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Old Avestan Syntax and Stylistics

With an edition of the texts

De Gruyter
Preface

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

Old Avestan lends itself to a separate study. The text corpus is clearly delimited, and it is small enough to allow comprehensive treatment, yet large enough to provide adequate documentation of most phenomena. The fact that it comes from a single region and a narrow timespan (probably not more than a single generation), with perhaps only three authors represented, favours sharpness of focus. The fact that it contains only composition of a stylized cha-
racter is a limitation; on the other hand, there is both verse and prose, giving us two different varieties of stylization.

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

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

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

M. L. West
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Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

3. In nearly all sentences a grammatical subject and predicate can be identified, whether or not they are explicitly expressed.\(^1\) In an inflected language both are often expressed in a single word, as in Latin *dixi* ‘I have spoken’.

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

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\(^1\) Often one or the other is understood from the context. Sentences not so analysable would include: (1) imperatives such as ‘come here’, ‘shut up’; (2) vocatives and other exclamations, e.g. ‘Veronica!’ or ‘Hell!’; (3) utterances such as ‘yes’ and ‘no’, which are tokens standing for the subject–predicate sentences ‘it is so’, ‘it is not so’, ‘I refuse’, etc.; (4) subjectless verbs such as Latin *pluit* ‘it is raining’. On these last see Delbrück iii. 23–37; Brugmann (1925), 17–41.
languages its marking for person, number, and voice); in a nominal sentence (§8) it is the prior element in the equation.

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

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

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

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

Sentence and Clause in Old Avestan

6. Sentences in Old Avestan, especially in the Gāthās, show great variation in their extension, from nuclear brevity to protracted utterances of considerable syntactic density. The shortest sentences are mostly answers to questions, where the question sets up the syntactic frame into which the answer fits: 43. 7–8 “ciš ahi?” … “Zaraduinoštō”, ‘who art thou?—Zarathushtra’; 43. 9 “kahmā viuuduiiē vaši?” … “ōβahmāt aērē”, ‘whom dost thou wish to serve?—Thy fire’; 51. 22 yehīā mōi … vahišten yesnē paitī, vaeđā: Mazdā Ahurō, ‘I know in whose worship my best (interest lies): (it is) Mazdā the Lord’.

7. Occasionally one sentence is inserted parenthetically into another (§378). A main clause is often preceded or followed by one or more subordinate clauses; a subordinate clause may also be embedded inside a main clause, or further material may be appended to the main clause after a subordinate clause. A sub-
ordinate clause may sprout a further dependent clause of its own, and that one a third, so that there is a syntactic hierarchy, as in 43. 4,

\[
\text{at ōβā mōnghāi taxmēmcā spēntōm, Mazdā, hīaṭ tā zastā, yā tā haʃšī auuā yā dā ašīš dragūuātē ašānaaęcā … hīaṭ mōi vanhāuš hazā jimaṭ manayhō.}
\]

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

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

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

**Verbal and Nominal Predication**

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

Examples of nominal main clauses: 28. 9 yužēm zauuišiįąįjho; īšō xšādremcā sauuaŋjam, ‘ye (are) the promptest ones; (your) powers and domain

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² Reichelt §715.

³ The primary meaning of ah- was not ‘be (the same as)’ but something like ‘be there, be available, be palpably present’; cf. Delbrück iii. 12–14. It retains this sense in passages such as 29. 5 ā huuā, 9 aŋhaṭ; 31. 16 aŋhaṭ; 43. 16 xiiąā; 50. 7 xiiąā. In YH 35. 6 ažā … yābā iį asti means ‘so, just as it (actually) is’ (as opposed to how it might be misrepresented); it is more than a simple copula. In 27. 14, ašām vohū vahišṭem asti, uštā asti, it should perhaps be given a more emphatic translation than simply ‘is’.
(are) of strengths'; 29. 8 aëm mōi ḫdā vīstō, ‘this man here I have found’; 31. 6 Mazdā aŭuāt xādṛēm, hīaṭ ... , ‘that (is) dominion for Mazdā, what ... ’; 31. 7 hūūō xraḥḍā ḍqiśā Āthom, ‘he by his sapience (is) the creator of Right’; 31. 20 diuūamnēm hōi apārəm xṣaiō, ‘radiance (is) his hereafter to possess’; 31. 22 cīfrā ī hudāyē, ‘these things (are) clear for the well-doer’; 32. 16 hamēm tāt vahistā-cīṭ, ‘that (is) equal to the very best’; 48. 7 ḗt hōi dāmān ḍṭalām ā ḫam, Ahūrā, ‘his lodgings (are) in thy house, Lord’; 51. 10 hūūō ḍāmōiś drūjō hunuś; tā ḫuḍdā, yōi Ḵontī, ‘he (is) a son of the creator of Wrong, and thus (is) a malefactor (of all) who exist’; 51. 16 Āṃptō Mazdā Ahūrō, ‘bounteous (is) Mazdā the Lord’.

Examples of nominal relative clauses: 4 28. 2 ahuūā, astuuatascā hīaṭcā maṇaḥīō, ‘both existences, the material one and (the one) that (is) of thought’; 31. 5 vohū maṇaḥīō ... yehīiā mā ṭaṛāiš, ‘with Good Thought, the one whose prophet (I am)’; 31. 7 tā ... mainiīiū uxšīiō, yō ā nūrēmcīt ... ḫāmō, ‘through that will ... thou dost increase, which even now (is) the same’, or perhaps ‘who (art) the same’; 31. 12 yābrā maeḇā, ‘where (there is) uncertainty’; 31. 13 yā frāsā ānūsiṇā ‘the question that (is) overt’; 31. 21 yō hōi mainiīiū šīaḏnāiścā uruwaṭō, ‘(to him) who (is) his ally in will and deeds’; 32. 16 xṣaiāq ... yehīiā mā aṯiścīt duuaeḇā, ‘in control of (that) whose danger (is) a threat’; 33. 3 yō ašāmē vahistō, ‘he who (is) best to the righteous one’; 33. 6 yō zaotā ašā ṥerzuṇ, hūūō ... kaiićā, ‘I who (am) a straight minister in accord with Right, desire’; 33. 11 yō sēuuiśtō Ahūrō, ‘thou who (art) the strongest Lord’; 34. 13 mīḏdōm, Mazdā, yehīiū tū daḏrēm, ‘the reward, Mazdā, of which thou (art) the gift’; 44. 5 kō yō uṣā arēṃ.piḏbā xṣapācā, ‘who (is it) through whom (there are) morning, noon, eve?’

Nominal conditional clauses occur in three places: 31. 2 yezī āiś nōiṭ uruwaṭē aduūā aibī.daraštō vaxšiā, ‘if through these (words) the better way (is) not in plain view to the soul’; 32. 6 pourū aēnā ṣnāxštā yāiś srauwaḥiations, yezī tāiš aḏā, ‘the many offences against peace by which he seeks renown, if by them (he is doing) so’; 44. 6 yā sāuwaḥsīiā yezī tā aḏā hāiśiā, ‘if the things I am about to say (are) true thus’.

Interrogative sentences

9. Most interrogative sentences are introduced by an interrogative pronoun or adverb such as kō or ciś ‘who?’, kāt ‘what?’ ‘est-ce que ...?’ kadā ‘when?’ , kaḏā ‘how?’ , kudā or kuṭrā or kū ‘where?’ , ‘whither?’ , katārēm ‘which of the two?’ These always stand in initial position. See further §§136–9.

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

5  Reichelt §§722–4.
texts, in the absence of one of the above question-markers, we cannot identify them by any formal feature such as word order. In two passages they are indicated by accompanying references to questioning: 29. 5 hiiat Mazdām duwaidī frasābiō: ‘nōit ūražaiitī jrajiitīti, nōit ṣsuieitē druguasai pairī?’ ‘as we set Mazdā to our questions: “Is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stock-raiser, among the wrongful?”’; 44. 10 taṭ ūbā paresā, orāš mōi voacā, Ahurā: tām daēmnm, … ārmatōi ūxōāī ūšiaōdm ūorās dādītā? ‘This I ask thee, tell me straight, Lord: that religion, … do they with pious words and deed have a true conception of it? ’

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

Examples of interro gative nominal sentences: 29. 2 kātiā tōi gauūoi ratuś, hiiat him dāti xšaiantō? ‘how (was) thy ruling for the cow, when ye powers put her here?’; 29. 5, see above; 29. 7 kas.tē, vohū manaḥpā yē …? ‘whom hast thou, who by good thought …?’; 29. 11 kudā ašōm vohucā manō xšaβramcā? ‘where (are) Right and Good Thought and Dominion?’; 34. 5 kaṭ vā xšaβram, kā īštiś? ‘what (is) your power, what your ability?’, cf. 48. 8, 49. 12; 44. 3 kas.nā zāḏā ptā Āṣahiitā paου ruuiō? … kō yā má uxšiiεtitī nεrfaitū ūbāt? ‘who (was) the father-begetter of Right in the beginning? … Who (is it), through whom the moon waxes or wanes?’

Negation

10. The regular particle of negation in the Gāthās is nōit. In YH we find only naē (once): 35. 2 naē naēstārō yaβdnā vohunām mahī, ‘we are not revilers of what is good’. In the Gāthās this appears only in naē.cīš, naē.cīt, ‘no one’, ‘nothing’.

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

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

The same form of negation is used with participles, as 28. 3 ayżaon-uuammom ‘unimpaired’; 31. 12 and 17 auuūduuā ‘unknowing’; 31. 15 adrujiitāntō ‘innocent’; YH 35. 4 asrunuuatascā … axšaiantascā ‘not hearing, not having

6 See Narten 91 f.
authority’. And with *nomina actionis* in -ti-: 30. 11 ὅνειτι ‘through failure’; 34. 9 ἀκούστι ‘through non-acquisition’.

12. *nōit* may negate a whole sentence or clause, or a single word within it. When it negates a single word, that word generally contains a verbal element, as in 29. 3 ἀχμαὶ Ἀσὰ, *nōit sarajā ... paītī maṇuvaṭ, ‘to him Right, not a union-breacher, will answer’; 49. 4 *yaēṣam nōit huvarṣṭāś vās dužuvarṣṭā, ‘through whose not doing-good-deeds the ill deeds prevail’; apparently 46. 6 *yas.tām nōit nā iṣamno ā (j)yāṭ, ‘the man who comes to him unwanted’, though if this is the correct analysis it is an exception to the principle that participles are negated by *a*-

In a nominal sentence *nōit* may be equivalent to ‘there is not’: 29. 1 *nōit mōi vāstā xṁat anīiō, ‘I have no pastor other than you’; 29. 3 *aunuaśaṃ nōit viduiiē, ‘of those things (there is) no knowing’; 29. 6 *nōit aēwā āhū vistō naēdā ratū aṣāctīt hacā, ‘indeed no patron has been found, nor a ruling in line with Right’. Similarly in a question: 29. 5, quoted in §9.

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

13. If it is a whole main clause that is negated, the negative particle regularly stands in initial position, unless preceded by a demonstrative adjective or pronoun (with any subjoined enclitic), as in 28. 9 *anāiś vā nōit … yānāiś zaranaēmā, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you’; 29. 3 *aunuaśaṃ nōit viduiiē, ‘of those things there is no knowing’; 30. 6 *aīā nōit araś viśītā daēuūācinā, ‘between those two even the Daevas do not rightly discriminate’. In 32. 7 the demonstrative is accompanied by its noun: *aēṣam aēnaṇhaṃ naēcīt viduuā aojoi, ‘of those offences I declare that I know nothing’.

The same rule applies to subordinate clauses, where the negative normally follows the relative pronoun or other connective: 31.15 *yō nōit jiōtīm hanarō vinastī vāstrīheiśiṃ aēnaṇhō, ‘who cannot find a livelihood without wronging the herdsman’; 31. 5; 34. 8; after relative + enclitic, 51. 6 *yō hōi nōit vidūītū, ‘who will not serve him’. In 44. 13 the relative pronoun has an adjectival phrase appended to it before the negative: *yōi aṣrāśtiōś paroṇāḥpō nōit Aṣahīśiā adīuuiieṃti hacēnā, ‘who, being full of non-compliance, do not strive for the companionship of Right’. Demonstrative intervening before the negative: 31. 2, quoted in §8; demonstrative + enclitic, 45. 3 *yōi ʿim vā nōit ḫā mādram varāṣaṃtī, ‘those of you who do not so act on this prescript’.

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

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7  Cf. Delbrück ii. 529–31.
number of places we find initial *nōīt* combined with a verb in penultimate or final position. Penultimate: 43. 15; 49. 2, 9. Final: 31. 10; 45. 1 (end of verse), 2; 46. 8; similarly with *naē* in *YH* 35. 2.
II. Morphosyntax

Concord¹

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

15. Neuter plural subjects take a singular verb, reflecting the original nature of the neuter plural as a collective: 29. 4 saxvārō ... yā zī yāuherzōū pairī cīdiṭ ... yācā varaśaitē aipi cīdiṭ, ‘initiatives ... those that have been taken in the past and those that may be taken hereafter’; 31. 14 tā ḍbā parasā, ... yā zī ā <aē>itū jānghaticā, ‘I ask thee about those things that are approaching and will come’; 32. 7 aēṣam aēnaṅham ... yā jōīā sōṅghaite, ‘of those offences which are decreed to be matters of life’; 49. 4 yaēṣam nōī huuṛstāiś vas duṛuṛstā, ‘through whose not doing-good-deeds the ill deeds prevail’; 50. 10 yācā vohū caṃmān aprājat manayhā, ‘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 aēṣamō hazascā remō hiśāitā deraś tauuiscā, ‘fury and force, cruelty, violence, and aggression hold me bound’; 44. 20 yāiś gam Karapā Usīścā aēsmāi dātā, ‘with whom the Karpan and the Usī put the cow to violence’. So in 32. 15 we have anāiś ā viṅnēnāśy yā Karapōtāscā Kauuśtiscā, ‘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: aunuśiś abī yōṅg dainti, ... tōi abitā Bairīiāntē, ‘those whom they implicate in them will be borne away from them both.’

17. In 31. 4 we find the so-called schema Alcmanicum, by which a singular subject is followed by a plural verb in anticipation of the addition of a further subject: yadā Ašom zauūm anhēn Mazdāscā Ahurāŋhō, ‘when Right is (lit. are) to be invoked, and Mazdā and the Lords’.³

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¹ Cf. Delbrück iii. 229–54; Brugmann (1925), 148–86; Reichelt §§602–8.
³ Cf. RV 1. 32. 13; Schwyzzer–Debrunner 612.
18. There may be imperfect concord between a subject and something with which it is equated, as in 32. 3 ą tū īùš daēuāa vispābhō Akā Manāŋhō stā ciibróm, ‘but you Daevas are all spawn from Evil Thought’; 32. 10 yē aćiéstam vaēnajhē aogedā ām āśībīā hūnārācā, ‘who declares that the worst thing (neut.) to behold with the eyes is the cow (fem.) and the sun (neut.)’; 33. 13 yē vē ā bifrā, … vē vaŋhōū āśī manāŋhō, ‘those virtues(?) of yours, which (neut. pl.) are the reward (fem. sg.) of good thought’; 43. 1 tā tō mēī dā ... rāiiō āśīs, ‘give me that (neut. sg.) as the rewards (fem. pl.) of munificence’; 43. 11 sādṛā mēī sās mašīiāēsū rāziidātīs, ‘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: xuīš śiitādānāścā sōnghāścā; vē īś sōnghō apēmēm Drūjō domānē ādāt, ‘by their actions and teachings; which teaching will consign them at the last to the house of Wrong’.

In 33. 2 a relative clause in the singular, defining a class of person, is taken up by a plural in the main clause: at yē akēm dṛguuātī ... vṛoṣātīti, vaŋhāu vē cōiβātītī āśīm, tōi vārāi rādentī, ‘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

19. One noun may be placed beside another in apposition to give it greater definition: 44. 3 zābā ptā, ‘father-begetter’; perhaps 31. 9 ṭōs ā gēus taśā as xrratuś mainiēuś, ‘thine was the cow-fasher sapience of will’.

In other examples a longer noun phrase is appended in apposition to expand on the meaning: 28. 7 tām āśīm, vaŋhōū āiiaptā manāŋhō, ‘that reward, the blessings of good thought’; 31. 6 yē mōī viduua vaocā haiitīm, mādhram yim hauruutatāō aśahiītī amara <ta-tātāscā, ‘who knows and speaks my truth, the prescript of health, right, and continuing life’; 34. 12–13 sīsā nā ... paḥō vaŋhōū sōxeēng manāŋhō, tōm aduuamēm, Ahūrā, yēm mēī mraos, ‘teach us the paths of good thought that are well to travel—that road, Lord, of which thou telllest 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 vē ... mō uruua gēuścā, ‘we two, my soul and the cow’s’; 29. 8 aēm mōī idā vistō, ... Zarāƀūstra Spitāmō, ‘this man here I have found, Zarathushtra Spitama’; 30. 1 at tā vaśātī ... vē mazdābā ...: stātācā Ahūrāi yēsniēcā Vayḥōūś Manāŋhō, ‘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 taśā 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 āt tā mainiiū, paouruiiē yā yōmā x'afoñā arsuātam, manah[cā] vacahicā šiaodāñōī hī, vahiō akemcā, ‘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 aixiācā x’afo̱tu̱s yāsāt, ahiīā vorzēnom maṭ airriamnā, ahiīā daeuuā mahmī manōi, Ahurahiiā uruuiizāmā Mazdā, ‘suppose for his the clan prays, for his the village with the tribe, for his the Daevas, in my fancy, for the Lord Mazdā’s bliss-giving’; 32. 3 yūs daeuuā vispāḥō, ‘all you Daevas’; 44. 7 ḍhā fraxšnī auuāmi, Mazdā, spēntā mainiīū vispān̄m dāti̱em, ‘I am concerned to promote thee, Mazdā, (thee) the ordainer of all things through thy bounteous will’; 46. 19 yō mōi aṣāt hai̱tim hacā varasātī, Zarānuṣtrā, hīitā vasnā fra̱sōtēm, ‘whoever in accord with Right will make real for me, for Zarathushtra, the utmost splendour of my desiring’, cf. 51. 12; 47. 2 huuū ptā Aṣahīia, Mazdā, ‘he is the Father of Right, he Mazdā’.

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

Nouns and Adjectives

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

In some circumstances adjectives may assume the independence of nouns:

23. A masc. adjective (sg. or pl.) is often used in general propositions, standing for any or all persons characterized by a certain quality; it may also denote specific persons. Examples: 30. 7 aēśam ... paouruiiō, ‘their first one (leader)’; 30. 11 drguuōdabīiō ... aṣauuabīiō, ‘for the wrongful ... for the righteous’; 33. 7 vahiūtā, ‘O best ones’; 34. 7 kuɔrū tōi arədṛā? ‘where are thy zealous ones?’; 34. 8 puruubīiō, ‘for many’; 34. 10 huxruuṭā, ‘(any) wise man’; 43. 15 puruūs dreguuaṭō ... vispāng aṣāunō, ‘the many wrongful ... all the righteous’; 44. 5 cazdouhuuption, ‘the prudent man’; 49. 1 du₀səṛdṛīs, ‘the ill-protected’; 53. 8 du₀suωarṇuŋho ... vispāŋho, ‘(the) evil-doers, all of them’. Not to be overlooked is 28. 1 (and passim) Mazdā ‘the Mindful One’ as alternative to Mazdā Ahurā ‘the Mindful Lord’ or Ahurā ‘the Lord’.

In 44. 4 kə vātāi dzuuqnmaiibiiascā yaoət əsū? ‘who yoked the winds’ and the clouds’ swift pair?’, the masc. dual adjective əsū, ‘swift ones’, stands for ‘swift steeds’.
24. A neut. sg. adjective may stand for an absolute quality or indefinite entity: 28. 8 vahištom, ‘the best thing’, cf. 31. 6, 32. 16, 43. 2; 31. 6 haiðim, ‘a truth’; 31. 19 vaŋhāu, ‘in the good’, cf. 33. 2; 33. 2 akəm, ‘evil’, cf. 51. 8; 43. 10 parštəm, ‘question’; 44. 2 aŋhəuš vahištahiĩa paouruũm, ‘the best existence’s first (beginning)’, cf. 45. 2, 3 (twice).

25. A neut. pl. adjective may stand in a more general sense: 32. 12 akə, ‘evil things’; 30. 2 vahišta, ‘the best things’, cf. 43. 15, 45. 6; 30. 5 aċištə, ‘the worst things’; 31. 12 maēdā, ‘uncertainties’, cf. 34. 6; 33. 1 daṭā, ‘ordinances’; 33. 1 miḥahiiũ, ‘false deeds’; 33. 6 vāstṛiiũ, ‘pastoral works’; 34. 7 sādrə, ‘sadnesses’, cf. 43. 11, 45. 7; 43. 12 nōiṭ asrūstə, ‘things not unheeded’; 44. 3 tacjaɪ … antićaɪ, ‘these things and other things’; 44. 16 ciiṟa, ‘clarity’; 46. 19 manə.viṣṭaiũ maṭ viśpāĩ, ‘with all spiritual acquisitions’; 49. 4 huuarstə, dužuuarst-tə, ‘good deeds, bad deeds’; 53. 3 spūniiũstə ārmatɔiũ hudanũ, ‘piety’s most liberal benefactions’; YH 35. 2 humatanam hūxtanam huuarstɔam, ‘of things well thought, well spoken, well done’; ibid. voḥunam, ‘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 at kohrpəm utaiũutiũ ᵀa ᵁ də, ārmaitiũ qaṁnũ, ‘then vitality informs the body, piety the soul’; 30. 8 yadə aĉeũŋ kaeũŋ jamatũ aĉeũŋ, ‘when the punishment comes for their offences’. Sometimes the language suggests a degree of personification, as in 29. 1 ā ma aĉeũŋ hazasću remo hiišiiũ dōeũs tουuũstɕu, ‘fury and force, cruelty, violence, and aggression hold me bound’; 30. 6 hiiaš iʃ ā dəbaomə perasemnϯŋ upa jasat, ‘because delusion comes upon them as they deliberate’; 31. 20 tɔm və akũm … daeũŋ naeʃa, ‘that is the existence to which your morality will lead you’; 32. 3 Akə Manahjo stə ci̞rəm … Dṛụjascə Pārīmatɔiũɕcũ, ‘ye are seed (sprung) from Evil thought and from Wrong and Contempt’; 43. 15 daxʃa tuxʃiiũ tuʃniiũmaicu ű vahištu, ‘silent meditation teaches me the best things to say’; 49. 2 nōi⅐ spoʃtəm dōeʃt ahmii̞ stɔi̞ Ārmaitiũm, naeũdə Voʃu … fraʃta Manahjo, ‘he has not embraced bounteous Piety to make her his, nor taken counsel with Good Thought’.

27. The figures of Ārmaiti- ‘Piety’, Voḥu- Manah- ‘Good Thought’, and Aʃəm ‘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 Aʃəm (= Vedic Ṛṭm) appears to be given animate status by transfer to the masculine gender, with both nominative and vocative appearing as Aʃə: nom. 29. 3; 30. 9; 46. 9; voc. 28. 3, 5, 6, 7.⁶

⁶ I take the nom. Aʃə (for expected *Aʃo or *Aʃō) to be an irregular modernization of an original *Artə. See further West (2007b), 76 f.
28. Abstract stands for concrete in 32. 15 Karpōtāscā Kauitāscā, ‘the Karpanhood and the Kavihood’, for ‘the Karpans and the Kavis’; and in a different type of idiom in 46. 3 saosiiantar xratauo, ‘the spiences of the Promoters’, for ‘the spient Promoters’. There is what looks like a similar phrase in 48. 10 yacā xratu duśśaдра daxitunam, ‘and the misruling spiences of the regions’, though the form xratu 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 mizdo Dust, Mazdā, yehtiī tu daθram, ‘the reward, Mazdā, of which thou art the gift’; 43. 8 haiibiiy duuaesā hiitā isōiī drēguyaitē, at asāunē rafnō xiiēm aojōphwuat, ‘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 toi narapiθ rajīs, ‘they are waning(?) and darkness(?)’; YH 36. 1 yē ahx thi ahmái, yēm axtōiioi dāphhe, ‘(thy Fire), which is torment for whom thou puttest to torment’; 41. 3 abh tu nē gatiastic astontāscā xiiā, ‘so mayest thou be our life and substance’.

Verbal Nouns (nomina agentis, actionis)

29. Agent nouns formed from verbal roots have a certain ambivalence as between noun and verb status. The object of the inherent verb usually appears in the genitive (nominal reaction): 29. 2 taṣa goṣ, ‘the fashioner of the cow’; 31. 17 vaŋhōuś fradaxstā manaŋhō, ‘the teacher of good thought’; 32. 13 aŋhōus maretstā ahiīa, ‘destroyers of this existence’; 44. 4 vaŋhōuś … damiś manaŋhō, ‘the creator of good thought’; 44. 7 vispanam datāram, ‘ordainer of all things’; 48. 12 hamaestōro aēšmahiīa, ‘the smitters of violence’; 50. 6 dāta xrat-ōuś, ‘the giver of wisdom’; 50. 11 dāta aŋhōuś, ‘the ordainer of the world’; 51. 10 dāmōis Drūjō, ‘of the creator of Wrong’. But damiś ‘creator’ is also used with the object in the accusative (verbal reaction): 31. 7 huoṅ xraṅsā ō damiś aṣom, ‘he by his wisdom is the creator of Right’; 45. 7 tācā xsaobra Mazdā damiś Ahuro, ‘of those realms too Mazdā is the creator’; and similarly with manaobrī-, 44. 5 ya manaobrīs казdōphruantam arebahiīa, ‘which are admonishers (of) the prudent man of his endeavour’.

In YH 35. 2 agent nouns are construed with the copula to characterize the subject: humatanam huxtanos huvarštanam … mahī aibijaretstō; nae naestāro yaθenā vohunam mahī, ‘we are approvers of good thoughts, good words, good deeds … we are not revilers of what is good’.

30. Nomina actionis too are occasionally construed with verbal reaction: 32. 11 aŋphīṣcā aŋhuaucscā apaieiti raexṣaŋhō vaecd, ‘by the depriving (instr.) matrons and masters (acc.) (of) the possession (acc.) of their inheritance (gen.)’; 34. 7 vaŋhōuś vaedon Manayhō sönghiō raexnā, ‘by possession of Good

7 Cf. Humbach i. 102 f.
Thought’s decrees (and) legacies'; 43. 11 *maššiaēši zrazdātiš*, ‘trust in mortals (loc.)’; 45. 9 *pasūš virēng ahmākōng fradaētiš*; ‘for the furtherance of our herds (and) men’, cf. 31. 16; 48. 5 yaozdā ... *zaēm*, ‘purification of breeding’; YH 35. 9 *ašem manaiiā vahehiiā*, ‘with better thinking (on) Right’; 40. 4 *ištēm rāiti*, ‘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 *tà tōi iziiā, Ahūrā Mazdā, darštōišcā hēm.parštōišcā*, ‘with that (mind) I long, Mazdā, for beholding and conferring with thee’; 34. 9 *vanjēus ūuīsū manajhō*, ‘in (their) non-acquisition of good thought’; 44. 4 *kasnā derēta zāmcā adō nabāscā avuapastōiš?* ‘who held the earth from beneath and the heaven from falling down?’; 46. 4 *at tōng drēgūnā ... pāt gā frōretōiš*, ‘but the wrongful one keeps those oxen from coming forth’.

Nominal Composition as Syntax

32. The creation of nominal compounds was an ancient and productive strategy of Indo-Iranian discourse. Those that contain a verbal component effectively compress a verbal phrase into a single grammatical element capable of being deployed in a larger sentence in any of the relationships that its various case-endings provide for. The compound may simply be an ornamental adjunct that contributes nothing essential to the purpose of the sentence. Or it may, especially if it is newly coined *ad hoc*, carry a pointed or pregnant sense. For example, in 29. 3 the sense ‘Right does not want to break ranks with the other Ahuras, and he has no hostility to the cow, so he answers’ is packed into the sentence *ahmāi Ašā, nōiṭ saraįā, aduuaēšō gauoi, paiti.mrawaT*, ‘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 maššiā acištā đantu vaxšentē daē-uuō.zuštā*, ‘the worst things, by doing which mortals will wax Daeva-favoured’. In 44. 2 the proposition that a man with certain qualifications has a healing effect on the world is expressed by *hūuō ... ahūm.biš*, ‘that man is a world-healer’. In 53. 6 the idea is that when the wrongful get their deserts, they will be given only foul food to eat, they will be lamenting, they will lose all amenities, because they have diminished Right: the words (following a lacuna) are *vaiū.berodbiō duśx.āreōm; nāsāt xādrem draguōdebiō dējit.artaēbiō*, ‘for the Alas-utterers bad-food; well-being is lost for the wrongful Right-diminishers’.
Degrees of Comparison

33. The comparative degree of adjectives or adverbs has two distinct uses. It may signify that something has a greater degree of some quality than something else; if the point of reference is given, it stands in the ablative, as in 43. 3 vahihii ‘better than good’; 51. 6 akii ‘worse than bad’. Or it may just have contrastive force, as in 30. 3 manahii vacahicá šiaodanõi hi, vahii akomcã, ‘those two kinds of thought, of speech, of deed, the better one (= the good one) and the bad one’; 45. 2 yaiia spaniia uitã mrauaat yõm angrem, ‘(the two Wills,) of whom the (more) Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one’; 34. 8 hiaat asaojã nãiïiângãm, ‘as a strong man a weaker one’; 48. 4 yã dãt manõ vahiiõ ... asiiascã, ‘he who sets in place better thought or worse’; 31. 20 yõ âiiaat asauaanom, diuauaanom hõi aparam xšaïi, ‘whoso goes to the righteous one, radiance is his to possess afterwards (in contrast with now)’, cf. 45. 11. In 34. 6 yaâã vã yazemnascã uruuâïiia stauau aïiënã patii, ‘that I may come to you worshipping and praising you more gladly’, one may take the comparative either way, as ‘more gladly than I would otherwise’, or as ‘gladly as opposed to miserably’.

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

34. The superlative degree too has two uses. It may signify absolute supremacy within a given category (identified in the genitive): 29. 3 haiam aojištõ, ‘mightiest of beings’, cf. YH 35. 3; 45. 6 vïspanõm mazištõm, ‘the greatest one of all’; 45. 4 aïhõôs aîiiâ vahištõm, ‘the best one in this world’; YH 36. 6 sraïštõm ... kõhrpãm kõhrpãm ... barzištõm barëzimãnm, ‘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 vïspõmazištõm, ‘all-greatest, supreme’; 46. 19 = 50. 11 hiaat vãsã fraõtomem, ‘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 tãm daënãm, yã haiam (neut.) vahištã (fem.), ‘that religion which is the best of existing things’.

35. Or the superlative may be simply elative, indicating a high degree of the quality in question. Thus in 30. 4 vahištãm manõ, ‘best thought’, is merely a metrical alternative for vohu manõ, ‘good thought’, cf. 32. 11; and likewise with 28. 8 âšã vahištã, 30. 5 mainiïu spënistiõ (contrasted with positive yã droguã), 30. 6 aciïstãm manõ, 46. 6 vahištõ (parallel with positive friiõ); 33. 1 šiiaodnã razistã, ‘by action most just’; 45. 5 spentõtomõ, ‘the most bounteous one’; 49. 8 fraëstãnhõ, ‘best friends’; 53. 7 zrazištõ, ‘fully trusting’.

8 Skjærvø 124 f.
9 Cf. Delbrück iii. 248 f.
**II. Morphosyntax**

36. Certain superlative forms are made on *verbal roots* and have verbal rection: 46. 19 *tācīt mōi sās tuōm ... vaēdištō*, ‘(of) those things thou seemest to me the best provider’, cf. 32. 7; 29. 4 *saxārō maṁištō*, ‘most heedful (of) initiatives’; 51. 1 *xšaḏrem ... bāgam aibī bairištam*, ‘dominion most productive (of) fortune’.

**Gender**

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 *ašaunī*, ‘a righteous woman’.

In *YH* 39. 2 *ašaunām āat urunō ... naraṃcā nārināmcā*, ‘the souls of the righteous, both men and women’, both sexes are then covered by the masculine pronoun *yaēsaṃ*, ‘whose’. In 39. 3, on the other hand, we have *yazamaidē vaŋhūscā īt vaŋhūscā īt, ... yōi vaŋhōuš ā manaŋhō šiteĩnī, yāscā ūiti, ‘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 *ārmaīti*- is treated as a female being; cf. 49. 2 *nōiṯ spaŋtam dōrēst ahmāi stōi Ārmaītīm*, which may be understood as ‘he has not embraced bounteous Piety to make her his’. But the neuter *aša-*, when so far personified as to speak or be spoken to, is transferred to the morphologically closest animate gender, the masculine; see §27.

39. The *neuter plural* represents a collectivity and is treated as a singular when the subject of a verb (§15). In §28 I have raised the possibility that in 48. 10 the normal masc. pl. *xratauwō* is replaced by a neuter pl. *xrati* 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 āuțištīa, yā vā ... paresaētē taiiā, yā vā ..., tā ... aibī ašā vaŋnahī 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 (*śīiaobnā, vacaŋhā*) and a masculine (*yasna-*) are summed up first in *aēṣam ‘of these’* (masc. or neut.) and then in the neut. pl. *i ( ... vīspā);* 34. 11.

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¹⁰ Delbrück i. 89–133; Reichelt §§412–16.
¹¹ For neut. plurals of masc. nouns cf. Delbrück i. 123–8.
Nouns and Adjectives

Number

Singular

40. The singular is often used in a representative sense, standing for a whole class: 44. 20 Karapā Usixścā ... Kauuā, ‘the Karpan and the Usįį ... the Kavi’; 29. 5 nōįįt ąraįįjiįįiįį frajįįjaįįtįįįį, nōįįt ąsuiįįenįįė? ‘is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stock-raiser?’; 31. 11 vasā, ‘the free agent’; 31. 17 katarēm așauuā vā drouuā vā verenauaitē maziiō? vīduuā vīdušē mraotū, mā euuīduuā aįįį dēbāuaitiaį, ‘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 vahistā śiiaodnā, ‘from the best action’. In 30. 4 singular and plural are used equivalently: aciįįtō drouuaitaįt, at așāuānē vahistem 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 aįįį įįįį śaįdūm snaiįįitįā, ‘so cut them down with axe’, the imperative is plural, being addressed to an entire audience, but snaiįįtiįā 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 at vā ustānātē ā huuā zastātē, ‘but we two are here with outstretched hands’ (pl. not dual); 30. 2 sratiūt gōisītā vahiįtīā, ‘hear with your ears the best things’, and similarly in 51. 3; 31. 11 hiįtā nō ... gaębăscā taśō daęnăscā ... xratūscā, ‘since thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves and intellects’; 32. 14 ni Kăuuiiitasciįt xratītō dadaįt varečăhcīt, ‘the very Kavis give up their intellects and dignities’; 34. 13 daęnā saośiiaŋatm, ‘the Promoters’ moral selves’, cf. 49. 9; 46. 11 xsa-ōrātē, of the Karpans’ and Kavis’ authorities; 33. 9 aiįtō ārōi ħakurenam, yaiįtă hacintē uruuqanō, ‘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 aįįį ‘swift pair (of steeds)’; 51. 12 vīčā ‘pair of draught animals’; 46. 19 găuuū azi ‘pair of milk cows’, or perhaps ‘a milk cow with a bull’. The duality may be resolved into its constituents: 28. 2 ahuuū, astwuatască hiiatītă maṇaŋho, ‘of the two existences, the material one and that of thought’; 30. 3 mainiiūt, ... yēmā ..., mańahī vacahitē śiiaodnōi hī, vahiiō akamcā, ‘the two Wills ... those twins ... the two thoughts, speeches, deeds, the better one and the evil’. Of morally antithetical pairs also 31. 3 rānōibitā, ‘the two parties’, cf. 31. 19; 43. 12; 47. 6; 51. 9; 51. 5 aįįitiā, ‘the two (alternative) rewards’.

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

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 utaiiiti touuiisi, ‘vitality and strength’, cf. 43.1, 45.10, 48.6, 51.7; 45.5 haurruata amirotata, ‘health and non-dying’, cf. 45.10, 47.1, 51.7; but on the other hand 34.11 ube haurruasc... amirotasc, ‘both (dual) health (sg.) and non-dying (sg.)’, where the emphasis is on Mazda’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 utaiiiti dita touuiisi.

Plural

44. Certain nouns are pluralia tantum: apō ‘the waters’ (44.4; YH 37.1, 38.3, 5); raocā ‘the light (of day)’ (30.1, 31.7, 44.5, 50.10; YH 36.6, 37.1). tamaḥ- ‘darkness’ occurs in the sg. in 31.20, but in the pl. when coupled with raocā in 44.5.

45. With other nouns the plural gives a nuanced meaning: 29.10 yā huṣṭiš rāmaṃca dāt, ‘by which one may establish well-ordered dwelling (pl., sc. in different settlements?) and peace’; 33.10 viṣpās tā huṣṭaiō, ‘all those good lives’ (pl. of abstract huṣṭi- ‘good living’); 33.13 frō... daēnā daxśaiā, ‘teach (me) moral principles’; 44.1 frīiā hākurunā, ‘friendly relations’ (sg. 33.9, ‘fellowship’ of two persons); 45.10 yasnaiš ārmatōiš, ‘with worships of piety’, i.e. pious acts of worship; 48.7 at hōi dānam bīahmī ā dam, ‘his lodgings are in thy house’; 51.4 kuṭrā bībā xśādrā, ‘where are thy areas of control?’; YH 38.2 Ḫā, Yaoštaiō, Faraštaiō, Ārmataiō, ‘the Libations, the Purifications, the Consummations, the Pieties’, as personified objects of veneration.

The plural proper name in 46.15 Haecaṭaspā... Spitamāgho, ‘O Haecat-aspa Spitāmas’, refers to members of a particular branch of the Spitāma family, one of whose women is designated in 53.3 as Pourucistā Haecaṭaspānā 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 dā spontā mainiīu, Mazdā Ahurā,
ābīrā vahhāu vi daiim rānōiīu
ārmatōiš dēbāzāghā aṣaxīīcā.

13 I use the term ‘appositive’ to cover prepositions, postpositions, and preverbs.
Through that bounteous will thou didst establish, Lord Mazdā, the allocation of the good by fire to the two contestants with the reinforcement of piety and right.

The sentence contains a single verb and nine nouns or noun phrases: in sequence, an instrumental, vocative, instrumental, locative, accusative, dative, genitive, instrumental, genitive. Several of the cases are adnominal, ādrā, vaŋh-hāu, and rānoībiīā all being dependent on the verbal noun vī.daītīm, and the two genitives on debqasqāhā.

Nominative

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 declared to be': 31. 17 zdi nē, Mazdā Ahurā, vaŋhōuš fraxāštā manaŋhō, 'be for us, Lord Mazdā, our teacher of good thought'; 46. 19 tāčīt mōi sāṣ tuuēm, Mazdā, vaedištā, 'of those things thou, Mazdā, appearest to me the best provider'; 48. 2 hā zī aŋhōuš vaŋhī vistā ākaretīš, 'for that is the pattern of existence found to be good'; 33. 8 dātā vē amoratāscā ... hauruutās draonō, 'non-dying and health were established as your portion'; 48. 12 tōī zī dātā hamanerātō aēšmahiiā, 'for they are appointed as smiters of violence'; 48. 8 kā ḫbōī ... vaŋhōuš maini-ōuš šiiaothānanām jawārō? 'what (potency) is thine, as stimulus(?) for enactments of the Good Will?'; 32. 7 aēšam aēnaŋhām ... vā jōiśā sānghaitē, 'of such offences which are decreed to be matters of life (and death)'; 50. 11 a t vē staotā aŋjāi, 'I will declare myself your praise-singer'; 53. 8 anāśā ā dužuuarśnaŋhō dafšniā hēntu zaxiīcā vispāŋhō, 'herewith let the evil-doers be thwarted and mocked, all of them'; YH 41. 4 aēšācā ḫbā ʷmāuantaşcā buiiāmā, 'may we become potent and strong through thee'; 41. 5 ḫbōī staotarascā maθrānaşcā ... aŏmadaēcā usmahīcā vīśāmadaēcā, '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 yāṣā namahā ustāna zastō, 'I pray you in reverence with outstretched hands'; 31. 7 yas.ta maŋhā paouruuiō ... xādrā, 'he who first conceived these felicities', cf. 44. 11; 46. 9; 31. 13 tā ... hārō aibī ... vaēnahī vispā, 'all those things thou regardest watchful'; 32. 4 maśīiā ... vax-

sāntē daēuō-zuštā, 'mortals will grow Daeva-favoured'; 15. 44. 12 huuō, nōiē
II. Morphosyntax

aiiōm, angrō mainiinetē, ‘he, not the other, thinks as an enemy’; 51. 15 garō domiēnē Ahurō Mazdā jasaṭ paouruiiō, ‘Lord Mazdā enters the house of song first’; 53. 7 yauuaṭ āzuī zdadītē, ‘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 darvōm āiuū tematēhō, dus-x‘arēdēm, auuētēs vacō, tēm va āhūm, drēguanētō, … daēnā naēṣat, ‘a long age of darkness, foul food, crying of woe (nom.) by way of speech—that existence (acc.), ye wrongful, your morality will bring you to’.

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

Accusative

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 zauuōŋ jimā, ‘to whose calls I will go’; 43. 12 ašōm jasō, ‘go (to) Right’; 30. 6 aēšēmōm hōŋ.duuārēntā, ‘they scurry (to) violence’; 44. 8 kā mō uruui vohū uruuaōxāt 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 drēguuā ūḥā sauūā paii.ārētē ciiatāhāt, ‘the wrongful one who enjoys opposing (lit. going at) thy gains’.

With gam in the sense of ‘accede to’ a wish: 43. 13 vēm va naēciš dārśt itē, ‘(a desire) (to) which no one forces you to accede’.

52. With verbs of speaking the accusative may specify the thing spoken of, as in 34. 10 ahiiā vaŋhōus manayōhō šiiaōdēnē vaocā garbaṃ huxratuś, ‘(of) this Good Thought’s deeds the wise man says “let them be seized hold of”’; 34. 15 aṭ mōi vahištā srauwaścā šiiaōdanācā vaocā, ‘tell me the best things to be known for and to do’. In 45. 2 the accusative specifies the person addressed: spāiitā ūiti mrauaat vēm angrām, ‘the Bounteous (Will) speaks thus (to) the Hostile one’, though elsewhere the dative is used (§78).

Similarly with man ‘think on’: 34. 8 yōi nōiț ašōm mainiintāt, ‘those who did not think on Right’; 43. 9 rātām nomayjho Āshāhīā … mainiintāi, ‘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 frasōm

‘kahmāi víuuùduiè vaśi?’, adā ‘ôbahmāi äôre’, ‘(at) his question “whom dost thou wish to serve?” I declare “Thy fire”’, as it were ‘his question I deal with by declaring’.\textsuperscript{17}

With a middle verb, 30. 5 yē xraoždištōng asēnō vastē, ‘who clothes himself (in) the hardest stones’.

With an intransitive verb, specifying something internal to the subject: 33. 10 uxsiiā ... 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 yē mašiiōng cixśnuśō ahmākōng, ‘who sought to gratify our mortal race’, cf. 43. 15, 45. 9, 49. 1; 34. 7 yōi ... sādrācīt caxraiōō uśaurū, ‘who make even sorrows innocuous’; 32. 12 īśanām drujām, ‘of those desirous (of) wrong’; 34. 14 xratōūš aśā frâdō vorēzēnā, ‘of the wisdom promotive (of) communities with Right’, cf. 46. 12; 44. 2 irīxtam vîspōibiō hârō, ‘observant (of) the outcome for all’; 45. 7 yā narqā sādā đrēguatō, ‘which are griefs (to) wrongful men’; 46. 2 rafeḍrēm cagūā, ‘affording support’. Cf. also the superlative forms noted in §36.

54. Some verbs naturally require two specifications and take two accusatives. ‘Ask’, ‘pray’, ‘order’, or ‘teach’ may require both a recipient and a content for the question, the prayer, the command, or the lesson. So 51. 21 tōm vâyēhīm yâsā aṣim, ‘him I pray (for) good reward’, cf. 28. 1; 49. 8; 31. 14 tā ôbā parasā, ‘these things I ask thee’; 43. 3 yē nā orezūś sauauyñō pâdō sīśōt, ‘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 īśīm yañtā, ‘he takes capability away from me’; 32. 11 ațhîścā ațhauuascā apaieiti ... vađēm, ‘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 tōm và ahtūm ... dânā naēśaț, ‘that is the existence to which your morality will bring you’.

In 34. 6 yezī ațhā stā haitīm, ... aț tāt mōi daxstom dâtā, ‘if ye are truly thus, then give a proof (of) that to me’, daxstom dâtā ‘give a proof’ is apparently treated as equivalent to ‘prove’, governing the object tāt.

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 aț râtqām Zarâbūštrō tanwuascĪ x’axiītä uśtanām da-dâitī, ‘Zarathushtra dedicates his own body’s energy as an offering’, cf. 34. 3; 43. 1, 2, 5. In 50. 6 dâtā xratōūs hizuuọ raiţīm stōi mahiītā, ‘the giver of wisdom

\textsuperscript{17} I follow Insler’s reading and interpretation.
to be the charioteer of my tongue’, it is as if we had dātā xratūm, with raiḍīm following as a matching accusative and subject of the infinitive stōi.

vid- ‘find’: 28. 5 manascā vohā vaedomnō gātūmā Āhurā ... sraoṃ Mazdā, ‘finding Good Thought and, as a path (or throne) for the Lord Mazdā, compliance’.

han- ‘earn, deserve’: 46. 19 ahmā mīzdām hanaṇē parāhūm, ‘to him, who deserves the world beyond as reward’.

Verbs of making: 32. 10 yascā dāōng ḍrēgūatō dādāt, ‘and he who makes the upright wrongful’, cf. 34. 6, 15; 43. 10; 30. 9 yō iṃ fraṃ korenāṃ ahūm, ‘who will make this existence splendid’, cf. 44. 7; 46. 19 yō mōi ... haiḍīm ... varēśaitī ... hīaṭ vasnā fraśōtōmām, ‘he who will make real for me the utmost splendour of my desiring’.

man-: 29. 10 azōmcīt āhīā ... ṭīṣṭān mōiṭī paουūrūś vaeḍām, ‘I think thee the first procurer of that’, cf. 43. 4; 46. 13.

Verbs of speaking: 32. 10 yō acīṣṭām vaēnajīē aogēdā gṃ aṣībīēa huaarocā, ‘who affirms the worst thing to behold with the eyes to be the cow and the sun’; 43. 11 hīaṭ mōi mraotā vahiṣṭām, ‘what you tell me is best’; 43. 15 āt tōi vīspōng angrōng aṣāunō ādarē, ‘they have declared all the righteous their enemies’; YH 36. 6 sraēṣṭām āt tōi kēhrpām kēhrpām āuaēdaiāmāhī ... imā raocā, ‘fairest body of thy bodies we proclaim this daylight’.

vid- ‘know’: 28. 10 yōng ... vōiṣṭā ... dāōng, ‘those whom thou knowest to be upright’: ibid., āt vō xśmaibīēa aṣūnā vaēḍā xaraibīēa vaiṇtīēa srauuā, ‘I know that well-purposed hymns of homage to you are not in vain’; cf. 34. 10; 46. 10.

vas-: 29. 2 kōm hōi uṣṭā ahurēm? ‘whom did you wish to be her lord?’; cf. 29. 9.

fra.var-: 31. 10 frauvaratā vāṣtrīāmxīēitiā fṣuiṇāntim ahuruṃ, ‘she chose the herdman, 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: tōm āt ahūriīā nāmēnī mazdāvarā spēntōtmā yassaimādē ... tōm aṣāunām frauvaṣīś ... yazaimaiddē, ‘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 adverbial expressions, perhaps a reflection of its general limiting function. It can express duration of time, as in 43. 2 vīspā aiiārē, ‘all days’ = ‘for ever’; analogously perhaps 34. 6 ahiīā apḥōuś vīspā maēbā, ‘through all the vicissitudes of this existence’. A different sort of idiomatic use is seen in 30. 2 vicībhāhīēa narēm narēm x‘āxīīāx tānuīē, ‘of the decision (made) man by man for his own person’.19

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18 On the grammar of this difficult sentence cf. the full discussion in Hintze (2007), 177–86.
57. A neuter adjective in the accusative singular may have adverbial value:  
23. 1 paouruūm ‘firstly, in the first place’ (cf. 43. 8, 11; 51. 2); 28. 3 apaour-
uium ‘as never before’; 45. 1 daibītim ‘a second time’; 34. 6 haibīm ‘in truth’;
34. 9 maš ‘greatly, a great distance’ (cf. perhaps 32. 3); 31. 17 mazīo ‘more’;
28. 5 mazīstrom ‘most fully’; 30. 3 eraš ‘rightly’ (cf. 30. 6; 44. 1); 31. 20 aparem
‘afterwards’; 30. 4 apēmōm ‘finally’ (cf. 48. 4; 51. 14); 51. 1 vahīstrom ‘best’; YH
41. 4 daregōm ‘for long’.

**Nouns and Adjectives**

58. Verbs of motion towards are sometimes reinforced with the preverb ā,
with the destination in the accusative, as in 28. 3 ā mōi ... zuauōng jasatā,
‘come (to) my calls’; 30. 6 hiiat īš ā dōbaomā ... upā jasat, ‘because delusion
comes upon them’; 33. 7 ā mā idūm, ‘come to me’; 43. 10 īt ā <a>ram, ‘I have
started towards it’; 44. 11 kaḏa tōng ā vijēmīaitām ārmaituś? ‘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 daragō jiīātīm ā xṣābram Vajhōus Manaṃhō,
‘after reaching the long life, the realm of good thought’; 44. 13 kaḏa druym niš
ahmat ā nāšamā, tōng ā auuā, yōi ... , ‘how are we to drive Wrong out from our-
selves down upon those who ... ’; 44. 14 ā īś duuafsōng ... nāśē, ‘to bring pains
upon them’; 46. 8 paitiaogōt tā ahmā jasōi jduaēstąhă, tanuōm 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 vaēnata sūcā ma-
naṃhā ā varană, ‘behold with lucid mind the two choices’.

ākā ‘in the presence of, facing’: 48. 8 Aṣā, ākā aredrōng išiīa, ‘O Right, thou
longed-for one in the presence of the zealous’; 50. 4 ākā aredrōng demănē garō
sraašānē, ‘facing the zealous I will be heard in the house of song’.

dōāmī ‘along, among, throughout’: 32. 16 hiiat aēnaēhē drēuwartō dōāmē
išiēng ahaityă, ‘whatever is for the wrongful one’s hurt, I will set in place(?)
throughout the desirable people’.

paitī ‘at, to’, as preverb with a verb of motion: 44. 12 yō mā drēuwartō ṛbā
sauuă paitī erātē ciyahtă, ‘the wrongful one who takes pleasure in opposing (lit.
going at) thy gains’; 49. 11 at duuṣ xaṛdrōng ... akāiś x’arebāiś paitų uruaŋō yein-
tū, ‘the souls come to the ill-dominioned with foul food’.

parō ‘beyond’: 33. 7 yā srūiści parō maŋō, ‘for which I am renowned
above the sacrifice-patrons’.

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

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20 Cf. Delbrück i. 610–14.
21 Reading 'aghaiia (causal of 'ah-; subjunctive with disyllabic 'ā).
II. Morphosyntax

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

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

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

60. Instrumental of means: 28. 5 anā mādrā ... vāurōimaiddī xrastrā hizuā, ‘with this prescript we might convince the predators with our tongue’; 28. 9 anāiś vā nōi ... yānāiś zaranaēmā, ‘by these prayers may we not anger you’; 28. 10 aēibiō paranā āpanāiś kānem, ‘fulfil their desire with attainments’; 29. 1 aḍā [mōi] sāstā vohū vāstriā, ‘so show yourselves through good pasturing’; 29. 5 aṭ vā ustānāiś ā huuā zastāiś frīnomnā Ahurāiā, ‘but we two are there propitiating the Lord with outstretched hands’; 30. 2 sраota gōusāiś, ‘hear with your ears’; 31. 3 tāt nōi ... vaçoā hizuāā ḫāhtiā āḥḥō, ‘tell us that with the tongue of thy mouth’; 32. 10 vaēnānḥē ... aṣibiā, ‘to behold with the eyes’; 32. 12 yōi gōus mōrenden uruωās.uχī jīōtum, ‘who pervert the cow’s life with the cry “Get going!”’; 31. 1 yōi ururωātāiś Dṛϕjo Aṣhaiṭāiś gāēvā vi.maraṇcāiṭe, ‘who with the rules of Wrong destroy Right’s flock’; 31. 2 yezi aśi nōi uruωānē aduωā aibī.dērōstā vaçiāi, ‘if through these (words) the better way is not in plain view to the soul’; 31. 18 aḍā iś sāzdūm snaibisiā, ‘so cut them down with axe’; 33. 3 vidās vā ḫāwxānhā gauωōi, ‘or tending the cow with care’, cf. 46. 12; 34. 13 tōm adωuωōm ... daēnā saośiitām vā ... uruωāxsat, ‘that road by which the Promoters’ moral selves advance’, cf. 51. 16; 43. 11 hiitā xśmā urdāiś didaiiḥē, ‘because I am learning through your utterances’; 43. 4 vā dā aśi ... ḫāhtiā garemā aṭrō, ‘the rewards that thou givest by means of thy fire’s heat’, cf. 51. 9; 49. 1 aṭ mā vauωā bōnduuō pafrē, ‘the polluter(?) has fed himself full on my life’; 51. 1 wī.điśemnāi Ṯācit, ‘certainly for one liberal with libation’; 51. 22 tā yazā

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61. Instrumental of cause: 31. 20 tēm vā ahūm ... śīiaoṁnāiś x'āiś daēnā naēṣat, 'that is the existence to which, on account of your own actions, your morality will bring you'; 32. 3 śīiaomāṁ aipī daibitānā, vāiś asrūdūm, 'your duplicitous deeds too, because of which you became renowned', cf. 32. 11; 33. 7; 32. 7 aēśam aēnayāṃ ... vāiś srāaūi x'aēnā aiiayāhā, 'of those offences on account of which one is tried by means of the glowing metal', cf. 32. 12; 34. 9 vāhūs sweīsīi manāţhō, 'from non-acquisition of good thought'; 34. 14 tāt zī ... vairīm astuutāīt uśānāī dātā vāhūs śīiaoṁnā manāţhō, '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 kannaftsū, '(I am ineffectual) because of my poverty in cattle'; 46. 4 x'āiś śīiaoṁnā ahēmustō, 'disagreeable because of his deeds'; 49. 4 yaēśam nōit huuarāstāiś vās duțhuarāśtā, 'because of whose not doing-good-deeds the ill deeds prevail'; 51. 15 tā vē ... sauuaśī ceuuūśī, 'these (laudations) were assigned to you because of your power to strengthen'; YH 40. 1 rātī tōi xrapaiīti, 'because of (our) offering it will befit thee (to grant our prayer)'.

