) speaks thus (to) the Hostile one', though elsewhere the dative is used (§78).

Similarly with *man* 'think on': 34. 8 *yōi nōiṯ ašəm mainiiaṇtā*, 'those who did not think on Right'; 43. 9 *rātą̄m nəmaŋhō 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 frasə̄m*

---

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; Skjærvø 105–8.

'*kahmāi vīuuīduiiē vašī?*', *adā* '*ϑβahmāi āϑrē*', '(at) his question "whom dost thou wish to serve?" I declare "Thy fire"', as it were 'his question I deal with by declaring'.[17]

With a m i d d l e verb, 30. 5 *yə̄ xraoždištə̄ng asə̄nō vastē*, 'who clothes himself (in) the hardest stones'.

With an i n t r a n s i t i v e 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 *yə̄ mašiiə̄ṇg cixšnušō ahmākə̄ṇg*, 'who sought to gratify our mortal race', cf. 43. 15, 45. 9, 49. 1; 34. 7 *yōi … sādrācīṯ caxraiiō ušəurū*, 'who make even sorrows innocuous'; 32. 12 *īšaṇm drujəm*, 'of those desirous (of) wrong'; 34. 14 *xratə̄uš ašā frādō vərəzə̄nā*, '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 sādrā drəguuatō*, 'which are griefs (to) wrongful men'; 46. 2 *rafəðrə̄m caguuå*, 'affording support'. Cf. also the superlative forms noted in §36.

54. Some verbs naturally require two specifications and take t w o a c c u s a -
t i v e s. '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 *tə̄m vaŋʰīm yāsā ašīm*, 'him I pray (for) good reward', cf. 28. 1; 49. 8; 31. 14 *tā ϑβā pərəsā*, 'these things I ask thee'; 43. 3 *yə̄ nå ərəzūš sauuaŋhō paϑō sīšōiṯ*, '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 īštīm yaṇtā*, 'he takes capability away from me'; 32. 11 *aŋʰīšcā aŋhauuascā apaiieitī … vaēdəm*, 'by deprival (*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 *tə̄m vå ahūm … daēnā naēšaṯ*, 'that is the existence to which your morality will bring you'.

In 34. 6 *yezī aϑā stā haiϑīm, … aṯ taṯ 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 equvalent to 'prove', governing the object *taṯ*.

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 *aṯ rātąm Zaraϑuštrō tanuuascīṯ xᵛax́iiå uštanəm dadāitī*, 'Zarathushtra dedicates his own body's energy as an offering', cf. 34. 3; 43. 1, 2, 5. In 50. 6 *dātā xratə̄uš hizuuō raiϑīm 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 vaēdəmnō gātūmcā Ahurāi … sraošəm Mazdāi*, 'finding Good Thought and, as a path (or throne) for the Lord Mazdā, compliance'.

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

Verbs of making: 32. 10 *yascā dāϑōṇg drəguuatō dadāṯ*, '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 *yə̄ mōi … haiϑīm … varəšaitī … hiiaṯ vasnā frašōtəməm*, 'he who will make real for me the utmost splendour of my desiring'.

man-: 29. 10 *azə̄mcīṯ ahiiā … ϑβə̄m mə̄ŋ́hī paouruuīm vaēdəm*, 'I think thee the first procurer of that', cf. 43. 4; 46. 13.

Verbs of speaking: 32. 10 *yə̄ acištəm vaēnaŋ́hē aogədā gąm ašibiiā huuarəcā*, 'who affirms the worst thing to behold with the eyes to be the cow and the sun'; 43. 11 *hiiaṯ mōi mraotā vahištəm*, 'what you tell me is best'; 43. 15 *aṯ tōi vīspə̄ṇg aṇgrə̄ṇg ašāunō ādarō*, 'they have declared all the righteous their enemies'; *YH* 36. 6 *sraēštəm aṯ tōi kəhrpə̄m kəhrpąm āuuaēdaiiamahī … imā raocå*, 'fairest body of thy bodies we proclaim this daylight'.

vid- 'know': 28. 10 *yə̄ṇg … vōistā … dāϑə̄ṇg*, 'those whom thou knowest to be upright'; ibid., *aṯ və̄ xšmaibiiā asūnā vaēdā x^varaiϑiiā vaiṇtiiā srauuå*, 'I know that well-purposed hymns of homage to you are not in vain'; cf. 34. 10; 46. 10.

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

fra.var-: 31. 10 *frauuarətā vāstrīm aх́iiāi 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: *tə̄m aṯ āhūiriiā nāmə̄nī mazdā.varā spəṇtōtəmā yazamaidē … tə̄m ašāunąm frauuaś̌īš … yazamaidē*, 'him we worship (in) the names (of) Lord, Wisdom-choosing, Most Bounteous … him we worship (in) the commitments of the followers of Right'.[18]

56. The accusative is used in various a d v e r b i a l e x p r e s s i o n s, perhaps a reflection of its general limiting function. It can express duration of time, as in 43. 2 *vīspā aiiārə̄*, 'all days' = 'for ever'; analogously perhaps 34. 6 *ahiiā aŋhōuš vīspā maēϑā*, 'through all the vicissitudes of this existence'. A different sort of idiomatic use is seen in 30. 2 *vīciϑahiiā narə̄m narəm x^vaх́iiāi tanuiiē*, 'of the decision (made) man by man for his own person'.[19]

---

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:[20]
28. 1 *paouruuīm* 'firstly, in the first place' (cf. 43. 8, 11; 51. 2); 28. 3 *apaour-uuīm* 'as never before'; 45. 1 *daibitīm* 'a second time'; 34. 6 *haiϑīm* 'in truth'; 34. 9 *maš* 'greatly, a great distance' (cf. perhaps 32. 3); 31. 17 *maziiō* 'more'; 28. 5 *mazištəm* 'most fully'; 30. 3 *ərəš* 'rightly' (cf. 30. 6; 44. 1); 31. 20 *aparəm* 'afterwards'; 30. 4 *apə̄məm* '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 … zauuō̄ṇg jasatā*, 'come (to) my calls'; 30. 6 *hiiaṯ īš ā dəbaomā … upā jasaṯ*, 'because delusion comes upon them'; 33. 7 *ā mā idūm*, 'come to me'; 43. 10 *īṯ ā <a>rəm*, 'I have started towards it'; 44. 11 *kaϑā tō̄ṇg ā vī.jə̄miiāṯ ārmaitiš?* '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 xšaϑrəm Vaŋhōuš Manaŋhō*, 'after reaching the long life, the realm of good thought'; 44. 13 *kaϑā drujəm nīš ahmaṯ ā nāšāmā, tō̄ṇg ā auuā, yōi …*, 'how are we to drive Wrong out from ourselves down upon those who …'; 44. 14 *ā īš duuafšō̄ṇg … nāšē*, 'to bring pains upon them'; 46. 8 *paitiiaogəṯ tā ahmāi jasōiṯ duuaēšaŋhā, tanuuə̄m 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 manaŋhā ā varənå*, 'behold with lucid mind the two choices'.

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

ə̄ə̄ānū 'along, among, throughout': 32. 16 *hiiaṯ aēnaŋ́hē drəguuatō ə̄ə̄ānū išiiō̄ṇg aŋhaiiā*, 'whatever is for the wrongful one's hurt, I will set in place(?) throughout the desirable people'.[21]

paitī 'at, to', as preverb with a verb of motion: 44. 12 *yə̄ mā drəguuā ϑβā sauuā paitī.ərətē ciiaŋhaṯ*, 'the wrongful one who takes pleasure in opposing (lit. going at) thy gains'; 49. 11 *aṯ dušxšaϑrō̄ṇg … akāiš xᵛarəϑāiš paitī uruuąnō yeiṇ-tī*, 'the souls come to the ill-dominioned with foul food'.

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

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

---

20 Cf. Delbrück i. 610–14.

21 Reading *åŋhaiiā* (causal of *āh-*; subjunctive with disyllabic *-ā*).

Instrumental[22]

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 *ašā*, where there is the further uncertainty whether a quasi-personal power is to be understood or just the principle of cosmic Right.

60. I n s t r u m e n t a l   o f   m e a n s : 28. 5 <u>anā ma̦ϑrā</u> … *vāurōimaidī xrafstrā* <u>hizuuā</u>, 'with this prescript we might convince the predators with our tongue'; 28. 9 <u>anāiš</u> *vå nōi̦t* … <u>yānāiš</u> *zaranaēmā*, 'by these prayers may we not anger you'; 28. 10 *aēibiiō pərənā* <u>āpanāiš</u> *kāməm*, 'fulfil their desire with attainments'; 29. 1 *aϑā* [*mōi*] *sa̦stā* <u>vohū vāstriiā</u>, 'so show yourselves through good pasturing'; 29. 5 *a̦t vā* <u>ustānāiš</u> *ā huuā* <u>zastāiš</u> *frīnəmnā Ahurāiiā*, 'but we two are there propitiating the Lord with outstretched hands'; 30. 2 *sraotā* <u>gə̄ušāiš</u>, 'hear with your ears'; 31. 3 *ta̦t nə̄* … *vaocā* <u>hizuuā</u> *ϑßahiiā åŋhō*, 'tell us that with the tongue of thy mouth'; 32. 10 *vaēnaŋhē* … <u>ašibiiā</u>, 'to behold with the eyes'; 32. 12 *yōi gə̄uš mōrəndən* <u>uruuāxš.uxtī jiiōtūm</u>, 'who pervert the cow's life with the cry "Get going!"'; 31. 1 *yōi* <u>uruuātāiš</u> *Drūjō Ašahiiā gaēϑå vī.mərəncaitē*, 'who with the rules of Wrong destroy Right's flock'; 31. 2 *yezī* <u>āiš</u> *nōi̦t uruuānē aduuā aibī.dərəštā vaxiiå*, 'if through these (words) the better way is not in plain view to the soul'; 31. 18 *aϑā īš sāzdūm* <u>snaiϑišā</u>, 'so cut them down with axe'; 33. 3 *vīda̦s vā* <u>ϑßaxšaŋhā</u> *gauuōi*, 'or tending the cow with care', cf. 46. 12; 34. 13 *tə̄m aduuānəm* … *daēnå saošiia̦ntam* <u>yā</u> … *uruuāxša̦t*, 'that road by which the Promoters' moral selves advance', cf. 51. 16; 43. 11 *hiia̦t xšmā* <u>uxδāiš</u> *dīdaiŋ́hē*, 'because I am learning through your utterances'; 43. 4 *yå då ašīš* … *ϑßahiiā* <u>garəmā āϑrō</u>, 'the rewards that thou givest by means of thy fire's heat', cf. 51. 9; 49. 1 *a̦t* <u>mā yauuā</u> *bə̄nduuō pafrē*, 'the polluter(?) has fed himself full on my life'; 51. 1 *vī.dīšəmnāi* <u>īžācīt</u>, 'certainly for one liberal with libation'; 51. 22 *ta̦ 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^vāiš nāmōnīš, 'them I will worship using their own names'; 53. 5 *vaēdōdūm* *daēnābīš … ahūm yə̄ vaŋhōuš manaŋhō*, 'be acquiring by your moralities the life of good thought'; 53. 8 *rāmąmcā āiš dadātū*, 'and let peace thereby be established'; *YH* 36. 3 *hiiaṭ vā tōi nāmanąm vāzištəm, … tā ϑβā pairi.jasāmaidē*, 'or whatever is thy preferred(?) name, with that we attend thee', cf. 36. 1, 4/5; 39. 5.

61. I n s t r u m e n t a l o f c a u s e : 31. 20 *tə̄m vå ahūm … šiiaoϑnāiš x^vāiš daēnā naēšaṭ*, 'that is the existence to which, on account of your own actions, your morality will bring you'; 32. 3 *šiiaomąm aipī daibitānā, yāiš asrūdūm*, 'your duplicitous deeds too, because of which you became renowned', cf. 32. 11; 33. 7; 32. 7 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm … yāiš srāuuī x^aēnā aiiaŋhā*, 'of those offences on account of which one is tried by means of the glowing metal', cf. 32. 12; 34. 9 *vaŋhōuš əuuistī manaŋhō*, 'from non-acquisition of good thought'; 34. 14 *taṭ zī … vairīm astuuaitē uštānāi dātā vaŋhōuš šiiaoϑnā manaŋhō*, '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 kamnafšuuā*, '(I am ineffectual) because of my poverty in cattle'; 46. 4 *x^vāiš šiiaoϑnāiš ahə̄mustō*, 'disagreeable because of his deeds'; 49. 4 *yaēšąm nōiṭ huuarəštāiš vąs dužuuarəšta*, 'because of whose not doing-good-deeds the ill deeds prevail'; 51. 15 *tā vō … sauuāiš cəuuīšī*, '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. I n s t r u m e n t a l o f a g e n c y , with passive verbs and participles: 29. 4 *yā zī vāuuərəzōi pairī civ̄īṭ daēuuāišcā mašiiāišcā*, 'those things done in the past by Daevas and mortals'; 30. 1 *yā raocōbiš darəsatā uruuāzā*, 'the joys beheld by the light'; 34. 1 *aēšąm tōi … ə̄hmā pourutəmāiš dastē*, 'of these is offering made thee by us in great numbers'; 43. 10 *parštə̄m zī ϑβā*, 'the question asked by thee'; 44. 8 *yācā Vohū uxδā … Manaŋhā yācā Ašā*, 'and the words spoken by Good Thought and those (spoken) by Right', cf. 43. 11; 48. 1; 53. 8 *huxšaϑrāiš jə̄nərąm xrūnərąm*, 'by good rulers let them be beaten and bloodied'.

With non-passive verbs: 44. 3 *kə̄ yā må uxšiieitī?* '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 *dužuuarənāiš vaēšō rāstī*, 'at the hands of ill-choosers decay takes hold'; *YH* 41. 4 *aēšācā ϑβā ə̄mauuaṇtascā buiiāmā*, 'may we become potent and strong through thee'.

63. I n s t r u m e n t a l o f a t t e n d a n t c i r c u m s t a n c e : 43. 2 *ciciϑβā … vaŋhōuš māiiå manaŋhō vīspā aiiārā darəgō.jiiātōiš uruuādaŋhā*, 'understanding the transforming powers(?) of good thought all his days, with enjoyment of long life'; 44. 15 *hiiaṭ hə̄m spādā anaocaŋhā jamaētē auuāiš uruuātāiš, yā tū … dīdərəžō*, 'when the two hostile armies meet on those terms which thou wouldst uphold'; 44. 19 *ərəž.uxδā*, 'on agreed terms', 'when it been agreed'; 50. 7 *zəuuištiiə̄ṇg auruuatō jaiiāiš pərəϑūš*, 'the swiftest steeds, wide with victories (? = widely victorious)'. So perhaps 43. 4 *ϑβahiiā garəmā āϑrō ašā aojaŋhō*,

'by the heat of thy fire that is mighty with (or through) Right', cf. 43. 16; 44.
2 *ašā spəṇtō*, 'liberal with Right'; 51. 21 *spəṇtō huuō cistī, uxδāiš, šiiaoϑnāi*, 'he
is liberal by insight, words, deed'; 43. 6 *mazdå xšaϑrā*, '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 nəmaŋhā*, 'I
pray in reverence', cf. 34. 3, 50. 6, 51. 20; 29. 6 *vīduuå vafūš viiānaiiā*, 'know-
ing the designs in his wisdom', cf. 44. 7; 34. 8 *tāiš zī nå šiiaoϑnāiš biiaṇtī …
ϑßahiiā … ạstā uruuātahiiā*, 'for by those actions they intimidate us in hatred of
thy law'; 44. 11 *vīspōṇg aniiōṇg mainiiōuš spasiiā duuaēšaŋhā*, 'all others I re-
gard with hostility of spirit'; 46. 6 *rasnā juuạs*, 'living in rectitude'.

Of mental faculties shaping perceptions: 31. 8 *aṯ ϑßā mōŋ́hī … yazūm stōi
manaŋhā*, 'I think of thee as being young in my thought'; 34. 15 *frašōm vasnā
… ahūm*, 'the existence that is splendid in my desiring', cf. 46. 19.

64. Sociative-comitative: 30. 8 *taibiiō xšaϑrəm Vohū Manaŋhā vōiuuī-
dāitē*, 'for thee, together with Good Thought, will be found dominion'; 31. 4
yadā Ašəm zəuuīm aŋhən Mazdåscā Ahuråŋhō Ašicā Ārmaitī, 'when Right and
Mazdā and the Lords are to be invoked with Reward and Piety', cf. 33. 7; 32.
11 *yōi drəguuaṇtō mazbīš cikōitərəš*, 'the wrongful who together with the gran-
dees have distinguished themselves'; 33. 3 *yō ašāunē vahištō x^vaētū vā aṯ vā
vərəzōniiō airiiamnā vā*, 'he who is best to the righteous one, whether with his
clan or as a villager or with his tribe'; 34. 6 *yezī aϑā stā haiϑīm, Mazdā Ašā Vo-
hū Manaŋhā*, '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;[23] 44. 20 *aēibiiō kąm, yāiš gąm
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 *yō vī.cinaoṯ dāϑəmcā adāϑəmcā daṇgrā mantū Ašā*, 'who discrimi-
nates between the just man and the unjust with his sage adviser Right'; perhaps
50. 10 *aṯ yā varəšā … xšmākāi Ašā vahmāi, Mazdā*, 'whatever things I do … are
for your lauding with Right (= and Right's), Mazdā'; *YH* 38. 2 *vaŋ^vhīm ābīš
Ašīm, vaŋ^vhīm Īšəm … yazamaidē*, 'besides them we worship good Reward,
good Vigour …'.

Of concord or union with: 28. 8 *ϑßā … yōm Ašā vahištā hazaošəm*,
'thee that art concordant with best Right', cf. 29. 7; 32. 2 *Ašā huš.haxā
x^vōnuuatā*, 'friendly with Right the sunny'; 32. 16 *hamōm taṯ 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 *raocēbiš rōiϑßən
x^vāϑrā*, 'amenities combining with the daylight'; 46. 11 *yūjōn Karpanō Kā-
uuaiiascā akāiš šiiaoϑnāiš … maṣ̌īm*, 'the Karpans and Kavis yoke the mortal
with (= to) bad deeds', cf. 49. 9 *ašā yuxtā* 'yoked with Right'; 46. 16 *yaϑrā Ašā*

---

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

hacaitē Ārmaitiš, 'where Piety keeps company with Right'; 48. 11 *kōi <u>drəguuōdəbīš</u> xrūrāiš rāmạm dåṇtē?* 'which men will make peace with the sa-vage wrongful ones?'; 49. 5 *yə̄ daēnạm <u>vohū</u> sārštā <u>manaŋhā</u>*, 'who unites his moral self with good thought', cf. 32. 2; 49. 9 *sarə̄m … <u>drəguuātā</u>*, 'union with the wrongful one'.

Of s p e a k i n g or c o n f e r r i n g with: 31. 12 *aϑrā vācəm baraitī mi-ϑah.uuacâ vā ərəš.uuacâ vā … ahiiā <u>zərədācā manaŋhācā</u>*, 'there it may be one of false words or one of true words who makes speech with that man's heart and mind'; ibid., *Ārmaitiš <u>mainiiū</u> pərəsaitē*, 'Piety debates with the will'; 44. 12 *kə̄ ašạuuā, <u>yāiš</u> pərəsāi?* 'who is righteous (of those) with whom I debate?'; 49. 2 *naēdā <u>Vohū</u> … fraštā <u>Manaŋhā</u>*, 'nor has he taken counsel with Good Thought', cf. 45. 6; 47. 3, 51. 11; 53. 3 *aϑā hōm.frašuuā [ϑβā] <u>xraϑβā</u>*, '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 <u>xšaϑrā</u> jasaṭ <u>manaŋhā vohū</u> <u>ašācā</u>*, 'but suppose one comes with dominion for him, with good thought and right'; 49. 11 *<u>akāiš</u> <u>xᵛarəϑāiš</u> paitī uruuạnō yeiṇtī*, 'the souls come to them with foul food'; 51. 10 *maibiiō zbaiiā Ašə̄m vaŋhuiiā <u>ašī</u> gatē*, 'for myself I will call upon Right to come with the good reward'. Similarly 46. 3 *kadā … yōi uxšānō asnạm … frō ašahiiā āraṇtē <u>vərəzdāiš sə̄nghāiš</u>*, '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 *aṇgraiiā*, 'cruelly'. The frequent instr. *ašā* is perhaps sometimes to be understood as a virtual adverb, 'rightly', but it is difficult to isolate such cases on contextual grounds.

Of t i m e: 29. 9 *kadā <u>yauuā</u>*, 'when ever?'[24]

67. The instrumental of the demonstrative p r o n o u n, *tā*, has meanings cor-responding 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.šiiaoϑnascā* 'and how actioned') or 'on account of what' (46. 2).

68. Instrumentals in any function may be a d n o m i n a l: 28. 1 *ahiiā yāsā … rafəðrahiiā … <u>šiiaoϑnā</u>, Vaŋhə̄uš xratūm Manaŋhō yā xšnəuuīšā*, 'I pray for his help by means of an action through which thou couldst satisfy Good Thought's purpose'; perhaps 29. 2 *yə̄ <u>drəguuōdəbīš</u> aēšəməm vādāiiōiṭ*, 'who might repulse violence (committed) by the wrongful' (unless it is 'together with the wrongful'); 29. 11 *<u>ə̄hmā rātōiš</u>*, 'liberality by us'; 31. 19 *<u>ϑβā aϑrā suxrā</u>*

… *vī.dātā*, 'at the allocation by means of thy flaming fire', cf. 51. 9; 33. 8 <u>*utaii-*</u> <u>*ūitī*</u> *hauruuatās*, 'health with vitality'; 33. 12 <u>*vaŋhuiiā*</u> *zauuō* <u>*ādā*</u>, 'promptness with good allocation'; 34. 4 <u>*zastā.ištāiš*</u> *dərəštā.aēnaŋhəm*, 'a manifest harm by main force'; 44. 17 *sarōi* … <u>*hauruuatā aṃərətātā*</u>, 'for union with health and non-dying';[25] 47. 2 <u>*hizuuā*</u> *uxδāiš* … <u>*zastōibiiā*</u> *šiiaoϑnā*, 'by utterances with the tongue … by action with the hands'; 48. 12 *šiiaoϑnāiš* <u>*ašā*</u>, 'by actions (done) with right'; *YH* 40. 3 *nərąš* … <u>*ahmā.rafənaŋhō*</u>, 'men who have support by us'.

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

> *yahmī* <u>*spəntā ϑβā mainiiū*</u> *uruuaēsē jasō,*
> *mazdå* <u>*xšaϑrā*</u>, *ahmī* <u>*Vohū Manaŋhā*</u>,
> *yehiiā* <u>*šiiaoϑnāiš*</u> *gaēϑå* <u>*ašā*</u> *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 <u>*maṯ*</u> 'together with, beside': 32. 1 *vərəzənəm maṯ airiiamnā*, 'the village with the tribe'; 34. 11 *Ašā maṯ Ārmaitiš*, 'Piety together with Right'; 43. 14; 44. 7; 45. 9; 46. 19; 48. 11; 50. 8 *maṯ vå padāiš yā frasrūtā īžaiiå pairi.jasāi* … *ustāna.zastō*, apparently 'together with what are known as the Footsteps of Libation I will approach you with outstretched hands'.

　Similarly with <u>*hadā*</u> 'with': 29. 2 *hadā vāstrā gaodāiiō ϑβaxšō*, 'cattle-tending (lies) with the pastor'; perhaps 46. 17 *hadā və̄ stōi*[26] *vahmə̄ṇg sraošā rādaŋhō*, 'so that there are for you, besides compliance, praises of the Caring One'; 50. 4 *aṯ vå yazāi stauuas, Mazdā Ahurā, hadā Ašā Vahištācā Manaŋhā*, 'I will worship you with praise, Lord Mazdā, (you) together with Right and Best Thought' (cf. §122).

　And with <u>*haϑrā*</u> 'with': 28. 4 *yō uruuānəm mōn gairē vohū dadē haϑrā ma-naŋhā*, 'I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought'; *YH* 38. 1 *imąm āaṯ ząm gənābīš haϑrā yazamaidē*, 'this Earth together with its Dames we worship'.

　<u>*parō̄*</u> 'beyond' is construed with the instrumental in 34. 5 *parō̄ vå 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 *parás*.

　<u>*pairī*</u> 'before' is construed with the instrumental in 50. 10 *aṯ yā varəšā yācā pairī āiš šiiaoϑnā*, 'whatever things I do and whatever (I did) before them'.

25　But with *sarō̄* the genitive is more often used, cf. §99.
26　*və̄ stōi* is my emendation for the manuscripts' *və̄stā* or *vīstā*.

Dative[27]

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. D a t i v e o f i n t e r e s t (advantage, disadvantage, possession, etc.): 28. 3 _yaēibiiō_ xšaϑrəmcā aγžaonuuamnəm varədaitī ārmaitiš, '(you) for whom piety augments unimpaired dominion too', or 'whose unimpaired dominion too piety augments'; 28. 8 vahištəm ϑβā … yāsā vāunuš _narōi Frašaoštrāi maibiiācā_, '(for) the best (gift) I pray thee longingly for the manly Frashaushtra and myself'; 28. 10 _aēibiiō_ pərənā āpanāiš kāməm, 'fulfil their desire with attainments'; 29. 1 _kahmāi_ mā ϑβarōždūm? 'for whom did you shape me?', cf. 29. 6; 29. 2 kaϑā tōi _gauuōi_ ratuš? 'how (was) thy judgment for the cow?'; 29. 5 nōiṯ _ərəž.jiiōi_ frajiiāitiš, nōiṯ _fšuiientē?_ 'is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stock-raiser?'; 29. 7 kas.tē … yə̄ ī dāiiāṯ ə̄əuuā _marətaēibiiō_, 'who is there for thee who could establish those things for mortals?'; 30. 11 hiiaṯcā darəgōm _drəguuōdəbiiō_ rašō sauuacā _ašauuabiiō_, 'the lasting harm that is for the wrongful, and the blessings for the righteous', cf. 31. 3; 31. 4 išasā … _maibiiō_ xšaϑrəm aojōŋhuuaṯ, 'I shall seek a strong authority for myself'; 31. 6 _ahmāi_ aŋhaṯ vahištəm, yə̄ …, 'it will go best for him who'; 31. 10 aṯ hī aiiå frauuarətā vāstrīm _axᵛiiāi_ … ahurəm, 'but she of these two chose for herself the herdsman as lord', cf. 46. 3; 31. 15 yā maēniš, yə̄ _drəguuāitē_ xšaϑrəm hunāitī, 'what the punishment (is for him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one'; 32. 10 yascā vadarə vōiždaṯ _ašāunē_, 'and he who raises a weapon against the righteous one'; 33. 1 šiiaoϑnā razištā _drəguuataēcā_ hiiaṯcā _ašāunē_, 'by action most just both for the wrongful one and as regards the righteous'; 34. 8 šiiaoϑnāiš … yaēšū as pairī _pourubiiō_ iϑiiejō, 'by their actions, in which there was danger for many'; 44. 4 kə̄ _vātāi_ duuą̄nmaibiiascā yaogəṯ āsū? 'who yoked the swift pair (of steeds) for the wind and clouds?'; 46. 11 Drūjō _dəmānāi_ astaiiō, 'as guests (destined) for the house of Wrong'; 46. 13 _ahmāi_ gaēϑå Vohū frādaṯ Manaŋhā, 'for him the flock (= his flock) he promotes with Good Thought'; 49. 2 nōiṯ spəṇtąm dōrəšt _ahmāi_ stōi Ārmaitīm, 'he has not embraced bounteous Piety (so as for her) to be his'; 50. 3 aṯcīṯ _ahmāi_ … aŋhaitī, yąm hōi … cōišt, 'yet his will be (the cow) which one assigns to him'; 53. 5 taṯ zī _hōi_ hušə̄nəm aŋhaṯ, 'for that will be profitable for him'; 53. 6 nąsaṯ xᵛāϑrəm _drəguuōdəbiiō dōjīt.arətaēibiiō_, 'well-being is lost for the wrongful diminishers of right'; YH 36. 1 yə̄ ā axtiš _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_ zauuə̄ŋg (acc.) jimā, 'to whose calls I will come'; 43. 4 hiiaṯ _mōi_ vaŋhə̄uš hazə̄ jimaṯ manaŋhō, '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 *yaϑā nə̄ ā Vohū jimaṯ Manaŋhā*, 'so that it will come to us with Good Thought', cf. 46. 3; 44. 11 *yaēibiiō … ϑβōi vašiietē daēnā*, 'to whom thy religion issues forth'; 46. 8 *paitiiaogəṯ tā ahmāi jasōiṯ duuaēšaŋhā*, '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 a t t i t u d e s t o w a r d s someone: 29. 3 *aduuaēšō gauuōi*, 'not hostile to the cow'; 29. 7 *huuō urušaēibiiō spəṇtō*, 'he is bounteous to the needy'; 31. 1 *yōi zrazdå aŋhən Mazdāi*, 'who will be faithful to Mazdā'; 31. 21 *yə̄ hōi … uruuaϑō*, 'who is his ally', cf. 51. 11; 33. 3 *yə̄ ašāunē vahištō*, 'he who is best to the righteous one', cf. 45. 5; 43. 8 *haiϑiiō duuaēšå … drəguuāitē, aṯ ašāunē rafənō x́iiə̄m aojōŋhuuaṯ*, 'may I be the true enemy of the wrongful one, but to the righteous a strong support'; 47. 4 *ašāunē kāϑə̄ … akō drəguuāitē*, 'kind to the righteous one … malign towards the wrongful one'; 44. 7 *uzəmə̄m … puϑrəm piϑrē*, 'the son respectful to the father'; 45. 11 *yə̄ hōi arə̄m mainiiatā*, 'who is properly disposed towards him'.

