

III. Word Order

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Placing of Emphatic Elements

Initial position

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

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

2 Delbrück iii. 56.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Final position

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

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

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

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

Distribution of emphasis by distraction

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

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

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

Following the noun: 28. 1 *mainiiēuš ... spəntahiiā*; 31. 2 *aduuā aibī.dərəštā vaxiiā*; 32. 2 *Ašahiiā ... x^vəmuuātā*; 34. 14 *gēuš vərəzēnē aziiā*; 45. 7 *nəraš ... drəguuatō*.

322. The same is true of dependent genitives.

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

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

323. Distraction of co-ordinated elements: 28. 1 *Vanṅhēuš xratūm Manāṅhō yā xšnəuuišā gēušcā uruuānəm*, ‘through which thou couldst satisfy Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’; 28. 10 *at yəṅg Ašāatcā vōistā Vanṅhēušcā dāṽəṅg Manāṅhō*, ‘those then whom thou knowest to be upright before Right and Good Thought’; 31. 11 *gaēṽāscā tašō daēnašcā*, ‘thou madest our living bodies and moral selves’; 31. 18 *maθrašcā gūštā sāsnašcā*, ‘listen to the prescripts and teachings’; 44. 3 *tācīt Mazdā vasmī aniiācā viduiiē*, ‘these things and others, Mazdā, I desire to know’; 44. 14 *duuafšəṅg ... nāšē aštəscā*, ‘to bring pains and harassments’; 45. 11 *daēuuəṅg ... mašiiəscā*, ‘Daevas and mortals’; 46. 15 *hiiaṭ dāṽəṅg vī caiiāṽā adāṽəscā*, ‘when you distinguish between the just and the unjust’; 47. 6 *ārmatoiš dəbəzaṅhā ašaxiiācā*, ‘the reinforcement of piety and right’; 48. 4 *yā dāt manō vahiiō, Mazdā, ašiiāscā*, ‘he who sets in place better thought, Mazdā, or worse’; 48. 6 *hā nē utaiiūifī dāt tauuūšī*, ‘she gives us vitality and strength’ (dual dvandva, cf. §43); 49. 4 *yōi ... aēšməm varəden ramamcā*, ‘who increase violence and cruelty’; 51. 14 *nōiṭ uruuāṽā dātōibiiascā Karpānō vāstrāt arəm*, ‘the Karpans are not fit allies from the standpoint of (your) ordinances and the pasture’; 53. 7 *parā mraocəs aorācā*, ‘dipping onward and downward’; 53. 8 *dafšniia hēntū zaxiiācā*, ‘let them be thwarted and mocked’; 53. 9 *yā iš jiiātēuš hēm.miθiiāt vasā.itōišcā*, ‘who could deprive them of life and freedom’; YH 40. 2 *ahmāicā ahuiiē manaxiiācā*, ‘for this existence and the spiritual one’.

324. In the double accusative construction where one accusative is the object of the verb and the other a secondary predicate, the two are usually not adjacent. Often the verb is interposed between them. See quotations in §55.

325. Correlative demonstrative and relative pronouns or adverbs are usually separated; see quotations in §129. But exceptions are not particularly rare: 31. 1 *aēibiiō yōi*; 33. 8 *tā yā*; 43. 4 *auuā yā*; 44. 16 *ahmāi yahmāi*; 44. 19 *auuam yā*; 46. 2 *taṭ yā*; 46. 16 *tāiš yāng*; *YH* 35. 6 *aēibiiō yōi*; 36. 1 *ahmāi yām*.

The Placing of Unemphatic Elements

Enclitics

326. Certain classes of word are intrinsically unemphatic, as the purposes they serve are such that emphasis is never required on them.

1) The personal pronouns have separate emphatic and unemphatic forms (§§120, 123), the unemphatic ones being chosen when no emphasis is wanted on the person to which they refer. They are enclitic, meaning that they can only occur after a more emphatic word.

2) The particles reviewed in §§275–311 are unemphatic except for the negatives *nōiṭ naē mā* and the other particles mentioned in §286. Nearly all of them, moreover, are enclitic.

The sentence-connective *aṭ* is normally treated as enclitic in *YH* (and often written *āṭ* or *āaṭ*), but in the *Gāthās* it is nearly always initial in the clause. There, while it cannot be considered emphatic, it can support an enclitic: 31. 8 al. *aṭ ṭβā*, 49. 1 *aṭ mā*, 33. 9 al. *aṭ tōi*, 43. 8 al. *aṭ hōi*, 50. 4 *aṭ vā*, 50. 7 al. *aṭ vā*; and so in the compounds *aṭcā*, *aṭ zī*, *aṭ vā* (§§281–2, 293, 296).

327. The relational particles *cā*, *vā*, *ṭβaṭ*, and the various focusing particles are enclitics and follow the particular word that they connect or emphasize, wherever it stands in the sentence. Enclitic sentence particles, on the other hand, regularly stand in the second position in the clause, following the initial peak of emphasis.

So do enclitic pronouns, even though in sense they are often most closely related to a word later in the sentence, as in 28. 3 *ā mōi rafəḍrāi zauuōng jasatā*, ‘come ye to my calls to give help’; 28. 7 *yā vā maḍrā srəuuimā rādā*, ‘the pre-script in which we might hear your caring’; 28. 9 *anāiš vā nōiṭ ... yānāiš zara-naēmā*, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you’.

328. This second position in the clause represents the clearest and most regular trough in the profile of emphasis. Here a sequence of enclitics may occur: 29. 6 *aṭ zī ṭβā*; 31. 18 *māciš aṭ vā*; 34. 2 *aṭcā ī tōi*; 34. 8 *tāiš zī nā*; 45. 3 *yōi īm vā*; *YH* 35. 5 *huxšadrōtəmāi bā aṭ*; 35. 6 *tatō āṭ ū* (? cf. §278); 35. 7 *Ahurahiiā zī aṭ*

vā (where, however, vā seems to be otiose); 36. 3 *hiiat vā tōi*; 36. 6 *sraēštam at tōi*; 39. 4 *yaθā tū ī*; 40. 4 *rapōiš.cā tū nē*.

As the examples show, sentence particles take precedence over pronouns. So does a relational particle attaching to the first word: 28. 8 *yaēibiiascā it rāḡhahōi*, ‘and those on whom thou mayest bestow it’; 40. 4 just quoted. So does a focusing particle: *YH* 41. 2 *huxšadrās.tū nē*.

329. Occasionally in *YH* the enclitic is displaced to follow a closely cohering two-word phrase: 35. 6 *fracā vātōiōtū it aēibiiō, yōi ...*, ‘and let him communicate it to those who ...’; 36. 2 *naḡmištahiiā nēmanḡhā nā mazištāi yāḡham pai-tī.jamiiā*, ‘with the most reverent one’s reverence mayest thou come for our greatest of supplications’; 41. 2 *vohū xšadrām tōi, Mazdā Ahurā, apaēmā*, ‘thy good dominion, Lord Mazdā, may we attain’.

Unemphatic elements in initial position

330. We have seen that the initial position in the clause is one favoured for emphasis-bearing words. However, clauses do not necessarily begin with such a word. It was noted in §318 that the first emphatic word may be preceded by such particles as *at*, *atcā*, *at zī*, or *at vā*, and in §326 that enclitic pronouns may succeed these immediately, not only after the intervention of an emphasis-bearing word. Other unemphatic sentence-initiators with the same property are:

1) Preverbs modifying a verb that may not come till the end of the sentence or verse, as in 28. 3 *ā mōi rafōdrāi zauuōḡḡ jasatā*, ‘come ye to my calls to give help’; 31. 18 *ā zī dāmānəm vīsəm vā šōiḡrəm vā daxiiūm vā dāt | dušitācā marakaēcā*, ‘for he will give house or manor or district or region into chaos and ruin’; 33. 13 *frō spantā Ārmaitē ašā daēnā daxšaiiā*, ‘liberal Piety, teach me moral principles in accord with Right’; 34. 5 *parō vā vīspāiš vaoxmā daēuuāišcā xrafstrāiš mašiiāišcā*, ‘we have declared you beyond all predators, both Daevas and mortals’ (where the emphasis falls mainly on *vīspāiš*); 48. 7 *nī aēšmō di-iātam, pai-tī rəməm siiōdūm*, ‘let violence be tied down, cut short cruelty’; 49. 3 *antarē vīspōḡḡ drəḡuātō haxmōḡḡ mruiiē*, ‘I interdict all wrongful ones from my company’.⁴

2) Relative pronouns and other words introducing a dependent clause (*ya-θā*, *yadā*, *yezī*, *hiiat*, etc.). With enclitic pronoun attached: 28. 2 and 3 *yā vā*; 28. 7 *yā vā*; 28. 9 *yōi vā*; 31. 6 *hiiat hōi*; 46. 9 *yaθā θβā*; 48. 9 *yezī cahiiā*; and *passim*.

