Selected Features of Bactrian Grammar

Dissertation zur Erlangung des philosophischen Doktorgrades an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

Vorgelegt von

Saloumeh Gholami

Aus Teheran (Iran)
Göttingen 2009
Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................ ix
Abbreviations .................................................................................................................. x

1. Chapter One: Introduction ......................................................................................... 2
   1.1 Bactria ....................................................................................................................... 2
   1.2 Bactrian language and script ................................................................................... 3
   1.3 Bactrian sources ....................................................................................................... 3
       1.3.1 Coins .................................................................................................................. 3
       1.3.2 Seals .................................................................................................................. 4
       1.3.3 Inscriptions ....................................................................................................... 4
           Surkh Kotal .............................................................................................................. 5
           Rabatak .................................................................................................................. 4
           The other inscriptions ............................................................................................ 5
       1.3.4 Manuscripts ....................................................................................................... 5
       1.3.5 Documents ......................................................................................................... 5
           1. Legal documents .................................................................................................. 5
           2. Lists and accounts ............................................................................................... 6
           3. Letters .................................................................................................................. 6
           4. Buddhist texts ..................................................................................................... 6
           5. Fragments of documents of uncertain type ........................................................ 6

1.4 Aims and assumptions .............................................................................................. 6

2. Chapter Two: Historical phonology of Bactrian ....................................................... 8
   2.1 Consonants ............................................................................................................... 8
       2.2 Simple Consonants .............................................................................................. 8
           2.2.1 Plr. plosives .................................................................................................. 9
               2.2.1.1 Plr. *p, *t, *k ..................................................................................... 9
               *p> p ............................................................................................................... 9
               *t> t ............................................................................................................... 10
               *k> k ....................................................................................................... 11
       2.2.1.2 Plr. *b, *d, *g ..................................................................................... 11
               *b> b ....................................................................................................... 11
               *d> d ....................................................................................................... 11
               *g> g ....................................................................................................... 11
       2.2.1.3 Plr. *č, *š ...................................................................................... 12
               *č> č ....................................................................................................... 12
               *š> š ....................................................................................................... 12
       2.2.2 Plr. fricatives and affricates .............................................................................. 13
           2.2.2.1 Plr. *f, *θ, *x .................................................................................. 13
           *f> f ............................................................................................................... 13
           *θ> h ............................................................................................................... 13
           *x> x ............................................................................................................... 13
       2.2.2.2 Plr. *s, *z ...................................................................................... 13
           *s> s ............................................................................................................... 13
           *z> z ............................................................................................................... 14
       2.2.2.3 Plr. *š ........................................................................................... 14
           *š> š ............................................................................................................... 14
       2.2.2.4 Plr. *h ........................................................................................... 14
           *h> h ............................................................................................................... 14
### 2.2.3 Plur. Sonorants

- *m → m...*m
- *n → n...
- *r → r...
- *w → w...
- *y → y...

### 2.2.4 Summary of the system of consonants

---

### 2.3 Consonant clusters

#### 2.3.1 Combination with plosives

- *gd > γd*
- *tē > ts <α> and once <ν>...
- *gn- > γn*
- *dy > l*
- *dr > lr > dr*

#### 2.3.2 Combination with nasals

- *nt > nd*
- *ntē > nγ*
- *nd > nd*
- *nk > ng <γγ>*
- *mb > mv*
- *mp > mv*
- *mk > ng*

#### 2.3.3 Combination with fricatives

- *ft > vd*
- *xt > γd*
- *tē > γ(ε)d*
- *st > st*
- *sp > sp*
- *št > t*
- *št > st*
- *zd > zd*
- *zd > z*
- *šk > šk*
- *sk > sk*

#### 2.3.3.2 Fricative + Fricative

- *xxs > xx*
- *šš < f*
- *šš > x*
- *šš > šš*
- *šš > f...*
- *šš > š*
- *šš > x*
- *šš > šš*
- *šš > x*
2.4 Phonological processes: Metathesis