62. Instrumental of agency, with passive verbs and participles: 29. 4 yā zī vāuurezōi pairī cīiḥi daēuūaścā maśitāścā, 'those things done in the past by Daevas and mortals'; 30. 1 yā raocūbiś daarasatā uruuaśā, 'the joys beheld by the light'; 34. 1 aēśam tōī ... ēhmā pourutomāiś dastē, 'of these is offering made thee by us in great numbers'; 43. 10 parśtōm zī ñbā, 'the question asked by thee'; 44. 8 yācā Vohū uxoā ... Manāţhā yacā Āśā, 'and the words spoken by Good Thought and those (spoken) by Right', cf. 43. 11; 48. 1; 53. 8 huuxsādrāiś jēnoraṃ xunoraṃ, 'by good rulers let them be beaten and bloodied'.

With non-passive verbs: 44. 3 kō yā mā uxsīiētīt? 'who is it through whom the moon waxes?', cf. 44. 5; 50. 5 āroi zī xšmā ... hīiāt ..., 'for it is established by you that ...', cf. 34. 3; 53. 9 duțhuuraṁnāiś vaēśō rāstī, 'at the hands of ill-choosers decay takes hold'; YH 41. 4 aēśacā ñbā ēmauuantascā biiyānā, 'may we become potent and strong through thee'.

63. Instrumental of attendant circumstance: 43. 2 civicbā ... vāhūs māiā manāţhō vispā aiiārē darogōjiiātōs uruusdāntāhā, 'understanding the transforming powers(? of good thought all his days, with enjoyment of long life'; 44. 15 hīiāt hēm spādā anaocantā jamaētē awuuīs uruuaśtāiś, yā tū ... didēreśō, 'when the two hostile armies meet on those terms which thou wouldst uphold'; 44. 19 oveixōdā, 'on agreed terms', 'when it been agreed'; 50. 7 sauuīsīiēng auruaatō jaiīāiś parrēbūś, 'the swiftest steeds, wide with victories (? = widely victorious)'. So perhaps 43. 4 ñbāhiīīa gārōmā ādōrō āsa aoiyāţhō,
‘by the heat of thy fire that is mighty with (or through) Right’, cf. 43. 16; 44. 2 ašā sporö, ‘liberal with Right’; 51. 21 sporö huuō cīstī, uxdāś, šīaōdānā, ‘he is liberal by insight, words, deed’; 43. 6 mazā xsaṭrā, ‘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 nemanḥā, ‘I pray in reverence’, cf. 34. 3, 50. 6, 51. 20; 29. 6 viduaut vafus viiānaiiā, ‘knowing the designs in his wisdom’, cf. 44. 7; 34. 8 tāis zī nā šīaōdānāiš bīaṇṭī ... ṭībāhii ... aśtā uruūttāhiiā, ‘for by those actions they intimidate us in hatred of thy law’; 44. 11 vīspāṅg aniīṅga mainiīuḥ spasītā duuāaṃsiṇāhā, ‘all others I regard with hostility of spirit’; 46. 6 rasaṃ jūaṣ, ‘living in rectitude’.

Of mental faculties shaping perceptions: 30. 1 yāt bīšā mōṭhya ... yazaṃ stoī manaṃḥā, ‘I think of thee as being young in my thought’; 34. 15 fraṣöm vasaṇā ... ahūm, ‘the existence that is splendid in my desiring’, cf. 46. 19.

64. Sociative-comitative: 30. 1 taibiiō xšaṭr̥om Vohū Manaṇḥā viiū-i-dāṭē, ‘for thee, together with Good Thought, will be found dominion’; 31. 4 yadā Ašām zauūm aṭḥōn Mazdācā Ahuṛāphō Asīcā Āromaītī, ‘when Right and Mazdā and the Lords are to be invoked with Reward and Piety’, cf. 33. 7; 32. 11 yōi darguuaṃtō mazbīš cicōiṭarē, ‘the wrongful who together with the gran-dees have distinguished themselves’; 33. 3 yē ašāunē vahiṣṭō x’aṛtū vā aṭ vā vareṣṃōtiio ariiannā vā, ‘he who is best to the righteous one, whether with his clan or as a villager or with his tribe’; 34. 6 yeṣī abā stā haiṭīm, Mazdā Ašā Vohū Maṇaṇḥā, ‘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; 44. 20 aēbiiō k’am, vāś gāṃ Karapā Usiṣcā aēṣmā dāṭā, ‘for the sake of those in company with whom the Karpan and Usij put the cow to violence’; YH 40. 4; 46. 10 frō tāis vīspāiś Cinuuaṭō frā pērēṭūm, ‘with all of them I shall cross the Arbiter’s Crossing’, cf. 46. 16; 46. 17 yē vī cineoṭ dāōmācā adāōmācā dandrā maNtu Aṣā, ‘who discriminates between the just man and the unjust with his sage adviser Right’; perhaps 50. 10 aṭ yē varaśā ... xīmākāi Aṣā vahnāi, Mazdā, ‘whatever things I do ... are for your lauding with Right (= and Right’s), Mazdā’; YH 38. 2 vajhīm abṣ Aṣīm, vajhīm Isāṃ ... yazamaidē, ‘besides them we worship good Reward, good Vigour ...’.

Of concord or union with: 28. 8 ṭībā ... yōm Aṣā vahiṣṭā hazaoṣām, ‘thee that art concordant with best Right’, cf. 29. 7; 32. 2 Aṣā huṣ.ḥaxā xśūnuuṭā, ‘friendly with Right the sunny’; 32. 16 hamōm tāt vahiṣṭācīt, ‘that is equal with the very best’; 34. 2 yehītā uruua aṣā hacaitē, ‘whose soul keeps company with Right’, cf. 43. 10, 12; 44. 10; 46. 1, 16; 31. 7 raoêbīš rōībēs̆̆ xʻadrā, ‘amenities combining with the daylight’; 46. 11 yūjēn Karpāṇo Kā- uuaīascā akeś śīaōdānāś ... māṣīm, ‘the Karpans and Kavis yoke the mortal with (= to) bad deeds’, cf. 49. 9 aṣā yuxtā ‘yoked with Right’; 46. 16 yaദrā Aṣā

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23 On these passages cf. Risch (1964), 57–61; Kellens–Pirart ii. 50–2.
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hacaitē Ārmaitiś, ‘where Piety keeps company with Right’; 48. 11 köi druguūodebiś xrūrāś rāṇāṃ dāntē? ‘which men will make peace with the savage wrongful ones?’; 49. 5 yē daēṇāṃ vohū sārštā mananṭaḥ, ‘who unites his moral self with good thought’, cf. 32. 2; 49. 9 sarēm ... druguūaṭā, ‘union with the wrongful one’.

Of speaking or conferring with: 31. 12 abrahim baraitī mi-dānuuacā vṛ ēraušuucā vā ... ahiśā zoredačā mananaḥcā, ‘there it may be one of false words or one of true words who makes speech with that man’s heart and mind’; ibid., Ārmaitiś mainiū paresaitē, ‘Piety debates with the will’; 44. 12 kā aśauuā, vāś paresāi? ‘who is righteous (of those) with whom I debate?’; 49. 2 naedā Vohū ... fraštā Mananṭaḥ, ‘nor has he taken counsel with Good Thought’, cf. 45. 6; 47. 3, 51. 11; 53. 3 a♭a hēm,frauṣuūa [♭♭a] xra♭b♭a, ‘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 ahmācā xśadbhā jasat mananaḥcā vohū aśacā, ‘but suppose one comes with dominion for him, with good thought and right’; 49. 11 akaiś xarabdhās paiti urauqna yeinṭi, ‘the souls come to them with foul food’; 51. 10 maibiiō zbaiū Aṣom vaṃhuuā aśi gatē, ‘for myself I will call upon Right to come with the good reward’. Similarly 46. 3 kadā ... vōi uṣāṁo anṣaṃ ... frō aṣaihīiā āranṭe vorezdaś sāṅgaihī, ‘when will those Oxen of Days set forth on the path of right with stouter declarations?’

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

Of time: 29. 9 kadā yauuūa, ‘when ever?’

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

68. Instrumentals in any function may be a denomināl: 28. 1 ahiśā yāśā ... ra♭d♭raḥiī ... śiiaobnā, Vahḥuus xratūm Mananaḥo yā xśauuīiśā, ‘I pray for his help by means of an action through which thou couldst satisfy Good Thought’s purpose’; perhaps 29. 2 yē druguūodebiś aēśomom vidaiiūiūt, ‘who might repulse violence (committed) by the wrongful’ (unless it is ‘together with the wrongful’); 29. 11 ēhmā rāṭoiś, ‘liberality by us’; 31. 19 ō♭b♭a a♭r♭a suxrā

24 Cf. RV 4. 53. 7 kṣapābhīr āḥabhiś ca, ‘night and day’; Delbrück i. 245 f.; Brugmann (1902) §545(b); Hirt vi. 34; Krahe 98 f. The adverb fraiduuś ‘daily’ (32. 14) shows an instr. ending.
69. A good example of multiple instrumentals in one sentence is 43. 6, 47. 2

\[\text{yayhm} \text{ spentā ḫāmānīū uruuaēsē jasō,} \]
\[\text{mazdā xšādrā, ahmū Vohū Manahā,} \]
\[\text{yahiiā śīiaoōnāī gādā aśā frāndāntē, …} \]

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 mat ‘together with, beside’: 32. 1 verazānōm mat airīianā, ‘the village with the tribe’; 34. 11 Āṣā mat Ārmaitiś, ‘Piety together with Right’; 43. 14; 44. 7; 45. 9; 46. 19; 48. 11; 50. 8 mat yā padāś yā frasrūtā īzāiiā pariā jasāī … ustānastō, apparently ‘together with what are known as the Footsteps of Libation I will approach you with outstretched hands’.

Similarly with hadā ‘with’: 29. 2 hadā vāstrā gaodāšō ḫāxšō, ‘cattle-tending (lies) with the pastor’; perhaps 46. 17 hadā vā storī vahmēng sraošā rādāhō, ‘so that there are for you, besides compliance, praises of the Caring One’; 50. 4 at vā yazāī statuaas, Mazdā Ahurā, hadā Āṣā Vahištācā Manahā, ‘I will worship you with praise, Lord Mazdā, (you) together with Right and Best Thought’ (cf. §122).

And with hadrā ‘with’: 28. 4 yā uruuānōm mōn gairē vohū dādē hadrā manahā, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought’; YH 38. 1 iṃqm āāt zām gōnābīs hadrā yazaimaidē, ‘this Earth together with its Dames we worship’.

parō ‘beyond’ is construed with the instrumental in 34. 5 parō vā vispāś xavōxā māeuvāścā xrašṭāś maśīiāścā, ‘we have declared you (to be) beyond all predators, both Daevas and mortals’. It is not obvious what function of the instrumental this relates to, but the usage is paralleled with Vedic parās.

pairī ‘before’ is construed with the instrumental in 50. 10 at yā varaśā yācā pairī āś śīiaoōnā, ‘whatever things I do and whatever (I did) before them’.

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25 But with sarō the genitive is more often used, cf. §99.
26 vē stōī is my emendation for the manuscripts’ vēstā or vīstā.
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.

Dative of interest (advantage, disadvantage, possession, etc.): 28. 3 yaēbiō ṇaṣāḥramcā ṣāḥaunmanaṃ vaṛdaṅī ārmaitiś, ‘(you) for whom piety augments unimpaired dominion too’, or ‘whose unimpaired dominion too piety augments’; 28. 8 vahīṣṭam ṭḥā ... yāsā vāmaus naḥōi Fraśaoṣṭārāi maibīiācā, ‘(for) the best (gift) I pray thee longingly for the manly Frahashutra and myself’; 28. 10 aēbiō perōṇā ṛṇāiś kāṇoṃ, ‘fulfil their desire with attainments’n; 29. 1 kahmāi mā ṭḥaṅrozhāum? ‘for whom did you shape me?’, cf. 29. 6; 29. 2 kādā tōi guauoi ratauś ‘how (was) thy judgment for the cow?’; 29. 5 nōit ṭrēzialōi frizialaśliś, nōit ṭīuiente? ‘is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stock-raiser?’; 29. 7 kāṣṭe ... yō i dāiśā tāoṃa maretaiēiūi, ‘who is there for thee who could establish those things for mortals?’; 30. 11 hīaṭcā daragōm dreguudobiiō raśō sauucā așauubiiō, ‘the lasting harm that is for the wrongful, and the blessings for the righteous’, cf. 31. 3; 31. 4 iśasā ... maibīo xṣāḥram ajoṅghuuaṭ, ‘I shall seek a strong authority for myself’; 31. 6 ahmāi aŋhaṭ vahīṣṭeṃ, yā ... , ‘it will go best for him who’; 31. 10 at hī aiiā frauuraeτā vāstram așiūi ... ahuram, ‘but she of these two chose for herself the herdsman as lord’, cf. 46. 3; 31. 15 yā maēniś, yā dreguūaṭe xṣāḥram hunāiti, ‘what the punishment (is for him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’; 32. 10 yasca vādara vōiždaṭ așāunē, ‘and he who raises a weapon against the righteous one’; 33. 1 şīaōnā razistā dreguutaetacā hīaṭcā așāunē, ‘by action most just both for the wrongful one and as regards the righteous’; 34. 8 șīaōnāś ... yaesū as pariā pourubiiō įbietjo, ‘by their actions, in which there was danger for many’; 44. 4 kā vātii duanmaibiiiascā yagogot āsūi? ‘who yoked the swift pair (of steeds) for the wind and clouds?’; 46. 11 Drūjoy domānāi aștaiō, ‘as guests (destined) for the house of Wrong’; 46. 13 ahmāi gaēda Vohū frādaṭ Manajhā, ‘for him the flock (= his flock) he promotes with Good Thought’; 49. 2 nōit spēntam dōṛēt ahmāi stōi Ārmaitiṃ, ‘he has not embraced bounteous Piety (so as for her) to be his’; 50. 3 atcīt ahmāi ... aŋhaiti, yam hōi ... cōišt, ‘yet his will be (the cow) which one assigns to him’; 53. 5 tāt zī hōi huśōnam aŋhaṭ, ‘for that will be profitable for him’; 53. 6 naṣaṭ xṣāḥram dreguudobiiō dōjit.arataeibiiō, ‘well-being is lost for the wrongful diminishers of right’; YH 36. 1 yā a axtiś ahmāi, ‘which is torment for him’.

The dative of interest is used of a person to whom someone comes bringing benefit or the opposite: 29. 3 yaḥmāi sauōoŋ (acc.) jīma, ‘to whose calls I will come’; 43. 4 hīaṭ mōi vaŋhaus hazō jimaṭ maṇaŋhō, ‘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  yaštā nā ā Vohu jimaṭ Ma-
naṣṭā, ‘so that it will come to us with Good Thought’, cf. 46. 3; 44. 11 yaesi-
biiō … ōbōi vaštītē daēnā, ‘to whom thy religion issues forth’; 46. 8 paitīiaogē-
tā āhmāj jasōīj duuə̃ašaŋhā, ‘may they recoil on him with hostility’; 49. 1 gaidī-
moi, à moi rapā, ‘come to me, support me’. Note that the dative is not used of
going ‘to’ a place, and these examples are not to be so understood.

74. Of attitudes towards someone: 29. 3 aduuaēśō gauuōi, ‘not hostile to the
cow’; 29. 7 huuō urušāeibiiō spoŋtō, ‘he is bounteous to the needy’; 31. 1 yōi zrazā āaghan Mazdāi, ‘who will be faithful to Mazdā’; 31. 21 yōi … ur-
uuabō, ‘who is his ally’, cf. 51. 11; 33. 3 yō ašaunē vahištō, ‘he who is best to
the righteous one’, cf. 45. 5; 43. 8 haištō duuuaēśā … dregvuaaite, at ašaunē rafo-
nō xīēm aojōhharu, ‘may I be the true enemy of the wrongful one, but to
the righteous a strong support’; 47. 4 ašaunē kāžō … akō dregvuaaite, ‘kind to
the righteous one … malign towards the wrongful one’; 44. 7 uzzmōm … pulvrem piĕrē, ‘the son respectful to the father’; 45. 11 yōi hoī arōm mainiitā, ‘who is
properly disposed towards him’.

75. The enclitic dative pronouns moī toī hoī nō vē, placed after the first word
or tonal unit in the clause, often serve to mark possession of something speci-
fied by a following noun, or personal interest in the predicate as a whole:28 29.
8 yō nō aēuuo sāmā gūṣatā, ‘who alone listens to our guidance’; ibid., hiiat hōi
hudumōm diīāi vaxeōraahtī, ‘as I harness his well-constructed utterance’; 31. 6 yō
moī vīduuā vaocaat haištīm, ‘who, knowing it, speaks my truth’; 31. 11 hiiat nō,
Mazdā, paouruūtim gaēbāscā taśō daēnāscā, ‘since first, Mazdā, thou didst fashion
our living bodies and moral selves’; 32. 2 spoŋtām yō ārmaītim vaŋhīm varamai-
dī; hā nō anhaat, ‘your liberal piety, (as it is) good, we adopt; it shall be ours’;
32. 6 ḍṣahmi yō … xšaครอบīrī Aṣāiecā sānghō vī.dām, ‘in thy domain let your
decree and Right’s be given out’; 34. 11 at toī ubē hauruuaŚcā … amoratatascā,
‘both health and non-dying are thine’; 44. 17 hiiatcā moī xiīat vāxē aēsō, ‘and
that my voice be effective’; 45. 5 yōi moī ahmāj sraosēm dan caiitasca, ‘whatever
people comply with it for me’, or ‘whatever people I get to comply with it’;
47. 3 at hōi vāstrāi rāmā dā ārmaītim, ‘and for her pasture thou didst establish
peace and piety’; 51. 2 ta vō … dōišā moī ištōiś xšaవrem, ‘so I will show you
my command of competence’.

76. The dative of interest may be a dnominaI: 28. 5 gātučcā Ahurāi, ‘and
(as) a path (or throne) for the Lord’; 30. 1 staotacā Ahurāi, ‘praises for the
Lord’; 30. 2 vićełhaši īarōm īarōm x’axiitā tanuie, ‘of the decision (made) man
by man for his own person’; 44. 2 irixtum vișpōbiitō hāró, ‘observing the out-
come for all’; 48. 8 așiōs ḍṣaxiitā maibiiō, ‘of thy reward for me’; 51. 5 daśaē-
biitō eraś.ratūm, ‘the straight judgment (appointed) for the just’; 51. 14 gauuōi

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ärōiš, ‘of harm to the cow’; YH 40. 3 haxmainē ahmaibiā, ‘for association to us’.

77. The dative is used for the indirect object after verbs of giving, assigning, effecting: 28. 7 dādī tū . . . Viśtāspā tīm maibiācā, ‘give enablement to ViśtaSPA and to me’, cf. 29. 10; 44. 14 kādā Aśī Drujīm diām zastaiō, ‘how might I give Wrong into the hands (loc.) of Right (dat.)?’, cf. 30. 8; 31. 9 hīat aśīśi dādā paṇām, ‘when thou didst offer her a path’; 43. 5 hīat dā . . . aśīśi, vāhyhīm aśīm vānhaouē, ‘when thou didst set evil for the evil one, a good reward for the good’; 49. 7 yō vāreznā vaṇhīm dāt frasastīm, ‘that will give the community a good renown’; 28. 8 yaēbīiācā it rāṇahgōī, ‘and those on whom thou wilt bestow it’; 31. 3 yauzādā . . . zaṃōm . . . gauōī vārežiātīm, ‘let purification of breeding be effected for the cow’; YH 41. 1 stūtō garō vāhnēng Ahurāī Mazdāī dadamahicā cīśmahicā ācā vaēdāiamaḥi, ‘praises, songs, laudations we dedicate and assign and proclaim to Lord Mazdā’.

78. Likewise for the indirect object after verbs of speaking or showing: 29. 3 aḥmāī Aśā . . . paiit.mrauāt, ‘to him Right will answer’, cf. 32. 2; 30. 1 yā mazdāḥa hīatcīt vidūsē, ‘things that you are to bring to the attention even of one who knows’; 31. 3 tāt nē . . . vaocā, ‘tell us that’, cf. 44. 1; 31. 17 viduāū vidūsē mraotī, ‘let the knowing one speak to the knowing’, cf. 43. 12; 53. 5; 32. 9 tā uxādā . . . yūśmahīiā gerozē, ‘these words I utter in complaint to you’, cf. 29. 1; 44. 20 yācā Kauūā ʿamnēnē urūdōiiaṭā, ‘and the things the Kavi makes her lament to her soul’; 43. 8 aṭ hōī aojī, ‘to him I say’; 33. 13 dōīiī mōī yā vā ā bifrā, ‘show me the virtues(?) that are yours’, cf. 43. 10; 51. 2, 17.

79. Certain verbs that denote beneficial action take the dative: 29. 5 frīnennā Ahurāiā, ‘propitiating the Lord’, cf. 49. 12; 33. 3 vidēs vā ḍhaxāxāḥhau gauōī, ‘or by tending the cow with care’, cf. 51. 6, 53. 4; 33. 11 sraotā mōī, mērēzātā mōī, ‘hear (my prayer) for me, have mercy on me’; 43. 9 kahmāī vīnuudūīī vāsi? ‘whom do you wish to serve?’; 49. 1 gaiḍī mōī, ā mōī rāpā, ‘come to me, support me’; 50. 5 hīat yūśmākā āmrānē vaorāzābā, ‘that you will be benign towards your prophet’; 51. 6 yасcā hōī vārāi rādāt, ‘and whoever will be prompt to his will’, cf. 33. 2.

80. Dative of the observer from whose viewpoint something is seen: 31. 2 uruunē . . . aibī.deraṣṭā, ‘in plain view to the soul’; 31. 22 cībrā ā hudāṇē yathnā vaēdāmnā manāṭhā, ‘these things are clear to the well-doer as he apprehends them in his mind’; 43. 11 sādrā mōī sās maśīiāsū zraddātīt, ‘trust in mortals seems to me grief’; 46. 19 tācīt mōī sās tuuōm . . . vaēdišō, ‘of those things thou appearest to me the best provider’.

With a verbal adjective of passive sense it becomes in effect a dative of the agent: 29. 8 aēm mōī idā vistō, ‘this man here (has been) found by me’;
31. 1 aguṣṭā vacā sāŋghāmāḥ aēbīiō 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 dative of purpose: 28. 3 ā mōi rafeōrāi zauuōṅg jasātā, ‘come to my calls, for (= to give) support’, cf. 33. 13, 54. 1; 28. 4 yō uruuvānān mōn gaire ... dadē, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song’; 29. 11 at mām ... mazıōi magāiīa paṭī.βānātā, ‘acknowledge me for the great rite’, cf. 46. 14; 31. 16 huuō yō ... frādāiīa spērezātā, ‘he who is eager for the furtherance’, cf. 45. 9; 31. 19 arozh udāi vacaŋhām xšaiammō hizuuō, ‘being master of his tongue for true voicing of words’; 34. 11 at toī ubē hauruuāscā xarādiīa ameretaβāscā, ‘both health and non-dying are thine for nourishment’; 44. 17 saroṇi būždiīi, ‘to work for union’; 46. 1 kām namōi zam, kutrā namōi aiiemī? ‘what land for refuge, where am I to go for refuge?’; 46. 3 kadā ... yōi uʃānō aṣnam ahjuβhūs dārərähl frō ... ārānte? ‘when will those Oxen of Days come forth for the upholding of existence?’; ibid., maβiīō bōbā ʂgrərō varenē, ‘for myself I choose thee for direction’; 46. 7 hiia t mā druguuā didaraβsátā aŋnajhē, ‘when the wrongful one seeks to seize me for maltreatment’, cf. 32. 16; ibid., təm mōi daʃtuumq daŋnaiiíi fruuaucā, ‘tell forth that information for my moral guidance’; 47. 3 at hōi vəstrāi rāmā dā ārmaitiīm, ‘and for her pasture thou didst establish peace and piety’; 50. 7 mahmāi xiiβā auuajhē, ‘may you be (there) for my succour’; 50. 10 at yā vaɾešā ... xšmākāi Aśa vahmāi, ‘whatever things I do ... are for your lauding with Right’, cf. 46. 10; 53. 2 scanstū ... xšnūm Mazdā vahmāiīa froraβ, ‘let them accord in what gratifies Mazdā devotedly (with devotion) to his praise’; YH 36. 2 vaṭiīa paii.βamii ... maziβtii yāŋhām paṭī.βamii, ‘for our supplicating mayest thou come ... for our greatest of supplications mayest thou come’; 40. 3 daβdi at nəɾgəs ... darəgai iβiīiı bezuuaičε həxmaiβni ahmaβiīi, ‘grant (us) men for enduring, nourishing, solid association with us’.

82. In several of the above examples we have a double dative, one of interest, the other of purpose: 28. 3; 33. 13; 34. 11; 46. 3; 47. 3; 54. 1 ā Airiiβmā ... rafeōrāi jantii noreβiiscāc nāriβiiscāc Zaraβuṣtrahē, ‘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 hiia t Mazdām duuaβdi frasā-biīb, ‘as we two set Mazdā to (our) questions’, i.e. question him; 43. 7 kaβh aitārō daxsārā frasaiiīa diśa? ‘could you set a day for asking information?’; 44. 20 yāiś gəm Kərapε Uṣiβscā aŋβmāi dātā, ‘with whom the Karpan and the Usji put the cow to violence’; 46. 8 yō vā mōi yā gaeβhā dazdē aŋnajhē, ‘or the one who is putting my flock to maltreatment’; 46. 18 yā nā aʃtii 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 yēm axtōiōi dāyēhē, ‘for him whom thou puttest to torment’.

84. Related to the dative of purpose is the temporal use in the phrase vīspā yauuē (28. 8; YH 40. 2; 41. 2) or yauuōi vīspā (46. 11), ‘for all time’; likewise 28. 11 yauuaētātē, ‘for eternity’. Cf. YH 35. 3 yā hātam šīātoānānām vahištā xīīā ubōiiōi ahubiīā, ‘which may be the best of actions in the world for both existences’, cf. 35. 8; 38. 3; 40. 2; perhaps 34. 5. kat vē xšaṭrem, kā īštīš šīātoānī, ‘what is your power, what your ability for action?’

85. Unusual uses of the dative are: 46. 10 ašim aśāi, ‘reward for right’ (for normal gen., cf. §100); 51. 3 yōi vē šīātoānās sāraṇtē, ‘who by their actions are uniting with you’ (for normal instr.); YH 40. 3 haxmainē ahašiibīā, ‘association with us’ (for expected instr.).

For dative infinitives see §§194–204.

Ablative

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.

87. Ablative of separation. (a) Where motion is involved: 32. 4 vanhāuš sīzdiimma nāmanhō, Mazdā Ahurahītā xratūš nasiianto Ašātēcā, ‘retreating from good thought, losing the way from Lord Mazdā’s sapience and from Right’, cf. 34. 9; 32. 15 tōi aḥiīā bairiiantē Vanhāuš ā damānē Mananhō, ‘they will be borne away from them both into the house of Good Thought’; 45. 1 yaēcā ašnā yaēcā dūrāt išāōā, ‘you who come eagerly from near and far’; 46. 4 yas.tēm xšaṭrem … mōīṭat jīīāuš vā, ‘whoever dispatches him from authority or from life’, cf. 53. 9; 46. 5 uz.uibiiōi īm … xruṇīṭat, ‘to help him escape from bloodshed’.

(b) Where no motion is involved: 34. 8 aēiibīō dūtrē vohū as manō, ‘from them good thought was far away’. Especially of keeping apart: 32. 5 tā doba�oatā maśiṁ hujīiōiš amāre<ta>tātascā, ‘so you cheat the mortal out of good living and security from death’; 32. 11 yōi vahištīā ašāunō … rārešiim mananho, ‘who will divert the righteous from best thought’, cf. 32. 12; 47. 4; 49. 2; 32. 13 yō iš pāt dāresāt ašahiitā, ‘which will keep them from the sight of Right’, cf. 46. 4, 8; 44. 4 kasnā deratā zamcā adā nabāscā aawapastōiś ‘who held the earth from beneath, and the sky from falling?’; 33. 4 yā dūbat … aṣruštīm … yazāū apā … gōuscā vāstra acištem māntīm, ‘I that will seek by worship (to keep) disregard away from thee … and from the cow’s pasture the worst.

30 Spiegel §§325–30; Delbrück i. 200–17; Reichelt §§472–85; Kellens–Pirart ii. 36–9; Skjærvø 112 f.
31 Cf. Delbrück i. 182.
counsellor'; 46. 1 pairī x’aëtēuš airiïâmascā dadaiṭi, ‘they set (me) apart(?) from clan and tribe’; 49. 3 āntarō vīspōng drāguatō haxmōng mruiṭe, ‘I ban all wrongful ones from my company’.

88. Ablative of source: 32. 3 ākāt Mananḥō stā ciṭrām, ‘you are seed (sprung) from Evil Thought’; 34. 2 ātçā ḳ ōuity mananḥā mainiāuṣcā vanhāuṣ vīspā dātā spoṇṭāxiiṭcā norē sītāōnā, ‘they are all dedicated to thee by the thought (instr.) and out of the good intent (abl.) and by the deed (instr.) of a liberal man’; 34. 13 daēnā saošiāntām yā … aśācīt (v.l. aśācīt) uruuāxāt hīiāt ceuuiśṭā hudāiśīt mūḏām, ‘(the road) on which the Promoters’ moral selves advance from Right itself to the reward ye assigned to well-doers’; 51. 12 caratascā aodaraścā zōiśṇū, ‘trembling from the journey and the cold’.

89. Ablative of comparison or contrast: 43. 3 vanhāuṣ vahiiō, ‘better than good’; 51. 6 vahiiō vanhāuṣ … ākāt aśiṭiō, ‘better than good … worse than bad’; 29. 1 ximāt aniiō, ‘other than you’, cf. 34. 7; 45. 11; 46. 7; 50. 1; 51. 10; 32. 12 yaś grēṁā aṣāt verātā Karpā, ‘with whom the Karpan chooses gluttony(?) over right’.

90. Ablative of reference: 28. 10 yōṅg Aśāatcā võiśtā vanhāuṣcā dāṅg mananḥō, ‘those whom thou knowest to be upright from (the standpoint of) right and good thought’; 31. 15 pasuṭū vīṛatcā adṛujiṁtō, ‘innocent before man and beast’; 46. 5 yō va xṣaiṣā ḍaṃ dṛiṭā aiyiṭantum uruūātōiś vā … miṭru-i-biiō vā, ‘or a man who on his own authority should take into his house one coming on the basis of a promise or agreements’; 51. 14 noīt uruuābā dāṭoi-biṭiścā Karpāṇo vāṭrāt arēm, ‘the Karpans are not fit allies from (the standpoint of your) ordinances and the pasture’.

Ablative with appositives

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

āiḥi in YH 35. 5 and 40. 1 the phrase ahmat hīiāt āiḥi evidently means ‘insofar as comes from us’, i.e. depends on us. In 35. 10 staotāīt ḍṭāt ... staotāiśiṭtō āiḥi, uxtā ḍṭāt uxtāiśiṭtū, vāsṇā ḍṭāt vāṣṇāiśiṭtū 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’.

āiḥi 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 separation: 44. 13 kaḏā druḏem nīṣ ahmat ă nāṣāmā? ‘how are we to drive wrong forth from ourselves?’

With abl. of source: 30. 10 ăt ašīstā yaojantē ā huṣitoiš Vahhōuš Mananţhō, ‘and the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked (to come forth) from the fair dwelling of Good Thought’; 31. 21 Mazdā dadā ... būrōiš ă ... vāpaitūiš xšābraẓḥiia, ‘Mazdā gives forth from the rich sovereignty of his domain’; 33. 5 Aṣāt ā orēziš pađō, ‘the straight paths (leading) from Right’; 33. 6 mainiūuš ā vahīstūt kaiiš ahmat, ‘(drawing) from this best will I desire’; 31. 9 hīiāt ašīiāi dadā paḏam viṣṭīiāi vā ā itē yē vā nōiṭ ahgaθ viṣṭīiō, ‘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 Akat ā sīiās Mananţhō, ‘abiding on the side of Evil Thought’; YH 39. 3 yōi Vahhōuš ā Mananţhō šiiei̱-tū, ‘those who abide on the side of Good Thought’.

ōānū: the basic sense is ‘along, following the course of’. So 47. 2 hizuumā uxōāiš vahhōuš ōānū mananţhō may be rendered ‘by utterances with the tongue according to (proceeding from and remaining in line with) good thought’.

parā ‘before’: 30. 2 parā mazō yāŋhō, ‘before the great supplication’. This is perhaps in essence an ablative of comparison. The meaning of 53. 6 ăiiesē †hoiš piḇāt ă tuuūo parā is obscure.

hacā ‘in accord with, in line with’: 28. 2 maibiiō dānuoi ... ăiaptā 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 ăbhamat vaocajhē mainiūuš hacā, ‘teach me to voice (my hymns) in line with thy will’; 32. 2 aēbiiō Mazdā ... xšābraẓḥi hacā paiťi.mraot, ‘to them Mazdā answers in accord with his authority’; 44. 17 kaḏā zaram carāni hacā xšmat? ‘how am I to reach my desire in accord with you?’; 53. 6 ḍruŋō hacā rādamō, ‘a man attached to wrong’, cf. 44. 17; YH 37. 2 yōi guš hacā šiiei̱tū, ‘who dwell in accord with the cow’. But a different sense must be sought in 31. 14 yā iṣudō dādēntē dā-ōranm hacā ašāmō yāsc̣ ... ădrogualōdabīiō, ‘what requitals will be given for gifts from the righteous one and what (for gifts) from the wrongful one’.

hanara ‘without’: 31. 15 yō nōiṭ jīṭōtūm hanara vinasti viṣṭīiēhiia aēnaŋhō, ‘who cannot find a livelihood without violation of the herdsman’; 47. 5 hanara ăbhamat zaošāt ădrogual ābxṣaįि, ‘it is without thy favour that the wrongful one partakes (of good things)’.
92. The genitive, unlike the other oblique cases, is primarily adnominal. It defines the realm or domain within which something has its place. Various categories may be distinguished.

93. Genitive of ownership. 28. 1 Vanhauś xratūm Manahūḥ ... gūṣcā uruuvānum, ‘Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’; 31. 12 ahiī zerdācā manahūḥcā, ‘through that man’s heart and thought’; 32. 12 gūṣ ... jiūtūm, ‘the cow’s life’; 43. 7 kahīi ahi? ‘who do you belong to?’; 44. 3 ptā Asahīi, ‘the father of Right’, cf. 46. 12; 47. 2, 3; 44. 3 xōng strōmcā dāt aduuānum, ‘set the path of the sun and the stars’; 35. 1 vahiītā īsti śrāuū Zaraḍuṣṭrahē, ‘best is the competence that became renowned as that of Zarathushtra’; 53. 7 mainiūs dṛguvaṭō, ‘the wrongful one’s intent’.

 Generally of relationships where something belongs to something or someone, is an inherent part, property, adjunct, etc.: 33. 4 vorcēnaxīiicā naz-diśtam drujam ariiamnascā nandūntō, ‘and the village’s nearest (neighbour), wrong, and the detractors in the tribe’; 48. 10 sośiāntō dāxiinim, ‘the Promoters in the regions’; 50. 3 aśōi aojahī, ‘by the strength of (= by virtue of) the reward’; 54. 1 raurīiicā nāriiibīiicā Zaraḍuṣṭrahē, ‘for Zarathushtra’s men and women’.

94. A possessive adjective and a genitive may be used in parallel: 29. 5 mā ur-uuū gūṣcā aziī, ‘my soul and the milch cow’s’; 51. 13 xāiś šiiaōdnāīs hīzuuascā, ‘through his own actions and his tongue’s’; YH 39. 1 ahmākēng àsū uruūno pasukanmēcā, ‘our souls and those of the livestock’.

95. Subjective genitive: 33. 8 yasncō ... xīmūuato, ‘the worship of (= performed by) your follower’, cf. 29. 11; 44. 1; 46. 10; 34. 2 spanta-xīiicā naraś šiiaōdnā, ‘and by the deed of a liberal man’, cf. 34. 10, 43. 6; 46. 15 dāiāīs paouruuiiicā Ahurhīi, ‘by the Lord’s original ordinances’; 50. 8 arodaxīiicā namaḥā, ‘and with a zealous man’s reverence’. Here may be placed the genitive found with beroxō ‘esteemed (of)’: 32. 9 aposição ūstifm yantā beroxōm hāūūm Vanhauś Manahūḥ, ‘he takes away the potency that is esteemed of (by) Good Thought’, cf. 34. 9; 48. 6.

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

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.
Nouns and Adjectives

97. **Objective genitive**: 28. 4 aēšē ʿĀṣahiiā, ‘in search of Right’; 28. 9 dasanē stūṭam, ‘in offering of praises’; 29. 2 tašā gōuš, ‘the maker of the cow’; 31. 8 ʿĀṣahiiā ʾdqmīm, ‘the creator of right’, cf. 34. 10; 30. 1 yēsnīīcā ʿĀshāhuš ʿMananḥō, ‘and worship of Good Thought’, cf. 51. 22; 31. 10 ʿĀshāhuš ʾfṣāḡīm ʿMananḥō, ‘the cultivator of good thought’; 31. 15 ʾhanarv ... vāstriēhīa ʾāṇaṇḥō, ‘without mistreatment of the herdsman’; 31. 19 ʿarē.ʿuxdāī ʿvācānḥām, ‘for true voicing of words’; 32. 11 raʾēxōnāḥō vaʿēdḥōm, ‘possession of their inheritance’; 32. 13 daresāṯ ʿĀṣahiiā, ‘from the sighting of Right’; 33. 11 ʿāḏāi kāḥiīācīt ʿpaitī, ‘at the allocation of whatever’; 34. 8 ʿĪḥahiiā ... ʾāṯā ῦrūṭaṭāhiiā, ‘in hatred of thy law’; 34. 9 ʿĀshāhuš ʿwūsīṭī ʿMananḥō, ‘in their non-acquisition of good thought’; 43. 5 ʿanḥōuš ṣaḏbī, ‘at the generation of the world’; 43. 14 sardānā ʾsōnghāhiiā, ‘detractors of the law’; 46. 3 ʿanḥōuš ʿdārbrāʾī, ‘for the upholding of the world’; 46. 4 ʿĀṣahiiā ʿvāzdriŋṭ, ‘bringers of right’; 46. 17 vāhmōng ... rādānḥō, ‘praises of the Caring One’; 48. 10 ʾhamaṭstārō ʿāṣmahiiā, ‘smutters of violence’; 50. 6 ʾhīzuū ῦrāṭīm ʿstōi mahītī, ‘to be the charioteer of my tongue’; 50. 11 ʿdātā ʿanḥōuš, ‘the ordainer of the world’, cf. 44. 7; 51. 20 ʿnāmānḥā ʿMāzdā, ‘in reverence of Mazdā’; 53. 2 xšnūm ʿMāzdā, ‘the gratification of Mazdā’, cf. 48. 12; 54. 1 ʿānḥōuš ʿraḥdōrāi ʿMananḥō, ‘for the support of good thought’; YH 35. 2 ʿḥunoṣtānām ʿhūrūstānām ʿmāhī aiḥi.jaratārō; naʾe ʾnāstārō yāṇōnā vohnūm māḥī, ‘we are approvers of good thoughts, good words, good deeds ... we are not revilers of good things’; 35. 9 ʿĪḥaṯ ʿaṭ ʿaṣṣmaṯ ʿpāṭīṭāstārmācī frawdāstārmācī dāmāmahdī, ‘we make thee both recipient and teacher of these (words)’.

98. **Partitive genitive**: 28. 1 ʿāḥīā yāsā ... ʿraḥdōrāhiiā ... vīspēng, ‘I pray you all for (some of) his support’; 29. 3 hāṯʿām hūuō ʿaṭištō, ‘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 ʿāḥīā ʿmāniuwaṯ verātā yā ʿḥunoṣtā, ‘of these two Wills, the Wrongful one chooses’, cf. 33. 9; 45. 2; 31. 10 ʿaṭ ʿāḥīā ʿfrawuṣaṭā vāṣṭrīm, ‘but she of these two chose the

viduš ʿMāzdā, ‘and knowing Mazdā’s repayments of actions’, cf. 54. 1; 28. 6 daibūṭuwaṭu duwāṭišā, ‘the foe’s acts of enmity’; 31. 18 dōugwāṭu ʿmāṭrāsčā ... ʿsānāsčā, ‘the wrongful one’s prescripts and teachings’, cf. 32. 13; 32. 9 tā ʿuxdā mainiīus ʿmāhiīā, ‘these utterances of my will’; 34. 12 ašīṣ rāṣqm, ‘the rewards of (= stipulated by) thy rulings’; 43. 6 raṭīš ... ḫĪḥahiiā xrāṭēuš, ‘the verdicts of thy sapience’, cf. 46. 18, 49. 6; 43. 13 araṭā ... ʾkāḥiīā tōm mōi dāṭā, ‘the endeavours of (= springing from) the desire you have given me’; 44. 11 mainiīuš ... duwāṭeṣaḥḥā, ‘with hostility of spirit’; 45. 7 yehiiā sauṭā ... rādānḥā, ‘the Caring One whose strengthening powers’; 45. 8 ʿstaṭṭāš nēmānḥō, ‘with reverence’s (i.e. reverent) praises’, cf. 43. 9; 44. 10 ʿārmatōiš ʿuxdāī, ‘with pious words’, cf. 45. 10, 47. 2, 53. 3; 48. 5 ʿvāḥhušiā ʿcīšiōiš ʿṣīaṭnāiš, ‘with deeds of good insight’, cf. YH 36. 4; 48. 11 ʿvāḥhuš ... ʿmānḥō ʿcīšiōiš, ‘good thought’s insight’; 50. 10 ʿraʿocā ʾxūng, ‘the light of the sun’; 51. 18 ʿhīaṭ ... ṭāpān ṣauṭā, ‘what is supportive from thee’; 53. 1 daʾēnāiši ʿvāḥhušiā ʿuxdā ʿṣīaṭnācā, ‘the Good Religion’s speech and conduct’.
herdsman'; ibid., nōit ... auuāstrīū ... humarātōiś baxštā, 'the non-herdsman did not get a share in her goodwill'; 32. 8 gōuś bagā, 'portions of the cow'; 33. 6 tā tōi izitā ... darstōīscā hōm,parstōīscā, 'with that (mind) I long for (some) seeing and conferring with thee'; 34. 1 āēśāṃ tōi ... dastē, 'of these is offering made to thee'; 34. 12 kaṭ vāsī, kaṭ vā stūṭo, kaṭ vā vasnaḥiīāṭ 'what dost thou wish, what of praise, or what of worship?', cf. 49. 12; 50. 1; 44. 15 kuṭrā aitā, kahmāī vananāṃ dādā 'where between the two, to whom dost thou give the victory?'; 45. 2 anphōu ... paouruiiē, 'at the world's beginning', cf. 44. 2; 45. 3; 50. 6 dāṭā xratūś ... rāēṅg vohū sāḥīt manaḥhā, 'may the giver of wisdom teach me (something of) his regimen together with good thought'; 53. 7 būnōī haxtiīā, 'at the base of her thighs'; YH 35. 8 kahmāicīt hātāṃ, 'for anyone of (living) beings', i.e. anyone in the world; 37. 2 vasnaṇāṃ pauruuataāā, 'with primacy of rites', cf. 33. 14; 40. 2 ahiīā huuō nō dādī, 'grant us of it'.

Further examples that may be considered partitive are: 29. 3 auuāēśāṃ nōit viduiiē, 'of these things there is not to know (= no knowing)'; 45. 8 Vajphōuś Mainiīūś śīvoaṇāhīā uvōāxiīcā vidūś, 'knowing (something) of the Good Will's deed and utterance', cf. 44. 8;36 44. 13 asrūśīoīś panaṇāḥhō, 'full of non-compliance' (the contents of a full receptacle are drawn from a larger pool);37 46. 3 kādā ... yōi uvōānō āsnāṃ ... frō aṣāhiīā ārēnte? 'when will those Oxen of Days come forth (somewhere on the path) of Right?'; 46. 4 at tōṅg drequā ... pāṅ gā frōraṭōiś sōiāṝaṇitā vā dāxītōiś vā, 'but the wrongful one keeps those oxen from coming forth (anywhere) in district or region'; 46. 6 huuō tōṅg frō gā pādmēṅg ... carat, 'he will take those oxen forward on the path'.

99. Defining or characterizing genitive: 28. 2 auuuā, astuuatacā hitaṭcā manaḥhō, 'the two existences, the corporeal one and that of thought', cf. 43. 3; 28. 8 vispāī yawē vajphōuś manaḥhō, 'for the whole lifetime of good thought', cf. 43. 1, 53. 5; 28. 9 iśō xṣāṭrōmca sauunāṃ, 'your powers and domain are of strengths'; 29. 7 tōṃ izuṭōiś ... māṃṛm, 'that prescript concerning butter', cf. 31. 6; 31. 20 dareṇōm aitīt manaḥhō, 'a long age of darkness'; 34. 2 garōbīś stūṭm, 'with songs of praise'; 43. 2 dareṇōjiīṭōiś uruṇādaṭhā, 'with bliss of long life'; 46. 3 uvōānō āsnāṃ, 'the Oxen of Days'; 46. 4 pādmēṅg hu-cūstōiś, 'the path of enlightenment', cf. 34. 12; 43. 3; 50. 4; 51. 13; 53. 2; 47. 4 kāsōuṣcīt nā, 'even a man of little (property)'; 51. 21 ārmatōiś nā, 'a man of piety', cf. 46. 12, 49. 5; 48. 10 manaṇīoīś narō, 'the men of Observance(?)'; ibid., mūṃrūm ahiīa madahīā, 'the piss of this liquor'; 50. 4 dāmaṇē garō, 'in the house of song'; 50. 7 zauuiśtiīng auuruuato ... vahmāhīā yūśmākāhīā, 'the swiftest steeds, those of your laudation'; 50. 8 pādaśī yā frasrūtā Ṛśāttīa, 'the “footsteps” known as (those of) libation'; 53. 8 dareṇā maṛūṭīiāoś, 'with the fetter of death'; YH 36. 1 ahiīā ... ādrō vēraṇā, 'with this fire's community'; 39. 5 vajphōuś x'ēcēṭuś x'ēcēṭā, '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 frasaiia Vanphauš ... Mananpho, ‘in consultation with Good Thought’; 49. 3 Vanphauš sarĩ iziai Mananpho, ‘I desire union with Good thought’, cf. 31. 21, 49. 8, 53. 3; YH 35. 8; YH 40. 2 tauacac haxemã ašaxiiacã, ‘association with thee and Right’. The instrumental is also found with sarĩ, 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 aśiś šiiaodnangm, ‘repayments for actions’; 43. 1 rāio aśiś, ‘as reward for (my) munificence’; 30. 8 aēšam kaēnã ... aēnaham, ‘the requital for those misdeeds’; 31. 13 yã vã kasaushed aēnahpho a mazišam yamaitē būjam, ‘or if anyone for a minor misdeed receives the greatest punishment’; 31. 14 yã isūdo dadênte dārmanam, ‘what requitals will be given of gifts’, cf. 34. 15; 44. 19 ahiia maeniš, ‘punishment for that’; 53. 4 mananpho vanphauš xõnuuat hauhui, ‘the sunny fruits of good thought’; 53. 7 atcã vã miždom anhaat ahiia magahiia, ‘but you will have a reward for this ceremony’. More loosely, 29. 11 nũ nã auuwar ôhmã râoiś, ‘(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 yaa ratum Ahuro vaēda ... aiiuq ausiiã, ‘how the Lord has made judgment on those two portions’, cf. 27. 13; 31. 16 dumanahii xṣaiamno hizuuô, ‘being master of his tongue’, cf. 32. 15, 16; 44. 15; 48. 9; 50. 9; 51. 5; 47. 4 isuiačiṯ ḫas pairoš, ‘even one who disposes of much (wealth)’, cf. 50. 1; 44. 9 hudãnaoš paiitiš ... xšərahii, ‘the master of a beneficent dominion’.

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

30. 2 variṇa viciḏahiia, ‘the choices in the decision’; 30. 3 āscã hudâŋhō oreṣ vĩšiiã, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly’, cf. 30. 6; 32. 8 aēšam aēnaham Viuuaḥuṣo srâuui Yimaɕii, ‘in respect of these offences Vîvahvant’s son was renowned, even Yima’; ibid., aēšamciṯ ã ahmũ ᵒbaḥnũ ... viciḏōi aipĩ, ‘in respect of these (deeds) I am (= depend) on thy decision’, where the genitive may be regarded either as dependent on viciḏōi or as more loosely defining in advance the context of the whole sentence; 31. 19 vanaḥau vĩdâta ṛanaiia, ‘at the two parties’ allocation in the good’; 33. 1 dātã anhuʃ paouruiiehiia, ‘the ordinances of the first existence’; 34. 14 xšmãkham hucisit ... xraṭeũš aša ᵒraḍo vereznã, ‘your enlightenment in the wisdom that promotes communities with Right’; 45. 4 anhuʃ ahiia vahiṣṭom, ‘the best one of this existence’, cf. 34. 6; 46. 18 vahiṣṭa maxiiia iśtoiš, ‘the best things at my disposal’; 49. 2 ahiia má bõnduahiiia mānaietii, ‘puts me in mind of that polluter(?)’, cf. 44. 5; 51. 18 iśtoiš x’arṇa, ‘illustrious of competence’; 51. 19 gaiie-
Two genitives may depend on the same noun, as in 28. 4 aššcā šiaodํnaĩs víduš Mazdā, ‘and knowing Mazdā’s repayments for actions’; 43. 3 erezūš sauuanhō paðō … ahiīa anphōu asuuatō, ‘the straight paths of advancement in this corporeal existence’; 46. 6 Drūjō … dānānḥ haēḥaṅi, ‘Wrong’s abodes of partnership’.

Or one genitive may depend on another: 27. 13 ratuṣ aṣācīt hacā vaŋhūṣ … mananţō šiaodํnaนาม anphōu, ‘the judgment in line with right from(?) good thought concerning the world’s deeds’; 28. 1 ahiīa … rafoṛaḥiīa Mainiīōu … Spantahīi, ‘of his support, the Bounteous Will’s”; 30. 10 drūjō … skandō spaiatbrahiīa, ‘destruction of wrong’s prosperity’; 43. 9 rātam nemanţō Aṣhaṅi, ‘the tribute of reverence of Right’; 43. 13 aroha … ḫanīītō ūmī mīī dātā daragōtiīa yāoṣ, ‘the endeavours (born) of the desire you have given me for long life’; 45. 8 Vāŋhōṣ Mainiīōuš šiaodţnaĩhīi uxōavīīaśa víduš, ‘knowing (something) of the Good Will’s deed and utterance’, cf. 48. 8; 45. 11 dōŋŋ patoi, … uruvaḥō, ‘the ally of the master of the house’; 46. 4 huoṛ tōŋ frō gā paṁmōng hucisōīši cara, ‘he will make those oxen advance on the path of enlightenment’; 51. 10 huoṛ dāmōiś drūjō hunuṣ, ‘he is a son of the creator of wrong’; 53. 3 yezuui̇i dugedrām Zaradʱuśratā, ‘youngest of the daughters of Zarathushtra’.

Locative39

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.

Of place (real or metaphorical): 32. 3 būmīīa haptaiīē, ‘in earth’s seventh part’; 32. 13 Acištahīi dōmānė Mananţō, ‘in the house of Evil Thought’, cf. 45. 8; 46. 11; 49. 11; 50. 4; 33. 3 Aṣhaṅi tōŋ Vāŋhōṣcā vāstṛ Mananţō, ‘he will be in the pasture of Right and Good Thought’; 33. 5 auuαnhaḥē, ‘at the unharnessing(—place)’; ibid., paðō, yaĕšu Mazdā Ahurō šaētī, ‘the paths on which Mazdā the Lord dwells’; 34. 8 āttē, ‘at a distance, far away’; 34. 14 gōṣ vu wyposażē, ‘in the cow’s community’, cf. YH 35. 8; 43. 5 dāmōiś uruaesē apēmē, ‘at the last bend of creation’, cf. 51. 6; 44. 9 hadomō, ‘in the abode’, cf. 46. 14; 51. 12 peretā … hiiat ahmī, ‘at the crossing … when at it’, cf. 51. 13;

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38 Here vaŋhōṣ mananţō may be a third genitive (of source) or an ablative appended asyndetically to aṣācīt hacā.
39 Spiegel §§338–9; Delbrück i. 217–30; Kellens–Pirart ii. 39–44; Skjærvø 115 f.
53. 7 yavuata āzu ... būnōi haxtiā, ‘one will apply his penis at the base of her thighs’; VH 41. 2, 3 ubōiō ahuuō, ‘in both existences’.

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

107. Of groups of people: 34. 3 xśmāuwasū, ‘among your followers’; 46. 12 hiiat us ... naptiāsū nafscā Tūrahiiā jēn Friiānāhiāi aqjiiiaēsū, ‘when he came forth among the famed kin and descendants of Tura Friyana’; 46. 13 martāsū, ‘among mortals’; 49. 4 jśuiausū aśuiaiāntō, ‘non-stockraisers among stockraisers’; 50. 2 orājiis ... pourusū huurāp piśiasū, ‘a true-living man among the many who blaspheme(?) the sun’.

108. Of organs of apperception: 31. 8 hiiat ñśā hōm cašmainī grabom, ‘when I catch thee in my eye’, cf. 45. 8; 32. 1 mahmī manoi, ‘in my imagination’; 45. 10 yā gmānī ... srāumī, ‘who is heard in (my) soul’.

109. Of the subject’s mental condition or disposition: 28. 4 xśāi aēšē aśahiīā, ‘I will look out in search of Right’; 29. 11 at mām ... frāśnenē ... pai-țizānata, ‘acknowledge me in (your) providence’, cf. 43. 12; 32. 13 yaēcā ... figerezat kämē ñśahiīā māθrānō dūtīm, ‘and those who decry in their lust thy prophet’s message’.

110. Of times or occasions: 30. 3 paouruiē, ‘in the beginning’, cf. 44. 19; 45. 2; 31. 14 hōnketoat hiiat, ‘as regards at the Reckoning’; 31. 19 viđātā, ‘at the generation of the world’, cf. 48. 6; 49. 9 yāhī, ‘at the Supplication’. The personal name Mādiioi.māgha- (51. 19) is derived from the locative phrase *madyai māhi, ‘at mid moon’.

111. Of abstract domains: 31. 8 ajhōuš ahurum šiiaadanaēsū, ‘lord in (the domain of) the world’s actions; 32. 6 šīhāmī ... xśādriōi, ‘in thy realm’, cf. 34. 10; 43. 13; 49. 5; 33. 2 Ahurahīiā zaošē Mazdā, ‘in Lord Mazdā’s favour’; 33. 10 šīhāmī hūs zaosē abāxshōhuuā, ‘give them a share in thy favour’; 50. 1 zūtā, ‘at (my) invocation’; 51. 7 sējhe, ‘in my teaching’.