75. The enclitic dative pronouns *mōi tōi hōi nə̄ və̄*, 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:[28] 29. 8 *yə̄ nə̄ aēuuō sāsnå gūšatā*, 'who alone listens to our guidance'; ibid., *hiiaṯ hōi hudəmə̄m diiāi vaxəδrahiiā*, 'as I harness his well-constructed utterance'; 31. 6 *yə̄ mōi vīduuå vaocaṯ haiϑīm*, 'who, knowing it, speaks my truth'; 31. 11 *hiiaṯ nə̄, Mazdā, paouruuīm gaēϑåscā tašō daēnåscā*, 'since first, Mazdā, thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves'; 32. 2 *spəṇtąm və̄ ārmaitīm vaŋʰhīm varəmaidī; hā nə̄ aŋhaṯ*, 'your liberal piety, (as it is) good, we adopt; it shall be ours'; 32. 6 *ϑβahmī və̄ … xšaϑrōi Ašāiiecā sə̄ŋhō vī.dąm*, 'in thy domain let your decree and Right's be given out'; 34. 11 *aṯ tōi ubē hauruuåscā … amərətatåscā*, 'both health and non-dying are thine'; 44. 17 *hiiaṯcā mōi x́iiāṯ vāxš aēšō*, 'and that my voice be effective'; 45. 5 *yōi mōi ahmāi sraošəm dąn caiiascā*, 'whatever people comply with it for me', or 'whatever people I get to comply with it'; 47. 3 *aṯ hōi vāstrāi rāmā då ārmaitīm*, 'and for her pasture thou didst establish peace and piety'; 51. 2 *tā və̄ … dōišā mōi ištōiš xšaϑrəm*, 'so I will show you my command of competence'.

76. The dative of interest may be a d n o m i n a l: 28. 5 *gātūmcā Ahurāi*, 'and (as) a path (or throne) for the Lord'; 30. 1 *staotācā Ahurāi*, 'praises for the Lord'; 30. 2 *vīciϑahiiā narə̄m narəm x̌aх́iiāi 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 ϑβax́iiā maibiiō*, 'of thy reward for me'; 51. 5 *dāϑaēibiiō ərəš.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 i n d i r e c t o b j e c t after v e r b s o f g i v i n g, a s s i g n i n g, e f f e c t i n g: 28. 7 *dāidī tū … Vištāspāi īšəm maibiiācā*, 'give enablement to Vishtaaspa and to me', cf. 29. 10; 44. 14 *kaϑā Ašāi Drujəm diiąm zastaiiō*, 'how might I give Wrong into the hands (loc.) of Right (dat.)?', cf. 30. 8; 31. 9 *hiiaṯ axíiāi dadå paϑ ąm*, 'when thou didst offer her a path'; 43. 5 *hiiaṯ då … akə̄m akāi, vaŋᵛhīm ašīm vaŋhaouuē*, 'when thou didst set evil for the evil one, a good reward for the good'; 49. 7 *yə̄ vərəzə̄nāi vaŋᵛhīm dāṯ frasastīm*, 'that will give the community a good renown'; 28. 8 *yaēibiiascā īṯ rāŋhaŋhōi*, 'and those on whom thou wilt bestow it'; 31. 3 *yąm … cōiš rānōibiiā xšnūtə̄m*, 'the atonement that thou didst assign to the two parties', cf. 47. 6; 33. 2 *aṯ yə̄ akəm drəguuāitē … varəšaitī*, 'now he who does evil to the wrongful one'; 48. 5 *yaoždå … ząϑəm … gauuōi vərəziiātąm*, 'let purification of breeding be effected for the cow'; *YH* 41. 1 *stūtō garō vahmə̄ŋg Ahurāi Mazdāi dadəmahicā cīšmahicā ā.cā vaēdaiiamahī*, 'praises, songs, laudations we dedicate and assign and proclaim to Lord Mazdā'.

78. Likewise for the indirect object after v e r b s o f s p e a k i n g o r s h o w - i n g: 29. 3 *ahmāi Ašā … paitī.mrauuaṯ*, 'to him Right will answer', cf. 32. 2; 30. 1 *yā mazdāϑā hiiaṯcīṯ vīdušē*, 'things that you are to bring to the attention even of one who knows'; 31. 3 *taṯ nə̄ … vaocā*, 'tell us that', cf. 44. 1; 31. 17 *vīduuå vīdušē mraotū*, 'let the knowing one speak to the knowing', cf. 43. 12; 53. 5; 32. 9 *tā uxδā … yūšmaibiiā gərəzē*, 'these words I utter in complaint to you', cf. 29. 1; 44. 20 *yācā Kauuā ąnmə̄nē urūdōiiatā*, 'and the things the Kavi makes her lament to her soul'; 43. 8 *aṯ hōi aojī*, 'to him I say'; 33. 13 *dōišī mōi yā və̄ 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 *frīnəmnā Ahurāiiā*, 'propitiating the Lord', cf. 49. 12; 33. 3 *vīdąs vā ϑβaxšaŋhā 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 vašī?* 'whom do you wish to serve?'; 49. 1 *gaidī mōi, ā mōi rapā*, 'come to me, support me'; 50. 5 *hiiaṯ yūšmākāi maϑrānē vaorāzaϑā*, 'that you will be benign towards your prophet'; 51. 6 *yascā hōi vārāi rādaṯ*, 'and whoever will be prompt to his will', cf. 33. 2.

80. D a t i v e o f t h e o b s e r v e r from whose viewpoint something is seen: 31. 2 *uruuānē … aibī.dərəštā*, 'in plain view to the soul'; 31. 22 *ciϑrā ī hudåŋhē yaϑənā vaēdəmnāi manaŋhā*, 'these things are clear to the well-doer as he apprehends them in his mind'; 43. 11 *sādrā mōi sąs mašiiaēšū zrazdāitiš*, 'trust in mortals seems to me grief'; 46. 19 *tācīṯ mōi sąs tuuə̄m … vaēdištō*, 'of those things thou appearest to me the best provider'.

With a verbal adjective of passive sense it becomes in effect a d a t i v e o f t h e a g e n t: 29. 8 *aēm mōi idā vistō*, 'this man here (has been) found by me';

31. 1 *aguštā vacå sə̄ṇghāmahī aēibiiō yōi* …, 'we proclaim words unheeded by those who …' (rather than 'we proclaim unheeded words to those who'); cf. 43. 12.[29]

81. In the usages described in §§72–80 the dative practically always refers to a person or persons. It is otherwise with the d a t i v e o f p u r p o s e: 28. 3 *ā mōi rafəðrāi zauuə̄ṇg jasatā*, 'come to my calls, for (= to give) support', cf. 33. 13, 54. 1; 28. 4 *yə̄ uruuānəm mōn gairē … dadē*, 'I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song'; 29. 11 *aṯ mąm … mazōi magāiiā paitī.zānatā*, 'acknowl-edge me for the great rite', cf. 46. 14; 31. 16 *huuō yə̄ … fradaϑāiiā spərəzatā*, 'he who is eager for the furtherance', cf. 45. 9; 31. 19 *ərəž.uxδāi vacaŋhąm xšaiiamnō hizuuō*, 'being master of his tongue for true voicing of words'; 34. 11 *aṯ tōi ubē hauruuåscā x^varəϑāiiā amərətatåscā*, 'both health and non-dying are thine for nourishment'; 44. 17 *sarōi būždiiāi*, 'to work for union'; 46. 1 *kąm nəmōi ząm, kuϑrā nəmōi aiienī?* 'what land for refuge, where am I to go for refuge?'; 46. 3 *kadā … yōi uxšānō asnąm aŋhōuš darəϑrāi frō … ārəṇtē?* 'when will those Oxen of Days come forth for the upholding of existence?'; ibid., *maibiiō ϑßā sąstrāi vərənē*, 'for myself I choose thee for direction'; 46. 7 *hiiaṯ mā drəguuå dīdarəšatā aēnaŋhē*, 'when the wrongful one seeks to seize me for maltreatment', cf. 32. 16; ibid., *tąm mōi dąstuuąm daēnaiiāi frā.uuaocā*, 'tell forth that information for my moral guidance'; 47. 3 *aṯ hōi vāstrāi rāmā då ārmaitīm*, 'and for her pasture thou didst establish peace and piety'; 50. 7 *mahmāi x́iiātā auuaŋhē*, 'may you be (there) for my succour'; 50. 10 *aṯ yā varəšā … xšmākāi Ašā vahmāi*, 'whatever things I do … are for your lauding with Right', cf. 46. 10; 53. 2 *scaṇtū … xšnūm Mazdå vahmāiiā fraorəṯ*, 'let them accord in what gratifies Mazdā devotedly (with devotion) to his praise'; YH 36. 2 *yātāiiā pai-tī.jamiiå … mazištāi yåŋhąm paitī.jamiiå*, 'for our supplicating mayest thou come … for our greatest of supplications mayest thou come'; 40. 3 *dāidī aṯ nərąš … darəgāi īžiiāi bəzuuaitē haxmainē ahmaibiiā*, 'grant (us) men for enduring, nou-rishing, solid association with us'.

82. In several of the above examples we have a d o u b l e d a t i v e, one of interest, the other of purpose: 28. 3; 33. 13; 34. 11; 46. 3; 47. 3; 54. 1 *ā Air-iiə̄mā … rafəðrāi jaṇtū nərəbiiascā nāiribiiascā Zaraϑuštrahē*, 'let Aryaman come for (= to give) support for the men and women of Zarathushtra'.

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 *hiiaṯ Mazdąm duuaidī frasā-biiō*, 'as we two set Mazdā to (our) questions', i.e. question him; 43. 7 *kaϑā aiiārə̄ daxšārā frasaiiāi dīšā?* 'could you set a day for asking information?'; 44. 20 *yāiš gąm Karəpā Usixšcā aēšmāi dātā*, 'with whom the Karpan and the Usij put the cow to violence'; 46. 8 *yə̄ vā mōi yå gaēϑå dazdē aēnaŋhē*, 'or the one who is putting my flock to maltreatment'; 46. 18 *yə̄ nå ąstāi daidītā*, '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 yə̄m* <u>axtōiiōi</u> *då̄ŋhē*, 'for him whom thou puttest to torment'.

84. Related to the dative of purpose is the t e m p o r a l   u s e 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 hātąm šiiaoϑənanąm vahištā x̌iiāṯ* <u>ubōibiiā ahubiiā</u>, 'which may be the best of actions in the world for both existences', cf. 35. 8; 38. 3; 40. 2; perhaps 34. 5. *kaṯ və̄ xšaϑrəm, kā īštiš* <u>*šiiaoϑnāi?*</u>, 'what is your power, what your ability for action?'

85. U n t y p i c a l   u s e s of the dative are: 46. 10 *ašīm* <u>ašāi</u>, 'reward for right' (for normal gen., cf. §100); 51. 3 *yōi* <u>və̄</u> *šiiaoϑnāiš sārəntē*, 'who by their actions are uniting with you' (for normal instr.); *YH* 40. 3 *haxmainē* <u>ahmaibiiā</u>, 'association with us' (for expected instr.).

For dative infinitives see §§194–204.

<div align="center">Ablative[30]</div>

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.[31]

87. A b l a t i v e   o f   s e p a r a t i o n . (*a*) Where motion is involved: 32. 4 <u>vaŋhə̄uš</u> *sīždiiamnā* <u>manaŋhō</u>, *Mazdå Ahurahiiā* <u>xratə̄uš</u> *nasiiaṇtō* <u>Ašāatcā</u>, 'retreating from good thought, losing the way from Lord Mazdā's sapience and from Right', cf. 34. 9; 32. 15 *tōi* <u>ābiiā</u> *bairiiå̄ṇtē Vaŋhə̄uš ā dəmānē Manaŋhō*, 'they will be borne away from them both into the house of Good Thought'; 45. 1 *yaēcā* <u>asnāṯ</u> *yaēcā* <u>dūrāṯ</u> *išaϑā*, 'you who come eagerly from near and far'; 46. 4 *yas.tə̄m* <u>xšaϑrāṯ</u> *… mōiϑaṯ jiiātə̄uš vā*, 'whoever dispatches him from authority or from life', cf. 53. 9; 46. 5 *uz.ūiϑiiōi īm … <u>xrūniiāṯ</u>*, 'to help him escape from bloodshed'.

(*b*) Where no motion is involved: 34. 8 <u>aēibiiō</u> *dūirē vohū as manō*, 'from them good thought was far away'. Especially of k e e p i n g   a p a r t : 32. 5 *tā dəbənaotā mašīm* <u>hujiiātōiš amərə<ta>tātascā</u>, 'so you cheat the mortal out of good living and security from death'; 32. 11 *yōi vahištāt ašāunō … rārəšiiąn* <u>manaŋhō</u>, 'who will divert the righteous from best thought', cf. 32. 12; 47. 4; 49. 2; 32. 13 *yə̄ īš pāṯ* <u>darəsāṯ</u> *ašahiiā*, 'which will keep them from the sight of Right', cf. 46. 4, 8; 44. 4 *kas.nā dərətā ząmcā adə̄ nabå̄scā* <u>auuapastōiš?</u> 'who held the earth from beneath, and the sky from falling?'; 33. 4 *yə̄ ϑßaṯ … asruš-tīm … yazāi apā … gə̄ušcā* <u>vāstrāṯ</u> *acištəm maṇtūm*, '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 x̌ᵛaētōuš airiiamnascā dadaitī*, 'they set (me) apart(?) from clan and tribe'; 49. 3 *aṇtarō vīspōṇg drəguuatō haxmāṇg mruiiē*, 'I ban all wrongful ones from my company'.

88. A b l a t i v e   o f   s o u r c e : 32. 3 *Akāṯ Manaŋhō stā ciϑrəm*, 'you are seed (sprung) from Evil Thought'; 34. 2 *aṯcā ī tōi manaŋhā mainiiōušcā vaŋhōuš vīspā dātā spəṇtax̌iiācā nərəš šiiaoϑnā*, '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 *daēnå saošiiaṇtạm yā … ašāṯcīṯ* (v.l. *ašạcīṯ*) *uruuāx̌šaṯ cəuuištā hudåbiiō mīždəm*, '(the road) on which the Promoters' moral selves advance from Right itself to the reward ye assigned to well-doers'; 51. 12 *caratascā aodərəšcā zōišǝnū*, 'trembling from the journey and the cold'.

89. A b l a t i v e   o f   c o m p a r i s o n   o r   c o n t r a s t : 43. 3 *vaŋhōuš vahiiō*, 'better than good'; 51. 6 *vahiiō vaŋhōuš … akāṯ aśiiō*, 'better than good … worse than bad'; 29. 1 *xšmaṯ aniiō*, 'other than you', cf. 34. 7; 45. 11; 46. 7; 50. 1; 51. 10; 32. 12 *yāiš grōhmā ašāṯ vərətā Karpā*, 'with whom the Karpan chooses gluttony(?) over right'.

90. A b l a t i v e   o f   r e f e r e n c e : 28. 10 *yōṇg Ašāatcā vōistā vaŋhōušcā dåϑōṇg manaŋhō*, 'those whom thou knowest to be upright from (the standpoint of) right and good thought'; 31. 15 *pasōuš vīrāatcā adrujiiaṇtō*, 'innocent before man and beast'; 46. 5 *yə̄ vā xšaiiąs ā dạm drītā aiiaṇtəm uruuātōiš vā … miϑrōibiiō 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 *nōiṯ uruuāϑā dātōibiiascā Karpānō vāstrāṯ arəm*, '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 *ahmaṯ hiiaṯ aibī* evidently means 'insofar as comes from us', i.e. depends on us. In 35. 10 *staotāiš ϑβāṯ … staotōibiiō aibī, uxδā ϑβāṯ uxδōibiiō, yasnā ϑβāṯ 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'.[32]

---

32 Cf. Delbrück i. 757.

With abl. of s e p a r a t i o n: 44. 13 *kaϑā drujəm nīš ahmaṯ ā nāšāmā?* 'how are we to drive wrong forth from ourselves?'

With abl. of s o u r c e: 30. 10 *aṯ āsištā yaojaṇtē ā hušitōiš Vaŋhōuš Manaŋhō*, 'and the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked (to come forth) from the fair dwelling of Good Thought'; 31. 21 *Mazdå dadāṯ … būrōiš ā … x^vāpaiϑiiāṯ xšaϑrahiiā*, 'Mazdā gives forth from the rich sovereignty of his domain'; 33. 5 *Ašāṯ ā ərəzūš paϑō*, 'the straight paths (leading) from Right'; 33. 6 *mainiiōuš ā vahištāṯ kaiiā ahmāt*, '(drawing) from this best will I desire'; 44. 1 *taṯ ϑβā pərəsā … nəmaŋhō ā*, 'this I ask thee out of reverence'; 45. 9 *vaŋhōuš … haoząϑβāt ā manaŋhō*, 'out of familiarity with good thought'; 51. 4 *kuϑrā ārōiš ā fsəratuš, kuϑrā mərəždikā ā xštaṯ?* 'where will respect (?) appear out of (= to replace) harm, where mercy?'

In 48. 7 *yōi ā Vaŋhōuš Manaŋhō dīdraγžōduiiē*, '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 *hiiaṯ aх́iiāi dadå paϑąm vāstriiāt vā ā itē yə̄ vā nōiṯ aŋhaṯ 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 *Akāṯ ā siiąs Manaŋhō*, 'abiding on the side of Evil Thought'; *YH* 39. 3 *yōi Vaŋhōuš ā Manaŋhō šiieiṇ-tī*, 'those who abide on the side of Good Thought'.

ō̄əānū: the basic sense is 'along, following the course of'. So 47. 2 *hizuuā uxδāiš vaŋhōuš ō̄əānū manaŋhō* may be rendered 'by utterances with the tongue according to (proceeding from and remaining in line with) good thought'.

parā 'before': 30. 2 *parā mazə̄ yåŋhō*, 'before the great supplication'. This is perhaps in essence an ablative of comparison. The meaning of 53. 6 *āiiesē †hōiš piϑā† tanuuō parā* is obscure.

hacā 'in accord with, in line with': 28. 2 *maibiiō dāuuōi … 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 ϑβahmāt vaocaŋ́hē mainiiōuš hacā*, 'teach me to voice (my hymns) in line with thy will'; 32. 2 *aēibiiō Mazdå … xšaϑrāṯ hacā paitī.mraoṯ*, 'to them Mazdā answers in accord with his authority'; 44. 17 *kaϑā zarəm carānī hacā xšmat?* 'how am I to reach my desire in accord with you?'; 53. 6 *drūjō hacā rāϑəmō*, 'a man attached to wrong', cf. 44. 17; *YH* 37. 2 *yōi gə̄uš hacā šiieiṇtī*, 'who dwell in accord with the cow'. But a different sense must be sought in 31. 14 *yå išudō dadəṇtē dā-ϑranąm hacā ašāunō yåscā … drəguuōdəbiiō*, 'what requitals will be given for gifts from the righteous one and what (for gifts) from the wrongful'.

hanarə 'without': 31. 15 *yə̄ nōiṯ jiiōtūm hanarə vīnastī vāstriiehiiā aēnaŋhō*, 'who cannot find a livelihood without violation of the herdsman'; 47. 5 *hanarə ϑβahmāt zaošāt drəguuå baxšaitī*, 'it is without thy favour that the wrongful one partakes (of good things)'.

Genitive[33]

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. G e n i t i v e   o f   o w n e r s h i p:[34] 28. 1 <u>*Vaŋhōuš*</u> *xratūm* <u>*Manaŋhō*</u> … *gə̄ušcā uruuānəm*, 'Good Thought's purpose and the cow's soul'; 31. 12 <u>*ahiiā*</u> *zərədācā manaŋhācā*, 'through that man's heart and thought'; 32. 12 <u>*gə̄uš*</u> … *jiiōtūm*, 'the cow's life'; 43. 7 <u>*kahiiā*</u> *ahī?* 'who do you belong to?'; 44. 3 *ptā* <u>*Ašahiiā*</u>, 'the father of Right', cf. 46. 12; 47. 2, 3; 44. 3 <u>*x^və̄ng strə̄mcā*</u> *dāt̰ aduuānəm*, 'set the path of the sun and the stars';[35] 46. 11 <u>*Cinuuatō*</u> *pərətuš*, 'the Arbiter's Cross-ing'; 49. 4 <u>*drə̄guuatō*</u> *daēnā*, 'the wrongful one's religion', cf. 34. 13; 51. 13; 53. 2; 53. 1 *vahištā īštiš srāuuī* <u>*Zaraϑuštrahē*</u>, 'best is the competence that be-came renowned as that of Zarathushtra'; 53. 7 *mainiiuš* <u>*drəguuatō*</u>, 'the wrong-ful one's intent'.

Generally of relationships where something b e l o n g s to something or someone, is an inherent part, property, adjunct, etc.: 33. 4 <u>*vərəzə̄nax́iiācā*</u> *naz-dištąm drujəm* <u>*airiiamnascā*</u> *nadəṇtō*, 'and the village's nearest (neighbour), wrong, and the detractors in the tribe'; 48. 10 *saošiiaṇtō* <u>*dax́iiunąm*</u>, 'the Pro-moters in the regions'; 50. 3 <u>*ašōiš*</u> *aojaŋhā*, 'by the strength of (= by virtue of) the reward'; 54. 1 *nərəbiiascā nāiribiiascā* <u>*Zaraϑuštrahē*</u>, 'for Zarathushtra's men and women'.

94. A possessive adjective and a genitive may be used in parallel: 29. 5 <u>*mə̄ ur-uuā*</u> <u>*gə̄ušcā aziiå*</u>, 'my soul and the milch cow's'; 51. 13 <u>*x^vāiš šiiaoϑnāiš hizuuas-cā*</u>, 'through his own actions and his tongue's'; *YH* 39. 1 <u>*ahmākə̄ng*</u> *āat̰ urunō* <u>*pasukanąmcā*</u>, 'our souls and those of the livestock'.

95. S u b j e c t i v e   g e n i t i v e: 33. 8 *yasnəm* … *xšmāuuatō*, 'the worship of (= performed by) your follower', cf. 29. 11; 44. 1; 46. 10; 34. 2 <u>*spəṇtax́iiācā nərəš*</u> *šiiaoϑnā*, 'and by the deed of a liberal man', cf. 34. 10, 43. 6; 46. 15 *dātāiš paouruiiāiš* <u>*Ahurahiiā*</u>, 'by the Lord's original ordinances'; 50. 8 *arədrax́iiācā nəmaŋhā*, 'and with a zealous man's reverence'. Here may be placed the geni-tive found with *bərəxδa-* 'esteemed (of)': 32. 9 *apō mā īštīm yaṇtā bərəxδąm hāitīm* <u>*Vaŋhōuš Manaŋhō*</u>, 'he takes away the potency that is esteemed of (by) Good Thought', cf. 34. 9; 48. 6.

96. G e n i t i v e   o f   s o u r c e. Related to the subjective genitive is the type that indicates a source from which something comes: 28. 4 *ašīšcā šiiaoϑnanąm*

---

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 *Mazdå*, 'and knowing Mazdā's repayments of actions', cf. 54. 1; 28. 6 *daibišuuatō duuaēšå*, 'the foe's acts of enmity'; 31. 18 *drəguuatō mąθrąscā* … *sāsnåscā*, 'the wrongful one's prescripts and teachings', cf. 32. 13; 32. 9 *tā uxδā mainiiōuš mahiiā*, 'these utterances of my will'; 34. 12 *ašīš rāšnąm*, 'the rewards of (= stipulated by) thy rulings'; 43. 6 *ratūš* … *θβahiiā xratōuš*, 'the verdicts of thy sapience', cf. 46. 18, 49. 6; 43. 13 *arəθā* … *kāmahiiā tōm mōi dātā*, 'the endeavours of (= springing from) the desire you have given me'; 44. 11 *mainiiōuš* … *duuaēšaŋhā*, 'with hostility of spirit'; 45. 7 *yehiiā sauuā* … *rādaŋhō*, 'the Caring One whose strengthening powers'; 45. 8 *staotāiš nəmaŋhō*, 'with reverence's (i.e. reverent) praises', cf. 43. 9; 44. 10 *ārmatōiš uxδāiš*, 'with pious words', cf. 45. 10, 47. 2, 53. 3; 48. 5 *vaŋhuiiå cistōiš šiiaoθnāiš*, 'with deeds of good insight', cf. *YH* 36. 4; 48. 11 *vaŋhōuš* … *manaŋhō cistiš*, 'good thought's insight'; 50. 10 *raocå xᵛōng*, 'the light of the sun'; 51. 18 *hiiaṯ* … *rapōn tauuā*, 'what is supportive from thee'; 53. 1 *daēnaiiå vaŋhuiiå uxδā šiiaoθnācā*, 'the Good Religion's speech and conduct'.