#*wr > r

2.3.6 Combination with approximant

2.3.6.1 Approximant + r

##wr > r
2.5 Vowels ........................................................................................................... 28
  *# i > i .......................................................... 28
2.6 Simple vowels ................................................................................................. 29
  *# a > a .......................................................... 29
  *-a > a ....................................................... 29
  *#ā > ā ....................................................... 29
  *ā > ā ......................................................... 29
  *# i > Ø ....................................................... 29
  *i > i .......................................................... 29
  *i > a (in Greek script α) .................................. 29
  *# u > à (in Greek script α) ................................ 30
  *# u > u (or o) ............................................. 30
  *u > u (or o ?) ............................................. 30
  *r> -ir (n) ................................................ 30
  *r> -ur (op) ................................................ 30
2.7 Loss of vowels ................................................................................................. 31
  2.7.1 Loss of #V- ............................................. 31
    *# a > Ø ................................................... 31
  2.7.2 Loss of -V- (Sycope): ................................................................. 31
    -Between plosive and sonorant: ........................................ 31
    -Between plosive and plosive: ........................................... 31
    -Between fricative and plosive: ......................................... 31
    -Between fricative and nasal: .......................................... 31
  2.7.3 The treatment of final vowels .............................................................. 31
    *ā # > Ø ................................................... 31
2.8 Diphthongs: .................................................................................................. 32
  *au > o .......................................................... 32
  *ai > ē .......................................................... 32
  *aya > ē (> 1) ............................................... 32
  *āya > ā ....................................................... 32
  *āya# > i (or sometimes yi) .................................... 32
  *iya > ē or 1 ................................................ 32
  *iya > i ........................................................ 32
  *iya > ē ........................................................ 32
  *awa > Ø ................................................... 33
  *awā > awā ................................................. 33
  *āwā > āwa ................................................ 33
  *āwā > āwā ................................................ 33
  *āwi > ā ...................................................... 33
2.9 Combination of Vowel and Consonant ......................................................... 33
  2.9.1 Combination of w with vowels ......................................................... 33
    2.9.1.1 In initial position ............................................ 33
    *# wa - > wa > o .......................................... 33
    *# wā > wā ............................................... 34
    *# wi > wi ................................................ 34
  2.9.2 Combination of y with vowels ......................................................... 34
    2.9.2.1 In final position ............................................ 34
    *arya # > ēr (n) ......................................... 34
  2.9.3 The combination of other consonants with vowels ......................... 34
    2.9.3.1 In final position ............................................ 34
    *an # > Ø ................................................... 34
    *an # > an .............................................. 34
    *am # > Ø ................................................... 34
    *Vāh # > Ø ................................................. 34
2.10 Palatalization ............................................................................................... 34
  * a > i/-ya, -1 ............................................. 34
  *ā > ē/-ya ................................................... 34
  * a > i/-s,-z .............................................. 35
2.11 Vowel assimilation ....................................................................................................................... 35
   * a > -i/-n ........................................................................................................................................... 35

2.12 Dissimilation ................................................................................................................................. 35
   *# wi > ya ......................................................................................................................................... 35

2.13 Lowering (?) ................................................................................................................................. 35
   *= i > -i (?) ....................................................................................................................................... 35

2.14 Reduced vowel (ǝ): ..................................................................................................................... 35
   Ø > ǝ/#-CC ...................................................................................................................................... 35
   *a, i > ǝ ........................................................................................................................................ 36
   *-xm > xǝm .................................................................................................................................... 36

2.14.1 Suffixal k ......................................................................................................................................... 36
   A.1. *-aka > -yro .......................................................................................................................... 36
   A.2. *-aka after a voiceless consonant >-ko .................................................................................. 36
   A.3. *-aka after h >-ǝxǝ .................................................................................................................. 36
   B. *-aka > -yro and *-uka < -yro ............................................................................................... 36
   C. *-iyaka > -yro < -uo .................................................................................................................. 36

2.14.2 Summary ....................................................................................................................................... 37

3.  Chapter Three: Noun phrases ........................................................................................................... 40

3.1 The substantive ................................................................................................................................. 40
   3.1.1 Number and case .................................................................................................................... 40
   3.1.2 Gender ...................................................................................................................................... 41
   3.1.3 Noun phrases ........................................................................................................................ 41
   3.1.4 Appositional modifiers .......................................................................................................... 42
      The name of the king + þǝo ............................................................................................................ 43
      þǝo + the name of the king ........................................................................................................... 44
   3.1.5 Numerals .................................................................................................................................... 47
      3.1.5.1 Cardinal numbers ........................................................................................................... 47
      3.1.5.2 Two digit numbers ....................................................................................................... 50