112. Of activities: 28. 9 yōidēmā dasemē, ‘we are busy at the offering’; 34. 2 ațcā i tōi ... viśpā datā ... pairi.gaebē xśmāuωtō vaḥmē, ‘they are all dedicated to thee in your follower’s hymn before his flock’; 44. 13 noīt frasaiaiā Vahhōuš cāxnarō Manayhō, ‘they have taken no pleasure in consultation of Good Thought’; 45. 6 yēhīiā vaḥmē Vohū frašī Manayhā, ‘in whose lauding I consult with Good Thought’; 46. 9 šiiābōnīi spoṇtem, ‘bounteous in action’; 50. 1 zūtā, ‘at (my) invocation’; 51. 7 sējhe, ‘in my teaching’.

113. A peculiar use of the locative is to denote the prize to be awarded in some contest or distribution:40 30. 10 yōi zaazni vahhōu sraumāsi, ‘(the steeds) that will be first in (the race for) good repute’; 43. 12 yā vē ašiś rānōiibii saumōi

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40 For the interpretation of frasaiaiā as loc. rather than instr. cf. Kellens–Pirart ii. 39 f.
dāiāt, ‘who should distribute the rewards to the two parties in (the allocation of) strength’; 47. 6 ādhā rashāhū vā dāiātīm rānōhibiā, ‘the distribution of the good to the two parties by fire’, cf. 31. 19; 49. 9 daēnā vahišṭē yujēn mīzdē, ‘they yoke their moral selves in (the contest for) the best reward’; YH 41. 4 hanaēmācā zaēmacā … ūbhāṃi rafenahī dāregāiāu, ‘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 yaiś rapaṇṭā daidīt xādṛē, ‘by which one could set one’s supporters in well-being’, cf. 50. 5; 30. 8 yoi Aṣāī dadon zaṣtaīō Drujōm, ‘who give Wrong into the hands of Right (dat.)’, cf. 44. 14; 31. 18 ā āi ḍemānēm vīṣem vā … dāt duṣitācā marōkaecā, ‘for he will give house or manor into chaos and ruin’; 32. 14 ahīiā grōhmō āhōiōdī nī Kāuuaiasciḥ xratīṣ daṇāt, ‘into its fetter the glutton(?), the very Kavis surrender their reason’; 45. 9 vauzi nā dīiāt Ahurō, ‘may the Lord set us to work’; 45. 10 xshaṟōī hōi hauruvaatā amaratiṭā ahmāi stōi dān, ‘into his control they give health and continuing life to be his’; 51. 14 yā iś sōnghō … Drujō domānē ādāt, ‘a teaching that will consign them to the house of Wrong’.

115. Miscellaneous usages: 31. 2 yezi āiś nōiṭ uruuaṇē aduua āiīda. deraštā vāxiitā, ‘if through these (words) the better way is not in a conspicuous place (= clearly visible) for the soul’; 43. 16 xāng dārasōi, ‘in sight of the sun’; 33. 2 vaiḥāu vā cōībaitē astim, ‘or instructs his comrade in goodness’; 43. 11 māśiaēśū zraždāītī, ‘trust in mortals’; 44. 14 ōmawaiṭīn sinam dāuuiō druguasu, ‘to deliver a crushing blow on the wrongful’; 45. 7 amaratiṭī aṣāunō uruua aeśō utaiūtā, ‘the righteous man’s soul is active in (a state of) continuing life (and) vitality’; 46. 16 yaihā vaiḥōus manayhō īṣṭa xṣaṭrēm, ‘where the realm of good thought is at one’s disposal’, cf. 49. 12; 48. 1 yā daḥiṭānā frāoxtā amaratiṭī daēuauiścā maśiāiścā, ‘the things deceitfully asserted in (the matter of) non-dying by Daevas and mortals’; 48. 4 ūbhāṃi xratāu apōmom nanā anhaṭ, ‘in (the dispositions of) thy wisdom it will go differently at the last (for the good and the bad)’; YH 41. 4 rapōiścā tū nā dāregaṃcā uṣṭācā, ‘mayest thou long support us and (as) in our wish’, i.e. as desired; cf. uṣṭā in 27. 14; 30. 11; 43. 1.

In 43. 12 at tū mōi nōiṭ āsrustā pairi. aoyāzā I incline to take āsrustā 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 āsrustī-, ‘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 āduuāeśō gauuōi, ‘without hostility to the cow’, if āduuāeśō should be an endingless locative from āduuāeśas- rather than a nom. sg. masc. from āduuāeśa-.42

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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 aĕšāmcīt ā ahnī ḇḇāhmi ... vīcīdōi aipī, ‘in respect of these (deeds) I am (= depend) upon thy decision’.

\*aibī*: 43. 7 frasaiīā ... aibī ḇḇāhū ṣadāhū ṭamūṣīcā, ‘for asking about thy flock and thyself’; 51. 9 aibī ahhuāhū daxšēm ḏāuōī, ‘to establish proof about (our) mentalities’.

ā: 32. 7 aojōī hādrōī ā, ‘I declare in my righteousness(?)’; 32. 15 Vaghēuš ā domānē Manahō, ‘onward into the house of Good Thought’; 34. 3 ȧ tōī ... dāmā gaēdā vispā ā xšābōī, ‘we will give all our living bodies into thy dominion’; 43. 2 ahmī xšābōī ā nā xšārām daidītā, ‘a man might add well-being to well-being for himself’; 46. 5 yā vā xšaiīās ā dam drītā aiiāntēm, ‘or a man who on his own authority should take into his house one coming’; 49. 10 taĉā ... ḇḇāhmi ā damnipājḥē, ‘and that (reward) thou keepest in thy house’, cf. 48. 7; 49. 8 dā sarōm ... yām vahēuš ḇḇāhmi ā xšābōī, ‘grant the union that is in thy good domain’; 50. 4 yā iṣō stāphāt ā paitī, ‘by which one may stand forth on the path of enablement’; 51. 8 hīaṭ akiōī ā drōuāiṭē, uṣṭā yā aṣam dādṛē ... yām xšūtēm rānōiībīā dā, ‘that the atonement thou didest establish for the two parties is amid ill for the wrongful one, but in bliss for him who has embraced right’ (on uṣṭā see above, §115).

\*paitī*: 33. 11 marēdāā mōī ādāī kahīīcīt paitī, ‘have mercy on me at the allocation of whatever it may be’; 51. 22 yēhiīā ... yēsēnē paitī, ‘in whose worship’; YH 38. 5 auuā vē, Vaghīiś, ... nāsē paitī, ‘I will assist you, Good Ones, at your arrivings’; 40. 1 ḣu aṭ paitī adāhū, ‘at these oblations’.

\*pairī*: 29. 5 nōīt āreṣāiīōī frājiīāiṭīs ... drōuāsū paitī, ‘is there no prospect for the righteous-living one among the wrongful?’; 34. 8 šīaṭānās ... vaēsō as pairī pōrubiiō īṭījeō, ‘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 maṣiṭāhō, ‘O mortals’. A vocative is most often associated with another grammatical marker of allocation, a second-person pronoun and/or a second-person verb (indicative or imperative). It may appear without any such marker in a prayer, which by its nature presupposes an addressee, as in 28. 1; 30. 9; or in a question, as 31. 15; 48. 10, 11. But there are many passages where no marker is present and there is no apparent reason for an addressee to be named, as in 31. 10; 32. 11, 16; 33. 3; 45. 11; 46. 4, 5; 48. 5; 49. 3; 51. 10, 11.

\(^{43}\) Spiegel §§312; Delbrück i. 394–400; Smith 44–8; Kellens–Pirart ii. 44–52; Skjærvø 104 f.
118. Where two or more separate addressees are coupled we find the so-called Vāyav Índraśca construction,\(^44\) by which one is put in the vocative and the other(s) in the nominative: 30. 9 Mazdascá Ahurâŋhô ... Ašáca, ‘Mazdâ (nom.), Lords (voc. rather than nom.), and Right (nom. rather than voc.)’; with only implicit vocative, 33. 11 yǒ sauuištô ahurô mazdascá, Ārmaitišca Ašomcā ... Manascá Vohú Xšaðrômcā, sraotā mói, ‘(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 yǒ và Ašá ufiâni Manascá Vohú ... Mazdômca Ahurom, ‘I who will hymn you (acc. pl.), Right (voc.), and Good Thought (acc.? and Mazdâ the Lord (acc.).’; 28. 9 anâiš và nôit. Ahurâ [Mazdâ], Ašomcâ yânâiš zara-naémâ, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you (pl.), Lord (voc.), and Right (acc.?)’; 49. 6 frô và ištiâ, Mazdâ, Ašomcâ mruitê, ‘I desire you (acc. pl.), Mazdâ (voc.) and Right (acc.?), to speak’; 32. 9 tâ uxâ mainiâuš mahiâi, Mazdâ, Ašâiçâ yušmaiïiâ garêzê, ‘(with) these utterances of my will, Mazdâ, I complain to you (pl.) and to Right’; 34. 3 ât toî miâzdom, Ahurâ, nemayhâ Ašâiçâ dâmâ gaêðâ vîspâ, ‘as oblation for thee, Lord, and for Right, we will give with reverence all our living bodies’; 51. 2 tâ vô, Mazdâ, paouruûim, Ahurâ, Ašâiiecâ tai-bîiâcâ, Ārmaitê, dôišâ mói ištoiï xšaðrom, ‘so to you (dat. pl.), Lord Mazdâ (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 tî beside the tonic tuuôm (see §283), and as(-cît) in 46. 18 (in second position in the clause) has the look of an enclitic beside the initial

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

\(^{45}\) For nom./voc. Ašâ cf. §27.

\(^{46}\) Cf. Reichelt §§435; Risch (1964); Insler 121 f.

\(^{47}\) Caland (1891); Reichelt §§565–601; Skjæров 116–24.
Pronouns

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

121. For the 1st and 2nd sg. and pl. persons there is a corresponding series of possessive adjectives, ma- ñūga- ahmāka- xāmāka-/yūxāmāka-. (A further series, māuaua-t ñūgaua-t xāmāua-t/yūxāmāua-t, 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 rafonō frāxnavam, ‘thy providential support’; 53. 9 taṭ, Mazdā, tauuā xšabrem, ‘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).

With -cā see examples in §119.

With instrumental: 46. 13 tām vā Aṣā māhmaidī hušhaxāim, ‘him we apprehend as your and Right’s good friend’; 50. 10 xšmāka-t Aṣā vahmāi, Mazdā, ‘(these things) are for your lauding with Right, Mazdā’. With hadā: 50. 4, quoted in §70.

In 51. 15 we find a combination of both constructions: tā vā Vohū Manan-hā (instr.) Aṣācā (dat.) sauvāiš cawūiši, ‘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 hi taṭ, acc. tēm tpm taṭ, dat. ahmāi axiiāi, gen. ahīiā.
Dual gen. (all genders) aiiā/as-cā.
Pl. nom. tōi tā tā, acc. tōng/tq tā tā, instr. tāiš, dat./abl. aēibīō ābīō, gen. aēśqm.

In 47. 1 ahmāi appears to be used with generic reference: spentā mainiū vahīšt-tača manan-hā ... ahmāi dān hauruutāta ameretātā, ‘on account of bounteous will and best thought they will give one health and life’. In 46. 2 īτ is used loosely of the matter that Zarathushtra is complaining of: ā īτ vaēnā, Ahūrā, ‘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 **WIsplswtIholIyIzIlyIVnscA** hnytI, ‘all those good lives that have been and those that are and those that will come to be, give them shares in thy favour’.

125. In all persons the dative and genitive emphatic pronouns serve also as reflexives: 28. 8 **yAsAWAunuSnarOiFrasaushtra** and myself, cf. 31. 4; 46. 3; 51. 10; 34. 1 yā yasnā amaratařaṃ ašomcā tāibīō dāṣhā, ‘the worship through which thou takest for thyself continuing life and right’, cf. 44. 18; 43. 2 ahmāī ‘for himself’, cf. 27. 14; 44. 19; 49. 2; 50. 19; YH 35. 6; 31. 10 aхиī ‘for herself’; 47. 5 aхиī śīiaobnāis ‘by his own actions’, cf. 48. 4; 46. 15 xsmaibiī ‘for yourselves’.

The enclitic pronoun appears to be similarly used at 51. 2 **tāvO ... dōiśā mOī īstoīx̱sādxṟem**, ‘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 kaḥā aitārā daxṣārā frasaiitā ēs aibā ībāhā gaēvāhā tanuśicā? ‘how mightest thou take a day (for me) to ask teaching about thy flock and thyself?’

126. There is also a specialized reflexive adjective x̱a-, indifferent to person and number, ‘my/your/his/their own’: 31. 20 śīiaobnāis x̱aīś, ‘through your own actions’, cf. 33. 14; 46. 4; 49. 4; 51. 13, 14. x̱a- refers back to the most prominent personal presence in the sentence, which is not necessarily the grammatical subject: 30. 2 ā vaenatā ... ā vareṇa vīcīvahīīnarūm nareṃ x̱aixīī tanuvīś, ‘behold the choices in the decision (made) man by man for his own person’; 46. 11 yōṅg x̱a uruā x̱aēcā xraodaṭ daēnā, ‘whom their own soul and their own conscience will torment’. In 51. 22 tQ yazāi x̱aīś nāmēniś, it is not certain whether the meaning is ‘those (immortals) I shall worship using my own names’ for them, or ‘using their own (true) names’. The latter is preferable, since tQ is an explicit topic.

Demonstrative pronouns

127. Deictic utterances in the texts refer mainly to ritual activity taking place on the spot or to things immediately visible. The usual deictic pronoun/pronominal adjective is accordingly aīīōm (stem a-/i-/ima-) ‘this’: 28. 9 ainaīś ... yānāīś, ‘with these prayers’; 29. 8 aēm mōī idā vistiō, ... Zarāduṣṭrō Spītāmō, ‘this man here I have found, Z. S.’; YH 35. 9 imā āt uxbā vacā, ‘these words that we speak’; 36. 1 aхиī ... aibro verezinā, ‘with this fire’s community’; 38. 1 imam ... zam, ‘this Earth’; 40. 1 āhū āt paitiā adāhu, ‘at these oblations’. Where a second demonstrative is required for a different referent, it is huuō

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51 Caland 4–16.
Pronouns

(root auua-): 44. 12 katārēm ā, †angrō (aiiēm?) vā huuō vā angrō? ... huuō, nōīt aiiēm, angrō mainiētē, ‘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 raocā ... auuat ... huuara, ‘this daylight ... yonder sun’.

128. These pronouns can also point forward or backward to things in the text: 47. 2 ahiā mainiōuš spēništahīā vahištom ... vorēziat ōiīā cisti, ‘huuō ptā Aṣa-hīā Mazdā’, ‘of this most bounteous will the best (showing) one effects with this insight, “he is the father of Right, Mazdā’”; 31. 15 peresā auuat, yā maēniš, yā dreguuaētī xśādrom hunāīī, ‘I ask this: what the punishment is if one is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’. So with tat, īt: 44. 12 tat ītā peresā ... kō aśauā, yāīṣ peresāī, dreguua vā? ‘this I ask thee: who is righteous or wrongful of those I question?’; 44. 20 citēnā, Mazdā, huxšābrā daēuaē ājharē— at īt peresā—yōī ..., ‘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 an 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 āt īt vaxsiī ... yā mazdābā, ‘now I will tell those things that you are to bring to the attention’, cf. 30. 3, 11; 31. 5, 14; 30. 9 aṭcā toi vaēm xiīāmā, yōī ..., ‘may we be those who’; 32. 1 tōng dāraiō, yōī vā dāi-bišōntī, ‘to scatter those who hate you’; 31. 3 hīiāt uruuatōm cazdōhuuađebiō, tat nē, Mazdā, viduuanōi vaocā, ‘the rule that is for the prudent, tell us it, Mazdā, for our knowledge’; 31. 13 yā frasā āuuīśīā, yā vā ... peresäētē taitā, yā vā ..., īt ... aibī aśā vaēnāhī 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 tat īt varemaidī ... hīiāt i mainimadīcā vaocōīmācā varezmācā yā ..., ‘we choose to think and speak and do those things that ...’.

(Stem auua-): 29. 10 xśādromcā auuat ..., yā huṣatūš rāmāncā dat, ‘and that authority by which one may establish fair dwelling and peace’, cf. 31. 6; 29. 9 kādā yauā huuō ap|hāt, yā hōi dadaṭ zastauuat auuō? ‘when will there ever be that man who will give him physical assistance?’; 32. 10 huuō mā nā sraua mōrendat, yō acištēm vaēnajēhē aogēdā gām asibīīa huuaraečā, ‘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 mantā paurruūīō ... xādrā, huuō xrađbā đamiš ašom, ‘he who first conceived these felicities, he with his sapience is the creator of Right’, cf. 46. 13.

(Stem a-/i/-ima-): 28. 10 at yōŋg ... vōistā ... dāōŋg ..., aēbiīō perenā āpa-nāś kāmōm, ‘those whom thou knowest to be upright, fulfil their desire with attainment’; 30. 8 aēbiīō sastē ... yōī Aṣāi daddōn zastaiiō Drujōm, ‘to proclaim to those who deliver Wrong into the hands of Right’, cf. 31. 1; 31. 6 ahmāī

52 On the text cf. §300.
II. Morphosyntax

130. When there is no relative clause, *huuō* is generally emphatic ‘he’ (with other stems used for other cases, cf. §123): 29. 4 *hātäm huuō aojištō …* Mazdā, ‘he is the mightiest of beings, Mazdā’; 29. 7 *huuō urushāeibīto spāntō sāsnatiā*, ‘he is bounteous to the needy through his ordinance’; 29. 8 *aēm mói idā vistō, … Zaraduśtrō Spitāmō: huuō nā … vaśā … carekarebrā srāvaiieijēhē*, ‘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 *yō ḥṣat … asruṣṭim … yazāi apā, … yas.tē vispē mazištēm srāošēm zabāiā … yō zaotā aśā arazuṣ, huuō mainiāūs ā vahīštāt 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 *at Ahurā, huuō mainiium Zaraduśtrō vorāntē, ‘O Lord, this Z. (as portrayed in the preceding stanzas) chooses the will …’. In *YH* we find it with 2nd-person reference: 36. 2 (following mention of the fire’s power to punish) *uruuāzištō huuō nā yātāiā paitijamiā, ātāre Mazdā Ahurāiāiā, ‘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: *duśsasti śravāt mōraṇdaṭ, huuō jītaṭāūs sēnghanaiś xra-tūm, ‘the false teacher perverts good repute, he (also perverts) life’s reason with his pronouncements’.

131. *ta-* can be used as a placeholder for a noun previously mentioned so that a genitive can be attached to it: 43. 10 *parštēm zī ḥṣāyaṇā tāt ōmauuttaṃ*, ‘for the question asked by thee is like that of the *ś‘strong’*.54

132. The neuter instrumental *tā* can function as a sentence-connective, ‘so’, ‘therefore’: 45. 11 *yas.tā daēuūṅg … maśilascā tāraṃṣtā, ‘he then who scorns the Daevas and mortals’; 51. 10 *tā duḏā, vōi henti, ‘so (he is) a malefactor (of all) who are’; 51. 2, 13. In 51. 12 it is correlative to *hitā* and means ‘by the fact that’, ‘in that’: *nōit tā īm xśnāus vaēpitō Kāuuōnō pēretā …, hitā ahmī urū- raost astō, ‘the Kavi catamite did not please him thereby at the crossing, that the emissary had barred his way at it’.


54 ōmauuttaṃ is a senseless corruption caused by ōmauuantam in the following line; cf. West (2008), 126.
Demonstrative adverbs of manner, time, and place

133. *ədā, iðā* ‘thus’, especially as a predicate (with or without the verb ‘to be’), of what is true as stated: 32. 6 yezī tāiś *ədā*, ‘if thereby (it is really) so’; 34. 6 yezī *ədā* stā haidīm, ‘if ye are like this in truth’, cf. 44. 6; 53. 6 *iðā* i hāiṭīā, narō, *ədā* jēnatiō, ‘these truths are like this, gentlemen, like so, ladies’. With optatives in *YH*, 40. 3 *ədā* XaEtuS, *ədā* WvrvzVnA, *ədā* haxāmān xīiāt, ‘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 *ahmā* mainiūtūs rārāsīieintī druguuanto ... spenitā; *nōiṭ* *iðā* aṣauanō, ‘from this bounteous will the wrong-ful deflect people; not so the righteous’. (But a similar structure without *iðā* in 30. 3 əscā hudāḥhō orās vīśiātā, *nōiṭ* duždāḥhō, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly; not (so) ill-doers’.)

Correlative with *yaQA*: 27. 13 yaḥā ahū vairītō, *ədā* ratuś ... dazdā ... Mazdāi, ‘as (he is) the master for choice, so the direction is assigned to Mazdā’; 29. 4 *ədā* anhaṭ, yaḥā huuō vasaṭ, ‘it will be as he will’; 33. 1 yaḥā āiś, *iðā* vareśaite, yā dāā, ‘as by what was ordained, so it will be carried out’; 45. 3 yöī īm vō nōiṭ *ədā* (v.l. *ədā*) māṭrem vareśantī, yaḥā īm mōnācā vaocācā, ‘those of you who do not act on this precept in the way I conceive and speak it’; *YH* 36. 2 yaḥā āṭ ... vaedā haitūm, *ədā* haṭ vohū tatō āṭ u veraziīotū, ‘as anyone knows a truth, so, it being good, let him then put it into effect’, cf. 39. 4.

Introducing imperatives, *ədā* means ‘therefore’: 29. 1; 31. 18; 34. 7; 53. 3. 55

Like Sanskrit *iti*, *ədā* can also be used to mark off a quotation of direct speech: 51. 16 *spenō* Mazdā Ahurō, *ədā* nō sazdiīu uṣtā, ‘to proclaim to us as desired, “Bounteous is Lord Mazdā”’; cf. §273.

*iītī* ‘thus’: introducing direct speech, 45. 2 yaitā spaniiā iītī mrauata yēm angrem, ‘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), yöī Vaghāuṣū ā Manāŋhō śiieintī vāscā iītī, ‘those (masc.) that dwell on the side of Good Thought, and those (fem.) ditto’.

*nū* ‘now’: 45. 8 nū †zīt caśmainī vi.adorasem, ‘I have just now discerned him in my eye’; 56 in statement of intention, 51. 1 taṭ nū cūtī vareśānē, ‘that I will do for us right now’. In a weakened sense in appeals or exhortations, ‘come now’: 45. 1 nū giśōdūm, nū sraotā, ... nū īm vīspā ... mazdājhdūm, ‘listen now, hear now, all now take it to heart’; 29. 11 Ahurā, nū nā auuarē, ‘Lord, now (come) down to us’.

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

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

55 G. E. Dunkel, *HS* 101 (1988), 62 f., regards *ədā* in this use as a different word from *ədā* ‘thus’.
56 *zīt* may contain the particles *zī iṭ*, but there should be four syllables where we have only *nū zīt*. 
II. Morphosyntax

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

*aṛā* ‘there, in that situation’: 31. 12; ‘thither’, correlative with *yaṛā*, 46. 16 *aṛā* *tū* *aredrā* *idi* … *yaṛā* *aṣā* *hacaite ārmaitiś*, ‘go with the zealous ones to where Piety is together with Right’.

**Relative pronouns**

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

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

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

The neut. instr. *yā* can mean ‘the way in which, how’ or ‘the reason for which, why’: 34. 12 *srūidiīā* … *frāauaadōcā*, *vā* *vī.dāiiāt* *ašīs* *rāśnām*, ‘proclaim for our hearing how the rewards of (thy) rulings might be distributed’; 46. 2 *vaedā* *taṭ*, *vā* *ahmī* … *anaeśō*: *mā* *kannafśūnā*, ‘I know why I am ineffectual: because of my poverty in cattle’. In 31. 16 it forms the first element of a compound adjective: *perā* *auuāt* … *yadā* *huuō* *aŋhāt* *vaśiiaodnācā*, ‘I ask this … when such a man will exist, and how-actioned’.

The neut. abl. *yAT* means ‘from when, since’: 32. 4 *vāt* *yuś* *tā* *fra.mimaṭā*, ‘ever since you have enjoined those things’; *YH* 36. 6 *bareziśom* *barezimanām* *auuāt* *vāt* *humaβē* *auuācī*, ‘highest of the high (we proclaim) yonder sun since it was named’.

**Relative adverbs/conjunctions**

135. *yaβā* ‘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 *aēšām* *tōi* *aŋhāt* *yaβā* *aṇānāiš* *paouruiiō*, ‘their leader will be yours there as if in irons’. *yaβā* can also introduce a final clause, ‘in order to’: §253.

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

*yaβēna* ‘in the same way as, like’: 43. 10, quoted in §131; 31. 22 *ciβrā i hudāŋhē*, *yaβēna* *vaedomnāi* *manayhā*, ‘these things are clear to the well-doer just as he apprehends them in his mind’, meaning perhaps that he sees them just as they are; *YH* 35. 2 *humatanām* *huxtanām* *huuarstanām* … *mahī aibā.jarētārō*, *naē* *naeṣtārō* *yaβēna* *vohunām* *mahī*, ‘of good thoughts, good words, good deeds we are approvers, just as we are not revilers of what is good’.
yadā ‘when’, of future time, as a conjunction introducing a temporal clause: §246. In an indirect question: 31. 16, quoted in §134.

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

yauuāt ‘as far as’, ‘as long as’, local or temporal: 34. 9 aēbiīō maš ašā siiaz-daṭ, yauuāt ahmaṭ aurunā xrafraṭ, ‘from them it will retreat a great distance, as far as the savage predators from us’; 43. 8 yauuāt ā ḫšā, Mazdā, staomī ufiīācā, ‘so long as I am praising and hymning thee, Mazdā’; 28. 4 yauuāt isāī tāuācā, ‘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 yātē isāmaidē, ‘so far as we are able’.

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 maṭaṣṭ? ‘who fashioned me? ’; 44. 5 kō huuāpā raocāscā dāṭ tamāscā? ‘what skilful one made the light and the darkness?’; 49. 7 kō aṭriīāmā, kō x‘aētus … aṭhaṭ? ‘which tribe, which clan will it be?’

In the nom. and acc. masc. sg. we also find the strengthened forms kas.nā, kōn.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 ciṣ appears in the strengthened form ciṭnā (§137), but otherwise only in the question that Zarathushtra represents a stranger as asking him: 43. 7 ciṣ ahī, kahīīā 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 kaēbiīō azīm rūnīīō skraīīim gām taṣō? ‘for what people did you fashion the gladdening milch cow?’; 46. 3; 48. 11.

137. The neuter kat can introduce a question without relation to subject or object, ‘est-ce que …?’: 28. 5 Aṣā, kat ḫšā daresānī? ‘O Right, shall I see thee?’; 48. 2 kat aṣauūā … vōnghat drguuuntom? ‘will the righteous man vanquish the wrongful one?’; 50. 1 kat mōī uruuū īsē cahiīā awuāŋhō? ‘does my soul command any succour?’ (unless it is ‘what of any succour’). The position of the enclitics ḫšā and mōī precludes the translation of kat as ‘what, …? ’ Contrast the stronger question-marker ciṭnā (= *cīnā, which replaces *kaṭnā): 44. 20 ciṭnā, Mazdā, huxābrā daēuuū āṭharā? ‘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.
II. Morphosyntax

Interrogative adverbs

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

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

  *kudā* ‘where?’: 29. 11 *kudā* ašam volūcā manū? ‘where are right and good thought?’

  *kuṭrā* ‘(to) where?’: 34. 7 *kuṭrā* töi aradrā? ‘where are thy zealous ones?’, cf. 51. 4; 44. 15 *kuṭrā* aitā, kahmāi vananām dadā? ‘where between the two, to whom dost thou give the victory?’; 46. 1 *kām* nēmōi zām, *kuṭrā* nēmōi aieni? ‘what land for refuge, (to) where am I to go for refuge?’

  *kū* ‘where?’: 51. 4 *kuṭrā* yasō.xiīn ašam? *kū* spoṇtā ārmaitiš? ‘where is lustre-giving right? where liberal piety?'; 53. 9.

Indefinite pronouns

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.ciţ* ‘nothing’, 32. 7.

  *māciś* ‘let no one’, 31. 18; 48. 9 yezi *cāhišśā xišiiaţā*, ‘if you have control of anything’; 50. 1 *kāţ mōī uruuś isē cāhišś auuaňhō? ‘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 mai-niiţum Zaratuštrō verońtē, Mazda, yas.tē ciščā spōniştō, ‘this Zarathushtra choos-es that will, Mazda, whichever is thy most bounteous one’; 45. 5 *yōī mōī ahmāi sraošsēm dān caiiaścā, ‘whatever people give me compliance with it’; 47. 5 *aśāmē cōś śā zī cīcā vahīstå, ‘to the righteous one thou assignest whatever things are best’.

142. *ka- + ciţ* is used to mean ‘any’, ‘whatever it may be’: 33. 11 *mareţdātā mōī ādāi kahiiačīt paitī, ‘have mercy on me at the allocation of whatever (it may be)’; 43. 1 *uštā ahmāi, yahmāi uštā kahmiiačīt, ‘as desired by him to whom it is desirable, anyone’, cf. 44. 16; 46. 8 *paitiaogt tā ahmāi jasōit duuaēsâyahhā ... kăčīt, Mazda, duuaēsâyahhā, ‘may those (actions) recoil on him with hostility ... 

58 Caland 48–50.
yes, with whatever sort of hostility, Mazdā!'; 49. 5 ārmatōiš kasci t aṣa huzōntuš, ‘any well-born man of piety with Right’; YH 38. 5 kahmācīt hātam, ‘for anyone in the world’.

Hence the remarkable compound in YH 39. 2 aṣāunām āat urunō yazaimādē kudō zātanām cīt, ‘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 vō urunāt marentō aguštā vacā sōnghamahī, ‘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 speṇtām vā ārmaitīm ... varēmaidī; hā nū aŋhaṭ, ‘your liberal piety we adopt: it shall be ours’, or at 34. 5, this is not to be taken as a pluralis maiestatis59 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 at rātām Zarāthuštrō tanuva scīt x’āxīiā uṣṭanām dadāiū, ‘as offering, Zarathushtra gives his own body’s energy’; 43. 16 at Ahurā, huuō maintiūm Zarāthuštrō varentē, ‘O Lord, this Zarathushtra chooses that will’; 50. 6 yō mādhrā vācēm, Mazdā, baraitū, ... Zarāthuštrō ‘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 aŋhaṭ vai histēm, yō mōi viduua vaoçāt haiidīm ... Mazdāi auvāt xšārum, hitaṭ höi vohū vaxśat manaḥhā, ‘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 āiaptā ... yāīs rāpēntō da di t xārērē, ‘those blessings by which one could keep one’s supporters in felicity’; 29. 10 xšārēmncā auvāt ... yā hušuītš rāmānc̄a dāi, ‘and that dominion by which one may establish fair dwelling and peace’, cf. 53. 8; 30. 4 atcā hitaṭ tā hōm mainiiū jasaētōm paouruuīm, dazdē gaēmcā ajiitūmcā, ‘once those two wills join battle, a man takes for himself life or non-life’; 34. 12 srūdiitāā,
Mazdā, frāuuacā, yā vīdāiāt āśīṣ rāśnāṃ, ‘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 Ahurārīā, yim drigubitō dadat vāstāram, ‘for the Lord, whom they give as herdsman to the poor’; 46. 1 pairī xnaētōuś airīamnascā dadaitī, ‘they set me apart from clan and tribe’; 46. 9 īṣenī mā tā tōī, ‘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 vāuuārāzōī ... yācā vareśaitē, ‘those that have been done and those that will be done’, cf. 33. 1; 48. 5; 30. 8 vōīnuuīdāitē ‘will be found’; 30. 10 yaojantē ‘will be yoked’; 31. 14 dadentē ‘will be given’; 32. 7 sōnghaitē ‘are decreed’; 34. 1-2 dastē ... dātā ‘is offered ... are given’.

149. Of some 149 verbs that occur in the texts in finite forms, about two thirds are found only in the active, and some two dozen only in the middle. With some of these latter the middle form is natural in view of the subject-internal, self-referential, or reciprocal sense of the verb: aog- ‘declare (about oneself)’; gerez- ‘complain’; rud- ‘lament’; gūs- ‘open one’s ears, listen’; man- ‘think’; sar- ‘unite (with)’; uruūāz- ‘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 höm, ‘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 antara ... mruūiē, ‘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.pājhe, ‘thou keepest for thyself’.

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61 I am not persuaded by the view that these examples are to be referred to the verb jā-.
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 areḍā (aor. middle), 'take note of my endeavours’.

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

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

In other cases it is difficult to detect any difference in meaning. How does 44. 4 daratā ‘held’ or ‘holds’ (the earth from beneath) differ from 49. 2 dōrēst ‘grasps, embraces’ (piety)? Or 48. 12 yōī xšnūm vohū manaŋhā hacāntē … ɵβa- hiīa … sōŋghahtiīa, ‘who by good thought follow what satisfies thy law’, from 53. 2 scantū manaŋhā … xšnūm Mazdā, ‘let them by their thought follow what satisfies Mazdā’? Or 53. 6 manahīm ahūm marangduiiē, ‘you ruin spiritual life’, from 45. 1 nōīt daibītīm dušsastiš ahūm morašiīa, ‘may the false teacher not be ruining life a second time’? Or 32. 4 vaŋhōus sīzdiammā manaŋhō, ‘retreating from good thought’ from 34. 9 aēībiīo maš aŋaša sīiazdaš, ‘from them (Good Thought) will retreat a long way with Right’? Or, within 46. 1, nōīt mā xšnūš, ‘does not please me’, from kaēa ɵβa, Mazdā, xšnaošāi, ‘how am I to please thee, Mazdā?’ 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 (paìit) ā-i-, and also 28. 1 vaŋhōus xrātūm manaŋhō yā xšnūwiša gōušcā uruunām, ‘by which thou (Mazdā) couldst gratify (middle) Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’; 46. 18 xšmākam vārem xšaošennō, ‘satisfying your (Mazdā’s and Right’s) preference’.

Aspect

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

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

The present: aorist opposition

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

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

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

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

45. 11 yas.tā daēuuōg … mašūqscā +tarōmastā yōī īm °tarēmainiianntā, ‘he who so scorns (once and for all) the Daevas and mortals who scorn him (habitually)’.

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

baj-: 31. 10 aṭ hī aitā +frawarētā vāstrīm … nōīt … awaśtriīō … humawetōīš °baxstā, ‘but she of those two chose the herdsman … the non-herdsman did not get her goodwill’ :: 47. 5 ašāunē +cōiš yā zī cīcā vahištā; hanare ūbahmāt zaoṣā dreguutā °baxstātī, ‘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 hīat dāðōng vī °caiatā dāṣāqscā, tāīs yūs šīaoadnāīš ašēn xšmaubitīš °duduiē, ‘when ye distinguish (once and for all) between the just and the unjust, by those actions ye shall win right for yourselves’ :: 46. 17 yē vī °cinaot dādēmcā adābōmcā, ‘(the Caring One) who distinguishes (habitually) between the just man and the unjust’.

fras-: 31. 12 ānuš.haxš Ārmaitiš mainiūš °peresaitē, ‘Piety debates point by point with the will’ :: 44. 8 yācā Vohū uxēdā °frasī Manahāh, ‘and the words spoken by Good Thought which I obtained in consultation’.

gam-: 30. 8 yādā aēšām kaēnā °jamāitī aēnayhām, ‘when the requital comes for their misdeeds’ :: 46. 8 paitiiaogē tā ahmāi °jasōit duuadēsanhā, ‘may those (actions of his) recoil on him (open-ended) with hostility’.
man-: 43. 4 at ṃvāhā mṛtmaṁcā spoṇtem ... hīat mōi vaṅhous hazē ḍimāṭ mananḥōḥ, ‘I shall think thee and bounteous when the force of good thought comes to me (event)’ :: 43. 9 rātṛm nomanḥōḥ ... yauṭā ṣisāi, ṣanitāi, ‘the tribute of reverence, so far as I can, I will be thinking of’.

niṣ nas-: 44. 13 kaḍa druṇam niṣ ahmaṭ ā +nāṣāmā? ‘how are we to drive Wrong out from ourselves (once and for all)?’ :: 50. 2 akas tōm mā niṣ ēṣti, dādēm +dāhuuā, ‘keep driving out those evil ones, adopt the just one’.

sāḥ-: 31. 1 aguṣṭā vacā ṣōṅgāḥmahāi aekītīyō yiō ..., ‘we proclaim (now and regularly) words unheeded by those who ...’ :: 44. 1 friiāi ḍbāwāq ṣatīt mōuaitē, ‘one like thee might inform a friend such as me’ (= communicate a specific piece of information). Similarly:

sāḥ-: 50. 6 rāḍaṅg Vohū ṣāḥit Mananḥā, ‘may he teach me his rules with Good Thought’ (open-ended) :: 43. 3 āṭ ḍhūd vāṅhous vahīīō nā +aibījamīiāt, ‘ye nā ṣarzūs sāvahū pābd +sīsīōt, ‘may that man attain better than the good who should teach us the straight paths of benefit’.

siiāzd-: 50. 4 demānē garō ṣrōaṣānē, ‘I will make myself heard (open-ended) in the house of song’ :: 28. 7 +dāṣū ... yā ṣe māṭrā +sṛoutam rāḍā, ‘give thou the (particular) prescript by which we might hear your favours’.

siiāzd-: 34. 9 aekītī māṣ aṣā ṣiiaδat, ‘from them it (Piety) will retreat a great distance with Right’ :: 32. 4 yā maṣiīā acīṣtā danto +vaṃṇetē daeuuū.zuṣtā, Vāṅhousō ṣiizdiiamnā Mananḥōḥ, ‘the worst things, by doing which mortals are to wax Daeva-favoured, adopting the just one’.

var- ‘persuade’: 31. 3 hīat uruūtām cazoṅhuuadobiō, tāt nō ... +vaocō ... yā juuānto vispōng ṣvaṛaiīā, ‘the rule that is for the prudent, tell us that, by which I might convince everyone alive’ :: 31. 17 kaṭārēm aṣauūā vā dṛguwā vā ṣevaruuaṇtī marāiō? ‘which of the two, the righteous one or the wrongful, will be the more persuasive?’

verez-: 48. 5 yaoḍdā ... qaṭom ... gauguīi ṣevoziūtām, ‘let purification of breeding be effected (as a general principle) for the cow’ :: 51. 1 tāt nō nucīṭ +vaṃṇē, ‘this I will put into effect for us right now’.

vid- ‘find’: 31. 15 duṣṣitaaobanāi ... yā noit jīiūtām hanara ṣvīnastī vāstriēhīīā aēnayhō, ‘the evil-doer who finds no livelihood without wronging the herdsman’ :: 51. 5 yǎuā ... gaṁ +vīdā vāstriō ṣiiaobnāiī ṣeṛauū, ‘how a herdsman upright in his actions obtains a cow’.

xā-: normally present-stem, ‘rule’; in 48. 5 huxābārā xšēntām, mā nō duṣ-xšāvā ṣeśēntā the aorists perhaps have ingressive force, ‘let good rulers assume rule over us, let not bad rulers do so’.

xā-: 51. 12 noit tā īm +xśnāuṣ vaēpitō Kāuūnō poratā ..., hīat ahmī urū-raost aṣtō, ‘the Kavi catamite did not please him thereby at the crossing, that the emissary had barred his way at it’ :: 28. 1 vāṅhous xratim mananḥō yā ṣxeuwaśā gēušcā uruān, ‘by which thou couldst gratify Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’ (open-ended).

zā-: 50. 7 at vō ‘yaọjā zuuṣtiūng auruuatō ... yāiś ā +zādā, ‘I will yoke you the swiftest steeds, with which ye will win’ :: 30. 10 aṣiśtā ṣyaojantē ṣ huśi-
tōiš Vahhōš Managhō, ... yoi őzazānti vahhāu srauahī, (when the world is made perfect) 'the swiftest steeds will be yoked from Good Thought’s fair dwelling ... and they will be first in good repute' (not in a particular race but generally).

The perfect

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

(ad-) ād- ‘declare, have made a declaration (of enduring validity)’: 43. 9, 15; YH 35. 8.
(cit-) cikōit-/cicit- ‘understand; be conspicuous: 32. 11; 43. 2.
(hi-) hišāii ‘hold bound’: 29. 1.
(rud-) urūraod- ‘be blocking’: 51. 12.
(uruuāz-) vaorāz- ‘be happy’: 50. 5.
(yat-) yōit- ‘be engaged, busy’: 28. 9.

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

ah-: 44. 20 cīdhā, Mazdā, huxsādźra daēuudā āpharā, ... yoi őpiśijeńti aęibiiő kam, yās ..., ‘what, Mazdā, have the Daevas been good rulers, they that blas-pheme(?) 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 aiiā ārōi hākurenām, ‘the fellowship of those two is established’; cf. 34. 3; 50. 5.

dar-: 49. 2 nōiš spōntmq *dōrošt ahmāi stōi Ārmaitim, ‘(the wrongful teacher) does not embrace/has not (yet) embraced bountous Piety to make her his’ :: 51. 8 yō Ašom dādē, ‘he who has embraced Right’ (once and for all).

dā-: 28. 4 yō uruāmom mēn gairē ... dadē, ‘I that have taken my soul in mind for praise-song’ (or dādē may be present, in which case it belongs under §161); YH 40. 1 hiiāt mīḏdom ... frawdādā ō dēnābiō, ‘the reward that thou hast appointed for (good) moral selves’.

nas-: 32. 4 Vahhōš őṣiżdiambā Managhō, Mazdā Ahurahiįn xratōš ‘nasiiėtō, ‘retreating from Good Thought, losing the way from Lord Mazdā’s sapience’ :: 51. 13 yehiiā uruūdā *xraodići Cinuuatō paretā ... Ašahiįn nasuusā padō, ‘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 yoi ... nōiš frasaiįi Vahhōš cāxnarē Managhō, ‘who have not (ever) taken pleasure in consulting Good Thought’.
Verbs

par-: 28. 10 aeiβiō ὅπανα ἀπαναῖς κάμοι, ‘fulfil their desire with attainment’ :: 49. 1 ᾣτ mā yauuā bōnduuo pagrē mazištō, ‘that greatest polluter(?) has fed himself full on my life’.

taš-: 29. 1 kā mā +tašat? ‘who created me?’ :: 29. 6 ᾣτ zī ūβā fšuianṭaēcā vā-striiācā Θψοɾaśta tatašā, ‘the Shaper has created thee for the stock-raiser and the herdsman’ (emphasis on present status).

vac-: 31. 3 taṭ nē, Mazdā, vīduuanōi +vaocā, ‘tell us that, Mazdā, for our knowing’ :: 34. 5 parō vā vīspāiś vaoxmā daēuāiścā xraʃtraiś maʃiścā, ‘we have declared you above all predators, both Daevas and mortals’.

vid- ‘know’: 33. 8 frō mōi +vōizdūm aravā, ‘take note of my endeavours’ :: 28. 10 ᾣτ yōng … vōistā … dāṅgō, ‘those whom thou knowest to be upright’, and passim.

156. A special use of the perfect is seen in phrases referring to the totality of past, present, and future, or just of past and future: 33. 10 vīspās tā hujiitaiō yā zi āŋharā yāscā ὅhantii yāscā … ῥuviimti, ‘all those good lives that have been and those that are and those that shall come into being’, cf. 45. 7 yōi zī juuā āŋharāc ānuantcā; 51. 22 yōi āŋharāc ānticā; 29. 4 yā zi vāuarezōi paii ciibīt … yācā ῥaravaiś taitē aiip cībīt, ‘things that have been done in the past and things that may be done in future’; YH 39. 2 yaeshm vahehiś daēnā ῥavanimti vā +vēngan vā vaonarē vā, ‘those whose better selves prevail or will prevail or have prevailed’. In each case the totality and all its constituents are of present relevance, but that does not seem entirely to account for the use of the perfect. A stronger factor may have been the impulse to use the three different forms of stem for the three contrasted tenses; the alternative would have been to use the present or aorist stem twice, marking it with the augment for the past.

Tense and Modality

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

Present time

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

159. Any of these may be expressed with the present indicative, that is, the present stem with the so-called primary personal endings. This is regular in performative utterances, that is, those which themselves constitute the action described: 28. 1, 8 yāsā 'I pray'; 31. 1 sāngāmahī 'we proclaim'; 31. 14 porasā 'I ask'; 32. 7 aojōī 'I declare'; 32. 9 gerezē 'I complain'; 33. 14 Zarađuśtrō ... dadāīīī 'Zarathushtra dedicates'; 49. 3 antarō ... mrūīīē 'I interdict'; YH 35. 5 dadomahicā cīśmahicā huuṇmahiricā, 'we dedicate and assign and institute'; 37. 1 ḫā āī yazamāidē Ahuram Mazḏām, 'in this way we worship Lord Mazḏā'.

160. So too in statements of mental disposition: 29. 8 vaśī, 'he wishes'; 29. 9 and 44. 3 vasmī, 'I wish'; 33. 6 kāīīā ... izīīā, 'I desire ... I long'; 34. 4 usōmahī, 'we wish'; 34. 12 kaṭ vaśī? 'what dost thou wish?'; 43. 16 huuō maiṇīūm Zarađuśtrō varantē, 'this Zarathushtra chooses that will', cf. 46. 3; 44. 7 auuāīī 'I am eager'; 44. 11 mainīīūs spasiīū āuṇāṣyāhā, 'I regard with hostility of spirit'; 49. 2  āt ahiīā mā bōnduṇāhīīī māṇātieīīī tkaśēō drgūuā, 'of this polluter(?) the wrongful teacher puts me in mind'; 49. 6 frō vā tśiiīā ... mrūīīē, 'I desire you to speak'.

161. Of current activity or situation: 32. 8 aēśmucīt ā ahūī ṅbahmī ... viciōīū ālipī, 'in respect of these (deeds) I am (waiting) upon thy decision'; 46. 1 pairī xāēōūs aitriāmnasā dadāīīī, 'they set me apart from clan and tribe'; 50. 1 kaṭ mōi uruūā iśē caḥiīā āuṇāhō? 'does my soul command any succour?'; 50. 6 yā mābrā vācom ... baratīī, 'this prophet who is bringing forth his voice'; and so perhaps 28. 4, see §155.

162. Of general truths: 27. 14 aśem vohū, vahīṣtēm astīī, 'right is good, it is the best existing'; 28. 3 yaēbiīō xābrmcā ... yaradaīiī ārmaitīī, 'you whose dominion piety increases', cf. 44. 6; 43. 6 ṅbahīīā xratūūs, yēm naēcīī dābaieīīī, 'of thy sapience, which no one deceives'; 49. 10 taṭcā, Mazḏā, ṅbahmī ā dām nipāyīhē, 'and that (reward), Mazḏā, thou keepest in thy house'; 53. 9 duž-vuarenāīī vaeśō rāstīī, 'because of ill-choosers decay takes hold'.

163. Where the reference is to recurrent phenomena or habitual action, the present indicative is sometimes used, as in 30. 4 (when the two Wills join battle.) daḍē ārēmēcā ajītāīīīīīmēcā, 'a man takes for himself life or non-life'; 31. 12 aābrā vācom baratīī mištāh. uuacā vā āras. uuacā vā, 'there speaks forth either one of false words or one of straight words'; ibid. ānuḥhaxē Ārmaitīi mainīīū parasaiīī, 'Piety debates point by point with the will'; 43. 10  āt tū mōi dāīś aśem, hīiāt mā zaozaomīī, 'show me thou Right, that one I (constantly) invoke'; 44. 3 kā vā mā uxšieīīīī norefaiīīī ṅbaṭ? 'who is it through whom the moon waxes or wanes?'; 47. 4 ahūīī mainīīūs rāraieīīīīīí drguunāntō, 'from this Will the wrongful deflect people'. More often, however, we find the present or aorist injunctive, that is, the temporally and modally neutral forms that lack the specific markers of present or past time and are marked only for aspect: 30. 3 āscā hudā̄hō āroṣ  ātīīīīā, nōiīt duždāhō, 'and between them well-doers discriminate rightly, but ill-doers do not'; 30. 5 aiīī mainīūūā
Verbs

+varētā yē dreguua acištā vareziōō, ‘of those two Wills, the wrongful one chooses the worst things to do’; 30. 6 aṭ aēṣomom əhōn.duvaîtrentā, yā əbyngaien ahīm maratāntō, ‘(the Daevas) scurry together to the violence with which mortals blight the world’; 32. 5 tā ədabanaotā mașīm hujīiāoīs, ‘so ye lure the mortal from good living’; 32. 9 duśaṣṭiś srauua əmōrandaṭ … apō mā īṣīm +vantā, ‘the false teacher perverts good repute, he takes away enablement’.

164. Perfect-stem verbs are used where appropriate in describing a current state of affairs, as in 28. 9 yōī vē vōidomā dasemē stūtām, ‘we who are busy in the offering of your praises’; 29. 1 āmā aēṣomō hazascā remō hiśāiā, ‘fury and force and cruelty hold me bound’; 32. 11 yōī druguuántō … cikōitereś … apaieitū, ‘the wrongful ones who have distinguished themselves by depriving’.

165. The aorist indicative is used when the speaker reports a perception that has just come to him: 45. 8–10 tōm … nū zī iṣ caśmainī vi.ədārasem … yē aqmōnī Māzdā srauua Ahūro, ‘him I have just now discerned in my eye … him who has become heard in my soul, Lord Māzdā’; 43. 5 spentom aṭ ūbā, Māzdā, mānji … hiiat ūbā ahēoś zāboī +dārasem paourumūm, ‘bounteous I think thee, Māzdā, as soon as I see thee at the genesis of the world’, cf. 29. 10; 31. 8; 46. 13 tōm vē Aṣā mōhmādi huṣhaxāīm, ‘we apprehend him as your and Right’s good friend’; YH 35. 7 Ahurahiīā zī aṭ vē Māzdā yasnomecā vahmomecā vahištem amōhmādi, ‘but it is Lord Māzdā’s worship and praise that we apprehend as the greatest good’; 43. 11 sādṛā mōī sas maśiaēsū zrazdāiś, ‘trust in mortals strikes me as grief’; 46. 10 tācīt mōī sas tuuūm, Māzdā, vaēdìiśtō, ‘of those things thou, Māzdā, 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 spentam vē ārmaitīm … varomādi, ‘your liberal piety we adopt’; YH 35. 3 tāt aṭ varomādi … hiiat i mainimadicā vaocōimācā varezimācā 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: vaxšīīā ‘I will
speak (of), 30. 1; 46. 15; 51. 8; frauuxšiiā, 44. 6; 45. 1–6. It would be better considered as a voluntative.

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

169. In first-person statements of intent or resolve: 28. 4 yauuaț *isāī *tauuaćā, auuat *xsāī aēșē Aṣahiiā, ‘so long as I have the ability and strength, I will look out in search of Right’, cf. 43. 9; 32. 1 ūbōi dūtāhō *ānhāmā, ‘we will be thy messengers’; 34. 3 āt tōi mītāzdēm … *dāmā gaēdā vīspā ā xšābrōi, ‘as thy obligation we will give into thy dominion all our living bodies’; 51. 10 maibiiō *zbaiaī Aṣām, ‘for myself I will call upon Right’; 51. 22 tq *vazāi xšaś nāmōniś pairicā *jasāi vanā, ‘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 spaṇṭām vē ārmaitim … varēmaidī; hā nō *anhat, ‘your liberal piety we adopt; it shall be ours’.

171. In predictions or assurances: 29. 4 ađā [nā] *ānhat, yādā huuō vasat, ‘it will be as he will’; 30. 8 taibiiō xšābram Vohū Maṇaṇḥā *vōiuūdātē, ‘for thee will be found dominion with Good Thought’; 30. 10 ađā zī auuā Drūjō *buuaiiš skēndō spaiābrhaiiā, at āsištā *vaajanti ā huśitoiś Vāyḥūš Maṇaṇḥō, ‘for then destruction will come down upon Wrōng’s prosperity, and the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked from Good Thought’s fair dwelling’; 31. 5 viduitē … tācīt … yā nōiš vē *anhat anhaiišt vā, ‘to know those things that will not be, or will be’; 31. 14 tā … yā zī ā *aeištī *jōnghaiti, ‘those things that are approaching and will come’; 47. 1 ahmāiī *dān hauruutāt āmērētātī, ‘they will give him health and life’; 51. 14 yē īś sōnghō apēmēn Drūjō dēmānē ā *dāi, ‘a teaching that will consign them at the last to the house of Wrōng’.

172. In questions about the future: 28. 5 Aṣā, kat ūbī *darasāmī, ‘O Right, shall I see thee?’; 44. 8 kā mō uruua vohū *uruuxšaṭ āgmātā, ‘to what good destinations will my soul set forth?’; 46. 3 kādā, Maṇḍā, yōi uxšaṇō asṇam … frō … *ārentēt, ‘when, Maṇḍā, will those Osen of Days come forth?’; 48. 2 kat ašauuā … *vēnghait drēguuāntaṃt, ‘will the righteous one vanquish the wrongful?’

173. In deliberative questions: 44. 13 kādā brukem nīs ahmat ā *nāsāmā, ‘how are we to drive Wrōng out from ourselves?’; 44. 17 kādā zārem *carānī, ‘how am I to travel towards my goal?’; 46. 1 kāṃ nāmoī zām, kuṭṝā nīmōi *aiienīt, … kādā ūbī, Maṇḍā, *xšaọšāt, ‘what land for refuge, where am I to go for refuge? … How am I to please thee, Maṇḍā?’
174. With a perfect-stem verb, naturally, the perfect subjunctive is used: 48. 9
kaṭ ā vaēḍā? ‘shall I know?’; 50. 5 ārôï zì xśmā … hiiat yuśmākāī maṭhrāṇē vaorā-
zaḍā, ‘for it is settled by you that ye will look gladly upon your prophet’.

175. Occasionally in rhetorical questions that have to be translated with future
verbs we find not the subjunctive but the injunctive: 48. 10 kadā, Mazdā
maṇarōiś narō ʰviṣentā²⁶³ kadā ā *jēn muṭrom ahīi madāhiiā? ’when, Mazdā, will
the men of Observance(?) be standing ready? When will one strike out at the
piss of this liquor? ’; 51. 4 kuṭārā ārôiś ā fṣoratus, kuṭārā mereḍikā ā ʰxšat? ‘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 ex-
perience or from hearsay that he regards as reliable, verb forms with the so-
called secondary endings are used, with or (more often) without the augment.
Where the augment is lacking, these forms are formally classed as injunctives,
but as in this function they seem completely equivalent to augmented forms, it
seems justifiable to regard them as imperfect and aorist indicatives.

It is sometimes uncertain whether the augment or the preverb ā is to be
recognized. The following are plausible examples of augmented forms:
30. 3 asruuātōm ‘they made themselves heard’; 32. 3 asrūlūm ‘you made your-
selves renowned’; 45. 8 viiaḍarasom = vi-adarasam ‘I (have just) discerned’; 46.
9 uzōmōhi ‘I found out(?)’; 51. 11 afracīā ‘has taken counsel’ and acisīā ‘has
gained insight’; 53. 7 anṣat ‘lost its way’; YH 35. 7 amōhmaidī ‘we (have just)
apprehend(ed)’; 36. 6 a{{u}}uачì ‘was named’.