97. O b j e c t i v e   g e n i t i v e : 28. 4 *aēšē Ašahiiā*, 'in search of Right'; 28. 9 *dasəmē stūtąm*, 'in offering of praises'; 29. 2 *tašā gōuš*, 'the maker of the cow'; 31. 8 *ašahiiā dąmīm*, 'the creator of right', cf. 34. 10; 30. 1 *yesniiācā Vaŋhōuš Manaŋhō*, 'and worship of Good Thought', cf. 51. 22; 31. 10 *vaŋhōuš fšōŋhīm manaŋhō*, 'the cultivator of good thought'; 31. 15 *hanarə* … *vāstriiehiiā aēnaŋhō*, 'without mistreatment of the herdsman'; 31. 19 *ərəž.uxδāi vacaŋhąm*, 'for true voicing of words'; 32. 11 *raēxənaŋhō vaēdəm*, 'possession of their inheritance'; 32. 13 *darəsāṯ Ašahiiā*, 'from the sighting of Right'; 33. 11 *ādāi kahiiācīt paitī*, 'at the allocation of whatever'; 34. 8 *θβahiiā* … *ąstā uruuātahiiā*, 'in hatred of thy law'; 34. 9 *vaŋhōuš əuuistī manaŋhō*, 'in their non-acquisition of good thought'; 43. 5 *aŋhōuš ząθōi*, 'at the generation of the world'; 43. 14 *sardanå sōnghahiiā*, 'detractors of the law'; 46. 3 *aŋhōuš darəθrāi*, 'for the upholding of the world'; 46. 4 *ašahiiā važdrōng*, 'bringers of right'; 46. 17 *vahmōng* … *rādaŋhō*, 'praises of the Caring One'; 48. 10 *hamaēstārō aēšmahiiā*, 'smiters of violence'; 50. 6 *hizuuō raiθīm stōi mahiiā*, 'to be the charioteer of my tongue'; 50. 11 *dātā aŋhōuš*, 'the ordainer of the world', cf. 44. 7; 51. 20 *nəmaŋhā Mazdå*, 'in reverence of Mazdā'; 53. 2 *xšnūm Mazdå*, 'the gratification of Mazdā', cf. 48. 12; 54. 1 *vaŋhōuš rafəδrāi manaŋhō*, 'for the support of good thought'; *YH* 35. 2 *humatanąm hūxtanąm huuarštanąm* … *mahī aibī.jarətārō; naē naēstārō yaθənā vohunąm mahī*, 'we are approvers of good thoughts, good words, good deeds … we are not revilers of good things'; 35. 9 *θβąm aṯ aēšąm paitiiāstārəmcā fradaxštārəmcā dadəmaidē*, 'we make thee both recipient and teacher of these (words)'.

98. P a r t i t i v e   g e n i t i v e : 28. 1 *ahiiā yāsā* … *rafəδrahiiā* … *vīspōng*, 'I pray you all for (some of) his support'; 29. 3 *hātąm 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 *aiiå mainiuuå vərətā yō drəguuå*, 'of these two Wills, the Wrongful one chooses', cf. 33. 9; 45. 2; 31. 10 *aṯ hī aiiå frauuərətā vāstrīm*, 'but she of these two chose the

herdsman'; ibid., *nōiṯ … auuāstriiō … huməraṯōiš baxštā*, 'the non-herdsman did not get a share in her goodwill'; 32. 8 *gə̄uš bagā*, 'portions of the cow'; 33. 6 *tā tōi iziiā … darštōišcā hə̄m.parštōišcā*, 'with that (mind) I long for (some) seeing and conferring with thee'; 34. 1 *aēšąm tōi … dastē*, 'of these is offering made to thee'; 34. 12 *kaṯ vašī, kaṯ vā stūtō, kaṯ vā yasnahiiā?* 'what dost thou wish, what of praise, or what of worship?', cf. 49. 12; 50. 1; 44. 15 *kuϑrā aiiå, kahmāi vananąm dadå?* 'where between the two, to whom dost thou give the victory?'; 45. 2 *aŋhə̄uš … paouruiiē*, 'at the world's beginning', cf. 44. 2; 45. 3; 50. 6 *dātā xratə̄uš … rāzə̄ṇg vohū sāhīṯ manaŋhā*, 'may the giver of wisdom teach me (something of) his regimen together with good thought'; 53. 7 *būnōi haxtiiå*, 'at the base of her thighs'; *YH* 35. 8 *kahmāicīṯ hātąm*, 'for anyone of (living) beings', i.e. anyone in the world; 37. 2 *yasnanąm pauruuatātā*, 'with primacy of rites', cf. 33. 14; 40. 2 *ahiiā huuō nə̄ dāidī*, 'grant us of it'.

Further examples that may be considered partitive are: 29. 3 *auuaēšąm nōiṯ vīduiiē*, 'of these things there is not to know (= no knowing)'; 45. 8 *Vaŋhə̄uš Mainiiə̄uš šiiaoϑnahiiā uxδaxiiācā vīduš*, 'knowing (something) of the Good Will's deed and utterance', cf. 44. 8;[36] 44. 13 *asruštōiš pərənå̄ŋhō*, 'full of non-compliance' (the contents of a full receptacle are drawn from a larger pool);[37] 46. 3 *kadā … yōi uxšānō asnąm … frō ašahiiā āraṇtē?* 'when will those Oxen of Days come forth (somewhere on the path) of Right?'; 46. 4 *aṯ tə̄ṇg draguuå … pāṯ gå frōrətōiš šōiϑrahiiā vā daxiiə̄uš vā*, 'but the wrongful one keeps those oxen from coming forth (anywhere) in district or region'; 46. 6 *huuō tə̄ṇg frō gå paϑmə̄ṇg … caraṯ*, 'he will take those oxen forward on the path'.

99. D e f i n i n g o r c h a r a c t e r i z i n g g e n i t i v e: 28. 2 *ahuuå, astuuatascā hiiaṯcā manaŋhō*, 'the two existences, the corporeal one and that of thought', cf. 43. 3; 28. 8 *vīspāi yauuē vaŋhə̄uš manaŋhō*, 'for the whole lifetime of good thought', cf. 43. 1, 53. 5; 28. 9 *īšō xšaϑrəmcā sauuaŋhąm*, 'your powers and domain are of strengths'; 29. 7 *tə̄m āzūtōiš … maϑrəm*, 'that prescript concerning butter', cf. 31. 6; 31. 20 *darəgə̄m āiiū təmaŋhō*, 'a long age of darkness'; 34. 2 *garōbīš stūtąm*, 'with songs of praise'; 43. 2 *darəgō.jiiātōiš uruuādaŋhā*, 'with bliss of long life'; 46. 3 *uxšānō asnąm*, 'the Oxen of Days'; 46. 4 *paϑmə̄ṇg hucistōiš*, 'the path of enlightenment', cf. 34. 12; 43. 3; 50. 4; 51. 13; 53. 2; 47. 4 *kasə̄ušcīṯ nā*, 'even a man of little (property)'; 51. 21 *ārmatōiš nā*, 'a man of piety', cf. 46. 12, 49. 5; 48. 10 *manarōiš narō*, 'the men of Observance(?)'; ibid., *mūϑrəm ahiiā madahiiā*, 'the piss of this liquor'; 50. 4 *dəmānē garō*, 'in the house of song'; 50. 7 *zəuuištiiə̄ṇg auruuatō …, vahmahiiā yūšmākahiiā*, 'the swiftest steeds, those of your laudation'; 50. 8 *padāiš yā frasrūtā īžaiiå*, 'the "footsteps" known as (those) of libation'; 53. 8 *dərəzā mərəϑiiaoš*, 'with the fetter of death'; *YH* 36. 1 *ahiiā … āϑrō vərəzə̄nā*, 'with this fire's community'; 39. 5 *vaŋhə̄uš xᵛaētə̄uš xᵛaētātā*, '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 Vaŋhōuš … Manaŋhō*, 'in consultation with Good Thought'; 49. 3 *Vaŋhōuš sarō iziiāi Manaŋhō*, 'I desire union with Good thought', cf. 31. 21, 49. 8, 53. 3; YH 35. 8; YH 40. 2 *tauuacā haxəmā ašaxiiācā*, 'association with thee and Right'. The instrumental is also found with *sarō*, 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 *ašīš šiiaoϑnanąm*, 'repayments for actions'; 43. 1 *rāiiō ašīš*, 'as reward for (my) munificence'; 30. 8 *aēšąm kaēnā … aēnaŋhąm*, 'the requital for those misdeeds'; 31. 13 *yə vā kasōuš aēnaŋhō ā mazištąm yamaitē būjəm*, 'or if anyone for a minor misdeed receives the greatest punishment'; 31. 14 *yå išudō dadəṇtē dāϑranąm*, 'what requitals will be given of gifts', cf. 34. 15; 44. 19 *ahiiā maēniš*, 'punishment for that'; 53. 4 *manaŋhō vaŋhōuš xᵛōnuuaṯ haŋhuš*, 'the sunny fruits of good thought'; 53. 7 *atcā vō mīždəm aŋhaṯ ahiiā magahiiā*, 'but you will have a reward for this ceremony'. More loosely, 29. 11 *nū nå auuarō ōhmā 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 *yaϑā ratūm Ahurō vaēdā … aiiå ąsaiiå*, 'how the Lord has made judgment on those two portions', cf. 27. 13; 31. 16 *dəmanahiiā xšaϑrəm šōiϑrahiiā 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 *isuuācīṯ hąs paraoš*, 'even one who disposes of much (wealth)', cf. 50. 1; 44. 9 *hudānaoš paitiš … xšaϑrahiiā*, 'the master of a beneficent dominion'.

102. The following examples are not easily classified but still fall under the general principle of i d e n t i f y i n g   a   d o m a i n :

30. 2 *varənå vīciϑahiiā*, 'the choices in the decision'; 30. 3 *åscā hudåŋhō ərəš vī.šíiātā*, 'and between them well-doers discriminate rightly', cf. 30. 6; 32. 8 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm Vīuuaŋhušō srāuuī Yimascīṯ*, 'in respect of these offences Vivahvant's son was renowned, even Yima'; ibid., *aēšąmcīṯ ā ahmī ϑßahmī … vīciϑōi aipī*, 'in respect of these (deeds) I am (= depend) on thy decision', where the genitive may be regarded either as dependent on *vīciϑōi* or as more loosely defining in advance the context of the whole sentence; 31. 19 *vaŋhāu vī.dātā rąnaiiå*, 'at the two parties' allocation in the good'; 33. 1 *dātā aŋhōuš paouruiiehiiā*, 'the ordinances of the first existence'; 34. 14 *xšmākąm hucištīm … xratōuš ašā frādō vərəzōnā*, 'your enlightenment in the wisdom that promotes communities with Right'; 45. 4 *aŋhōuš ahiiā vahištəm*, 'the best one of this existence', cf. 34. 6; 46. 18 *vahištā maxiiå ištōiš*, 'the best things at my disposal'; 49. 2 *ahiiā mā bōnduuahiiā mānaiieitī*, 'puts me in mind of that polluter(?)', cf. 44. 5; 51. 18 *ištōiš xᵛarənå*, 'illustrious of competence'; 51. 19 *gaiie-*

hiiā šiiaoϑnāiš, 'by his lifetime conduct'; *YH* 38. 5 *rātōiš darəgō.bāzāuš*, 'long-armed in liberality'.

The t e m p o r a l use in 51. 12 *zimō* 'in winter' may also be put here.

103. T w o g e n i t i v e s may depend on the same noun, as in 28. 4 *ašīšcā šiiaoϑnanạm vīduš Mazdå*, 'and knowing Mazdā's repayments for actions'; 43. 3 *ərəzūš sauuaŋhō paϑō … ahiiā aŋhōuš astuuatō*, 'the straight paths of advancement in this corporeal existence'; 46. 6 *Drūjō … dāmạn haēϑahiia*, 'Wrong's abodes of partnership'.

104. Or one genitive may depend on another: 27. 13 *ratuš ašāṭcīṭ hacā vaŋhōuš … manaŋhō šiiaoϑnanạm aŋhōuš*, 'the judgment in line with right from(?) good thought concerning the world's deeds';[38] 28. 1 *ahiiā … rafəδrahiiā Mainiiōuš … Spəntahiiā*, 'of his support, the Bounteous Will's'; 30. 10 *drūjō … skəndō spaiiaϑrahiiā*, 'destruction of wrong's prosperity'; 43. 9 *rātạm nəmaŋhō Ašahiia*, 'the tribute of reverence of Right'; 43. 13 *arəϑā … kāmahiiā tōm mōi dātā darəgahiiā yaoš*, 'the endeavours (born) of the desire you have given me for long life'; 45. 8 *Vaŋhōuš Mainiiōuš šiiaoϑnahiiā uxδax́iiācā vīduš*, 'knowing (something) of the Good Will's deed and utterance', cf. 48. 8; 45. 11 *dōŋ patōiš … uruuaϑō*, 'the ally of the master of the house'; 46. 4 *huuō tōŋg frō gå paϑmōŋg hucistōiš caraṭ*, '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 *yezuuī dugədrạm Zaraϑuštrahē*, 'youngest of the daughters of Zarathushtra'.

<div style="text-align:center">Locative[39]</div>

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 p l a c e (real or metaphorical): 32. 3 *būmiiå haptaiϑē*, 'in earth's seventh part'; 32. 13 *Acištahiiā dəmānē Manaŋhō*, 'in the house of Evil Thought', cf. 45. 8; 46. 11; 49. 11; 50. 4; 33. 3 *Ašahiiā aŋhaṭ Vaŋhōušcā vāstrē Manaŋhō*, 'he will be in the pasture of Right and Good Thought'; 33. 5 *auuaŋhānē*, 'at the unharnessing(-place)'; ibid., *paϑō, yaēšū Mazdå Ahurō šaēitī*, 'the paths on which Mazdā the Lord dwells'; 34. 8 *dūirē*, 'at a distance, far away'; 34. 14 *gōuš vərəzānē*, 'in the cow's community', cf. *YH* 35. 8; 43. 5 *dāmōiš uruuaēsē apōmē*, 'at the last bend of creation', cf. 51. 6; 44. 9 *hadəmōi*, 'in the abode', cf. 46. 14; 51. 12 *pərətå … hiiaṭ ahmī*, 'at the crossing … when at it', cf. 51. 13;

---

38   Here *vaŋhōuš manaŋhō* may be a third genitive (of source) or an ablative appended asyndetically to *ašāṭcīṭ hacā*.

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

53. 7 *yauuaṯ āzuš … būnōi haxtiiå*, 'one will apply his penis at the base of her thighs'; YH 41. 2, 3 *ubōiiō aṇhuuō*, 'in both existences'.

Of movement i n t o a place: 51. 15 *garō dəmānē Ahurō Mazdå jasaṯ paouruiiō*, 'the Lord Mazdā enters the house of song first', cf. 43. 6.

107. Of g r o u p s o f p e o p l e: 34. 3 *xšmāuuasū*, 'among your followers'; 46. 12 *hiiaṯ us … naptiiaēšū nafšucā Tūrahiiā jōn Friiānahiiā aojiiaēšū*, '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 huuarō pišiiasū*, 'a true-living man among the many who blaspheme(?) the sun'.

108. Of o r g a n s o f a p p e r c e p t i o n: 31. 8 *hiiaṯ ϑßā hōm cašmainī grabəm*, 'when I catch thee in my eye', cf. 45. 8; 32. 1 *mahmī manōi*, 'in my imagination'; 45. 10 *yə̄ anmə̄nī … srāuuī*, 'who is heard in (my) soul'.

109. Of the subject's m e n t a l c o n d i t i o n or disposition: 28. 4 *xšāī aēšē ašahiiā*, 'I will look out in search of Right'; 29. 11 *aṯ mąm … frāxšnə̄nē … paitī.zānatā*, 'acknowledge me in (your) providence', cf. 43. 12; 32. 13 *yaēcā … jīgərəzaṯ kāmē ϑßahiiā mąϑrānō dūtīm*, 'and those who decry in their lust thy prophet's message'.

110. Of t i m e s or o c c a s i o n s: 30. 3 *paouruiiē*, 'in the beginning', cf. 44. 19; 45. 2; 31. 14 *hə̄nkərətā hiiaṯ*, 'as regards at the Reckoning'; 31. 19 *vī.dātā*, 'at the allocation'; 43. 5 *aṇhə̄uš ząϑōi*, 'at the generation of the world', cf. 48. 6; 49. 9 *yāhī*, 'at the Supplication'. The personal name *Maidiiōi.måṇha-* (51. 19) is derived from the locative phrase *⋆madyai māhi*, 'at mid moon'.

111. Of a c t i v i t i e s: 28. 9 *yōiϑəmā dasəmē*, 'we are busy at the offering'; 34. 2 *aṯcā ī tōi … vīspā dātā … pairi.gaēϑē xšmāuuatō vahmē*, 'they are all dedicated to thee in your follower's hymn before his flock'; 44. 13 *nōiṯ frasaiiā Vaṇhə̄uš cāxnarō Manaṇhō*, 'they have taken no pleasure in consultation of Good Thought';[40] 45. 6 *yehiiā vahmē Vohū frašī Manaṇhā*, 'in whose lauding I consult with Good Thought'; 46. 9 *šíiaoϑnōi spəṇtəm*, 'bounteous in action'; 50. 1 *zūtā*, 'at (my) invocation'; 51. 7 *sə̄ṇ́hē*, 'in my teaching'.

112. Of a b s t r a c t d o m a i n s: 31. 8 *aṇhə̄uš ahurəm šíiaoϑanaēšū*, 'lord in (the domain of) the world's actions; 32. 6 *ϑßahmī … xšaϑrōi*, 'in thy realm', cf. 34. 10; 43. 13; 49. 5; 33. 2 *Ahurahiiā zaošē Mazdå*, 'in Lord Mazdā's favour'; 33. 10 *ϑßahmī hīš zaošē ā.baxšōhuuā*, 'give them a share in thy favour'; 50. 9 *hudānaoš išaiiąs gərəzdā x́iiə̄m*, 'may I be enabled in my benefactor's favour'.

113. A peculiar use of the locative is to denote the p r i z e to be awarded in some contest or distribution:[41] 30. 10 *yōi zazəṇtī vaṇhāu srauuahī*, '(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, *IIJ* 10 (1968), 284 f.; Narten (1986), 295.

dāiiāṯ, 'who should distribute the rewards to the two parties in (the allocation of) strength'; 47. 6 *āϑrā vaŋhāu vī.dāitīm rānōibiiā*, 'the distribution of the good to the two parties by fire', cf. 31. 19; 49. 9 *daēnå vahištē yūjōn mīždē*, 'they yoke their moral selves in (the contest for) the best reward'; *YH* 41. 4 *hanaē-mācā zaēmācā … ϑßahmī rafᵊnahī darᵊgāiiāu*, '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 daidīṯ xᵛāϑre*, 'by which one could set one's supporters in well-being', cf. 50. 5; 30. 8 *yōi Aṣāi dadᵊn zastaiiō Drujᵊm*, 'who give Wrong into the hands of Right (dat.)', cf. 44. 14; 31. 18 *ā zī dᵊmānᵊm vīsᵊm vā … dāṯ dušitācā marᵊkaēcā*, 'for he will give house or manor into chaos and ruin'; 32. 14 *ahiiā grᵊhmō ā.hōiϑōi nī Kāuuaiiascīṯ xratūš dadaṯ*, 'into its fetter the glutton(?), the very Kavis surrender their reason'; 45. 9 *varᵊzī nå diiāṯ Ahurō*, 'may the Lord set us to work'; 45. 10 *xšaϑrōi hōi hauruuātā amᵊrᵊtātā ahmāi stōi dąn*, 'into his control they give health and continuing life to be his'; 51. 14 *yō īš sōŋghō … Drūjō dᵊmānē ā.dāṯ*, 'a teaching that will consign them to the house of Wrong'.

115. M i s c e l l a n e o u s   u s a g e s: 31. 2 *yezī āiš nōiṯ uruuānē aduuå aibī.dᵊrᵊštā vaxiiå*, 'if through these (words) the better way is not in a conspicuous place (= clearly visible) for the soul'; 43. 16 *xᵛᵊŋg darᵊsōi*, 'in sight of the sun'; 33. 2 *vaŋhāu vā cōiϑāitē astīm*, 'or instructs his comrade in goodness'; 43. 11 *mašiiaē-šū zrazdāitiš*, 'trust in mortals'; 44. 14 *ōmauuaitīm sinąm dāuuōi drᵊguuasū*, 'to deliver a crushing blow on the wrongful'; 45. 7 *amᵊrᵊtāitī aṣāunō uruuā aešō utaiiūtā*, 'the righteous man's soul is active in (a state of) continuing life (and) vitality'; 46. 16 *yaϑrā vaŋhōuš manaŋhō ištā xšaϑrᵊm*, 'where the realm of good thought is at one's disposal', cf. 49. 12; 48. 1 *yā daibitānā fraoxtā amᵊrᵊtāitī daēuuāišcā mašiiāišcā*, 'the things deceitfully asserted in (the matter of) non-dying by Daevas and mortals'; 48. 4 *ϑßahmī xratāu apōmᵊm nanā aŋhaṯ*, 'in (the dispositions of) thy wisdom it will go differently at the last (for the good and the bad)'; *YH* 41. 4 *rapōišcā tū nō 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 *aṯ tū mōi nōiṯ asruštā pairi.aoγžā* 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 negatived by *a-* is equivalent to 'without *x*'. Another possible example is 29. 3 *aduuaēšō gauuōi*, 'without hostility to the cow', if *aduuaēšō* should be an endless locative from *aduuaēšas-* rather than a nom. sg. masc. from *aduuaēša-*.[42]

---

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

Locative with appositives

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

aipī: 32. 8 *aēšąmcīṯ ā ahmī ṯβahmī* … *vīciϑōi aipī*, 'in respect of these (deeds) I am (= depend) upon thy decision'.

aibī: 43. 7 *frasaiiāi* … *aibī ṯβāhū gaēϑāhū 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 *Vaŋhōuš ā dəmānē Manaŋhō*, 'onward into the house of Good Thought'; 34. 3 *aṯ tōi* … *dāmā gaēϑå vīspå ā xšaϑrōi*, 'we will give all our living bodies into thy domi-nion'; 43. 2 *ahmāi xᵛāϑrōi ā nā xᵛāϑrəm daidītā*, 'a man might add well-being to well-being for himself'; 46. 5 *yō vā xšaiiąs ā dąm drītā aiiaṇtəm*, 'or a man who on his own authority should take into his house one coming'; 49. 10 *taṯcā* … *ṯβahmī ā dąm nipåŋhē*, 'and that (reward) thou keepest in thy house', cf. 48. 7; 49. 8 *då sarəm* … *yąm vaŋhāu ṯβahmī ā xšaϑrōi*, 'grant the union that is in thy good domain'; 50. 4 *yā īšō ståŋhaṯ ā paiϑī*, 'by which one may stand forth on the path of enablement'; 51. 8 *hiiaṯ akōi ā drəguuāitē, uštā yō ašəm dādrē* … *yąm xšnūtəm rānōibiiā då*, 'that the atonement thou didst establish for the two par-ties is amid ill for the wrongful one, but in bliss for him who has embraced right' (on *uštā* see above, §115).

paitī: 33. 11 *mərəždātā mōi ādāi kahiiācīṯ paitī*, 'have mercy on me at the al-location of whatever it may be'; 51. 22 *yehiiā* … *yesnē paitī*, 'in whose wor-ship'; *YH* 38. 5 *auuā vō, Vaŋʰʰīš,* … *nāšū paitī*, 'I will assist you, Good Ones, at your arrivings'; 40. 1 *āhū aṯ paitī adāhū*, 'at these oblations'.

pairī: 29. 5 *nōiṯ ərəžjiiōi frajiiāitiš* … *drəguuasū pairī?* 'is there no prospect for the righteous-living one among the wrongful?'; 34. 8 *šiiaoϑnāiš* … *yaēšū as pairī pourubiiō iϑiiejō*, 'by their actions, in which there was danger for many'.

Vocative[43]

117. Vocatives are very frequent in the *Gāthās*. The addressees may be specific ones, or entire classes of being, as in 30. 11 *mašiiåŋhō*, '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 impera-tive). 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; Skjærvø 104 f.

118. Where two or more separate addressees are coupled we find the so-called *Vā́yav Índraścā* construction,[44] by which one is put in the vocative and the other(s) in the nominative: 30. 9 *Mazdåscā Ahuråŋhō … Ašācā*, 'Mazdā (nom.), Lords (voc. rather than nom.), and Right (nom. rather than voc.)';[45] with only implicit vocative, 33. 11 *yə̄ səuuištō ahurō mazdåscā, Ārmaitišcā Ašəmcā … Manascā Vohū Xšaϑrəmcā, 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:[46] 28. 3 *yə̄ vå Ašā ufiiānī Manascā Vohū … Mazdąmcā Ahurəm*, 'I who will hymn you (acc. pl.), Right (voc.), and Good Thought (acc.?) and Mazdā the Lord (acc.)'; 28. 9 *anāiš vå nōiṯ, Ahurā [Mazdā], Ašəmcā yānāiš zaranaēmā*, 'with these prayers may we not anger you (pl.), Lord (voc.), and Right (acc.?)'; 49. 6 *frō vå išiiā, Mazdā, Ašəmcā mrūitē*, 'I desire you (acc. pl.), Mazdā (voc.) and Right (acc.?), to speak'; 32. 9 *tā uxδā mainiiə̄uš mahiiā, Mazdā, Ašāicā yūšmaibiiā gərəzē*, '(with) these utterances of my will, Mazdā, I complain to you (pl.) and to Right'; 34. 3 *aṯ tōi miiazdəm, Ahurā, nəmaŋhā Ašāicā dāmā gaēϑå vīspå*, 'as oblation for thee, Lord, and for Right, we will give with reverence all our living bodies'; 51. 2 *tā vō, Mazdā, paouruuīm, Ahurā, Ašāiiecā taibiiācā, 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[47]

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 *tuuə̄m* (see §283), and *as*(-*cīṯ*) 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.

azə̄m of 29. 10 and 44. 7, 11, despite the apparent emphasis given to it by the suffixed particle *-cīṯ*; cf. 29. 10 *azə̄mcīṯ*, 'I for one', 'I at any rate'. Conceivably in *ahmāi.as.cīṯ* 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 p o s s e s s i v e a d j e c t i v e s, *ma- ϑβa- ahmāka- xšmāka-/yūšmāka–*. (A further series, *māuuaṇt- ϑβāuuaṇt- xšmāuuaṇt-/yūšmāuuaṇt-*, denotes 'a person of my/your kind' or one of similar persuasion.[48]) 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 *taṯ, Mazdā, tauuā xšaϑrəm*, '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.[49] 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).[50]

With *–cā*: see examples in §119.

With instrumental: 46. 13 *tə̄m ṿə̄ Ašā mə̄hmaidī hušhaxāim*, 'him we apprehend as your and Right's good friend'; 50. 10 *xšmākāi 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 ṿə̄ Vohū Manaŋhā* (instr.) *Ašāicā* (dat.) *sauuāiš cəuuīšī*, '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 taṯ*, acc. *tə̄m tạm taṯ*, dat. *ahmāi aśiiāi*, gen. *ahiiā*.
Dual gen. (all genders) *aiiå/å s-cā*.
Pl. nom. *tōi tå tā*, acc. *tə̄ŋg/tạ tå tā*, instr. *tāiš*, dat./abl. *aēibiiō ābiiō*, gen. *aēšạm*.