3.2 Adjectives ........................................................................................................................................... 52
   3.2.1 Modification ............................................................................................................................ 52
      3.2.1.1 Suffixes .......................................................................................................................... 52
      3.2.1.2 Prefixes .......................................................................................................................... 52
   3.2.2 Ordering of adjectives ............................................................................................................. 53
   3.2.3 Nominal phrases consisting of an adjective ......................................................................... 54
      3.2.3.1 Adjectives may precede the noun they modify ............................................................... 54
      3.2.3.2 Adjectives may follow the noun ................................................................................... 55
   3.2.4 Case marking of adjectives ................................................................................................... 55
   3.2.5 Comparison ............................................................................................................................ 56
      3.2.5.1 The comparative ............................................................................................................. 56
      3.2.5.2 The superlative .............................................................................................................. 57

3.3 Nominal sentences ............................................................................................................................ 57
   3.3.1 The presence of a copula ........................................................................................................ 57
      3.3.1.1 The position of the copula .............................................................................................. 58
      The absence of the copula .......................................................................................................... 59
   3.3.2 Copula with infinitive ............................................................................................................. 60
   3.3.3 The nominal sentence of possession ..................................................................................... 60

3.4 Summary ............................................................................................................................................... 60

4.  Chapter Four: Pronouns ......................................................................................................................... 62

4.1 Personal pronouns ............................................................................................................................. 62
   4.1.1 Full pronouns .......................................................................................................................... 62
      4.1.1.1 The direct full pronouns .................................................................................................. 62
      4.1.1.2 The oblique full pronouns ............................................................................................... 63
7. Chapter Seven: Conjunctions ............................................................... 107
  7.1 Coordinating conjunctions .......................................................... 107
      7.1.1 οἷο, ὁδ “and”, τοῖο, ὁτ “and” ............................................... 107
      7.1.2 Rarely attested coordinating conjunctions .............................. 111
      7.1.3 Summary ........................................................................... 114
  7.2 Correlative conjunctions ............................................................... 114
      7.2.1 Summary ........................................................................... 116
  7.3 Subordinating conjunctions ......................................................... 116
      7.3.1 Time ............................................................................... 116
      7.3.2 Cause/Effect ..................................................................... 118
      7.3.3 Condition ......................................................................... 121
      7.3.4 Summary ........................................................................... 122
8. Chapter Eight: The verb ................................................................. 123
  8.1 Position ....................................................................................... 123
      8.1.1 Two verbs in a construction ............................................... 123
      8.1.2 Enclitic forms of the verb “to be” ........................................ 126
  8.2 Agreement with subject ............................................................... 127
  8.3 Summary ..................................................................................... 130
  8.4 Passive and ergative constructions .............................................. 130
      1. R-ta+N-GEN (for the perfect) .................................................. 131
      2. na,t+N-ABL+R-ya (for the present-imperfect) ......................... 132
      3. N-GEN+R-ya (for the present-imperfect) ............................... 132
      8.4.1 Passive in Bactrian ............................................................. 133
  8.5 Summary ..................................................................................... 135
  8.6 Auxiliary verbs ............................................................................ 136
      Perfect ...................................................................................... 136
      Pluperfect .................................................................................. 136
      Past Subjunctive ........................................................................ 136
      8.6.1 The syntactic position of the auxiliary verb ......................... 138
      8.6.2 Summary ........................................................................... 138
9. Chapter Nine: Word order .............................................................. 139
  9.1 Intransitive verbs ........................................................................ 139
  9.2 Transitive verbs .......................................................................... 139
  9.3 Double object constructions ....................................................... 141
  9.4 Summary ..................................................................................... 143
10. Chapter Ten: Compounds ............................................................ 145
  10.1 I. Bactrian compounds according to the grammatical features of elements ............................................. 145
      a. Noun ..................................................................................... 145
  10.2 Classification of the two element compounds according to the syntactical connection of members to each other and their meaning relationship in a sentence ............................................. 149
      10.2.1 Exocentric ................................................................. 149
      10.2.1.1 Bahuvihi (possessive compound) .................................. 149
      10.2.1.2 Verbal governing ......................................................... 150
      1. χρν- “do, make” ................................................................. 150
      2. ββν- “bring” ....................................................................... 150
      3. λαο- “give” ................................................................. 150
      4. οστα “to put” ................................................................. 150
      5. ηνν- “come, arrive” ......................................................... 150
      6. ζνν- “to strike” .............................................................. 150
      10.2.1.3 Prepositional governing ........................................... 151
10.2.1.4 Derivative (Ableitung) .............................................................................................................. 151
10.2.2 Endocentric .................................................................................................................................. 151
  10.2.2.1 Determinative compound ...................................................................................................... 151
  α. Adjective (number)+ substantive or substantive+adjective ............................................................. 152
  β. Substantive +Substantive .................................................................................................................. 152
  10.2.2.2 Copulative (Dvandva) ........................................................................................................... 152