177. These are all aorists, and in general aorists greatly outnumber im-
pefects. Examples of the latter are: 31. 9 ṭsōi as ārmaitiś, ṭsō ā gōuś taśā as xra-
tuś mainiisūs, Mazdā Ahurā, hiiat axiiiai dada pātām, ‘thine was piety, thine was
the cow-fashioner sapience of will, Lord Mazdā, when thou didst offer her a
path’;⁶⁴ 34. 8 tāiś … śīaobnēiś … yaesū as pourubiō iîtiejō … ; yōi nōiš ašem
mainiianțā, aęiibīō duīrē vohū as manō, ‘by those actions in which there was
danger to many … from those who were not thinking on Right, good
thought was far away’.

178. The aorist passive in -ī is sometimes used almost like a perfect, of
past events that are significant for the present:⁶⁵ 32. 8 aęśam aęṇayhām Viuvay-
huśō srāuū, ‘for these offences Vivahvant’s son became (is) renowned’, cf. 53.
1; 44. 18 kadā asā tāṭ mūzed hanānī … hiiat möi mazdā apīuuaiti? ‘how am I

⁶³ So A: vīṣentē 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.
rightfully to earn that reward, now that mindfulness has been instilled in me?;\footnote{Following P. Thieme’s interpretation of *api.uuāitī* as ‘blown into’ (\textit{Asiatica} [Festschr. Fr. Weller, Leipzig 1954], 661), and taking *mazdā* as the fem. noun found in \textit{YH} 40. 1. One would have expected *api.uuāitī*.} 43. 13 \text{vairīiā} \text{stōiś}, \text{yā ðbāhmī xśaārōī vācī}, ‘a desirable thing that has been (is) said (to lie) in thy domain’; \textit{YH} 36. 6 *aūuat* yāt \text{huuara} \text{auuācī}, ‘that sun ever since it was named’.

\textbf{179.} Where action begun in the past continues into the present, the present tense is used: 32. 4 *yāt* yūś *tā frawāmdā*, ‘ever since you have been enjoining those things’; cf. §245.

\textbf{180.} The \textit{perfect} implies a past event but refers to the present state resulting from it, except in those cases where it is juxtaposed with present and/or aorist stems to represent past, present, and future (§156). Where its perfective sense is located in past time, we find what may be called a pluperfect or past perfect form, created by furnishing the perfect stem with the ending characteristic of present/aorist-stem preterites: 51. 12 \text{nōit *tā īm xśnāūs* vaēpiō Kōwūnō paretā *…, hīiāt ahmē* urūraost *astō*, ‘the Kavi catamite did not please him thereby at the crossing, that the emissary had barred (was blocking) his way at it’.

\textbf{Mythical time}

\textbf{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 \text{aēśqm aēnāṃqhm} \text{Vtuanhūsō sṛauū Yimascī}, \text{yā maśiīōng cixśnuō ahmākōng gōuś bagā xārōmnō}, ‘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, *sṛauūi*, 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 \textit{subjunctives}: 45. 2 *aṭ frawāxāxīāi aṭhōuś mainitū paouruīē, yaiā spantiā *ūtiī *mrauvt yōm angrōm, ‘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 *aṭ axtīāi aṣa Mazdā uruuārā *vaxṣat Ahūrō aṭhōuś zādōi paourūiēhiīā, ‘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
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 taśā gōū parasat Aśam, pres. inj.), we have in 29. 3 ahmāi Aśā … pāñī mrauat, ‘to him Right *answer*’. This may be explained on the same lines as the cases discussed in the preceding paragraph: in relation to the Maker of the Cow’s question, the answer is what is to come. It is as if the narrative time does not advance from the moment of the question to that of the answer but remains for the moment arrested, and the answer is treated as the subject of anticipation rather than report.

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

### Potentiality

\(^{182}\) The evocation of possible events or states may relate to the past, present, or future. Situated in the past or present, they fall into two categories: counterfactual possibilities (what *might have been*, or *would have been* in other circumstances, but in fact was not/is not), and cases where the speaker does not know whether the possibility was realized or not (what *may have been* or *may actually be* the case).\(^{68}\) 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.

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\(^{68}\) 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’.
II. Morphosyntax

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

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

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

185. The optative expresses a remoter possibility, or one that is raised more diffidently for reasons of politeness: 28. 5 anā mābrā mazištam *vārōimaiddi xrafastrā 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 aτcā ahmā vīspaṇām vaištīt xābrōi ā nā xābrām əədaitiū ... cicībbā ..., ‘but as best of all in (the sphere of) well-being, a man might receive well-being by understanding ...’; 43. 14 hīaτ nā frīiāi vaēdmnō isuūā əədaitiū, ‘what a man of means, on finding it for himself, might offer his friend’, cf. 44. 1; 46. 2; 51. 8 aτ zī tōi vaxšiīā, Mazdā—vīdūsē zī nā əəmrūiiū, ‘I will tell thee Mazdā—of course a man (in speaking to Mazdā) could (only) be speaking to one who knows’.

In questions: kaβā aiirū daxsārā frasaiū əədiśā? ‘how mightest thou take a day (for me) to ask teaching?’ (polite request); 44. 9 kaβā mōi, yām yaoş daēnām əədanē, tām hudānaos paitū *saxiūā xṣaβrahiiū ‘the religion that I will perfect for myself, how might the master of a beneficent dominion proclaim it for me?’. 44. 11 kaβā tông ā əəjiēmiiūiū ārmaitiūs, yaēbūiīo ..., ‘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 aτcā tōi vāēm əəxiāmā, yōī im frasŪm korηnāun ahuū, ‘may we be those who will make this existence splendid’; 43. 3 aτ huuuā vāŋhūš vahiīō nā əəaiiijamiiūt, yō nā aresažīs sauωaŋhō paβō əsīōīt, ‘but may that man attain better than the good, who should show us the straight paths of benefit’; 43. 16 xōŋg darsoi ā əsīiāt Ārmaitiūs; aśim šιaαtēniiūs vohū əədaitiū manaŋhā, ‘may Piety be there in sight of the sun; may she be giving reward on account of actions with good thought’; 45. 9 varezi nā əədiūt Ahuruō, ‘may the Lord set us in action’; 48. 9 vīdiūt sao-
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šiiqṣ, yašt hōi ašišy aŋhaṭ, ‘may the Promoter know how his reward is to be’;
50. 6 rāēng Vohu əsāhī Mananjar, ‘may he teach me his rules with Good Thought’.

187. A second-person wish addressed to a higher power constitutes a prayer:
50. 7 mahmaī əxītatā awaŋhē, ‘may ye be there for my succour’; YH 36. 2 ur-
vuēzištō hnuō nā vā:tāli+ paiti:jamiitā, ‘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 nōit: 28. 9 anāiš vā nōit
… yānāiš əzaraēnāmā, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you’; 45. 1 nōit
daibītīm duśsastiš ahum əmeraštiitā, ‘may the false teacher not be ruining
the world a second time’; 46. 8 nōit ahītā mā ābriš šīaōdnāiš frā əsiiitā, ‘may harm
not reach me from his actions’.

Requests, injunctions, prohibitions

189. The optative may also be prescriptive: 46. 5 taT frō xəētāumē əmruiitā, ‘he
should tell it to the clan’; negative, 43. 15 nōit nā pourūš démugwētō əxīitā cixš-
unuśō, ‘a man should not be one to gratify the many wrongful’.

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

In invocations and prayers: 28. 3 ā mōi rafōdrāi zuwōnē əjasaṭā, ‘come to
my calls to give succour’; 28. 6 Vohu +gaidi Mananjar, +dādī Aśā dā daregāiūi,
‘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 əsrōtā gōuśaiš vahiśtā, ā əvaēnata sūcā manan-
jarhā āuwaranā, ‘hear with your ears the best message, behold with lucid mind
the two choices’; 46. 16 Frašaostrā, ābrā tū arodraiš əidi, ‘Frashashtra, go with
those zealous ones’; 48. 7 nī aēšmō ədiyātm, paiti remmō əsiōdūm, ‘let violence
be tied down, cut short cruelty’; 53. 3 aṭā +hēm-frašwa xraťšā, spānīštā ārma-
tōīš hudānti əvaršuwa, ‘so take counsel with thy reason; perform piety’s most
liberal benefactions’; 53. 5 mōncā i ədazdūm; əvaēdōdūm daēnābīš ... ahum vā
vajhauš mananjar; așā vō anīītō ainūm əviwēnghatā, ‘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 ədādī tū, Armațē, Vištāspī īsēm māi-
biitācā, ‘give thou, Piety, enablement to Vishtaaspa and myself’; 28. 1 tuwēm,
Mazdā Ahurā, frō mā əsīṣā, ‘teach thou me, Lord Mazdā’; 29. 11 at mām aṣā
yūzēm, Mazdā, ... əpaitiːzānātā, ‘it is me by right that ye must acknowledge’; 53.
3 ətēnçā tū, Purucistā, ‘be thou resolute, Purucista’. (On tū cf. §283.)
192. Prohibitions are not expressed with a negated imperative but with mā and the injunctive; being an intrinsically prohibitive particle, mā does not call for a correspondingly marked verb form: 31. 17 viduā vidusē ɵmratū, mā auuduuā aipī ɵdēbāuuaiat, ‘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 huxṣādrā +xšōntam, mā nō duṣṣādrā +xšōntā, ‘let good rulers assume rule, do not let bad rulers assume rule over us’ (aor. injunctive, preventive of what is feared for the future).

193. Following 31. 18 māciš aṭ vō draguuatō maṭrāscā +gūštā, ‘let none of you heed the wrongful one’s prescripts’, the next stanza continues with +gūštā yō +mantā aṣom, ‘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 dādī, Aṣā ... dādī tū, Ārmaitē ...) +dās.tū, Mazdā, ɵxāiūcā, yā vō maṭrā sravūmā rādā, ‘give thou, Mazdā, and exercise thy power (imperative), the prescript by which we might hear your favours’, cf. 43. 1; 49. 8; 34. 15 fraṣom vasnā haiūīom +dā ahūm, ‘make real the existence that is splendid in my desiring’; 43. 10 aṭ tū mōi +dāiš aṣom, ‘show thou me Right’; 43. 12 Aṣom ɵjasō, ‘go to Right’; perhaps 46. 2 +āxṣō vanhōus aṣā īṣīm manaṭhō, ‘behold (or thou seest) the potency of thought that is good through right’.

Infinitives

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 o and + respectively; there seems no difficulty in seeing the appropriate aspectual significance where they occur.

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 yezi ahiā ašā, póī maṭ, xšaitehā, ‘if thou hast this power with right, (namely) to protect me’; 43. 12 nōit asrstā pairi aogyā, uz irādīāiī parā hiatā mōī ā jimaṭ ..., ‘thou givest me advice that will not go unheeded, (namely) to set forth before there comes to me’; 51. 16 nāsāt ... yām cistīm ašā mantā, ‘spāntō Mazdā Ahurō’, abā nō sazdīāiī uštā, ‘he attained that insight which he meditated with right, (namely) to proclaim to us as desired, “Bounteous is Lord Mazdā”’.

196. An infinitive may serve as object or complement of verbs such as ‘wish’, ‘choose’. Three of the six examples of infinitives in -ō come under this head. The infinitive tends to come at the end of the clause, or to be followed only by the governing verb: 29. 8 huuo nō vašīt ... carakārādrā sruauaiēhē, ‘he wishes to broadcast our praises’, cf. 43. 9 ṣuududiusiē; 44. 3 viduiē; 46. 14 fra sruūdīāiī; 30. 5 verētā yō druguātā acištā verēziō, ‘the wrongful one chooses to do the worst things’, or ‘chooses the worst things to do’; 50. 18 ṭam cistīm ... verēntē, tāt xšādūm maṇaṇhō vanjhōuš ūvidō, ‘he chooses to find that insight, that realm of good thought’. Of the same type are 32. 14 hiātā viśōntā druguautām uauō, ‘when they set themselves to assist the wrongful one’; 43. 11 ñtdājē ... tāt sverēzieidīāiī, hiatā mōī mraotā vaḥiṣṭom, ‘I am learning to do what ye tell me is best’; 44. 12 yō mā druguātā ñdā sauṣā ṭatī,aratē ciiṇṭhat, ‘the wrongful one who likes to oppose thy gains’.

197. With an accusative as subject of the infinitive: 34. 4 at tōi āṯrēm ... usūmahi ... stōi rapaṇtē ciṭrāauauṇhēm, ‘we wish for thy fire(,) to be a manifest help to thy supporter’; 43. 1 utāiūtī tewooūiī ṭatī vasmī, ‘I wish for strength and vitality to come’; 46. 16 tāt yōng usūuahī uštā stōi, ‘those whom we two wish to be in bliss’; 49. 6 frō va ištā ... mrrūtē, ‘I desire you to speak’; 50. 2 yō ṭim ahmāi vāṣṭrauauātīm stōi usīiāt, ‘one who might wish her to be on his own pastureland’; YH 35. 4 gauōi ... fraeśšiimahiūi rāmācā vāṣṭremercā dazdīāiī sruuauatascā asruuauatascā, ‘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 sišā ... vaocaiēhē, ‘teach me to voice (them)’; 43. 13 kaṃaṇhiiā ... yēm va naeciš darś itē, ‘my desire, to which no one forces you to accede’.

With ‘think’: 31. 8 at ñdā mōjhi paouruūm, Mazdā, yazūm stōi maṇaṇhā, ‘I think of thee first, Mazdā, as being young in my thought’.

198. The commonest use of the infinitive, as of the dative, is to express purpose: 43. 13 hiātā mā vohū pairi jasat maṇaṇhā, arōta vōizdīāiī, ‘when one approaches me with good thought to take note of my endeavours’; 30. 2 ahmāi [nō] sazdīāi baodanṭō paṭī, ‘waiting to make declaration to him’; 32. 1 ñdōi dūtājhe āḥhāmā, tōng ḍaraīō yōi va daibisēntī, ‘we will be thy messengers, to demolish those who hate you’; 32. 10 acištīm vaēnaiēhē, ‘the worst thing for beholding (= to behold)’, cf. 45. 5 sruūdīāiī hiaṭ maraeṭbiūiī vaḥiṣṭom, ‘which
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is best for mortals to hear'; 34. 5 ḳaṭ vṛ xśabdram, kā īṣṭiḥ ... ṇbrāṭioidiitā drigūm yūśmākom? 'what is your power, what your ability to protect your dependant?'; 44. 16 kā vṛēbdram, jā ḳlā pōi sōṅghā, yōi hānti? 'who is the victorious one, to protect with thy law (all) who exist?'; 44. 17 hiiaṭā cōi xiiāt vāṣh āeśh, sarōi būjdiitā, 'and that my voice may be effective for working for union'; 44. 20 nōiḥ hīm mīzōn aṣā vāstrum ṇradāihiḥ, 'they do not care for her (the cow), to promote the pasture with right'; 46. 5 ṇaṭ frō xēaṭauē mṛūiitāt, uzūiibōi īm ... xṛūniitāt, 'he should tell that to the clan, to help him escape from bloodshed'; 46. 11 yūjōn ... akāiś śīāvōbhā śhūm ṇmorēngoiiditā maśim, 'they yoke the mortal to bad deeds to ruin life'; 46. 12 āṭ iṣ vohū hēm āibī moṣt manaṃṭha, aēibōi rafēḍrāi ... sastē, 'he brought them into union with good thought, to proclaim it for their support'; 49. 3 aṭcā ahmāi varesāi ... niḋām apām sūdiitā, jkāeśāi ṇrāṣaiēhiḥ druṛx, 'but for this chosen path, right is laid down to strengthen (us); for that teacher, wrong to harm (him)'.

199. Often the subject to be understood for the infinitive is not the subject but the object or the indirect object of the main verb: 28. 1 yō vā ... pairiitjāsiḥ vohū manaṃṭha, maibōi dāuōi āhūat, 'who will approach you with good thought, (for you) to give me of both existences'; 31. 3 tāt nō, Mazdā, vidūuanōi vaocā, 'tell us that, Mazdā, (for us) to know', cf. 34. 12 srūdiitāi; 44. 8 mon.dādiitāi; 46. 5 viciitāi; 31. 9 hiiaṭ āxītiḥ dadā pāvām, vāstriitāt vā āīte yō vā nōiḥ aṭyhaṭ 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 diuammnām hōi aparām ṇxśaiiō, 'radiance is his (for him) to possess hereafter'; 45. 10 xśabōi hōi hauruuaṭa amaratātā ahmāi sōi ṇdan, 'into his control they give health and life, (for them) to be his'; 49. 2 nōiḥ spoṇṭām dōṛē stōi ārmaitim, 'he has not embraced bounteous Piety (so as for her) to be his'; 50. 6 dātā xoratūś, hūxuō raibīm stōi maḥiiā, 'the giver of wisdom (for it) to be the charioteer of my tongue'; 51. 10 maibōi xbaii āṣām, vānḫhiitā aṣi ᴳgate, 'for myself I will call upon Right, (for her) to come with the good reward'; 51. 17 yām hōi išiīm dātū ... Ahuṛō, āṣāiiā ʿediitā gorezdīm, '(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 śīāoṭnām vacanṭah yā fracinās drguuantaṃ ṇxśaiiō, 'by the evil speech with which he (the Evil Will) assigns the deed for the wrongful one to control'.

200. The infinitive introduces reference to a particular activity or state without specifying who or what it applies to: that has to be understood from the sense of the sentence (cf. §199). Accordingly it is ambivalent as to voice; the verbal notion may be simultaneously active from one point of view and passive from another. Cf. 30. 8 taibōi xśabōi ... vôuūidāiitē, aēibōi sastē ... yōi ..., 'for thee will be found dominion for proclaiming (= to be proclaimed, or for
us to proclaim) to those who ...’; 32. 14 gōuš jaidiāī mraoi, ‘the cow is spoken for killing’ = ‘is ordered to be killed’, or ‘is declared available for people to kill’; 46. 13 huuō nā fra srūdiāī oreṇbō, ‘that man is worthy (for people) to make famous’ = ‘worthy to be made famous’; 46. 14 kā vā fra srūdiāī vaštī? ‘or who wishes for renown-making?’ = ‘to be renowned’.

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

201. In two passages we find three infinitives in parallel: 31. 5 taṭ moī vi ciddiāī vaocā ..., vidūiē vohū mananṛḥa mōncā daiddiāī, ‘tell me so that I may distinguish it ... so I may know and take to heart’; 44. 14 kaṭā Aṣāī Drujēm diām zastaiō, nī him Ṽrōṛdiāī ..., āmavaiām sīnām dāūōī droguusū, ā īś duuafūn ... ‘nāśē qastāscā?’ ‘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: tāuuā rafoonō frāśnēnom ... Ṽuṣ.īrādiāī aēō sardanā sōŋha-hiīā, ‘(give me) thy providential support, (for me) to set forth to drive off the detractors of thy law’; and so 51. 9 yām xśnūtōm rānōitiā dā ... āibī ahuuahū daxšiōm dāuuōī, Ṽrāśaiējēḥ drēguuāntōm, Ṽauaiāō aśauuānom, ‘the atonement that thou didst set for the two parties, to establish proof about our mentalities, (so as) to harm the wrongful one and strengthen the righteous’.

202. In a few passages the purpose stated by means of the infinitive almost acquires the force of propriety or obligation: 44. 1 at nō Aṣā fīrīā Ṽaḍdiāī hākurenā, ‘we have friendly relations to maintain with Right’; 51. 20 taṭ vē nō ... daiddiāī sauuō, ‘this is the strengthening we have to give you’. In negative propositions it can imply impossibility: 29. 3 auuaēšam nōīt vidūiē, ‘of those things there is no knowing’; 45. 4 nōīt Ṽdiśaidiāīi vīspa.ḥiśas Ahūrō, ‘there is no deceiving the all-observant Lord’.

203. By a somewhat similar use, the infinitive may serve to express what someone is suited for, as in 49. 9 fśōihiō suiiē taśtō, ‘the cultivator, made to be strong’; without anything corresponding to taśtā-, 44. 2 kaṭā aṭh-ōuš vahīštahīāi paouruūm kaṭī śūididaīi? ‘how is the man of good will for reinforcing the best existence’s beginning?’

204. An exclamatory infinitive perhaps appears in the cow’s soul’s complaint at 29. 9 aṭcā gōuš uruua raostā, ‘yō anaēśem xśmānēnē rādom vāco m nōrest asūrahiīā’. If rādom 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

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

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

Participles and Verbal Adjectives

205. Participle 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 viduua/viduś ‘knowing’, nāsuuā ‘lost’, apānō ‘arrived at’.

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

206. Participle, often alone, designating a category of person: 31. 3 juvantō vispōŋ, ‘everyone living’; 31. 17 viduua viduśē mraotū, ‘let the knowing one speak to the knowing’, cf. 30. 1; 31. 12; 51. 8 (twice); 31. 19 viduua, 32. 4 orež.uxūāi vacanjam xšaiamnō hizuuō vasō, ‘a knowing one, one who for the true voicing of words is in free control of his tongue’; 34. 9 Ḯbahitiā … vidušō, ‘of thy adept’; 33. 4 nadoŋtō, ‘detractors’; 34. 4 rapaŋtē … daibišiāntē, ‘to thy supporter … to thy hater’; 44. 9 Ḯbāuuqas asšišti …, hadamōi Aśā Vohucā sīas Manahāja, ‘a very potent follower of thine, one who abides in their home with Right and Good Thought’; 47. 4 isuuacit has paraos, ‘even a man of much means’; 47. 6 pourus išantō, ‘many eager comers’; 48. 9 sōšīqas, ‘the one eager to promote’, cf. 34. 13; 45. 11; 46. 3; 48. 12; 53. 5 vazīamnābiō kainibiiō … xšmaibiicicā, vadamnō, ‘for girls getting married and for you, men marrying them’; YH 35. 4 srumuatasācā asrumuatasācā xšaiantascā axšaiantascā, ‘them that hear and them that hear not, them that have authority and them that have not authority’.

207. Participle or participial phrase in more pregnant application, emphasizing the property that is especially relevant in the context: 29. 2 hiit hım datā xšaiantō, ‘when ye, having the power, set her there’, cf. 43. 1, 10; 51. 17; 29. 6 atō vaocat Ahurū Mazda viduua vafūś viiānaitā, ‘then Lord Mazda speaks, knowing (or the one who knows) the designs in his wisdom’; 32. 15 awūqš ahib yeng daŋtū nōit jiitāuś xšaiamnāng vasō, ‘those whom they implicate in them, not being in free control of their lives’; 46. 5 yē và xšaiqas à đam dritā aiqantem uruautōis và … miōrišiō và, rasnā juuqas … vicirō has, ‘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 yastāt mīzdom +hanantē nōīt +dāītī, ‘he that does not give that reward to the one who earned it’; 45. 3 yām mōī viduā Mazdā vaocat, ‘which Mazdā in his knowledge told me’; 46. 4 aṭ tōṅ drāguā ... pāt gā frōre-tōī ... dućazōbā has, ‘but the wrongful one keeps those oxen from coming forth, abominable as he is’; 46. 6 nōīt nā īsmūnō, ‘a man not wanted’; 48. 3 aṭ WaEdvmnAi WahiStA sAsnanLm, ‘but for him who apprehends it, the best of teachings’; 49. 12 hiąt tōī Aśā zabiantē auuānḥō Zarabdūrīā? ‘what hast thou of help for him who invokes thee with Right, for Zarathushtra?’; 51. 5 vāstītī śiaod-nāś āreśnuō, has huxratuš, ‘a herdsman upright in his actions, being prudent’; 51. 18 hiąt rapēn tāuuā, ‘that of thine which gives support’; 51. 20 hāzaośāŋhō vipāŋhō ... Aśōm ... vazāmēmōhō, ‘all ye of one mind who worship Right’; YH 35. 6 aīdā hat vohū ... vēreziōtūcā īt ahmāi fracā vāōiōtū, ‘so, it being good, let him both put it into effect for himself and communicate it’.

208. In honorific reference to a characteristic or essential property:
31. 7 tā ... raocbīs rōiōben x ād rā, ‘those amenities permeating the world of light’; 32. 2 aēbīiō Mazdā Ahūrō, sāṁmō Vohū Mananāhō, ... paitī mraot, ‘to them Lord Mazdā, being united with Good Thought, answers’; 32. 9 īśūm ... bōrexōm hātīt Vānyā Mananāhō, ‘potency, that is esteemed of Good Thought’; 33. 9 tōm mainīiūm aśā uṣāiiṁtōm,73 ‘that intent that brings increase through right’; 45. 4 Vānyāuḥ vareziāiāntō Mananahō, ‘of Good Thought that stimulates to action’. 209. Marking coincident activity:
28. 5 kaṭ ṯīdā daresānī, manascā vohū vaēdēmnō ...? ‘shall I see thee, as I apprehend Good Thought?’, cf. 31. 22; 29. 5 aṭ vā ustānāś ā huuā zastāś ērōmmā Ahuṛātāīā, ‘but we two are here with outstretched hands propitiating the Lord’; 30. 2 sraotā gūuśāś vahīštā ... ahmāi [nā] sādīāī bōdantō paitī, ‘hear with your ears the best message ... as ye look ahead to the declaration to him’; 30. 6 hiąt iś ā deboamā pārēmānāng upā jasaT, ‘because delusion comes over them as they deliberate’; 34. 6 yadhā vā vazāmēmō-cā uruuādiittā stauuas aiiēnī paitī, ‘so that I may come unto you worshipping and praising you the more gladly’, cf. 45. 6; 50. 4, 9; 43. 10 Ārmaitī hacimnō īt ā ārem, ‘in company with Piety I have set forth toward it’, cf. 43. 12; 44. 10; 43. 14 hiąt nā friāī vaēdēmnō isuuā daidīt, ‘what a man of means, on finding it for himself, would offer to his friend’; 49. 12 yē vē staotāś, Mazdā, frīnāī, Ahurāā, auuat yēsas hiąt vē iśūt vahīštōm, ‘who will propitiate you with praises, Lord Mazdā, praying for that which is the best at your disposal’; 51. 19 huuō tāt nā ... ahmāi dazdē, daēnāitī vaēdēmnō, yō ahūm īsasas aiiī Mazdā dātā mrauat, ‘the man gets that (support) for himself, apprehending it with his moral self, who, in petitioning for existence, speaks Mazdā’s ordinances’; 53. 7 yauuāt āzuū ... parā[cā] mraocas aorācā, ‘one will apply his penis, dipping onward and down’.

73 My emendation for transmitted aśaoxšaiāntā, where the ending has been assimilated to the following sarādīāiā, making the sentence incomprehensible.
II. Morphosyntax

210. Expressing means or cause: 32. 4 queryString yā maṣṭīā ṣacīṣṭā +dāntō +vaxṣāntē daēuuō.zuṣṭā, ‘the worst things, by doing which mortals are to wax Daeva-favoured’; 32. 8 yō maṣṭīēng cixšnuṣō ahmākōṅ ṣagū bagā xāramnō, ‘who sought to gratify our mortal race by feeding them portions of the cow’; 33. 3 yō aṣāuēn vahiṣṭō x’aētī vā aṯ vā verezōniiō ariiāmnā vā ... *vīdās vā Ôbaxiaphā 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 ahiīa Vaghōuš Manahō Shīaōdnā vaocaṭ ‘gerēbām’ huxratiu sptonqmcā Ārmaitūm, daṃmīm vīduuē hīḏm Ašahīā, ‘(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 yehīīa uruuā xraodaitī Cinuutō pērētā ākā, x’vāīs Shīaōdnāīsh hizuuascā Ašahīā ṣasūuā padō, ‘whose soul will torment him as it confronts him at the Arbiter’s Crossing, lost through his own actions and his tongue’s from the path of Right’.

Perhaps concessive in 31. 10 nōiṭ ... auwāstriṇīō dāwūgs.cina humrētōiĭ baxṣ-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 vō uruuātā marantō, agūstā vacā sēnghāmāhī aeibīō 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: yō uruānum mēn gairē vohū dadē haṇṇā manahāj, aṣīscā Shīaōdnānam vīdūv Mazdā, ... xsāi aeśē Ašahīā, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought, and knowing Mazdā’s repayments of actions, will look out in search of Right’.

212. More often a participial phrase is used as a means of extending a sentence: 32. 4 (following the words quoted in §210, yā – daēuuō.zuṣṭā), vāṇhōuš sīz-diīamnā manahōh, Mazdā Ahurahīā xraṭēuṣ nasiīantō Aṣāaṭcā, ‘retreating from good thought, losing the way from Lord Mazdā’s sapience and from Right’; 33. 5 yas.tē vīspē.maziṣṭom sr[too]m zhaṭiī auuajhanē, apānō daragō.jiṭātūm, ‘I that will invoke my supreme compliance to thee at the journey’s end, arrived at the long life’; 45. 8 tōm ... nū zī ḳaṣmainī vi.tarassem, Vāṇhōuš Mainiīuṣ Shīaōdnahīīa uxbāzīīācā vīdūv asā, ‘him I have just now discerned in my eye, knowing with right of the Good Will’s deed and utterance’; 46. 18 ahmāi ascīṭ vahiṣṭā maṣṭīā iṣṭōiś ... *cōiṣem ..., āstēng ahmāi yē nā ḳaṭī daidīṭā, Mazdā Aṣā, xśmākōm vārem *xśnaōsēmno, ‘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 hanaro ḍbahmāt zaoṣā drgoṣuā baxṣaṭtī, ahiīa Shīaōdnāiś Akāt ā šīga Manahō, ‘it is without thy favour that the wrongful one partakes thereof, by his own actions abiding on the side of Evil Thought’.
The verb *aog-* is construed with a participle as predicate: 32. 7 aēšam aēnaŋham naēcit viduā aojoi, ‘of these offences I declare I know nothing’, lit. ‘knowing nothing, I so make my declaration’.

With reduplicated desideratives we find an adjectival form in -a- which is in effect a participle and behaves as one: 43. 15 nōit nā pourūs dreguuaūtō xītīt cixmnušō, ‘may a man not be one who seeks to gratify the many wrongful’, cf. 32. 8; 45. 8–10 tōm nā staotāiš nemaŋhō ā vīuuaraśō ... tōm nō Vohū mat Manahē cixmnušō, ... tōm nō yasnāiš ārmatoiš mimavyzō, ‘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-

These are syntactically less flexible. The verbal element may govern a case, as in 30. 1 raocbstīs darasatā uruāūzā, ‘the bliss beheld by the light’; 31. 1 aguštā vacā ... aēbiito yōi ..., ‘words unheeded by those who ...’; 43. 10 peresācā nā, yā tōi ōhmā parstā, parstom zī ḫbā ..., ‘and ask us the questions (to) us (acc.) that thou hast; for the question by thee ...’; 49. 9 ḥpāhhiiō suiē tāštō, ‘the cultivator made for strengthening’; ibid. ašā yuxtā ... Dajāmāspā, ‘the Dja-maaspas yoked with right’. Compare, with adverbial modifier, YH 39. 2 aśānunam ... kudō-zātangm.cit, ‘of the righteous wherever born’.

These forms can serve as predicates in nominal sentences, with the effect of a finite verb: 29. 8 aēm mōi idā vistō, ‘this man here I have found’, cf. 29. 6; 50. 1; 48. 2 hā zī anhōuš vanyhī vistā ākōrtīs, ‘for that is the pattern of existence found to be good’; 48. 1 yā dābitānā fraoctā, ‘the deceitful things that have been asserted’; 49. 3 atcā ahmāi varanāi ... ni.dātam aśem suiddītāi, ‘but for this chosen path, right is laid down to strengthen (us)’.

Neuter plurals are used in a general sense: 43. 12 nōit asruštā pairi.aoyzā, ‘thou givest advice (that will) not (go) unheeded’; 46. 19 manō.vistāīs mat vispāś, ‘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-

Forms occur from four verbal roots. They are used mostly as simple attributives: 27. 13 yadā ahū vairīō, ‘as (he is) the master one would choose’; 43. 13 vairīīa stōiš, ‘a possession worth choosing’, cf. 54. 1; substantivized, 34. 14 tā ... vairīm, ‘that thing worth choosing, that prize’; predicatively, 51. 1 vohū xārdtem vairīm, ‘good command is a thing to choose’; 31. 4 yadō Aēm zauūm, ‘when Right is to be invoked’; 44. 8 yācā ... arēm vaēdiīā, ‘and those (words)
that are fitly to be apprehended’; 74 48. 8 kā ḍbōi ... iṣiā? ‘what desirable (reward) of thine (is there)?’; 51. 17 yām hōi iṣiām dātū ... Mazda, ‘let Mazdā make it desirable to him’; 54. 1 a Airiōmā iṣīō ... jantū ... Ašahiā yāsā aṣīm, yām iṣiām 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 dāiāt ṣōāuā). 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 viādaresem, i.e. vi adaresem, ‘I have discerned’, and in many places an enclitic intervenes between preverb and verb, as in 28. 11 frō mā sīsā, 33. 12 us mōi ārṣāuā; 33. 8; 45. 6; 46. 2; 49. 1, 6; 51. 22. 76 Univerbation, however, is seen in 46. 5 uz īīdōīōī īm, where uz īm īīdōīōī might have been expected. Two preverbs appear together in 46. 12 at iṣ vohū hēm aibī moīst manāṭhā, ‘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 anṭara aunuā (ṣōāuā) ā paiūi pairī.
Only preverb: apā frā hēm ni nīs upā us vī.
Only preposition: aipī ānū (ṣōānū) hacā haddā hanare haṭrā maṭ parā parā.

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 vaēidīāi (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 regularly repeated immediately before the verb, to the detriment of metre: this clearly results from a systematic editing process.
Dependent Clauses

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

Relative clauses

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’. 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.

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

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

Restrictive (defining)

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

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

77 Caland 17–46; Delbrück iii. 295–406; Bartholomae 1199–1228; Reichelt §§734–52; Seiler 53–206; Kellens–Pirart ii. 53–64; Hintze (1997); Skjærvø 154–60.
78 I use ‘head’ for what in traditional grammar is called the antecedent, a misleading term in that it often does not precede but follows the relative clause or is located inside it. Some use the term ‘nucleus’.
voured for these, as in 45. 3 yōi ɪn vā nōiṭ ɪdā māḍräm varaṇēṇī, … aēibiiō aḥyēuṣ auuōī aṇhaṭ apēmōm, ‘those of you who do not so act on this prescript, for them “Woe!” will be their worldly life’s end’; 46. 18 yō maibiiā yaoś, aṁmā ascūṭ vahīṣṭā maxiīā iṣṭōiṣ … cōīṣam, ‘who(ever) (assigns) weal to me, to him I for my part assign the best at my disposal’. As the examples indicate, the indeterminate referent may be either plural or singular.

226. If the reference is not to a specific person or thing but to any that may fit the case, the subjunctive is used, as in 45. 3 just cited (varaṇṇēṇī); 28. 8 yaēibīiāscā ɪt ṛāṇhaṇhōi, ‘and (those) on whom(ever) thou bestowest it’; 30. 5 yaēcā xśnaosēn Ahūrem haiḍiiaś śīaōdṇaśī, ‘and those who please the Lord with genuine actions’; 32. 15 auuāiś aibī yōṇg dainē, ‘those whom they implicate in them’; 44. 12 kō aṣauuā, yāiś parasāi, dreuṅuā vā? ‘who is righteous or wrongful (of those) whom I question?’; 46. 18 yāiś tām ahmāi ṣaṅmo nā dāiṭē, kā tēm ahiṭā maēnēiṣ ṣaṭ paouriūiē? ‘he that does not give that reward to one who earns it, the man that takes it for himself when it has been promised, what punishment for that will catch him initially?’; 46. 1 nōiṭ mā xśnaūs, yā vērēzōṇā hōcē, ‘I am not pleased with such communities as I consort with’; 50. 3 yām nazdiṣṭām gaeḍṭām dreuṅuā baxśaśī, ‘the neighbouring creature (any cow) that the wrongful one has’; 51. 8 huuoū zī māṭrā śītāō, yō vidūṣē mruauaśī, ‘happy that prophet who speaks to one who knows’.

For a more remote contingency the optative may be used: 46. 5 yō vā xśaiīṣ ś dām dritis aiiāntom … 6 at yas.tām nōiṭ nā āsēmno aiiāt, ‘as for one who on his own authority should take into his house one coming … But as for a man who should come to him unwanted’.

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

227. The head to which a relative clause relates sometimes has to be understood from the context: 80 31. 9 hitaṭ axiiādā paddm, vāṣṭriiāt vā ā ite vā vā nōiṭ aḥyaṭ vāṣṭriiā, ‘when thou didst offer her a path, to proceed either from the herdsman or (from him) who is not a herdsman’; 31. 15 paresas auuata, yā maēnīś, yō dreuṅuaṭē xśaḍrem hunaiṇī, ‘I ask this, what is the punishment (for him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’; 31. 19 guśṭā vē māntā aṣēm, ‘let him listen (to him) who thinks on right’; 31. 21 Mazdā dādāt … vaghēuṣ vazduuarc manahho, yō hōi mainiitū śīaōdṇāścā uruūābdō, ‘Mazdā gives the permanence of good thought (to him) who (is) his ally in will and deeds’; 34. 14 taṭ zī … astuuaitē uṣṭānāi dātā … vōī zī guēuṣ vērēzōṇē axiiā, ‘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 yō huḍā, yōi hōntī, ‘who (is) a benefactor (of all) who are’, cf. 44. 16; 51. 10; 51. 8 akoiī ā dreuṅuata, uṣṭā vē Aṣeṁ dadrē, ‘amid ill for the wrongful one, (but) in bliss (for him) who has embraced Right’; YH 37. 2 tēm aṭ yasmanam pauruuatātā yazamaiḍē, vōī guēuṣ hacā śīeṁiṇī,

80 Cf. Delbrück iii. 300–2.
Dependent Clauses

228. In several of these cases yē 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 hamām taṭ vahīštācīt, yē usuruiē sīascīt dahmahīiā, ‘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 drēguataēcā hiiācā aśāunē, vexīiācā hōm.iīasaitē miḥawahīā yēcā hōi āraćuāū, ‘for the wrongful one and as regards the righteous, and (for him) whose false and straight deeds are put in the balance’; 44. 20 yāś gām Karapā Usixścā aēsmāī āītā, yēcā Kauē qamōnē urūdōiīatā, ‘with whom the Karpa and the Uṣijy subject the cow to violence and (to all that) which the Kavi makes her lament to her soul’; 53. 1 yēzī hōi dāt āiiaptā … Mazdā … yaečā …, ‘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 yē uruwaćem mōn gairē vohū dādē haṭrā manaphā, … xsāi aēse Aṣa-hīiā, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought … will look out in search of Right’; 28. 11 yē āśaṣ ašem ni.pājēh ma-nascā vohū yauaētāitē, tuuōm, Mazdā Ahurā, frō mā siśā, ‘thou who with their aid dost protect thy Right and Good Thought for ever, teach me, Lord Mazdā’, cf. 33. 11; 45. 7–8 yeśliā sauēa išānī rākajhō … āōm … nū zī īt caš-mainī vi.adaarasam, ‘the Caring One whose strength all may activate … him I have just now discerned in my eye’. The demonstrative tōm 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, yē ḅeṣṭ, Mazdā, asrūṣīm akomcā manõ yaṣāi apā, … yasṭē vispē.mazišćom sraośam zbaiā awuaj-hānē … yē zaotā aśa ārezuś, huūō mainiēuś ā vahīṣṭāg kaiiā ahmō, ‘I that by wor-

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81 So in 31. 7 tā, Mazdā, mainiīu ucśiīo, yē ī mūromcūt … hōmō, ‘through that will, Mazdā, thou dost increase, …’, tā should not be taken as correlative to yē, 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 … jīgarēzāt 
kāmē ḫūshātīīā ḫāțrānō ēūtīm, ṣō īs pāt ḫaṛāsāt Āṣāhīāā, ‘and those who decay in 
their lust thy prophet’s message, (the lust) that will keep them from the sight of 
Right’; 32. 14 hiīāt vīshōntā ḫīguvantām auūō, hiīātō gāūš jaidīīāī mraoī, ṣō ḫū-
rāošām sāocaiāt, ‘when they set themselves to assist the wrongful one 
and when the cow is spoken for killing, (the wrongful one) who makes the 
resistant (haoma) flare up’.

233. Occasionally a relative is used to introduce an idea quite independent of 
what precedes, becoming in effect just a sentence-connective: 44. 10 ūm daēnām, 
vā ḫatām vāhītā—vā mōī gāētā Āṣā frādōīt hācōmān, ‘that religion 
which is the best in existence—may it promote my flock in union with 
Right’; 45. 2 āt frauāxšīīā āfhōūš mānīīīīīā paouruiiē, vāiīā spaniiūūī īīīīīīī 
im angreōm, ‘I will tell forth the two Wills at the world’s beginning; of whom 
the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one’; 46. 11; 51. 13, 17.

Features common to both restrictive and appositive clauses

234. The head is sometimes l o c a t e d within the relative clause 
and subjected to its syntactic regimen, being put in the same case as the relative 
pronoun instead of that which would express its function in the main clause.82

28. 7 dāstū, Mazdā, … vā vō ḫātrā sruuuūīīā ṭādā, ‘give thou, Mazdā, the 
prescript through which we might hear your favours’; 30. 3 āt tā mānīīū, paou-
ruiiē vō vāmā x‘aftānā asruuūīūm, ‘they are the two Wills, the twins who in 
the beginning made themselves heard through dreaming’; 31. 3 hiīāt uruavat̄̄m 
cazdoūhulaadbiīō, ‘the rule that is for the prudent’; 31. 13 vā frasā āuuiiūīī, vā vā 
… pērasaētē tāiīā, ‘the questioning that is overt, or the secrets that the two 
debate’; 32. 3 āt yūs daēuūā vīspāyjūō Akāt Manaījō ṭā cībṛēm yas̄cā vā mās 
yazaitē, ‘but ye Daevas are all spawn from Evil Thought, and (so is) the grā-
deew who worship you’; 32. 11 taēcūtī mā mōrōndēn jiīōtim, vōi drēguuant̄ō 
… cikōitūrēs … apaiieītī, ‘those are the ones who pervert life, the wrongful who 
have distinguished themselves by depriving’, cf. 44. 12; 32. 12 vā ṭāhāiān 
sruuuān̄ā vāhītāt śīīāot̄ān̄ā mēretān̄ō, aēbīiiūō Mazdā akā mraoţ, ‘because of the 
“deed of repute” by which they divert mortals from best action, Mazdā an-
swers them with ill’; 33. 1 āīs … vā dātā āfhōūš paouruiehīīā, ‘by the ordi-
ances of the first existence’; 33. 13 doīśī mōī vā vō ā Ṣīfrā, ‘show me the vir-
tues(?) that you have’; 34. 1 vā śīīāot̄ān̄ā, vā vacān̄ā, vā yas̄n̄ā amērātāt̄ām …

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

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235. In three places the head is repeated from the main clause in the relative clause: 32. 12–13 yāiš grōhmā ašā verētā Karpaḥ xšaḏramčā īšanṯm druṯem, yā xšaḏrā grōhmō ‟, ‟with whom the Karpan chooses gluttony(?) over right, and the dominion of those who desire wrong; by which dominion the glutton(?) ‟; 50. 5–6 hiiaṯ yūṣmākī maṯrānē vaorizādā ‟ yō maṯrā vācem, Mazdā, baraitū, ‟that ye will look gladly upon your prophet ‟ which prophet is bringing forth his voice, Mazdā ‟; 51. 14 gauuoi āroiš ā sāndā x’aiš šīaḏnāışčā sōnghāśčā; yē iš sōnghō apēm emitter Drūjō domēnē ādāṯ, ‟manifester of harm to the cow by their actions and teachings; which teaching will consign them at the last to the house of Wrong."

236. The relative pronoun usually occupies the initial position in the clause. In some instances it is postponed to follow another word or phrase, but it always precedes the verb if there is one: 28. 1 Vajhōs xratūm Manaŋhō yā xšauuišā gōsčā uruuaŋom, ‟by which Thou wouldst do justice to Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul”; 30. 3, quoted in §234; 32. 5 aḵā šīaḏnēm vaqayhā yē fracinas droguuantom xšaiiō, ‟by the evil speech with which he assigns the deed for the wrongful one to control (here the clause boundaries overlap); 32. 15 auuiš aibī vāŋg dainṭi, ‟those whom they implicate in them”; 34. 10 tācā viśpā, Ahurā, ḏbrahi ‟ xšaḏrōi <v>a vōiiaḏrā, ‟and all
those excellences(?), Lord, that are in thy domain’; 34. 13, quoted in §234; 45. 5 vacō, srūditiā hīiat maricaēbiō vahištem, ‘the word that is best for mortals to hear’; 46. 10 aŋhēus yā tū vāistā vahišṭā, ‘what thou knowest (to be) the best things in life’.

The relative pronoun as quasi-article

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 aitā mainuā voreta yō draguvā acisā voreziō, ‘of these two Wills the one that is wrongful chooses to do the worst things’, where yō draguvō means no more than draguvō; 32. 15 yā Kapōtāscā Kouītāscā, ‘the Karpanhood and the Kavihood’; 33. 1 mīdhiitiā yācā hōi ārzuvā, ‘his false and straight deeds’; 43. 5 hīiat dā šīaōtnā mīždauwaŋ yācā uxdā, ‘when thou madest actions and speech wageable’; 46. 1 daxitiōs yōi sāstārō droguuantō, ‘the wrongful governors of the regions’; 46. 3 yōi uxsānō anṣanm, ‘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 dōbā ... vēm Aśā vahišā ha-zaošem, ‘thee, the one of one mind with best Right’, as in Greek one might say σὲ τὸν Δίκηι ὁμόφρονα; 28. 9 anāa gā nōi ... Aśemcā yānāiš zaranaēmā Manascā hīiat vahištem, ‘with these prayers may we not anger you and Right and the Best Thought’; 32. 5 vā ... vōng daeuvō, ‘you the Daevas’; 45. 2 spaniiā uiti mrausat vēm angrem, ‘the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one’; 45. 8 tōm ... vādarašem ..., vēm Maradām Ahurem, ‘him I have discerned, Mazdā the Lord’; 46. 4 tōng ... vōng asahitiā važdrōng, ‘those bringers of right’; 46. 8 yō vā mōi vā gāēda dazdē aēnajhē, ‘or he who is subjecting my flock to maltreatment’. In YH we find an example with the instrumental: 35. 4 tāiš šīaōtnāiš vāiš vahištāiš, ‘with these actions, the best ones’ (ταῖς πράξεσι ταῖς ἄρισταις).

239. By a further extension the accusative pronoun may govern a defining phrase in a different case: 31. 6 yā mōi vidūta vaocat haitīm, māēm vīm haur-iwatāiō, ‘who, knowing it, speaks my truth, the prescript that is of health’ (ἐπωιδὴν τὴν ὑγιείας); 49. 8 Ašhiitiā dā sarom ... vam vanjiāū ūbahmē ā xšaṭrōi, ‘grant union with Right, the one in thy good domain’ (ἐνωσιν τὴν ἐν τῇ σῇ ὦρχῃ).
The attraction of the pronoun into the accusative is not invariable, cf. 53. 5 
\( ah\text{\textdeg} \) yā (not yim) vaḥṣuṣ manahgō, ‘the life (that is) of good thought’.

Temporal clauses

240. Temporal clauses are mostly introduced by hitai, 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, noīt tā im xšnauš vaēpiō 
Kouūnō perētā zimō ... hitai ahmū urūraost aštō, hitai hōī ī caratascā aodēroşcā 
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 hitai clause is more unequivocally tem-
poral.

hitai ... paouruūm means ‘when first’, ‘as soon as’; parā hitai means ‘be-
fore’.

Other conjunctions introducing temporal clauses are Yadā ‘when (specifi-
cally temporal); yawat ‘as long as’, ‘as far as’; yāt ‘since (the time when)’.

241. In the Gāthās the conjunction is regularly initial in the clause. In YH we 
(perhaps) find it postponed to second position in 38. 4 yā vā, Vaṭhiš, Ahurō 
Mazdā nāmān dadā, vaŋhudā hitai vā dadā, ‘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 infre-
quently precedes it, as in 30. 4 aṭcā hitai tā hōm mainiū jasaētom paouruūm, 
dadē gaēmcā ajjiaț tâmīcā, ‘once those two Wills join battle, one adopts life or 
non-life’; 30. 8, 11; 31. 4; 43. 12 hitiațcā mōi mraoš ‘Aṣem jasō’ frāxšnānē, aṭ tū 
mōi noīt asrustå pairi.ayyā, ‘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: barezistām barezi-
manqam (āuuaēdaiamahī) awwat yāt huuaro awwācī, ‘highest of the high we proc-
claim that sun since it was named’.

In 31. 11 three successive hitai clauses in asyndeton precede the main 
clause: hitai nā, Mazdā, paouruūm gaēbāscā taśo daēnāscā ...; hitai astuwanťom 
dā da ustānem, hitai šītāobnācā sēŋghāscā yabrā ..., ‘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.
When the reference is to the past, the verb is in a past tense of the indicative or injunctive: 29. 2 kaḏa tōi gauoīi rauuś, hitaṭ him dādā xšaiantarī, ‘how (was) thy ruling for the cow, when ye powers made her?’; 31. 9 hitaṭ axiiai dādā pābum, ‘when thou didst offer her a path’; 43. 5 aŋhōus zābōi . . . , hitaṭ dā šitaaoďna miždawum, ‘at the genesis of the world, when thou madest actions wageable’; 46. 12 hitaṭ us aša naptiiaesũ nafiucu Tiuraḥii jēn Friiænahari, ‘when he came forth with right among the kin and descendants of Tiura Friiāna’; YH 38. 4, quoted in §241.

When the reference is to something that happens from time to time, or at an unspecified time, the verb is in the °present or +aorist injunctive: 29. 5 ať vā uštanāiš ā huuā zastāiš frīnömũn Ahuruṁiia . . . hitaṭ Mazdām °duuaidī frasāitiio, ‘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 ať ṭũu môjihi . . . yazzūm stōi manajhā . . . hitaṭ ṭũu hōm cašmaini °grabam, ‘I think of thee as being young in my thought, when I catch thee in my eye’, cf. 43. 5; 32. 14 ahiia grōhmō āhōibōi ni Kaωuaiasci xratũs dadaṭ . . . hitaṭ °visištā drogümantam auuo, hitaṭcā gauš jaidiiai °mraai, ‘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 spoentom ať ṭũu . . . môjihi . . . hitaṭ mā vohu °pairi̯asat manajhā °perasacã mā, ‘bounteous I think thee, when one approaches me with good thought and asks me’; 45. 10 hitaṭ hōi aša vohuca °coišt manajhā, xšabroī hōi hauruμtā amaretatā ahmāi stōi qan, ‘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 kēm.nā . . . mauaite pāiiũm dadaṭ, hitaṭ mā drogüuça °didarṣatā aṇaŋhē, ‘whom dost thou set as protector for my kind, when the wrongful one seeks to take hold of me for maltreatment?’

When the reference is to a specific, unique activity occurring at the present time, we find the present indicative, even if the main clause refers to the past or future: 32. 3–4 šitaomnā . . . yaiš asruḏũm būmiia haptaidē, yāu yuś tā framīmaďa, 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 hitaṭ ā būštīš vasas.xšabrahii dii, yauuαt ā ṭũu, Mazdā, staomii uʃiiacã, ‘so I may obtain the offices of him who rules at will for as long as I am praising and hymning thee, Mazdā’.

When the reference is to the future, the subjunctive is used: 28. 4 yauuαt °isai °tauuαcã, auuαt xšai aesẽ Ašahiiā, ‘so long as I have the ability and strength, I will look out in search of Right’, cf. 50. 11; 30. 8 yaddā kaenā °jamaini aṇaŋhām, ‘when the requital comes for their misdeeds’, cf. 31. 4; 30. 9 aťcā tōi vaem xīiama yoi tım frašım karaṇām ahūm, . . . hitaṭ habrā mana °buuat yaβrā cistiš aŋhαt maebă, ‘may we be the ones who will make this world splendid, as our minds come together where insight is intermittent’; 43. 4 ať ṭũu
māṅghāī taxmāncā  sponsām ... hīāt mōi vajhōūḥ hazō +jimāt manājghō, ‘I will think thee bold and bounteous when the force of good thought comes to me’; 43. 12 uzi.raiđiāi, parā hīāt mōi ā +jimāt Sraośō, ‘to start out before Compliance comes to me’, cf. 48. 2; 44. 15 yezi ahiiā Aṣā, pōi maṭ, xṣaiehī, hīāt hōṃ spāđā anaocaghā jamaeṭē, ‘if thou hast this power with Right to protect me when the hostile armies meet’; 46. 15 hīāt dādjōng vi +caitādā adādaścā, tāīs yuē šiiaodnāīs aśaṃ xṣmaibīiā radauiē, ‘when ye distinguish between the just and the unjust, by those actions ye shall win yourselves Right’; 50. 9 yada aśoiś maṃćiā váśo +xṣaiā, aṭ hudānaoś iṣaiās gerezā xīōm, ‘when I have my reward at my disposal, then may I be enabled in my benefactor’s favour’.—In 30. 11 hīāt tā uruaṭā saśaṭā ... aṭ aipī tāīs anghiītī uerdo, ‘when ye grasp those rules, then thereafter it will be as we desire’, it seems necessary to emend the present indicative sa̤kaṭā to the subjunctive sa̤kaṭā.

One passage is anomalous: 46. 11 yōng xā urua x‘aēcā +xraodaṭ daēnā, hīāt +abi.ṣeṇan, yadṛā Cinuwaṭō peretuṣ, ‘(the Karpan and Kavis,) whom their own soul and their own morality will torment when they come to where the Arbiters’ Crossing is’. The subjunctive in the main clause suggests a prediction for the future, but the aorist injunctive in the temporal clause implies a timeless generalization as in §244. Probably xraodaṭ is to be taken as a ‘relative future’ of the type identified in §181: ‘whenever such people reach the Arbiters’ 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

247. The following clauses introduced by hīāt may be classed as causal: 30. 6 aīā noīṭ oṛaś viśūṭā daēuacina, hīāt īṣ ā dabaomā perseinnōng upājasat (pres. inj.), hīāt veranāṭ (pres. inj.) aṣiṭṣom mano, ‘between those two not even the Daevas discriminate rightly, because delusion comes over them as they deliberate, hīāt (because? so that? when?) they choose the worst thought’; 43. 11 hīāt xṃa uχāīs didaijhae paouroṣuīm, ‘because I am learning by your utterances first of all’; 44. 18 hīāt mōi mazdā api.ωauii, ‘seeing that (or now that) mindfulness has been instilled in me’; 87 46. 2 vaḍā tāt, yā ahmi ... anaेṣō: mā kammnaṣuā, hīaṭcā kammnā ahmi, ‘I know why I am ineffectual: through my poverty in cattle and because I am poor in men’; 47. 3 yē ahmiī gān ... hōṃ.tasat ... hīāt hōṃ Vohū ... fraṭā Manajghā, ‘which fashioned the cow for him, because he took counsel with Good Thought’; 49. 9 sraoṭū sāṃsā ṣ̣ējhiīō ... hīāt daēnā vahištē yujōn (aor. inj.) mīḍē ... 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; Skjaervø 163.
87 On the interpretation of this sentence see §178.
Comparative clauses

248. Comparisons are most clearly expressed with yaša ‘as, just as’, with or without correlative ašo or iša. 27. 13, 29. 4, 33. 1, all quoted in §133; 44. 18 kada aša taṭ miẓdom hanānī ... hauruwaṭa amāretātā, yasa hi taibiiō dāyha? ‘how am I rightfully to earn that reward ... with health and continuing life, even as thou hast taken these for thyself?’