The negative particles *nōiḡ*, *naē*, *mā* are regularly initial (for *nōiḡ* fuller details are given in §13), but it is hard to determine what degree of emphasis they bear. With enclitics: 29. 1 *nōiḡ mōi*; 44. 20 *nōiḡ hīm*, etc.; 31. 18 *mā.ciš at vā*.

4 For this pattern of initial preverb + final verb cf. Watkins (1994–2008), i. 33, 39.

Commatization

331. It was remarked in §317 that within clauses smaller word-groupings (cola or commata) are sometimes to be distinguished. In what follows I shall use the symbols : and ÷ to mark respectively lighter and more distinct boundaries between them.

One sign of the existence of such boundaries is the placing of enclitics, since they regularly go in the second position within their word-group. Thus in 28. 11 *tuuōm Mazdā Ahurā : frō mā sīšā*, ‘do thou, Lord Mazdā, teach me’, *frō mā sīšā*, with its initial preverb followed by the enclitic pronoun, shows the features of a new colon. The initial emphatic pronoun + vocative, accordingly, may be regarded as a first comma, as if we were to break the clause in two, ‘now, as for thee, Lord: teach me’. The two commata correspond to theme and rheme. Similarly in 33. 13 *rafədrāi vouru.cašānē : dōišī mōi yā vā ā bifrā*, ‘for (my) support, O far-seeing one, show me the virtues(?) that are yours’; 44. 7 *azōm : tāiš ōβā fraxšnī auuāmī*, ‘I with these (questions) am providently promoting thee’; 51. 21 *ārmatoiš nā : spəntō huuō cistī*, ‘the man of piety, he is liberal in insight’.

The first comma in these passages contains the topic; it prepares for the essential utterance by indicating its direction. 33. 13 is not the only place where this function is performed by an initial dative; so too 29. 1 *xšmaibiiā : gəuš uruuā gərəzdā*, ‘to you the cow’s soul complains’; 29. 3 (after the speech of the Cow’s Maker) *ahmāi : Ašā ... paitī.mrauuat*, ‘to him Right will answer’; 31. 6 *Mazdāi : auuat xšadrəm, hūiat hōi vohū vaxšaṭ manajhā*, ‘for Mazdā, that (becomes) dominion, what(ever) he increases for him through good thought’; 47. 3 *aṭ hōi vāstrāi : rāmā dā āрмаifīm*, ‘while for her pasture thou didst establish peace and piety’; YH 35. 4 *gauuōi ad.āiš : tāiš šīiaoṭənāiš yāiš vahīštāiš fraēšiiā-mahī rāmācā vāstrəmcā dazdiīai*, ‘for the cow hereby, with these actions that are the best, we urge establishing peace and pasture’.

Likewise by an initial genitive: 30. 5, quoted in §339; 32. 7 *aēšqam aē-najham : naēcīṭ vīduuā aojōi*, ‘of such offences, I declare I know nothing’ (with the negative initial in the second colon); 32. 8, quoted in §319.

And by an initial vocative: see §358.

332. As an illustration of how an elaborate sentence may be analysed into cola and commata using the placing of enclitics as clues, YH 35. 6 may be divided as follows:

¹ <i>yaṭā aṭ</i> Ṛ <i>utā nā vā nāiri vā¹ vaēdā haiṭim</i> :	As either a man or woman knows a truth,
² <i>aṭā haṭ vohū</i> :	so, it being good,
³ <i>tatō ad.ū</i> : <i>vərəziiōtūcā iṭ ahmāi</i> :	then let him both implement it for himself
⁴ <i>fracā vātōiōtū iṭ aēibiō</i> :	and communicate it to those
⁵ <i>yōi iṭ aṭā vərəziiaṇ</i> :	who will so implement it
⁶ <i>yaṭā iṭ asī</i> .	as it is.

¹ Conjunction + particle; subject phrase; verb; object.

² Correlative adverb; participial phrase referring to object already identified.

³ Demonstrative + particles; verb + enclitic pronoun; indirect object.

⁴ Further (compound) verb + enclitic pronoun + indirect object.

⁵ Relative pronoun + enclitic pronoun; demonstrative referring forward; verb.

⁶ Conjunction + enclitic pronoun; verb.

In (¹) the subject phrase occupies the first emphatic position and the verb comes next. In (³) the demonstrative suggests a new beginning after the intervention of the participial phrase. One might expect the *ī* to be added to the particle sequence *ād.ū*, but *tatō ād.ū* is apparently felt to be a sufficiently long introductory complex and the object pronoun is put after the (emphatic) verb. So again in (⁴), whether for the sake of parallelism or from the desire to divide the preverb from the verb by nothing more than *cā*.

Order of Words within Cola

333. From the foregoing pages a basic pattern emerges: in each colon containing several words there comes first (disregarding any introductory particles) a position of greater emphasis, occupied by a single word or closely cohesive word-group, then a trough of lesser emphasis and more flexible length, in which enclitic particles or pronouns tend to congregate. A longer colon may end either with a comparatively weak position or on an emphatic note.

What further principles can be established regarding the order of words within the colon? I begin by stating two general factors that may influence it independently of grammatical categories: the contextual force field, and the relative bulk of constituent elements.

The contextual force field

334. In 31. 9 and 46. 9 ‘the cow’s maker’ is *gōuš tašā*, but in 29. 2 it is *tasā gōuš*. Why? Because in this last passage we have just heard the complaint of the cow’s soul (1 *gōuš uruuā*), and now comes a speech from the cow’s maker; the word *gōuš* is necessary to the phrase but requires less emphasis than when the word was first introduced, and the order *tasā gōuš* evidently has this effect.

There are other cases where a word’s placing is affected by the fact that it has already appeared in the context:

In 30. 3 we have *āscā hudāṅhō ərəš vī.šīiātā*, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly’, but in 30. 6 *aiiā nōiṭ ərəš vī.šīiātā daēuuācinā*, ‘between them discriminate rightly not even the Daevas’, with the order of subject and verb reversed.

In 31. 14 we have *tā ōβā pərəsā, Ahurā*, ‘those things I ask thee, Lord’, but in the next stanza *pərəsā auuaṭ*, ‘I ask this’.

In 32. 10 we have *huuō mā nā srauuā mōrəndaŋ, yē ...*, ‘that man perverts good repute, who ...’, but in the next stanza *taēcīŋ mā mōrəndaŋ jiiōtūm, yōi ...*, ‘they pervert life, who ...’, with the order of object and verb reversed.

In the last line of 32. 11 we have *yōi vahištāŋ ašāunō ... rārəšiiŋ manaŋhō*, ‘who will divert the righteous from best thought’, but then in the first line of 12 (a new sentence), *yā rāŋhaiiəŋ srauuəŋhā vahištāŋ šiiəoŋnāŋ marətānō*, ‘because of the (deed of) repute by which they divert mortals from best action’, again with the verb moved forward.

In 43. 4 we have *aŋ ōβā mōŋghāi taxməmcā spəŋtəm, Mazdā*, ‘I will think thee bold and bounteous, Mazdā’, but in the next stanza (and subsequent repetitions) the order is varied to *spəŋtəm aŋ ōβā, Mazdā, mōŋhī, Ahurā*, with ‘bounteous’ promoted to leading word and ‘I think thee’ relegated to the trough of lesser emphasis.

In 47. 1 we have *spəŋtā mainiiū*, which is the usual order, but in the next stanza *ahiiā mainiiūš spəništahiiā*, ‘of this most bounteous Will’

In YH 35. 2 the positive affirmation *humatanəŋ hūxtanəŋ huuarəstanəŋ ... mahī aibi.jarətārō*, ‘of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, we are they who approve’, is complemented by a denial of its opposite: *naē naēstārō yaŋəŋə vohunəŋ mahī*, ‘we are not revilers of good things’, where *naē naēstārō* in initial position is juxtaposed with the final *aibi.jarətārō*, and the position of *mahī* in the phrase is varied.

In YH 39. 1 we have *iŋā aŋ yazamaidē*, ‘in this fashion we worship’ (as in 37. 1, cf. 38. 3), but in 39. 3 *aŋ iŋā yazamaidē*.