In 47. 1 *ahmāi* appears to be used with generic reference: *spəṇtā mainiiū vahištācā manaŋhā … ahmāi dạn hauruuātā amərətātā*, 'on account of bounteous will and best thought they will give one health and life'. In 46. 2 *īṯ* is used loosely of the matter that Zarathushtra is complaining of: *ā īṯ 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 *vīspås tå hujītaiiō yå zī åŋharə̄ yåscā hə̄ṇtī yåscā … bauuaiṇtī, ϑβahmī hīš̌ zaošē ā baxš̌ōhuuā*, '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 r e f l e x i v e s : 28. 8 *yāsā vāunuš narōi Frašaoštrāi maibiiā̆cā*, 'I pray longingly on behalf of the manly Frashaushtra and myself', cf. 31. 4; 46. 3; 51. 10; 34. 1 *yā yasnā amərətatātəm aš̌əmcā taibiiō då̄ŋhā*, 'the worship through which thou tak–est 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 *ax́iiāi* 'for herself'; 47. 5 *ahiiā š́iiaoϑnāiš̌* 'by his own actions', cf. 48. 4; 46. 15 *xš̌maibiiā* 'for yourselves'.

The enclitic pronoun appears to be similarly used at 51. 2 *tā və̄ … dōiš̌ā mōi iš̌tōiš̌ xš̌aϑrəm*, '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 *kaϑā aiiarə̄ daxš̌ārā frasaiiāi dīš̌ā aibī ϑβāhū gaēϑāhū tanuš̌icā?* 'how mightest thou take a day (for me) to ask teaching about thy flock and thyself?'

126. There is also a specialized reflexive adjective *xᵛa-*, indifferent to person and number, 'my/your/his/their own': 31. 20 *š́iiaoϑnāiš̌ xᵛāiš̌*, 'through your own actions', cf. 33. 14; 46. 4; 49. 4; 51. 13, 14. *xᵛa-* refers back to the most prominent personal presence in the sentence, which is not necessarily the grammatical subject: 30. 2 *ā vaēnatā … ā varənå vīciϑahiiā narə̄m narəm xᵛax́iiāi tanuiiē*, 'behold the choices in the decision (made) man by man for his own person'; 46. 11 *yə̄ŋg xᵛā uruuā xᵛaēcā xraodaṯ daēnā*, 'whom their own soul and their own conscience will torment'. In 51. 22 *tą yazāi xᵛāiš̌ nāmə̄nīš̌*, 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 prefera–ble, since *tą* is an explicit topic.

Demonstrative pronouns[51]

127. D e i c t i c utterances in the texts refer mainly to ritual activity taking place on the spot or to things immediately visible. The usual deictic pro–noun/pronominal adjective is accordingly *aiiə̄m* (stem *a-/i-/ima-*) 'this': 28. 9 *anāiš̌ … yānāiš̌*, 'with these prayers'; 29. 8 *aēm mōi idā vistō, … Zaraϑuštrō Spitāmō*, 'this man here I have found, Z. S.'; *YH* 35. 9 *imā aṯ uxδā vacā*, 'these words that we speak'; 36. 1 *ahiiā … āϑrō vərəzānā*, 'with this fire's community'; 38. 1 *imąm … ząm*, 'this Earth'; 40. 1 *āhū aṯ paitī 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 *katārəm ā, †aŋgrō (aiiōm?) vā huuō vā aŋgrō? … huuō, nōit̰ aiiōm, aŋgrō mainiietē*, 'which (of those I question) is my enemy, this one or that one? … He, not the other, thinks as an enemy';[52] *YH 36. 6 imā raocā̊ … auuat̰ … huuarə*, 'this daylight … yonder sun'.

128. These pronouns can also point forward or backward to things in the text: 47. 2 *ahiiā mainiiōuš spōništahiiā vahištəm … vərəziiat̰ ōiiā cistī, 'huuō ptā Aṣa-hiiā Mazdā̊'*, 'of this most bounteous will the best (showing) one effects with this insight, "he is the father of Right, Mazdā"'; 31. 15 *pərəsā auuat̰, yā maēniš, yə̄ drəguuāitē xšaϑrəm hunāitī*, 'I ask this: what the punishment is if one is broaching dominion for the wrongful one'. So with *tat̰, īt̰*: 44. 12 *tat̰ ϑβā pərəsā … kə̄ aṣauuā, yāiš pərəsāi, drəguuā̊ vā?* 'this I ask thee: who is righteous or wrongful of those I question?'; 44. 20 *ciϑənā, Mazdā, huxšaϑrā daēuuā ā̊ŋharə̄— at̰ īt̰ 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 a n a p h o r i c function, referring to something or someone either already identified or defined in an associated relative clause. Relative clauses very often have a c o r r e l a t i v e demonstrative in the main clause, whether this precedes or follows:

(Stem *ta-*:) 30. 1 *at̰ tā vaxsiiā … yā mazdāϑā*, 'now I will tell those things that you are to bring to the attention', cf. 30. 3, 11; 31. 5, 14; 30. 9 *at̰cā tōi vaēm x̌iiāmā, yōi …*, 'may we be those who'; 32. 1 *tə̄ng dāraiiō, yōi vā̊ dai-bišəṇtī*, 'to scatter those who hate you'; 31. 3 *hiiat̰ uruuatəm cazdōŋhuuadəbiiō, tat̰ nə̄, Mazdā, vīduuanōi vaocā*, 'the rule that is for the prudent, tell us it, Mazdā, for our knowledge'; 31. 13 *yā frasā āuuīšiiā, yā vā … pərəsaētē taiiā, yə̄ vā …, tā … aibī aṣā 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 tat̰ at̰ varəmaidī … hiiat̰ ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā varəzimācā yā …*, 'we choose to think and speak and do those things that …'.

(Stem *auua-*:) 29. 10 *xšaϑrəmcā auuat̰ …, yā hušəitīš rāmąmcā dāt̰*, 'and that authority by which one may establish fair dwelling and peace', cf. 31. 6; 29. 9 *kadā yauuā huuō aŋhat̰, yə̄ hōi dadat̰ zastauuat̰ auuō?* 'when will there ever be that man who will give him physical assistance?'; 32. 10 *huuō mā nā srauuā̊ mōrəndat̰, yə̄ acištəm vaēnaŋ́hē aogədā gąm aṣibiiā huuarəcā*, '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 maṇtā paouruiiō … x̌āϑrā, huuō xraϑβā dąmiš aṣəm*, 'he who first conceived these felicities, he with his sapience is the creator of Right', cf. 46. 13.

(Stem *a-/i-/ima-*:) 28. 10 *at̰ yə̄ŋg … vōistā … dāϑə̄ŋg …, aēibiiō pərənā āpa-nāiš kāməm*, 'those whom thou knowest to be upright, fulfil their desire with attainment'; 30. 8 *aēibiiō sastē … yōi Aṣāi dadən zastaiiō Drujəm*, 'to proclaim to those who deliver Wrong into the hands of Right', cf. 31. 1; 31. 6 *ahmāi*

---

52   On the text cf. §300.

aŋhaṯ vahištəm, yə̄ mōi vīduuå vaocāṯ haiϑīm, 'it will go best for him who knows and speaks my truth'; 33. 9 *aiiå ārōi hākurənəm, yaiiå hacinṯē uruuaṇō*, 'the fellowship of those two is established, whose souls accord'; 34. 1 *yā šiiaoϑnā, yā vacaŋhā, yā yasnā aməratatātəm ašəmcā taibiiō då̄ŋhā, … aē̄šạm 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 *hātą̄m huuō aojištō …, Mazdå*, 'he is the mightiest of beings, Mazdā'; 29. 7 *huuō urušaēibiiō spəṇtō sāsnaiiā*, 'he is bounteous to the needy through his ordinance'; 29. 8 *aēm mōi idā vistō, … Zaraϑuštrō Spitāmō: huuō nə̄ … vaštī … carəkərəϑrā srāuuaiieńhē*, '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 *yə̄ ϑβaṯ … asruštīm … yazāi apā, … yas.tē vīspə̄.mazištəm sraošəm zbaiiā …, yə̄ zaotā ašā ərəzuš, huuō mainiiə̄uš ā vahištāṯ 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 *aṯ Ahurā, huuō mainiiūm Zaraϑuštrō vərəṇtē*, '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 nå yātāiiā paitī.jamiiå, ātarə̄ Mazdå Ahurahiiā*, 'as such, most joyous, mayest thou come for our supplicating, O fire of Lord Mazdā'; cf. 40. 2.[53]

In 32. 9 *huuō* serves as marker of a second clause in which the verb is to be supplied from the first: *dušsastiš srauuå mōrəṇdaṯ, huuō jiiātə̄uš sə̄ŋghanāiš xratūm*, '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 *parštə̄m zī ϑβā yaϑənā taṯ †ə̄mauuatą̄m*, 'for the question asked by thee is like that of the †strong'.[54]

132. The neuter instrumental *tā* can function as a sentence-connective, 'so', 'therefore': 45. 11 *yas.tā daē̄uuə̄ṇg … mašiią̄scā tarə̄mąstā*, 'he then who scorns the Daevas and mortals'; 51. 10 *tā duždå, yōi həṇtī*, 'so (he is) a malefactor (of all) who are'; 51. 2, 13. In 51. 12 it is correlative to *hiiaṯ* and means 'by the fact that', 'in that': *nōiṯ tā īm xšnāuš vaēpiiō Kə̄uuīnō pərətå …, hiiaṯ ahmī urūraost 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 *ə̄mauuatą̄m* is a senseless corruption caused by *ə̄mauuaṇtəm* in the following line; cf. West (2008), 126.

Demonstrative adverbs of manner, time, and place

133. *aϑā, iϑā* 'thus', especially as a predicate (with or without the verb 'to be'), of what is true as stated: 32. 6 *yezī tāiš <u>aϑā</u>*, 'if thereby (it is really) so'; 34. 6 *yezī <u>aϑā</u> stā haiϑīm*, 'if ye are like this in truth', cf. 44. 6; 53. 6 *iϑā ī haiϑiiā, narō, <u>aϑā</u>, jə̄naiiō*, 'these truths are like this, gentlemen, like so, ladies'. With optatives in *YH*, 40. 3 *<u>aϑā</u> xᵛaētuš, <u>aϑā</u> vərəzə̄nā, <u>aϑā</u> haxəmąm x́iiāṭ*, '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 *ahmāṭ mainiiōuš rārəšiieiṇtī drəguuaṇtō … spəṇtāṭ; nōiṭ <u>iϑā</u> ašauuanō*, 'from this bounteous will the wrongful deflect people; not so the righteous'. (But a similar structure without *iϑā* in 30. 3 *åscā hudåŋhō ərəš vī.šiiātā, nōiṭ duždåŋhō*, 'and between them well-doers discriminate rightly; not (so) ill-doers'.)

Correlative with *yaϑā*: 27. 13 *yaϑā ahū vairiiō, <u>aϑā</u> ratuš … dazdā … Mazdāi*, 'as (he is) the master for choice, so the direction is assigned to Mazdā'; 29. 4 *<u>aϑā</u> aŋhaṭ, yaϑā huuō vasaṭ*, 'it will be as he will'; 33. 1 *yaϑā āiš, <u>iϑā</u> varəšaitē, yā dātā*, 'as by what was ordained, so it will be carried out'; 45. 3 *yōi īm və̄ nōiṭ <u>iϑā</u>* (v.l. *aϑā*) *mąϑrəm varəšəṇtī, yaϑā īm mə̄nāicā vaocācā*, 'those of you who do not act on this prescript in the way I conceive and speak it'; *YH* 36. 2 *yaϑā āṭ … vaēdā haiϑīm, <u>aϑā</u> haṭ vohū tatō āṭ ū vərəziiōtū*, 'as anyone knows a truth, so, it being good, let him then put it into effect', cf. 39. 4.

Introducing imperatives, *aϑā* means 'therefore': 29. 1; 31. 18; 34. 7; 53. 3.[55]

Like Sanskrit *iti*, *aϑā* can also be used to mark off a quotation of direct speech: 51. 16 *'spəṇtō Mazdå Ahurō', <u>aϑā</u> nō sazdiiāi uštā*, 'to proclaim to us as desired, "Bounteous is Lord Mazdā"'; cf. §273.

ūitī 'thus': introducing direct speech, 45. 2 *yaiiå spaniiå ūiti mrauuaṭ yə̄m aŋgrəm*, '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 Vaŋhə̄uš ā Manaŋhō šiieiṇtī yåscā ūitī*, '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';[56] in statement of intention, 51. 1 *taṭ nō nū.cīṭ varəšānē*, '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 īm vīspā … mazdåŋhōdūm*, 'listen now, hear now, all now take it to heart'; 29. 11 *Ahurā, nū nå auuarō*, 'Lord, now (come) down to us'.

A longer form occurs in 31. 7 *yə̄ ā nūrə̄m.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 *aϑā* in this use as a different word from *aϑā* 'thus'.

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

atə̄ 'then, thereupon', is a probable conjecture for *at̰ ə̄* in 29. 6, and similar-
ly *tatə̄* in *YH* 35. 6 (see §278).

aϑrā 'there, in that situation': 31. 12; 'thither', correlative with *yaϑrā*, 46.
16 <u>*aϑrā*</u> *tū arədrāiš idī* … *yaϑrā ašā hacaitē ārmaitiš*, 'go with the zealous ones to
where Piety is together with Right'.

<h2 style="text-align:center">Relative pronouns</h2>

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

The neut. acc. *hiiat̰* 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 hiiat̰* '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 *srūidiiāi* … *frāuuaocā, yā vī.dāiiāt̰ ašīš rāšnəm*, 'proclaim for
our hearing how the rewards of (thy) rulings might be distributed'; 46. 2 *vaēdā
tat̰, 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 auuat̰* … *yadā huuō aŋhat̰* <u>*yā.šiiaoϑnascā*</u>, 'I ask this … when
such a man will exist, and how-actioned'.

The neut. abl. *yāt̰* means 'from when, since': 32. 4 <u>*yāt̰*</u> *yūš tā fra.mīmaϑā*,
'ever since you have enjoined those things'; *YH* 36. 6 *barəzištəm barəzimanąm
auuat̰* <u>*yāt̰*</u> *huuarə auuācī*, 'highest of the high (we proclaim) yonder sun since it
was named'.

<h2 style="text-align:center">Relative adverbs/conjunctions</h2>

135. *yaϑā* '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 *aϑā* or *iϑā*, see §133; with ellipse of verb,
30. 7 *aēšąm tōi ā aŋhat̰* <u>*yaϑā*</u> *ādānāiš paouruiiō*, 'their leader will be yours there
as if in irons'. *yaϑā* can also introduce a final clause, 'in order to': §253.

In 34. 5 *kā īštiš šiiaoϑnāi, Mazdā,* <u>*yaϑā*</u> *vā hahmī?*, the *prima facie* meaning 'or
how I sleep' is nonsensical; the phrase may represent an erroneous resegmenta-
tion of *hiiat̰ ā və̄ ahmī* (originally ⋆*yat ā vah ahmī*), 'as I am in your hands'.

yaϑənā 'in the same way as, like': 43. 10, quoted in §131; 31. 22 *ciϑrā ī
hudåŋhē,* <u>*yaϑənā*</u> *vaēdəmnāi manaŋhā*, '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 *humatanąm hūxtanąm huuarštanąm* … *mahī aibī.jarətārō, naē
naēstārō* <u>*yaϑənā*</u> *vohunąm 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.

yaϑrā 'where', local or situational: 30. 9; 31. 11, 12; 53. 7; 'to where', 46. 11; correlated with *aϑrā*, 46. 16.

yauuaṯ 'as far as', 'as long as', local or temporal: 34. 9 *aēibiiō maš ašā siiaz-daṯ, yauuat ahmaṯ aurunā xrafstrā*, 'from them it will retreat a great distance, as far as the savage predators from us'; 43. 8 *yauuat ā ϑβā, Mazdā, staomī ufiiācā*, 'so long as I am praising and hymning thee, Mazdā'; 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'.[57]

Interrogative pronouns

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

kō 'who, what' can be used both as a pronoun and adjectivally: 29. 1 *kō mā tašaṯ?* 'who fashioned me?'; 44. 5 *kō huuāpå raocåscā dāṯ təmåscā?* 'what skilful one made the light and the darkness?'; 49. 7 *kō airiiamā, kō xᵛaētuš … aŋhaṯ?* 'which tribe, which clan will it be?'

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

The form *ciš* appears in the strengthened form *ciϑənā* (§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 rāniiō.skərəitīm gąm tašō?* 'for what people did you fashion the gladdening milch cow?', cf. 46. 3; 48. 11.

137. The neuter *kaṯ* can introduce a question without relation to subject or object, 'est-ce que …?': 28. 5 *Ašā, kat ϑβā darəsānī?* 'O Right, shall I see thee?'; 48. 2 *kat ašauuā … vōŋhaṯ drəguuaṇtəm?* 'will the righteous man vanquish the wrongful one?'; 50. 1 *kat mōi uruuā isē cahiiā auuaŋhō?* 'does my soul command any succour?' (unless it is 'what of any succour'). The position of the enclitics *ϑβā* and *mōi* precludes the translation of *kaṯ* as 'what, …?' Contrast the stronger question-marker *ciϑənā* (= ⋆*ciṯ.nā*, which replaces ⋆*kaṯ.nā*): 44. 20 *ciϑənā, Mazdā, huxšaϑrā daēuuā åŋharō?* 'what, Mazdā, 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 … ἤ …, Latin *utrum* …

---

57   See Narten (1986), 119 f.

an …): 31. 17 <u>katārə̄m</u> ašạuuā vā drəguuå vā vərənauuaitē maziiō? 'which is to be the more persuasive, the righteous one or the wrongful?', cf. 44. 12.

Interrogative adverbs

139. *kaϑā* 'how?': 43. 7; 44. 2, 9, 11, 13, etc. In 29. 2 *kaϑā tōi gauuōi ratuš?* 'how (was) thy ruling for the cow?', *kaϑā* 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 <u>kudā</u> ašəm vohūcā manō? 'where are right and good thought?'

    kuϑrā '(to) where?': 34. 7 <u>kuϑrā</u> tōi arədrā? 'where are thy zealous ones?', cf. 51. 4; 44. 15 <u>kuϑrā</u> aiiå, kahmāi vananąm dadå? 'where between the two, to whom dost thou give the victory?'; 46. 1 kąm nəmōi ząm, <u>kuϑrā</u> nəmōi aiienī? 'what land for refuge, (to) where am I to go for refuge?'

    kū 'where?': 51. 4 <u>kuϑrā</u> yasō.x̌iiōn ašəm? <u>kū</u> spəṇtā ārmaitiš? 'where is lustre-giving right? where liberal piety?'; 53. 9.

Indefinite pronouns[58]

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.cīṯ* 'nothing', 32. 7.

    mā.ciš 'let no one', 31. 18; 48. 9 yezī <u>cahiiā</u> xšaiiaϑā, 'if you have control of anything'; 50. 1 kaṯ mōi uruuā isē <u>cahiiā</u> auuaŋhō? '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 Zaraϑuštrō vərəṇtē, Mazdā, <u>yas</u>.tē <u>ciščā</u> spə̄ništō, 'this Zarathushtra chooses that will, Mazda, whichever is thy most bounteous one'; 45. 5 <u>yōi</u> mōi ahmāi sraošəm daṇ <u>caiiascā</u>, 'whatever people give me compliance with it'; 47. 5 ašạunē cōiš <u>yā</u> zī <u>cīcā</u> vahištā, 'to the righteous one thou assignest whatever things are best'.

142. *ka-* + *cīṯ* is used to mean 'any', 'whatever it may be': 33. 11 mərəždātā mōi ādāi <u>kahiiācīṯ</u> paitī, 'have mercy on me at the allocation of whatever (it may be)'; 43. 1 uštā ahmāi, yahmāi uštā <u>kahmāicīṯ</u>, 'as desired by him to whom it is desirable, anyone', cf. 44. 16; 46. 8 paitiiaogəṯ tā ahmāi jasōiṯ duuaēšaŋhā … <u>kācīṯ</u>, Mazdā, duuaēšaŋhā, 'may those (actions) recoil on him with hostility …

---

58 Caland 48–50.

yes, with whatever sort of hostility, Mazdā!'; 49. 5 *ārmatōiš* <u>*kascīt*</u> *aṣ̌ā huzə̄ṇtuš*, 'any well-born man of piety with Right'; *YH* 38. 5 <u>*kahmāicīt*</u> *hātąm*, 'for anyone in the world'.

Hence the remarkable compound in *YH* 39. 2 *aṣ̌āunąm āat̰ urunō yazamaidē* <u>*kudō.zātanąm.cīt̰*</u>, '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 və̄ uruuātā* <u>*marəṇtō*</u> *aguštā vacå* <u>*sə̄nghāmahī*</u>, '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 *spəṇtąm və̄ ārmaitīm … <u>varəmaidī</u>; hā <u>nə̄</u> aŋhat̰*, 'your liberal piety we adopt: it shall be ours', or at 34. 5, this is not to be taken as a *pluralis maiestatis*[59] 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 *at̰ rātąm* <u>*Zaraϑu-štrō*</u> *tanuuascīt̰ xᵛax́iiå uštanəm* <u>*dadāitī*</u>, 'as offering, Zarathushtra gives his own body's energy'; 43. 16 *at̰ Ahurā*, <u>*huuō*</u> *mainiiūm* <u>*Zaraϑuštrō*</u> <u>*vərəntē*</u>, 'O Lord, this Zarathushtra chooses that will'; 50. 6 *yə̄ mąϑrā vācəm, Mazdā*, <u>*baraitī*</u>, … *Zaraϑuštrō* '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 aŋhat̰ vahištəm, yə̄ mōi vīduuå vaocāt̰ haiϑīm …* <u>*Mazdāi*</u> *auuat̰ xšaϑrəm, hiiat̰ hōi vohū vaxšat̰ manaŋhā*, '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:[60] 28. 2 *āiiaptā … yāiš rapəṇtō* <u>*daidīt̰*</u> *xᵛāϑrē*, 'those blessings by which one could keep one's supporters in felicity'; 29. 10 *xšaϑrəmcā auuat̰ … yā hušə̄itīš rāmąmcā* <u>*dāt̰*</u>, 'and that dominion by which one may establish fair dwelling and peace', cf. 53. 8; 30. 4 *at̰cā hiiat̰ tā hə̄m mainiiū jasaētəm paouruuīm*, <u>*dazdē*</u> *gaēmcā ajiiāitīmcā*, '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, frāuuaocā, yā <u>vī.dāiiāt</u> ašīš rāšnąm, '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 *Ahurāiiā, yim drigubiiō <u>dadat</u> vāstārəm*, 'for the Lord, whom they give as herdsman to the poor'; 46. 1 *pairī xᵛaētōuš airiiamnascā <u>dadaitī</u>*, 'they set me apart from clan and tribe'; 46. 9 *<u>išəntī</u> 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 vāuuərəzōi … yācā varəšaitē*, 'those that have been done and those that will be done', cf. 33. 1; 48. 5; 30. 8 *vōiuuīdāitē* 'will be found'; 30. 10 *yaojaṇtē* 'will be yoked'; 31. 14 *dadəṇtē* 'will be given'; 32. 7 *sōṇghaitē* '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)'; *gərəz-* '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.[61]

mru- 'speak': but 49. 3 *aṇtarə … 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.pǻȷhē*, '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. mid-dle), '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
baj-	have/get (trans.) as one's share	partake (intrans.) of (gen.)
vī ci-	distinguish between (trans.)	distinguish (intrans.) between (gen.)
daŋh-	teach	learn
dā-	give; place, establish	take; subject to
fras-	ask (trans.)	consult with (instr.); debate (something)
frād-	promote, tend	prosper
kar-	make	activate (one's talents) (*YH* 40. 4)
frā nas-	reach, arrive at (46. 8)	attain (one's goal) (43. 14)
par-	fill, fulfil	fill oneself (49. 1)
sru-	hear	make oneself heard/renowned
vərəz-	do, act on, bring into effect	effect for oneself
vid-	find, acquire	apprehend mentally

In other cases it is difficult to detect any difference in meaning. How does 44. 4 *darətā* 'held' or 'holds' (the earth from beneath) differ from 49. 2 *dōrəšt* 'grasps, embraces' (piety)? Or 48. 12 *yōi xšnūm vohū manaŋhā hacåntē … ϑßahiiā … sōŋghahiiā*, 'who by good thought follow what satisfies thy law', from 53. 2 *scantū manaŋhā … xšnūm Mazdå*, 'let them by their thought follow what satisfies Mazdā'? Or 53. 6 *manahīm ahūm mərəngəduiiē*, 'you ruin spiritual life', from 45. 1 *nōiṯ daibitīm dušsastiš ahūm mərāšiiāt*, 'may the false teacher not be ruining life a second time'? Or 32. 4 *vaŋhōuš sīždiiamnā manaŋhō*, 'retreating from good thought' from 34. 9 *aēibiiō maš ašā siiazdaṯ*, 'from them (Good Thought) will retreat a long way with Right'? Or, within 46. 1, *nōiṯ mā xšnāuš*, 'does not please me', from *kaϑā ϑßā, 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 (*paitī*) *ā i-*, and also 28. 1 *vaŋhōuš xratūm manaŋhō yā xšnəuuīšā gōušcā uruuānəm*, 'by which thou (Mazdā) couldst gratify (middle) Good Thought's purpose and the cow's soul'; 46. 18 *xšmākəm vārəm 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 a o r i s t   s t e m is appropriate to a definitive event; the p r e s e n t   s t e m 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 p e r f e c t s t e m 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 daēuuōṇg … mašiiąscā ⁺tarōmąstā yōi īm °tarōmainiiaṇtā*, 'he who so scorns (once and for all) the Daevas and mortals who scorn him (habitually)'.

ar-: 46. 3 *kadā, Mazdā, yōi uxšānō asnąm … frō … ⁺ārəṇtē?*, 'when, Mazdā, will those Oxen of Days come forth? (event)' :: 53. 8 °*īratū īš duuafšō huuō … mazištō*, 'let that greatest woe be coming upon them' (open-ended).

baj-: 31. 10 *aṱ hī aiiå ⁺frauuarətā vāstrīm … nōiṱ … auuāstriiō … humərətōiš ⁺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 ϑβahmāṱ zaošāṱ drəguuå °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 *hiiaṱ dāϑōṇg vī ⁺caiiaϑā adāϑąscā, tāiš yūš šiiaoϑnāiš 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 *yə̄ vī °cinaoṱ dāϑəmcā adāϑəmcā*, '(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 Manaŋhā*, 'and the words spoken by Good Thought which I obtained in consultation'.

gam-: 30. 8 *yadā aēšąm kaēnā ⁺jamaitī aēnaŋhąm*, 'when the requital comes for their misdeeds' :: 46. 8 *paitiiaogəṱ tā ahmāi °jasōiṱ duuaēšaŋhā*, 'may those (actions of his) recoil on him (open-ended) with hostility'.

man-: 43. 4 *aṯ ϑßā ⁺mōŋghāi taxməmcā spəntəm … hiiaṯ mōi vaŋhōuš hazō ⁺jimaṯ manaŋhō*, 'I shall think thee bold and bounteous when the force of good thought comes to me (event)' :: 43. 9 *rātąm nəmaŋhō … yauuaṯ °isāi, °maniiāi*, 'the tribute of reverence, so far as I can, I will be thinking of'.