10.3 Tripartite compounds ......................................................................................................................... 152

10.4 Seam vowel ....................................................................................................................................... 153

10.5 Summary ........................................................................................................................................... 155

References ............................................................................................................................................. 156
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The first person who encouraged me to work on the Bactrian language was Dr. Hassan Rezai Baghbidi. He told me that only a few people in the world knew this language and that currently more experts in this field were needed. His encouragement was the main reason for my move to Germany and for writing my doctoral thesis on this language. He is the first person to whom I would like to express my gratitude.

I am also deeply indebted to Dr. Antje Wendtland at Göttingen University, who helped introduce me to the study of this language and to its sources and reference materials. She supported me throughout my study and read my thesis several times, always giving me very useful suggestions. Furthermore, I would particularly like to thank Professor Dr. Philip Kreyenbroek, who provided us with a very friendly atmosphere at our institute to work and study in. I really appreciate his encouragement and help.

I wish to express my appreciation as well to Dr. Agnes Korn, for her very insightful and useful comments on the chapters “historical phonology” and “compounds”.

I would like to thank Denise Bailey for her unflagging support and help. She corrected and formatted this work several times with admirable patience.

Finally, I wish to express special gratitude to “The Soudavar Memorial Foundation” for the financial support that enabled the addition of the chapter “Phonology”. This chapter was a part of the project “The position of Bactrian among the Indo-Iranian languages”.
The following table shows the Greek letters used for writing Bactrian (in bold) and their probable phonetic values in Bactrian.\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Α</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>γ</th>
<th>δ</th>
<th>ε</th>
<th>ζ</th>
<th>η</th>
<th>θ</th>
<th>ρ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a, å, ą</td>
<td>b, β</td>
<td>g, γ, γγ-ŋg</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>e, æ-ï</td>
<td>z, ž, dz</td>
<td>ā, ā, ηιο-ē</td>
<td>y, i, ĭ</td>
<td>s, ts, dz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Following Sims-Williams 1989: 233.
1. **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

1.1 **Bactria**

Bactria played an important role in the history of Central Asia. Originally, Bactria consisted of the plain between the Hindu Kush and the Šām Daryā, with its string of agricultural oases dependent on water taken from the rivers of Balkh (Bactra), Tashkurgan, Kondūz, Sar-e Pol, and Šīrīn Tagāō.²

The name *Bactria* is first mentioned in the list of Darius’s conquests in the Behistān inscription and in a fragment of the work of Ctesias of Cnidos.³ According to historical sources, *Bactra* occupied a commanding position on the royal road to India, and the Bactrians also played an important role in the Persian army. For example, at *Salamis* they were under the great king’s direct command.⁴

Alexander invaded Bactria, and Greek rulers maintained a rule informed by Hellenist culture for some 200 years after his death (323 B.C.). The Greek kings divided *Bactria-Sogdiana* into a number of satrapies, as this was a more manageable arrangement. This region was described as “Mother of cities” and as “Paradise on earth”.⁵

In the Avesta, *Bactria* is mentioned only in the list of countries in the first chapter of the *Vendīdād* and in the Pahlavi books in the *Bundahišn* and *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērān*.