335. The structure just discussed approximates to a chiasmus, the figure in which parallel elements face each other in inverse order as in a mirror, AB:BA.⁵ There are several clear examples in the *Gāthās*, especially where there is a contrast between good and bad: 29. 9 *yē anaēšəŋ xšəŋmānē rādəm, vācəm nərəš asūrahiiā*, ‘that I should put up with an ineffective carer, the voice of a powerless man’ (adjective: noun: noun: noun: adjective); 30. 4 *acištō drəguuatəŋ, aŋ ašāunē vahištəm manō*, ‘the worst (existence) that of the wrongful, but for the righteous, best thought’; 30. 5 *vəŋətā yē drəguuā acištā vərəziio, ašəŋ mainiiūš spəništō*, ‘the Wrongful (Will) chooses the worst things to do, but Right (is what) the Bounteous Will (chooses)’; 30. 7 *aŋ kəhrpəm utaiiūitiš dadāt, ərmaitiš ənmā*, ‘the body vitality informs, piety the soul’; 31. 1 *yōi uruuātāiš Drūjō Ašahiiā gaēŋvā vīmərəŋcaitē*, ‘who with the rules of Wrong Right’s people destroy’; 31. 10 *aŋ hī aiiā frauuarətā vāstrīm ... nōiŋ, Mazdā, auuāstriio ... humərətōiš baxštā*, ‘but she of these two chose the herdsman ... the non-herdsman, Mazdā, did not get (her) good regard’; 31. 12 *miŋah.uuacā vā əŋəš.uuacā vā, viŋuuā vā əuiūduuā vā*, ‘one of false words or of straight words, a knowing one or an unknowing one’; 33. 6 *mainiiūš ā vahištāŋ kaiiā ahmāt, auuā manaŋhā*, ‘from this best will I desire, with that mind’ (with the demonstratives

5 Cf. Humbach i. 109; Skjærvø 171.

last in the first phrase, first in the second); 43. 8 *haiṭiiō duuaēšā ... drəguuāitē, aṭ ašāunē rafnō xiiēm aojōghuuat*, ‘may I be a real foe to the wrongful one, but to the righteous a strong support’; 47. 4 *ašāunē kāvō ... akō drəguuāitē*, ‘to the righteous one, kind ... malign to the wrongful’; 49. 3 *ašəm sūidiiāi ... rā-šaiiejhē druxš*, ‘Right to strengthen (us), to harm (him) Wrong’; 51. 6 *vahiiō vaḡhōuš ... akāt ašiiō*, ‘better than good ... worse than bad’.

Relative bulk

336. There is a strong tendency in the *Gāthās* for words of three or more syllables to be placed at the end of a verse or half-verse. This is probably connected with the general trend in Indo-European languages to put shorter elements before long ones rather than after them (Behaghel’s Law).⁶ The phenomenon can be illustrated from many couplings or longer strings of parallel nouns or verbs in the Old Avestan texts: 31. 21 (et al.) *hauruuatō amərə<ta>tāscā*; 32. 3 *drūjascā pairimatōišcā*; 32. 5 *hujiiātōiš amərə<ta>tāscā*; 33. 6 *darštōišcā hōmparštōišcā*; 45. 10, 51. 7 *təuuīšī utaiiūtī*; YH 38. 2 *ižā yaoštaiiō fəraštaiiō ārmataiīō* (originally 2, 3, 3 and 5 syllables); *ibid.*, *vaḡhīm ... ašīm, vaḡhīm išəm, vaḡhīm āzūiīm, vaḡhīm frasasūm, vaḡhīm parəṇḏīm*; 38. 4 *tāiš vā yazamaidē, tāiš friiṇmahī, tāiš nəmaxiiāmahī, tāiš išūidiāmahī*, cf. 39. 4. See further §394.

337. This principle may explain why, for instance, in 30. 8 (*aṭcā yadā aēšəm*) *kaēnā jamaiī aēnaḡham* (the ending originally disyllabic, **-aHam*) is preferred to *aēnaḡham jamaiī kaēnā* (likewise with distraction, cf. §322) or *kaēnā aēnaḡham jamaiī*. There are many other places, especially in dependent clauses, where a verb stands in penultimate position before a longer noun that could equally have been put before it. In many cases the distraction principle is also relevant.

Examples in dependent clauses: 28. 2 *yāiš rapəṇtō daiḏiṭ xʷāvərə* (trisyllabic), ‘by which one could keep one’s supporters in well-being’; 29. 3 *yahmāi zauuōṅg jimā kərədušā*, ‘to whose calls I will come short-eared(?)’ (cf. §329); 29. 5 *hiiat Mazdaṃ duuaidī frasabiīō*, ‘as we put Mazda to our questions’; 29. 8 *hiiat hōi hudəmēm diiāi vaxədrahiiā*, ‘as I harness his good-construction of utterance’; 31. 1 *yōi zrazdā aḡhən Mazdāi* (trisyllabic), ‘who will be trustful in Mazda’; 31. 6 *yē mōi vīduuā vaocat haiṭīm* (trisyllabic), ‘who knowingly speaks my truth’; *ibid.*, *hiiat hōi vohū vaxšat manajhā*, ‘what he increases for him through good thought’, cf. 33. 8, 9; 34. 3; *hiiat astuuantəm dadā uštanəm*, ‘since thou gavest bodily vitality’; 32. 10 *yascā vadarə vōiždaṭ ašāunē*, ‘and he who raises his weapon against the righteous one’; 33. 6 *yā vərəziieidiiāi maṇtā vāstriiā* (trisyllabic), ‘by which one takes it in mind to do pastoral works’; 43. 4 *hiiat mōi vaḡhōuš hazə jimaṭ manajhō*, ‘when the force of good thought comes to

6 Wackernagel (1955–79), iii. 1868 (from 1892); O. Behaghel, *IF* 25 (1909), 110–42; for Avestan, W. Krause, *ZVS* 50 (1922), 90 f., 112–17.

me'; 45. 5 *hiiat mōi mraoṭ spəntōtamō*, 'what the most bounteous one tells me'; 46. 8 *yā vā mōi yā gaevā dazdē aēnaḡhē*, 'or he who is putting my flock to maltreatment'.

In main clauses: 31. 18 *avā īš sāzdūm snaiṭiṣā*, 'so cut them down with the axe'; 43. 1 *Mazdā dāiiāt Ahurō*, 'may Mazdā the Lord grant'; 44. 9 *kaṭā mōi ... hudānaoṣ paitiṣ saxiiāt xšaṭrahiīā*, 'how might the master of a beneficent dominion proclaim'; 44. 11, 14.

Subject, verb, object

338. The default or unmarked order is subject, object, verb (SOV). The verb in any case often stands at the end of the sentence, see §344.

A pronominal subject such as *yā* or *huuō* precedes the verb or nominal predicate. Exception: 51. 21, on which see §345. (32. 9 is not an exception: §130.)

If the object precedes the subject, it is usually because it is represented by an anaphoric pronoun (demonstrative, relative, or enclitic) that has to be first or second word.

339. The 'normal' order may be disturbed by various factors, such as fronting of the verb or object for emphasis or to define the topic.

Fronted verb: 29. 3 *yā šauuaitē ādrōḡg ərašuuāḡhō*, 'he by whom the upright invigorate the weak'; 30. 6 *yā banaiiōn ahūm marātānō*, 'by which mortals blight the world'. In both cases the object precedes the subject (VOS), whether to keep it next to the verb or because the subject is the longer of the two nouns.

33. 8 *dātā vā aməratāscā utaiiūtī hauruuatās draonō*, 'continuing life was created as your portion, and health with vitality'; 43. 15 *daxšat ušiiāi tuš-nā.maitiṣ vahištā*, 'as for teaching (me things) things to say, silent meditation (teaches me) the best'; 53. 6 *naṣat x'āṭrəm drəguuōdabiiō dāḡjūt.arataēibiiō*, 'lost is well-being for the wrongful diminishers of right'; 53. 7 *vī.zaiiaṭā magām tām*, 'you will abandon this ceremony, and ...' (equivalent to a conditional, §255).

29. 6 *atē vaocat Ahurō Mazdā*, 'then speaks the Lord Mazdā', varies the order in 1–2, where other speakers were introduced with the verb following the subject.⁷ So too in 30. 6 *aiiā nōiṭ əraš vi.šiiātā daēuuācinā* and 31. 15 and 16 *pərəsā auuat* the order is affected by earlier stanzas, see §334.

In 30. 4 *yaṭā aḡhat apēməm aḡhuš*, 'how existence will be at the last', *aḡhat apēməm* may be taken as a unitary phrase.

Further examples of initial verb: 30. 4 *aṭcā hiiat tā hām mainiiū jasaētəm paouruūm, dazdē gaēmā ajiiāitīmā*, 'and once those two Wills join battle, (a man) adopts life or non-life'; 53. 7 *yauuat āzuš zrazdištō būnōi haxtiīā*, 'one will apply his penis in fullest confidence at the base of her thighs'; YH 38. 5 *auuā*

7 For the tendency for verbs of speaking to be placed early cf. Delbrück iii. 61 f., 65.

vā, *vaṅhīš*, *rātōiš darəgō.bāzāuš*, ‘I will assist you, Good Ones, with the long arm of my liberality’.

In 30. 5 *aiiā mainiuuā* : *vəratā yā drəguuā acištā vərəziio*, ‘of those two Wills the Wrongful one chooses to do the worst things’, the initial topicalizing genitive phrase may be treated as a separate comma (§331), so that the verb is initial in its colon.

340. Fronted object. As in 29. 3 and 30. 6 quoted above, verb and object usually retain adjacent places in the series, giving the order OVS: 28. 3 *yaēibiio xšaθrəmcā ayzaonuamnam varədaifi ārmaitiš*, ‘whose unimpaired dominion is increased by piety’; 32. 12 *yāiš grāhmā ašāt vərətā Karpā*, ‘with whom the Karpan chooses gluttony(?) over right’; 43. 6 *aēibiio ratūš sənghaiti Ārmaitiš θβahiiā xratāuš*, ‘to them Piety announces the verdicts of thy wisdom’; 44. 6 *Ašəm šiiəodnāiš dəbənəzaiti Ārmaitiš*, ‘Piety by its actions confirms Right’.