nīš nas-: 44. 13 *kaϑā drujəm nīš ahmaṯ ā ⁺nāšāmā?* 'how are we to drive Wrong out from ourselves (once and for all)?' :: 50. 2 *akąs tōŋg mā nīš °ąsiiā, dāϑōm ⁺dāhuuā*, 'keep driving out those evil ones, adopt the just one'.

saŋh-: 31. 1 *aguštā vacâ °sōŋghāmahī aēibiiō yōi …*, 'we proclaim (now and regularly) words unheeded by those who …' :: 44. 1 *friiāi ϑßāuuąs ⁺saxiiāṯ mauuaitē*, 'one like thee might inform a friend such as me' (= communicate a specific piece of information). Similarly:

sāh-: 50. 6 *rāzōŋg Vohū °sāhīṯ Manaŋhā*, 'may he teach me his rules with Good Thought' (open-ended) :: 43. 3 *aṯ huuō vaŋhōuš vahiiō nā ⁺aibī.jamiiāṯ, yō nâ ərəzūš savaŋhō paϑō ⁺sīšōiṯ*, 'may that man attain better than the good who should teach us the straight paths of benefit'.

sru-: 50. 4 *dəmānē garō °sraošānē*, 'I will make myself heard (open-ended) in the house of song' :: 28. 7 *⁺dåstū … yā vō mąϑrā ⁺srəuuīmā rādå*, 'give thou the (particular) prescript by which we might hear your favours'.

siiāzd-: 34. 9 *aēibiiō maš ašā ⁺siiazdaṯ*, 'from them it (Piety) will retreat a great distance with Right' :: 32. 4 *yā mašiiā acištā daṇtō ⁺vaxšəṇtē daēuuō.zuštā, Vaŋhōuš °sīždiiamnā Manaŋhō*, 'the worst things, by doing which mortals are to wax Daeva-favoured, retreating (habitually) from Good Thought'.

var- 'persuade': 31. 3 *hiiaṯ uruuātəm cazdōŋhuuadəbiiō, taṯ nō … ⁺vaocā … yā juuaṇtō vīspōŋg ⁺vāuraiiā*, 'the rule that is for the prudent, tell us that, by which I might convince everyone alive' :: 31. 17 *katārōm ašauuā vā drəguuå vā °vərənauuaitē maziiō?* 'which of the two, the righteous one or the wrongful, will be the more persuasive?'

vərəz-: 48. 5 *yaoždå … ząϑəm … gauuōi °vərəziiātąm*, 'let purification of breeding be effected (as a general principle) for the cow' :: 51. 1 *taṯ nō nūcīṯ ⁺varəšānē*, 'this I will put into effect for us right now'.

vid- 'find': 31. 15 *duššiiaoϑanāi … yō nōiṯ jiiōtūm hanarə °vīnastī vāstriiehiiā aēnaŋhō*, 'the evil-doer who finds no livelihood without wronging the herdsman' :: 51. 5 *yaϑā … gąm ⁺vīdaṯ vāstriiō šiiaoϑnāiš ərəšuuō*, 'how a herdsman upright in his actions obtains a cow'.

xšā-: normally present-stem, 'rule'; in 48. 5 *huxšaϑrā ⁺xšōṇtąm, mā nō dušxšaϑrā ⁺xšōṇtā* the aorists perhaps have ingressive force, 'let good rulers assume rule over us, let not bad rulers do so'.

xšnu-: 51. 12 *nōiṯ tā īm ⁺xšnāuš vaēpiiō Kōuuīnō pərətå …, hiiaṯ ahmī urūraost aštō*, 'the Kavi catamite did not please him thereby at the crossing, that the emissary had barred his way at it' :: 28. 1 *vaŋhōuš xratūm manaŋhō yā °xšnəuuīšā gōušcā uruuānəm*, 'by which thou couldst gratify Good Thought's purpose and the cow's soul' (open-ended).

zā-: 50. 7 *aṯ vō ⁺yaojā zəuuištiiōŋg auruuatō … yāiš ā ⁺zāϑā*, 'I will yoke you the swiftest steeds, with which ye will win' :: 30. 10 *aṯ āsištā ⁺yaojaṇtē ā huši-*

tōiš Vaŋhōuš Manaŋhō, … yōi °zazəṇtī vaŋhāu 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).

<div align="center">The perfect</div>

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.

(*vat-*) *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 *ciϑənā, Mazdā, huxšaϑrā daēuuā <u>åŋharə</u>, … yōi °pišiieiṇtī aēibiiō kąm, 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.[62]

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 *aiiå <u>ārōi</u> hākurənəm*, 'the fellowship of those two is established'; cf. 34. 3; 50. 5.

dar-: 49. 2 *nōiṯ spəṇtąm +dōrəšt ahmāi stōi Ārmaitīm*, '(the wrongful teacher) does not embrace/has not (yet) embraced bountous Piety to make her his' :: 51. 8 *yə̄ Ašəm <u>dadrē</u>*, 'he who has embraced Right' (once and for all).

dā-: 28. 4 *yə̄ uruuānəm mōn gairē … <u>dadē</u>*, '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 *hiiaṯ mīždəm … <u>fra.dadāϑā</u> daēnābiiō*, 'the reward that thou hast appointed for (good) moral selves'.

nas-: 32. 4 *Vaŋhōuš °sīždiiamnā Manaŋho, Mazdå Ahurahiiā xratōuš °nasiiaṇtō*, 'retreating from Good Thought, losing the way from Lord Mazdā's sapience' :: 51. 13 *yehiiā uruuā +xraodaitī Cinuuatō pərətå … Ašahiiā <u>nąsuuå</u> paϑō*, '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 … nōiṯ frasaiiā Vaŋhōuš <u>cāxnarə̄</u> Manaŋhō*, 'who have not (ever) taken pleasure in consulting Good Thought'.

par-: 28. 10 *aēibiiō °pərənā āpanāiš kāməm*, 'fulfil their desire with attain-ment' :: 49. 1 *aṱ mā yauuā bə̄nduuō* <u>*pafrē*</u> *mazištō*, 'that greatest polluter(?) has fed himself full on my life'.

taš-: 29. 1 *kə̄ mā* +*tašaṱ?* 'who created me?' :: 29. 6 *aṱ zī ϑβā fšuiiaṇtaēcā vā-striiāicā Θβōrəštā* <u>*tatašā*</u>, 'the Shaper has created thee for the stock-raiser and the herdsman' (emphasis on present status).

vac-: 31. 3 *taṱ nə̄, Mazdā, vīduuanōi* +*vaocā*, 'tell us that, Mazdā, for our knowing' :: 34. 5 *parō vå vīspāiš* <u>*vaoxmā*</u> *daēuuāišcā xrafstrāiš mašiiāišcā*, 'we have declared you above all predators, both Daevas and mortals'.

vid- 'know': 33. 8 *frō mōi* +*vōizdūm arəϑā*, 'take note of my endeavours' :: 28. 10 *aṱ yə̄ṇg … * <u>*vōistā*</u> *… dāϑə̄ṇg*, 'those whom thou knowest to be upright', and *passim*.

156. A special use of the perfect is seen in phrases referring to the t o t a l i t y o f p a s t , p r e s e n t , a n d f u t u r e , or just of past and future: 33. 10 *vīspås tå hujītaiiō yå zī* <u>*ångharə̄*</u> *yåscā °hə̄ṇtī yåscā … * +*buuaiṇtī*, 'all those good lives that have been and those that are and those that shall come into being', cf. 45. 7 *yōi zī juuā* <u>*ångharəcā*</u> *buuaṇticā*; 51. 22 *yōi* <u>*ångharəcā*</u> *hə̄ṇticā*; 29. 4 *yā zī* <u>*vāuuərəzōi*</u> *pairī ciϑīṱ … yācā* +*varəšaitē aipī ciϑīt*, 'things that have been done in the past and things that may be done in future'; *YH* 39. 2 *yaēšąm vahehīš daēnå °vanaiṇtī vā* +*və̄ṇghən vā* <u>*vaonarə*</u> *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 hap-pen again; a timeless truth.

159. Any of these may be expressed with the p r e s e n t   i n d i c a t i v e, that is, the present stem with the so-called primary personal endings. This is regular in p e r f o r m a t i v e   u t t e r a n c e s, that is, those which themselves constitute the action described: 28. 1, 8 *yāsā* 'I pray'; 31. 1 *sōŋgāmahī* 'we proclaim'; 31. 14 *pərəsā* 'I ask'; 32. 7 *aojōi* 'I declare'; 32. 9 *gərəzē* 'I complain'; 33. 14 *Zaraϑuštrō … dadāitī* 'Zarathushtra dedicates'; 49. 3 *antarə … mruiiē* 'I interdict'; *YH* 35. 5 *dadəmahicā cīšmahicā huuąnmahicā,* 'we dedicate and assign and institute'; 37. 1 *iϑā āṯ yazamaidē Ahurəm Mazdąm,* 'in this way we worship Lord Mazdā'.

160. So too in statements of m e n t a l   d i s p o s i t i o n: 29. 8 *vaštī,* 'he wishes'; 29. 9 and 44. 3 *vasmī,* 'I wish'; 33. 6 *kāiiā … iziiā,* 'I desire … I long'; 34. 4 *usəmahī,* 'we wish'; 34. 12 *kaṯ vašī?* 'what dost thou wish?'; 43. 16 *huuō mainiiūm Zaraϑuštrō vərəntē,* 'this Zarathushtra chooses that will', cf. 46. 3; 44. 7 *auuāmī* 'I am eager'; 44. 11 *mainiiōuš spasiiā duuaēšaŋhā,* 'I regard with hostility of spirit'; 49. 2 *aṯ ahiiā mā bōⁿduuahiiā mānaiieitī ṯkaēšō drəguuå,* 'of this polluter(?) the wrongful teacher puts me in mind'; 49. 6 *frō vå išiiā … mrūitē,* 'I desire you to speak'.

161. Of c u r r e n t   a c t i v i t y   o r   s i t u a t i o n: 32. 8 *aēšąmcīṯ ā ahmī ϑβahmī … vīciϑōi aipī,* 'in respect of these (deeds) I am (waiting) upon thy decision'; 46. 1 *pairī xᵛaētōuš airiiamnascā dadaitī,* 'they set me apart from clan and tribe'; 50. 1 *kaṯ mōi uruuā isē cahiiā auuaŋhō?* 'does my soul command any succour?'; 50. 6 *yō mąϑrā vācəm … baraitī,* 'this prophet who is bringing forth his voice'; and so perhaps 28. 4, see §155.

162. Of g e n e r a l   t r u t h s: 27. 14 *ašəm vohū, vahištəm astī,* 'right is good, it is the best existing'; 28. 3 *yaēibiiō xšaϑrəmcā … varədaitī ārmaitiš,* 'you whose dominion piety increases', cf. 44. 6; 43. 6 *ϑβahiiā xratōuš, yōm naēciš dābaiieitī,* 'of thy sapience, which no one deceives'; 49. 10 *taṯcā, Mazdā, ϑβahmī ā dąm nipåŋhē,* 'and that (reward), Mazdā, thou keepest in thy house'; 53. 9 *dužuuarənāiš vaēšō rāstī,* 'because of ill-choosers decay takes hold'.

163. Where the reference is to r e c u r r e n t   p h e n o m e n a   o r   h a b i t u a l   a c t i o n, the present indicative is sometimes used, as in 30. 4 (when the two Wills join battle,) *dazdē gaēmcā ajiiāitīmcā,* 'a man takes for himself life or non-life'; 31. 12 *aϑrā vācəm baraitī miϑah.uuacå vā ərəš.uuacå vā,* 'there speaks forth either one of false words or one of straight words'; ibid. *ānuš.haxš Ārmaitiš mainiiū pərəsaitē,* 'Piety debates point by point with the will'; 43. 10 *aṯ tū mōi dāiš ašəm, hiiaṯ mā zaozaomī,* 'show me thou Right, that one I (constantly) invoke'; 44. 3 *kō yā må uxšiieitī nərəfsaitī ϑβaṯ?* 'who is it through whom the moon waxes or wanes?'; 47. 4 *ahmāṯ mainiiōuš rārəšiieintī drəguuaṇtō,* 'from this Will the wrongful deflect people'. More often, however, we find the p r e s e n t   o r   a o r i s t   i n j u n c t i v e, 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 *åscā hudåŋhō ərəš ⁺vī.śiiātā, nōiṯ duždåŋhō,* 'and between them well-doers discriminate rightly, but ill-doers do not'; 30. 5 *aiiå mainiuuå*

⁺*vərətā yə̄ drəguuå acištā vərəziiō*, 'of those two Wills, the wrongful one chooses the worst things to do'; 30. 6 *at̰ aēšəməm °hə̄n.duuārəntā, yā °bąnaiiən ahūm marətānō*, '(the Daevas) scurry together to the violence with which mortals blight the world'; 32. 5 *tā °dəbənaotā mašīm hujiiātōiš*, 'so ye lure the mortal from good living'; 32. 9 *dušsastiš srauuå °mō̄rəndat … apō mā īštīm* ⁺*yantā*, 'the false teacher perverts good repute, he takes away enablement'.

164. P e r f e c t - s t e m   v e r b s are used where appropriate in describing a current state of affairs, as in 28. 9 *yōi və̄ yōiϑəmā dasəmē stūtąm*, 'we who are busy in the offering of your praises'; 29. 1 *ā mā aēšəmō hazascā rəmō̄ hišāiiā*, 'fury and force and cruelty hold me bound'; 32. 11 *yōi drəguuaṇtō … cikōitərəš … apaiieitī*, 'the wrongful ones who have distinguished themselves by depriving'.

165. The a o r i s t   i n d i c a t i v e is used when the speaker reports a perception that has just come to him: 45. 8–10 *tə̄m … nū zī īt̰ cašmainī vī.adarəsəm … yə̄ ąnmə̄nī Mazdå srāuuī Ahurō*, 'him I have just now discerned in my eye … him who has become heard in my soul, Lord Mazdā'; 43. 5 *spəṇtəm at̰ ϑβā, Mazdā, mə̄ṇ́hī … hiiat̰ ϑβā aŋhə̄uš ząϑōi* ⁺*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 *tə̄m və̄ Ašā mə̄hmaidī hušhaxāim*, 'we apprehend him as your and Right's good friend'; *YH* 35. 7 *Ahurahiiā zī at̰ və̄ Mazdå yasnəmcā vahməmcā vahištəm amə̄hmaidī*, 'but it is Lord Mazdā's worship and praise that we apprehend as the greatest good'; 43. 11 *sādrā mōi sąs mašiiaēšū zrazdāitiš*, 'trust in mortals strikes me as grief'; 46. 10 *tācīt̰ mōi sąs tuuə̄m, Mazdā, vaēdištō*, '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 *spəṇtąm və̄ ārmaitīm … varəmaidī*, 'your liberal piety we adopt'; *YH* 35. 3 *tat̰ at̰ varəmaidī … hiiat̰ ī mainimadcā 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 s u b j u n c -
t i v e , 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 *yauuaṯ °isāi °tauuācā, auuaṯ °xsāi aēšē Ašahiiā*, 'so long as I have the ability and strength, I will look out in search of Right', cf. 43. 9; 32. 1 *ϑβōi dūtåŋhō °åŋhāmā*, 'we will be thy messengers'; 34. 3 *aṯ tōi miiazdəm … ⁺dāmā gaēϑå vīspå ā xšaϑrōi*, 'as thy obla-
tion we will give into thy dominion all our living bodies'; 51. 10 *maibiiō °zbaiiā Ašǝm*, 'for myself I will call upon Right'; 51. 22 *tą °yazāi xᵛāiš nāmǝnīš pairicā °jasāi vaṇtā*, '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 *spəṇtąm vō ārmaitīm … varəmaidī; hā nō °aŋhaṯ*, 'your liberal piety we adopt; it shall be ours'.

171. In predictions or assurances: 29. 4 *aϑā [nō] °aŋhaṯ, yaϑā huuō vasaṯ*, 'it will be as he will'; 30. 8 *taibiiō xšaϑrəm Vohū Manaŋhā °vōiuuīdāitē*, 'for thee will be found dominion with Good Thought'; 30. 10 *adā zī auuā Drūjō ⁺buuaitī skəṇdō spaiiaϑrahiiā, aṯ āsištā ⁺yaojaṇtē ā hušitōiš Vaŋhōuš Manaŋhō*, '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 *vīduiiē … tācīṯ … yā nōiṯ vā °aŋhaṯ aŋhaitī vā*, 'to know those things that will not be, or will be'; 31. 14 *tā … yā zī ā °aēitī ⁺jōnghaticā*, 'those things that are approaching and will come'; 47. 1 *ahmāi ⁺dąn hauruuātā amərətātā*, 'they will give him health and life'; 51. 14 *yō īš sōŋghō apōmǝm Drūjō dəmānē ā ⁺dāṯ*, 'a teaching that will con-
sign them at the last to the house of Wrong'.

172. In questions about the future: 28. 5 *Ašā, kaṯ ϑβā ⁺darǝšānī?* 'O Right, shall I see thee?'; 44. 8 *kā mō uruuā vohū ⁺uruuāxšaṯ āgmatā?* 'to what good destinations will my soul set forth?'; 46. 3 *kadā, Mazdā, yōi uxšānō asnąm … frō … ⁺ārəntē?*, 'when, Mazdā, will those Oxen of Days come forth?'; 48. 2 *kaṯ ašauuā … ⁺vōnghaṯ drəguuaṇtǝm?* 'will the righteous one vanquish the wrong-
ful?'

173. In deliberative questions: 44. 13 *kaϑā drujǝm nīš ahmaṯ ā ⁺nāšāmā?* 'how are we to drive Wrong out from ourselves?'; 44. 17 *kaϑā zarǝm °carānī?* 'how am I to travel towards my goal?'; 46. 1 *kąm nǝmōi ząm, kuϑrā nǝmōi °aiienī? … kaϑā ϑβā, Mazdā, ⁺xšnaošāi?* '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 *kaṱ ā vaēdā?* 'shall I know?'; 50. 5 *ārōi zī xšmā … hiiaṱ yūšmākāi mąϑrānē vaorā-zaϑā,* '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 i n j u n c t i v e: 48. 10 *kadā, Mazdā, mąnarōiš narō °vīsəntā?*[63] *kadā ā ⁺jə̄n mūϑrəm 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 *kuϑrā ārōiš ā fsəratuš, kuϑrā 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 a u g m e n t e d   f o r m s: 30. 3 *asruuātəm* 'they made themselves heard'; 32. 3 *asrūdūm* 'you made yourselves renowned'; 45. 8 *viiādarəsəm = vī.adarəsəm* 'I (have just) discerned'; 46. 9 *uz.ə̄mōhī* 'I found out(?)'; 51. 11 *afraštā* 'has taken counsel' and *acistā* 'has gained insight'; 53. 7 *anąsaṱ* 'lost its way'; YH 35. 7 *amə̄hmaidī* 'we (have just) apprehend(ed)'; 36. 6 *auuācī* 'was named'.

177. These are all aorists, and in general aorists greatly outnumber i m p e r-f e c t s. Examples of the latter are: 31. 9 *ϑβōi as ārmaitiš, ϑβə̄ ā gə̄uš tašā as xratuš mainiiə̄uš, Mazdā Ahurā, hiiaṱ ax́iiāi dadå paϑąm,* 'thine was piety, thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will, Lord Mazdā, when thou didst offer her a path';[64] 34. 8 *tāiš … šiiaoϑnāiš … yaēšū as pourubiiō iϑiiejō …; yōi nōiṱ ašəm mainiiantā, aēibiiō 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 a o r i s t   p a s s i v e   i n   -ī is sometimes used almost like a perfect, of past events that are significant for the present:[65] 32. 8 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm Vīuuaŋhušō srāuuī,* 'for these offences Vivahvant's son became (is) renowned', cf. 53. 1; 44. 18 *kaϑā ašā taṱ mīždəm hanānī … hiiaṱ mōi mazdā api.uuaitī?* 'how am I

---

63   So A: *vīsəṇtē* or -*ṇti* (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?';[66] 43. 13 *vairiiå stōiš, yā ϑβahmī xšaϑrōi* <u>*vācī*</u>, 'a desirable thing that has been (is) said (to lie) in thy domain'; *YH* 36. 6 *auuaṯ yāṯ huuarə* <u>*auuācī*</u>, '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 *yāṯ yūš tā* <u>*fra.mīmaϑā*</u>, 'ever since you have been enjoining those things'; cf. §245.

180. The p e r f e c t 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 *nōiṯ tā īm xšnāuš vaēpiiō Kōuuīnō pərətå …, hiiaṯ ahmī* <u>*urūraost*</u> *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 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm Vīuuaŋhušō srāuuī Yimascīṯ, yō mašiiēṇg cixšnušō ahmākēṇg gōuš bagā xᵛārəmnō*, '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 s u b j u n c t i v e s : 45. 2 *aṯ frauuaxšiiā aŋhōuš mainiiū paouruiiē, yaiiå spaniiå ūitī* °<u>*mrauuat*</u> *yōm aŋgrəm*, '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 *aṯ aⅹíiāi aṣ̌ā Mazdå uruuārå* ⁺<u>*vaxšaṯ*</u> *Ahurō aŋhōuš ząϑōi paouruiiehiiå*, '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.uuaitī* 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.uuāitī*.

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.[67] 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 gə̄uš pərəsaṭ Ašə̄m*, pres. inj.), we have in 29. 3 *ahmāi Ašā … paitī.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 p o s s i b l e 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).[68] 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 s u b j u n c t i v e 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 *kasəušcīṭ nā ašāunē kāϑō °aŋhaṭ*, 'even the poor man may be kind to the righteous one'; 53. 9 *taṭ, Mazdā, tauuā xšaϑrəm, yā ərəžəjiiōi ⁺<u>dāhī</u> 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 o p t a t i v e expresses a remoter possibility, or one that is raised more diffidently for reasons of politeness: 28. 5 *anā mąϑrā mazištəm ⁺<u>vāurōimaidī</u> 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 vīspaṇąm vahištəm xᵛāϑrōi ā nā xᵛāϑrəm °<u>daidītā</u> … ciciϑβā …*, '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 °<u>daidīṭ</u>*, '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 °<u>mruiiāṭ</u>*, 'I will tell thee Mazdā—of course a man (in speaking to Mazdā) could (only) be speaking to one who knows'.

In questions: *kaϑā aiiārō daxšārā frasaiiāi ⁺<u>dīšā</u>?* 'how mightest thou take a day (for me) to ask teaching?' (polite request); 44. 9 *kaϑā mōi, yąm yaoš daēnąm ⁺<u>dānē</u>, tąm hudānaoš paitiš ⁺<u>saxiiāā</u> xšaϑrahiiā?* 'the religion that I will perfect for myself, how might the master of a beneficent dominion proclaim it for me?'; 44. 11 *kaϑā tōŋg ā ⁺<u>vī.jəmiiāṭ</u> ārmaitiš, yaēibiiō …*, '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 °<u>xiiāmā</u>, yōi īm frašōm kərənāun ahūm*, 'may we be those who will make this existence splendid'; 43. 3 *aṭ huuō vaŋhōuš vahiiō nā ⁺<u>aibī.jamiiāṭ</u>, yō nå ərəzūš sauuaŋhō paϑō ⁺<u>sīšōiṭ</u>*, 'but may that man attain better than the good, who should show us the straight paths of benefit'; 43. 16 *xᵛə̄ŋg darəsōi … °<u>xiiāṭ</u> Ārmaitiš; ašīm šiiaoϑnāiš vohū °<u>daidīṭ</u> manaŋhā*, 'may Piety be there in sight of the sun; may she be giving reward on account of actions with good thought'; 45. 9 *varəzī nå ⁺<u>diiāṭ</u> Ahurō*, 'may the Lord set us in action'; 48. 9 *<u>vīdiiāṭ</u> sao-*

šiiąs, yaϑā hōi ašiš aŋhaṯ, 'may the Promoter know how his reward is to be';
50. 6 *rāzə̄ng Vohū °sāhīṯ Manaŋhā*, '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 °x̌iiātā auuaŋhē*, 'may ye be there for my succour'; *YH* 36. 2 *ur-uuāzištō huuō nå yātāiiā +paitī.jamiiå*, '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 *nōiṯ*: 28. 9 *anāiš vå nōiṯ … yānāiš +zaraēnāmā*, 'with these prayers may we not anger you'; 45. 1 *nōiṯ daibitīm dušsastiš ahūm °mərą̄šiiāṯ*, 'may the false teacher not be ruining the world a second time'; 46. 8 *nōiṯ ahiiā mā āϑriš šiiaoϑnāiš frā +asiiāṯ*, 'may harm not reach me from his actions'.

Requests, injunctions, prohibitions

189. The optative may also be prescriptive: 46. 5 *taṯ frō xᵛaētauuē °mruiiāṯ*, 'he should tell it to the clan'; negative, 43. 15 *nōiṯ nā pourūš drəguuatō °x̌iiāṯ cixš-nušō*, 'a man should not be one to gratify the many wrongful'.

190. More direct injunctions and requests are expressed by the i m p e r a t i v e (second or third person).

In invocations and prayers: 28. 3 *ā mōi rafəδrāi zauuə̄ng °jasatā*, 'come to my calls to give succour'; 28. 6 *Vohū +gaidī Manaŋhā, +dāidī Ašā då 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 gə̄ušāiš vahištā, ā °vaēnatā sūcā manaŋ-hā āuuarənå*, 'hear with your ears the best message, behold with lucid mind the two choices'; 46. 16 *Frašaoštrā, aϑrā tū arədrāiš °idī*, 'Frashaushtra, go with those zealous ones'; 48. 7 *nī aēšmō °diiātąm, paitī rəməm °siiōdūm*, 'let violence be tied down, cut short cruelty'; 53. 3 *aϑā +hə̄m.frašuuā xraϑβā; spə̄ništā ārma-tōiš hudānū +varšuuā*, 'so take counsel with thy reason; perform piety's most liberal benefactions'; 53. 5 *mə̄ņcā ī °dazdūm; °vaēdōdūm daēnābīš … ahūm yō vaŋhə̄uš manaŋhō; ašā vō aniiō ainīm °vīuuə̄nghatū*, '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 *+dāidī tū, Ārmaitē, Vištāspāi īšəm mai-biiācā*, 'give thou, Piety, enablement to Vishtaaspa and myself'; 28. 1 *tuuə̄m, Mazdā Ahurā, frō mā +sīšā*, 'teach thou me, Lord Mazdā'; 29. 11 *aṯ mąm ašā yūžə̄m, Mazdā, … °paitī.zānatā*, 'it is me by right that ye must acknowledge'; 53. 3 *°tə̄ņcā tū, Pourucistā*, 'be thou resolute, Porucista'. (On *tū* cf. §283.)

192. P r o h i b i t i o n s are not expressed with a negated imperative but with *mā* and the i n j u n c t i v e; being an intrinsically prohibitive particle, *mā* does not call for a correspondingly marked verb form: 31. 17 *vīduuå vīdušē °mraotū, mā əuuīduuå 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 *huxšaϑrā ⁺xšōṇtąm, mā nō dušxšaϑrā ⁺xšōṇtā*, '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 *mā.ciš aṯ vō drəguuatō mąϑrąscā ⁺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 …*) *⁺dås.tū, Mazdā, °xšaiiācā, yā vō mąϑrā srəuuīmā rādå*, '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 haiϑiiəm ⁺då ahūm*, 'make real the existence that is splendid in my desiring'; 43. 10 *aṯ tū mōi ⁺dāiš ašəm*, 'show thou me Right'; 43. 12 *Ašəm °jasō*, 'go to Right'; perhaps 46. 2 *⁺ā.xšō vaŋhōuš ašā īštīm manaŋhō*, 'behold (or thou seest) the potency of thought that is good through right'.