For 34. 5 yasa va haumī and for yadona see §135.

249. Certain clauses introduced by hiaṭ seem to be comparative in nature: 32. 5 ta dobaotā maṣim hujiāṭoīš ... hiaṭ va aša manaṭha yong daēuwaiting Akasa Mainius, ‘so ye allure the mortal from good living, as (or because?) the Evil Will also (lures) you who are Daevas by evil thought’; 34. 8 tāiś zī nā šiiaotnāīš biianī, yaśū as pairī pourubīō išīiejo, hiaṭ aša ojī nādīīāṭhom, ‘for they intimidate us by those actions in which there was danger to many, as a strong man does a weaker one’; 43. 8 haiṭtiō duuwaṭ, hiaṭ išīī, drengwaiṭā ... šitōm, ‘may I be in reality, as (or what) I would wish, the bane of the wrongful one’; 46. 2 rafeōrem caguwa hiaṭ friī friīiā daiti, ‘affording support as (or which) a friend would offer to a friend’; 46. 6 huuo ašaunā, yahma ašaunō friiō, hiaṭ daēnā paouruiā dā, Ahūrā, ‘he is righteous who has a righteous one as his friend, as thou didst establish the original moralities, Lord’.

Final and consecutive clauses

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 hiaṭ or yasa. The verb goes in the subjunctive or optative. Where the verb of the main clause is a wish in the optative, that of the dependent clause is also optative. In other cases we may say that the subjunctive implies that the end is likely to be achieved, while the optative implies that it will become possible.

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

251. Relative pronoun + subjunctive: 28. 6 dā ... Zarāḍuṣṭrāi aojonghuuėt raľo ... , va daibišuatō duuaša tauruwaiani, ‘give Zarathushtra strong support, by which we may overcome the foe’s hostilities’; 28. 11 frō mā siā ... vaocanāḥ ... , vaś aṣuś paouruiō bauuat, ‘teach me to voice (those words) through which the pristine existence may come about’; 29. 10 aogō dātaš aša xšaβamecā awuat ... , va hušašūš rāmačmā dātā, ‘give strength with right and that dominion, by which one may establish fair dwelling and peace’; 30. 1 aṭ tā vaxsiā ... va mazdaša hiaiçači vidušē, ‘now I will tell those things that you are to
bring to the attention even of one who knows; 31. 2 yaḏā ratūm Ahurō vaēdā Mazdā aiīḏ qasaiiā, vā aṣāt hacā jjuuāmaḥī, ‘how Lord Mazdā has made the judgment concerning those two portions, (the judgment) by which we may live in accord with Right’; 50. 4 ḥṣāṭrācā, vā ḫoḏā ṣṭānḥaṭ ā pāiḏī, ‘and with that dominion by which one may stand on the path of enablement’; 53. 4.

Relative pronoun + optative: 28. 1 ahiīā yāsā ... rafvDrahiiA ... KiiAqA, ‘I pray for his help by means of an action through which thou couldst satisfy Good Thought’s purpose’; 29. 2 kōm hōi uṣti ahūrem, vē drēguuōdabiš aēšemem vālāiōit? ‘whom did ye want as her lord, that might repulse fury by the wrongful?’; 31. 3 tāt nā ... vaocā ..., vā juuAntō viṣpēṃ vāurāiA, ‘tell us that, whereby I might persuade everyone alive’; 31. 4 īsāsā ... ḥṣātrem aojōnhuuat, vēhiiā vērēdā vanaēmā Drujēm, ‘I shall seek a strong authority, by whose increase we might vanquish Wrong’; 46. 8 pāttiiaogt tā ahamā jasōi ṣuwaēṣaŋhā rānuūm ā, vā īm hujiāiōiš pāiiāt, ‘may those (actions of his) recoil on him with hostility, on his person, so that they may keep him from good living’.

252. hiiāt + optative: 43. 8 at ašāūnē rafnō xiiōm aojōnhuuat, hiiāt ā bušṭis vasa.xṣāṭrāhiī dīiā, ‘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 pērasācā nā, vā tōi ʾōhmā parštā ... hiiāt ʾūbā xṣaiiās aēšem diiāt ʾōmawantōm, ‘and ask us what thou hast to ask of us, so that one might, having control, make thee potent (and) strong’.

253. yaḏā + subjunctive: 34. 6 yező aḏā stā haʿīīm, ... at tāt mōi daxštēm dātā ..., yaḏā vā yazmāscā uruāūdiiā staauas aiiēnī paiīt, ‘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 Aṣā frīīā dazdīiāt hākuRaṇā, yaḏā nō ā Vohū jiimat Manāŋhā, ‘we have friendly relations to maintain with Right, so that it will come to us with Good Thought’; 46. 16–17 aḏrā tū arēdrāiš idī ... yaʿbrā Aṣā hacaṭē Armaītīš ..., yaḏā vā afšmāni sānghāṇī, ‘go with the zealous to where Piety is together with Right, so that I may proclaim verses for you’.

Conditional clauses

254. Conditional clauses are normally introduced by yező ‘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.

With indicative: 34. 6 yező aḏā stā haʿīīm, ‘if ye are truly thus’; 44. 15 yező ahiīā aṣā pōi maṭ xṣaielīhī, ‘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.
II. Morphosyntax

48. 9 kaṭ ā vaedā, yezī cahiā xșaiādā ... yehīā ma āiādī duvaedā? ‘shall I know it, if ye have control over anything whose danger is a threat?’

Without a verb: see §8.

With subjunctive: 48. 1 yezī aṭ āiš Ašā Drujam vānghaiti ... aṭ töi sauuāiš vahmom vaxšat, Ahurā, ‘now if thereby Right will vanquish Wrong, then one will increase thy praise together with thy strength, Lord’; 53. 1 vahištā ištīs srāuū Zarabuštrahē ..., yezī hōi dāt āiāptā ... Mazdā yauuōi vispāišā, ‘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 the particle -cā, attached to the initial word of the first sentence.93 30. 7 ahmāicā xša-brā jasat (pres. inj.) manayhā vohū ašacā, aṭ kohrām utaiütīs dadāt (pres. inj.), ārmaitīs qnmā, ‘suppose one comes with dominion for him, with good thought and right, then vitality informs the body, piety the soul’; 32. 1 (beginning of poem) ašīicā vāe-tūs yāsāt (pres. inj.), ahiīā vorezēnom maṭ aititanmā, ahiīā daeṇūm mahmī manōi, Ahurahīiā uruū-zemā Mazdā: ‘ḥōi dūtąphō āḥkāmā, tōng daratiiō yōi vā daibisēnti’; ašīiō Mazdā Ahurō ... paitimraat (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.zaiā-tā (aor. subj.) magōm tōm, aṭ vō ‘vaitōi’ āḥhaitī apōm vacō, ‘(if) you will abandon this ceremony, then “Woe!” will be your last word’.

Object clauses94

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 hitat ‘(the fact) that’: 44. 17 kafā zaram carānī hacā xšmat, āskofīm xšmākām, hitatcā mōi xitiā vaxš aēso? ‘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 ... hitat yūšmākāi mādrānē vaorāzdā, ‘for it is settled by you that ye will

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93 The construction is known in Vedic, and traces of a similar function of reflexes of *-k'e have been found also in Hittite, Latin, and Gothic, but it has not hitherto been recognized in Iranian. Cf. Brugmann (1902) §913; Hirt vii. 140–2; Wackernagel (1955–79), i. 257–61; H. Eichner, MSS 29 (1971), 27–46; Watkins (1995–2008), 300–6; O. Szemerényi, Scripta Minora i (Innsbruck 1987), 384–6; H. Hettrich, Untersuchungen zur Hypotaxe im Vedishen (Berlin–New York 1988), 250–60; id. in O. Panagr–T. Krisch (edd.), Latein und Indogermanisch (Innsbruck 1992), 279–82.
look gladly on your prophet'; after a verb of speaking, 51. 8 ազի ու ուր վա- ընույթ է, ունի ու Ասու դառնի, եւ ազնվե է, Ձան ու և ազնվե է da, ‘for I will tell thee (this truth,) that amid ill for the wrongful one, but in bliss for him who has embraced Right, is the atonement that thou didst establish for the two parties’; with correlative demonstrative, YH 35. 3 դա դա վարեմադե է հեռա- ի մանկապատ վարեմադիկավարեմադե, ու, ‘we have chosen this, that we might think and speak and do those things that …’.

Indirect statements and questions

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 այունդ ստոյի, ու ու ասրվուր վաչե, ‘a desirable possession that is said to be in thy realm’.

258. Indirect questions are introduced by pronouns or conjunctions from the relative ya- stem, not the interrogative ka-. Thus to the direct question in 44. 19 ահ ար ու պորաս է … Ասա ու ու կուտ ու առեւու արդիք պաս? ‘I ask this: he who …, what punishment for that will catch him?’, there corresponds the indirect one in 31. 15 պորաս աւուա, ու առեւու, ու …, ‘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 ու ու ու պարու ոս պարու ոս, վադա, ‘I know in whose worship is my best (interest)’; with ու or ադա ‘how’, 34. 12 սրիվիտ, Մազդա, արեւուաուա, ու ու ահաբա առեւու արդիք, ‘proclaim for our hearing, Mazdā, how one might distribute the rewards of (thy) rulings’; 44. 1 ահ ար ու պորաս … մանաջո ա, ադա մանու ահաբա արդիք, ‘I ask this out of reverence, how is the (proper) reverence of your kind’; 46. 9 ու մա արդրո կուտ պաուռուու, ու ու ահա ահա արդրուի պամատպի, ‘the zealous one who will be first to recognize how I found(?) thee out as the promptest’; 48. 9 ադա պաս պաս, ադա հի ասի ախատ, մայ արտրեմ հի առաջ ե, ‘may the Promoter know how his reward is to be’; 51. 5 վիրա տա պորաս, ադա ասի հար գամ վիդա արդմի, ‘all this I ask: how the herdsman gets a cow in accord with Right’.—In 31. 16 an indirect question beginning with ադա is modified into one with two different forms: պորաս աւուա, ադա հսուո ու հուդանուս … ադա հուո ախատ ահար ամանահանա, ‘I ask that, how the liberal man who … when he will be there, and how-actioned’.

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

95 Reichelt §789.
II. Morphosyntax

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

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

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

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

Actually the case: 29. 9 yēm ʾā vasomī ʾūšaʾxṣaʾdūṃ, ‘whom I wish enabled with authority’; 31. 14 tāʾ ḥūšā ṭorasā, Ahurā, yā zī ʾā qemī ḡonghaticā, ‘I ask thee, Lord, about the things that are approaching and will come’; 31. 15 yē ṭraguṭātē xṣaʾdūṃ hunātī … yē nūʾī jīʾītūm hanarō ṣīnāṣī vāṣṭreṣhtīʾā aṇaŋhō, ‘who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one … who does not find a livelihood without wronging the herdsman’; 32. 1 tāṅg … yōʾī vē ṭaibisangī, ‘those who hate you’; 32. 3 ʾāṣcā vā ṭaṣ ṭaibisangī, ‘and the grandee who worships you’; 32. 6 aṇā … yāʾī ṣrāmbhāhīfī, ‘the offences by which he seeks renown’; 33. 7, 9; 43. 14; 44. 11, 12, 13; 46. 8.

General/permanent truths: 28. 11 yē ʾāʾī ṣom ni ṭaṣhē, ‘thou who through them guardest Right’; 29. 3 yē ṣ̄awātē ṣīrōṅg ṣorūḥaŋhō, ‘he by whom the upright promote the weak’; 30. 5 ʾaṁniʾūʾ spōništō, ṣē ṭraʾzdiʾštēng ṣaṅnō ʾaṣātē, ‘the Bounteous Will, who clothes himself in the hardest stones’; 31. 11 ṭāʾbā ṣarōṅg ṣaṅā ḡāʾīte, ‘where the free agent makes his choices’; 33. 5 ṭaḥāʾ, yaqšū Mazdā Ahurō ʾaṣqetī, ‘the paths on which Lord Mazdā dwells’, cf. 43. 3; 43. 6 Vohū ṣamāŋhā, yehīšī ṣīiaʿbaṇṇiʾā ʾaṣša ʾaṣā ṭrāʾdantē, ‘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).

Recapitulation: Uses of the Moods

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

In other passages such events are referred to with unaugmented aorists, formally injunctives but treatable as indicatives (§176): 29. 1 kahmāī mā ḥṣarōḏ-dūm? kō mā tašat? ‘for whom did ye shape me? Who made me?’; 29. 2 kēm hōt uṣīā ahuram?, ‘whom did ye want as her lord?’; 31. 5, 7, 10, 11, etc. Likewise in temporal clauses (§243).

264. For the imperfect indicative\(^97\) see §177.

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

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

Subjunctive\(^98\)

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

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

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

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

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

Optative\(^99\)

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

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\(^97\) 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 relative clauses it is used for the specification of a hypothetical contingency (§226); in final clauses, to express a desired end that may become achievable if a certain wish is granted (§§250–2). Examples in object clauses are to be understood similarly (44. 17 and YH 35. 3, quoted in §256).

Imperative

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

Quotation of Direct Speech

270. Zarathushtra sometimes attributes utterances to others. As they are conceived as being syntactically complete in themselves, strategies are needed to incorporate them within his syntax while allowing their other-voice status to be apparent. The most straightforward method is to introduce them with a verb of speaking or asking, as in 29. 1 gōuš uruuā gērēzdā: ‘kahmāi mā ḍābarōzdūm?’ ‘the cow’s soul complains, “For whom did ye shape me?”’; 29. 2 adā tašā gōuš parasat Āṣam: ‘kaṇā tōi gauūoi ratuś?’ ‘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 ūtti ‘thus’: 45. 2 yaiiā spaniīa ūtti mrauuaat yōm angrām: ‘nōi tā manā …’ , ‘of whom the Bounteous one was to speak thus to the Hostile one, “Neither our thoughts …”’.

In 32. 1 the connection between the verb and the utterance is less close: axtācā x’aētuš vāsat … Ahurahīiā uruuāzomā Mazdā: ‘ḥābī dūtāhō ḍēhāmā’, ‘suppose the clan prays for his, for Lord Mazdā’s gladdening, (saying) “We will be thy messengers”’.

271. When a question has been asked, it may be followed directly by the answer, with no explicit marking of the change of speaker: 29. 7–8 kas.tē vohū manāp̄hā yō i dāuī ašāuā maretaēbīō— ‘aēm mói idā vistō, yō nō aētuō sānā ġūšatā’, ‘whom hast thou who by good thought could establish those things for mortals?—“This man here I have found, who alone listens to our teachings”;’ 31. 5–6; 34. 5; 44. 12; 46. 14.

272. In 44. 6, to express the idea ‘if it is a true proposition that …’, Zarathushtra says yā frawuāxšiīā yezi tā aṭī haidiīā, ‘Āṣam šīiaōdṇāis dehāzaitī Armaǐīs’, … kaēbīō … gqm taśō? ‘if what I am about to say is true so: “Piety in action confirms Right …”’, for what people didst thou make the cow?’

273. A piece of speech, or a thought formulated as if for speech, may be introduced with a noun that indicates its status: 29. 5 hīitā Mazdam duuādī frasābīō:

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100 Spiegel §391; Skjærvø 99 f.
'nōṭ ərēzjiiōi frajlīātīś?' ‘as we subject Mazdā to our questions: “Is there no prospect for the righteous-living one?”'; 47. 2 ahiīā mainiūus spēništahiiā va-hiştom ... verziiaṭ ōīā cistī, ‘huōo ptā Aśahīā Mazdā’, ‘of this Bounteous Will one effects the best (showing) with this insight: “He, Mazdā, is the father of Right’”; followed up by a verb of utterance, 51. 16 tām Kaua Vīštāspō ... nāsāt ... yam cistīm Ašā mantā, ‘spēntō Mazdā Ahūro’, aūā 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 aūā 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 ahiīā vaγhōuš manaγhō Šīaγhō-ňā vaqoac γerabqum huxratau, ‘(of) this Good Thought’s deeds the wise man says “let them be seized hold of”’; 53. 7 at vō ‘vaiiōi’ anhaṭ apēnam vacō, “Woel!” will be your last utterance’, cf. 45. 3.

In other passages an exclamation is absorbed into a derived noun or compound: 31. 20 auugētūs vacō, ‘Woeness by way of speech; 53. 6 vaiiiυu.ubedhiiō, ‘for the Woe-criers’; 32. 12 yōi gēuš mōrōndōn uruuāxuxi jiiōtiūm, ‘who per-vert the cow’s life with the “Move!”-shout’.

Particles

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

There are notable differences of usage between the Gāthās and YH. Several particles appear in the latter but not in the former, and there is a systematic divergence in the placing of at (§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, cīṭ, cinā, nā) are conventionally printed as attachments to the preceding word, but the distinction between those that are and those that are not so treated is entirely conventional; it had of course no meaning in the oral phase of transmission.

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

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

277. Much the commonest is the one that appears in the Gāthās as at and in YH mostly as āt or āat.\(^\text{102}\) 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 adāiś is to be resolved into at āiś (§278). In 34. 15 Mazdā, at 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 at 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 kastē aśāunē urwādō mazıō magāi? kā vā fraśrūdīiāi vaśīi?—at huuō Kauuā Viśtāpō, ‘which righteous one is thy ally for the great rite? Who wishes to be renowned?—(Well,) it is the Kayi Vishtaaspa’.

Sometimes at 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 aciśtō dreguataṃ, at aśāunē vahiśtem manō, ‘the worst (existence) that of the wrongful, but for the righteous one, best thought’, cf. 34. 4; 43. 8.

Following a subordinate clause at often marks the beginning of the main clause in what might be called an ‘apodotic’ function:\(^\text{103}\) 30. 8 atcā yadā aēśāṃ kaēnā jamātī aēnāṇhāṃ, at Mazdā, taibīō xṣābrem ... vōiuūdāīē, ‘and when the requital comes for their misdeeds, (then) for thee, Mazdā, will be found dominion’; 31. 2 yezī āt nōī t uruūnē aduua aibī.drāštā văxiīā, at vā vispēng 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 yō aśāunē vahiśtō ... vídās vā ḍbāxśaṇhā gaunōi, at huuō Aśahiīā ānhaṭ ... văstrē, ‘he that is best to the righteous one ... or by tending the cow with care, (well,) he will be in the pasture of Right’; 43. 12 hiiatcā mōi mrəoś ‘Aśom jasō’ frāxšanē, at ū mōi nōī t asruśtā ... païrī.aoṭī, ‘and when in thy providence thou tellst 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 at and ā(a)t as of different origin, but apart from the matter of initial or deferred placement I can see no distinction of usage.

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

278. In three places at 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 adās: 48. 1 yezi adās Aṣā Drujom vonghaiti, ‘if [ ] Right will vanquish Wrong’; YH 35. 4 gauuī adās taś śīaodnaiś yaiś vahśtaiś fraeśiiānaiḥ rāmācā vāstremača dazioi, ‘for the cow [ ], with these actions that are the best, we urge the establishment of peace and pasture’. It is persuasively resolved by Narten (following Insler) into aṭ āiś, ‘thereby, hereby’.

In YH 35. 6 yaḍā āt utā nā vā nārī vā vaedā haiśim, aṭā haṭ vohū tōt ōsadū vareziōtticā āt 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 tāt is eliminated and the strange ōsadū explained by Narten’s resegmentation as tatō āt ū, where tatō = Vedic tātās ‘then, thereupon’ and ū is the common Vedic particle u, not otherwise apparent in the Avesta.

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

The special use of cā to introduce a conditional sentence, as it were ‘suppose’, has been dealt with in §255. In other cases cā simply marks a sentence as developing the content of the preceding one, as in 30. 3 aṭ tā mainiūi, … manahi vacahicā śīaodnaiō hī, vahiiō akomcā; āscā hudāhhō orāś viśītātā, ‘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 sācōnī vaziāmātīō kainībiō mraomī xśmaibītācā, vadomnā: mōncā i 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 sentence, as in 46. 5 yā vā xśaiiqā s ḍam drītā aiaiṭom, ‘as for one who on his own authority should take into his house one who comes’, cf. 31. 13; 46. 8, 10.

2) With an interrogative pronoun in a series of questions: 34. 12 kaṭ tōi rāzarō, kaṭ vaśi, kaṭ vā stūtō, kaṭ vā yasnahiīā? ‘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 at, the commonest sentence particle is zī (enclitic; = Vedic hī). It generally has an explanatory force, ‘for’: 31. 18 māciś at vā dṛaguoatō

104 Narten (1986), 104.
māṭrāscā guḍṭā sāṁśācā, ā zī dāmānam viśām vā ... duṣitācā marakācā, ‘let none of you listen to the wrongful one’s prescripts and teachings, for he will give house or manor into chaos and ruin’; 30. 10; 34. 3, 8, 14; 43. 10; 44. 2; 45. 1; 46. 6; 47. 6; 48. 2, 6, 12; 50. 5; 53. 4, 5.

In 51. 8 it is used twice in parentheses, where it is unclear what nuance it imparts: aṭ zī tōi vāxšii, Mazdā (viduṣē zī nā mruiiāt) hiiaṭ akōi ā drēguuaitē, uṣṭā yō Aṣām dadrē (huuō zī māṭrā śiitāto, yō viduṣē mrauuiitī) yām xāñūtam ..., ‘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 atcā. In 29. 9 it would seem to have adverative 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.

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

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

In YH 35. 7 the particles appear together in the reverse order, zī aṭ. The aṭ may be the ordinary connective, enclitic as usual in YH. The zī (its only occurrence in YH) marks a progression from a general maxim (anyone who knows a good truth should put it into effect and exhort others to do so) to its application: Ahurahiiā zī aṭ vō Mazdā yasnemcā vahmecā vahištom amēhmādī guuścā vāstrēm: taṭ aṭ vō veraziīmahī frācā vātōtīmahī, ‘now, it is Lord Mazdā’s worship and praise that we have apprehended as your greatest good, and the cow’s pasture, and this we will put into effect for you and communicate’.

283. A further combination with aṭ is atcīt. (For cīt see §305.) In 31. 1 it is used like simple aṭ as the adversative in an antithesis within the sentence: aguśṭā vacā sēnghāmāhī aēiibiō yōi uruuāāāś drūjō āsahīīa gaēbā vīmarancaitē, atcīt aēi- biitō vahīštā yōi zrazdā aṭhan Mazdāī, ‘we proclaim words unheeded by those who with the rules of Wrong are disrupting Right’s flock, yet the best for those who will be trustful towards Mazdā’. In 50. 3 it introduces a new sentence, and ‘yet’ is again a suitable rendering.

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

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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 tuuēm ‘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 xšaḏrem tōi, Mazdā Ahurā, apaēmā vispāi yauuē; huxšaḏras tū nē nā vá nāirī vá xšaētā ubōiītō ayhuuē, ‘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 huxšaḏras and the preceding vohū xšaḏrem.

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

286. The negative particles nōiť and mā may also be classed as sentence particles; for them see §§10–13, 192.
For sentence-initial atV and adA, both meaning ‘then, thereupon’, adā ‘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 Vaghōuš xratūm Mananjho ... gōušcā uruūānem, ‘Good Thought’s purpose and the cow’s soul’. (Contrast YH 39. 1 yazamaidē gōuš uruūānemcā taśānemcā, ‘we worship both the soul and the maker of the cow’, where the two accusatives are both qualified by gōuš.)

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 gaêmečā ajjiaćitmcā, ‘both life and non–life’; 28. 2, 5, 10, etc.; YH 35. 2 iiađacā aniiađacā, ‘both here and elsewhere’; ibid., vērezitanjanmcā vāuurezanjanmcā, ‘both present and past’, etc. Such a pair may be in apposition to a preceding ubē ‘both’ (§21).

Less often cā is appended to the first term only: 30. 9 Mazdāscā Ahurājho, ‘Mazdā and Lords’, cf. 31. 4; 30. 11 x‘iticā Ĩnēti, ‘through success and failure’; 33. 8 amoretacā utaiūiṭī hauuruatās, ‘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.

II. Morphosyntax

289. Where there are three or more items, the primary pattern is A B-cā C-cā, as in 29. 11 kūdā āṣem vouhcā manō xšaθremcā? ‘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 dāθong ... xθrebθong, ‘upright and worthy’; 31. 20 darəqem āiū təmaŋhō, dūṣ-x′arəθəm, auuaėtās vacō, ‘a long age of darkness, foul food, the crying of woes by way of utterance’; 44. 10; 44. 17 hauruuaūtā ameraθatā, ‘with health and continuing life’, cf. 18; 45. 7; 45. 9 pəsūs virōŋ ahmākōng, ‘our herds and men’; 47. 3; 48. 4; in YH mostly with three terms (or more), 35. 2 humataŋm huxθtaŋm, huuθrθtanŋm, ‘of good thought, good words, good deeds’; 36. 4–5 pai-riθasəmaidə noməξiiθaməhī isiiθiiθaməhī ðbā, ‘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 yəeibiiō xšaθremcā ayəζ̣aθoŋmaməm varaxdaiθ ārmaitiś, ‘you for whom piety increases your unimpaired dominion also(?)’; 32. 5 tə debənaotă məsīm huiθiθoīs ... hiiaθ və akä manajhă yōng daεu̯所得 Akasć Maθnīs, ‘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 mă nā srawa mōreqθat, yō aciθstem vaεnajghe aoqgədă gəm aθibită huθarəcă, vəscă dāθong dreguaqo daθaθ, vəscă vəθrā viθuqpaθ, vəscă vadară voizθat aθamnε, ‘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 hiiaθ viθoŋtă dreguaqo amuō, hiiaθcă gōus jaidiiaθ mθrθoi, ‘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 dăqdi ... Zaraθuθstraθ aoqjoŋhuiθat rafənō ahmaiθiiaćă, ‘give strong support to Zaraθushtra and to us’, i.e. ‘to us, that is to myself, Zaraθushtra, and to the rest of us’.

294. aτcă, normally a sentence particle (§281), appears at 53. 4 as a strengthened form of -cā in a series of nouns: və foqri vıdā paitiaɛcă vəstrıaɛbiō
Particles

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

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

For vā as a sentence connective see §279.

297. The combination at vā is equivalent to simple vā, but it precedes the host word: 33. 2 vacaṭhā vā, at vā manaṭhā, zastoibiiā vā, ‘whether by word or by thought or by hands’; 33. 3 xāetū vā, at vā verezāniiō, airtiamnā vā, ‘whether with clan or with village or with tribe’; 33. 8.

298. The enclitic ṛṇāt (in YH ṛṇāt) 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 kō yā mā uxṣiitī nerefśaitī ṛṇāt? ‘who is it through whom the moon now waxes, now wanes?’; YH 35. 10 staotāī ṛṇāt ... staotōibiiō aībī, uxō ṛṇāt uxōibiiō, yasnā ṛṇāt yas-nōibiiō, ‘be it with praises where praises are concerned, or with utterances where utterance is concerned, or with act of worship where acts of worship are concerned’.

Focusing particles

299. In 29. 6 nōit āewuā ahū vistō naēdā ratuś, ‘indeed no patron has been found, nor a ruling’, āewuā is evidently an intensifying particle, the counterpart of Vedic evā.

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

Relative: 29. 9 yōm ā vasaṃī īśāxšaḥrīm, ‘whom I wish enabled with authority’; 31. 7 tā ... mainīiū uxṣiīō, yā ā nūrēmcīt ... hamō, ‘through that will thou dost increase, which even now is the same’; 43. 8 vauuat ā ṛṇā ... staoi ufiācā, ‘just as long as I am praising and hymning thee’; 50. 7 yāīs ā zādā, ‘with which ye will win’; YH 36. 1 ahīiā ... ābrō ..., yō ā axtiī ahmāī, yōm axtoīīō

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 ā too serves as an intensifying particle, though its usage does not particularly resemble that of Avestan ā.
dāghē, ‘of this fire, which is torment for him whom thou puttest to torment’.  

Demonstrative (referring back): 32. 15 anāis ā viṅṅāsā yā Karpōtāscā Kauṁātscā, ‘with these (activities) the Karpanhood and Kavihood have lost their way’; 34. 11 tāis ā, Mazdā, ṭīḍuvaēṣqām ṭbōi ahīr̥, ‘with these, Mazdā, thou …’.  

Interrogative (following another question): 44. 12 katārōm ā, aiiōm vā huuō vā angrō? ‘which is it, this one or that one who is the enemy?’; 48. 9 kat ā [var. kadā, kaḷa] vaēdā, yezī caiiiā xśaiiaṭā? ‘shall I (var. when/how shall I) know it, if ye have control over anything?’  

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

302. utā ‘also’ (= Vedic utā) appears only in YH: 35. 6 yaṛā īt utā nā vā nārī vā vaēdā hasītī, ‘as also either a man or a woman knows a truth’; 40. 4 aṛā xvaē-tuṣ, aṛā vareṣāṇā, aṛā haxomām xīiāt, yaiś hiscamaidē; aṛā vō utā xīiānā, ‘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 kām that appears reinforcing a dative pronoun at verse-end in 44. 20 yōi piśiiieintī aeiibiiō kām, yaiś …, ‘they that blaspheme(?) for the sake of those with whom …’, corresponds to Vedic kām ‘well’, which is also used after datives, especially at verse-end, meaning ‘for the sake of’.  

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

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

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109 In 28. 11 yaiś ā aṛhuś paouruuiō baawat, ‘through which the pristine existence may come about’, the ā perhaps rather modifies baawat so as to mean adsit; cf. 30. 7; 31. 9; YH 39. 1. In several places the addition of the particle after yā or τā would mend defective metre: 43. 4, 10; 45. 3; 49. 3.  
110 Lommel’s ṭīṣiiaḥā ‘thou frightenest’ looks plausible, but viḍuvaēṣa- should mean ‘countering the enemy’, ‘opposing hatred’, and so be a predicate of Mazdā himself or his supporters; in any case the -qū ending is wrong, and the half-line has too many syllables.  
111 aiiōm is my emendation for angrō, which is a senseless anticipation from the end of the line: West (2008), 127.
the sense of ‘X at least’ or ‘even X’: 29. 6 nōiṭ aēuua ṣahū vistō naēdā ratuṣ aṣāṭ-
cīṭ hacā, ‘indeed no patron has been found, nor a ruling, at any rate in line
with Right’; 29. 10 azōmćīṭ, ‘I at any rate’, ‘I for one’, cf. 46. 18; 30. 1 yā maz-
dādā hiiat.cīṭ viduśē, ‘things that you are to bring to attention even in the case
of one who knows’ (cf. §312); 31. 5 tācīṭ ... yā nōiṭ vā ṛghan ṛghaitī vā, ‘just
those things that will not be or will be’, cf. 32. 11; 44. 3; 46. 19; 31. 7
nūrōmcīṭ, ‘even now’, cf. 51. 1 nūcīṭ ‘right now’; 32. 8 Viūuaṅuṣō ... Yīmas-
cīṭ, ‘the son of Vιvalvant, Yīma himself’, cf. 14; ibid., aēṣqcīṭ, ‘regarding
those very things’; 32. 16 hamōṃ tāṭ vahiṣṭācīṭ, ‘that is equal to the very best’;
ibid., yehīā mā aiśīcīṭ duuaēdā, ‘of that whose very danger is a threat’; 33. 14
Zaraṅuṣṭrō tuuuausterity x’āxiīu uṣtanom daṇātī, ‘Zarathushtra dedicates the energy
of his own very body’; 34. 7 yōi ... aṣpōncīṭ sāḍrācīṭ caxraiō uṣaurū, ‘who can
make even misfortunes, even sorrows innocuous’; 34. 13 deṇā samaśītāntṃ yā
hūkaratā Aṣācīṭ uruuaḵaṃ, ‘(the road) on which the Promoters’ moral selves
advance from Right itself’; 47. 4 kasaṅuṣcīṭ nā aṣāunē kāḍō ṛghan; iṣuācīṭ hās
pararōṣ aḵō drowguātītē, ‘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 cīṭ with the interrogative stem ka- to make an indefi-
nite pronoun see §142. This is the only use of cīṭ 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 cīṭ and ñi (§300): saxvārō ..., yā zī vauuarezōi pairī cīṭ ... yācā varesaitē aipī cīṭiṭ, ‘initia-
tives, both those that have been enacted before and those that will be hereafter’.

307. In negative sentences cinā is used instead of cīṭ: 30. 6 aiṭā nōiṭ araś vi.šiītā
daēuuaćinā, ‘between those two not even the Daevas discriminate rightly’; 31.
10 nōiṭ, Mazdā, auwaṭriotī dauugscinā humoretōiś baksiḷā, ‘the non-herdsman,
Mazdā, drive (?) her as he might, did not get her goodwill’.

In 29. 6 (quoted in §305), where we have cīṭ, 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,
huxsaṅrōtomāi bā aṭ xaśbram ... dāmōmahīcā cišmahīcā huuqmahīcā, ‘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 connec-
tive aṭ implies its close connection with the word huxsaṅrōtomāi.

309. For the particle nā that appears in some interrogative sentences see §136.
Attached to cīṭ, it makes the question-marker ciṭonā, which is strong enough
to stand in initial (non-enclitic) position: see §137. Attached to yaṭ (= hiiat), it
makes the relative adverb/conjunction yaṭonā, for which see §135.
Enclitic mā (= Vedic sma) has to be distinguished from three homophones: the prohibitive particle mā, the accusative personal pronoun ‘me’, and the instrumental of the possessive adjective ma- ‘my’. It is used especially after a relative or demonstrative pronoun, to emphasize that it is that very one. It does not occur in YH.

With relative (like Greek ὁς περ): 31. 5 Vohū Manahā ... yehiiā mā orasīś, ‘with Good Thought, the one whose prophet (I am)’; 32. 16 xšaiqs ... yehiiā mā aitiścit duuaēbā, ‘in control of just that whose very danger is a threat’, cf. 48. 9; 43. 10 aṭ tū mōi āiś Aṣom, hitat mā zaozaomī, ‘show me Right, the one I constantly invoke’; 44. 12 yē mā dreguā ībā sauā paiī.aretē, ‘the wrongful one, the very one who takes pleasure in opposing thy gains’; 46. 9 kō huuo, yē mā arodō cīλvaṭ paouriiō, ‘who is he, that zealous one who will be the first to recognize ...?’

With demonstrative: 32. 10 huuo mā nā srauuā mōreṇdat, yē ..., ‘that is the man who perverts good repute, the one that ...’, cf. 11; 50. 2 akūs tēng mā niś aṣīti, ‘drive out those evil ones (specifically)’.

The remaining instances are: 43. 9 rāṭāṃ namahō Aṣahiā mā, yauuāt iṣāi, maniiāi, ‘the tribute of reverence of Right, so far as I can, I will be thinking of’; 46. 9 yē tōi Aṣā, yē Aṣāi gōśu taśā mrao, iṣēntī mā tā tōi vohū manahā, ‘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?’

Besides its use as a sentence particle, zī appears a number of times following a relative pronoun in clauses of a comprehensive character, especially those embracing past, present, and future: 29. 4, see §306; 33. 10 tā hujitaīō, yē zī ājharē yisća hentī yasća ... buuaśitī, ‘those good lives that have been and that are and that will come to be’; 45. 7 vōi zī juuā ājharēcā buuaśicā, ‘those living and who have been and who will come to be’. Others: 31. 14 tā ... yē zī ā aētī jōgħcāic, ‘those things that are approaching and will come’; 34. 14 vayhōuś šiiaōtēnā manahō, vōi zī gōśu veṭeṇēnē aṣītī, ‘through enactment of good thought (by) those in the community of the milch cow’; 47. 5 aṣāunē coīś vēzī cīcā vahiśtā, ‘thou assignest to the righteous one whatever best things there be’.

In 45. 8 nū zīt ... vi.adarosom, zīt is taken to be for zī iṭ and to be emphasizing nū, ‘just now’, cf. §133.

The neuter relative pronoun hiiat is used as a particle with the sense ‘when it comes to’, ‘as regards’: 30. 1 yē mazdātē hiiat.cīt vīduśē, ‘things that you are to bring to attention even (when it comes) to one who knows’; 31. 14 yadē tā aṭhan hohenretā hiiat, ‘how those (requitals) will be (as regards) at the Reckoning’; 33. 1 šiiaōtēnā ražiśtā druguuataēcā hiiatcā aṣāunē, ‘by action most just both for the wrongful one and (as regards) for the rightful one’; YH 35. 5 and 40. 1 ahmaṭ hiiat aibē, ‘insofar as depends on us’.

In YH 35. 5 it stands for ‘which is to say’, ‘namely’: huxađrōtōmāi bā at xšaðrōm ... dadomahicā ciśmahicā huuqmnahicā, hiiat Mazdāi Ahurāi, ‘to the best
ruler we dedicate, assign, and inaugurate rule, that is, to Mazdā the Lord'.  

In 37. 4 ʾAšām ʾaṭ vahišṭom yazamāidē ʾhiyat sraēštom, ʾhiyat spoṇṭom, <ʾhiyat>  
amēšom etc., it is possible to take ʾhiyat as simply the neuter pronoun after the neuter ʾAšām, but it may rather have the force of ‘because’, ‘quā’: ‘Best Right we worship as the fairest, as bounteous, as immortal’. In 39. 2 ʾdaitikanāmci  
aiḍittinām ʾhiyat urunō, it is ‘and the souls of wild creatures insofar as they are harmless

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

113 For my insertion of the third ʾhiyat cf. West (2008), 130.
III. Word Order

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

In treating of word order in Old Avestan we have to recognize that the evidence is drawn exclusively from highly stylized texts. We have no specimens of ‘natural’ or informal language such as might be afforded by a personal letter or a plain narrative report. 

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.

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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. 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.

**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 dādī, Aśā, tāṃ aśīṃ, … dādī tū, Ārmaitē, … dāsītū, Mazdā, …, ‘give, Right, that reward … give, Piety … give, Mazdā’; 31. 9 ḍhōī as ārmaitīś, …

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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 nāh krūtā Rudriyāso.
2) Demonstrative pronouns in initial position certainly carry emphasis in cases such as 28. 5 anā maqtērā maziṣṭōm vāurōimaidi xraſtrā, ‘with this prescript we most fully convince the predators’; 29. 7 tēm āzūtōīš Ahurō maqtem taṣaṭ, ‘that is the butter prescript that the Lord made’; 31. 20 tēm va ahūm, droguuāntō, śhīaōṭanāīš xʿāīš daēnā naēṣat, ‘that is the existence, ye wrongful, to which through your own actions your morality will bring you’; 31. 3 yām dā ... xšnūtōm, hiitā uruuātem cazdōghuadbiīō, tat nē, Mazdā, viduuanōi vaocā, ‘the atonement that thou didst establish, the rule that is for the prudent—tell us that, Mazdā, for our knowledge’; 32. 1 aḥiīącā xʿaētūš yāṣaṭ, aḥiīā varezōnem maṭ airtiāmnām, aḥiīā daēuuā ..., Ahurhīiā uruuāzōmā 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 yūžōm zawuūšiīṭaḥō, ‘ye are the promptest ones’; 28. 11 tuōm Mazdā Ahurā frō mā siṣā, ‘do thou, Lord Mazdā, teach me’; 29. 10 yūžōm aēibiō, Ahurā, aogō dātā, ‘grant ye them, Lord, strength’; ibid., azōmci ahiiā, Mazdā, ṇbaṃ mōṛhī paουruuām vaēdom, ‘I for one, Mazdā, think of thee as the prime procurer of it’. Similarly after an unemphatic sentence-connective: 29. 11 ṛa[m] aṣā yūžōm, Mazdā, frōxṇanē mazōi magāiiā pai-tiζānata, ‘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 (‘frōnting’): 28. 1 vanhōuš xratūm mananṭō hō yā xšnuuīšā gēušcā uruuānem, ‘(through action) by which thou wouldst satisfy Good Thought’s wisdom and the cow’s soul’; 31. 22 vōhū huuō xsaṭrā aṣom vačancā šiatoṇanācā hapṭi, ‘with good command he holds on to Right in word and deed’; 43. 16 aṣtuuṭ Aṣom xitiā, ‘in material form may Right be present’; 47. 5 hanarō ṉbaḥmāt zaoṣṭā droguuā baxṣaitī, ‘it is without thy favour that the wrongful one partakes thereof’; YH 35. 7 Ahurhīiā zī [vā] Mazdā yasnomcā vahmōmca vahistem amōhmaiti, ‘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 ṃ zī ṉbā ḡšuiantaecā vāstrīiācā ṇbōroṣṭa tataṣaṭ, ‘but, you see, it is for the stock-raiser and the herdsman that the Shaper has fashioned thee’.
III. Word Order

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 yezi āīs nōīt uruuānē aduuā āibī dorāštā vaśītā, ‘if hereby the way that is better is not in plain view to the soul’; 31. 5 hiia tōi Āśā dāā vahīū, ‘that better lot you have appointed for me with Right’, cf. 53. 9; 31. 17 katārmā āśauū vā dṛguuā vā vorenaauaitē māziō? ‘which one, the righteous or the wrongful, is to be the more persuasive?’; 49. 1 at mā yauuū bōnduuū pafre māziōtō, ‘that greatest polluter(?) has fed himself full on my life’; 51. 1 āśa antare.caraitī šitaaōnnaś, Mazdā, vahītēm, ‘through righteous actions, Mazdā, it travels across best’; 53. 9 īratū īš duuaušō huuū dērēzā mōreōuiaō māziōtō, ‘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 aredrō coīōtā paouruuūtū, ‘the zealous one who will be first to recognize’, cf. 51. 15; 31. 13 tā caśmōng ḍīsirā hārō āibī Āśā vaēnahī vispā, ‘those things, watchful with thy blazing eye, thou regardest with Right, all of them’; 53. 8 anāiš ā duṇuauruauhtē hānītē zaśītēcā vispāhū, ‘hereby let the evildoers be thwarted and mocked, all of them’.

Examples outside these categories: 29. 3 yahmāi zauiūōn jīmā keredūsā, ‘to whose calls I will come short-eared(?)’; 30. 11 at aipī tāiś anhaītī uśūtā, ‘then thereafter it will be as we desire’ (end of poem); 32. 8 aēṣaṁ aēnajhaṁ Vi-vuauhuusū srāuū Yimasčāt, ‘for such offences Vivahvant’s son became renowned, even Yima’; 47. 4 ahmāt mainiiōuś rārēṣītēntī dṛgauuautō, Mazdā, spēntūtā, ‘from this will the wrongful deflect us, Mazdā, from the bounteous one’; 51. 11 kē vā vahnūuś manahūhō aciśtā magū āruauo? ‘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 Vahnūuś xratūm Manahūhō, cf. 28. 10 quoted in §323; 28. 4 (and very frequently) vohū ... manahūhā; 28. 9 anāiš ... yānāiś; 28. 11 ḍbhāmāt vaocaijhē mainiiōuś; 29. 5 ustānāiś ... zastaś; 30. 11
322. The same is true of dependent genitives.

Following the noun: 28. 1 mainiiVuS … saFiiAT xSaqrahiiA; 31. 22 AñiStO aMhaitI astiS; 31. 31. 13 darvgVm … raSO; 43. 3 eraziS sauauajho paôô; 43. 4 ñbñhiiãi garamã ñôrô; 44. 9 hudânoûs paitiS satiîãt xSâdrahiiã; 44. 11 ñôôi vaSîietõe daenãa; 44. 14 ñbñhiiãi maqraïS ñângahiiã; 46. 11 x'âêcã xraodaã daenãa; 49. 2 spoStam … ârmaiëm; 49. 7 vaY'hiim daî frasas-tim; 51. 21 tôm vaY'hiim yasã aStim; 54. 1 vairim hanôt mîdôm.

Following the noun: 28. 1 mainiiVuS … spoStahiïã; 31. 2 adûuã aibi.deraSta vaxiiã; 32. 2 Añhiiãiia x'ênuuãiâã; 34. 14 gâuS vorezõnê âziiã; 45. 7 nergã … droguatô.

323. Distraction of co-ordinated elements: 28. 1 Vânhôùs xratim Mananõhô yã x'snouãiîã gauõscã uruuanôm, 'through which thou couldst satisfy Good Thought's purpose and the cow's soul'; 28. 10 at yôôg Añhiiãcã voistâ Vanhôùscã daôông Mananõhô, 'those then whom thou knowest to be upright before Right and Good Thought'; 31. 11 gauõscã taso ôaêngsca, 'thou madest our living bodies and moral selves'; 31. 18 mabräscã ñuStsca, 'listen to the prescripts and teachings'; 44. 3 tôçãt Mazdãvamã aniïãcã vîdûti, 'these things and others, Mazdã, I desire to know'; 44. 14 duuasçsông … nâôe astsca, 'to bring pains and harassments'; 45. 11 daêumôông … masjiçsca, 'Daevs and mortals'; 45. 15 hiat daôông vû caïaðã adôcaâcã, 'when you distinguish between the just and the unjust'; 47. 6 armatoïs doëbazanhã asxitiçsca, 'the reinforcement of piety and right'; 48. 4 yô daC manô vahîiiô, Mazdã, ašîscã, 'he who sets in place better thought, Mazdã, or worse'; 48. 6 hà ô utaiiûtô daç touiîi, 'she gives us vitality and strength' (dual dvandva, cf. §43); 49. 4 yôi … aësmôm vareûen rômencã, 'who increase violence and cruelty'; 51. 14 noît uruuaôda daCôbiïsca Karpâno vûÎrûò arôm, 'the Karpans are not fit allies from the standpoint of (your) ordinances and the pasture'; 53. 7 parô mraocas aoräcã, 'dipping onward and downward'; 53. 8 duasînia hôntu aksiîsca, 'let them be thwarted and mocked'; 53. 9 yô ï tôîtatô hêm.mîütôt ôasôtöitoscã, 'who could deprive them of life and freedom'; YH 40. 2 ahamcã ahuiëe manaxiiïcã, 'for this existence and the spiritual one'.
III. Word Order

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 aëibiïo yöï; 33. 8 tà yà; 43. 4 auuá yà; 44. 16 ahmäi yahmäi; 44. 19 auuqm yà; 46. 2 tà yà; 46. 16 tàïs yöng; YH 35. 6 aëibiïo yöï; 36. 1 ahmäi yöm.

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 nöït naë mà and the other particles mentioned in §286. Nearly all of them, moreover, are enclitic.

The sentence-connective aţ is normally treated as enclitic in YH (and often written aţ or aăt), but in the Gáthās it is nearly always initial in the clause. There, while it cannot be considered emphatic, it can support an enclitic: 31. 8 al. aţ ñbba, 49. 1 aţ mà, 33. 9 al. aţ tôi, 43. 8 al. aţ höi, 50. 4 aţ và, 50. 7 al. aţ vë; and so in the compounds aťcô, aţ zì, aţ và (§§281–2, 293, 296).

327. The relational particles cà, và, ñbatta, 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 a mõi rafodrâi zauõng jasatâ, ‘come ye to my calls to give help’; 28. 7 yà vë màbrâ srawuimâ râdâ, ‘the pre- script in which we might hear your caring’; 28. 9 anâis vâ nöït … yânâis zarâ-naëmâ, ‘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 aţ zì ñbba, 31. 18 màćiș aţ vë; 34. 2 aţcà i tôi; 34. 8 tàïs zì nà; 45. 3 yöï im vë; YH 35. 5 huxsaârōtâmâi bā aţ; 35. 6 tatô âţ ù (? cf. §278); 35. 7 Ahurahià zì aţ
vā (where, however, vā seems to be otiose); 36. 3 hīaṭ vā tōi; 36. 6 sraēštam at tōi; 39. 4 yaḇā tū ī; 40. 4 rapōiš.čā tū nā.

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

329. Occasionally in YH the enclitic is displaced to follow a closely cohering two-word phrase: 35. 6 fracā vātōiītō īṭ aēiūiō, yōi ..., ‘and let him communicate it to those who …’; 36. 2 nāmīštahīīā nēmaŋ̥hā nā māzištāi yāhpam paī-tī.īamīīā, ‘with the most reverent one’s reverence mayest thou come for our greatest of supplications’; 41. 2 vohū xšābr̲am tōi, Mazdā Ahūrā, 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 rafo̱drāi zauuōng jasatā, ‘come ye to my calls to give help’; 31. 18 ā zī demānōm visom vā šōībom vā daxiiūm vā dāt | dušītācā marākaēcā, ‘for he will give house or manor or district or region into chaos and ruin’; 33. 13 frō spențā Ārmaitē aśā daēnā daxšatā, ‘liberal Piety, teach me moral principles in accord with Right’; 34. 5 parā vā vipāsī vauxmā daēuāiścā xrafrūstāi mašīiūscā, ‘we have declared you beyond all predators, both Daevas and mortals’ (where the emphasis falls mainly on vipāsī); 48. 7 nā aešmō di-ītām, paīṭī remēm siiōdūm, ‘let violence be tied down, cut short cruelty’; 49. 3 antarā vipān̥g drēguatō haxmōn̥g mruiīčē, ‘I interdict all wrongful ones from my company’.

2) Relative pronouns and other words introducing a dependent clause (ya-ḇā, yaḏā, yezi, hīaṭ, etc.). With enclitic pronoun attached: 28. 2 and 3 yā vā; 28. 7 yā vā; 28. 9 yōi vē; 31. 6 hīaṭ hoī; 46. 9 yaḇā Ḇā; 48. 9 yezi cahiīā, and passim.

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

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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 tuuom Mazdā Ahurā : frō mā sīsā, ‘do thou, Lord Mazdā, teach me’, frō mā sīsā, 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 rafdvrai vouru.cašānē : dōisi moi yā vē a bifrā, ‘for (my) support, O far-seeing one, show me the virtues (?) that are yours’; 44. 7 azām : tās ḫīsā fraxšnī awāmī, ‘I with these (questions) am providently promoting thee’; 51. 21 ārmātōiš nā : spāntō huwō 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 xšmaibiīā : gāwš urwāwū gorazdā, ‘to you the cow’s soul complains’; 29. 3 (after the speech of the Cow’s Maker) ahmāi : Ašā … paitō.mrauuat, ‘to him Right will answer’; 31. 6 Mazdāi : awaṭ xšaṭram, hīaṭ hōi vohū vaxṣaṭ managhā, ‘for Mazdā, that (becomes) dominion, what(ever) he increases for him through good thought’; 47. 3 at hōi vāstrāi : rāmā dā ārmaitīm, ‘while for her pasture thou didst establish peace and piety’; YH 35. 4 gauwōi ad.aiś : tāiś šīiaotənaiš yāiś vahištaiś frašišiš-mahī rāmācā vāstrmca dazdiiāi, ‘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 aēšam aē-nāŋham : naećiš viduwā aojoi, ‘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:

As either a man or woman knows a truth, so, it being good, then let him both implement it for himself and communicate it to those who will so implement it as it is.
Order of Words within Cola

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

In 31. 9 and 46. 9 ‘the cow’s maker’ is gāuṣ taṣā, but in 29. 2 it is taṣā gāuṣ. Why? Because in this last passage we have just heard the complaint of the cow’s soul (1 gāuṣ uruṇā), and now comes a speech from the cow’s maker; the word gāuṣ is necessary to the phrase but requires less emphasis than when the cow was first introduced, and the order taṣā gāuṣ 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 āṣcā hudāyho āroṣ vī.śīiātā, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly’, but in 30. 6 aiiā nōiṭ āroṣ vī.śīiātā daēuūcīnā, ‘between them discriminate rightly not even the Daevas’, with the order of subject and verb reversed.

In 31. 14 we have tā ḍhā pāroṣā, Ahurā, ‘those things I ask thee, Lord’, but in the next stanza pāroṣā auuāṭ, ‘I ask this’.
In 32. 10 we have *huvō mā nā srauau mōrendaṭ, yē ..., ‘that man perverts good repute, who ...’, but in the next stanza taecit mā mōrenden jiiōtium, yōi ..., ‘they pervert life, who ...’, with the order of object and verb reversed.

In the last line of 32. 11 we have *yōi vahistāt aṣāunō ... rāraśiṇṇ manayḥō, ‘who will divert the righteous from best thought’, but then in the first line of 12 (a new sentence), yā rāṇhāsien srauauyāh vahistā śiauśmnā maratāno, ‘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 *at ṭāṣā mōngḥāi taxmancā spēntem, Mazdā, ‘I will think thee bold and bounteous, Mazdā’, but in the next stanza (and subsequent repetitions) the order is varied to spēntem at ṭāṣā, Mazdā, mōghī, Ahurā, with ‘bounteous’ promoted to leading word and ‘I think thee’ relegated to the trough of lesser emphasis.

In 47. 1 we have *spēntā mainyiū, which is the usual order, but in the next stanza ahiya mainiyiūs spēniṣṭahiya, ‘of this most bounteous Will’

In YH 35. 2 the positive affirmation *humatam ḥuxtanaq ḥuuratanaq ... mahī aibī..jaratāro, ‘of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, we are they who approve’, is complemented by a denial of its opposite: *nae naēṣṭāro yaḥdā vohunam mahī, ‘we are not revilers of good things’, where *nae naēṣṭāro in initial position is juxtaposed with the final aibī.jaratāro, and the position of mahī in the phrase is varied.

In YH 39. 1 we have *iḥā at yazamaitē, ‘in this fashion we worship’ (as in 37. 1, cf. 38. 3), but in 39. 3 at iḥā yazamaitē.