In 34. 10 *ahiiā Vaṅhēuš Manaṅhō šiiəodnā vaocaṭ ‘gərəbən’ huxratuš*, ‘this Good Thought’s actions, let them be seized, says the wise man’, it is the genitive phrase that is fronted, because it picks up the reference to Good Thought in the preceding stanza; its head noun *šiiəodnā* (accusative) is put with it to complete an undistracted object phrase.

In 31. 12 *adrā vācəm baraiṭi miṭah.uuacā vā ərəs.uuacā vā, vīduuā vā əuūduuā vā*, ‘there speaks forth one of false words or one of straight words, a knowing one or an unknowing one’, the predicate *vācəm baraiṭi* is fronted and topicalized as a unit, ‘as for whose voice it is that is heard, ...’; also the lengthy subject phrases are more conveniently placed afterwards.

With subject intervening between object and verb (VSO): 31. 2 *yaṭā ratūm Ahurō vaēdā Mazdā aiiā əsaiiā*, ‘according to the ruling that Lord Mazdā knows on those two lots’; 31. 11 *yaṭrā varənōng vasā dāiiētē*, ‘where the free agent makes his choices’.

Further remarks on verb placement

341. While verbs (except imperatives and equivalent forms, see §343) are not often found in initial position, they frequently occur in second place (after any enclitics). This is doubtless connected with the fact that in Vedic the verb in a main clause is unaccented unless initial (or in one or two other special circumstances) and evidently unemphatic.⁸ The inference is that the same applies in most cases to the Old Avestan verb.

Some examples of verb in second position: 28. 1 *ahiiā yāsā nəmaṅhā ustā-nəzastō rafədrahiiā*, ‘for his help I pray in reverence with outstretched hands’; 30. 10 *aṭ āsištā yəojantē ā hušitōiš vaṅhēuš manaṅhō*, ‘and the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked from the fair dwelling of Good Thought’; 31. 4 *vahištā išasā*

⁸ But not usually as weakly emphasized as particles and pronouns, and accordingly not so regularly drawn to the second or ‘Wackernagel’ position; cf. Delbrück iii. 81 f.

manajhā maibiiō xšadrəm aojōṅhūuat, ‘I shall seek by best thought a strong authority for myself; 31. 6 *ahmāi aṅhat vahištəm, yē mōi ...*, ‘it will go best for him who ...’; 31. 7 *yas.tā mantā paouruiō raocābīš rōiṅβan xšadrā*, ‘he who first conceived these amenities permeating the world of light’; YH 35. 3 *taṭ aṭ varə-maidī, Ahurā Mazdā Ašā srīrā, hiiat ī mainimadicā vaocōimācā varəzimācā, yā ...*, ‘this we have chosen, Lord Mazdā with Right the comely, to think and speak and do those things that ...’.

342. Sometimes a verb that does not immediately appear to be in second position may be perceived as doing so when account is taken of commatization and/or the indivisibility of certain phrases so that they count in effect as one word.

So 29. 10 *azēmciṭ ahiiā Mazdā : ṅβam mēṅhī paouruūim vaēdəm*, ‘I for one, Mazdā, realize thee to be the prime procurer of it’ (the emphatic *ṅβam* begins the colon); 32. 7 *aēšqam aēnaṅḥam : naēcīṭ vīduuā aojiōi*, ‘of such offences, I declare I know nothing’ (with the negative initial in the second colon, and ‘*naēcīṭ vīduuā*’ making a cohesive unit); 32. 8 *aēšqam aēnaṅḥam : Vīuuaṅḥušō srāuūi Yimascīṭ*, ‘for such offences Vīvahvant’s son became renowned, even Yima’; *ibid.*, *aēšqamciṭ : ā ahmī ṅβahmī, Mazdā, vīciṅḍōi aipī*, ‘as to these (deeds), I rest on thy decision, Mazdā’ (the preverb *ā* begins the colon); 47. 3 *ahiiā mainiiūš : tuuōm ahī ptā spəntō*, ‘of this will, thou [emphatic pronoun] art the bounteous father’; *ibid.*, *at hōi vāstrāi : rāmā dā ārmaitīm*, see §331.

YH 35. 2 begins with three resonant word-groupings, three commata if you will, but all making up a single extended eight-word genitive phrase that admits no intrusion, and then comes the verb: ‘*humatanqam hūxtanqam huuarš-tanqam : iīadacā aniiadacā : vərəziiannanqmcā vāuərəzananqmcā*’ *mahī ai-bī.jarətārō*, ‘of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, here and not-here, present and past, we are they who approve’. In 35. 4, quoted in §331, ‘*tāiš šīiaodənāiš yāiš vahištāiš*’ may similarly be taken as a unit, and then the verb comes next in the colon.

343. Imperatives more often appear in initial position: 28. 6–7 *Vohū gaidī Manajhā, dāidī Ašā dā darəgāiū ... dāidī Ašā taṃ ašim ... dāidī tū, Ārmaitē ... dās.tū, Mazdā ...*, ‘come with Good Thought, give with Right thy enduring gift ... Give, O Right, that reward ... Give thou, Piety ... Give thou, Mazdā ...’; 30. 2 *sraotā gāušāiš vahištā, ā vaēnatā sūcā manajhā*, ‘hear with your ears the best message, behold with lucid mind’, cf. 33. 11; 31. 17 *zdī nō, Mazdā Ahurā, vaṅḥauš fradaxštā manajhō*, ‘be for us, Lord Mazdā, our teacher of good thought’; 53. 8 *īratū īš duuafšō huuō dərəzā mərəṅḍiiaos mazištō*, ‘let there come upon them that greatest woe with the fetter of death’; YH 40. 3 *dāidī aṭ nərəš*, ‘grant us men’.

Similarly with the injunctive (equivalent to an imperative, see §193) in 31. 19, *gūštā yē mantā ašəm*, ‘let him listen to him who thinks on Right’.

And with optatives: 48. 9 *vidiiāt saosiiqas, yaḍā hōi ašiš aṅhat*, ‘may the Promoter know how his reward is to be’; YH 41. 4 *hanaēmācā zaēmācā ...*

ϑβahmī rafənahī darəgāiīau ... rapōišcā tū nā darəgəmcā uštācā, ‘may we earn and win thy long-lasting support ... mayest thou support us both for long and in the way we desire’.

344. Another typical position for the verb is at the end of the sentence or clause. This is particularly common in YH, and may represent a natural unmarked or default position. Verbs so placed do not seem to carry any greater emphasis than those in second position.

Examples: 31. 20 *tām vā ahūm, drəguuaṇtō, śīiaoṇanāiš xʷāiš daēnā naēšat*, ‘that is the existence, ye wrongful, to which through your own actions your morality will bring you’; 31. 22 *vōhū huuō xšəvrā ašəm vacaṇhā śīiaoṇanācā hapī*, ‘with good command he holds on to Right in word and deed’; 32. 6 *ϑβahmī vā, Mazdā, xšəvrōi Ašāiēcā sənghō vī.dəm*, ‘in thy domain, Mazdā, let your decree and Right’s be given out’; 32. 9 *tā uxδā mainiiōuš mahiiā, Mazdā, Ašāicā yūšmaibiiā gərəzē*, ‘with these utterances of my will, Mazdā, I make complaint to you and to Right’; YH 35. 9 *imā āt uxδā vacā, Ahurā Mazdā, ašəm manaiiā vahehiiā fra.uuaocānā; ϑβəm aṭ aēšəm paitiiāštərəmcā fradaxštərəmcā dadəmaidē*, ‘these words that we speak, Lord Mazdā, we will proclaim with better thought of Right; we make Thee both their recipient and their teacher’ (but the sentence is then extended with additional phrases).

In negative sentences, usually after initial *nōit*: 31. 10 *nōit, Mazdā, auuāstriiō dauuəscinā humərətōiš baxštā*, ‘the non-herdsman, drive(?) her as he might, did not get her goodwill’; 46. 8 *nōit ahiiā mā āvriš śīiaoṇnāiš frā asiit*, ‘may harm not reach me from his actions’; YH 35. 2 *naē naēštārō yaṇnā vohunəm mahī*, ‘we are not revilers of what is good’.

In an interrogative sentence: 44. 6 *kaēibiiō azīm rāniiō.skərəitīm gəm tašō?* ‘for what people didst thou create the gladdening milch cow?’

With imperative: 29. 11 *aṭ məm ašā yūžəm, Mazdā, frāxšnənē mazōi magāiīa paitī.zānatā*, ‘it is me that ye should rightly acknowledge, Mazdā, in your providence, for the great rite’.