In the *Bundahišn*, the Oxus, together with the Indus, is identified with the *wehrōd*, the “Good river”, which forms the boundary of *Ērānšahr* and is conceptually linked with the Avestan *ヴァガヴィダティ*, which is near the place where the first upholders of faith performed their sacrifices.⁶

The *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērān* associates Bactria with the Kayanid prince Spandyād (Esfandīyār) and his victory in the holy war against Arjāsp.⁷

Soon after the middle of the second century B.C., Greek rule ended with invasions of nomads, notably the *Yüeh-chih* or *Tokharoi* from the North, who settled in Northern Afghanistan.⁸ The archaeological discoveries relating to this period point to a continuation of agricultural and urban development.⁹

Under the Kushans, Bactria lost its political importance, but it became a major commercial center on the Silk Road. In the Kushan period (68 B.C.-240 A.D.), people were able to travel there; among them were Indian monks who brought the religion of the Buddha to Bactria.¹⁰

---

⁵ Tarn 1951: 113.
⁸ Sims-Williams 1989c: 344.
1.2 Bactrian language and script

Although Bactrian is geographically close to Eastern Iranian languages, from a linguistic point of view, it can be classified as an Eastern-Western Iranian language, because it possesses many characteristics of Western Iranian languages, particularly in the area of morphological and phonological features. Table 1 shows an overview of the Iranian languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Iranian</th>
<th>Old Persian, Avesta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle Iranian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Western-Eastern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle Persian, Parthian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Iranian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persian, Kurdish, Balochi, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some scholars have used other terms instead of Bactrian, such as “Greco-Bactrian”, “Kushan”, or “Kushano-Bactrian”. The name “Eteo-Tocharian”, proposed by A. Maricq, can hardly be justified.\(^{11}\)

In Achaemenian times, in the fifth century B.C., correspondence between Iranians as well as between Iranians and non-Iranians was conducted in Aramaic. There is no reason to doubt that in Achaemenian times, Aramaic was also used in Bactria. In post-Achaemenian times, this probably led to Middle Bactrian being written with Aramaic ideograms in Aramaic script, as was the case with Middle Persian, Parthian, and Chorasmian.\(^ {12}\)

The practice of writing Bactrian in Greek script must have begun in the first century B.C., when literacy in Greek was still sufficiently widespread among the Bactrians.\(^ {13}\) It seems that at first, the Kushans continued the traditional use of Greek. In the reign of Kanishka I (ca. 127-151 A.D.),\(^ {14}\) Bactrian replaced Greek on the Kushan coins. After this period, Greek ceased to be used as an official language in Bactria.\(^ {15}\)

After the collapse of the Kushan empire, Bactrian continued to be used for at least six centuries, as is shown by the ninth century inscriptions from the Tochi valley in Pakistan and the remnants of Buddhist and Manichean manuscripts as far away as the Turfan oasis in western China.\(^ {16}\)

1.3 Bactrian sources

1.3.1 Coins

The coins of the first Bactrian kings give their names and titles in Greek.\(^ {17}\) Kanishka's coins from the beginning of his reign were written in the Greek language and script, and depict Greek deities. But later coins were written in the Bactrian language and a modified Greek script.\(^ {18}\) With the eclipse of the Kushan dynasty, their lands west of the Indus fell into the hands of the Sasanians. In addition to coinage inscribed in Pahlavi and (occasionally) in Brāhmī, the Kušān-šāhs issued coins with legends in cursive Greco-Bactrian script.\(^ {19}\)

---


\(^{12}\) Gershevitch 1983: 1254.

\(^{13}\) Gershevitch 1983: 1255.


\(^{15}\) Sims-Williams 1989c: 345.

\(^{16}\) Sims-Williams 1997a.

\(^{17}\) Sims-Williams 1989c: 345.

\(^{18}\) See Bopearchchi 1991 and Humbach 1967a.

\(^{19}\) Sims-Williams 1989c: 345
the Hunnish period display a rich linguistic diversity, with loan titles from Indian, Turkish and Latin, as well as from Bactrian and Middle Persian.