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. There are several clear examples in the Gāthās, especially where there is a contrast between good and bad: 29. 9 yē anaēśam xāṃmōnē rádēm, vācōm naraṣ asirahīi, ‘that I should put up with an ineffective carer, the voice of a powerless man’ (adjective: noun: noun: noun: adjective); 30. 4 acīṣṭō dрагuatuqām, at aṣāunē vahistōn manō, ‘the worst (existence) that of the wrongful, but for the righteous, best thought’; 30. 5 vēratā yō dṛguudā acīṣṭā voreziīo, aṣom mainiyiūs spēniṣṭō, ‘the Wrongful (Will) chooses the worst things to do, but Right (is what) the Bounteous Will (chooses)’; 30. 7 at kehrpōm utaiūṭīś dadāt, ārmaitiś ṣṇmā, ‘the body vitality informs, piety the soul’; 31. 1 yoʿ uruṣā-ṭāiṣ Drujō Aṣahīi gaṭāva vīmeraṇcāitē, ‘who with the rules of Wrong Right’s people destroy’; 31. 10 at hi aiiā frauvaratā vāstrīm ... nōiṭ, Mazdā, auuāstriīo ... humerōtiś bāxstā, ‘but she of these two chose the herdsman ... the non-herdsman, Mazdā, did not get (her) good regard’; 31. 12 miṭah.uuacā vā eroṣ.uuacā vā, vīduuā vā auuīduuā vā, ‘one of false words or of straight words, a knowing one or an unknowing one’; 33. 6 mainiyiūs a vahistāt kaiiā ahmāt, auuā manayḥā, ‘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 haiūśi duuaēšā ... dreguuaītē, aṣ aṣāunē rafrī ūxiēm aojōnhuaat, ‘may I be a real foe to the wrongful one, but to the righteous a strong support’; 47. 4 aṣāunē kādō ... aṣ dreguuaītē, ‘to the righteous one, kind ... malign to the wrongful’; 49. 3 aṣam sūdīśā ... rāśatīējē druxē, ‘Right to strengthen (us), to harm (him) Wrong’; 51. 6 vahīō vahūś ... akāt aśīō, ‘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). 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.) hauruuaṭō amarō<ta>tātascā; 32. 3 drūjascā pairimātiōscā; 32. 5 hujītōois amarō<ta>tātascā; 33. 6 dārstoīscā hōṃparstoīscā; 45. 10, 51. 7 teuāūīi utaiūīī; YH 38. 2 ītā yoaštīōi foraštīoī ārmataiōi (originally 2, 3, 3 and 5 syllables); ibid., vahyīīi ... aṣīm, vahyīīi iśām, vahyīīi ācūīīi, vahyīīi frasastīīi, vahyīīi parendīi; 38. 4 tāśī y yazamaidē, tāśī frīīīīīnmaīhī, tāśī namatīīīnmaīhī, tāśī iśūīīīīnmaīhī, cf. 39. 4. See further §394.

337. This principle may explain why, for instance, in 30. 8 (aṭcā yadā aēśam) kaēnā jamaitī aēnayaḥṃ (the ending originally disyllabic, *-ahām) is preferred to aēnayaḥṃ jamaitī kaēnā (likewise with distraction, cf. §322) or kaēnā aēnayaḥṃ jamaitī. 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 yāīś rapoṃtō daitīī vīōṛē (trisyllabic), ‘by which one could keep one’s supporters in well-being’; 29. 3 yahmāī zauāiṃ jīmā karadūnśā, ‘to whose calls I will come short-eared(?)’ (cf. §329); 29. 5 hiītā Mazdām duuaidī frasabīōi, ‘as we put Mazdā to our questions’; 29. 8 hiītā hōī hudāmēm dīiī vaxērāhīī, ‘as I harness his good-construction of utterance’; 31. 1 yōī zrażdā aḥhōn Mazdāī (trisyllabic), ‘who will be truthful in Mazdā’; 31. 6 yō mōī viduāa vaocat haiūīm (trisyllabic), ‘who knowingly speaks my truth’; ibid., hiītā hōī vohū vaxēḥ manaḥḥā, ‘what he increases for him through good thought’, cf. 33. 8; 9; 34. 3; hiītā astuauantem dada uṣṭān, ‘since thou gavest bodily vitality’; 32. 10 yascā vadarō vōiżdāt aṣāunē, ‘and he who raises his weapon against the righteous one’; 33. 6 yā vereziieidiāī maṇṭā vāstrīī (trisyllabic), ‘by which one takes it in mind to do pastoral works’; 43. 4 hiītā mōī vahūūś hazē jīmāt maṇyaḥḥō, ‘when the force of good thought comes to

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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.
III. Word Order

me’; 45. 5 hiiat moi mraot spaniutomö, ‘what the most bounteous one tells me’; 46. 8 yö và moi yà gaei’à dazdë aenaghë, ‘or he who is putting my flock to maltreatment’.

In main clauses: 31. 18 aðà iš saizdëm snaibisßà, ‘so cut them down with the axe’; 43. 1 Mazdà dàiiàt Ahurö, ‘may Mazdà the Lord grant’; 44. 9 kaðà môi … hudinoaös paitis saxitãts saxdratiitã, ‘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 yö or huuö 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 yà šauuaitê àdröng ørssuûaghö, ‘he by whom the upright invigorate the weak’; 30. 6 yà banaatôn ahûm maratânö, ‘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 dàtà vò amaretãscã utãiitiitãs hauruutãs draonö, ‘continuing life was created as your portion, and health with vitality’; 43. 15 daxsat ušiiat tuš-nàmatiiis vahištã, ‘as for teaching (me things) things to say, silent meditation (teaches me) the best’; 53. 6 nasat x’ãôrom droguóöobiitô diôjì̈araatãúbibî, ‘lost is well-being for the wrongful diminishers of right’; 53. 7 vîzáitïa magêm tôm, ‘you will abandon this ceremony, and …’ (equivalent to a conditional, §255).

29. 6 atô vaocat Ahurö Mazdà, ‘then speaks the Lord Mazdà’, varies the order in 1–2, where other speakers were introduced with the verb following the subject. So too in 30. 6 aiìà nöït ørss višiitãta daëtuuacìñã and 31. 15 and 16 peresã auuat the order is affected by earlier stanzas, see §334.

In 30. 4 yâða anhat apêmam anhûš, ‘how existence will be at the last’, anhat apêmam may be taken as a unitary phrase.

Further examples of initial verb: 30. 4 âtcã hiiat tâ hôm mainiitiu jasaëtem paouruûûm, dazdë gaëmcã ajiiutîmcã, ‘and once those two Wills join battle, (a man) adopts life or non-life’; 53. 7 vauuat ăçu zrazdištö bûñöi haxtiitã, ‘one will apply his penis in fullest confidence at the base of her thighs’; YH 38. 5 auuã

7 For the tendency for verbs of speaking to be placed early cf. Delbrück iii. 61 f., 65.
vē, vaṭḥiś, rāṭoiś dārango.bācāuś, ‘I will assist you, Good Ones, with the long arm of my liberality’.

In 30. 5 aiiā mainiuwā : varetā vō drōguuā aciśtā vereziīō, ‘of those two Will 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 yaēbiśiō ṇādremcā ayāṇouyunamnam varedaitī ārmaitiś, ‘whose unimpaired dominion is increased by piety’; 32. 12 yaśiś grōhmā aśā varetā Karpā, ‘with whom the Karpan chooses gluttony (?) over right’; 43. 6 aēbiśiō ratuś sōnghaitī Ārmaitī ḍḍaḥiś xratūś, ‘to them Piety announces the verdicts of thy wisdom’; 44. 6 Āṣam śiiaodnāśi debaqnzaśi Ārmaitiś, ‘Piety by its actions confirms Right’.

In 34. 10 aḥiśi Vapḥūś Mananīhō śiiaodnā voacat ‘gōrōqum’ huxratūś, ‘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 śiiaodnā (accusative) is put with it to complete an undistracted object phrase.

In 31. 12 aṭrā vācām baraitī mīdhahuuacā vā orusuuuacā vā, vuuduuā vā ωouūduuā vā, ‘there speaks forth one of false words or one of straight words, a knowing one or an unknowing one’, the predicate vācām baraitī 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 yaḥī raṭūm Ahūro vaēdā Mazdā aiiā ḍṣaiśiā, ‘according to the ruling that Lord Mazdā knows on those two lots’; 31. 11 yaḥī varanēng vasā dāiśetē, ‘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. The inference is that the same applies in most cases to the Old Avestan verb.

Some examples of verb in second position: 28. 1 aḥiśi vāsā namαphā ustā-nazastō rafதodriḥiś, ‘for his help I pray in reverence with outstretched hands’; 30. 10 aṭ aśiśiā voajantē ā huśitōis vapḥūś manαphō, ‘and the swiftest (steeds) will be yoked from the fair dwelling of Good Thought’; 31. 4 vahiśtā ʾiśasā

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.
manaḥḍa maibītiō xaḍraṃ aojōphuwart, ‘I shall seek by best thought a strong authority for myself’; 31. 6 ahmāi anḥat vaḥišṭem, yā mōi . . . , ‘it will go best for him who . . . ’; 31. 7 yas.tā maṇṭa paouroṇiō raocōbīś rōiḍbān xāḍrā, ‘he who first conceived these amenities permeating the world of light’; YH 35. 3 taṭ at vare malaria. Ahurā Mazdā Āṇā srīrā, hiiat i mainimadīcā vaocōimācā varezimācā, 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 azēmciḥ ahiīā Mazdā :  депутā mahī pauruùīṃ vaēdēm, ‘I for one, Mazdā, realize thee to be the prime procurer of it’ (the emphatic депутā begins the colon); 32. 7 aēṣṛa aēnaįḥṛa : naecīt vīduuā aoiōi, ‘of such offences, I declare I know nothing’ (with the negative initial in the second colon, and naecīt vīduuā making a cohesive unit); 32. 8 aēṣṛa aēnaįḥṛa : Viuwaŋhuṣō srīruuī Yimascīḥ, ‘for such offences Vivahvant’s son became renowned, even Yima’; ibid., aēṣycin : aīmahī oṣbahmī, Mazdā, viciōdī aipī, ‘as to these (deeds), I rest on thy decision, Mazdā’ (the preverb a begins the colon); 47. 3 ahiīā maińiuitoś : tuuōm ahī ptā spoṇṭo, ‘of this will, thou [emphatic pronoun] art the bounteous father’; ibid., at hoi vāstrā : rāmā dā ārmāitim, 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: ṭhumatnaṃ hiuxtan-naṃ huarṣ-tanaṃ : iiađacā aniajadaćā : vēraiśamananacā vauuerezanancacā mahī aibīijareṭrō, ‘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,  ràngś šiiaοdōnaiś yāś vahistaiś 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 gađi Manaŋhā, dađī Āṇā da darogaiiū . . . dađī Āṇā tām aṣīṃ . . . dađī tu, Armaṭē . . . dāstū, 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 gōuśaiś vahistā, ā vaṇenātā sūcā manaŋhā, ‘hear with your ears the best message, behold with lucid mind’, cf. 33. 11; 31. 17 zdī nē, Mazdā Ahurā, vaŋhauṣ fradaxstā manaŋhō, ‘be for us, Lord Mazdā, our teacher of good thought’; 53. 8 īraṭī is duuaṣo huuo dorezā marobīiaos mazistiō, ‘let there come upon them that greatest woe with the fetter of death’; YH 40. 3 dādī at narāṣ, ‘grant us men’.

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

And with optatives: 48. 9 vidiūiś saośiīaṃ, yaḥa hoi aśiś anḥat, ‘may the Promoter know how his reward is to be’; YH 41. 4 hanāēmācā zaēmācā . . .
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 təm va ahüm, drəguuántō, šiiəoənās əxāš daənə naəʃat, ‘that is the existence, ye wrongful, to which through your own actions your morality will bring you’; 31. 22 vôhô xuəβrə aʃəm vacəhə šiiəoənās əhəpt, ‘with good command he holds on to Right in word and deed’; 32. 6 ôəbahmî ʷ্, Mazdā, xəəbrəi Ašāiəcə səŋəəhô vi.ɗam, ‘in thy domain, Mazdā, let your decree and Right’s be given out’; 32. 9 tə xuńdə mainiũus məhiǔ, Mazdā, Ašācə yušmaibii gərzɛ, ‘with these utterances of my will, Mazdā, I make complaint to you and to Right’; YH 35. 9 imə ã xuńdə vacə, Ahurā Mazdā, aʃəm manaiiə vahehiiə fra.unaocəmə; ôəbaum ət aəʃəm paiiitəstəɾəmcə fradaxstəɾəmcə dadomaitə, ‘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 nəiːt: 31. 10 nəiːt, Mazdā, auəstri ui dauəscınə huməɾətəiəs baxʃt, ‘the non-herdsman, drive(?) her as he might, did not get her goodwill’; 46. 8 nəiːt ahiiə mə əbriš šiiəoənəs frə aṣiʃt, ‘may harm not reach me from his actions’; YH 35. 2 naə naeʃtəɾə yəvənə vohunəm məhi, ‘we are not revilers of what is good’.

In an interrogative sentence: 44. 6 kačiibiə əzĩm rəniio.skəɾətim ɡəm təʃo? ‘for what people didst thou create the gladdening milch cow?’

With imperative: 29. 11 ət əmə aʃə yuʒəm, Mazdā, fraxəənəe məzoï magəiə paiiəzənət, ‘it is me that ye should rightly acknowledge, Mazdā, in your providence, for the great rite’.

Frequently in dependent clauses: 28. 6 yə daibišuuatə duuaešə tauruəiəmə, ‘whereby we may overcome the foe’s acts of enmity’; 29. 2 yə drəguuodəbiš aəʃəməm vi.ɗəəiit, ‘who might repulse fury by the wrongful’; 29. 8 yə nə aəuuə səxənə ɡuʃətə, ‘who alone listens to our guidance’; 30. 5 yə xraoaždiʃtəŋ əsənə vaʃtə, ‘who clothes himself in the hardest stones’; 30. 6 hiiaʃ ʔə dəbaomə paraʃənnəŋ upəjəʃat, ‘because delusion comes over them as they deliberate’; 31. 3 yə juənəntə vəspəŋ vəuraiiə, ‘whereby I might convince everyone alive’; 31. 11 yaərə varənəŋ vəas əəiɬet, ‘where the free agent makes his choices’; 31. 15 yə drəguuətə əxəərəm hunət, ‘(for him) who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’; 33. 2 yə akəm drəguuətə vacəhə və ət və manəŋə zəsəiəbiə və vəɾəəaiəti, ‘he that either by word or thought or hands does evil to the wrongful one’.

олахмə рафəнəнə дарəгəиəнə ... рəпəиʃсə тə нə дарəгəмəнə ʊʃəкə, ‘мы едаем и
вы заказуем, запрети нам подождем и в долг и в
быть так мы желаем’. 344. Вторая типичная позиция глагола — это конец
фразы или смысла. Это особенно характерно для YH, и может представлять
натуральную непомеченную или умолчанную позицию. Глаголы, поставляемые в
такую позицию, не кажутся иметь большей значимости, чем те в
второй позиции.

Примеры: 31. 20 тəм ва ahum, drəguuənətə, šiiəoənəs əxəš daənə naəʃat, ‘так
есть существование, ты неправильный, что бы следующие
свои действия, твоё правление приведут к тому’; 31. 22 vôhô xuəβrə aʃəm vacəhə šiiəoənəs əhəpt, ‘с
хорошим приказом он удерживает на правде в слове и
деле’; 32. 6 ôəbahmî ʷ্, Mazdā, xəəbrəi Ašāiəcə səŋəəhô vi.ɗam, ‘в твоей
области, Mazdā, пусть будет ваш приказ и
правда’; YH 35. 9 imə ã xuńdə vacə, Ahurā Mazdā, aʃəm manaiiə vahehiiə fra.unaocəmə; ôəbaum ət aəʃəm paiiitəstəɾəmcə fradaxstəɾəmcə dadomaitə, ‘тогда
эти слова, которые мы говорим, Господь Mazdā, мы
объявим с большим уважением к правде; мы сделаем
Тебя и их получателями и их учителями’ (но эта фраза
затем расширяется дополнительными фразами).

В отрицательных предложениях, обычно после
начальной nəiːt: 31. 10 nəiːt, Mazdā, auəstri ui dauəscınə huməɾətəiəs baxʃt, ‘не
живущий, приведи (?) её как бы он мог, не
получил её добровольно’; 46. 8 nəiːt ahiiə mə əbriš šiiəoənəs frə aṣiʃt, ‘не пусть зло
не достигнет меня от его действий’; YH 35. 2 naə naeʃtəɾə yəvənə vohunəm məhi, ‘мы не
являемся врагами хорошего’.

В вопросительном предложении: 44. 6 kačiibiə əzĩm rəniio.skəɾətim ɡəm təʃo? ‘для
чего люди создали радостное коровьё?’

С инструкцией: 29. 11 ət əmə aʃə yuʒəm, Mazdā, fraxəənəe məzoï magəiə
paiiəzənət, ‘это я, чтобы вы признавали меня
справедливо, Mazdā, в вашем
присутствии, для великого дела’.

Часто в зависимых предложениях: 28. 6 yə daibišuuatə duuaešə tauruəiəmə, ‘чтобы
мы могли преодолеть дела врага’; 29. 2 yə drəguuodəbiš aəʃəməm vi.ɗəəiit, ‘кто может отпугнуть
злость от неправедного’; 29. 8 yə nə aəuuə səxənə ɡuʃətə, ‘тот, кто один
слушаёт наше слово’; 30. 5 yə xraoaždiʃtəŋ əsənə vaʃtə, ‘кто облекается
самым твердым камнем’; 30. 6 hiiaʃ ʔə dəbaomə paraʃənnəŋ upəjəʃat, ‘потому что заблуждение приходит
к ним, как они обдумают’; 31. 3 yə juənəntə vəspəŋ vəuraiiə, ‘чтобы я мог убедить каждого живого’; 31. 11 yaərə varənəŋ vəas əəiɬet, ‘где свободный
агент делает свои выборы’; 31. 15 yə drəguuətə əxəərəm hunət, ‘(для него) кто
делает претензии к владению для неправедного
одного’; 33. 2 yə akəm drəguuətə vacəhə və ət və manəŋə zəsəiəbiə və
vəɾəəaiəti, ‘что иначе по слову или мысли или руками
действует зло к неправедному один’. 

Order of Words within Cola 119
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 cīdā ī hudāyhe, ‘clear are these things for the well-doer’; 32. 16 hamām taṭ vahīštācīt, ‘equal is that to the very best’.

2) Commendation of Mazdā: 47. 1 mazdā xšārār Ārmaitī Ahurō, ‘mindful in his dominion is the Lord with Piety’; 51. 16 spāntō Mazdā Ahurō, ‘bounteous is Lord Mazdā’.

Elements of both types appear in 51. 21 ārmatōīs nā, spāntō huuō cīstī, ux-dāīs, Šīaōdānā, ‘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, spāntō huuō cīstī 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 Ahurā ... sraošēm Mazdāi, ‘and as a path (or throne) for the Mindful Lord (finding) compliance’; 28. 10 at vō xšaibītī āsūnā vaēdā x’araibītī vaṁtītī sraunā, ‘I know that well-purposed hymns of homage to you are not in vain’; 30. 9 yōi ḭm frašēm kornāun ahūm, ‘who will make this existence splendid’; 33. 14 at rāqm Zaraǔstrō tanuascīt x’āxītī uśtamem dadāītī, ‘as an offering Zarathushtra dedicates his own body’s energy’, cf. 34. 3; 43. 15 at tōi vīspāng angrōng āsūnō ādarē, ‘they have declared all the righteous their enemies’; 46. 19 yō mōi ... haitūm ... varasātī ... hiiat vasnā frašōtemem, ‘he who will make real for me the utmost splendour of my desiring’; ibid., ahmāī mīzdām hanāntē parāhūm, ‘to him, who as reward deserves the world beyond’; YH 36. 6 sraēšēm at tōi khrēpm khrēpm āunaēdatiamahī ... imā raocē, ‘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, as in 28. 6 Zaraǔstrātī ajoŋhīhuaat rafēnō, ‘(give) to Zarathushtra strong support’; 31. 4 īsasā ... māhītī xšāhrām ajoŋhīhuaat, ‘I shall seek a strong authority for
myself'; 31. 9 hiiař axiiä dadä paďam, ‘when thou didst offer her a path’; 31. 15 yä droguuuäte xšaōrem huniiťi, ‘who is broaching dominion for the wrongful one’; 44. 4 kō vātāi duuamaiibiaiscā yaogot āsūi? ‘who yoked their swift pair for the wind and the clouds?’; 44. 14 kadā Ašāi Drujām diām zastaiō? ‘how might I give Wrong into the hands of Right?’; 46. 7 kōm.nā, Mazdā, mauwatē pātiim dadā? ‘whom dost thou set, Lord, as protector for my kind?’; 46. 18 yā maibiia yaoš, ahmīi ascīt vahisti maxiiā īštūis ... īcoh, ‘whoever (confers) weal on me, on him for my part I confer the best things in my power’; 49. 7 yā verezōnāi varhpīm đat frasāsitīm, ‘which will give the community a good renown’; 49. 8 Frašastro uruuāčištam Aṣahiiā dā sarēm, ‘to Frashaushtra grant that most joyous union with Right’.

348. Dative infinitives of purpose often precede the verb: 31. 3 tāt nā, Mazdā, viduuanōi vaocā, ‘tell us that, Mazdā, for (us) to know’, cf. 31. 5; 34. 12; 31. 19 eprāuxūāi vacahpm xšaāiimmō hizuuu vasō, ‘being for true voicing of words in command of his tongue as he will’; 33. 6 yā vereziiediāi manṭā vāstriā, ‘by which one is minded to do pastoral works’; 46. 3 kāēbiitō ūbāi vohū jimat manayāhā ‘what people will (Right) come to aid with good thought?’

Similarly with other datives of purpose: 46. 3 kadā ... āphyūs darebṛāi frō aṣahtiiā āroṭē? ‘when will they set forth on the path of Right to uphold the world?’; ibid., maibiitō ʿbāi ʿṣaṭṛāi verenē, ‘for myself I choose thee for direction’; 47. 3 aṭ hōi vāstrāi rāmā dā ārmaitīm, ‘and for her pasturing thou didst establish peace and piety’.

Attributive adjective

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

The possessive adjectives ma-, ʿbā-, etc. usually precede the noun, and in their monosyllabic cases they always do so except at 31. 20 ʿṭiiaḏaṭāiš x’āš.

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. ubōibiitā āhubitiā, ‘for both existences’.

So does pouru- ‘many’: 32. 6 pourū aěnā ēnāxštā, ‘the many offences against peace’; 43. 15 pourūs droguuautō, ‘the many wrongful’; 47. 6 pourūs ʾsāntō, ‘(the) many proselytes’; 50. 2 pouruṣū huuarā pišīasū, ‘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 juuāntō vīspēng, ‘all the living’; 34. 3 gaēḏā vīspa, ‘all our living bodies’; 46. 19 manā.ūuistāš maṭ vīspāiš, ‘with all spiritual acquisitions’; 51. 20 hazoasāghō vīspāŋhō, ‘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 yauvē, ‘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, vaŋhōuś (…) manajhō, spoṇṭā mainīiū. But the rule is not followed consistently, cf. 28.2 mainīēuś … spoṇṭahīiā; 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 aŋhuś paouruiiō, ‘the first existence’, cf. 33.1; 48.6; 46.6 daēnā paouruiiā, ‘the original moralities’; 46.15 dātāis paouruiiāiś, ‘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 aŋhuś paouruiiō and dātāis paouruiiāiś, but not of daēnā paouruiiā, which at the time of composition was *dayanāḥ parviyāḥ.) Examples: 29.9 naṛś astūrāhiā, ‘of a powerless man’; 33.1 śiiaodnā (disyllabic) raζiśtā, ‘by action most just’; 43.5 dāmoiś uruuaēsē (disyllabic) apēmē, ‘at the last bend of creation’; 44.2 aŋhuś vahiśtahīiā, ‘of the best existence’; 44.15 spādā anaocatjāh, ‘the two hostile armies’.

In 43.3 ahiiā aŋhuś astuuatō, ‘of this material existence’ and 47.2 ahiiā mainīiūṣ spoṇṭahīiā, ‘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 spoṇṭām ārmaitiś or spoṇṭā ārmaitiś, ‘bounteous piety’, where the epithet is honorific and inessential but precedes presumably by analogy with spoṇṭā mainīiū. The longer word follows the shorter (ārmaitiś had four syllables, *aramatīs).

Other examples of epithet preceding: 31.21 būroś ā … xāpālītūtā, ‘from his rich autonomy’; 32.6 hātāmarānē Ahurā, ‘O Lord mindful of merits’; 34.9 aurunā xrafstrā, ‘the savage predators’; 43.1 vasē.xšaiš Mazdā, ‘Mazdā who rules at will’; 44.6 azim rāniiō skeretim gam, ‘the gladdening milch cow’, cf. 50.2;11 45.4 vīspāhiśas Ahurō, ‘the all-observant Lord’; 49.9 aśā yuxtā … Dējā-māspā, ‘the Djāmāspas yoked to Right’.

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11 Were these passages perhaps secondary to 47.3, where we find gam rāniiō skeretim in the expected sequence?
Dependent genitive

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 Ahurahiia ... Mazda yasnemcā vahmemcā ... gōuścā vāstrem; 35. 8 Ašahiia āat sairī, Ašahiia vērezōne; 36. 2 uruużištahiia uruużiiti, nāmištahii nāmaţhā; 36. 3 nāmanqān vāzištām; 37. 2 yasanqām pauruṣatātā; 37. 3 ašāunqān frauvašiš; 39. 1 gōuś uruużamcā tasānemcā; 39. 5 vajhōuś x'aētōuś x'aētātā; 41. 2 hātam hudāstomā. This may be considered the ‘natural’, unmarked or default position. Cf. the observation on gōuś taśā in §334.

A second genitive depending on the same noun may be added after it, as in 40. 2 tawacā hāzemā Ašatiiaēcā, ‘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 ... vohunqām, for which see §334; 35. 8 kahmācēt hātam, ‘for anyone in the world’; 36. 2 (cf. 3) ātara Mazda Ahurahiia, ‘Fire of Lord Mazda’, where the Fire has already been brought into focus in 1 and it is not a new one that is being specified; ibid., mazištāi vāyham, ‘for our greatest of supplications’; 36. 6 sraēstām aţ tōi kahrpōm kahrpām ... barezištām barezimaqām, ‘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 drugumodobii āešamām, ‘violence by the wrongful’; 43. 16 Ašam ... uśtānā aojōghuatuat, ‘Right, strong in vigour’; 47. 2 ārmatōii zastōi-bii ītišāođnā, ‘by action of piety with the hands’.

Ablative: 31. 15 vāstriiehiiia ... pasāuś virātcā adrujiiaŋtō, ‘of the herdsman innocent before man and beast’.

Locative: 43. 11 mašitaēsū zrazdāitiš, ‘trust in mortals’.

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

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 yāḥ vā Mazdā Ahurā pairījasāi vohū manaŋhā, ‘I who will approach you, Lord Mazdā, with good thought’; 28. 6–7, quoted in §343; 28. 8 vahištom ēbā vahištā ... yāsā, ‘for the best gift, O best one, I pray thee’; 28. 11 tuuṃ Mazdā Ahurā frō mā sīsā, ‘do thou, Lord Mazdā, teach me’; 29. 10 yūzēṃ aēbiīo Ahurā aogō dātā, ‘grant ye them, Lord, strength’; ibid., azōmcīt ahiī Mazdā ēbām mōŋhī paouruūm vaēdem, ‘I for one, Mazdā, realize thee to be the prime procurer of it’; 31. 3 taṭ nō Mazdā viduuanoī vaocā, ‘tell us that, Mazdā, for our knowledge’; 31. 7 tā Mazdā mainīū uxśīō, ‘through that will, Mazdā, thou dost increase’; 31. 11 hiiaṭ nō Mazdā paouruūṁ gaēdāscā taśō daēnāscā, ‘since first, Mazdā, thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves’; 34. 14 taṭ zī Mazdā vairīm astuwaiate uśtmāi dātā, ‘for this, Mazdā, is the prize you have set for material life’; 44. 3 tācī Mazdā vasmī aniicāscā vīduiiēt, ‘these things, Mazdā, and others I desire to know’; YH 39. 4 yādā tū ē Ahurā Mazdā mōŋhācā 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 āṣā, kaṭ ēbā darasāni? ‘O Right, shall I see thee?’; 46. 14 Zarauṣṭrā, kastē aṣauuā uruuādō? ‘Zarathushtra, which righteous one is thy ally?’ Other cases: 34. 15 Mazdā, aṭ mōi vahištā srauwāscā ṣiiaoo- ḍuṇācā vaocā, ‘Mazdā, tell me the best things to be known for and to do’; 44. 1 Mazdā, friiāi ēbāuus saxiītā maauaitē, ‘Mazdā, one such as thou might declare it to a friend such as me’.

Initial name with surname following after intervening words: 46. 15 Hae-caṭ.aspā, vaxśiiā vō Spitamāŋhō, ‘O Haecataspa Spitamas, I will say to you’; 46. 16 Frašaoṣṭrā, aбрā tu ardrāiś idi 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 is 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 Aṣāaṭcā vōistā vanghōuścā dāṅg ma-
Order of Words within Cola

360. In YH a vocative, like a verb, sometimes ends the sentence: 38. 5 apascā và azīscā và mātaraścā và agoniitā dirugdāiiajho vispūs-paiśāi aūuacāmā vahistā sraestā, auitā vā vānviś rātōiś daregō.izāiś nāśū paiśi viādā paiś.sāndā, mātāro jiitaii, ‘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) aβā tōi dademahī, aβā cismahī, aβā ḍībā āis yazamāidē, aβā namāxīāmāhī, aβā išūdāiāmāhī ḍībā Mazdā Ahurā, ‘so we dedicate (them) to thee, so we assign, so he reby 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 ahīi aβā ṣdrō verazōnā paiouruii pai-rijasāiāmād 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 ahīi yāsā namanīa ustānānastō rafeḍrahiiā, ‘for his help I pray in reverence with outstretched hands’; 29. 7 tōm āziōiś Ahurō marjem tašat Aṣā hazaoso, ‘that is the butter prescript that the Lord made, of one mind with Right’ (with further appendages in the next line); YH 35. 3 tāt aṭ vare-maidī … hiiat i mainimadi … yā hātmā śiaodōnanaṃ vahistā xiiā ubōibiiā ahu-biia, ‘we have chosen to think those things that may be the best actions in the world, for both existences’, cf. 35. 8; 35. 5 huxṣadōtamāi bā aṭ xṣādram, ahmat hiiat aibi, dademahicā cismahicā, ‘for the best ruler, rule (so far as lies with us) we dedicate and assign’ (between object and verbs); 35. 7 tāt aṭ vō vareziāmāhī
fracā vāṭiīa-mahī, yāhī isāmaidē, ‘this we will put into effect for you and communicate, so far as we are able’.

III. Word Order

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: anāś vā nōīt, Ahurā, Ašāmca yānāś 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 vahīṣṭem, ‘and Best Thought’, and secondly by a relative clause attaching to the subject, yōī vā yōīṃēmā dasomē stūṭam, ‘we who are busy offering your praises’. In 33. 4, again, after a self-sufficient first line yā bṛtā, Mazdā, asruṣṭām akomcā manō yazāī 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’aeēuścā taromāṭīm verzēnaxiiēcā nazdiśṭam druji, airtiāmnascā nadaṃtō, gōuścā vāstrāg aciṣṭem mantūm, ‘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 āt vā ustānāīś ā huuā zastāīs frinomnā Ahurāiia, mō uruuā gōuścā aziiā, ‘but we two are here with outstretched hands propitiating the Lord, my soul and the milch cow’s’; 32. 3 āt yūś daēuā vispāyho akāt manāyhbhō stā ciibrom, ‘but ye Daevas are all seed from Bad Thought’, yascā vā mā yażaitē, ‘and (so is) the grandee who worships you’; then additional ablatives, drūjasccā pairimātōścā, ‘and from Wrong and Contempt’; then another nominative, šitaomām aii pā daibitēnā, ‘your duplicitous deeds too’; 43. 3 āt huuō vāyhrūs vahīiō nā aibījamīiai, yō nā aezūś savajhō pače sīśioī ... ardrō bhrāuōs huzhēntūs spantō, 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 foṛroī vīdīt patiīiaēcā vāstrīaeibīiō atcā x’aeēauwe, aśāuni aśauwabiiō, ‘with which (a woman) may serve her father and husband, herdsmen, and clan too, a righteous one (serving) the righteous’.

364. Similarly with other cases.

Instrumental: 46. 8 paitiaogoŋ tā ahmāi jasōiŋ duuāēʃajhā tanaumā ə … kāciṯ, Mazdā, duuāēʃajhā, ‘may they recoil on him with hostility, on his person … with whatever (brand of) hostility”; 49. 5; 50. 9.

Dative: 49. 8 Frašaōštṛā uruāzištṛām Aṣaḥitiḏ āḏ sarōm … maibijačā, ‘to Frašaushtra grant that most joyous union with Right, and to me’ (and then comes a relative clause referring to sarōm); 28. 7; 53. 5.

Ablative: 32. 3 quoted in §363; 33. 4 quoted in §362; 46. 4 yas.tōm xšaḏrāt, Mazdā, mōišt jiiātduš 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 daiḏ, Ašā, tōm ašim, vajhōuš aiiaptā manaŋhō, ‘give, O Right, that reward, the blessings of good thought’; 31. 15 perasā aumāt, yā maēniñ, yō dreguāiiten xšaḏem hunaaii, duššiiaōdanāi, Ahūrā, yō …, ‘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 uxšānā asnaŋ … frō aṣhitiḏ ārōntē verezdāiĩ sōŋhāiĩ, saošiiaŋtšm xratauuʔ? ‘when, Mazdā, will those Ōxen of Days set forth on the path of Right with stouter declarations, the Promoters’ sapiences?’; 44. 17 kadā zarem carāni haca xšmaτ, āskaitim xšmākam? ‘how am I to journey towards my goal in accord with you, (namely) attachment to you?’; 44. 16 aṭ hōi vohū sraośo jaŋtū manaŋhā, Mazdā, aṁhā yahma viši kahmaicī, ‘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 ātrōm … aojōŋhuanṭem Ašā usōmahī, aš.īʃīm, ēmaunantem, ‘we wish for thy fire that is mighty through Right, very potent, strong’; 48. 11 kadā … Ašā maṭ Ārmaitiš jimaṭ xšaḏrā, huš-sitiš vāstraauaitiʔ? ‘when will Piety together with Right come in dominion, she of good living, the pastoral one?’; 53. 9 tōi narapiš arejiš, aēšasā dēji.taratā, paŋō.tauu, ‘they are waning and darkness(?), eager Right-diminishers, forfeit of body’; YH 38. 3 apō aṭ yazamaidē, maēkaiiaŋtišcā hōbuuanṭišcā, ‘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:

ahīiŋ yāsā nanaŋhā ustānāzaʃtō raʃdrihiiŋ, A∂mahii, Mazdā, paoouruun Smōntahiia ašā, vispōŋ, šiiaodoñ, Vajhōuš xratum Manaŋhō yā xṣnauiiʃa gūuʃcā uruuiuŋm, yō vā, Mazdā Ahūrā, pariŋ.ʃasā vohū manaŋhā, maibioš dāuuoi ahuuā, astuuatascā hiaiʃcā manaŋhō, aiiaptā aʃiʃ haca, yāiʃ raŋtō daiiʃ xšdri; yō vā Ašā uʃiiaši Manascā Vohū apaouruuiŋ Mazdamcā Ahurēm, yaebioš xšaḏramcā ayžaonuuamnom varedaiiʃ Ārmaitiš: a moʃ raʃdriʃ zauuŋg jaʃatā.
The first line is syntactically self-sufficient: ‘I pray in reverence with outstretched hands for his help’. Then ‘his’ is given definition by adding Mainiɪiɪuś … Spentahiiā, ‘the Bounteous Will’s’, this genitive phrase being distracted by the insertion of the vocative Mazdā and the adverb paouruɪm, ‘in first place’. Then are appended successively the instrumental ašā, ‘with Right’, an accusative viṣpāṅg to be construed with yāśā, ‘(I pray) all (of you)’, and another instrumental, šiiaʊdīnā, which must be construed adnominally with rafvDrahiiā, ‘(help) through an action’. The nature of the action is then specified by means of a relative clause, of which šiiaʊdīnā is the head, Vahīhūṣ xratūm Manaḥhō vā xšnauišiā, ‘by which thou wouldst satisfy Good Thought’s wisdom’, and that is extended with an additional object, gōušcā uruuiʌnʌm, ‘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 yō và Mazdā Ahurā, pairi.jasāi vohū maṇaḥhā, ‘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, yō và Aṣā uʃiāmī, ‘I who will hymn you, Right’, is extended successively by Manascā Vohū ‘and Good Thought’, apaouruɪm ‘as never before’, Mazdmcā Ahuram ‘and Lord Mazdā’, and then comes another relative clause referring to these powers, ‘whose unimpaired dominion Piety increases’. Finally the whole elaborate structure is summed up and rounded off by a compact new sentence: ‘come ye to my calls to give help’.

Interlacing\textsuperscript{15}

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 ἀείδε θεά Πηληϊάδεω ἾΑχιλῆος … Ἔ μυρί’, ‘Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε’ ἔθηκεν … Διός δ’ ἐτελείετο θολλή, and in those of the Aeneid Troiae qui primus ab oris, saeuae memorem Ἰυνονίς ob ἵμα, 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.

\textsuperscript{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 yē uruuānem ‘mēn gairē b vohū b ādē b haṭrā b manājahā, ‘I who have taken my soul in mind for praise-song together with good thought’.

31. 15 yē nōit jiīōtüm b hanārā b vīnāsti | ‘vāstriehtiā b āēnajhō pasēuś vīrātścā ‘adrujiianṭō, ‘who does not find a livelihood without wrong to the herdsman innocent before man and beast’.

31. 21 Mazdā dadāt Ahurō a hauruuātō a ‘amoratatātascā | b būroītiś a ‘āṣāxiitācā b xāpaqueetiā b xāstrāhatiā ‘sarōī | vaṭhāuś vaṣduuārō manājahō, ‘the Lord Mazdā offers, for the union of health and non-dying and right, from his rich autonomy of domain, the permanence of good thought’.

32. 5 ‘akā b śīiaōnēm a vacajhā yā b ‘fracinas draguuanṭem xṣaiō, ‘(and) by evil speech, with which he assigns the deed to the wrongful one to control’.

33. 1 yādā sāś, idźā b varasaitē, ‘yā dātā anhōuś paouruuiiehiīa, | b ratuś, ‘as by those which were the statutes of the first existence, so the ruling will be implemented’.

33. 14 at rātam Zaraṇuṣtrō tanuuascīt x‘aṣītā ‘uṣtanām | b dadāiti, ‘paouruua-tātām ‘manajhascā vaṭhāuś | Mazdāi | ‘śīiaōnhiīa b Aṣāxiitacā ‘uxda‘a‘iitācā, ‘sraośem xṣādramcā, ‘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 at tōi ‘vispēng b angrēng a ‘aṣāunō b ādarā, ‘all the righteous they have declared their enemies’.

46. 17 ‘hadā vē stōi b vahmēng a ‘sraośā b ‘rādāhō, ‘for there to be for you, besides your compliance, praises of the caring one’.

46. 19 yā mōi b ‘aṣā b haiūim b ‘hacā b ‘vārēsaiti, ‘he who in accord with right will make real for me’.

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

369. In discussing word order we have touched on much that could be considered to fall within the province of stylistics. No clear boundary can be drawn. Style depends to a large extent, after all, on the ordered arrangement of words. For practical purposes, however, it was convenient to undertake a concentrated, separate treatment of word order. Now we may move on to other aspects of style as manifested in the Gāthās and YH.

As noted in §313, these are highly stylized texts. Much of the discussion will concern the occurrence of various figures of speech and other formal devices. But it will be appropriate to begin with a general characterization.

Zarathushtra’s poetry in the Gāthās is impassioned and forthright, much of it explicitly directed at a succession of divine or human addressees, with a mixture of prayers, statements, questions, wishes, demands, and exhortations. The verse is structured in stanzas of three, four, or five lines; the stanzas are mostly self-contained in sense, comprising one or more sentences, but occasionally a complex sentence is laid out on a larger plan, with a syntactically parallel element placed at corresponding places in two or three successive stanzas. Sentences may be brief and concise, but often they are elaborate and syntactically dense.1 Zarathushtra draws freely on the elevated traditional language of cult poetry, as shown by the frequency of Vedic parallels, but his own mode of thought is reflected in the abundant use of abstract nouns with varying degrees of personification (§26). He does not refrain from what may have been coarse expressions of denigration such as 48. 10 mūḍrem ahiīa maḍahiīa, ‘the piss of this liquor’; 51. 12 vaēpiīō Kouvūino, ‘the Kavi catamite’. His imagery is drawn from the world around him, his commonest images being those of the house and the path that leads to it: the house of Good Thought (30. 10; 32. 15; 44. 9), of Worst Thought (32. 13), of Wrong (46. 6; 11; 49. 11; 51. 14), of Lord Mazdā (49. 10), of song (45. 8; 50. 4; 51. 15); the path or paths of Good Thought (33. 5; 34. 12 f.; 51. 16), of enhancement (43. 3), of enlightenment (46. 4), of enablement (50. 4); of the path for the soul to follow (44. 8). Another desirable destination is the ‘pasture’ of Right and Good Thought (33. 3). Poetic composition in praise of a divinity is associated with speeding horses or a racing chariot (29. 8(?); 30. 10; 50. 6 f.). This is inherited imagery,2 but that does not seem to be the case with the conception of one’s life’s course as

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1 Cf. §§7 and 46. Hintze (1997), 59, contrasts the more sophisticated style of the Gāthās with the simpler constructions of the Yaśts.
2 West (2007a), 41–3.
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being like a racecourse, with a ‘last bend’ and a finish line (43. 5 f.; 48. 2; 51. 6; cf. 49. 9).

YH is a formal text composed to be spoken by a priest before a congregation of worshippers and on their behalf, enunciating their convictions and aspirations. Its style is elevated, hieratic. Typical of it is the quasi-legal use of comprehensive polar expressions of the ‘both X and non-X’ type, to cover all eventualities, and of clusters of two or three near-synonyms to exclude any equivocation, as in 36. 4–5 pairijasāmaidē nemāxiimāhī īsūdiimāhī ñbā, ‘we attend thee, we revere thee, we thank thee’; 37. 3 āsānām frauasīs naraṃcā nāirināmcā, ‘the travashis of the righteous, both men and women’, cf. 39. 2, 3; 41. 2; 41. 1 stūtō, garō, vahmōng Ahurāī Mazdāī Āṣāicā vahīstāī dadomāhī cīsmahicā ācā vaedālīimāhī, ‘praises, songs, laudations to Lord Mazdā and best Right we dedicate and assign and proclaim’; 41. 4 hanaēmācā zaēmācā, ‘may we earn and win’.

Economy of Expression

370. When the same verb is to be understood in two successive clauses, it is regularly omitted in one of them, more often in the second than the first.

Verb omitted in the second clause: 30. 7 ἄτ kehrpēm utaiiūitiāhī dadaī, ārmaitiš qnmā, ‘then vitality informs the body, piety the soul’, cf. 33. 12; 31. 11 hiitā astuuantem dadā uștanos, hiitā šītāōnācā sāṅghācā, ‘since thou gavest bodily vitality, since (thou gavest) actions and pronouncements’; 31. 14 yā īṣudō dadentē dātāranām haca āṣāmō vāscā ... dreguudābīiō, ‘what requitals will be given of gifts from the righteous one and what (of gifts) from the wrongful’; 32. 1 āxītācā xvaētūs vāscat, ahīī vorezōnom maṭ āiritāmānā, ahīī dāēuā mahmī manoī, Ahurāhiī uruāzomā Mazdā, ‘suppose for his the clan prays, for his the village with the tribe, for his the Daevas, in my fancy, for Lord Mazdā’s gladdening’; 32. 5 tā debohaotā maṣīm hujiitāīiīs ... hiitā vā akā maṇāhā yōng dāēuāng Akascā Mainiūs, ‘so you lure the mortal from good living, as the Evil Will does you who are Daevas, by evil thought’; 32. 9 duśastītā srauvā mōrendat, huuo jiiātūs sāṅghānāī xratūm, ‘the false teacher perverts good repute, he (perverts) life’s reason with his pronouncements’; 34. 8 tāīs zī nā šītāōnāśi biintī ... hiitā asāoja nādīiāphom, ‘for they intimidate us by those actions, as a strong man does a weaker one’; 34. 15 ἄτ mōi vahīstā ... vaočā, tā tū vohū maṇāhā, ‘tell me the best things, just those things do thou (tell) with Good Thought’; 43. 14 hiitā nā friiā vēdomṇo īsuā daiītā, maibīō, Mazdā, ‘what a man of means, possessing it himself, would offer a friend, (give) to me, Mazdā’; 44. 4 kas.nā deretā zamcā adō nabāscā aauapastōīśi? kō apō uruārāscā? ‘who held the earth from beneath and the heavens from falling down? Who the waters and plants?’; 47. 4 kasūṣcīt nā aṣāunē kādō anhaṭ, īsūūcīt has paraō

3 Cf. Humbach i. 105 f.; Skjærvø 171 f.
akō draguuātē, ‘even the poor man may be kind to the righteous one; even the man of much means, malign towards the wrongful’; 50. 10 at yā varaśā yācā pairī āśś śītaoṇā, ‘whatever things I do and whatever (I have done) before’.

The place of the omitted verb may be taken by iḥā or aḥā. 32. 6 pourū aēnā ūnāxšā yāīs srauahiiieī, yezī tāīs aḥā, ‘the many offences against peace by which he seeks renown, if by those actions (he is doing) so’; 47. 4, quoted in §133.

371. Verb omitted in the first clause: 43. 1 uṣṭā ahmāi, yahmāi uṣṭā kahmācit, vasā.xšaias Mazdā dāiāt Ahūrō, ‘his wishes to him, to whomsoever (he grants) wishes, may Lord Mazdā, ruling at will, grant’; 43. 8 haiibiiō dudaēśā hiiat īsōīīā draguuātē, at aṣāunē raṁō xiśām aṣīroṇhuuat, ‘may I be in reality, as I would wish, a bane to the wrongful one, but to the righteous a strong support’; 46. 1, quoted in §373; 46. 9 yā tōī Ašā, yā Ašāī gōūs taśā mraot, ‘what Right (said) to thee, what the maker of the cow said to Right’; 46. 18 yā maibīiā yaoś, ahmā ascīt vahīštā . . . coīsām, ‘whoever (confers) weal on me, on him for my part I confer the best’ (and then in 19 ahmāi . . . gāuuā azi, ‘on him (I confer) two milch cows’); 48. 6, quoted in §390; 51. 4 kuavrā ayrōīs ā ās̄r̄atuś, kuavrā marezidikā ā x̄stāt? ‘where does respect(?) instead of harm, where does mercy appear?’ (and then a series of further ‘where?’ clauses with the same verb understood); YH 40. 4 quoted in §389.

372. On the same principle, a noun may be understood from the clause preceding: 48. 8 kā tōī vaṿhūś . . . xšaṭrahiiš̄ istiś? kā tōī aṣ̄ioś ṣ̄baṭxiiā maibiiō, Ahurā? kā ḭbōi, Ašā . . . ? ‘what (is) the potency of thy good dominion? What (that) of thy reward for me, Lord? What thy (potency), Right?’; 49. 12 kā tōī aṣ̄ā zbaïiẽntē avan̄hō Zarāduûstrāī? kā tōī vohū maanajhā? ‘what hast thou of help for him who invokes thee with right, for Zarathushtra? What hast thou (for him who invokes thee) with good thought?’

373. Other places where a noun or pronoun is understood from the context: 28. 11 yā āś̄ām nīpāryē manascā vohū yauvaetātē, tuvō̄m, Mazdā Ahūrā, frō ma sīśā ṣ̄bahmāt vaocan̄hē mainiīųś hacā, ḫ̄s̄ā ṣ̄aṣ̄āhā, ‘thou who dost by them (= hymns) protect thy right and good thought for ever, teach me, Lord Mazdā, to voice (them) in line with thy will, through thy mouth’; 43. 3 ahiītā aḥhūs astwuatō manah̄hsc̄ā, ‘in this material existence and (that) of thought’; 46. 1 kām nomoi zam, kuavrā nomoi aiieni? patrī x̄aēṭbūś airiâmnascā dadaītī, ‘what land for refuge, where am I to go for refuge? They set (me) apart from clan and tribe’; 49. 2 tkaēśō drguūa daibītā aṣ̄at rārāsō, ‘the wrongful teacher who deceitfully diverts (people) from right’. In 45. 1 nū im vīspā, cuīrō zī, mazdāȳhōdūm, ‘now all take it to heart, for it is clear’, the masc. pronoun im and adjective cuīrō have no explicit reference, and we must perhaps understand mādṛm.

For relative clauses where the head has to be understood see §227.
374. Nominal sentences (§§8–9, 12) are such a natural and traditional form of utterance that the absence of copula in them can hardly be classed as economy of expression: rather its presence, at any rate in the 3rd person present indicative, would appear as pleonastic. One or two examples, however, stand out as genuinely brachylogical, notably 31. 5 yehiiā mā aresiš, ‘the one whose prophet (I am)’; 29. 7 kas.tē, vohū manajhā yō ...? ‘whom hast thou, who by good thought ...?’

In 29. 11 nū nā auuarē, ‘now (come) down to us’, an imperative verb is to be understood.

Pleonasm

375. Much rarer than economy of expression is the superfluous repetition of a word in a second clause, as in 30. 5 aiiā mainiũūā verētā yā druguā acištā vareziio, ašam mainiũū śpāništō, ‘of those two Wills, the wrongful one chooses the worst things to do, but the bounteous Will (chooses) Right’; 31. 9 ḍbōi as ārmaitiš, ḍbā a gēuš tašā as xratuš mainiũūš, ‘thine was piety, thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will’; and the three passages quoted in §235.

In 33. 6 mainiũūš a vahištāt kaiiā ahmā, auuā manajhā yā vareziieidiiāi mañā vāstriiā, tā tōi iziiā ... darštōiścā hēṃparśtōiścā, ‘from this my best will I desire, with that mind by which one takes it in mind to do pastoral works, I long to see and confer with thee’, we have not only a second demonstrative pronoun as correlative where one has already been provided, but also a second main verb repeating the sense of the first.

In 43. 4 the conjunction hiiaT ‘when’ is repeated after the intervention of a relative clause has created excessive distance between the first one and the verb it governs: hiiaT tā zastā, yā tū haʃši āuua yā dā aʃš druguai té aʃšaʃnaecā ... hiiaT mōi vaŋhũuũ hazā jimaʃ manaʃhō, ‘when by that hand in which thou holdest those rewards that thou didst set for the wrongful one and the righteous ... ’when the force of good thought comes to me’.

Understatement (Litotes)

376. A particular effect may be achieved by using, instead of a forceful positive statement, a negation of its opposite, as in 46. 1 nōit mā xšnāus, yā vareznā hācā, ‘the communities I consort with do not please me’, i.e. they displease me; more clearly so in 51. 12 nōit tā īm xšnāus vaŋpiio Kauuino perētā zimō ... hiiaT ahnī urūraoʃ astō, ‘the Kavi catamite did not please him thereby at the crossing in the winter, that the emissary had barred his way at it’; 46. 6 nōit nā isomnō, ‘a man not wanted’. Similarly perhaps (though the degree of positive
emphasis is hard to gauge) 28. 10 asūnā ‘not vain’; 29. 3 Ašā, nōit sarajā, aduuaēśō gauuōi, ‘Right, no breacher of unity, unhonhostile to the cow’.

With double negative: 43. 12 aṭ tū mōi nōit asruştā pairiiaoyţā, ‘thou givest me advice (that will be) not unheeded’.

Rhetorical Questions

377. Of the many interrogative sentences in the Gāthās (§9), some appear in dialogue contexts, in the mouths of others than Zarathushtra, and receive answers: 29. 1, 2, 5, 7; 43. 7, 9. A much larger number are addressed by the prophet to Mazdā. To these too an answer may occasionally be forthcoming (34. 5; 44. 12; cf. 31. 6), but usually it is not, and we are to understand that Zarathushtra does not know what the answer is: he is using the question form to express his actual wonderment, doubt, or despair. Such questions are not put in the expectation of an answer but as a rhetorical tactic.

In one place at least we find a ‘rhetorical question’ in the accepted sense of the term, that is, a question to which the answer is meant to be obvious: 44. 20 ciēnā, Mazdā, huxšabrā daēuuā āpharā—aṭ ū pārasā—yōi pišiieięti aēiiō kām, yāiš gām Karpā Usīxścā āēśmāi dātā, yācā Kauuuā ānquēnē urūdōiitātā? ‘what, Mazdā, has the Daevas’ dominion been good—that is what I ask—they that blaspheme(?) for the sake of those with whom the Karpan and the Usij subject the cow to violence and (to all the ills) that the Kavi makes her lament to her soul?’

Parenthesis

378. Zarathushtra sometimes interrupts his sentences by the parenthetical insertion of shorter ones that are syntactically quite separate. Mostly they are introduced with asyndeton, but in a few cases their explanatory nature is indicated by the particle zī ‘for’, and in one case there is a connecting relative pronoun to mark continuity of grammatical subject.

Some of these insertions are very short, occupying less than a verse, as in: 44. 1 taṭ ūβā pārasā—sraš mōi vaocā, Ahurā—| nēmaţhō ā, ‘this I ask thee—tell me straight, Lord—out of reverence’; 44. 16 kē vorebremjā ūβā pōi sēnghā, yōi hōnti—| ciērā mōi dām—ahūm,biś? ‘who is the victorious one to protect with thy law (all) who exist—let me be given clarity—the world-healer?’; 44. 20, quoted in §377; 45. 1, quoted in §373; 48. 2 vaocā mōi ā—tuuēm viduuā, Ahurā—| parā hīrāt mā yāmēng pāreţā jīmāit, ‘tell me—thou (art) the knowing one, Lord—before the end of the course approaches me’; 48. 5 huxšabrā xšōnts—mā nōduxšabrā xšōnts—| vanhuiţā cīstoīs śtaoṁnaiṭs, ‘let good rulers rule—do not let bad rulers rule us—with enactments of good insight’; 49. 8
Frašaoštrāī ... Ašahiā dā | saṁm—taṭ ūbhā, Mazdā, yāṣā, Ahurā— | maibīācā,
‘to Frashaushtra grant union with Right—this I pray thee, Lord Mazdā—and to me’.

Others occupy a whole verse:
43. 11 hiiaṭ xśmā uxōāś didatīṭhē paouuruīm | —sadrā móī sāṣ maśīaēśū
zrazdātīṭh— | taṭ verezuitidīṭh, hiiaṭ móī mraoṭā vahiśṭem, ‘as I am learning by
your utterances primarily—trust in mortals reveals itself to me as grief—to do
that which you tell me is best’.

44. 10 tām daēṇam, yā hāṭam vahiśṭā | —yā móī gaēṭā Aśā frādōīṭ hacōmnā—
| ārmatīōī uxōāś śiiaōbānā oraḥ daidiīṭh? ‘that religion which is the best in exis-
tence—may it promote my flock in union with Right—do they with pious
words and deeds conceive it aright?’

49. 9 sraotū sāsānā jśējhiōō suiiē taśtō | —nōī ṭraśuuačā sarōm didās
draguuatā— | hiiaṭ daēṇa vahiśṭe yūjōn mūzdē ... Dājāmāspā, ‘let the cultivator
hear the teachings, made as he is to be strong—the straight speaker does not
preach union with the wrongful one—since they yoke their moral selves for
the best reward, those Djamaaspas’.