Frequently in dependent clauses: 28. 6 *yā daibišuuatō duuaēšā tauruuāiīānā*, ‘whereby we may overcome the foe’s acts of enmity’; 29. 2 *yā drəguuōdəbīš aēšəməm vādāiīōit*, ‘who might repulse fury by the wrongful’; 29. 8 *yā nā aēuuō sāsna gūšatā*, ‘who alone listens to our guidance’; 30. 5 *yā xraoždīštəṅ asənō vastē*, ‘who clothes himself in the hardest stones’; 30. 6 *hiiat īš ā dəbaomā pərəsəmnəṅ upājasat*, ‘because delusion comes over them as they deliberate’; 31. 3 *yā juuaṇtō vīspəṅ vāuraiiā*, ‘whereby I might convince everyone alive’; 31. 11 *yaṇrā varənəṅ vasā dāiētē*, ‘where the free agent makes his choices’; 31. 15 *yā drəguuāitē xšəvrəm hunāitī*, ‘(for him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’; 33. 2 *yā akəm drəguuāitē vacaṇhā vā aṭ vā manəṇhā zastōibiiā vā varəšaiitī*, ‘he that either by word or thought or hands does evil to the wrongful one’.

Subject and predicate in nominal sentences

345. From the examples of nominal sentences given in §8 it will be seen that the subject generally precedes the predicate. I have noted two categories of exception:

1) Where the subject is represented by an unemphatic anaphoric pronoun: 31. 22 *ciθrā ī hudāṅhē*, ‘clear are these things for the well-doer’; 32. 16 *hamōm taṭ vahištācēt*, ‘equal is that to the very best’.

2) Commendation of Mazda: 47. 1 *mazdā xšaθrā Ārmaidī Ahurō*, ‘mindful in his dominion is the Lord with Piety’; 51. 16 *spəntō Mazdā Ahurō*, ‘bounteous is Lord Mazda’.

Elements of both types appear in 51. 21 *ārmatoiš nā, spəntō huuō cistī, ux-dāiš, šīaodnā*, ‘the man of piety, bounteous is he in insight, words, conduct’. The subject does come first, but the position of *huuō* indicates that it is left as a topicalizing heading, *spəntō huuō cistī* constituting a new colon.

Secondary (predicative) accusative

346. Where there are two accusatives, one of which functions as a secondary predicate (cf. §§55, 324), this latter often precedes the direct object, as in 28. 5 *gātūmcā Ahurāi ... sraošəm Mazdāi*, ‘and as a path (or throne) for the Mindful Lord (finding) compliance’; 28. 10 *aṭ vā xšmaibiiā asūnā vaēdā xʷaraiθiiā vaiṅtiīā srauuā*, ‘I know that well-purposed hymns of homage to you are not in vain’; 30. 9 *yōi im frašōm kərənāun ahūm*, ‘who will make this existence splendid’; 33. 14 *aṭ rātaṃ Zaratuštrō tanuuascēt xʷaxiiā uštanəm dadāitī*, ‘as an offering Zarathustra dedicates his own body’s energy’, cf. 34. 3; 43. 15 *aṭ tōi višpəṅ angrəṅ ašāunō ādarō*, ‘they have declared all the righteous their enemies’; 46. 19 *yā mōi ... haiθim ... varəšaitī ... hiiat vasnā frašōtəməm*, ‘he who will make real for me the utmost splendour of my desiring’; *ibid.*, *ahmāi mīzdəm hanaṅtē parāhūm*, ‘to him, who as reward deserves the world beyond’; YH 36. 6 *sraēštəm aṭ tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpəm āuuāēdaiimahī ... imā raocā*, ‘as fairest body of thy bodies we proclaim this daylight’.

We find the opposite order, naturally, when the direct object is represented by an initial pronoun, as in 29. 10 quoted in §342; YH 35. 9 quoted in §344.

Datives

347. An indirect object in the dative tends to precede the direct object,⁹ as in 28. 6 *Zaratuštrāi aojōṅghuuat rafənō*, ‘(give) to Zarathustra strong support’; 31. 4 *išasā ... maibiiō xšaθrəm aojōṅghuuat*, ‘I shall seek a strong authority for

9 Cf. Delbrück iii. 82 f.

myself; 31. 9 *hiiaṭ aḫiiāi dadā paḍaṃ*, ‘when thou didst offer her a path’; 31. 15 *yā draguuāitē xšaḍrəm hunāitī*, ‘who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’; 44. 4 *kē vātāi duuqnaibiiascā yaogaṭ āsū?* ‘who yoked their swift pair for the wind and the clouds?’; 44. 14 *kaḍā Ašāi Drujēm diiaṃ zastaiiō?* ‘how might I give Wrong into the hands of Right?’; 46. 7 *kām.nā, Mazdā, mauuaitē pāiiūm dadā?* ‘whom dost thou set, Lord, as protector for my kind?’; 46. 18 *yā maibiiā yaoš, ahmāi ascit̄ vahištā maxiiā ištōiš ... cōišəm*, ‘whoever (confers) weal on me, on him for my part I confer the best things in my power’; 49. 7 *yā vərəzēnāi vaṇhīm dāt frasaštīm*, ‘which will give the community a good renown’; 49. 8 *Frašaōštrāi uruuāzištāṃ Ašahiā dā sarēm*, ‘to Frashaushtra grant that most joyous union with Right’.

348. Dative infinitives of purpose often precede the verb: 31. 3 *taṭ nē, Mazdā, viduuanōi vaocā*, ‘tell us that, Mazdā, for (us) to know’, cf. 31. 5; 34. 12; 31. 19 *ərəž.uxḍāi vacaṇḥaṃ xšaiiamnō hizuuō vasō*, ‘being for true voicing of words in command of his tongue as he will’; 33. 6 *yā vərəziieidiiā maṇtā vāstriiā*, ‘by which one is minded to do pastoral works’; 46. 3 *kaēibiiō ūḍāi vohū jimaṭ manahā?* ‘what people will (Right) come to aid with good thought?’

Similarly with other datives of purpose: 46. 3 *kadā ... aṇhəuš darəḍrāi frō ašahiā ārəntē?* ‘when will they set forth on the path of Right to uphold the world?’; *ibid.*, *maibiiō ḍβā sastrāi vərənē*, ‘for myself I choose thee for direction’; 47. 3 *aṭ hōi vāstrāi rāmā dā ārmaītīm*, ‘and for her pasturing thou didst establish peace and piety’.

Attributive adjective¹⁰

349. Demonstrative adjectives (‘this’, ‘that’) normally precede the noun, but sometimes follow it in the phrase *aṇhəuš ahiiā* ‘this world’ (32. 13; 45. 3, 4), where the demonstrative is not anaphoric but deictic.

The possessive adjectives *ma-*, *ḍβa-*, etc. usually precede the noun, and in their monosyllabic cases they always do so except at 31. 20 *šiiəḍanāiš x’āiš*.

350. In the only example in the texts of a numeral (syntactically adjectival), it precedes its noun: 44. 18 *dasā aspā*, ‘ten mares’. So does *uba-* ‘both’: *YH* 35. 3 al. *ubōibiiā ahubiiā*, ‘for both existences’.

So does *pouru-* ‘many’: 32. 6 *pourū aēnā ēnāxštā*, ‘the many offences against peace’; 43. 15 *pourūš draguatō*, ‘the many wrongful’; 47. 6 *pourūš išəntō*, ‘(the) many proselytes’; 50. 2 *pourušū huuarē pišiiasū*, ‘the many who blaspheme(?) the sun’.

vīspa- ‘all’ precedes the noun in *YH* 36. 5, 37. 1, and half a dozen times in the *Gāthās*. On the other hand we find 31. 3 *juuaṇtō vīspōṅ*, ‘all the living’; 34. 3 *gaēḍā vīspā*, ‘all our living bodies’; 46. 19 *manē.uuistāiš maṭ vīspāiš*, ‘with all spiritual acquisitions’; 51. 20 *hazaōšāṇhō vīspāṇhō*, ‘all ye of one mind’. In

¹⁰ Cf. Delbrück iii. 89–99; Hirt vii. 243 f.; Seiler 104–33.

expressions of time or eternity we have 43. 2 *vīspā aiiārē*, ‘all days’; 28. 8, *YH* 40. 2, 41. 2 *vīspāi yauuē*, ‘for all time’; but in 46. 11, 49. 8, 53. 1 and 4 *yavōi vīspāi(iā)*. The placing after the noun probably had a more emphatic effect. Cf. 31. 13 and 53. 8 quoted in §319.

351. Defining adjectives, for example those that distinguish good from bad thought or action, generally precede the noun. So regularly *vohū* (...) *manajhā*, *vajhēuš* (...) *manajhō*, *spəntā mainiiū*. But the rule is not followed consistently, cf. 28. 2 *mainiiēuš* ... *spəntahiiā*; 28. 3 *manascā vohū*; 30. 5, 7; 33. 14; 34. 2; 47. 2; 49. 10; 51. 4; 53. 4.

paouruiia- in the sense ‘the original’ regularly follows its noun: 28. 11 *ajhuš paouruiiō*, ‘the first existence’, cf. 33. 1; 48. 6; 46. 6 *daēnā paouruiiā*, ‘the original moralities’; 46. 15 *dātāis paouruiiāiš*, ‘by the original ordinances’.