1.3.2 Seals

The number of Kushan seals bearing Bactrian inscriptions is small. Bactrian inscriptions on seals during the Kushano-Sasanian and subsequent periods were written in an extremely cursive variety of the Greek script. There is some difficulty in dividing Kushano-Sasanian seals from those of the preceding Kushan period (68 B.C.-240 A.D.). Many of the earlier Kushan seals can be distinguished because their Bactrian inscriptions are written in a less cursive form of the Greek alphabet. These seals are inscribed with names and titles of their owner in Greco-Bactrian script.

1.3.3 Inscriptions

Surkh Kotal

This inscription was carved in the second century A.D. into a large monolith in the ruins of the acropolis of Surkh Kotal in northern Afghanistan. It was discovered in May 1957 by the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan. According to Henning, the purpose of this inscription was to record the construction work carried out by Nokonzoko. It was “the first substantial document of the Middle Iranian dialect of Bactria, which was previously only known from the coins…” The text of the Surkh Kotal inscription was published first by André Maricq, who identified some important words and phrases including the name of Kanishka, and then by Henning, Gershevitch, Harmatta, and Livšic. The last version was published by Lazard, Grenet, and de la Lamberteerie.

Rabatak

The stone bearing this inscription, together with fragments of a sculpture of a lion and agricultural elements, was found in March 1993 on a hill locally known as “the Kafirs’ Castle”, in a region called Rabatak, 25 miles north of Pul-i Khumri. The inscription relates to the rule of the Kushan emperor Kanishka and speaks of a sanctuary being built by Shafar, the local Kushan officer. This inscription was published for the first time by Cribb and Sims-Williams, and for the second time by Sims-Williams.

This inscription provides an important list of gods, and according to Cribb, “it makes the role of the divine images on Kushan coins abundantly clear.” The Rabatak Inscription also shows

21 Sims-Williams 1989c: 345.
24 Titles such as “chief of cavalry” (see Henning 1962: 335) or “great commander” and “satrap” (see Sims-Williams 1989c: 345).
26 Gershevitch 1979: 55.
27 Henning 1960: 47.
that Kanishka issued a Greek edict and then put it into Aryan and described some of the events of his first regal year. As Sims-Williams and Cribb note: “The most startling revelation is the identification of a new king, Vima Tak[to] (line 13), whose position among Kushan kings is clearly indicated.”

The other inscriptions

The trilingual inscription of Dašt-e Nāvūr (in Bactrian, Kharoṣṭī and an undeciphered script), the inscription of Ayrtam, the inscription of Delbarjīn, two inscriptions from Jaghatu, inscriptions from Uruzgan and the Tochi valley, and two very short rock inscriptions were also written in Bactrian. Several graffiti in cursive Bactrian script of the Kushano-Sasanian period have been found in the Buddhist cave-monastery of Kara-Tepe. Tang-i Safedak is another Bactrian inscription, which has been published by Lee and Sims-Williams.

1.3.4 Manuscripts

Seven of eight known fragments in Greco-Bactrian script were found at Toyoq and one at Lou-lan. Certain words suggest that the Lou-lan manuscript may contain a Buddhist text.

1.3.5 Documents

Our knowledge of the Bactrian language depends largely on a hundred documents in Bactrian cursive script, which appeared in the bazaar of Peshawar and on the international art market in recent years. Many of these are now in the collection of Dr. Nasser David Khalili in London. These documents were written on leather, cloth and even on wooden sticks. They span the whole period between Sasanian rule in the fourth century A.D. and Arab supremacy in the eighth century. Many of these documents are published by Sims-Williams (2000a and 2007a), and some of the other texts were published in separate articles in different magazines. The new Bactrian documents may be divided into five groups:

1. Legal documents

Twenty-six legal documents, including contracts and receipts dated from 342-781 A.D., and five documents of unknown date have been published. Most of the dated documents are legal contracts dealing with sales, leases, gifts, the manumission of a slave and the settlement of disputes. There is a marriage contract, which happens to be the earliest dated document in Bactrian.