An especially long parenthesis appears in 45. 7–8:

yehiiā sauuā išāntenī rādānḥō
yōī zī jjuā āṯharaṇcā buuanticā—
ameratātī Ashtonī uruūa aēśō
utaiiūtā, yā neraṭ sādrā dragouatō;
tācā xsafrē Mazdā dāmiś Ahurō— ||
tōm nō staotātī nemaŋhō a vīuuarāŝō
nū zī ṭi cašmainī vi. adarasem.

The Caring One whose strengthening all may set in train,
those living, and who have been, and who will come to be—
the righteous man’s soul is active in continued life
and in vitality, which is vexation to the men of Wrong;
of those realms too the Lord Mazdā is the creator—
him, seeking to envelop him in our reverent praises,
I have just now discerned in my eye.

In two passages we find two parentheses in the same sentence:

43. 10  at tuī mōi dāiš Ašēm, hiiat mā zaozaomē—
| Ārmatī hacimnō ṭi a arēm—
| perasācā nā, yā tōī ūhmā parṣtā
(parṣtām zī ūbhā yaḍhṇā tāṭ ṭmahauuantm),
hiiat ūbhā xsaatās aēšam diiāṭ ṭmahauantm.

Show me thou Right, that one I constantly invoke—
in company with Piety I have started towards it—
and ask us what thou hast to ask us
(for the question asked by thee is like that of the ṭstrong),
so that one might be enabled to make thee potent and strong.
51. 8–9  azt zī tōi vaxšīīā, Mazdā—vīdušē zī nā mṛuīśā—
hīat akōī ā dreguūătē, uștā vō așem dādrē
(huuvō zī māṭrā śīătō, yō vīdušē mrauuaătī) ∥
yām xinūtēm rānoībiă dā bīă ābră suxră, Mazdā.

For I will tell Thee, Mazdā— a man would be speaking to one who knows—
that amid ill for the wrongful one, but in bliss for him who has embraced Right
(happy that prophet who speaks to one who knows!)
(is) the atonement that thou didst set for the two parties through thy flaming fire,
Mazdā.

Figures

Conjunction of contrary terms

379. Contrary or complementary terms are sometimes coupled together to
make an emphatic expression of the totality that they embrace. This is known
as polar expression; the pairings are sometimes called merisms. Examples: 45. 1 yaečā asnāt yaečā dūrāt īsaďā, ‘you who come eagerly from near and
far’; 45. 9 pasūs vīrāng, ‘herds and men’, cf. 31. 15; 46. 10 nā gēnā vā, ‘man or
woman’, cf. YH 35. 6; 39. 2; 41. 2.

In 29. 4 yā zī vāuořezōi pairi cicīt daēuuăiścā mašiiăiścā yācă varaśaitē aipī
cicīt, ‘things that have been done in the past by Daevas and mortals and things
that may be done in the future’, we have one merism inside another: ‘past and
future’, = at any time ever, and ‘Daevas and mortals’, = anyone at all. Both are
paralleled elsewhere: for past, (present,) future cf. the passages quoted in §156;
for Daevas and mortals, 45. 11 daēuuăng ... mašiiăscă; 48. 1 daēuuăiścă ma-
šiiăiścă.4

380. The pairing of male and female for the sake of comprehensiveness may
also be expressed through gendered pronouns or adjectives; see YH 39. 3
quoted in §37.

381. A particular type of merism paralleled in Vedic, Greek, and elsewhere5 is
that of ‘X and non-X’, where the prefix a(n)- effects the negation. There are
several examples in the quasi-legal stipulations of YH: 35. 2 iiadăcă aniiadăcă,
‘here and elsewhere’;6 35. 4 srumuutasăcă asrumuutasăcă xśaiąntăscă axśaiąntăscă,
‘hearers and non-hearers, rulers and non-rulers’. Cf. §11.

4 The latter phrase corresponds to Vedic devāsaś ca mārtiyāsaś ca (RV 6. 15. 8), which still
has the older, more comprehensive sense of ‘gods and mortals’. Cf. West (2007a), 100.
5 West (2007a), 101 f.
6 The oddly spelled iiadă is an artificial back-formation from aniiadă ‘elsewhere’ (< aniiia-
‘other’), as if it were formed with the negative an-.
With nöít: 31. 5 tācit … yä nöít vā anhaṭ anhāitī vā, ‘those things that will not be, or will be’.

382. In other passages opposed terms are linked with cā or vā to signify, not the totalities that they define, but critical alternatives: 30. 4 dazdē gaēmcā ajīā-tīmcā, ‘a man adopts life and (= or) non-life’; 30. 11 xīticā ēnōnit, ‘through success and (= or) failure’; 31. 12 aḍrā vācōm baraitī miṭah. uuacā vā vēs.uuacā vā, vīduuā vā vūūduuā vā, ‘there speaks forth one of false words or one of straight words, a knowing one or an unknowing one’; 45. 9 yō nē usēn cōrāt spōncā aspōncā, ‘who makes at will (our) fortune and misfortune’; 46. 17 yō vī.cinaoṭ dādēmčā adādēmčā, ‘who discriminates between the unjust and the just man’, cf. 46. 15; 48. 4 yō dāt manō vahīīō … aṣitascā, ‘he who sets in place better thought or worse’.

383. A single term may be emphasized by adding the negation of its opposite: ‘X, not non-X’, or ‘X, not Y’. So 30. 3 āscā hudāyho eroś vištītā, nōīṭ duḍžāyho, ‘and between them well-doers discriminate rightly, (but) not ill-doers’; 31. 10 frauuretā vāstrīm … nōīṭ … auuāstriiō … humerātōīi baxstā, ‘she chose the herdsman … the non-herdsman did not get her goodwill’; 31. 17 vīdūuā vīdūsē mrāotū, mā vīdūuā aipī dēbāuuuiat, ‘let the knowing one speak to the knowing, let the unknowing delude no longer’; 44. 12 huuō, nōīṭ aiiōm, angrō mainiitē, ‘he it is, not the other, who thinks as an enemy’; 46. 8 yō īm hūjīātoś pāītā, nōīṭ duḍjīātoś, ‘may they keep him from good living, not from bad living’; 46. 17 yaḍā vē aśmānī sōnghānī, nōīṭ anafśanm, ‘so I may proclaim for you verses, not non-verses’ (i.e. nothing less than verses); 47. 4 ahmāṭ mainiitēs rrāaśīteinī drēgwanantō …; nōīṭ iīā aṣauuanō, ‘from this Will the wrongful deflect people …; not so the righteous’; 48. 5 hūxādrā xśēntā, mā nō dūxśa- drā xśēnta, ‘let good rulers rule, do not let bad rulers rule us’.

384. Other examples of opposed terms set in pointed antithesis: 43. 5 akēm akāi, vaṛ’him aśim vaṛhaowō, ‘evil for the evil one, a good reward for the good’; 46. 5 yō aṣauā drēgwanantōm, ‘a righteous man (receiving) a wrongful one’; 49. 4 fśuiiasū aśfśuaianō, yaЄśam nōīṭ huuarštaiś vās dūzuuarstā, ‘non-stockraisers among stockraisers, through whose not (doing) good deeds the bad deeds prevail’.

Conjunction of related terms

385. A positive, comparative, or superlative term may be reinforced by association with another form of the same word: 43. 3 vaṛhōṣ vaṛhiīō, ‘better than good’; 51. 6 vahīīō vaṛhōṣ … akāt aṣitō, ‘better than good … worse than bad’; YH 36. 2 uruūzištahīīa uruūziīi, nāmištahīī nāmaŋhā, ‘with the most joyous

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8 Cf. Humbach i. 98 f.; West (2007a), 111–16.
one’s joy, with the most reverent one’s reverence’; 36. 6 sraēstām at tōi kohṛpēm kohṛpām ... bareziṣṭom barazimanām, ‘fairest body of thy bodies ... highest of the high’; 39. 5 vajhēuṣ x’ētēuṣ x’ētētē, ‘with a good clan’s clanship’.

386. A noun or adjective may be used twice in close association in different cases (polyptoton), usually expressing matched or reciprocal relationship: 31. 17 vidūvā vidūvē mraotū, ‘let the knowing one speak to the knowing one’; 46. 2 hīat friīo friīā daidīt, ‘as a friend would give to a friend’; 46. 6 huūō zī drōguū, yē drōguūātē vahīstō, huūō aśaunā, yahmāi aśauuā friīō, ‘for he is wrongful who is good to the wrongful one; he is righteous, who has a righteous one as friend’; 53. 4 aśāuṇī aśauuabītō, ‘a righteous woman (serving) the righteous’; 46. 18 āstāṅg ahmāi yē nā āstāā daidītā, ‘hostilities on him who would subject us to hostility’, cf. YH 36. 1; 53. 5 aniiō ainim viuūṅghatū, ‘let one vie with another’; YH 35. 10, quoted in §91.

387. Polyptoton may also express accumulation, as in 43. 2 x’ādrōi ā nā x’ādrem daidītā, ‘a man might add well-being to well-being for himself’.

388. Further examples of the deliberate association of related terms (paronomasia): 28. 8 vahīstēm ḥēkā, vahīstā, yēm aśā vahīstā hazaaōōm ahuṇem, yāsā, ‘for the best gift, O best one, I pray thee, the Lord of one mind with best Right’; 43. 10 parāścācā nā, yā tōi əhmā parāstā, parāstōm zī ḥēkā ..., ‘and ask us what thou hast to ask us, for what is asked by thee ...’; 44. 1 namāphō ā, yāṭā nemē xśmāuutō, ‘(I ask) out of reverence, how (is the proper) reverence of your kind’; 45. 11 yas.tā daēhuēng aparō maśiiaqscā tarēmaatā yōi im tarēmainian-tā, ‘whoever so follows us in scorning the Daevas and mortals who scorn him’; YH 38. 3 frauzaazēphō Ahurānīs Ahurāhīiā hauuapaṅgā, ‘the Lord’s Wives that speed on by the Lord’s artistry’.

Anaphora

389. Anaphora, the repetition of a word (with or without morphological variation) in successive parallel clauses or phrases, is very common. The repetition is usually twofold or threefold, but can be more. The repeated element is usually initial in the clause or phrase.

Examples: 28. 6–7, quoted in §343; 28. 11 ḥēhmaṭ vaocajēhē mainiīuṣ ha-cā, ḥēkā əsāghā, ‘to voice in line with thy will, through thy mouth’; 31. 9 ḥōōi as ārmaitēs, ḥēkā ᡮōuṣ taśā as xruuṭuṣ mainiīuṣ, ‘thine was piety, thine was the cow-fashioner sapience of will’ (note the repetition of as, contrary to §370); 32. 5 hīat vā akā manalāhē yēŋ daēhuēng akāṣcu mainiīuṣ, akā śiiaōōnom vacapā yā ..., ‘as by evil thought the Evil Will also (lures) you who are Daevas, (and) by the evil speech with which ...’; 45. 1 nū gūśōdūm, nū sraotā ... nū im vispā.

9 Skjærvø 147–9.
ciôrô ẑi, mazdâŋûdûm, ‘now listen, now hear, now all take it to heart, for it is clear’; 46. 11 yông ẑa uruûû ẑa-eçû xraoat ẑa-eñû, ‘whom their own soul and their own moral self will torment’; 49. 7 taṭâv vohû, Mazdâ, sraotû manâŋhâ, sraotû aṣâ, ‘let a man hear this too with Good Thought, Mazdâ, let him hear it with Right’.

YH 35. 8 Ašahiî ẑa ẑaî saîrî, Ašahiî vârezânê, ‘in union with Right, in the community of Right’; 36. 4, quoted in §394; 36. 5 vîspâiś ẑbâ humataîs, vîspâiś hûxtâiś, vîspâiś hûurâstâiś pâri-jasâmâmê, ‘with all good thoughts, with all good words, with all good deeds we attend thee’; 37. 5 vohucâ manô yazâmâmê yo-hucâ xšâûrâm vâpîmâmca daënâm vâpîmâmca fšûratâm vâpîmâmca ārmâmî, ‘Good Thought we worship, and good Dominion, and good Morality, and good Respect(?) and good Piety’, cf. 38. 3; 39. 5; 40. 4 ẑa ẑaî eûtis, ẑa ẑaî vârezânê, ẑa ẑa ẑaî haxâmâm xiîti yâiš hiscâmâmê, ẑa ẑa vû uti xiîmâm, ‘so may it be with the clan, so with the communities, so with the societies we associate with, so also may it be with us for you’.

390. Some particular recurrent usages may be listed here separately.

Anaphora with the negative particle: 29. 5 nôît arêjîjîtî fârîjîaîtî, nôît fshüînêntî dreguwaśû pâriî ‘is there no prospect for the righteous-living one, none for the stockraiser among the wrongfull?’; 44. 13 yôi … nôît Ašahiî ẑa-dîuiûieîntî hacênû, nôît frasaiî Vâyâhûs cânâmô Manahî, ‘who do not strive for the companionship of Right, (and) have not had the pleasure of consulting Good Thought’; 45. 2 nôît nâ manû, nôît sôngâhû, nôît xratâuûû, naêdû vârenû, nôît uvû, naêdû šîuauûnû, nôît daênû, nôît uruûqûnû hacânîntî, ‘not our thoughts, not our pronouncements, not our intellects, nor our choices, not our words, nor our deeds, nor our moralities, not our souls, are in accord’.

With demonstrative pronouns: 32. 1, quoted in §318; 45. 8–10 tôm nô stâotâiś namângô ẑa vîyuûraśô | nû zî iy âsâmâmî vi-ûdaraśam … || tôm nô vohû maț manângô cixsûnûšô … || tôm nô yasnaś ārmâmîs mîmâyênô, ‘him I seeking to envelop in our reverent praises have just now discerned in my eye … seeking to make him, together with Good Thought, pleased with us … seeking to magnify him with piety’s acts of worship’ (note the parallelism of the three desiderative participles); 48. 6 hâ zî [nâ] huśôtâmû, hâ nô utaiûûtî daṭ tuauûsî … at âxîîtî Ašâ Mazdâ uruûrûrû vaxsât, ‘for she it is that gives us easy living, she too vitality and strength … and for her Mazdâ with Right was to grow the plants’; 51. 18 tân cîstîm Dôjâmâspô … vârentê, tât xšâûrâm Manahî Vâyâhûs vîdî, ‘that insight Djamaaspa chooses to find, that realm of Good Thought’; YH 38. 4 yâ vû, vâyûhîs, Ahûrô Mazdâ nâmâm dadât, tâsû vâ yazâmâmê, tâsû frîiûmâmît, tâsû namaxûiûmâmît, tâsû isûûdiûmâmît, ‘the names that Lord Mazdâ gave you, Good Ones, with them we worship you, with them we propitiate, with them we reverence, with them we give thanks’.

Parallel questions with the same or different interrogative words: 29. 1 kahmûî mû ẑbârûzûdûm? kô mû taśaṭ? ‘for whom did you shape me? Who made me?’; 44. 3–7, a long series of questions: note in particular 5 kô huupàpô … daṭ
... kō huapā ... dāt ...? ‘what skilful artificer made ... what skilful artificer made ...?’; 48. 8, 9–11; 49. 12.

With two interrogatives in a single sentence: 46. 1 kṃm namōi zam, kudrā namōi aienī? ‘what land for refuge, where am I to go for refuge?’; 49. 7 kā airiāmā, kō x'ætuš dātaiš aŋhā, ‘what tribe, what clan will it be by (thy) ordinances?’; 50. 1 kō mōi pasuš, kā mōnā ōṛātā vistō? ‘who has been found as my cattle’s, who as my own protector?’; 51. 4, quoted in §371; 51. 11, quoted in §370.

391. Parallel dependent clauses may be linked in series by anaphora.

Relative clauses: 28. 2–3, see §367; 32. 7 aESLm aEnaMhLm ... yA jOiiA sVNghaitE, yAiS srAwI XaEnA aiiaMhA, yaESLm tU ... irixtvm ... WaEdiStO ahI, ‘of such offences which are decreed mortal, for which one is tried by the glowing metal, (and) of whose consequences thou art the paramount provider’; 32. 11 taecīt mā mōrendān jiiōtīm, vōi droguintō mazbīs cıkōtěrāš ... vōi vahīštāt ašānu ... rārāišān manavō, ‘those are they who pervert life, the wrongfull who with the grandees have distinguished themselves ..., who will divert the righteous from best thought’; 46. 16 yaḏrā Ašā haćaitē Ārmaitiš, | yaḏrā vaŋh-
ūš manavō īštā xšaṭrom, | yaḏrā Mazdā vāraṃdōmš šaċitū Ahurō, ‘to where Piety is together with Right, to where Good Thought’s realm is at one’s disposal, to where Lord Mazdā abides in abundance’.

Temporal clauses: 31. 11 hiiaT nō, Mazdā, paouruım gaēdāscā tašō daēnāscā | ðībā manavō xratušcā, hiiaT astuvaumt daďa uštanom, | hiiaT šīiaobnāscā sōnghaścā, ‘since first, Mazdā, thou didst fashion our living bodies and moral selves with thy thought, and our intellects, since thou gavest bodily vitality, since (thou gavest) actions and pronouncements’.

392. Related to anaphora is the effect produced by the co-ordination of words sharing the same prefix: 46. 2 mā kammaʃṣuwa hīaṭcā kamnānā ahmī, ‘from my poverty in herds and because I am poor in men’; 49. 11 duʃsxₐdṛŋng duʃṣiaobnēng duʃtuacahyō duʃdaënēng duʃmanavō, ‘ill-dominioned, ill-actioned, ill-speaking, ill-moralled, ill-thinking’; YH 35. 2 humatenq hūxtanq huurastanq, ‘of good thoughts, good words, good deeds’; 38. 3 huʃramdōʃscā va huuqyžadāscā huśnadrāscā, ‘you of good fording, of good current, of good bathing-pools’; 39. 3 yauuačiʃiʃ yauuaa’suʃu, ‘the ever-living, the ever-blessing’; 40. 3 naʃ ... aʃānu ... aʃacinaŋhō ... haxmaine ahmaibīa ah-māraʃenāŋhō, ‘men, right-doers (and) right-seekers ... for association with us, supporters of us’.

393. Parallel sentences with matching elements: YH 36. 3 aṭarş vōi Mazdā Ahu-
raḥiʃ aẖi, mainiuš vōi aẖiʃ spōniʃtō aẖi, ‘truly, the fire of Lord Mazdā art thou; truly, his most bounteous will art thou’.

10 Stanza 4 again begins with a yē ‘I who’, appearing to continue the anaphora, but it starts a new sentence and the relative clause depends on a new main verb.
Augmented triads

394. In the section on word order attention was drawn to the principle that shorter elements tend to precede longer ones (§336). A special figure embodying this principle is the ‘augmented triad’, in which a colon is made up of three parallel words or phrases of which the third is the bulkiest.11 Sometimes the three members are linked by anaphora.

Examples: 33. 10 yā zī āngharō yāscā hāṇṭi yāscā, Mazdā, bauwainṭī, ‘which have been and which are and which, Mazdā, shall come to be’; 43. 7 ciś ahī? kahiīḥ ahī? kabā aiiārō daxšārā frasaiīāi dīśā …? ‘who art thou? Whose art thou? How mightest thou take a day for questioning?’; 45. 2 nōït nā manā, nōït sēnghā, nōït xratawū, ‘not our thoughts, not our pronouncements, not our intellects’; 48. 8, two one-line questions followed by a two-line question; 49. 1 gaidī mōī, ā mōī rapā, ahiīā Vohū aosō vidā Manajhā, ‘come to me, support me, devise his destruction with Good Thought’.

YH 36. 4 vohū ḍhā manaṇyāh, vohū ḍhā aṣā, vaŋhuṅṭā ḍhā ciśtoīš śīiaobhṇaśīcā vacōbīścā pairijasāmaidē, ‘with good thought, with good Right, with good insight’s deeds and words we attend thee’; 37. 2 ahiīā xšaṭrācā mazōnācā hauwa-pajhāścā, ‘through his dominion and greatness and artistry and’; 38. 5 apascā vā aziścā vā māṭerāscā vā … āūuocāmā, ‘as the Waters, as the Milch Cows, as the Mothers … we will invoke you’; 41. 1 dadamahicā ciśmahicā acā vaēdaiihamhī, ‘we dedicate and assign and proclaim’; 41. 5 aogēmadaeċcā usmahicā vīśāmadaeċcā (4, 4, 5 syllables), ‘we declare ourselves and are willing and stand ready’.

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11 This is a pattern widely found in ancient literatures of Indo-European ancestry: West (2007a), 117–19.
Appendix
The Old Avestan Texts

I give here an edition of the texts, articulated for reading and with a critical apparatus. Information about manuscripts and readings is drawn from the materials in Geldner’s edition for the verse texts and from Narten’s for the *Yasna Hāptahāiti*. I have eliminated the mass of merely orthographical variants and added notice of the most significant modern emendations known to me. From the large number of manuscripts reported by Geldner and Narten I have selected eight as being sufficient to represent the tradition; the best readings transmitted are normally to be found among them. They fall neatly into four families, as follows (Geldner’s sigla in square brackets):

m manuscripts copied by Mitrō-Āpān in 1323, namely:
   B [K5]

h lost manuscript copied by Hōshāng i Siyāvakhsh c. 1478, represented by:
   C [Mf1], copied in 1741
   D [Pt4], copied in 1780

s manuscripts of the Indian Yasna Sade, notably:
   E [H1], not dated
   F [J6], 16th–17th century

v manuscripts of the Persian Vendidad Sade, notably:
   G [Mf2], copied in 1618
   H [Jp1], copied in 1638

I use the siglum ω for the consensus of the manuscripts, and dett. (*deteriores*) for unspecified manuscripts not included in the above selection. A⁺ and A⁻ mean A before or after correction.

A. The Verse Texts

**Yasna 27**

13 yaŋa ahū vairiio, aṯa raτu ø ašaṭciṭ hacā
   vaŋhūuš dazdā manaŋhō šiiəoŋnəŋm aŋḥəuš Mazdāi
   xəaθrəmcā Ahurāiiā, yim drigubiio dadaṭ vāstārəm.
The Old Avestan Texts

Yasna 28

1. ahiā yāsā nəmānḥā ustāna.zastō rafoṟrahiā, Mainiiōu, Mazdā, paourruim Spṇtahiī Ašā, vīspōng, Šīiaōnā, Vahēu xratūn Mananhō yā xšnəuiišā gəuşcā uruuānɒm,

2. yā vā, Mazdā Ahūrā, pairi.jasāi vohū mananhā, maibiō ŋōuōi ahuuā, astuuatsacā hiiātca mananhō, āiāptā ašāt hacā, yaiš raŋtō daidīt x'āthrē;

3. yā vā Ašā ufiāi Manacac Vohū apauruuim Mazdāṃcā Ahūrəm, yaēibiiō xšaūrəmcā aγzəonuuəməm varədaitī Ārmaitiš: ā mōi rafoṛrāi zuuŋŋ jasatā.

4. yā uruuānɒm mōn gairē vohū dādē haṯrē mananhā, ašīscā Šīiaōnənəm ŋīduš Mazdā Ahūrhiīā, yauuət isiō tauuācā, auuət xsāi aešē Ašahiīā.

5. Ašā, kā tōba darəsānī, manacac vohū vaēdənnō gātuċcā Ahūrā1 souuīstāi sraoošm Mazdāi? anā məḍrē mazištuem vəurōimaidī xraʃtə hizuuā.

6. Vohū gaidī Manahnā, dādī Ašā dā darəgāiiū oɾəuuaišt ŋū uʃdaii, Mazdā, Zaraŋuštərai aojōnghuuət raʃənō ahmaibiiacā, Ahūrə, yā daišišuutō duuəcā tauruuəiāmā.

7. dādī, Ašā, ŋam aʃim, vaŋhōuū āiiaptā mananhō; dādī ŋū, Ārmaitē, Vištaspā išm maibiicā; dāstū, Mazdā, xšaiiicā, yā vō məḍrē sruuuaʃm rādā.

8. vaɦiʃtam ŏba, vaɦiʃtā, yēm Ašā vaɦiʃtə hazaoəm Ahūrəm, yāsā vāυuu šarōi Fraŋsostrai maibiicacā yaēbiiacscā iŋ rāŋhənhoi vīspāi yauuē vaŋhūuʃ mananho.

9. anāiś vā nōiś, Ahūrə [Mazdā],2 Ašmcac yānáiš zaranaēmə Manacsc hiiat vaɦiʃtəm, yōi vā yōiəmə dasəmə tståtm: yūzəm zuuiiştiiāŋhō; išo xšaūrəmcə sauuaŋhəm.

10. at yōŋ aʃaŋtscā vōist vaŋhōuʃcā dṇǒŋg mananho orəbh Şang, Mazdā Ahūrə, aēbiiō pərənə Šapanəiš kəməm; at və [xšmaibiicə]3 asũnə vaєdā x'araiʃtiiə vaiʃtiiə srəuuə.

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1 ahurāiiā Gippert
2 [ ] Andreas–Wackernagel
3 [ ] Wackernagel
A. The Verse Texts

1 Yasna 29

11 yā āiš āṣem ni.pāṇhē manascā vohū yauuaētāitē, tūuēm, Mazdā Ahurā, frō mā sišā ḫbahmāt vaocaŋhē mainiiuš hacā ḫbā ḫāṅhā, yāiš ā aŋhuu paouruioi bauuaṭ.

Yasna 29


2 adā tāšā gōuš pəsəsāt Aṣem: “kādā tōi gauuōi rətu, hiiət hīm dətā xšaiəntō? hədā vəstrā gaodāiiō ḫbəxšō: kəm hōi ustā ahuroən, yō drəguuədəbiš ačšəməm vədaiiōity?”

3 ahmāi Ašā, nōi t səraŋā, aduuəxšō gauuōi, paiti.mruuaat: “auuaēcəm nōi t viduiiiē; yə šauuaiteit ādrəŋg əɾəʃuuənhō, hətəm huuō aojiʃtō, yahmāi zuuuəng jəin kəɾəduşā,

4 “Mazdā, səxərəs məriiʃtō, yə zī vəuuərəzəi pairi.ciuiit daêuuaiišcā maʃiiaiišcā, yəcā vərəshiitē aip.i.ciiit. huuıcıvı ahurō: aūā [nəō]⁹ anhət, yədā huuō vasət.”

5 aṭ və ustənāiš ā huuā⁷ zəstāiš frinənnmā Ahurāiiā, mā uruuā gōušcā aziίā, hiiət Mazdəm duuaidi frəsəbiio: “nōi t əɾəʃəjiioi frəjiiiiitiiš, nōi t fʃuiiəntē drəguuaasū pairi?”

6 atē⁸ vaocaṭ Ahurō Mazdā vɨduuā vafuš vιiənaiiā: “nōi t aəuua ahū vıstō naëdā rətu səʃəciit hacā; aṭ zī ḫbā fʃuiiəntəcā vəstriiiiicā Əbəɾəʃtā tataiā.”

7 təm azuutoiš Ahurō maʃərom təsət Ašā hazəoʃō Mazdā gauuōi xʃuuudəmcā; huuō uruuaebiiuop şənto səsnaiiā. kas.tē vohū manəmphā yō i dəiiāt əəuua maɾətəebiiioi?

8 “aṃ mōi idā vıstō, yō nō aəuua səsnā gūʃətā, Zaraɬuʃtər Spitoəmō: huuō nō mazdā⁹ vaştī Aʃaicā carəkəɾəʃrə sruuaaiiʃənə, hiiət hōi hudəməm diiāi vəxəɾəraiiiā.”

9 atčā gōuš uruuā raostā, “yə anaəeɨm xʃənnmən rədom, vəcam nəɾəʃ asərahiiā, yəm ā vasəmī išā.xʃaʃrīm.¹⁰ kadā yauuā huuō anhət, yō hōi dədaʃ zəstəuuaṭ aauuō?”

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⁴ [ ] Andreas–Wackernagel
⁵ [ ] Andreas–Wackernagel: aṭ mōi Bartholomae
⁶ [ ] Andreas–Wackernagel
⁷ Kellens–Pirart: ahuuā D s v: ahuuā m C
⁸ Insler: aṭ ā fere oō
⁹ dett.: mazdā oō
¹⁰ h F G: xʃəʃtrom m E
“yůzhêm aëibiîô, Ahurâ, aogô dátâ ašâ xṣaôrômçâ auuât yohû mananîhâ, yâ huṣêtîš râmâmcâ dât: azômciṭ ahîiâ, Mazdâ, Ûbûm môjîh paouruûim vaêdêm.”

kudâ ašôm vo hôcâ manô xṣaôrômçâ? ât mâm ašâ11 yûžêm, Mazdâ, frâxšnêrê mazôi magâiîâ paitî.zânâtâ. Ahurâ, nû nâ auuarâ, òhmâ râtôiš yûśmâuuatatm.

**Yasna 30**

1 aṭ tâ vaxšiâ, išêntô, yâ mazdârô ôhîaçît vydûšê, staotâcâ Ahurâî12 yesniâcâ Vanhâuš Mananîhô humâzdrâ Aṣâieçâ, yâ raoçbîš darôsatâ uruâzâ.

2 sraotâ gôûšâiš vahîštâ, à vâenâtâ sûcâ mananîhâ à varônâ vicîfâmihîh narêm narêm x’axiîhî tanuîiê parâ mazô yânhô, ahmâï [nê]13 sazdiîai baoãnôtô paitî.

3 aṭ tâ mainiûi, paouruiiê yâ yêmâ x’afênâ asruuâtom, manahi[câ]14 vacahîcâ šiaofânôi hi, vahîiî akômcâ; âscâ hudânhô ôroš vi.šiâtà, nôiṭ duždânôhô.

4 aṭçâ hiaç tà hêm mainiûit jasaëtôm paouruuîm, dazdê gaêmçâ ajîiâitîmcâ, yaðâ[câ]15 anhaç apômêm aňhuš: acîštô drûguuâtâm, aṭ ašâûné vahîštôm manô.

5 aïiâ mainiuûuâ varôtâ yô drûguûâ aćištâ vôrëziô, aṣôm mainiûiš spôništô, yô xraôždištông asôño vastê, yaêcâ xštôaošê Anhûm haðîiâïîš šiaofânôiš frôrâç Mazdâm.

6 aïiâ nôiṭ ôrôš vi.šiâtà daçuuûcinâ, hiaç îiš às ðébaomâ pôrûsmônô16 upâ jasaç, hiaç vârônâtâ aćištôm manô, aṭ aëšêmêm hên.duûárëntâ, yâ ðanìiùin ahûm marûtânô.

7 ahmâïcâ xṣaôrâ jasaç mananîhô vohû ašâçâ, aṭ kahrpôm utaiûûitiš dâtçât, âmaitìš âmôû; aëšâm tôî à anhaç yaðô [aiañhô]17 âdânàïîš paouruûiîô.

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11 Lommel: mà mašâ òô
12 ahurâiiä Gippert: ahurâiiâ Lommel
13 [] Kuiper
14 [] Bartholomae
15 [] Andreas–Wackernagel
16 Kellens–Pirart: porosmanông ferë òô
17 [] Kuiper
A. The Verse Texts

8 ațcā yadā aēšaṃ kaēnā jamaītī aēnaŋhaṃ,
aṭ, Mazdā, taibiiō xşaṭrəṃ vohū manaŋhā vöiuudāite\textsuperscript{18} aēbiīiō sastē, Ahurā, yōi Aṣāi dadən\textsuperscript{19} zastaiīō Drujəm.

9 ațcā tōi vaēm xiiāmā yōi īm frašām kərənāun ahūm,
Mazdāscā Ahurāŋhə ə.moiiastrə.baranə Ašācā,
hiiaț haṭrə manā buuə yaṭrə cistiś aŋhaṭ\textsuperscript{20} maēdā.

10 adā zī auua Drūjō [auuō] buuaitī skəndō spaiia³hraiiā, aț āsiśtā yaojaņtē ā hušitōiš Vaihōuš Maŋhaŋhō Mazdā Ašaxiiācā, yōi zazəntī vəŋhāu srauahī.

11 hiiaț tā uruuātā sašāə\textsuperscript{21} yā Mazdā dadāt, maṣiiəŋhō,
xiiicā ənəitī, hiiațcā darəgəm drəguůōdəbiiō raśō sauuacā așauubiiō, aț aipī tāiș aŋhaitī uštā.

\textit{Yasna 31}

1 tā vā uruuātā maroŋtō aguštā vacā səŋghāmahī aēbiīiō yōi uruuātaiś Drūjō Ašahiā gaēdā ví.məŋcaitē, ațcīt aēbiīiō vahistā yōi zrazdā aŋhən Mazdāi.

2 yezī āiś nōi uruuānē aduuā\textsuperscript{22} aibī.dərəʃtā vaxiiā, aț vā vispəng ā <a>iōi,\textsuperscript{23} yāṭā ratūm Ahurō vaēdā Mazdā aiiā aśaiā, yā așāt hacā juuamahī.

3 yəm dā mainiūu āṭrācā așācā cōiś rənōbiiā xənūtōm,
hiiaț uruuatōm cəzdoŋhuuadəbiiō, tāt nō, Mazdā, viduuanōi vaocā hizuuā ťəbəhiiū aŋhō, yā juuántō vISPəng vəuriiā.

4 yadā Aṣəm sauuiūm aŋhən Mazdāscā Ahurāŋhō Ašicā Ārmaitī, vahistā išsā manaŋhā maibiiō xşaṭrəm aojəŋhuuat, yehiiā vərədā vanaēmā Drujəm.

5 tət mōi vī.cidiiai vaocā, hiiaț mōi așā dātā vahiōi,
vıdūiī vohū manaŋhā məncā daiddiiāi, yehiiā mā əɾəʃiš, tācit, Mazdā Ahurā, yā nōiț vā aŋhaṭ aŋhaiti vā.

6 “aṃhəi aŋhaṭ vahiṣtōm, yō mōi viduuā vaocət haiū̃m,
məṭrəm yim hauruuatatō așahiā aməɾə<ta>tātascā,\textsuperscript{24} Mazdāi auuɑt xşaṭrəm, hiiat hōi vohū vaʃət manaŋhā.”

\textsuperscript{18} m: -tī h s ν
\textsuperscript{19} dən Andreas–Wackernagel
\textsuperscript{20} aŋhaitiʔ
\textsuperscript{21} West: sašəhā o
\textsuperscript{22} det., Insler: aduuə o
\textsuperscript{23} < > Meillet
\textsuperscript{24} < > Monna
yas.tâ maântâ paouruiô raocëbiš rõîôbēn xâôtrâ, 
huuû xrafôbâ dâmîs âoêm, yâ dâraiai tâ vihištêm manô; 
tâ, Mazdâ, mainiû khûsîiô, yô à nûrômciît, Ahûrâ, hâmô.25

at ûbâ môjhi paouruiûm, Mazdê, yazûm tôî manañhâ, 
vaçhûhs ptarôm manañhô, hiaiât ûbâ hâm cašmainî [hân]graôbêm, 
haarîmô26 ašahiâ màmîm, aghôusû ahûrêm šiiaôñanaêšû.

ûbôi as ârmaitiû, ûbô à gôuû taôâ as xraoûs 
mainiûûs,27 Mazdê Ahûrâ, hiaiât âxhii ôdâ pâôm 
vâstriaît và à ite yô và nôît aqhaï28 vâstriaiô.

at hi aiîa fra.uuara tô vâstrîm âxhiiû fûuiiâmô 
ahûrêm àshauuanêm, vaçhûhs fûaûhiêm manañhô; 
nôît, Mazdê, auuâsstriiô dauuêsçinà humôraîtoîs baxštâ.

hiaiût nô, Mazdê, paouruûm gaéôâscâ taôô daênàscâ 
ûbê manañhê xraoûscâ, hiaiât astuuçantom ôdâ uštânêm, 
hiaiât šiiaôñàcô sôûghàscô, yaôrâ varôông vasô dàiiietê, 
âôrl vàcôm baraitû muîûh.uuaca và oôs.uuaca và, 
vîduuû và auûduuû và, ahiiâ zorôdàcô manañhàcô; 
ânû.s.haxh Ármaitiû mainiû pôësaîteû, yaôrâ maêôhà.

yô frasâ auuiûsiîa, yô và, Mazdê, pôësaêtê tâiûà, 
yô và kasôûs âênañhô à mazištâm [a]yamaîte bûôm, 
tà cašmaûng ûbîsrà hàrô àibhì aûshì [âibhì] vaênahì víspà.

tà ûbê pôêsa, Ahûrâ, yô zi à <aê>îtî29 jônghaticà, 
yô isudô dàdoûtê dàôrañàm hàca aßaûmô 
yàscô Mazdê drêguoûôdôbiìô – yaôhà tô ähôen hênkôrôtê hiaiût.

pôêsa àuuûâh, yô maêniû,30 yô drêguoûâûte xàôrôm bunäiti 
dùûsûiaôfanà, Ahûrâ, yô nôît jiîôtûm hanara vínaòi 
vâstriaiehiià âenàñhô pasôûs víraûçà adrujiîantô.

pôêsa àuuûâh, yaôhà huûô yô hudànuûs dàmanahìià xàôrôm 
soiôrahiià và dàxiiûôs và aûs fradaôäià spôëzatà31 
ûbûuuûs, Mazdê Ahûrâ – ydâ huûô aqhaî yô.šiiaôñascô.

25 yô [â] Roth hâmô C v: haomô m D s
26 hiûm Kellens–Pirart; praestat hiûaum
27 B: ma(i)niûs s, -uS A h v
28 aqhaïtô?
29 < > Bartholomae
30 h v: maïniû s m s
31 Insler. fradaôäî asp– ø
A. The Verse Texts

17 katārēm ašauwā vā drēguuā vā varṇauuatē maziiō? viduua vīduśe mraotū, mā ouūiduua aipī dēbāuuaiat. zdī nē, Mazdā Ahurā, vaŋhēuṣ fradaxštā manahū.

18 mā.cīs aṭ vā druguuato māṭrāscā guśṭā sāsnāscā, ā zī damānum visom vā sōḍīrām vā dāxiūum vā [ā]dāṭ duśitācā marakaēcā; aūā iś sāzdūm snaiḇiśā.

19 guśṭā yō maṇṭā aṃwm ahūm.biś viduua, Ahurā, orō.uxdāi vacaṅham xšaiāmno hizuuō vasō ẞβa aṭhrā suxrā, Mazdā, vaŋhāu vidātā raṇaiā.

20 yō aiiaṭ₃² aśauuanoṃ, diuuuamnoṃ hōi aparōṃ xšaiō; dāreōm aiiū tōmaṇhō, duśx'arōṭōm, auuaētās vacō, tēm vā ahūm, drēguuantoṭ, ſiiaoḏanaĩs x'āiś daēnā naešaṭ.

21 Mazdā dadāṭ₃₃ Ahurō hauruuāto amoṃ<ta>tāsca₃₄ buryōi a ašaxiācā x'āpāiiiaṭ xšārəhiiā sarō<i>₃₅ vaŋhēuš vazduuarō manahū, yō hōi mainiiū ſiiaoḏniisca uruuūō.

22 ciṭra i hudāḥhē, yaṭōnā vaḍdaṃnāi manaṇhā; vohū huuō xšārḥa aṃwm vacaṅhā ſiiaoḏanacā haptī. huuō töi, Mazdā Ahurā, vāziṣṭō aŋhāiī astīṣ.

Yaṣṇa 32

1 ašiācā x'āetuṣ ſaṣaṭ, ahiiā voreōnem maṭ airiāmnā, ahiiā daēuua mahmi manōi,₃₆ Ahurahiīa uruūaṃmā Mazdā: “ẞβoi dūtāhō ṣṭhāmā, tēng daraiiō₃₇ yōi vā daiibisēntī”: icks

2 aibīiō Mazdā Ahuro sārōmnō Vohū Manahū xšārəṭ hacā paii.mraoṭ. Aṣḥ huax.haxā x'ānuuātā, “spēntām vō ārmaitim vāyūm varaṃmaıtī; há nō aŋhaṭ.”

3 aṭ yuś daēuua vispāhū Akāṭ Manahū stā ciṭrōṃ, yascā vā maṣ yazaiiē, Drūjascā Pāirīmaṭīiścā; ſiiaomāṃ aipī daibītanā, yaiś asrūdūm₃₈ būmiā haptaiibiē, icks

4 yuś yuś tā fra.mimadā, yā maṣiāa aćištā daṇṭō vaxšəptē daēuuō.żuṣṭā, vaŋhēuṣ sīzdiiāmnā manahū, Mazdā Ahurahiīa xratōuṣ nasiiāntō Aṣāaṭcā.

₃² aiiaṭ m h v: dāiiaṭ s
₃₃ dadaṭ A'B' s G
₃₄ <> Andreas–Wackernagel
₃₅ <> West
₃₆ mnōi Andreas–Wackernagel
₃₇ Humbach: dāraīīō ω
₃₈ vel a sruūdūm
5 tā dəbənaotā mašim hujiātōiš amərə<ta>tātscă,39 hiiat tā akā manaŋha yōng daeʉuŋ akască mainiuš, akā šiiaothəm vacaŋha yā fra.cinas drəguuətəm xəaiiō.

6 pourū aēnā ēnəxšiā yāiš srauahuieiti, yezi tāiš aūha, hātā maranē Ahurā, vahistī vōistā manaŋha; ōbahmō vā,40 Mazdā, xəaðroi Ašāiieca41 səŋghō vi.dām.

7 aēšam aēŋaŋham naē.eišt viduua aojōi hádrōiīa, yā joiiā səŋghaitē,42 yāiš srauuī x′āenā aiaŋha, yaēšam tū, Ahurā, irixtēm, Mazdā, vaedīštō ahi.

8 aēšam aēŋaŋham Viuuaŋhušuș srauuī Yimascišt, yō mašiōŋ cixšnušo ahmākōŋ gōuš43 bagā x′ārəmnō. aēšameišt a ahmi ōbahmī, Mazdā, vičiðōi aipī.

9 dušsastīš srauuā mōrəndat, huuō jiiātōuš sōŋghanāiš xratūm;44 apō mā īṣtim [apa]yanṭa bōrəxšuṃ hātim Vāŋhauš Mananŋho. tā uxdā mainišuș mahiia, Mazdā, Ašāiicā yūšmaibiišt45 gərəzē.

10 huuō mā nā srauuā mōrəndat, yō ačīstōm vaēnaŋhe aogōdā gəm ašibiia huuarəcēa, yasça dādōŋ drəguuətō dādāt, yasça vāstrā vi.uuāpaṭ, yasça vadarō vōiždāt aśāunē.

11 taēcīt mā mōrəndon jiiōtūm, yōi drəguuəntō46 mazbīsh cikōityrōṣ aŋ′hīśčā aŋhauuauscā apaiiciit raēxənaŋhō vaedōm, yōi vahistat ašaunō, Mazdā, rārəsiiŋ manaŋhō.

12 yā rāŋhāiion srauuahā vahistat šiiaəθanāt marətānō, aēbiśl Mazdā akā mraoī, yōi gōuš mōrəndon uruuāxs.uxtī jiiōtūm, yāiš grəhmō aṣaṭ varto Karpā xəaðromcă išanəm Drujom:

13 yā47 xəaðra grəhmō hišasaŋ Acištahiiā domānē Mananŋhō, aŋhauš marəxtārō ahiia, yaečă, Mazdā, jīgəraŋ kāmē ōbahiiā mātrənō dutūm, yō iš pāt darəsāt Ašahiiā.

14 ahiia grəhmō ā.hōiōēi nī Kāuuaiiascīt xratūš [nī] daət vəɾəcāhića fraidiuuā, hiiat višoŋtā drəguuəntəm auuō, hiiatcă gauš jaidiiāi mraoi, yō dūraošəm saocaiiaŋ t′auuō.48

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39 < > Monna
40 vī m
41 Kellens–Pirart; ašaēcă m h: ašaică s v
42 sōŋghaitē s
43 Andreas–Wackernagel; gauš ō
44 m h v: xratū s
45 xšmaibiišt Kellens
46 D s H; drəguuətō m C
47 yaiš B
A. The Verse Texts

15 anāiš ā vi.nānasā yā Karəpētāscā Kapuítāscā.
   auuāiš aibi49 yōng daiṇṭi, nōṭ jiiāṭāuš xšaiamnōŋ vasō, 
   tōi ābiiā baariiāntē Vaŋhōuš ā dōmānē Manāṅhō.

16 hamēm tāt vahīştācit, yē uṣuruiié siascīt dahmahiiā 
   xšaiqās, Mazdā Ahurā, yehiā mà aifīścīt duuaēthā. 
   hīiaq āēnhē drēguatātō, ûēnū iśiiēŋ fāŋhāiia. 50

Yasna 33

1 yaḏā āiš, ībā varēšaitē, yā dātā aŋhōuš paouruiiehiiā 
   raṭuś,51 ŝiiaōtnā rāziśtā drēguuataēcā hīiaqācā aśāune 
   yeśiācā hōm.iiāsaitē miōhiiā yācā hōi ārēzuūā.

2 aṭ yē akōm drēguuaitē vacaŋhā vā aṭ vā mananāhā 
   zastōibiiā vā varēsaiti, vaŋhāu vō cōiīaitē astīm, 
   tōi vārāi32 rādēntī, Ahurahiīā zaośe Mazdā.

3 yē aśāune vahīštō xʿaṭētū vā aṭ vā varēzāniiō 
   airīiamnā vā, Ahurā, vīdās vā ŭbaxšāŋhā gauūoi, 
   aṭ huuō Ašahiīā aŋhaṭ Vaŋhōušcā vāstrē Mananōhō.

4 yē ŭbāt, Mazdā, asruśtīm akōmcā manō yazāī āpā 
   xʿaṭētušcā tārēmaītīm vērēzānaxiīcā nazdiśtām Drujōm 
   airīiamnascā nadōntō gūušcā vāstrāt acīstōm maṃtūm,

5 yas.tē vīspā.maziśtēm sraōšem zbaiīā auaŋḥānē 
   apānō darōgō.jiiāitīm ā xšanōm vaŋhōuš mananōh, 
   aśāt ā ərēzuš paθō, yaesū Mazdā Ahurō šaicīti,

6 yē zaotā ašā orazuš, huuō mainiiουš ā vahīštāt kaiiā 
   ahmat, auuā mananāhā yā vērēziiiediiāi maṇtā vāstriīā, 
   tā tōi iziīā, Ahurā Mazdā, darītōiscā hōm.parītōiscā.

7 ā mā [ā]idūm, vahīštā, ā xʿaifiiīiacā, Mazdā, darōsatcā 
   aśā vohū mananāhā, yā sruiiē parō magāunō; 
   āuuiš nā anṭarō hēntū nēmaxʿaitiš ciōrā rātaiiō.

8 frō moi [fra]uōıdzūm arōθā tā, yā vohū šiiauuai mananāhā, 
   yasnem, Mazdā, xšmauuatō, aṭ vā53 aśā staomiīā vacā. 
   dātā vē amərtāscā utauiiūtī hauruuātās draŋō.

48 ex versu priore male repetitum: fort. haomēm
49 m lh: aipi s v
50 fort. āŋhāiia(a)ā
51 ratuš A s: ratuš B h v
52 vārāiiā Bartholomae
53 F v: vā m h E
The Old Avestan Texts

9 aţtō, Mazdā, tēm mainiium aşā uxsaiianṭen54 sarəidiiiaiiali x’ābrā maedē maia vahišta barētū manaŋhāa:
aīā ārōi hākurōnem, yaiiā hačintē uruqanō.

10 vispās tā55 hujitaīiiō yā zī áŋharā yāscā hāŋtī
yāscā, Mazdā, baauaintī, Ūβahmi hiš zaošē ā.baxšōhhuā; vohū uxsiiia manaŋhā x’ābrā ašācā uštā tanūm.

11 yā sōuuistå ahurō Mazdāscā, Ārmaitiścā
Ašəmcā fradať gaethem Manascā Vohū Xṣaṛomcā, srōtā mói, məoreḏdātā mói ādāi kahiiaćī56 paitī.

12 us mói [uz]ārāšuuā, Ahurā, Ārmaiti tuuiiştīm dasuuā,
spāništā mainiūū, Mazdā, vaŋhuiiā zauūō ādā,
asā hazō ōmauaṭ, vohū manaŋhā fšeratūm.

13 raf'ōrāi, vouru.cašānē, dōiśī mói yā vō ā bīfrā,57
tā x’ṣafrahiīā, Ahurā, yā vaŋhūuś ašiś manaŋhō;
frō, spōntā Ārmaitē, aśa dāēnā [fra]daxšāiiā.

14 aţ rātām Zaraṭuṣtrō tanuuaścī ĺ’x’aixīiā uštānom
dadāiūtī, pauuutatātom manaŋhascā vaŋhūuś Mazdāi
šiiauōnāhiīā Ašāiācā uxdaxxiācā, srāošem x’ṣaṛomcā.

Yasna 34

1 yā šiiauōnā, yā vaŋcaŋhā, yā yasnā aṃoreṭatātātām
ašəmcā taibiiō dāŋhā, Mazdā, x’ṣaṛomcā hauruuātātō,
aēšām tōi, Ahurā, ōhmā pouruṭomāi īšt dāstē.

2 ațcā i tōi manaŋhā mainiūuścā vaŋhūuś vispā dātā
spōntaxxiiaścā nareš šiiauōnā, yehiiā uruuaū aşā hačaitē,
pairī. gaethē xšmāuuatō vahmē, Mazdā, garōbīš stūtām.

3 aţ tōi mィiazdōm, Ahurā, nəmanhā Ašāicā dāmā
gaeḇē vispā ā xṣafrōi, yā vohū ūraoštā manaŋhā;
ārōi zī hudāŋhō vispāiś, Mazdā, xšmāuuasū sauūō.

4 aţ tōi ātrūm, Ahurā, açoŋhuantēm Ashton aśa usōmahi
aš.īstīm ōmauuńtēm tōi rapante cīfrah. auuŋhēm,
āt, Mazdā, daibiiiaiitē zastā.ištāiś dəreštā. aṇnaŋhēm.

54 West: ašaوخšaiianτā ω
55 West: vispā tōi ω
56 D E: kahiiaćīt B F ν
57 West: abifrā ω
A. The Verse Texts

5 kaṭ və xshaṭrəm, kə ḫistiš ṣiiaoṭñai,
Mazdā, hiiat a və ahmī,
aṣā vohu mananhpā ūrāiioidiici drigum yushmākəm?
"parə və vispəiš [parə] vaoxmā daçuuaïiscā xrafrstrāi šaṣiiäiscā."

6 yezi aṭā stā haiṭim, Mazdā Aṣā Vohu Manaḥpā,
ət tət mōi daxštəm dātā ahišān həvə maēfāa,
vaṭā və yazəmnascā uruuaiidiici stauuuas aieni paiti.

7 kuṭrā tōi arədrā, Mazdā, yōi vənghōsu vədənən mananhpō
sōnghūs raехnā aspəničt sādracīt caxraiio uṣururū?
nač.cim tōm aniičm yuṣmaτ vədədā aṣa; aṭā nā ūrāzdūm.

8 tāiš zi nā šiiatoṅnaiši biaianti, yaṣṣiš as pairi pouru>biiš iũtiej, hiiat aš.aojā nāidiiaŋhom, ŏbahii, Mazdā, āstā uruuatahiiaii;
yōi nōi aṣam mainiianţa, aēbiiō dūirē vohu as manō.

9 yōi spəntəm ārmaitim ŏbahii, Mazdā, bərəxčəm vīdušo
duššiiaooñna uua.zaza vənghouš auiistii mananhpō,
aēbiiō maš Aṣā siiiazařtə, yauuaat ahmaq aurunā xrafrstrā.

10 ahišān vənghouš mananhpō šiiatnā vaocat "gorəbatm" huxraruš
spəntamcā Ārmaitim, dəmim viduůu hīusən61 Ašahiā, tācā vispā, Ahurā, ŏbahmi, Mazdā, xəafroii yā62 vōiiuərā.

11 aṭ tōi ubē hauruuuascā xarə̀hiičii āmoɾətatašcā:
Vənghouš xraβā63 Mananhpō Aṣa maṭ Ārmaitiʃ vaxʃt
utaiiuii təuuiiʃ: tāiš ā, Mazdā, ūviduuæšəm ŏ böi ahiʃ.64

12 kaṭ tōi rāzarā, kaṭ vaʃi, kaṭ və stūtō kaṭ və yasa{nhiiai?
srūidiiaii, Mazdā, fraa.uuaocā, yā vī.dāiiaʃ aʃiʃ rāsəm;
sišā nā aṣa paʃo vənghouʃ xəetəŋ mananhpō:

13 tōm aduuənəm, Ahurā, yōm65 mōi mraoʃ vənghouʃ mananhpō,
daənə aoṣiiiaŋəm yā hū.korətə aʃacii66 uruuaxʃaʃt
hiiat cauiiištə hudabiiio miʃdom, Mazdā, yēhiia tū daθrom.

14 tət zi, Mazdā, vairim astuuaitε uštənaii dətā
vənghouʃ šiiatnā mananhpō, yōi zi gəuʃ vəəzənən aziia:
xəmakam hucistim, Ahurā, xraituʃ aṣa frədu vəəzənən.

---

58 m h: -ṭnā E: -ṭnaiʃ v
59 West: yaṭa vahmī feri f (ahmi F dett.)
60 ahmāt D
61 m C: haiṭam D s v: haiṭiiam? Geldner
62 West: xsafrōi a m h s, xsafrōiίa v
63 B: xsafrā A h s v
64 viduuæšəm Insler, ŏbōiiiaŋh Lommel; cf. §300
65 s v: yə m h
66 m D: aʃacii C s v
The Old Avestan Texts

15 Mazdā, aṯ mōī vahištā srauuāscā šiaiaoṅanācā vaocā, tā tū vohū mananāḥā ašācā iṣudəm sūtō:
xšmākā xšaṛrā, Ahurā, frašəm vsnaḥ haid ياḥt dā ahūṃ.

Yasna 43

1 uṣṭā ahmā, yahmāi uṣṭā kahmāicīt, 
vasā.xšaiās Mazdā dāiiaṯ Ahurō.
uttaiίiिय tūuтивiिग7 gatōi vasmī,
aḵem dərəidiīiāi: tāt mōi dā, Ārmaitē, 
rāiio ašiš, vahhous gaem mananāḥō.

2 aṭcā ahmāi vispaṃ mohištōm 
x’āthrōi nā x’āthrōm daidditā, 
ōbā ciciōbā spānīštā mainiiū, Mazdā, 
yā dā ašā vahhous māiia mananāḥō 
vispā aiirō daragō,jiitōi uruādaŋhā.

3 aṭ hhuō vahhhous vahiōi nā aibī,jamiiaṯ, 
yā nā orazūś sauaŋhō paṭō sōiōt 
ahiia aŋhous astuuaŋtō mananāhscā, 
haiiįiįg āstii, yōŋg ā.śaeti Ahurō, 
aroḍō ōbāuus huζnūu spəntō, Mazdā.

4 aṭ ōbā mōŋhāi taxməmca spəntōm, Mazdā, 
hiiiaṯ tā zastā, yā68 tū hafšī aŭuā 
yā dā ašiš draguuaiiē ašaunacā 
ōbahiiii gaseŋmā aṅro ašā.aojaŋhō, 
hiiiaṯ mōī vahhous hazō jimaṯ mananāḥō.