352. Where a defining adjective comes after its noun, it has in most cases more syllables than the noun. (This is true of *ajhuš paouruiiō* and *dātāis paouruiiāiš*, but not of *daēnā paouruiiā*, which at the time of composition was **dayanāh parviyāh*.) Examples: 29. 9 *nərəš asūrahiā*, ‘of a powerless man’; 33. 1 *šītaoḍnā* (disyllabic) *razištā*, ‘by action most just’; 43. 5 *dāmōiš uruuāēsē* (disyllabic) *apēmē*, ‘at the last bend of creation’; 44. 2 *ajhēuš vahištahiiā*, ‘of the best existence’; 44. 15 *spādā anaocajhā*, ‘the two hostile armies’.

In 43. 3 *ahiiā ajhēuš astuuatō*, ‘of this material existence’ and 47. 2 *ahiiā mainiiēuš spēništahiiā*, ‘of this most bounteous Will’, while here too the adjectives are longer than the nouns, the order may be affected by the initial demonstrative, which makes the adjective less essential: ‘this existence, the material one’; ‘this Will, the bounteous one’.

353. Adjectives that are not essential to the definition of the noun but merely honorific or ornamental generally go after the noun; again they are very often longer.

In seven places (32. 2; 33. 13; 34. 9, 10; 49. 2; 51. 4, 11) we find *spəntam ārmaitim* or *spəntā ārmaitiš*, ‘bounteous piety’, where the epithet is honorific and inessential but precedes presumably by analogy with *spəntā mainiiū*. The longer word follows the shorter (*ārmaitiš* had four syllables, **aramatis*).

Other examples of epithet preceding: 31. 21 *būrōiš ā* ... *x’āpaiḍiiāt*, ‘from his rich autonomy’; 32. 6 *hātāmarānē Ahurā*, ‘O Lord mindful of merits’; 34. 9 *aurunā xrafstrā*, ‘the savage predators’; 43. 1 *vasō.xšaiiṣ Mazda*, ‘Mazdā who rules at will’; 44. 6 *azīm rāniō.skərətīm gaṃ*, ‘the gladdening milch cow’, cf. 50. 2;¹¹ 45. 4 *vīspāhišas Ahurō*, ‘the all-observant Lord’; 49. 9 *ašā yuxtā* ... *Dējā-māspā*, ‘the Djāmāspas yoked to Right’.

11 Were these passages perhaps secondary to 47. 3, where we find *gaṃ rāniō.skərətīm* in the expected sequence?

Dependent genitive¹²

354. The tendency for objects to precede verbs and for defining adjectives to precede nouns reflects a general principle that essential modifiers precede the modified element. On the same principle one would expect adnominal genitives generally to precede their head noun. This does indeed appear to be the underlying norm, though there is much variability, especially in the *Gāthās*.

In *YH* genitives mostly precede the head noun. Examples: 35. 7 *Ahurahiiā ... Mazdā yasnəm cā vahməm cā ... gēuš cā vāstrəm*; 35. 8 *Ašahiiā āaṭ sairī, Ašahiiā vərəzēnē*; 36. 2 *uruuāzištahiiā uruuāziīā, nāmištahiiā nəmaṅhā*; 36. 3 *nāmanəm vāzištəm*; 37. 2 *yasnanəm pauraatātā*; 37. 3 *ašāunəm frauuašiš*; 39. 1 *gēuš uruuānəm cā tasānəm cā*; 39. 5 *vəṅhōuš xʷaētōuš xʷaētātā*; 41. 2 *hātəm hudāstəmā*. This may be considered the ‘natural’, unmarked or default position. Cf. the observation on *gēuš tašā* in §334.

A second genitive depending on the same noun may be added after it, as in 40. 2 *tauuacā haxəmā Ašaxiiācā*, ‘association with thee and Right’. Compare the examples in §94 of a possessive adjective and genitive in parallel, and §323.

The passages where a single genitive follows its head noun are: 35. 2 *naē naēstārō ... vohunəm*, for which see §334; 35. 8 *kahmācīt hātəm*, ‘for anyone in the world’; 36. 2 (cf. 3) *ātarō Mazdā Ahurahiiā*, ‘Fire of Lord Mazdā’, where the Fire has already been brought into focus in 1 and it is not a new one that is being specified; *ibid.*, *mazištāi yāṅhəm*, ‘for our greatest of supplications’; 36. 6 *sraēštəm aṭ tōi kəhrpəm kəhrpəm ... barəzištəm barəzimanəm*, ‘fairest body of thy bodies, highest of the high’.

355. In the *Gāthās*, as may be seen from the numerous quotations in §§93–104, adnominal genitives of all kinds occur both before and after their heads. They are sometimes separated from them by one or more other words; examples were listed in §322.

Other adnominals

356. In accord with the same principle, nouns in other cases that modify a head noun or adjective also tend to precede it.

Instrumental: 29. 2 *drəguuōdabīš aēšəməm*, ‘violence by the wrongful’; 43. 16 *Ašəm ... uštānā aojōṅhuuaṭ*, ‘Right, strong in vigour’; 47. 2 *āratōiš zastōi-biiā šīiaoṅnā*, ‘by action of piety with the hands’.

Ablative: 31. 15 *vāstriehiiā ... pasōuš vīrāatcā adrujiiaṅtō*, ‘of the herdsman innocent before man and beast’.

Locative: 43. 11 *mašīiaēšū vrazdāitiš*, ‘trust in mortals’.

12 Cf. Delbrück iii. 102 f.; Hirt vi. 120 f., vii. 247 f.; Kellens–Pirart ii. 31–5.

Vocatives¹³

357. Vocatives in Vedic behave to some extent like verbs, in that they are accented only when they stand in initial position. In Avestan too it may be supposed that in non-initial positions they are relatively unemphatic. They often occur in second position, which we have already identified as a slot for unemphatic elements. They follow any enclitic particles or pronouns that may be present. It is not really appropriate to comma the vocative off, as it is clearly part of the larger tonal unit.

Examples: 28. 2 *yē vā Mazdā Ahurā pairī.jasāi vohū manajhā*, ‘I who will approach you, Lord Mazdā, with good thought’; 28. 6–7, quoted in §343; 28. 8 *vahištəm v̄βā vahištā ... yāsā*, ‘for the best gift, O best one, I pray thee’; 28. 11 *tuuōm Mazdā Ahurā frō mā sīšā*, ‘do thou, Lord Mazdā, teach me’; 29. 10 *yūžēm aēibiiō Ahurā aogō dātā*, ‘grant ye them, Lord, strength’; *ibid.*, *azōmcīt ahiiā Mazdā v̄βam mōjyhī paouruuīm vaēdəm*, ‘I for one, Mazdā, realize thee to be the prime procurer of it’; 31. 3 *taṭ nō Mazdā vīduuanōi vaocā*, ‘tell us that, Mazdā, for our knowledge’; 31. 7 *tā Mazdā mainiiū uxšiiō*, ‘through that will, Mazdā, thou dost increase’; 31. 11 *hiiat nō Mazdā paouruuīm gaēvāscā tašō daēnāscā*, ‘since first, Mazdā, thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves’; 34. 14 *taṭ zī Mazdā vairīm astuuaitē uštānāi dātā*, ‘for this, Mazdā, is the prize you have set for material life’; 44. 3 *tācīt Mazdā vasmī aniiācā vīduiiē*, ‘these things, Mazdā, and others I desire to know’; YH 39. 4 *yaṭā tū ī Ahurā Mazdā mōnghācā vaocascā dāscā varaścā yā vohū*, ‘as thou, Lord Mazdā, dost conceive and utter and institute and do those things that are good’.

358. The initial (accented) position is especially appropriate when someone not hitherto addressed is hailed: 28. 5 *Ašā, kaṭ v̄βā darāsānī?* ‘O Right, shall I see thee?’; 46. 14 *Zaraduštrā, kas.tē ašauuā uruuāvō?* ‘Zarathushtra, which righteous one is thy ally?’ Other cases: 34. 15 *Mazdā, aṭ mōi vahištā srauuāscā šiiāo-ṽanācā vaocā*, ‘Mazdā, tell me the best things to be known for and to do’; 44. 1 *Mazdā, friiāi v̄βāuuqs saxiiāt mauuaitē*, ‘Mazdā, one such as thou might declare it to a friend such as me’.

Initial name with surname following after intervening words: 46. 15 *Haē-caṭ.aspā, vaxšiiā vō Spitamājhō*, ‘O Haecataspa Spitamas, I will say to you’; 46. 16 *Frašaoštrā, aṭrā tū arədrāiš idī Huuōguuā*, ‘Frashaushtra Haogava, go there with the zealous’.