Infinitives[69]

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;[70] 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 aṣ̌ā, pōi maṯ, xšaiiehī*, 'if thou hast this power with right, (namely) to protect me'; 43. 12 *nōiṯ asruštā pairi.aoγžā, °uz.irəidiiāi parā hiiaṯ mōi ā jimaṯ …*, 'thou givest me advice that will not go unheeded, (namely) to set forth before there comes to me'; 51. 16 *nąsaṯ … yąm cistīm aṣ̌ā mąṇtā, 'spəṇtō Mazdå Ahurō', aϑā nə̄ sazdiiāi 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 o b j e c t or c o m p l e m e n t 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 nə̄ vaštī … carəkərəϑrā °srāuuaiieńhē*, 'he wishes to broadcast our praises', cf. 43. 9 *°vīuuīduiiē*; 44. 3 *vīduiiē*; 46. 14 *fra.srūidiiāi*; 30. 5 *vərətā yə̄ drəguuå acištā °vərəziiō*, 'the wrongful one chooses to do the worst things', or 'chooses the worst things to do'; 50. 18 *tąm cistīm … vərəṇtē, taṯ xšaϑrəm manaŋhō vaŋhōuš ⁺vīdō*, 'he chooses to find that insight, that realm of good thought'. Of the same type are 32. 14 *hiiaṯ vīsəṇtā drəguuaṇtəm auuō*, 'when they set themselves to assist the wrongful one'; 43. 11 *dīdańhē … taṯ °vərəziieidiiāi, hiiaṯ mōi mraotā vahištəm*, 'I am learning to do what ye tell me is best'; 44. 12 *yə̄ mā drəguuå ϑβā sauuā ⁺paitī.ərətē ciiaŋhaṯ*, 'the wrongful one who likes to oppose thy gains'.

197. With an a c c u s a t i v e as s u b j e c t of the infinitive: 34. 4 *aṯ tōi ātrə̄m … usə̄mahī … stōi rapaṇtē ciϑrā.auuaŋhəm*, 'we wish for thy fire(,) to be a manifest help to thy supporter'; 43. 1 *utaiiūtī təuuīšī ⁺gatōi vasmī*, 'I wish for strength and vitality to come'; 46. 16 *tāiš yə̄ṇg usuuahī uštā stōi*, 'those whom we two wish to be in bliss'; 49. 6 *frō vå išiiā … °mrūitē*, 'I desire you to speak'; 50. 2 *yə̄ hīm ahmāi vāstrauuaitīm stōi usiiāṯ*, 'one who might wish her to be on his own pastureland'; *YH* 35. 4 *gauuōi … fraēšiiāmahī rāmācā vāstrəmcā °dazdiiāi 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 … ⁺vaocańhē*, 'teach me to voice (them)'; 43. 13 *kāmahiiā … yə̄m vå naēciš dāršt itē*, 'my desire, to which no one forces you to accede'.

With 'think': 31. 8 *aṯ ϑβā mə̄ńhī paouruuīm, Mazdā, yazūm stōi manaŋhā*, '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 p u r - p o s e : 43. 13 *hiiāt mā vohū pairī.jasaṯ manaŋhā, arəϑā ⁺vōizdiiāi*, 'when one approaches me with good thought to take note of my endeavours'; 30. 2 *ahmāi [nə̄] sazdiiāi baodaṇtō paitī*, 'waiting to make declaration to him'; 32. 1 *ϑβōi dūtåŋhō åŋhāmā, tə̄ŋg °dāraiiō yōi vå daibišəṇtī*, 'we will be thy messengers, to demolish those who hate you'; 32. 10 *acištəm °vaēnaŋhē*, 'the worst thing for beholding (= to behold)', cf. 45. 5 *srūidiiāi hiiaṯ marətaēibiiō vahištəm*, 'which

is best for mortals to hear'; 34. 5 *kaṯ və̄ xšaϑrəm, kā īštiš … °ϑrāiiōidiiāi drigūm yūšmākəm?* 'what is your power, what your ability to protect your poor dependant?'; 44. 16 *kō vərəϑrəm.jā ϑβā pōi sə̄nghā, yōi hə̄ṇtī?* 'who is the victorious one, to protect with thy law (all) who exist?'; 44. 17 *hiiaṯcā mōi x̌iiāt vāx̌š aēšō, sarōi būždiiāi,* 'and that my voice may be effective for working for union'; 44. 20 *nōiṯ hīm mīzə̄n ašā vāstrəm frādaiṇhē,* 'they do not care for her (the cow), to promote the pasture with right'; 46. 5 *taṯ frō x^v̌aētauuē mrūiiāt, uz.ūiϑiiōi īm … xrūniiāt,* 'he should tell that to the clan, to help him escape from bloodshed'; 46. 11 *yūjə̄n … akāiš šiiaoϑnāiš ahūm °mərəngəidiiāi mašīm,* 'they yoke the mortal to bad deeds to ruin life'; 46. 12 *aṯ īš vohū hə̄m aibī.mōist manaŋha, aēibiiō rafəðrāi … sastē,* 'he brought them into union with good thought, to proclaim it for their support'; 49. 3 *aṯcā ahmāi varənāi … ni.dātəm ašəm sūidiiāi, ṯkaēšāi °rāšaiieṇhē druxš,* 'but for this chosen path, right is laid down to strengthen (us); for that teacher, wrong to harm (him)'.

199. Often the s u b j e c t   t o   b e   u n d e r s t o o d for the infinitive is not the subject but the object or the indirect object of the main verb: 28. 1 *yō vå … pairī.jasāi vohū manaŋhā, maibiiō dāuuōi ahuuå,* 'I who will approach you with good thought, (for you) to give me of both existences'; 31. 3 *taṯ nə̄, Mazdā, vīduuanōi vaocā,* 'tell us that, Mazdā, (for us) to know', cf. 34. 12 *srūidiiāi*; 44. 8 *məṇ.dāidiiāi*; 49. 6 *vī.cidiiāi*; 31. 9 *hiiaṯ ax̌iiāi dadå paϑąm, vāstriiāṯ vā ā itē yō vā nōiṯ aŋhaṯ vāstriiō,* '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 *diuuamnəm hōi aparəm °xšaiiō,* 'radiance is his (for him) to possess hereafter'; 45. 10 *xšaϑrōi hōi hauruuātā amərətātā ahmāi stōi dąn,* 'into his control they give health and life, (for them) to be his'; 49. 2 *nōiṯ spəṇtąm dōrəšt ahmāi stōi Ārmaitīm,* 'he has not embraced bounteous Piety (so as for her) to be his'; 50. 6 *dātā xratə̄uš, hizuuō raiϑīm stōi mahiiā,* 'the giver of wisdom (for it) to be the charioteer of my tongue'; 51. 10 *maibiiō zbaiiā Ašəm, vaŋhuiiā ašī +gate,* 'for myself I will call upon Right, (for her) to come with the good reward'; 51. 17 *yąm hōi išiiąm dātū … Ahurō, Ašāhiiā ǣždiiāi 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 šiiaoϑnəm vacaŋhā yā fracinas drəguuantəm °xšaiiō,* '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 a m b i v a l e n t   a s   t o   v o i c e; the verbal notion may be simultaneously active from one point of view and passive from another. Cf. 30. 8 *taibiiō xšaϑrəm … vōiuuīdāitē, aēibiiō sastē … yōi …,* 'for thee will be found dominion for proclaiming (= to be proclaimed, or for

us to proclaim) to those who …'; 32. 14 *gə̄uš jaidiiāi mraoī*, 'the cow is spoken for killing' = 'is ordered to be killed', or 'is declared available for people to kill'; 46. 13 *huuō nā fra.srūidiiāi ərəϑβō*, 'that man is worthy (for people) to make famous' = 'worthy to be made famous'; 46. 14 *kə̄ vā fra.srūidiiāi vaštī?* 'or who wishes for renown-making?' = 'to be renowned'.

It is sometimes claimed that the infinitive in *-diiāi* has a special affinity with the middle voice,[71] but no clear pattern emerges from the texts.

201. In two passages we find three infinitives in parallel: 31. 5 *tat̰ mōi vī.cidiiāi vaocā …, vīduiiē vohū manaŋhā mə̄ṇcā daidiiāi*, 'tell me so that I may distinguish it … so I may know and take to heart'; 44. 14 *kaϑā Ašāi Drujə̄m diiąm zastaiiō, nī hīm °mərąždiiāi …, ə̄mauuaitīm sinąm dāuuōi drəguuasū, ā īš duuafšə̄ṇg … ⁺nāšē ąstąscā?* '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 rafənō frāxšnənəm … °uz.irəidiiāi azə̄ sardanå sə̄ṇgha-hiiā*, '(give me) thy providential support, (for me) to set forth to drive off the detractors of thy law'; and so 51. 9 *yąm xšnūtəm rānōibiiā då … aibī ahuuāhū daxštəm dāuuōi, °rāšaiieṇ́hē drəguuaṇtəm, °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 p r o p r i e t y or o b l i g a t i o n: 44. 1 *at̰ nə̄ Ašā friiā °dazdiiāi hākurənā*, 'we have friendly relations to maintain with Right'; 51. 20 *tat̰ və̄ nə̄ … daidiiāi sauuō*, 'this is the strengthening we have to give you'. In negative propositions it can imply impossibility: 29. 3 *auuaēšąm nōit̰ vīduiiē*, 'of those things there is no knowing'; 45. 4 *nōit̰ °diβžaidiiāi vīspa.hišas Ahurō*, 'there is no deceiving the all-observant Lord'.

203. By a somewhat similar use, the infinitive may serve to express w h a t s o m e o n e i s s u i t e d f o r, as in 49. 9 *fšə̄ṇ́hiiō suiiē taštō*, 'the cultivator, made to be strong'; without anything corresponding to *tašta-*, 44. 2 *kaϑā aŋh-ə̄uš vahištahiiā paouruuīm kāϑə̄ šūidiiāi?* 'how is the man of good will for rein-forcing the best existence's beginning?'

204. An e x c l a m a t o r y i n f i n i t i v e perhaps appears in the cow's soul's complaint at 29. 9 *at̰cā gə̄uš uruuā raostā, ʹyə̄ anaēšəm xšąnmə̄nē rādəm vācəm nərəš asūrahiiāʹ*. 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 infini-
tive 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 construc-
tion cognate with the exclamatory infinitives in Greek and Latin; in those lan-
guages, 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[72]

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 *vīduuå/vīduš* 'knowing', *nąsuuå* 'lost', *apānō* 'arrived at'.

The great majority of the -(*a*)*nt*- and -*mna*- forms are from present stems.
Of the four from aorist stems (*daṇtō* 32. 4, *hanaṇtē* 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 c a t e g o r y o f p e r s o n : 31. 3
juuaṇtō vīspə̄ŋg, 'everyone living'; 31. 17 *vīduuå vīdušē mraotū*, 'let the know-
ing one speak to the knowing', cf. 30. 1; 31. 12; 51. 8 (twice); 31. 19 *vīduuå*,
… *ərəž.uxδāi vacaŋhąm xšaiiamnō 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 *nadəṇtō*, 'detractors'; 34. 4 *rapaṇtē … daibišiiaṇtē*,
'to thy supporter … to thy hater'; 44. 9 *ϑβāuuąs aš.īštiš …, hadəmōi Aṣ̌ā Vohu-
cā siiąs Manaŋhā*, 'a very potent follower of thine, one who abides in their
home with Right and Good Thought'; 47. 4 *isuuā.cīṭ hąs paraoš*, 'even a man
of much means'; 47. 6 *pourūš išəṇtō*, '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 xšaiiaṇtascā axšaiiaṇtascā*,
'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 p r o p e r t y t h a t i s e s p e c i a l l y r e l e v a n t in the context: 29. 2 *hiiaṭ
hīm dātā xšaiiaṇtō*, 'when ye, having the power, set her there', cf. 43. 1, 10; 51.
17; 29. 6 *atō vaocaṭ Ahurō Mazdå vīduuå vafūš viiānaiiā*, 'then Lord Mazdā
speaks, knowing (or the one who knows) the designs in his wisdom'; 32. 15
auuāiš aibī yə̄ŋg daiṇtī nōiṭ jiiātōuš xšaiiamnə̄ng vasō, 'those whom they impli-
cate in them, not being in free control of their lives'; 46. 5 *yə̄ vā xšaiiąs ā dąm
drītā aiiaṇtəm 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

---

the basis of a promise or agreements, one living in rectitude, being a man of discrimination'; 44. 19 *yas.taṯ mīždəm* ⁺*hanantē nōiṯ* ⁺*dāitī*, 'he that does not give that reward to the one who earned it'; 45. 3 *yąm mōi* <u>*vīduuå*</u> *Mazdå vaocaṯ*, 'which Mazdā in his knowledge told me'; 46. 4 *aṯ tə̄ṇg drəguuå … pāṯ gå frōrə-tōiš … dužazōbå* <u>*hąs*</u>, 'but the wrongful one keeps those oxen from coming forth, abominable as he is'; 46. 6 *nōiṯ nā* <u>*isəmnō*</u>, 'a man not wanted'; 48. 3 *aṯ* <u>*vaēdəmnāi*</u> *vahištā sāsnanąm*, 'but for him who apprehends it, the best of teach-ings'; 49. 12 *kaṯ tōi Aṣ̌ā* <u>*zbaiientē*</u> *auuaṇhō Zaraϑuštrāi?* 'what hast thou of help for him who invokes thee with Right, for Zarathushtra?'; 51. 5 *vāstriiō š̌iiaoϑ-nāiš ərəšuuō,* <u>*hąs*</u> *huxratuš*, 'a herdsman upright in his actions, being prudent'; 51. 18 *hiiaṯ* <u>*rapə̄n*</u> *tauuā*, 'that of thine which gives support'; 51. 20 *hazaoš̌åṇhō vīspåṇhō … Aṣ̌əm …* <u>*yazəmnåṇhō*</u>, 'all ye of one mind who worship Right'; YH 35. 6 *aϑā* <u>*hat*</u> *vohū … vərəziiōtūcā īṯ 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 c h a r a c t e r i s t i c or e s s e n t i a l p r o p e r t y: 31. 7 *tā … raocə̄bīš* <u>*rōiϑßən*</u> *x*ᵛ*āϑrā*, 'those amenities permeating the world of light'; 32. 2 *aēibiiō Mazdå Ahurō,* <u>*sārəmnō*</u> *Vohū Manaṇhā, … paitī.mraoṯ*, 'to them Lord Mazdā, being united with Good Thought, answers'; 32. 9 *īštīm … bərəxδąm* <u>*hāitīm*</u> *Vaṇhə̄uš Manaṇhō*, 'potency, that is esteemed of Good Thought'; 33. 9 *tə̄m mainiiūm aṣ̌ā* <u>*uxš̌aiiantəm*</u>,[73] 'that intent that brings increase through right'; 45. 4 *Vaṇhə̄uš* <u>*varəzaiiantō*</u> *Manaṇhō*, 'of Good Thought that stimulates to action'.

209. Marking c o i n c i d e n t a c t i v i t y: 28. 5 *kaṯ ϑßā darəsānī, manascā vohū* <u>*vaēdəmnō*</u> *…?* 'shall I see thee, as I apprehend Good Thought?', cf. 31. 22; 29. 5 *aṯ vā ustānāiš ā huuā zastāiš* <u>*frīnəmnā*</u> *Ahurāiiā*, 'but we two are here with out-stretched hands propitiating the Lord'; 30. 2 *sraotā gə̄uš̌āiš vahištā … ahmāi* [*nə̄*] *sazdiiāi* <u>*baodantō*</u> *paitī*, 'hear with your ears the best message … as ye look ahead to the declaration to him'; 30. 6 *hiiaṯ īš ā dəbaomā* <u>*pərəsəmnə̄ṇg*</u> *upā jasaṯ*, 'because delusion comes over them as they deliberate'; 34. 6 *yaϑā vå* <u>*yazəmnas-cā*</u> *uruuāidiiā* <u>*stauuas*</u> *aiienī paitī*, 'so that I may come unto you worshipping and praising you the more gladly', cf. 45. 6; 50. 4, 9; 43. 10 *Ārmaitī* <u>*hacimnō*</u> *īṯ ā arəm*, 'in company with Piety I have set forth toward it', cf. 43. 12; 44. 10; 43. 14 *hiiaṯ nā friiāi* <u>*vaēdəmnō*</u> *isuuā daidīṯ*, 'what a man of means, on finding it for himself, would offer to his friend'; 49. 12 *yə̄ vå staotāiš, Mazdā, frīnāi, Ahurā, auuaṯ* <u>*yāsąs*</u> *hiiaṯ və̄ īštā vahištəm*, 'who will propitiate you with praises, Lord Mazdā, praying for that which is the best at your disposal'; 51. 19 *huuō taṯ nā … ahmāi dazdē, daēnaiiā* <u>*vaēdəmnō*</u>, *yə̄ ahūm* <u>*iš̌asąs*</u> *aibī Mazdå dātā mrauuaṯ*, 'the man gets that (support) for himself, apprehending it with his moral self, who, in petitioning for existence, speaks Mazdā's ordinances'; 53. 7 *yauuaṯ āzuš …* *parā*[*cā*] <u>*mraocąs*</u> *aorācā*, 'one will apply his penis, dipping onward and down'.

---

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

210. Expressing m e a n s or c a u s e : 32. 4 *yā mašiiā acištā ⁺dantō ⁺vaxšəntē daēuuō.zuštā*, 'the worst things, by doing which mortals are to wax Daeva-favoured'; 32. 8 *yə mašiiə̄ŋg cixšnušō ahmākə̄ŋg gə̄uš bagā xᵛārəmnō*, 'who sought to gratify our mortal race by feeding them portions of the cow'; 33. 3 *yə ašāunē vahištō xᵛaētū vā aṯ vā vərəzə̄niiō airiiamnā vā … ⁺vīdąs vā ϑβaxšaŋhā gauuōi*, '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 Vaŋhə̄uš Manaŋhō šiiaoϑnā vaocaṯ 'gərəbąm' huxratuš spəṇtąmcā Ārmaitīm, dąmīm vīduuå hiϑąm 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 xraodaitī Cinuuatō pərətå ākå, xᵛāiš šiiaoϑnāiš hizuua-scā Ašahiiā nąsuuå paϑō*, '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 *nōiṯ … auuāstriiō dauuąs.cina humərətōiš baxš-tā*, '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 vē uruuātā marəntō, aguštā vacå sə̄ŋghāmahī aēibiiō 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: *yə uruuānəm mōn gairē vohū dadē haϑrā manaŋhā, ašīšcā šiiaoϑnanąm vīduš Mazdå, … 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 − dāeuuō.zuštā*), *vaŋhəuš sīž-diiamnā manaŋhō, Mazdå Ahurahiiā xratə̄uš nasiiantō Ašāaṯcā*, 'retreating from good thought, losing the way from Lord Mazdā's sapience and from Right'; 33. 5 *yas.tē vīspə̄.mazištəm sraošəm zbaiiā auuaŋhānē, apānō darəgō.jiiāitīm*, 'I that will invoke my supreme compliance to thee at the journey's end, arrived at the long life'; 45. 8 *tə̄m … nū zī īṯ cašmainī vī.adarəsəm, Vaŋhə̄uš Mainiiə̄uš šiiaoϑnahiiā uxδaxᵛiiācā vīduš ašā*, 'him I have just now discerned in my eye, knowing with right of the Good Will's deed and utterance'; 46. 18 *ahmāi ascīṯ vahištā maxᵛiiā ištōiš … ⁺cōišəm …, ąstə̄ŋg ahmāi yə nå ąstāi daidīṯā, Mazdā Ašā, xšmākəm vārəm ⁺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 ϑβahmāṯ zaošāṯ drəguuå baxšaitī, ahiiā šiiaoϑnāiš Akāṯ ā šiiąs Manaŋhō*, '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 *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm naēcīṯ vīduuå aojōi*, 'of these offences I declare I know nothing', lit. 'knowing nothing, I so make my declaration'.

214. With r e d u p l i c a t e d   d e s i d e r a t i v e s we find an adjectival form in *-a-* which is in effect a participle and behaves as one: 43. 15 *nōiṯ nā pourūš drəguuatō x́iiāṯ cixšnušō*, 'may a man not be one who seeks to gratify the many wrongful', cf. 32. 8; 45. 8–10 *tōm nō staotāiš nəməŋhō ā vīuuarəšō … tōm nō Vohū maṯ Manaŋhā cixšnušō, … tōm nō yasnāiš ārmatōiš mimayžō*, '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 vacå … aēibiiō yōi …*, 'words unheeded by those who …'; 43. 10 *pərəsācā nå, yā tōi ōhmā parštā; parštəm zī ϑβā …*, 'and ask us the questions (to) us (acc.) that thou hast; for the question by thee …'; 49. 9 *fšōńhiiō suiiē taštō*, 'the cultivator made for strengthening'; ibid. *ašā yuxtā … Dəjāmāspā*, 'the Djamaaspas yoked with right'. Compare, with adverbial modifier, *YH* 39. 2 *ašāunąm … kudō.zātanąm.cīt*, 'of the righteous wherever born'.

216. These forms can serve a s   p r e d i c a t e s 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 aŋhōuš vaŋᵛhī 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 *aṯcā ahmāi varənāi … ni.dātəm ašəm sūidiiāi*, 'but for this chosen path, right is laid down to strengthen (us)'.

217. Neuter plurals are used in a general sense: 43. 12 *nōiṯ asruštā pairi.aoγžā*, 'thou givest advice (that will) not (go) unheeded'; 46. 19 *manō.vistāiš maṯ vīspāiš*, '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 *yaϑā ahū vairiiō*, 'as (he is) the master one would choose'; 43. 13 *vairiiå stōiš*, 'a possession worth choosing', cf. 54. 1; substantivized, 34. 14 *taṯ … vairīm*, 'that thing worth choosing, that prize'; predicatively, 51. 1 *vohū xšaϑrəm vairīm*, 'good command is a thing to choose'; 31. 4 *yadā Ašəm zəuuīm*, 'when Right is to be invoked'; 44. 8 *yācā … arōm vaēdiiā*, 'and those (words)

that are fitly to be apprehended';[74] 48. 8 *kā ϑβōi … išiiā?* 'what desirable (re-ward) of thine (is there)?'; 51. 17 *yąm hōi išiiąm dātū … Mazdå,* 'let Mazdā make it desirable to him'; 54. 1 *ā Airiiə̄mā išiiō … jaṇtū … Ašahiiā yāsā ašīm, yąm išiiąm 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)[75]

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; *paitī,* 30. 2; 34. 6; within the verse, 29. 7 *dāiiāt̰ ə̄ə̄āuuā*). When the preverb immediately precedes the verb, the two are sometimes written as a single word, but it is doubtful to what extent real univerbation occurs; the preverb does not intervene between augment and verb, cf. 45. 8 *viiādarəsəm,* i.e. *vī adarəsəm,* '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 ārə̄šuuā;* 33. 8; 45. 6; 46. 2; 49. 1, 6; 51. 22.[76] Univerbation, however, is seen in 46. 5 *uz.ūiϑiiōi īm,* where *uz īm ūiϑiiōi* might have been expected. Two preverbs appear together in 46. 12 *at̰ īš vohū hə̄m aibī mōist manaŋhā,* '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 (ə̄ə̄āuuā) ā paitī pairī.*
> Only preverb: *apā frā hə̄m nī nīš upā us vī.*
> Only preposition: *aipī ānū (ə̄ə̄ānū) hacā hadā hanarə haϑrā mat̰ 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.

---

74 Some manuscripts give *vaēidiiāi* (infinitive), but that would have only two syllables, and the metre calls for three.

75 Reichelt §§522–64.

76 In the transmitted text, when a preverb is separated from a following verb, it is regular-ly 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[77]

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'.[78] 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.[79]

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. R e s t r i c t i v e (d e f i n i n g) c l a u s e s are those which are essential to the identification of the head; a p p o s i t i v e (n o n - d e f i n i n g) c l a u s e s s erve 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 g e n e r i c 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 və nōiṯ iϑā mąϑrəm varəšəṇtī, … aēibiiō aŋh-*
əuš auuōi aŋhaṯ apəməm, 'those of you who do not so act on this prescript, for
them "Woe!" will be their worldly life's end'; 46. 18 *yə̄ maibiiā yaoš, ahmāi*
ascīṯ vahištā max́iiå ištōiš … cōišəm, 'who(ever) (assigns) weal to me, to him I
for my part assign the best at my disposal'. As the examples indicate, the inde-
terminate 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 s u b j u n c t i v e is used, as in 45. 3 just cited (*varəšəṇtī*); 28. 8
yaēibiiascā īṯ rå̄ŋhaŋhōi, 'and (those) on whom(ever) thou bestowest it'; 30. 5
yaēcā xšnaošən Ahurəm haiϑiiāiš š́iiaoϑnāiš, 'and those who please the Lord
with genuine actions'; 32. 15 *auuāiš aibī yə̄ṇg daiṇtī*, 'those whom they impli-
cate in them'; 44. 12 *kə̄ ašauuā, yāiš pərəsāi, drəguuå vā?* 'who is righteous or
wrongful (of those) whom I question?'; 44. 19 *yas.taṯ mīždəm hanəṇtē nōiṯ dāitī,*
yə̄ īṯ ahmāi ərəž.uxδā nā dāitē, kā tə̄m ahiiā maēniš ašaṯ 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 *nōiṯ mā xšnāuš, yā vərəzə̄nā hə̄cā*, 'I am not pleased with such communities
as I consort with'; 50. 3 *yąm nazdištąm gaēϑąm drəguuå baxšaitī*, 'the neigh-
bouring creature (any cow) that the wrongful one has'; 51. 8 *huuō zī mąϑrā*
šíiātō, yə̄ vīdušē mrauuaitī, 'happy that prophet who speaks to one who knows'.