5 spəntōm aṭ ōbā, Mazdā, mōḥhī, Ahurā, 
hiiiaṯ ōbā aŋhous zəthōi daresəm pauruuim, 
hiiiaṯ dā šiiaon ō mizdaunā yacā uxda, 
akēm akai, varhīm ašim vahhaουue 
ōbā hunarā dɑmoi i uruuaēsē apōmē.

6 yahmī spəntā ōbā mainiiū uruuaēsē jasō 
mazdā69 xšaṛrā, ahmī vohū mananāḥā, 
yehiia šiaioṅnaii gaeŋvā ašā frādəntē, 
aēibiīo ratūs səŋghaitī Ārmaitīš 
ōbahiīii xratōu, yēm nae.ciis dabaiciti.

7 spəntōm aṭ ōbā, Mazdā, mōḥhī, Ahurā, 
hiiiaṯ mā vohū pairi.jàsat mananāḥā

67 tūuтивiिग s: -šim m h v
68 fort. yə <ā>, cf. §300
69 A h: mazdā B s v
A. The Verse Texts

paragraphs

1. Verse Texts

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parasaccma "ciš ahī? kahiiā ahī?
kañā aiārō daxsarā ḍesaiāiā dišā
āiē ḍbāhū gaēḍhāhū tanuśicā?

8

aṭ hōī aoji "Zaraḍuśtrō" paouruūīṁ;
"haiṭiiō duuaeśā hiiat isōiā draguuaite,
aṭ ašāunē rafenō xiiūm aojiŋhuuāt,
hiiat ā būṣtiś vasas.xaṭhrahiā diiā
yauuāt ā ḍbā, Mazdā, stāomi ufiīacā."

9

spontem aṭ ḍbā, Mazdā, mājhi, Ahūrā,
hiiat mā vohū pairī, jasat manahā:
āhīiā frasēm "kahmāi viuūduiīi vaśi?"
adāa "ṭbahmāi ādrē; ṭātṃ nēmāhō
ašahiā mā, yauuāt isāi, maniiāi."

10

aṭ tū mōi dāiś aṣēm, hiiat mā zaozaomi;
ārmaiti hacinmo ḍt ā <ā>-rēm,74
paraśaśa nā, yā75 tōi ēhmā parštā
(parstām zi ḍbā yāšēnā ātā ḍēmāuauantām),76
hiiat ḍbā xśaiās aēśem77 diiāt ḍēmāuauantēm.

11

spontem aṭ ḍbā, Mazdā, mājhi, Ahūrā,
hiiat mā vohū pairī, jasat manahā,
hiiat xśmā udxāiś didaijhel paouruūīm
(sādrā mōi sās mašiaēsū zrādaitiś)
ṣāt voraeiieidiāi, hiiat mōi mraotā vaihištēm;

12

hiiatcā mōi mrāos "aṃom jasō" frāxśnēnē,
aṭ tū mōi nōit asruštā pairī.oṛyā,
uz.iroīidiiāi parā hiiat mōi ā jimat
Sraośō Aṣī māźā.raiā hacinmo,
yā78 vi aśiś rānōībiia79 sauouī [v]dāiāt.

13

spontem aṭ ḍbā, Mazdā, mājhi, Ahūrā,
hiiat mā vohū pairī, jasat manahā,

60 daxsarō Inster
71 forasīiā m
72 tanuśucā Bartholomae tanuucicā Inster
73 adā Inster, aōdā A: aṭ ā ceteri
74 < > Bartholomae
75 fort. yā <ā>, cf. §300
76 ēmāuauatm C v. fort. išonatm
77 h v. aēś(ō)mēm m s
78 yō m
79 C dett.: rānōibiiō m D s v
arəḏā vōiẓdiīāi kāmahiīā tōm mōi dātā
darəgahiīā yaoś, yōm vā naē.cīš dāršt itē,
vairiīa stōīš, yā ūbāhmi xṣaṭrōi vācī.

14  hiiat nā friiāi vaēdēmnō isuuā daidīt,
maibīō, Mazdā, taua ūraṇō frāxšnēnənəm,
hiiat ūbā xṣaṭrā ašāt hacā fr<a> āštā, 
uz.īroiiśiīāi azō sardānā sōṅghahiiā
mā tāiš vīspāiś yōi tōi mātrusted marēnī.

15  spōntəm at ūbā, Mazdā, mājhi, Ahurā,
hiiat mā vohū pairī.jasaț mananāhā:
daxśat ușiīāi tušnā.maitiš vahistiā,
noiś nā pourūš drēguuato xiāt cixšnušo;
at tōi vīspāng angrēng aśaunō ādarō.

16  aț Ahurā, huuo mainiūūm Zarā̆duśtro 
vērentē, Mazdā, yas.tē cišcā spēništō.
astuuaț Ašem xiāt uštānā aojonhuuat;
nox ding darsoī xṣaṭrōi80 xiāt Ārmaitiś;
aśim81 šiaooṭnāiś vohū daidīt mananāhā.

Yasna 44

1  tāt ūbā pērōsā, orōś mōi vaocā, Ahurā,
əmanjho ā, yaṭā nəmō xšmāuuațō;
Mazdā, friiai ūbāuaqs saxiiaţ mauaitē.
āt nē āśā friiā dazdiiāi hákurōnā,
yaṭā nē ā vohū jimaț mananāhā.

2  tāt ūbā pērōsā, orōś mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
kaṭā anhōuš vahistahiiā paouruuim
kāṭō sūdiiāi yē ī paiat<i> īśāt?
huuo zi āśā spōntō irixtəm vīspōiibiiō 
hārö mainiūū ahūm.biś uruuaŋō, Mazdā.

3  tāt ūbā pērōsā, orōś mōi vaocā, Ahurā:
kas.nā zāṭā ptā Așahiīā paouruuio?82
kas.nā x′ōṅg strōmcā dāt aduāņem?
kō yā83 mā uxsiiēiti nərofsaiti ūbāt?
tācīt, Mazdā, vasmī aniiācā viduuiē.

80  fort. xṣaṭrā
81  m h v: ašēm s
82  paouruiiē m
83  fort. yā <ā>, cf. §300

5 tať ñbbä pərəsä, əɾəʃ mōi vaocä, Ahūrā: kō huuəpə rəocəscä dətə toməscä? kō huuəpə xəfnərmčə dətə zəeməcä? kō yā uša arəm.pi professions xəpəcä, yā manəoəriš cazdəŋhuəntəm arəʔəhiiš?

6 tať ñbbä pərəsä, əɾəʃ mōi vaocä, Ahūrā: yā fra. uuaxʃiši yezi tā aθā haiʃiš, “aʃəm šiiaotnaiš dəbaŋəti araŋətiš, taiʃiš xəʃərm vohu əciņa mənaŋhə,” kəcəbiši azim rəniš.skəɾətəm qaʃ taʃō?


8 tať ñbbä pərəsä, əɾəʃ mōi vaocä, Ahūrā: mən. daədiʃiṭi yā tōi, Mazdā, aðiʃtiš yəcä vohu uxədə fraʃi mənaŋhə yəcä aʃə̃ aŋhəuš arəm vəcədiiš.85 kō mō uruuə vohu uruuəxšat a.gmatə?

9 tať ñbbä pərəsä, əɾəʃ mōi vaocä, Ahūrā: kaʃa mōi, yam yəoʃ daŋəm [yəoʃ]dənə, təm86 huɔnəoə puaiš saəiʃək xəʃərəhiiš əɾəʃuəux xəʃərə, ñbbəuuaq aə.iʃtiš, Mazdā, hadəməi aʃə vohuca əsiəs mənaŋhə?

10 tať ñbbä pərəsä, əɾəʃ mōi vaocä, Ahūrā: təm daŋəm, yā hətəm vəhısištə (yā mōi gəещə aʃə frədoŋ həcəmənə), araŋətiš uxəδiʃ əiiaotnə əɾəʃ daədiʃət? maʃiiə cətəiš ñbbə iʃtiš uʃən, Mazdā.

11 tať ñbbä pərəsä, əɾəʃ mōi vaocä, Ahūrā: kaʃa təŋə vəi.jəmiətə araŋətiš,

84 m C v: və(ə)tiš D s
85 m C: -diəi D E v, -əiəi F
86 West: yam əŋ
yaēibiō, Mazdā, ōʾbūi vašiētē daēnā?
ažām tōi āiš paurūiūē; 87 fra.uuūiūūiē;
vīspōng aniiōng mainiūouš spasiā duuaēšaŋhā.

12  ṭat ōba pērēsā, oreš môi vaocā, Ahūrā:
   kā ašauuā, yāiš pērēsāi, draguūā vā?
   katārēm ā, āiēm 88 vā huuō vā angrō?
   “yō mā draguūā ōba sauūā paiṭi.ērētē
   cīaŋhāt, huuō, nōiṭ aiēm, angrō mainiētē.”

13  ṭat ōba pērēsā, oreš môi vaocā, Ahūrā:
   kaṭā Drujēm niš ahmat ā [niš] nāšāmā
   tōng ā auuā, yōi asruštōiš pērēŋaŋhō
   nōiṭ ašahiā ā.diuuiicēnti hacōnā, 89
   nōiṭ frasaiā vaŋhauū cāxnarē manaŋhō?

14  ṭat ōba pērēsā, oreš môi vaocā, Ahūrā:
   kaṭā Aṣāi 90 Drujēm diiām zastaiō,
   nī hīm mērāqḏdīiā ūbahiāi maṯrāiš sōŋhaŋhīiā,
   ūmauaitūm sinām dāuuōi draguuašū,
   ā iš duuaṛsōng, Mazdā, [ā] nāšē qstaṣcā?

15  ṭat ōba pērēsā, oreš môi vaocā, Ahūrā:
   yezi ḥiīāi ašā, pōi maṭ, xšaiiei,
   hiaṭ hōm spādā anaocāŋhā jamaētē
   auuāiš uruuātāiš yā tū, Mazdā, didērėžō,
   kuḥrā aiiā, kahmāi vananām dadā?

16  ṭat ōba pērēsā, oreš môi vaocā, Ahūrā:
   kā vaṛōrēm, jā ūbā pōi sōŋhā, yōi ḥoṇti—
   ciḏrā môi daṃ—ahūm.biš? ratiūm ciḏdī,
   aṭ hōi vohū sraoštō jantū manaŋhā,
   Mazdā, ahmāi yahmāi vašī kahmāicīt.

17  ṭat ōba pērēsā, oreš môi vaocā, Ahūrā:
   kaṭā [Mazdā] 91 zārōm carānī hacā xšmaṭ
   āskētīm xšmākām, hiaṭcā môi xiiāt vāxš aēšō
   sarōi buḏdiāi hauruuātā amērētātā
   auuā maṯrā, yō rāḏenō ašāt hacā?

18  ṭat ōba pērēsā, oreš môi vaocā, Ahūrā:
   kaṭā ašā ṭat mīḏdōm hanānī,
dasā aspā arṣṇuuaïtiś uṣṭromcā,
hīat mói mazdā api.uuaiti, haaruuuātā
amøṛtātā, yaḏā hi taibiiś92 dāṁhā?

19 taṭ ūḏā porsā, ṣrāś mói vaocā, Ahurā:
yas.taṭ miḏdām hanaṇtē nōiṭ dāītī,
yē ṣī ahmāi ṣrāż.uxďā93 nā dāītē,
kā tām ahiiā maēṇiś ṣaṣṭ94 paouroiiē?
viduuā auuqām, yā īm ṣaṣṭ98 apōmā.

20 ciḥēnā, Mazdā, huxṣañrā daeuuā āṇharō—
aṭ ṣī porsā—yōi piśiieṇtī aeibiō kām,
yāiś gām Karōpā Usixšcā aeṁmaī dātā,
yācā Kauuā āṇmōnē96 urūōōiitā?
nōiṭ hīm mīzān aṣā vāstrēm frādaijēhē.

Yasna 45

1 aṭ fra.uuaxšiā: nū gūṣōdūm, nū sraotā,
yaċcā asnāt yaecā dūṛāt iṣaḏā;
nū īm vispā, ciṭrō zī, maz.dāṅhoḍūm.
nōiṭ daibiūm duṣṣastiś ahūm meràṣšiāt
akā varēnā, dṛēguūā hizuuā97 ā.uuṛøtō.

2 aṭ fra.uuaxšiā āṇhōus Mainiiū paouroiiē,
yaiiā span̄iāi ūūtī mṛauuāt yōm angrēm:
“nōiṭ nā manā, nōiṭ sōṅgḥā, nōiṭ xraauuūō,
naēdā varēnā, nōiṭ uxďā, naēdā šīaōḏnā,
nōiṭ daēnā, nōiṭ uruuānō hacaiṇtē.”

3 aṭ fra.uuaxšiā āṇhōus ahiiā paourouūm,
yā98 mói viduuā Mazdā vaocāt Ahurō.
yōi īm vē nōiṭ iḍā99 māṭrēm varōsṇtī
yaḏā īm mōnāicā vaocacā,
aeibiō āṇhōus auuōi aṇhaṭ apōmēm.

4 aṭ fra.uuaxšiā āṇhōus ahiiā vahiṣṭēm
aṣāṭ hacā; Mazdā100 vaēdā yā īm dāt,
ptarām Vaŋhūuš varəzaiāntō Mananpō; aṯ hōi dugādā hušiiāoūnā Ārmaitiš.
ñoį diŋxaiiiāi āisp.hišas Ahūrō.

aṯ fra.uuaxšiāā, hiaiţ mōi mraot spəntōtēmō,
vacā sruūdiiai hiaiţ marətæiβiīō vahištēm;
yōi mōi ahmāi sraosēm dān caiisćā,
upā.jinēn hauruūată amərətātā:
vaŋhūuš mainiiuuš šiiaōūnāiš mazdā Ahūrō.

aṯ fra.uuaxšiāā višpanām maziştēm,
stauuaa ašā, yō hudā yōi ḫanṭi:
spəntā mainiiūi sraotū Mazdā Ahūrō.
yehiia vahmē Vohū frašī Manaŋpā,
ahiia xratō frō mā săstū vaištā.

yehiia sauuaa īšantī rādaŋhō
yōi zī juuā āŋhaɾacā buvantīcā—
amərətaiīt ašaunō uruuā aęśō
utaiiūtā, yā norąś sādṛa drąguuatō;
tācā xšaṭra Mazdā dāmiš Ahūrō—

tōm nō staotaiiš nēmaŋhō ā viuuarəšō
nū z<ī> ĭt cašmainī vıkadəɾəsəm,
vaŋhūuš mainiiuuš šiiaōūnahiīa uxtaxiiică
viduš ašā, yēm Mazdām Ahūrēm;
aṯ hōi vahmēng domānē garō ni.dāmā;

tōm nō Vohū maţ Mananpā cixšnuśō,
yō nō usōn cōɾē spənçă aspənçă,
mazdā xšaṭra; varəzi nā diiţ Ahūrō
pasūś virōng ahmākōŋ fradažāiīă
vaŋhūuš ašā haozəβaţ ñ manaŋhō;

tōm nō yasnaiiš ārmatōiš mimaŋţō,
yō oṃmōnī Mazdā srauui Ahūrō.
hiaiţ hōi ašā vohucā cōišt mananpā,
xšaṭrōi hōi hauruūatā amərətātā
ahmāi stōi dān, taauiiī utaiiūütī.

yas.tā daəuuuŋŋ aparō maşiiacă
tarō.mastā yōi ūm tarō.mainnianṭā
(aniiōŋ ahmāt, yō hōi arōm mainniiatā),
saošiianṭō dōŋg patōiš spəntā daēnā
uruuāĥō brātā ptā vā, Mazdā Ahūrō.

100 A s H: mazdā B l G
A. The Verse Texts

Yasna 46

1. kamu namôi zâm, kuôrâ namôi aïieni?
   pairî x’âêtûš airîiamnască dâdaitî;
   nóît mâ x’nâuš, yâ vôrzânâ hêcâ,
   naêdâ daxiišûš yôi sástårô drâguantô.
   kaôâ ôôâ, Mazdâ, x’nâoûšôi, Ahuûrâ?

2. vaêdâ tât yâ ahmi, Mazdâ, anaësô:
   mâ kamna.f’sûûâ hîiäcâ kamnô.nô ahmi.
   gôrôzôî tôî:101 a îî [â]vaênà, Ahûrâ,
   rafoôrôm caguûâ hîiôt friiô friiäi daidît:
   â.xsô vañhôuš âôä ëstîm mananôhô.

3. kadâ, Mazdâ, yôi uxšânô așnâm
   anhôus darôrâî rô fô așahiâ [f’]ârôntë
   vêrôzdaîš sângháiš, saosshiañtâm xratauôô?
   kaëibiîô ûôäi vûhô jimañ mananôhô?
   maibîîô ôôs așträi vөênë, Ahûrâ.

4. ât tông drâguuûâ yông așahiâ vaçdrâng pât
   gâ frôrôtîôs sôiôrãhîiâ vâ daxiišûš vâ,
   duçazôbâ hâs, x’âîs įiiaôônäiô ahûmustô.
   yas.tûm x’âbrit, Mazdâ, möôôt jîiâtûš vâ,
   huûô tông frô gâ paçmông hucûsûôs caraç.

5. yô vâ xšaiiås â dâm102 drîtä aiiäntom
   uruûatôiôs vâ huzôntûs miôrôiibîiô vâ,
   rašnâ juuâs, yô așauûô drêguuantoûom,
   vicirô hâs, tât frô x’âêtûuû mruiiäô
   uz.ûibiîô im, Mazdâ, xruniìt, Ahûrâ.

6. ât yas.tûm nóît nâ isêmôô à å.iat.
   Drûjô huûô dâmân haëôhâiûô gât;
   huûô zî drêguûûa, yô drêguûaitê vahištô,
   huûô așauûô, yahmâi așauûô friiô,
   hîiôt daëänâ paouuriîïô dâ, Ahûrâ.

7. kâm.nô, Mazdâ, mauuaitê päiium dâdô,
   hîiôt mû drêguûûô didarëștâtê anënrûtê,
   aniêm ôôbahmât ôôrascâ mananhascâ,
   yaiâ ÿiiaôônâïiô așêm ôôraôstô, Ahûrâ?
   tôm mûi dâstûuam daênaiiâiô frû.uuacôô.

101 tôî <ç> Kuïper
102 West (â da Thiemê): adås ôô
8  yā vā mōi yā gāeθā dazdē aēnājēhē,
nōiθ ahiiā mā āthriš šīiaοθnāiš frā asiiāt; ¹⁰³
paitiiaogat tā ahmāi jasoiθ duuaeθšaŋhā
tanuām ā, yā īm hujiiaotioθ pāiiaθ,
nōiθ dužjiiiaotioθ; kačiθ, Mazdā, duuaeθšaŋhā.
9  kē huuō, yā mā arədrō coīθaθ paouruiiō,
 yaθā ₀βā zuuuiištīm uz.āmōhī,
šīiaοθnōi spantoθ, Ahurēm aŋuuaunəm?
yā tōi Ašā, yā Ašāi gōuš tašā mraoθ,
išnū mā tā tōi vohū manaŋhā?
10  yā vā mōi nā gēnā vā, Mazdā Ahurā,
dāiiāt anhōuš yā tū vōiștā vahištā,
așim așāi, vohū xşaθrom manaŋhā,
yāscā haxšāi xšmāuuatŋm vahmāiiā,
frō taıș vispāiš Cīnuuatō [frə]frā pəɾətūm.
11  xšaθrāiš yūjēn Karapanō Kāuuaiascā
akāiš šīiaοθnāiš ahūm mərŋgoiïiāi mașim;
yōŋg x'ō uruuā x'aēcā xraodaθ daēnā,
hiaθ aibi.gəmən yāfrā Cīnuuatō pəɾətuš,
yauuōi vispāi Drūjō domānē¹⁰⁴ astaiiō.
12  hiaθ us așā naptiiaešū naʃucā
Tūrahiiā [uz]jēn Friiānaiiā aojiiaešū
ārmatōiš gaeθā fradō ₀βaŋšaŋhā,
ați s vohū hēm aibi.mōišt manaŋhā
ačiibii rafədrāi Mazdā sastē Ahurō.
13  yā Spītamām Zaraθuśtrēm radaŋhā
martaešū xšnauuś, huuō nā frə.sruüdiiai əɾəθbō.
at hōi Mazdā ahūm dadāθ Ahurō;
ahmāi gaeθā vohū fradaθ manaŋhā;
tōm vō Ašā mōhmaidī huʃhaxāim.
14  “Zaraθuśtrā, kas.ṭe așauuā uruuābo
maziθ magaiθ? kē vā frə.sruüdiiai vaști?”
at huuō kauuā Vištāspō, yā <a>hi.¹⁰⁵
yōŋgs.tū, Mazdā, hademōi minaŋ, Ahurā,
tēŋg zbiaiθ vajŋhōuʃ uξdaiiθ manaŋhō.
15  Hačcaθ.aspā, vaxšiia vō, Spītamāŋho:
hiaθ dāvŋg vī caiiaθā adāβaṣcā,

¹⁰³ Humbach: fəroșiiaθ vel fraosiiiaθ libri
¹⁰⁴ Inslēr: domānai ə
¹⁰⁵ < > Inslēr
A. The Verse Texts

16 Frašaošťra, athrā tu arədrāiš idi,
Huuōguuā, tāiš yōng usuuhāi uštā stōi,
yaṛā aşā hacaitē ārmaitiš,
yaṛā vaŋhāuš maṇaŋhō ištā xšaθr̥em,
yaṛā Mazdā varədəməm šaēti Ahūrō,

17 yaθā və afšmāni səŋghāni,
ñoiṭ anafšmām, Dājamāspā Huuōguuā,
hadā vō stōi\textsuperscript{107} vahmōŋ sraošā rādāŋhō,
yō vī.cinoṭ dəθəmcā adəθəmcā
daŋrā maṇṭū Aṣā, Mazdā Ahūrō.

18 yō maibīiā yaoš, ahmāi ascīt vaḥištā
taxiīa ištōiš vohū cōišəm maṇaŋhā,
qstōŋ ahmāi yō nā ḥstā daidītā,
Mazdā Aṣā, xšmākəm vərōm xšnaosəmənō;
tat mōi xraṭšūš maṇaŋhəsəcă vī.ciθəm.

19 yō mōi ašāt haiθīm hacă varəšaıtī
Zaraθuṣṭraī hiiaṭ vəsnaθ frašətəməm,
ahmāi mizdəm hənəntē parā.<a>hūm
manə.vistāiš maṭ vəspaīš, gāuuə azī:
tacīt mōi səs tuuəm, Mazdā, vaēdištō.

Yasna 47

1 spəntā mainiiū vaḥištəcă maṇaŋhā
hacă ašāt šiiaθnəcă vacanfəcă
ahmāi dən hauuruətā amərətətā;
mazdā xšaθrā Ārmaitī Ahūrō.

2 ahiiā maniiōu spəništahiiā vaḥištəm
hizuuə ux̩daiš vaŋhāuš əənǔ maṇaŋhō,
ărmatōiš zəstəbiəš šiiaθnə vəɾeziʃət,
iōiš cišti, “huuō pə Ašahiiā Mazdā”.

3 ahiiā maniiōu tuuəm ahī <p>tą spəntō,
yō ahmāi gəm rəniiō.skəɾəti̯m həm.taʃət.
ə̅ hōi vəstrāi rəmā də ərmaitim,
hiiət həm Vohū, Mazdā, [həm]fraštā Maṇaŋhā.

\textsuperscript{106} dədūiē Hoffmann–Forssman 227
\textsuperscript{107} West: vəstā h s v. vistā m
The Old Avestan Texts

4 ahmāt mainiīuš rārašiieintī drāguuāntō, Mazdā, spəntāt; nōiš iðā108 ašauuanō. kasūscīt nā ašaune kāβō aŋhať, isuuācīt hās paraoś akō drāguuāite.

5 tācā spəntā mainiīu, Mazdā Ahurā, ašaune coīš yā zī cīcā vahistā; hanarō əβahmāt zaošāt drāguuā baxšaitī, ahiā šiiāoānāiš akāt ə šiiās manaŋhō.

6 tā dā spəntā mainiīu, Mazdā Ahurā, āūrā vanhāu vi.dāitīm rānōibiiā ārmatōiš dəβqanāhā ašāxiācā; hā zī pourūš išəntō vāuraite.

Yasna 48

1 yezī at āīš109 Ašā Drujēm vānghaitī, ḥhiāt ġaṣaṣutā110 yā daibitānā fraoxtā amərətātī daēuāišcā mašiiāišcā, aṭ tōi sauuāiš vahmōm vaxšāt, Ahurā.


3 aṭ vaēdmānnāi vahistā sāsnanām, yām hudā sāsi ašā ahūrō, spəntō, viduuā yaecīt gūzrā sōŋhāŋhō, əβāuuāqs, Mazdā, vanhūuš xraθβā manaŋhō.

4 yā dāt manō vahiiō, Mazdā, ašiiascā, huuō daēnām šiiāoānācā vacaŋhācā, ahiā zaošāŋg uṣtiš varōnēng hacaitē; əβahmī xratāu apōmōm nanā aŋhāt.

5 huŋšaθrā xšaŋtām—mā nā duśxsaθrā xšaŋtā—vanhuiīa cīstōiš šiiāoānāiš, Ārmaitē. yaoz.dā mašiiāi aipī zaŋhōm vahistā gauūōi vorəziitātām: tām nō x'arōdāi fšuīō.

108 m s: aŋhā h v
109 Insler, Narten: adaiš ω (akaiš B)
110 fort. qsaṭ tā
111 Kuiper: mōi yā ω
112 Insler: yā mōṅg ω
6 hā zī [nā] huṣōiḥəmā,\textsuperscript{113} hā nō utaiūītī\textsuperscript{114}
dāt ṭauūiš\textsuperscript{115} vaṇīuš maṇaŋhō boraŋdē; aṯ aṅśiāi aṅīa Mazdā uruuārā vaxṣaṭ
Ahūrō aṅḥuš zāṅwī paouruiehīīā.

7 nī aēṣmō [nī] diiātām, paitī ramōm [paitī]siiōdūm,
yōī ā vaṇīuš maṇaŋhō didrayżōduiē.
aṅā viām, yehīiā hīḏauš nā sōṇtō:
aṯ hōī dāmām ṭbahmī ā dām, Ahūrā.

8 kā tōi vaṇīuš, Mazdā, ṹxaṅраhīīā ištīś?
kā tōi ašoiś Ḫβaṅxiāīa maibīō, Ahūrā?
kā Ḧboī, Aṅā āṅā ardrōṅg ištīā,
vaṇīuš maṅniūš śīiąoṅnAnaṁ Jauuarō?

9 kaṭ ā\textsuperscript{116} vaēdā, yeẓī cahiīā xśaṅiaṅhā,
Mazdā Aṅaṅ, yehīiā mā āṅtīś duuaēḥā?
∀rōś mōi [∀rōz]ucām vaṇīuš vaʃuš maṇaŋhō;
viiīāt saoʃiiās, yaṅā hōī aṅśi aṅhāt,

10 kadā, Mazdā, maṇarōiś nārō vīsōntā?\textsuperscript{117}
kadā a,jōn mūḥrēm ahiīā maḍaḥīīā,
yā angraiīā Karoṅpō urūpāiieīntī
yācā xraṭū duṅxṣaṅrā daṅiūṇaṁ?

11 kadā, Mazdā, Aṅā maṅt Ārmaitīš
jimāt xśaṅrā huṣītīś vāstraŭuaitī?
kōi drēguūodōbiṅ xṛūɾaiīś rāmṃ dāntē?
kōng ā vaṇīuš jimāt maṇaŋhō cistiī?

12 aṯ tōi aṅшен saoʃiiāntō daṅiūṇaṁ,
yōī xśnūm vohu maṇaŋhā hacāṃtē
śiiąoṅnaiī aṅś śbahiīā, Mazdā, sōŋhahiīīā;
tōi zī dātā hamaēstārō aēṃahiīīā.

\textbf{Yasna 49}

1 aṯ mā yauuā bēṇduuo pafre mazištō,
yō duṅraṯīṛīī cixšnušī aṅīa, Mazdā. Vaŋįįhī Ādā, gaidī mōi, ā mōi [a]rapā:
ahiīā vohū aoṣō vidā maṇaŋhā.

\textsuperscript{113} [ ] \textit{Lommel} hu- s: u- m h v
\textsuperscript{114} s: utaiūīūm m h v
\textsuperscript{115} dett.: tāuūīūm m h s v
\textsuperscript{116} s: kadā m h H: kaṅā G
\textsuperscript{117} vīsōntā A: -ntē BhE, -ṇtī F
The Old Avestan Texts

2 aţ ahiiā mā bônduahiiā mânaiieitī
ţkaēšō drôguā daibitā ašāţ rârōşō:
nōiţ spəntəm dōrōšt ahmāi stōi Ārmaitim,
naêdā Vohū, Mazdā, fraštā Manaŋhā.

3 aţcā ahmāi varənāi, Mazdā, ni.dâtəm
aştəm sūdiiāi, Ċkaēšāi râsaiieįhē druxš.
tā118 vaŋհōuš sarō iziıāi manaŋhō;
antanamo vispōng druguuató haxmōng [aŋtərō] mruiiē.

4 yōi duşxraţbə aēşməm varədm rəməmcā119
x'āiš hizubiš, fəsuiasū afşuiaŋtō,
yəşəm nōiţ huwarštāiš vəş dużuuarštā,
tōi daēuuuŋg dān, yā druguuatu daēnā.

5 aţ huuō, Mazdā, ӣzācā āzūtíścā,
yā daēnəm vohū sārštā manaŋhā,
ārmatoişi kasciţ aşā huzōntuš,
tāiścā vispāiš Ŧbahmī xşaőrōi, Ahurā.

6 frō və [fra]işiia, Mazdā Aşəmcā, mrūiê,
yā və xratōuş xšmākahiīā ā manaŋhā,
ōrōś vi.cidiīai, yaďā ī srauuiaiaemā
tam daēnəm yā xšmāuuatō, Ahurā.

7 taţcā vohū, Mazdā,120 sraotū manaŋhā,
sraotū ašā: gūşahuuā tū, Ahurā:
kō airiamā, kō x’aētuš dātāiš anhaţ,
yā vorəzənāi vaŋ’him dāt frasastim?

8 Frašaoştrai uruuazīştəm aṣahiiā dā
sarōm—taţ Ŧbā, Mazdā, yāsā, Ahurā—
maibiiacā, yəm vaŋhāu Ŧbahmī ā xşaőrōi;
yauuoī vispāi fraēståŋhō āphāmā.

9 sraotū sāsnā fšəŋhiiō suiiē taştō—
nōiţ orōś.vacă sarōm didaş drəguuātă—
hiaat daēnā vahiştę yūjēn miţde
aşā yuxtā yāhī Đējāmāspā.

10 taţcā, Mazdā, Ŧbahmī ā dəm ni.pânjē:
manō vohū urunascā ašāunəm
nəməscā, yā ārmaitişi īzācā
mazā.xşaőrā vazdaŋhā ŧauuāmīrā.

118 fort. tā <ā>, cf. §300
119 Insler: rəməmcā Ŧ
120 Mazdā Westergaard
A. The Verse Texts

11 ات دوشکارنگ دوشییاوندیا دوژیوهو دوژمانانگ دوژمانانگ دوژمانانگ دوژمانانگ
اکایی شارشایی پایی آرآنگ [پایی] یکیتی;
دروج دماده هاییا اینه استانیام.

12 کت توی اش زبانیه اونانگ
زارادوشترای؟ کت توی ووهะ مانانگ،
یو ویه سکوتها، مازدا، فینای، آورلا،
اوواط یاساس، هیات وی هیتی اهنشیتو؟

Yasna 50

1 کت مییور دیروآ ایسه کاییا اونانگ؟
کمییوپسی، کم مینا ییراتی ویستی
انیا اشآت ییااتکا، مازدا آورلا،
ازدا زیتا، اهنشییااتکا مانانگ؟

2 کادا، مازدا، راییو.سکرته میم گام یاسودت،
یو هیم اهمای ویثنایراویییم ویویی یسیات،
ویزجیی شا اش پورعییو هواره پیشیاسود؟
اکش تونگ۱۲۳ مانی نیش آسیا، داداهم دادروآ.

3 اشیت اهمای، مازدا، اش آنجایتی،
یم هوی یشنیاپر هوویکا گیشت مانانگ،
یو نا اشییو اوجانگ یاردااییااتکا،
یم نازدیشاام گاهگام دوژیوآ بکشاییتی.

4 ات وی یازایی سیاوواز، مازدا آورلا،
هادا اشیاپ حیشیتکا مانانگ
یِشاپرکاپا یو ییوو کانپات اپاینی;
اکا یارشترنگ دمدادگا گارگ دهاشانگ.

5 ارویی زی شما، مازدا اش آورلا،
هیات یووشماکایی ماجیکایی یاورازاویا
اپی.دروستی آویشیا اونانگ
زاستی.ییتا، یو نا ییادوری دایلیات،

6 یو ماجیرا وایاک، مازدا، بارائی
وریعاشی اش نامانگ، زارادوشرو.
داتا ییارتی، ییزیوو رائییم ویویی
ماهییا، یایوگ ووهی ساییت مانانگ.

7 ات وی یاویا ژاویشیییینگ اوریواعتی،
جیایییش یارشترنگ۱۲۲ وامهیا یووشماکاییا،

۱۲۱ Insler: اکا(.)شترنگ h v، ادآ شترنگ m
۱۲۲ m s: پراثی (h v: caedem vv. II. Y. 64. 3
Mazdā Ašā, ugrēṅg vohū mananāhā, yāiś <z>azāḏā:123 mahmāī xiįtā āuuāųhē.  

8 maţ vā padāiš yā fra.srūtā įįzaiiā  
pairi.jasāi, Mazdā, ustānā.zastō,  
aţ vā ašā araďraxiįiācā namanāhā,  
aţ vā vaŋhōuš manaŋhō hunarôtātā.  

9 tāiš vā yasnaįiš paiti stauuas aiieni,  
Mazdā Ašā, vaŋhōuš šiiaोnāįiš mananāhō.  
yadā aśoįiš māxiįā vasō xšaiiā,  
aţ hudānaoš išaiiās garėzdā xiiőm.  

10 aţ yā varašā yācā pairi įiįš šiiaοnā  
yācā vohū cašmām araţ mananāhā,  
raočā x’ēŋg, ašnām uξšā aέuruš,  
xšmākāi ašā vahmai, Mazdā Ahurā.  

11 aţ vō staotā aojāi, Mazdā, aŋhācā,  
yauuaţ ašā tauuącā įsāiçā.  
dātā aŋhōuš araţ vohū mananāhā  
haiiiā.,varštām, hiiat vasṇā frašōtōmēm?

Yasna 51

1 vohū xšaţrōm vairǐm, bāgōm aibī.bairirštēm  
vidišēmnāi124 iįcįt; ašā āntarē.caraitī  
šiiaοnāįiš, Mazdā, vahiştēm: tāt nō nūcīt varašānē.  

2 tā vō, Mazdā, paouruʊīm, Ahurā, Ašįiiecā  
taibiįiācā, Ārmaitē, diįsē moi ištōiš xšaţrōm;  
xšmākōm vohū mananāhā vahmai dāidī sauuāŋhō.  

3 a vō gāušā hām.iaņtū, yōi vō šiiaοnāįiš sārōntē,  
Ahurā125 Ašā, hizuuā126 uξdāiš vaŋhōuš manaŋhō,  
yaešām tū paouruiiō, Mazdā, fra.daxštā ahī.  

4 kuţrā ārōiś ā fsəraţuš, kuţrā mȯrəţiıkā127 ā xşṭāį?  
kuţrā yasō.xiiįi önlem kū spęntā ārmaitiš?  
kuţrā manō vahiştēm kuţrā .ibatis xšaţrā, Mazdā?

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123 < > Humbach  
124 m D: -mnāįiš C s v  
125 West: ahurō ω  
126 B h: hizuuō A: hizuuā s v  
127 m C s: -kāi D v
A. The Verse Texts

5 vispā tā pārosā,128 yašt haça gam vidat
vastriio šiaoaññaiš ērəsuuo, ḥas huxrattuš, nəmāŋhā,
yə daŋəciibiṉ ərəʃ. rattum xšāišs ašiš129 civiš.

6 yə vahiš vəŋhauš dazdē, yəscā hoi vərāi rādaṯ,
Ahurō xšafrā mazdā; aṯ ahmāi akət ašiio,
yə hōi nōi vidāeti, apəmē aŋhauš uruuaesē.

dādī mōi, yə gam tašo apasča uruuaarascā,
amərētātā hauuruuatā spēništā mainiiū, Mazdā, təuuiši utaiuiši manaŋhā vohū sōjhe.

8 aṯ zī tōi vaxšii, Mazdā—vidušē zī nā mruuiât—
hiaṯ akōi a130 dręguuāitē, uštā yə ašem dādrē
(huuo zī məfrə ʃišātō, yə vidušē mrauuahti)

9 yəm xšuutēm rānōibiia da bəba aʃrə suxrə, Mazdā,
aiiaŋhā xšusta, aibi ahuuaahū daxšəm dāuuoi,
rāṣaiiējhe dręguuaŋtəm, sauuiūiš ašauuaməm.

10 aṯ yə mə maroŋxaištē aniiādə ahmāt, Mazdā,
huuo dəmōiš drjūo huhuš; tā duždā, yoi hənti.
maibiiō zbaiiš ašem vaŋhuiiši aši gatē.

11 kə uruaažət Spitaamā131 Zarətuštrāi nā, Mazdā?
kə va Aša afraštə?132 kə spəntə ārmaitiš?
kə va vaŋhauš manaŋhō acištā magāi ərošuuo?

12 nōiš tā im xšnauš vaεpiio kaŋuiinō pərēta zimō
Zaraŋušṭrōm Spitaamōm, hiaṯ ahmī uruuraost aštō,
hiaṯ hoī i[m]133 caratascā aodəreṣcā zōišnu vāzā.

13 tā dręguuatō marađaiti daenā ərəzaos haiṯim;
yehii uruu xraoatii Cinuuatō pərēta akā,
xaiš šiaoaññaiš hizuuascā aʃahiiš naʃuua paδō.

14 nōiš uruaažə tātōbiiiascā Karəpanō vəstrāt arōm,
gauuoi arōiš a.ənədə xaiš šiaoaññaišcā səŋghaišcā;
yə iš səŋghō apəməm Drujō dəmānē a.dāt.

128 West: pārəsas ω
129 ašiā E: aʃuuuā m F: aʃiuua h G
130 akōiš ω
131 spitamāii(<ā > Beekes
132 det.: afraštə m h v, a.fraštə s
133 [ ] Insler
15 hiiaT miždəm Zaraðušترو magauabiio cöišt parā, 
garo dəmānē Ahurō Mazdā jasaT paouriiō: 
tā vā Vohū Manaŋhā AṢāicā sauauiš cəeuuiiš.

16 tām kauuā Vištāspō magahiiā xṣaṭrā naṣaT 
vaŋhāuš padabiš manaŋhō, yam cistim ašā maŋtā: 
“spəntō Mazdā Ahurō”, âdā nā sazdiiāi uštā.

17 bərəxdo̱m mōi Frașaoštro̱ Huūōguuō daēdōišt kəhrpəm 
daēnaiiāi vaŋhuuiiāi; yam hōi išiām dātū 
xšaiiās Mazdā Ahurō, AŞahiīā aždiiāi gorəzdīm.

18 tām cistim Dojāmāspō Huūōguuō ištōiš x’aronā 
ašā vərəntē, tāt xšaθrēm manaŋhō vaŋhāuš vīdō. 
tāt hōi134 dāidī, Ahurā, hiiaT, Mazdā, rəpōn tauuā.

19 huuuō tāt nā, Maidiiōimāŋhā Spītamā, ahmāi dazdē 
daēnaiiiā vaedəmno, yō ahūm išasəs aibī 
Mazdā dātā mrauuaq,135 gaiiehiīā šiiaōnāiī vahiīō.

20 tāt vē nā, hazaosāŋhō vispāŋhō, daidiiāi sauuō, 
AṢōm vohū manaŋhā uxđā, yāiš ārmaitiš, 
yazmnāŋhō nəmaŋhā Mazdā rafōthrm cagədō.

21 ārmatōiš nā, spəntō huuuō cistī, uxđāiš, šiiaōnā, 
daēnā; aṣōm spōnuaat, vohū xšaθrēm manaŋhā 
Mazdā dadāt Ahurō: tōm vaŋ’hmīm yāsā ašīm.

22 yehiīā mōi ašāt hacā vahiışıām yesnē paiitī, 
vaēdā: Mazdā Ahurō. yōi əŋharəcā hoŋtīcā, 
tq136 yazāi x’āiš nəmənīī137 pairicā jasāi vaŋtā.

Yasna 53

1 vahiıstå išiš srāuuī Zaraðušstrahē 
Spītamahīēā, yezi hōi dāt āiiaptā 
ašāt hacā Ahurō Mazdā yauuōi vispāiiā, 
haʊuŋhəuuım, 
yæcā hōi dəbən saškənçā138 daēnaiiā vaŋhuuiiā uxđā šiiaōnācā.

2 aṭcā [hōi]139 saŋču manaŋhā uxđāiš šiiaōnāiścā 
xšūm Mazdā140 vahmāiiia fraoraŋ yasnācā,

134 West: mōi ω
135 West: mraoτ ω
136 h v: tām m s: eadem vv.ll. Y. 15. 2, 63. 1, 65. 16, 69. 1
137 nəmañbī Schwyzer
138 saškənç D, saškomecā s: sašqacā m, sašənçcā C v
139 [ ] Kellens–Pirant
140 s v: mazdā A D, -əi B C
kauuacá Vištáspó Zarāḍuṣtriš Spitāmō Frašaoštrascá, 
dāṅhō orazuš paθō, yām daṇṇam Ahurō saošiianṭō dadāṭ.

3 tāncā141 tū, Pourucistā Hačcaṭ.aspānā 
Sēptami, yezuu ru dagdrām Zarāḍuṣtrahē: 
vaŋhūuś tpaṭiiāstīm142 manaḥhō ašahiiā Mazdāscā taibiiō dāt sarēm. 
aṭā hēm.frašuua [ṭṭā]143 xraṭṭā; spēnišṭā ārmatōiś hudānu varṣuā.

4 tōm zī vē t spṛorōdāni varāṇī†, yā foṛōri vīdaṭ 
paiṭiiaecā vāstriiāebiśō aṭcā x‘aētauē, 
aśānūi ašauuabiiō; manaŋhō vaŋhūuś x‘ēnuuaṭ haŋhuś t̄mēm bēoduś144 
Mazdā dadāṭ Ahurō daṇṇiiāiś vaŋhuuiāi yauuōi vīśpāiīā.

5 sāx‘ēnu vaziāmnābiiō kainiibiiō mraomī 
xśmaibiiācā, vadomnā:145 mōńcā i [mazu]dazdūm, 
vædōdūm daṇṇābīś abiiāscā ahūm yē vaŋhūuś manaŋhō. 
aśā vē aniśō ainīm viuāṅghatū: tāṭ zī hōi huśānēm anḥat.

6 iū ī haiḥiāi, narō, aṭā, jēnaiiō. 
ḍrujō hacā rāṭomō yēm spašuṭā146 frāidīm 
* * * * * 
* drūjō: ā.iesē t hōiś pūṭāt147 tanuuō parā.

6b * * * * * 
* * * * * 
* * vaiiū.ərōdbiīō duś‘arōṭhm; nūsāt x‘āṭrēm 
drīguūōdbiīō dējiṭ.αrētiiāebiśō. anāiś ā manahīm ahūm mərōṇgōduiiē.

7 aṭcā vē miṣdēm anḥat ahiāi magahīiā: 
yauuāṭ āzuś rraziṣṭō būnōi haxtīā 
parā[cā]148 mraocṣa aorācā, yaṭrā mainiuś drēguuatō nāsāṭ149 parā. 
vī.ẓaiiāṭā magām tōm, at vē “vaiiōī” anḥaiti apēmēm vacō.

8 anāiś ā duuuarāṣnaŋhō dañshiiā hōŋtū 
zaiiācā vīspāŋhō, xraosētṇām upā, 
huxṣaṭrīś jēnōram xrūnōram[cā], rāmāmca āiś dadāṭu šiietibiiō vīʒibiiō; 
īrātū iś duuaﬅō huuo dērāzā mərōṇiiaos mazistiō; moṣucā astū!

---

141 Insler: tīmca m, tōmcā h s v 
142 paitiāstīm m v, -stōm h s: disyllabo opus est 
143 [ ] Kellens–Pirart 
144 mōn.bōndus Humbach 
145 fort. vadomnāŋhō 
146 spaʃ<ŋ>uθā Humbach 
147 paθā D H, pōiθā Aa 
148 [ ] Monna 
149 ā nasāṭ Insler
Yasna 54

1. a Airiīmā išiō rafoārāi jańtu
nārebīască nāribiīască Zaraθušṭrahē,
vaŋhēus rafoārāi manahō, yā daēnā vairīm hanāt mīzhēm.
aŋhīiā yāsā ašīm, yām išiām Ahūrō masată Mazdā.

B. The Yasna Haptāḥāiti

Yasna 35

2. humatanmā hūxtanmā huuvarstanmā iiadadā aniiadaci varōziiamnanmācă vāvūvarzanamnāmčă mahī aibi.jarētārō: naï naestārō yaθēnā vohunmā mahī.

3. tať ať varōmāiū, Ahūrā Mazdā Ašā sṛrā, hīiāt i mainimadīcă vacōimācă varēzimācă, yā hātam śiiaodesanamācă vahīstā xīiāt ubōībīā ahubīā.

4. gauuōi ať aiš tāiš śiiaodesnaiś yaiš vahištaiś fraěšiiāmāhī rāmācă vāstrōmācă dazdīiā sruunuatască asrunuatască xšaiianstască axšaiianstască.

5. huxšaθrotmāi bā ať xšāθrōm, ahmaṭ hīiāt aibī, dadamahīcă cišmahică huuqmahică, hīiāt Mazdāi Ahūrāi Ašaică vahištāi.

6. yaθā ať utā nā vā nāri vā vaēdā haiθim, aθā, haṭ vohū, tatō aṭū 153 voreziō-tūcă i tähmāi fra.ca vātōiōtū i täbīiō, yōī i aθā voreziān, yaθā i astī.


8. Ašahiīā āt sairī, Ašahiīā vorezōnē kahmāicī hātam jiįišam vahiştām ādā ubōibīā ahubīiā.

9/10 imā aṭ uxbā vacā, Ahūrā Mazdā, Ašēm manaiiā 155 vahēiīā fra.uuacāmā: ฐīam aṭ aēsam paitiištārōmcă fra.daxštārōmācă damāmāiū, (10) Ašaṁcă

---

150 C v, riįi m: aroįi D E, -ziś F
151 fort. raθoārāί<ā> vel <ā> jańtu
152 Insler, Narten: adaiaś āō
153 Narten: taṭ əsādû fere āō
154 | | West mazdā m h v: mazdā s
155 dett.: manahīiā m: maniiā D F, mainiiā C E v

Yasna 36
1 ahiiā ṽbā āṭrō varāzānā paouruiiē pairi.jasāmaidē, Mazdā Ahurā, ṽbā ṽbā mainiiū spōništā, yō ā axtiś ahmāī, yōm axtōiīōi dāŋhē.
2 uruuāzištō huuō nā157 yātāiīā paiti.jamiīā, Ātarē Mazdā Ahurahīiā, uruuāzištahīiā uruuāziīā, nāmištahīiā nōmaŋhā nā māzištāi yāŋhāṃ paiti.jamiīā.
3 ātārš voi Mazdā Ahurahīiā ahī, mainiiū voi ahiiā spōništō ahī; hiaīt vā tōī nāmaṇām vāzištēm, Ātarē Mazdā Ahurahīiā, tā ṽbā pairi.jasāmaidē.
4/5 volū ṽbā manaŋhā, vohū ṽbā aśā, vaŋhūiī ṽbā cistōiś šiiaotōeṇāiścā vacābiścā pairi.jasāmaidē (5) nōmanxiīāmāhī išūdiiāmāhī ṽbā, Mazdā Ahurā; vispāiś ṽbā humatāiś, vispāiś hūxtāiś, vispāiś huarstāiś pai.ro.jasāmaidē.
6 sraēstām aṭ tōī kōhrpēm kōhrpam ā. uuaēdai.amahī, Mazdā Ahurā, imā raocā; barēziştōm barēzīmanām auaṭ yāṭ huarā158 auaēcī.

Yasna 37
1/3 iḥā āṭ yazamaidē Ahurām Mazdām, yō gāmcā ašōmca dāt, apascā dāt ur-uuaraścē vaŋhiś, raocāscē dāt būmimcā vispācē vohū, (2) ahiiā xśaṭrācē mazōnācē haουuapahāiścē.
   tōm aṭ yasanaŋm paouruataŋy yazamaidē, yōi gōuś hacā šiieĩtī; (3) tōm aṭ ahūriiiā nāmēnī mazdā. varā spōntōtōmā yazamaidē; tōm ahmākaiś azdabiscē uṣṭāniścē yazamaidē; tōm aṣāunmā frauauṣiś narōmcē nāi-rināmcē yazamaidē.
4 Aṣōm aṭ vahisťōm yazamaidē, hiaiť sraeštōm, hiaiť spōntōm, <hiaiť>159 amasōm, hiaiť raoczūhuuāt, hiaiť vispā.vohū;
5 Vohūcā Manō yazamaidē, Vohūcā Xśaṭrēm, Vaŋhīmcē Daēnām, Vaŋhīmcē Fśēratūm, Vaŋhīmcē Ārmaitīm.

156 [ ] West
157 s v: nā m h
158 huarā m h, -o H: auuarō s G
159 < > West
Yasna 38

1/2 imām āt Zām Gōnābīš hafrā yazamaidē: yā nā baraitī yāscā töi gōnā, Ahūrā Mazdā, āṣāṭ hācā vairiīā, tā yazamaidē, (2) Iā Yaaostaiiō Fraštaiiō Ārmataiō. vaŋ'īhīm ābīš Ašīm, vaŋ'īhīm Īśom, vaŋ'īhīm Āzūtim, vaŋ'īhīm Frasastīm, vaŋ'īhīm Parəndim yazamaidē.

3 Apō āt yazamaidē maēkaiianēṭīscā hābūuanēṭīscā, fraauazaŋhō Ahurānīš Ahūrāhiiā hauuapāŋhā. huṇarətfbāsca vā huṇugy̱aṭfścā hūṣnāṭrāscā ubōi-biīa ahubīiā cagōmā.

4 ūtiī, yā vē, vaŋ'hīš, Ahūrō Mazdā nāmām dadāt, vaŋhūdā hiiāt vādadāt, tāīš vā yazamaidē, tāīš friāṇmahī, tāīš nəmaxiīamahī, tāīš iṣūdiāmahī.

5 apascā vā azišcā vā mātarāscā vā, agəniā driguđaiaŋhō vispō. paîtīš ā.uuaocāmā, vahištā, sраēštā. auuā vē, vaŋ'hīš, rātōiš darəgo. bāzāuš nāsū paitiī, viiādā, paitī.sēndā, mātārō jītaiiō.

Yasna 39

1/2 iōā āt yazamaidē gōuš uruūānəmccā tașānəmccā; ahmākōŋ āt urūnō pasu-kanəmccā, yōi nā jişişṇti, yaēbiiaascā töi ā, yaēcā aēbiio ā aŋhōn, (2) daiti-kanəmccā aidiünām hiiāt urūnō yazamaidē. ašāuṇām āt urūnō yazamaidē, kudō.zātanəmcīt, naraŋcā nāirinəmcī, yaēşəm vahehīʃ daēnā vaŋhōn vā vaŋnara vā.

3 āt iōā yazamaidē vaŋhūşcā īt vaŋ'hīšcā īt, spəŋtōŋ aməşəŋ, yauuaējiiō yauuaesuuo, yōi vaŋhīuš ā maŋaŋhō šieieŋtī, yāscā ūtiī.

4 yaδā tū ī, Ahūrā Mazdā, mōŋhācā vaocascā dāscā varasčā, yā volū, aθā töi dāməmahi, aθā cīsmahi, aθā əβā āiš yazamaidē, aθā nəmaxiīamahī, aθā iṣūdiāmahī əβā, Mazdā Ahūrā.

5 vaŋhōuš x'æctōuš x'æctātā, vaŋhōuš ašahiiā əβā pairi.jasāmaitē, vaŋhūiiā fsoratsuuo, vaŋhūiiā ārmatōiī.

Yasna 40

1/2 ahū āt paitiī adāhū, Mazdā Ahūrā, mazdāmccā būrīcā kərešuua: rāiēī töi xrapaetiī, ahmaṭ hiiāt aibī. hiiāt miżdəm ūmauaeiθem¹⁶⁰ fra.dadaθa daēnə- biīo, Mazdā Ahūrā, (2) ahiā āhuu nō dādī ahmāicā ahuiē maŋaŋhiiāci: tēt ahiiā, yā tēt upa.jamiāmā, tauacā haxəmā Aštāxiicā vispāi yaunuē.

¹⁶⁰ mauauiθem D: mauuaeiθem m C F v: mauuaeiθim Geldner
3) دادی ات نوراخ، مزد آهورا، اشآونو اشا.سیناخ، ادییوش مکستینگ، دارگایی ایزیایی بژوواییه هاخماینه احمدیاه.رفاوناخ.

4) اذ ایعاطوس،۱۶۱ اذ ورهزا، اذ هاخمحم شییات، یاییه هیشامیده؛ اذ و آتیا شییاماه، مزد آهورا، اشآوانو ورخییاه۱۶۲ یستم رایتی.

**Yasna 41**

1) ستتو، گارو، وهموڠ آهورای مزدای اشائیا واهیشئی دادوماهیا قیسماهیا.الا.قا [ال]ویداییماماهی.

2) ووهوی وسیرتم تویی، مزدای آهورا، اپاویما ویسپای یاوووع: هخسائراق.توی نه، نا وایناری وی، وسیئی ابونیو ایجاووو، هاتام هدومتام.

3) هماییم ویبا، ایزیم، یازئوم، اشراحیمیدا، اذ تو نه گاییاسکا استروتاسکا شییابوبویوی آجحاووو، هاتام هدومتام.

4) هنآیمکا یزهمکا، مزدای آهورای، ویباخمی رافنایه دارگاییاو، ایشایکا ویبا همئووئتسکا باییامه، رسپییسکا تو نه دارگوهمکا وئیاسکا، هاتام هدومتام.

5/6) ویباوییا ستویارسکا ماقراناسکا، آهورای مزدای، اومگادئیا کا وسماهیا والسا- مادئیا. هییئا میدویم ویمئووئینتم داف.ویبا دیئمنبییو، مزدای آهورای، (6) اهییا هدووی نه دادی احماییا اهیییه ماناخییا: تات اهییا، یا تات وپای.یامییاماه، تاووئاکا هاخماه اشاخیه ویسپای یاوووع.

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161 یعاطوس.آ. ب: -توی ب. س: یعاطوس. ف
162 اروشوما دت.ت.
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