The initial vocative forms a separate comma, as is evident from the placing of the enclitics in the examples after the word following the vocative; cf. §331. Indeed, the vocative could be considered a separate sentence, as it has no organic involvement in the syntax of what follows.

359. Sometimes the vocative is placed at the juncture between a dependent clause and the main clause: 28. 10 *aṭ yōṅg Ašāaṭcā vōistā vaṅjhēuścā dāvōṅg ma-*

13 Cf. Delbrück iii. 86–8.

naḥhō arəθβāng, Mazdā Ahurā, aēibiiō parənā āpanāiš kāməm, ‘those whom thou knowest to be upright and worthy before Right and Good Thought, Lord Mazdā, fulfil their desire with attainment’; 30. 1 *aṭ tā vaxšiiā, išəntō, yā mazdāθvā hiiatcēt vīdušē*, ‘now I will speak, O proselytes, of what you are to bring to the attention even of one who knows’; 31. 9 *θβā ā gēuš tašā as xratuš mainiiēuš, Mazdā Ahurā, hiiat axiiāi dadā pavqəm*, ‘thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will, Lord Mazdā, when thou didst offer her a path’; YH 40. 1–2 *hiiat mīzdəm mauuaiθīm fradadaθvā daēnābiiō, Mazdā Ahurā, ahiiā huuō nē dāidi*, ‘the [unintelligible epithet] reward which thou hast proposed for moral selves, Lord Mazdā, grant us of it’.

With apodotic *aṭ* (§277): 30. 8 *aṭcā yadā aēšqəm kaēnā jamaitī aēnaḥqəm, aṭ Mazdā taibiiō xšaθrəm ... vōiuuīdāitē*, ‘and when the requital comes for their misdeeds, then, Mazdā, for thee will be found dominion’. The sentence continues *aēibiiō sastē, Ahurā, yōi ...*, ‘to proclaim to those, Lord, who ...’, with the further vocative between main and relative clause.

360. In YH a vocative, like a verb, sometimes ends the sentence: 38. 5 *apascā vā azišcā vā mātarāšcā vā agəniīā drigudāiaḥhō vīspō.paiṭiš āuuuocāmā vahištā sraēštā. auuā vā varḥhīš rātōiš darəgō.bāzāuš nāšū paiṭi yiiādā paiṭi.səndā, mātarō jūtaiiō*, ‘as the Waters, as the Milch Cows, as the Mothers, choice cows, caring for the needy, giving to all to drink, we will invoke you, O best ones, fairest ones. I will assist you, O Good Ones, with the long arm of my liberality at your arrivings, O distributors, personable ones, mothers full of life.’; 39. 4 (continuation of quotation in §357) *avā tōi dadəmahī, avā cīšmahī, avā θβā āiš yazamaidē, avā nəmaxiiāmahī, avā išūidiiāmahī θβā Mazdā Ahurā*, ‘so we dedicate (them) to thee, so we assign, so hereby we worship thee, so we reverence, so we give thanks to thee, Lord Mazdā’; 41. 2, 3, 4.

Where both a verb and a vocative come at sentence-end, the verb precedes: 35. 3 quoted in §341; 36. 1 *ahiiā θβā āθrō vərəzənā paouruiiē pai-ri.jasāmaidē Mazdā Ahurā*, ‘with this Fire’s community firstly we attend thee, Lord Mazdā’; and so in the first sentence in 38. 5 quoted above.

Subsidiary modifiers

361. Words or phrases that amplify the meaning without being essential to it are put in a trough between more emphatic elements, or appended after the main proposition is sufficiently formulated (cf. §§362–7).

Examples: 28. 1 *ahiiā yāsā nəmaḥhā ustānazastō rafədrahiiā*, ‘for his help I pray in reverence with outstretched hands’; 29. 7 *tām āzūtōiš Ahurō maθrəm tašaṭ Ašā hazaošō*, ‘that is the butter prescript that the Lord made, of one mind with Right’ (with further appendages in the next line); YH 35. 3 *taṭ aṭ varəmaidī ... hiiat ī mainimadi ... yā hātqəm šiiəoθənanəqəm vahištā xiiāt ubōibiia ahubiiā*, ‘we have chosen to think those things that may be the best actions in the world, for both existences’, cf. 35. 8; 35. 5 *huxšaθrōtamāi bā aṭ xšaθrəm, ahmat hiiat aibī, dadəmahicā cīšmahicā*, ‘for the best ruler, rule (so far as lies with us) we dedicate and assign’ (between object and verbs); 35. 7 *taṭ aṭ vā vərəziiāmahī*

fracā vātīīmahī, yātō isāmaidē, ‘this we will put into effect for you and communicate, so far as we are able’.

Extension¹⁴

362. It is very common for a sentence that is potentially complete in grammar and sense to be prolonged by adding further elements at the end. They may be modifiers of the sort described in §361, for example instrumental or locative phrases, or datives or infinitives expressing purpose. Such additions as these modify or amplify the predicate as a whole. In other cases a particular word in the first clause, usually a noun, is picked up and developed by a further noun or nouns in the same case, or by one or more epithets, or a relative clause.

For example, in 28. 9 the first verse is potentially self-sufficient: *anāiš vā nōit, Ahurā, Ašōmcā yānāiš zaranaēmā*, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you, Lord, or Right’. But in the next line the sentence is extended firstly by a further accusative, *Manascā hīiaṭ vahištōm*, ‘and Best Thought’, and secondly by a relative clause attaching to the subject, *yōi vā yōiṭmā dasōmē stūtāṃ*, ‘we who are busy offering your praises’. In 33. 4, again, after a self-sufficient first line *yē ṭṭṭaṭ, Mazdā, asruštūm akōmcā manō yazāi apā*, ‘I that by worship will seek to keep from thee disregard and bad thought’, additional objects are appended, and then a phrase with a new ablative as well: *x^vaētōušcā tarōmaiṭūm vərəzōnaxīiēcā nazdištāṃ drujōm, airiīamnascā nadōntō, gōušcā vāstrāt acištōm maṇtūm*, ‘and the clan’s arrogance, and the village’s closest neighbour, Wrong, and the detractors in the tribe, and from the cow’s pasture the worst counsellor’. For the addition of further objects cf. also 28. 3; 29. 7; 33. 14; 34. 10; *YH* 37. 1, 5.

363. Amplification of the subject is also common, as in 29. 5 *aṭ vā ustānāiš ā huuā zastāiš frīnōmnā Ahurāiīā, mō uruuā gōušcā aziīā*, ‘but we two are here with outstretched hands propitiating the Lord, my soul and the milch cow’s’; 32. 3 *aṭ yūš daēuuā vīspāṃhō akāt manayhō stā ciṭrōm*, ‘but ye Daevas are all seed from Bad Thought’, *yascā vā maš yazaitē*, ‘and (so is) the grandee who worships you’; then additional ablatives, *drūjascā pairimatōišcā*, ‘and from Wrong and Contempt’; then another nominative, *šīiaomāṃ aipī daibitānā*, ‘your duplicitous deeds too’; 43. 3 *aṭ huuō vaṃhōuš vahīiō nā aibījamīiāt, yē nā ərəzūš savayhō paṭō sīšōiṭ ... aradrō ṭṭṭāuuas huzōṅtuš spōntō, Mazdā*, ‘but may that man attain yet better than the good, who should teach us the straight paths of advancement ... a zealous follower of thine, well-born, bounteous, Mazdā’, cf. 44. 9; 46. 5; 49. 4, 5; 50. 2; 53. 4 *yā fōdrōi vīdāt paṭīiāēcā vāstriiāēibiīō aṭcā x^vaētauuē, ašāunī ašāuuabiīō*, ‘with which (a woman) may serve her father and husband, herdsmen, and clan too, a righteous one (serving) the righteous’.

14 Cf. Delbrück iii. 61–6; J. Gonda, *Four Studies in the Language of the Veda* (‘s Gravenhage 1959), 7–70; T. Krisch in Crespo–García Ramón 303 n. 47; K. McCone, *ibid.* 370–2.

364. Similarly with other cases.

Instrumental: 46. 8 *paitiiaogəṭ tā ahmāi jasōiṭ duuaēšaṅhā tanuuōm ā ... kācīṭ, Mazdā, duuaēšaṅhā*, ‘may they recoil on him with hostility, on his person ... with whatever (brand of) hostility’; 49. 5; 50. 9.

Dative: 49. 8 *Fraśaoštrāi uruuāzištəm Ašahiīā dā sarēm ... maibiiācā*, ‘to Fra-shaushtra grant that most joyous union with Right, and to me’ (and then comes a relative clause referring to *sarēm*); 28. 7; 53. 5.

Ablative: 32. 3 quoted in §363; 33. 4 quoted in §362; 46. 4 *yas.tēm xšadrāṭ, Mazdā, mōiṭaṭ jiiātēuš vā*, ‘he who dispatches him from authority, Mazdā, or from life’.