    For a more remote contingency the o p t a t i v e may be used: 46. 5 *yə̄ vā*
xšaiiąs ā dąm drītā aiiaṇtəm … 6 aṯ yas.tə̄m nōiṯ nā isəmnō ā.iiāṯ, '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 h e a d to which a relative clause relates sometimes has t o b e u n -
d e r s t o o d from the context:[80] 31. 9 *hiiaṯ ax́iiāi dadå paϑąm, vāstriiāṯ vā ā itē yə̄*
vā nōiṯ aŋhaṯ 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 auuaṯ, yā*
maēniš, yə̄ drəguuāitē xšaϑrəm hunāitī, 'I ask this, what is the punishment (for
him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one'; 31. 19 *gūštā yə̄ maṇtā*
ašəm, 'let him listen (to him) who thinks on right'; 31. 21 *Mazdå dadāṯ …*
vaŋhə̄uš vazduuarə̄ manaŋhō, yə̄ hōi mainiiū šíiaoϑnāišcā uruuāϑō, 'Mazdā gives
the permanence of good thought (to him) who (is) his ally in will and deeds';
34. 14 *taṯ zī … astuuaitē uštānāi dātā … yōi zī gə̄uš vərəzə̄nē aziiå*, '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 *yə̄ hudå, yōi həṇtī*, 'who (is) a bene-
factor (of all) who are', cf. 44. 16; 51. 10; 51. 8 *akōi ā drəguuatē, uštā yə̄ Ašəm*
dadrē, 'amid ill for the wrongful one, (but) in bliss (for him) who has embraced
Right'; YH 37. 2 *tə̄m aṯ yasnanąm pauruuatātā yazamaidē, yōi gə̄uš hacā šíieiṇtī*,

---

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 *yə̄* 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 *hamə̄m taṱ vahištācīṱ, yə̄ ušuruiiē siiascīṱ 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 *drəguuataēcā hiiaṱcā ašāunē, yex́iiācā hə̄m.iiāsaitē miϑahiiā 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 gąm Karapā Usixšcā aēšmāi dātā, yācā Kauuā ąnmə̄nē 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 dāṱ āiiaptā … Mazdå … yaēcā …*, '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.[81]

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 *yə̄ uruuānəm mə̄n gairē vohū dadē haϑrā manaŋhā, … xsāi aēšē Aša-hiiā*, 'I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought … will look out in search of Right'; 28. 11 *yə̄ āiš ašəm ni.påŋhē ma-nascā vohū yauuaētāitē, tuuə̄m, 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 išəṇtī rādaŋhō … tə̄m … nū zī īṱ caš-mainī vī.adarəsəm*, 'the Caring One whose strength all may activate … him I have just now discerned in my eye'. The demonstrative *tə̄m* 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, *yə̄ ϑßaṱ, Mazdā, asruštīm akəmcā manō yazāi apā, … yas.tē vīspə̄.mazištəm sraošəm zbaiiā auuaŋ-hānē … yə̄ zaotā ašā ərəzuš, huuō mainiiə̄uš ā vahištāṱ kaiiā ahmāṱ*, 'I that by wor-

---

81 So in 31. 7 *tā, Mazdā, mainiiū uxšiiō, yə̄ ā nūrə̄mcīṱ … hāmō*, 'through that will, Mazdā, thou dost increase, …', *tā* should not be taken as correlative to *yə̄*, 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 … jīgərəzaṯ*
kāmē ŭßahiiā mąϑrānō dūtīm, yə̄ īš pāṯ darəsāṯ 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 *hiiaṯ vīsə̄ṇtā drəguuantəm auuō, hiiaṯcā gāuš jaidiiāi mraoī, yə̄ dū-*
raošəm saocaiiaṯ, 'when they set themselves to assist the wrongful one and
when the cow is spoken for killing, (the wrongful one) who makes the resis-
tant (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 *tąm*
daēnąm, yā hatąm vahištā—yā mōi gaēϑå Ašā frādōiṯ hacə̄mnā, 'that religion
which is the best in existence—may it promote my flock in union with
Right'; 45. 2 *aṯ frauuaxšiiā aŋhə̄uš mainiiū paouruiiē, yaiiå spaniiå ūitī mrauuaṯ*
yə̄m aŋgrəm, '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 h e a d is sometimes l o c a t e d   w i t h i n   t h e   r e l a t i v e   c l a u s e
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:[82]
28. 7 *då̄stū, Mazdā, … yā və̄ mąϑrā srəuuīmā rādå*, 'give thou, Mazdā, the pre-
script through which we might hear your favours'; 30. 3 *aṯ tā mainiiū, paou-*
ruiiē yā yə̄mā xᵛafənā asruuātəm, 'they are the two Wills, the twins who in the
beginning made themselves heard through dreaming'; 31. 3 *hiiaṯ uruuatəm*
cazdōŋhuuadəbiiō, '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 *aṯ yūš daēuuā vīspåŋhō Akāṯ Manaŋhō stā ciϑrəm yascā vå maš*
yazaitē, 'but ye Daevas are all spawn from Evil Thought, and (so is) the gran-
dee who worships you'; 32. 11 *taēcīṯ mā mōrəṇdən 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 råŋhaiiən*
srauuaŋhā vahištāṯ šiiaoϑanāṯ marətānō, aēibiiō Mazdå akā mraoṯ, 'because of the
"deed of repute" by which they divert mortals from best action, Mazdā an-
swers them with ill'; 33. 1 *āiš … yā dātā aŋhə̄uš paouruiiehiiā*, 'by the ordin-
ances of the first existence'; 33. 13 *dōišī mōi yā və̄ ā bifrā*, 'show me the vir-
tues(?) that you have'; 34. 1 *yā šiiaoϑnā, yā vacaŋhā, yā yasnā amərətatātəm …*

---

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

taibiiō då̄ŋhā, … aēšą̄m 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 *tə̄m aduuānə̄m … daēnå̄ sao-šiiaṇtą̄m yā hū.kərətā Ašāṭcīṭ uruuāxšaṭ hiiaṭ cəuuištā hudåbiiō mīždə̄m*, '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 *yå̄ då Ašā vaŋh-ōuš māiiå̄ manaŋhō*, 'the transforming powers of good thought that thou didst establish with Right', cf. 43. 4; 43. 6 *yahmī … uruuaēsē jasō*, 'at that bend where thou comest'; 43. 10 *pərəsācā nå̄, yā tōi ə̄hmā parštā*, 'and ask us the questions thou hast of us'; 44. 8 *məṇ.dāidiiāi yā tōi, Mazdā, ādištiš*, 'to take to heart the instruction that is thine, Mazdā'; 45. 10 *tə̄m … mimaγžō, yə̄ ą̄nmə̄nī Mazdå̄ srāuuī Ahurō*, 'seeking to magnify him, Mazdā the Lord who is heard in my soul'; 46. 1, quoted in §226; 48. 3 *vīduuå̄ yaēcīṭ guzrā sə̄nghå̄ŋhō*, 'knowing even the laws that are hidden'; 49. 6 *mrūitē yā vō xratōuš xšmākahiiā ā manaŋhā*, 'to speak with the sapient thought that is yours'; 50. 3, quoted in §226; 50. 10 *yā varəšā yācā pairī āiš šiiaoϑnā*, 'what deeds I do and what (I have done) be-fore'; 51. 9 *yą̄m xšnūtə̄m rānōibiiā då̄*, 'the atonement that thou didst establish for the two parties'; 51. 16 *tą̄m … nąsaṭ … yą̄m cistīm ašā maṇtā*, 'he attained that insight which he meditated with right'; 53. 6 *drūjō hacā rāϑəmō yə̄m spa-šuϑā frāidīm*, 'the prosperity that ye see of the man attached to wrong'; YH 38. 1 *yå̄scā tōi gənå̄*, 'and the Dames that are thine'.

235. In three places the h e a d i s r e p e a t e d from the main clause in the relative clause: 32. 12–13 *yāiš grə̄hmā ašāṭ vərətā Karpā xšaϑrəmcā īšanąm drujə̄m, yā xšaϑrā grə̄hmō …*, 'with whom the Karpan chooses gluttony(?) over right, and the dominion of those who desire wrong; by which dominion the glutton(?) …'; 50. 5–6 *hiiaṭ yūšmākāi maϑrānē vaorāzaϑā … yə̄ maϑrā vācə̄m, Mazdā, baraitī*, 'that ye will look gladly upon your prophet … which prophet is bringing forth his voice, Mazdā'; 51. 14 *gauuōi ārōiš ā sə̄ṇdā xᵛāiš šiiaoϑnāišcā sə̄nghāišcā; yə̄ īš sə̄nghō apə̄mə̄m Drūjō də̄mānē ādāṭ*, '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 i n i t i a l p o s i t i o n in the clause. In some instances it is p o s t p o n e d to follow another word or phrase, but it always precedes the verb if there is one: 28. 1 *Vaŋhōuš xratūm Manaŋhō yā xšnəuuīšā gə̄ušcā uruuānə̄m*, 'by which Thou wouldst do justice to Good Thought's purpose and the cow's soul'; 30. 3, quoted in §234; 32. 5 *akā šiiaoϑnə̄m vacaŋhā yā fracinas drəguuaṇtə̄m xšaiiō*, '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 yə̄ṇg daiṇtī*, 'those whom they implicate in them'; 34. 10 *tācā vīspā, Ahurā, ϑβahmī … xšaϑrōi <y>ā vōiiaϑrā*, 'and all

those excellences(?), Lord, that are in thy domain';[83] 34. 13, quoted in §234; 45. 5 *vacō, srūidiiāi hiiat marətaēibiiō vahištəm*, 'the word that is best for mortals to hear'; 46. 10 *aŋhōuš yā tū vōistā vahištā*, 'what thou knowest (to be) the best things in life'.

<div style="text-align:center">The relative pronoun as quasi–article[84]</div>

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 *aiiå mainiuuå vərətā yə̄ drəguuå acištā vərəziiō*, 'of these two Wills the one that is wrongful chooses to do the worst things', where *yə̄ drəguuō* means no more than *drəguuō*; 32. 15 *yā Karpōtåscā Kəuuītåscā*, 'the Karpanhood and the Kavihood'; 33. 1 *miϑahiiā yācā hōi ārəzuuā*, 'his false and straight deeds'; 43. 5 *hiiaṯ då šiiaoϑnā mīždauuạn yācā uxδā*, 'when thou madest actions and speech wageable'; 46. 1 *daxiiōuš yōi sāstārō drəguuaṇtō*, 'the wrongful governors of the regions'; 46. 3 *yōi uxšānō asnạm*, '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 *ϑßā … yə̄m Aṣ̌ā vahištā hazaošəm*, 'thee, the one of one mind with best Right', as in Greek one might say σὲ τὸν Δίκηι ὁμόφρονα; 28. 9 *anāiš vå nōiṯ … Aṣ̌əmcā yānāiš zaranaēmā Manascā hiiaṯ vahištəm*, 'with these prayers may we not anger you and Right and the Best Thought'; 32. 5 *vå … yə̄ng daēuuə̄ng*, 'you the Daevas'; 45. 2 *spaniiå ūitī mrauuaṯ yə̄m angrəm*, 'the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one'; 45. 8 *tə̄m … vī.adarəsəm …, yə̄m Mazdą̇m Ahurəm*, 'him I have discerned, Mazdā the Lord'; 46. 4 *tə̄ng … yə̄ng aṣ̌ahiiā važdrə̄ng*, 'those bringers of right'; 46. 8 *yə̄ vā mōi yå gaēϑå dazdē aēnaŋhē*, 'or he who is subjecting my flock to maltreatment'. In *YH* we find an example with the instrumental: 35. 4 *tāiš šiiaoϑnāiš yāiš vahištāiš*, 'with these actions, the best ones' (ταῖς πράξεσι ταῖς ἀρίσταις).

239. By a further extension the accusative pronoun may govern a defining phrase in a different case: 31. 6 *yə̄ mōi vīduuå vaocaṯ haiϑīm, mąϑrəm yim hauruuatātō*, 'who, knowing it, speaks my truth, the prescript that is of health' (ἐπωιδὴν τὴν ὑγιείας); 49. 8 *Aṣ̌ahiiā då sarəm … yąm vaŋhāu ϑßahmī ā xšaϑrōi*, 'grant union with Right, the one in thy good domain' (ἕνωσιν τὴν ἐν τῆι σῆι ἀρχῆι).

---

83 *xšaϑrōi yā* is my emendation, or rather reinterpretation, of *xšaϑrōiiā*: 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 yō* (not *yim*) *vaŋhə̄uš manaŋhō*, 'the life (that is) of good thought'.

Temporal clauses[85]

240. Temporal clauses are mostly introduced by *hiiaṯ*, 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, *nōiṯ tā īm xšnāuš vaēpiiō Kəuuīnō pərətā̊ zimō … hiiaṯ ahmī urūraost aštō, hiiaṯ hōi ī caratascā aodərəšcā 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 *hiiaṯ* clause is more unequivocally temporal.

hiiaṯ … paouruuīm means 'when first', 'as soon as'; *parā hiiaṯ* means 'before'.

Other conjunctions introducing temporal clauses are *yadā* 'when' (specifically temporal); *yauuaṯ* 'as long as', 'as far as'; *yāṯ* '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 vō, Vaŋʷhīš, Ahurō Mazdā̊ nāmą̄m dadāṯ, vaŋhudā̊ hiiaṯ* (underlined) *vā̊ dadāṯ*, '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 *aṯcā hiiaṯ tā hə̄m mainiiū jasaētə̄m paouruuīm, dazdē gaēmcā ajiiāitīmcā*, 'once those two Wills join battle, one adopts life or non-life'; 30. 8, 11; 31. 4; 43. 12 *hiiaṯcā mōi mraoš 'Ašə̄m jasō' frāxšnānē, aṯ tū mōi nōiṯ asruštā pairī.aoγžā*, '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: *barəzištə̄m barəzimaną̄m (ā.uuaēdaiiamahī) auuaṯ yāṯ huuarə auuācī*, 'highest of the high we proclaim that sun since it was named'.

In 31. 11 three successive *hiiaṯ* clauses in asyndeton precede the main clause: *hiiaṯ nō, Mazdā, paouruuīm gaēϑā̊scā tašō daēnā̊scā …, hiiaṯ astuuaṇtə̄m dadā̊ uštanə̄m, hiiaṯ šiiaoϑnācā sə̄nghą̄scā 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 t h e   p a s t , the verb is in a past tense of the indicative or injunctive: 29. 2 *kaϑā tōi gauuōi ratuš, hiiaṯ hīm dātā xšaiiaṇtō*, 'how (was) thy ruling for the cow, when ye powers made her?'; 31. 9 *hiiaṯ ax́iiāi dadå paϑąm*, 'when thou didst offer her a path'; 43. 5 *aŋhōuš ząϑōi …, hiiaṯ då šiiaoϑnā mīždauuaṇ*, 'at the genesis of the world, when thou madest actions wageable'; 46. 12 *hiiaṯ us ašā naptiiaēšū nafšucā Tūrahiiā jə̄n 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   u n s p e c i f i c   t i m e , the verb is in the °present or ⁺aorist injunctive: 29. 5 *aṯ vā ustānāiš ā huuā zastāiš frīnəmnā Ahurāiiā … hiiaṯ Mazdąm ⁺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 *aṯ ϑβā mə̄ṇ́hī … yazūm stōi manaŋhā … hiiaṯ ϑβā hō̄m 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 grə̄hmō ā.hōiϑōi nī Kāuuaiiascīṯ xratūš dadaṯ … hiiaṯ °vīsə̄ntā drəguuaṇtəm auuō, hiiaṯcā gāuš jaidiiāi °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 *spəṇtəm aṯ ϑβā … mə̄ṇ́hī … hiiaṯ mā vohū °pairī.jasaṯ manaŋhā °pərəsaṯcā mā*, 'bounteous I think thee, when one approaches me with good thought and asks me'; 45. 10 *hiiaṯ hōi ašā vohūcā ⁺cōišt manaŋhā, xšaϑrōi hōi hauruuātā amərətātā ahmāi stōi dąn*, '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 *kə̄m.nā … mauuaitē pāiiūm dadå, hiiaṯ mā drəguuå °dīdarəšatā aēnaŋhē*, '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   t h e   p r e s e n t   t i m e , we find the present indicative, even if the main clause refers to the past or future: 32. 3–4 *šiiaomąm … yāiš asrūdūm būmiiå haptaiϑē, yaṯ yūš tā fra.mīmaϑā, 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 *hiiaṯ ā būštīš vasas.xšaϑrahiiā diiā, yauuaṯ ā ϑβā, Mazdā, staomī ufiiācā*, '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 t h e   f u t u r e , the subjunctive is used: 28. 4 *yauuaṯ °isāi °tauuācā, auuaṯ xšāi aešē Ašahiiā*, '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 aēnaŋhąm*, 'when the requital comes for their misdeeds', cf. 31. 4; 30. 9 *aṯcā tōi vaēm x́iiāmā yōi īm frašə̄m kərənāun ahūm, … hiiaṯ haϑrā manå ⁺buuaṯ yaϑrā cistiš aŋhaṯ maēϑā*, 'may we be the ones who will make this world splendid, as our minds come together where insight is intermittent'; 43. 4 *aṯ ϑβā*

mə̄ṇghāi taxməmcā spəṇtəm … *hiiaṯ mōi vaṇhə̄uš hazə̄* ⁺*jimaṯ manaṇhō*, 'I will think thee bold and bounteous when the force of good thought comes to me'; 43. 12 *uz.irəidiiāi, parā hiiaṯ mōi ā* ⁺*jimaṯ Sraošō*, 'to start out before Compliance comes to me', cf. 48. 2; 44. 15 *yezī ahiiā Aṣ̌ā, pōi maṯ, xšaiiehī, hiiaṯ hə̄m spādā anaocaṇhā jamaēṯē*, 'if thou hast this power with Right to protect me when the hostile armies meet'; 46. 15 *hiiaṯ dāϑə̄ṇg vī* ⁺*caiiaϑā adāϑąscā, tāiš yūš šiiaoϑnāiš aṣ̌əm xšmaibiiā daduiiē*, 'when ye distinguish between the just and the unjust, by those actions ye shall win yourselves Right'; 50. 9 *yadā aṣ̌ōiš maxiiå vasō °xšaiiā, aṯ hudānaoš išaiiąs gərəzdā xiiə̄m*, 'when I have my reward at my disposal, then may I be enabled in my benefactor's favour'.—In 30. 11 *hiiaṯ tā uruuātā saśaϑā* … *aṯ aipī tāiš aṇhaitī uštā*, 'when ye grasp those rules, then thereafter it will be as we desire', it seems necessary to emend the present indicative *saśaϑā* to the subjunctive *saśāϑā*.

One passage is anomalous: 46. 11 *yə̄ṇg xᵛā uruuā xᵛaēcā* ⁺*xraodaṯ daēnā, hiiaṯ* ⁺*aibī.gəmən, yaϑrā Cinuuatō pərətuš*, '(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 *xraodaṯ* 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[86]

247. The following clauses introduced by *hiiaṯ* may be classed as causal: 30. 6 *aiiå nōiṯ, ərəš vi.śiiātā daēuuācinā, hiiaṯ īš ā dəbaomā pərəsəmnə̄ṇg upā.jasaṯ* (pres. inj.)*, hiiaṯ vərənātā* (pres. inj.) *acištəm manō*, 'between those two not even the Daevas discriminate rightly, because delusion comes over them as they deliberate, *hiiaṯ* (because? so that? when?) they choose the worst thought'; 43. 11 *hiiaṯ xšmā uxδāiš dīdaiṇhē paouruuīm*, 'because I am learning by your utterances first of all'; 44. 18 *hiiaṯ mōi mazdā api.uuaitī*, 'seeing that (or now that) mindfulness has been instilled in me';[87] 46. 2 *vaēdā taṯ, yā ahmī* … *anaēšō: mā kamnafšuuā, hiiaṯcā kamnānā ahmī*, 'I know why I am ineffectual: through my poverty in cattle and because I am poor in men'; 47. 3 *yō ahmāi gąm* … *hə̄m.tašaṯ* … *hiiaṯ hə̄m Vohū* … *fraštā Manaṇhā*, 'which fashioned the cow for him, because he took counsel with Good Thought'; 49. 9 *sraotū sāsnā fšə̄ṇhiiō* … *hiiaṯ daēnå vahištē yūjə̄n* (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[88]

248. Comparisons are most clearly expressed with *yaϑā* 'as, just as', with or without correlative *aϑā* or *iϑā*: 27. 13, 29. 4, 33. 1, all quoted in §133; 44. 18 *kaϑā ašā tat̰ mīždəm hanānī … hauruuātā aməratātā, yaϑā hī taibiiō då̄ŋhā?* 'how am I rightfully to earn that reward … with health and continuing life, even as thou hast taken these for thyself?'

For 34. 5 *yaϑā vā hahmī* and for *yaϑənā* see §135.

249. Certain clauses introduced by *hiiat̰* seem to be comparative in nature: 32. 5 *tā dəbənaotā mašīm hujiiātōiš … hiiat̰ vå akā manaŋhā yə̄ŋ daēuuōŋg 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 nå šiiaoϑnāiš biiaṇtī, yaēšū as pairī pourubiiō iϑiiejō, hiiat̰ aš.aojå̄ nāidiiåŋhəm*, 'for they intimidate us by those actions in which there was danger to many, as a strong man does a weaker one'; 43. 8 *haiϑiiō duuaēšå, hiiat̰ isōiiā, drəguuaitē … x̌iiə̄m*, 'may I be in reality, as (or what) I would wish, the bane of the wrongful one'; 46. 2 *rafəδrə̄m caguuå hiiat̰ friiō friiāi daidīt̰*, 'affording support as (or which) a friend would offer to a friend'; 46. 6 *huuō ašauuā, yahmāi ašauuō friiō, hiiat̰ daēnå paouruiiå då, Ahurā*, 'he is righteous who has a righteous one as his friend, as thou didst establish the original moralities, Lord'.

Final and consecutive clauses[89]

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 *hiiat̰* or *yaϑā*. 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 *då … Zaraϑuštrāi aojō̄nghuuat̰ rafənō …*, *yā daibišuuatō duuaešå tauruuaiiāmā*, 'give Zarathushtra strong support, by which we may overcome the foe's hostilities'; 28. 11 *frō mā sīšā … vaocaŋhē …*, *yāiš ā aŋhuš paouruiiō bauuat̰*, 'teach me to voice (those words) through which the pristine existence may come about'; 29. 10 *aogō dātā ašā xšaϑrəmcā auuat̰ …*, *yā hušə̄itīš rāmąmcā dāt̰*, 'give strength with right and that dominion, by which one may establish fair dwelling and peace'; 30. 1 *at̰ tā vaxsiiā … yā mazdāϑā hiiat̰cīt̰ 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 *yaϑā ratūm Ahurō vaēdā Mazdå aiiå ąsaiiå, yā aṣ̌āṯ hacā juuāmahī*, 'how Lord Mazdā has made the judgment concerning those two portions, (the judgment) by which we may live in accord with Right'; 50. 4 *xšaϑrācā, yā īšō ståŋhat ā paiϑī*, 'and with that dominion by which one may stand on the path of enablement'; 53. 4.

Relative pronoun + optative: 28. 1 *ahiiā yāsā … rafǝδrahiiā … š́iiaoϑnā, Vaŋhōuš xratūm Manaŋhō yā xšnǝuuīš̌ā*, 'I pray for his help by means of an action through which thou couldst satisfy Good Thought's purpose'; 29. 2 *kǝ̄m hōi uštā ahurąm, yǝ̄ drǝguuōdǝbīš̌ aēš̌ǝmǝm vādaiiōiṯ?* 'whom did ye want as her lord, that might repulse fury by the wrongful?'; 31. 3 *taṯ nō … vaocā …, yā juuaṇtō vīspǝ̄ŋg vāuraiiā*, 'tell us that, whereby I might persuade everyone alive'; 31. 4 *iš̌asā … xšaϑrǝm aojōŋhuuaṯ, yehiiā vǝrǝdā vanaēmā Drujǝm*, 'I shall seek a strong authority, by whose increase we might vanquish Wrong'; 46. 8 *paitiiaogǝṯ tā ahmāi jasōiṯ duuaēš̌aŋhā tanuuǝ̄m ā, yā īm hujiiātōiš̌ 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 aš̌āunē rafnō x́iiǝm aojōŋhuuaṯ, hiiaṯ ā būš̌tīš̌ vasas.xšaϑrahiiā 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 *pǝrǝsācā nå, yā tōi ǝ̄hmā parštā … hiiaṯ ϑβā xšaiiąs aēš̌ǝm diiāṯ ǝ̄mauuaṇtǝm*, 'and ask us what thou hast to ask of us, so that one might, having control, make thee potent (and) strong'.

253. *yaϑā* + subjunctive: 34. 6 *yezī aϑā stā haiϑīm, … aṯ taṯ mōi daxštǝm dātā …, yaϑā vå yazǝmnascā uruuāidiiå stauuas aiienī paitī*, '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 nō Aš̌ā friiā dazdiiāi hākurǝnā, yaϑā nō ā Vohū jimat Manaŋhā*, 'we have friendly relations to maintain with Right, so that it will come to us with Good Thought'; 46. 16–17 *aϑrā tū arǝdrāiš̌ idī … yaϑrā Aš̌ā hacaitē Ārmaitiš̌ …, yaϑā vō afš̌mānī sǝ̄nghānī*, 'go with the zealous to where Piety is together with Right, so that I may proclaim verses for you'.

Conditional clauses[90]

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.[91]

With indicative: 34. 6 *yezī aϑā stā haiϑīm*, 'if ye are truly thus'; 44. 15 *yezī ahiiā aš̌ā pōi maṯ xšaiiehī*, 'if thou hast this power with Right to protect me';

---

90 Reichelt §§785; Skjærvø 164–6.

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

48. 9 *kaṯ ā vaēdā, yezī cahiiā x̌šaiiaϑā … 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 aṯ āiš Aṣ̌ā Drujəm və̄nghaitī, … aṯ tōi sauuāiš vahməm vaxšaṯ, Ahurā,* 'now if thereby Right will vanquish Wrong, then one will increase thy praise together with thy strength, Lord'; 53. 1 *vahištā īštiš srāuuī Zaraϑuštrahē …, yezī hōi dāṯ āiiaptā … Mazdå yauuōi vīspāiiā,* '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.[92] In two passages it is signalled by a peculiar use of t h e p a r t i c l e *-c ā*, attached to the initial word of the first sentence:[93] 30. 7 *ahmāicā xšaϑrā jasaṯ* (pres. inj.) *manaŋ-hā vohū aṣ̌ācā, aṯ kəhrpə̄m utaiiūitiš dadāṯ* (pres. inj.)*, ārmaitiš ąnmā,* '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) *ax̌iiācā x^vaētuš yāsaṯ* (pres. inj.)*, ahiiā vərəzə̄nəm maṯ airiiamnā, ahiiā daēuuā mahmī manōi, Ahurahiiā uruuāzəmā Mazdå: 'ϑβōi dūtåŋhō åŋhāmā, tə̄ṇg daraiiō yōi vå daibišəṇtī': aēibiiō Mazdå Ahurō … paitī.mraoṯ* (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.) *magə̄m tə̄m, aṯ vå 'vaiiōi' aŋhaitī apə̄məm vacō,* '(if you will abandon this ceremony, then "Woe!" will be your last word'.

Object clauses[94]

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 *hiiaṯ* '(the fact) that': 44. 17 *kaϑā zarəm carānī hacā xšmaṯ, āskəitīm xšmākąm, hiiaṯcā mōi x̌iiāṯ 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 … hiiaṯ yūšmākāī mąϑrānē vaorāzaϑā,* '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^we* 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 v e r b o f s p e a k i n g, 51. 8 *aṯ zī tōi vax-šiiā … hiiaṯ akōi ā drəguuaitē, uštā yə̄ Ašə̄m dadrē, … yąm xšnūtəm rānōibiiā då*, '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'; w i t h c o r r e l a t i v e demonstrative, *YH* 35. 3 *taṯ aṯ varəmaidī … hiiaṯ ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā varəzimācā, yā …*, 'we have chosen this, that we might think and speak and do those things that …'.

<h2 style="text-align:center">Indirect statements and questions[95]</h2>

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 *vairiiå stōiš, yā ṯβahmī xšaθrōi vācī*, 'a desirable possession that is said to be in thy realm'.