365. Sometimes the appendage is an apposition serving to add definition to the initial term: 28. 7 *daidī, Ašā, tēm ašim, vaṅhēuš āiiaptā manaṅhō*, ‘give, O Right, that reward, the blessings of good thought’; 31. 15 *pərəsā auuaṭ, yā maēniš, yā drəguuāitē xšadrəm hunāitī, duššiiāoṭanāi, Ahurā, yā ...*, ‘I ask this, what the punishment is (for him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one, for the evil-doer who ...’; 46. 3 *kadā, Mazdā, yōi uxšānō asnəm ... frō ašahiīā ārəntē vərəzdāiš sənghāiš, saošiiāntəm xratauuō?* ‘when, Mazdā, will those Oxen of Days set forth on the path of Right with stouter declarations, the Promoters’ sapiences?’; 44. 17 *kaṭvā zarəm carānī hacā xšmaṭ, āskaitīm xšmākəm?* ‘how am I to journey towards my goal in accord with you, (namely) attachment to you?’; 44. 16 *aṭ hōi vohū sraošō jaṅtū manaṅhā, Mazdā, ahmāi yahmāi vašī kahmāicīṭ*, ‘and let compliance come to him with good thought, Mazdā, to him whomsoever thou wilt’.

366. Extension by apposition of epithets: 34. 4 *aṭ tōi ātrēm ... aojōṅhuuaṅtəm Ašā usōmahī, aš.īšim, əmauuāntəm*, ‘we wish for thy fire that is mighty through Right, very potent, strong’; 48. 11 *kadā ... Ašā maṭ Ārmaitiš jimaṭ xšadrā, hušaitiš vāstrauuaitī?* ‘when will Piety together with Right come in dominion, she of good living, the pastoral one?’; 53. 9 *tōi narapīš arəjīš, aēšasā dājīṭ.aratā, pəšō.tanuuō*, ‘they are waning and darkness(?), eager Right-diminishers, forfeit of body’; YH 38. 3 *apō aṭ yazamaidē, maēkaiiaṅtišcā hēbuuaṅtišcā*, ‘the Waters we worship, sparkling and sappy’.

367. This additive technique is typical of the *Gāthās*. It may be illustrated from the ramifying opening of the first poem, 28. 1–3:

*ahiiā yāsā nēmaṅhā ustānazastō rafədrahiiā,
Mainiiūš, Mazdā, paouruuim Spəṅtahiiā ašā, višpəṅg, šiiāoṭnā,
Vaṅhēuš xratūm Manaṅhō yā xšnəuuīšā gəušcā uruuānəm,*

*yō vā, Mazdā Ahurā, pairī.jasāi vohū manaṅhā,
maibiiō dāuuōi ahuuā, astuuatascā hiiatcā manaṅhō,
āiiaptā ašāṭ hacā, yāiš rapəntō daidīṭ xšadrē;*

*yā vā Ašā ufiānī Manascā Vohū apaouruuim
Mazdāncā Ahurəm, yaēibiiō xšadrəm cā aṭzaonuuamnəm
varədaiitī Ārmaitiš: ā mōi rafədrāi zauuəṅg jasatā.*

The first line is syntactically self-sufficient: ‘I pray in reverence with outstretched hands for his help’. Then ‘his’ is given definition by adding *Mainiiōuš* ... *Spəntahiiā*, ‘the Bounteous Will’s’, this genitive phrase being distracted by the insertion of the vocative *Mazdā* and the adverb *paouruuīm*, ‘in first place’. Then are appended successively the instrumental *ašā*, ‘with Right’, an accusative *vīspōng* to be construed with *yāsā*, ‘(I pray) all (of you)’, and another instrumental, *šīiaoθnā*, which must be construed adnominally with *rafəδrahiīā*, ‘(help) through an action’. The nature of the action is then specified by means of a relative clause, of which *šīiaoθnā* is the head, *Vaṇhəuš xratūm Managhō yā xšnəuuīšā*, ‘by which thou wouldst satisfy Good Thought’s wisdom’, and that is extended with an additional object, *gəušcā uruuānəm*, ‘and the cow’s soul’.

The sentence is not yet complete, for stanzas 2–3 largely consist of two further, parallel relative clauses, attaching to the ‘I’ of the opening line. First *yə vā*, *Mazdā Ahurā*, *pairī.jasāi vohū managhā*, ‘I who will approach you, Lord Mazdā, with good thought’. This is extended by a substantial infinitival purpose clause, which issues in a further relative clause: ‘(for you) to give me of both existences, the material one and that of thought, those blessings in line with Right by which one could keep one’s supporters in well-being’. Then in the third stanza comes the second ‘I who’ clause. Its nucleus, *yə vā Ašā ufiānī*, ‘I who will hymn you, Right’, is extended successively by *Manascā Vohū* ‘and Good Thought’, *apaouruuīm* ‘as never before’, *Mazdəm cā Ahurəm* ‘and Lord Mazdā’, and then comes another relative clause referring to these powers, ‘whose unimpaired dominion Piety increases’. Finally the whole elaborate structure is summed up and rounded off by a compact new sentence: ‘come ye to my calls to give help’.

Interlacing¹⁵

368. A feature of word order that distinguishes the verse *Gāthās* from the prose of *YH* is the extent to which words that belong closely together grammatically are separated, sometimes by a considerable distance. The manifestations of this that we have met in the sections on distraction (§§320–5) and extension (§§362–7) are more or less intelligible. The distribution of emphasis achieved by distraction of a noun phrase (noun + epithet, or noun + genitive) will not seem strange to anyone familiar with Greek or Latin poetry; in the first few lines of the *Iliad* we have *μῆνιν* *ἄειδε* *θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος* ... *ἦ μῦρ’ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε’* *ἔθηκεν* ... *Διὸς δ’ ἐτελείετο βουλή*, and in those of the *Aeneid* *Troiae* qui primus ab *oris*, *saevae memorem Iunonis* ob *iram*, and so on. ‘Extension’ served us as a rubric covering passages where a clause is followed by a continuation that in many cases takes up a word that comes early in it, while the integrity of the initial clause remains intact.

15 Cf. Humbach i. 108 f.

There remain some passages, however, where words are interlaced in ways not easily accounted for. In the following examples the related words that might be expected to stand together are picked out by ^a—^a, ^b—^b, etc.

28. 4 *yā uruuānəm* ^a*mān gairē* ^b*volū* ^a*dadē* ^b*hadrā* ^b*manajhā*, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought’.

31. 15 *yā nōiṭ* ^a*jiiōtūm* ^b*hanarə* ^a*vīnastī* | ^c*vāstriehiiā* ^b*aēnəjhō* *pasəuš* *vīrāaṭcā* ^c*adrujiiantō*, ‘who does not find a livelihood without wrong to the herdsman innocent before man and beast’.

31. 21 *Mazdā dadāṭ* *Ahurō* ^a*hauruuātō* ^a*aməratātāscā* | ^b*būrōiš* *ā* ^a*ašaxiiācā* ^b*xvāpaiṭiiāṭ* ^b*xšadrahiiā* ^a*sarōi* | *vajhəuš* *vazduuarē* *manajhō*, ‘the Lord Mazdā offers, for the union¹⁶ of health and non-dying and right, from his rich autonomy of domain, the permanence of good thought’.

32. 5 ^a*akā* ^b*šīiaoṭnəm* ^a*vacəjhā* *yā* ^b*fracinas* *drəguuaṇtəm* *xšaiiō*, ‘(and) by evil speech, with which he assigns the deed to the wrongful one to control’.

33. 1 *yaṭā* ^a*āiš*, *iṭā* ^b*varəsaitē*, ^a*yā dātā* *ajhəuš* *paouruuiehiiā*, | ^b*ratuš*, ‘as by those which were the statutes of the first existence, so the ruling will be implemented’.

33. 14 *aṭ rāṭəm* *Zarəduštrō* *tanuuasciṭ* ^a*xvaxiiā* ^a*uštanəm* | ^b*dadāiṭi*, ^a*paouruuātātəm* ^c*manajhəscā* *vajhəuš* ^b*Mazdāi* | ^c*šīiaoṭnahiiā* ^b*Ašāiiācā* ^c*uxdaxiiācā*, ^a*sraošəm* *xšadvrəmcā*, ‘as offering, Zarathushtra dedicates his own body’s energy to Mazdā and to Right, the prime of his good thought and deed and utterance, his compliance and authority’.

43. 15 *aṭ tōi* ^a*vīspəṅg* ^b*aṅgrəṅg* ^a*ašāunō* ^b*ādarā*, ‘all the righteous they have declared their enemies’.

46. 17 ^a*hadā* *vā* *stōi* ^b*vahməṅg* ^a*sraošā* ^b*rādaṅjhō*, ‘for there to be for you,¹⁷ besides your compliance, praises of the caring one’.

46. 19 *yā mōi* ^a*ašāṭ* ^b*haiṭīm* ^a*hacā* ^b*vərəšaiti*, ‘he who in accord with right will make real for me’.

16 The dative *sarōi* is my emendation for *sarō*: West (2008), 131.

17 On the text cf. p. 28 n. 26.