258. I n d i r e c t q u e s t i o n s are introduced by pronouns or conjunctions from the relative *ya*- stem, not the interrogative *ka*-. Thus to the direct question in 44. 19 *taṯ ṯβā pərəsā …: yas.taṯ …, kā tə̄m ahiiā maēniš ąsaṯ?* 'I ask this: he who …, what punishment for that will catch him?', there corresponds the indirect one in 31. 15 *pərəsā auuaṯ, yā maēniš, yə̄ …*, '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 paitī, vaēdā*, 'I know in whose worship is my best (interest)'; with *yā* or *yaθā* 'how', 34. 12 *srūidiiāi, Mazdā, frāuuaocā, yā vī.dāiiāṯ ašīš rāšnąm*, 'proclaim for our hearing, Mazdā, how one might distribute the rewards of (thy) rulings'; 44. 1 *taṯ ṯβā pərəsā … nəmaŋhō ā, yaθā nəmō xšmāuuatō*, 'I ask this out of reverence, how is the (proper) reverence of your kind'; 46. 9 *yə̄ mā arədrō cōiṯaṯ paouruiiō, yaθā ṯβā zəuuištīm uz.ə̄mōhī*, 'the zealous one who will be first to recognize how I found(?) thee out as the promptest'; 48. 9 *vīdiiāṯ saošiiąs, yaθā hōi ašiš aŋhaṯ*, 'may the Promoter know how his reward is to be'; 51. 5 *vīspā tā pərəsā, yaθā ašāṯ hacā gąm vīdaṯ vāstriiō*, 'all this I ask: how the herdsman gets a cow in accord with Right'.—In 31. 16 an indirect question beginning with *yaθā* is modified into one with two different forms: *pərəsā auuaṯ, yaθā huuō yə̄ hudānuš… yadā huuō aŋhaṯ yā.šiiaoθnascā*, '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[96]

260. The p r e s e n t   i n d i c a t i v e 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 *yə̄m ā vasəmī īšā.xšaϑrīm*, 'whom I wish enabled with authority'; 31. 14 *tā ϑßā pərəsā, Ahurā, yā zī ā aēitī jə̄ŋghaticā*, 'I ask thee, Lord, about the things that are approaching and will come'; 31. 15 *yə̄ drəguuāitē xšaϑrəm hunāitī … yə̄ nōiṯ jiiōtūm hanarə vīnastī vāstriiehiiā aēnaŋhō*, 'who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one … who does not find a livelihood without wronging the herdsman'; 32. 1 *tə̄ŋg … yōi və̄ daibišəntī*, 'those who hate you'; 32. 3 *yascā vå maš yazaitē*, 'and the grandee who worships you'; 32. 6 *aēnå … yāiš srāuuahiietī*, 'the offences by which he seeks renown'; 33. 7, 9; 43. 14; 44. 11, 12, 13; 46. 8.

General/permanent truths: 28. 11 *yə̄ āiš Ašəm ni.påŋhē*, 'thou who through them guardest Right'; 29. 3 *yā šauuaitē ādrə̄ŋg ərəšuuåŋhō*, 'he by whom the upright promote the weak'; 30. 5 *mainiiuš spə̄ništō, yə̄ xraoždištə̄ŋg asə̄nō vastē*, 'the Bounteous Will, who clothes himself in the hardest stones'; 31. 11 *yaϑrā varənə̄ŋg vaså dāiietē*, 'where the free agent makes his choices'; 33. 5 *paϑō, yaēšū Mazdå Ahurō šaēitī*, 'the paths on which Lord Mazdā dwells', cf. 43. 3; 43. 6 *Vohū Manaŋhā, yehiiā šiiaoϑnāiš gaēϑå ašā frādəntē*, '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 a o r i s t i n d i c a t i v e (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 ůßarōž-dūm? kə̄ mā tašat?* 'for whom did ye shape me? Who made me?'; 29. 2 *kə̄m hōi uštā ahurəm?*, 'whom did ye want as her lord?'; 31. 5, 7, 10, 11, etc. Likewise in temporal clauses (§243).

264. For the i m p e r f e c t i n d i c a t i v e [97] see §177.

For the p e r f e c t i n d i c a t i v e see §§154–6, 164, 180.

265. I n j u n c t i v e f o r m s 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[98]

266. The subjunctive is essentially the prospective mood, expressing what is *envisaged* as opposed to being known or perceived. In m a i n c l a u s e s 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 r e l a t i v e c l a u s e s the subjunctive is used when the reference is to an open class (§226); in f i n a l c l a u s e s, 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[99]

268. The optative is the mood for voicing contingent possibilities, dependent on something else that is itself uncertain. In m a i n c l a u s e s it is used for diffident propositions or questions (§185), for wishes or prayers (§§186–8), and for prescriptions about behaviour (§189).

---

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

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

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

In restrictive r e l a t i v e   c l a u s e s it is used for the specification of a hypo-
thetical contingency (§226); in f i n a l   c l a u s e s, to express a desired end that
may become achievable if a certain wish is granted (§§250–2). Examples in
o b j e c t   c l a u s e s 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[100]

270. Zarathushtra sometimes attributes utterances to others. As they are con-
ceived 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 *gə̄uš uruuā gərəždā: 'kahmāi mā ϑßarōž-
dūm?'* 'the cow's soul complains, "For whom did ye shape me?"'; 29. 2 *adā
tašā gə̄uš pərəsat Ašəm: 'kaϑā 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 *yaiiā̊ spaniiā̊ ūitī mrauuat yə̄m aŋrəm: 'nōiṭ nā
manā̊ …'* , '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:
aᶜiiācā xᵛaētuš yāsat … Ahurahiiā uruuāzəmā Mazdā̊: 'ϑßōi dūtå̄ŋhō å̄ŋhāmā',
'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 an-
swer, with no explicit marking of the change of speaker: 29. 7–8 *kas.tē vohū
manaŋhā yə̄ ī dāiiāṭ ə̄ə̄āuuā marətaēibiiō?*—*'aēm mōi idā vistō, yə̄ nə̄ aēuuō sāsnå̄
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 …', Zarathush-
tra says *yā frauuaxšiiā yezī tā aϑā haiϑiiā, 'Ašəm šiiaoϑnāiš dəbązaitī Ārmaitiš',* …
kaēibiiō … gąm 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 intro-
duced with a noun that indicates its status: 29. 5 *hiiaṭ Mazdąm duuaidī frasābiiō:*

'*nōiṯ ərəžəjiiōi frajiiāitiš?*' 'as we subject Mazdā to our questions: "Is there no prospect for the righteous-living one?"'; 47. 2 *ahiiā mainiiə̄uš spə̄ništahiiā vahištəm … vərəziiaṯ* <u>*ōiiā cistī*</u>, '*huuō ptā Ašahiiā Mazdå*', '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 *tą̄m Kauuā Vištāšpō … nąsaṯ … yą̄m* <u>*cistīm*</u> *Ašā maṇtā,* '*spəṇtō Mazdå Ahurō*', *aϑā nō sazdiiāi 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 *aϑā* 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 vaŋhə̄uš manaŋhō šiiaoϑnā vaocaṯ* '*gərəbą̄m*' *huxratuš*, '(of) this Good Thought's deeds the wise man says "let them be seized hold of"'; 53. 7 *aṯ və̄* '*vaiiōi*' *aŋhaṯ apə̄məm 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 <u>*auuaētās*</u> *vacō*, 'Woeness by way of speech; 53. 6 <u>*vaiiū.bərədbiiō*</u>, 'for the Woe-criers'; 32. 12 *yōi gə̄uš mōrəṇdən* <u>*uruuāxš.uxtī*</u> *jiiōtūm*, 'who pervert the cow's life with the "Move!"-shout'.

Particles[101]

275. Particles may be divided into three categories: s e n t e n c e particles, that is, those that serve to introduce a sentence, to lend it a particular tone, or to connect it with the preceding one; r e l a t i o n a l particles, those that define the relationship between parallel words or phrases within the sentence; and f o c u s i n g 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 *aṯ* (§277). The differences may be due to the difference between verse and prose, or to idiomatic differences between Zarathushtra'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, cīṯ, 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 *aṱ* and in *YH* mostly as *āṱ* or *āaṱ*.[102] 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 *aṱ āiš* (§278). In 34. 15 *Mazdā, aṱ 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 *aṱ* 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 uruuaϑō mazōi magāi? kō vā fra.srūidiiāi vaštī?—aṱ 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 *aṱ* 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 drəguuatąm, aṱ ašāune 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 *aṱ* often marks the beginning of the main clause in what might be called an 'apodotic' function:[103] 30. 8 *aṱcā yadā aēšąm kaēnā jamaitī aēnaŋhąm, aṱ, Mazdā, taibiiō xšaϑrəm … vōiuuīdāitē*, 'and when the requital comes for their misdeeds, (then) for thee, Mazdā, will be found dominion'; 31. 2 *yezī āiš nōiṱ uruuānē aduuā aibī.dərəštā vaχiiå, aṱ vå vīspōŋ ā aiiōi*, 'if through these (words) the better way (is) not in plain view to the soul, (then) I appeal to you all'; 33. 3 *yə ašāune vahištō … vīdąs vā ϑβaxšaŋhā gauuōi, aṱ huuō Ašahiiā aŋhaṱ … 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 *hiiaṱcā mōi mraoš 'Ašəm jasō' frāxšnənē, aṱ tū mōi nōiṱ asruštā pairi.aoγžā*, '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 *aṱ* and *ā(a)ṱ* 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 *aṯ* with other particles (*aṯcā*, *aṯcīṯ*, *aṯ vā*, *aṯ zī*, etc.) see below, §§281–3, 294, 297.

278. In three places *aṯ* 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 Aṣ̌ā Drujəm vəṇghaitī*, 'if [   ] Right will vanquish Wrong'; *YH* 35. 4 *gauuōi adāiš tāiš šiiaoϑnāiš yāiš vahištāiš fraēšiiāmahī rāmācā vāstrəmcā dazdiiāi*, '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 *aṯ āiš*, 'thereby, hereby'.[104]

In *YH* 35. 6 *yaϑā āṯ utā nā vā nāirī vā vaēdā haiϑīm, aϑā haṯ vohū taṯ ə̄ə̄ādū vərəziiōtūcā īṯ 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 *taṯ* is eliminated and the strange *ə̄ə̄ādū* explained by Narten's resegmentation as *taṯə̄ āṯ ū*, where *taṯə̄* = Vedic *tátas* 'then, thereupon' and *ū* is the common Vedic particle *u*, not otherwise apparent in the Avesta.[105]

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 *aṯ tā mainiiū, … manahicā vacahicā šiiaoϑanōi hī, vahiiō akəmcā; åscā hudåŋhō ərəš vī.šiiātā*, '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 *sāxᵛə̄nī vaziiamnābiiō kainibiiō mraomī xšmaibiiācā, vadəmnā: mə̄ṇcā 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 *yə̄ vā xšaiiąs ā dąm drītā aiiaṇtəm*, '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 *kaṯ tōi rāzarə̄, kaṯ vašī, kaṯ vā stūtō, kaṯ vā yasnahiiā?* '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 *aṯ*, the commonest sentence particle is *zī* (enclitic; = Vedic *hí*). It generally has an explanatory force, 'for': 31. 18 *mā.ciš aṯ və̄ drəguuatō*

---

104 Narten (1986), 104.
105 Narten (1986), 111–14.

mąθrąscā gūštā sāsnåscā, ā zī dəmānəm vīsəm vā … dušitācā marəkaēcā, '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: *aṱ zī tōi vaxšiiā, Mazdā (vīdušē zī nā mruiiāṱ) hiiaṱ akōi ā drəguuaitē, uštā yō Ašəm dadrē (huuō zī mąθrā šiiātō, yō vīdušē mrauuaitī) yąm 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 *aṱcā*.[106] 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.

aṱcā also occurs as a relational particle (§293).

282. In two places we find the combination *aṱ zī*. In the first it is plausible to find something of both the adversative tenor of *aṱ* and the explanatory force of *zī*: 29. 6 *nōiṱ aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš …, aṱ zī θβā fšuiiaṇtaēcā vāstriiāicā θβōrəštā 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) *aṱ 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 aṱ*. The *aṱ* 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: *Ahurahiiā zī aṱ vō Mazdå yasnəmcā vahməmcā vahištəm aməhmaidī gōušcā vāstrəm: taṱ aṱ vō vərəziiāmahī fracā vātōiiāmahī*, '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 *aṱ* is *aṱcīṱ*. (For *cīṱ* see §305.) In 31. 1 it is used like simple *aṱ* as the adversative in an antithesis within the sentence: *aguštā vacå sə̄ŋghāmahī aēibiiō yōi uruuātāiš drūjō ašahiiā gaēθå vīmərəṇcaite, aṱcīṱ aēibiiō vahištā yōi zrazdå aŋhən 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 *tú*.[107] 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 *tuuām* '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 nə̄ nā vā nāirī vā xšaētā ubōiiō aŋhuuō*, '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 Mazdå Ahurahiiā ahī; mainiiuš vōi ahiiā spə̄ništō ahī*, 'truly, the fire of Mazdā the Lord art thou; truly, his most bounteous will art thou'.

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

For sentence-initial *atə̄* 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 *Vaŋhə̄uš xratūm Manaŋhō … gə̄ušcā uruuānəm*, 'Good Thought's purpose and the cow's soul'. (Contrast *YH* 39. 1 *yazamaidē gə̄uš uruuānəmcā tašānəmcā*, 'we worship both the soul and the maker of the cow', where the two accusatives are both qualified by *gə̄uš*.)

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 *gaēmcā ajiiāitīmcā*, 'both life and non-life'; 28. 2, 5, 10, etc.; *YH* 35. 2 *iiadacā aniiadacā*, 'both here and elsewhere'; ibid., *vərəziiamnanąmcā vāuuərəzananąmcā*, '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 *Mazdåscā Ahuråŋhō*, 'Mazdā and Lords', cf. 31. 4; 30. 11 *xᵛīticā ə̄naitī*, 'through success and failure'; 33. 8 *amərətåscā utaiiūitī 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 ašəm vohucā manō xšaϑrəmcā?* '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 *dāϑə̄ṇg … ərəϑβə̄ṇg*, 'upright and worthy'; 31. 20 *darəgəm āiiū təmaŋhō, duš-xʷarəϑə̄m, 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 vīrə̄ṇg ahmākə̄ṇg*, 'our herds and men'; 47. 3; 48. 4; in *YH* mostly with three terms (or more), 35. 2 *humatanąm hūxtanąm huuarštanąm*, 'of good thought, good words, good deeds'; 36. 4–5 *pairi.jasāmaidē nəmax́iiāmahī 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 xšaϑrəmcā aɣžaonuuamnəm varəxdaitī ārmaitiš*, 'you for whom piety increases your unimpaired dominion also(?)'; 32. 5 *tā dəbənaotā mašīm hujiiātōiš … hiiaṯ vå akā manaŋhā yə̄ṇg daēuuə̄ṇg 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 srauuå mōrəṇdaṯ, yə̄ acištəm vaēnaŋhē aogədā gąm ašibiiā huuarəcā, yascā dāϑə̄ṇg drəguuatō dadāṯ, yascā vāstrā vīuuāpaṯ, yascā vadarō vōiždaṯ 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 *hiiaṯ vīsə̄ṇtā drəguuaṇtəm auuō, hiiatcā gə̄uš jaidiiāi mraoī*, '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 … Zaraϑuštrāi aojōṇghuuaṯ 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. *aṯcā*, normally a sentence particle (§281), appears at 53. 4 as a strengthened form of *–cā* in a series of nouns: *yā fəðrōi vīdāṯ paiϑiiaēcā vāstriiaēibiiō*

atcā *x*ᵛ*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 *nōiṯ … 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 *aṯ vā* is equivalent to simple *vā*, but it precedes the host word: 33. 2 *vacaŋhā vā, aṯ vā manaŋhā, zastōibiiā vā*, 'whether by word or by thought or by hands'; 33. 3 *x*ᵛ*aētū vā, aṯ vā vərəzōniiō, airiiamnā vā*, 'whether with clan or with village or with tribe'; 33. 8.

298. The enclitic *ϑβaṯ* (in *YH* *ϑβāṯ*) 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 *kə̄ yā mā̊ uxšiietī nərəfsaitī ϑβaṯ?* 'who is it through whom the moon now waxes, now wanes?'; *YH* 35. 10 *staotāiš ϑβāṯ … staotōibiiō aibī, uxδā ϑβāṯ uxδōibiiō, yasnā ϑβāṯ yasnōibiiō*, '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 *nōiṯ 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 preverbial usages, *ā* appears as an enclitic strengthening particle attached to relative, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns. The particle is probably a different word from the preverb/preposition.[108]

Relative: 29. 9 *yə̄m ā vasəmī īšā.xšaϑrīm*, 'whom I wish enabled with authority'; 31. 7 *tā … mainiiū uxšiiō, yə̄ ā nūrə̄mcīṯ … hamō*, 'through that will thou dost increase, which even now is the same'; 43. 8 *yauuat ā ϑβā … staomī ufiiācā*, 'just as long as I am praising and hymning thee'; 50. 7 *yāiš ā zāϑā*, 'with which ye will win'; *YH* 36. 1 *ahiiā … āϑrō …, yə̄ ā axtiš ahmāi, yə̄m axtōiiōi*

---

108 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 *ā́* too serves as an intensifying particle, though its usage does not particularly resemble that of Avestan *ā*.

då\u014bhē, 'of this fire, which is torment for him whom thou puttest to torment'.[109]

Demonstrative (referring back): 32. 15 *anāiš ā̲ vī.nōnāsā yā Karpōtåscā Kəuuītåscā*, 'with these (activities) the Karpanhood and Kavihood have lost their way'; 34. 11 *tāiš ā̲, Mazdā, †vīduuaēšąm ϑβōi ahī†*, 'with these, Mazdā, thou …';[110] 53. 6bis *anāiš ā̲ manahīm ahūm mərə\u014bgəduiiē*, 'with them ye ruin spiritual life'; 53. 8 *anāiš ā̲ dužuuaršnaŋhō dafšniiā hōṇtū*, 'hereby let the evildoers be thwarted'.

Interrogative (following another question): 44. 12 *katārə̄m ā̲, aiiə̄m*[111] *vā huuō vā aŋgrō?* 'which is it, this one or that one who is the enemy?'; 48. 9 *kat ā̲* [var. *kadā, kaϑā*] *vaēdā, yezī cahiiā xšaiiaϑā?* 'shall I (var. when/how shall I) know it, if ye have control over anything?'

301. The neuter pronoun *īṭ* 'it', like Vedic *íd*, can serve as an enclitic particle. Where *īṭ* occurs in the *Gāthās* it always has pronominal function except in the compounds *ciϑīṭ* (§306) and *zīṭ* (§311). In *YH* it is the pronoun in 35. 6 (four times), but in 39. 3 we have it (as with *ciϑīṭ*) reinforcing another particle: *aṭ iϑā yazamaidē vaŋhūšcā īṭ vaŋᵛhīšcā īṭ*, 'in this fashion we worship both the Good Ones (male) and the Good Ones (female)'.

302. *utā* 'also' (= Vedic *utá*) appears only in *YH*: 35. 6 *yaϑā āṭ utā nā vā nāirī vā vaēdā haiϑīm*, 'as also either a man or a woman knows a truth'; 40. 4 *aϑā xᵛaētuš, aϑā vərəzōnā, aϑā haxə̄mąm x̌iiāṭ, yāiš hišcamaidē; aϑā vō utā x̌iiāmā*, '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 *kąm* that appears reinforcing a dative pronoun at verse-end in 44. 20 *yōi pišiieiṇtī aēibiiō kąm, yāiš …*, 'they that blaspheme(?) for the sake of those with whom …', corresponds to Vedic *kám* '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 *cīṭ* (= Vedic *cid*). It emphasizes the word to which it is attached, usually a noun or pronoun, giving

---

109 In 28. 11 *yāiš ā aŋhuš paouruiiō 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 *ϑβōiiahī* 'thou frightenest' looks plausible, but *vī.duuaēša-* should mean 'countering the enemy', 'opposing hatred', and so be a predicate of Mazdā himself or his supporters; in any case the *-ąm* ending is wrong, and the half-line has too many syllables.

111 *aiiə̄m* is my emendation for *aŋgrō*, 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 *nōiṯ aēuuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš* <u>*aṣāt-*</u><u>*cīṯ hacā*</u>, 'indeed no patron has been found, nor a ruling, at any rate in line with Right'; 29. 10 *azə̄mcīṯ*, 'I at any rate', 'I for one', cf. 46. 18; 30. 1 *yā maz-dā̊ϑā* <u>*hiiat.cīt vīdušē*</u>, 'things that you are to bring to attention even in the case of one who knows' (cf. §312); 31. 5 <u>*tācīt*</u> … *yā nōiṯ vā aŋhaṯ aŋhaitī vā*, 'just those things that will not be or will be', cf. 32. 11; 44. 3; 46. 19; 31. 7 *nūrə̄mcīṯ*, 'even now', cf. 51. 1 *nūcīṯ* 'right now'; 32. 8 *Vīuuaŋhušō* … <u>*Yimas-cīt*</u>, 'the son of Vivahvant, Yima himself', cf. 14; ibid., *aēšą̄mcīṯ*, 'regarding those very things'; 32. 16 *hamə̄m taṯ* <u>*vahištācīt*</u>, 'that is equal to the very best'; ibid., *yehiiā mā* <u>*aiϑīšcīt*</u> *duuaēϑā*, 'of that whose very danger is a threat'; 33. 14 *Zaraϑuštrō* <u>*tanuuascīt*</u> *xᵛax́iiā uštanəm dadāitī*, 'Zarathushtra dedicates the energy of his own very body'; 34. 7 *yōi* … <u>*aspə̄ncīt*</u> <u>*sādrācīt*</u> *caxraiiō ušəurū*, 'who can make even misfortunes, even sorrows innocuous'; 34. 13 *daēnå saošiiaṇtąm yā hūkərətā* <u>*Aṣāṯcīt*</u> *uruuāxšaṯ*, '(the road) on which the Promoters' moral selves advance from Right itself'; 47. 4 <u>*kasə̄ušcīt*</u> *nā aṣāunē kāϑə̄ aŋhaṯ; isuuācīt hąs paraoš akō drəguuāitē*, '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 *cīṯ* with the interrogative stem *ka-* to make an indefinite pronoun see §142. This is the only use of *cīṯ* 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 *ciϑīṯ*, a combination of *cīṯ* and *īṯ* (§300): *saxᵛārō …, yā zī vāuuərəzōi pairī ciϑīt* … *yācā varəšaitē aipī ciϑīt*, 'initiatives, both those that have been enacted before and those that will be hereafter'.

307. In negative sentences *cinā* is used instead of *cīṯ*: 30. 6 *aiiå nōiṯ ərəš vi.ś́iiātā daēuuā.cinā*, 'between those two not even the Daevas discriminate rightly'; 31. 10 *nōiṯ, Mazdā, auuāstriiō dauuąscinā 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 *cīṯ*, 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, *huxšaϑrōtəmāi bā aṯ xšaϑrəm* … *dadəmahicā cīšmahicā huuąnmahicā*, '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 *aṯ* implies its close connection with the word *huxšaϑrōtəmāi*.

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

310. Enclitic *mā* (= Vedic *sma*) has to be distinguished from three homo-phones: 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 Manaŋhā … yehiiā mā ərəšiš*, 'with Good Thought, the one whose prophet (I am)'; 32. 16 *xšaiiąs … yehiiā mā aiϑīščīṯ duuaēϑā*, 'in control of just that whose very danger is a threat', cf. 48. 9; 43. 10 *aṯ tū mōi dāiš Ašəm, hiiaṯ mā zaozaomī*, 'show me Right, the one I constantly invoke'; 44. 12 *yə̄ mā drəguuå ϑβā sauuā paitī.ərətē*, 'the wrongful one, the very one who takes pleasure in opposing thy gains'; 46. 9 *kō̄ huuō, yə̄ mā arədrō cōiϑaṯ paouruiiō*, 'who is he, that zealous one who will be the first to recognize …?'

With demonstrative: 32. 10 *huuō mā nā srauuå mōrəṇdaṯ, yə̄ …*, 'that is the man who perverts good repute, the one that …', cf. 11; 50. 2 *akąs tə̄ng mā niš ąsiiā*, 'drive out those evil ones (specifically)'.

The remaining instances are: 43. 9 *rātąm nəmaŋhō Ašahiiā mā, yauuaṯ isāi, maniiāi*, 'the tribute of reverence of Right, so far as I can, I will be thinking of'; 46. 9 *yā tōi Ašā, yā Ašāi gə̄uš tašā mraoṯ, išə̄ntī mā tā tōi vohū manaŋhā*, '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 follow-ing a relative pronoun in clauses of a comprehensive character, especially those embracing past, present, and future: 29. 4, see §306; 33. 10 *tå hujītaiiō, yå zī åŋharō yåscā həṇtī yåscā … buuaiṇtī*, 'those good lives that have been and that are and that will come to be'; 45. 7 *yōi zī juuā åŋharəcā buuaiṇticā*, 'those living and who have been and who will come to be'. Others: 31. 14 *tā … yā zī ā aēitī jə̄ṇghaticā*, 'those things that are approaching and will come'; 34. 14 *vaŋhə̄uš šiiaoϑnā manaŋhō, yōi zī gə̄uš vərəzə̄nē aziiå*, '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 zīṯ … vī.adarəsəm*, *zīṯ* is taken to be for *zī īṯ* and to be emphasiz-ing *nū*, 'just now'; cf. §133.

312. The neuter relative pronoun *hiiaṯ* is used as a particle with the sense 'when it comes to', 'as regards': 30. 1 *yā mazdāϑā hiiaṯ.cīṯ vīdušē*, 'things that you are to bring to attention even (when it comes) to one who knows'; 31. 14 *yaϑā tå aŋhan hō̄ṇkərətā hiiaṯ*, 'how those (requitals) will be (as regards) at the Reckoning'; 33. 1 *šiiaoϑnā razištā drəguuataēcā hiiaṯcā ašāunē*, 'by action most just both for the wrongful one and (as regards) for the rightful one'; *YH* 35. 5 and 40. 1 *ahmaṯ hiiaṯ aibī*, 'insofar as depends on us'.

In *YH* 35. 5 it stands for 'which is to say', 'namely': *huxšaϑrōtəmāi bā aṯ xšaϑrəm … dadəmahicā cīšmahicā huuąnmahicā, hiiaṯ Mazdāi Ahurāi*, 'to the best

ruler we dedicate, assign, and inaugurate rule, that is, to Mazdā the Lord'.[112] In
37. 4 *Ašəm aṯ vahištəm yazamaidē hiiaṯ sraēštəm, hiiaṯ spəṇtəm, <hiiaṯ>*[113]
aməšəm etc., it is possible to take *hiiaṯ* as simply the neuter pronoun after the
neuter *Ašəm*, but it may rather have the force of 'because', '*qua*': 'Best Right
we worship as the fairest, as bounteous, as immortal'. In 39. 2 *daitikanąmcā
aidiiūnąm hiiaṯ urunō*, it is 'and the souls of wild creatures insofar as they are
harmless

---

112 This foreshadows the wider use of *yaṯ* as an indeclinable relative particle in the later
    Avesta.
113 For my insertion of the third *hiiaṯ* cf. West (2008), 130.