---

34 For this inscription, see Davary 1976, Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 95 (Appendix).
35 It is dated early in the reign of Huvishka and resembles the almost contemporary Surkh Kotal monolith in vocabulary and phraseology (Sims-Williams 1989c: 346); for this inscription see Harmatta 1986: 131-146.
36 These inscriptions include substantial fragments of a monumental inscription of the early Kushan period (Sims-Williams 1989c: 346).
38 Lee and Sims-Williams 2003: 159-174.
39 For these manuscripts, see Humbach 1967a: 28-32.
41 For other possessors of the Bactrian documents, see Yoshida 2003: 156.
42 Sims Williams 2002b: 12.
43 For a list of these documents and magazines, see Yoshida 2003: 156.
45 Sims-Williams 2002b: 12.
Chapter 1. Introduction

2. Lists and accounts

Seven leather documents and 29 wooden slips or tallies have been published.\(^{46}\) These are generally undated, but one of them may present the date 379 A.D.\(^{47}\)

3. Letters

Seventy letters are published in *Bactrian Documents II*,\(^{48}\) three of which show the dates of 430, 431, and 463 A.D.\(^{49}\)

4. Buddhist texts

Only two Buddhist texts are published in *Bactrian Documents II*, which are undated.\(^{50}\) Sims-Williams published another Buddhist text belonging to the Schøyen.\(^{51}\)

5. Fragments of documents of uncertain type

These three fragments of documents are published in *Bactrian Documents II*,\(^{52}\) which present only a few words. They are not complete documents, and many words are missing.

1.4 Aims and assumptions

In Section 1.3, I have presented a list of Bactrian sources and the names of people who have worked on this language. During recent years, many works have been published, especially articles. Many of these are corrections, reviews and notices of older studies. Most researchers have concentrated more on philology and etymology, and only a few grammatical points can be found in their works.

J. Harmatta gives some grammatical information in his articles such as “The great Bactrian inscription” (1964), “Minor Bactrian inscriptions” (1965) and “Late Bactrian inscriptions” (1969). For example, he discusses the function of conjunctions in the Surkh Kotal inscription.

G. Djelani Davary was the first person to write about the morphology of Bactrian. His dictionary of Bactrian includes a very short sketch of Bactrian morphology.\(^{53}\) This chapter consists of seven sections: Substantives, adjectives, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, preverbs, and verbal endings. In four pages, he introduces only a few examples of these categories and gives their etymologies.

In 1984, Gilbert Lazard, Franz Grenet and Charles de Lamberterie wrote “Notes bactriennes”. This article is a new review of the Surkh Kotal inscription and includes a short section on nominal flection in Bactrian.

In 1985, Sims-Williams published “a note on Bactrian phonology”\(^{54}\) and, in 1989, the articles “Bactrian” in *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum* and “Bactrian language” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* III. In the last two articles, he describes some important grammatical

---


\(^{50}\) See Sims-Williams 2007a: 174-177.


\(^{52}\) See Sims-Williams 2007a: 170-171.

\(^{53}\) Davary 1982: 140-144.

points of Bactrian. These articles provided the most detailed description of Bactrian and its morphology.

Sims-Williams has also published Bactrian Documents I (2000) and II (2007), which includes notes on the orthography and grammar of Bactrian. The glossary of these books also includes some grammatical points.

Other articles of Sims-Williams also contain information on Bactrian grammar.

In 2003, Tremblay investigated the function of the past participle with the copula in his article “La résurrection du Bactrien”.

In the same year, Yoshida wrote a review of Sims-Williams’ Bactrian Documents I and mentions some grammatical points. In “The great Surkh Kotal inscription”, he reviewed the old readings and interpretations of this inscription and also briefly discussed several grammatical features.

The most recent works on Bactrian grammar are two articles by Sims-Williams, “Differential object marking in Bactrian”, and “Remarks on the phonology of the Manichaean Bactrian fragment (M 1224)”, and three articles by Gholami on ergativity, demonstrative determiners and pronouns, and definite articles.

As the above information shows, no study has been specifically devoted to Bactrian grammar and especially to its syntax. The only article on the subject of syntax was authored by Sims-Williams in 1973. In this short article, he analyses three examples of syntactic features of the Nokonzok inscription.

It was mainly for this reason that I decided to work on some important grammatical points in Bactrian. I selected a limited set of topics which were relatively unknown or which could show the unique character of this language. In this study, I aim to investigate various phonological, morphological, and syntactical features in Bactrian.

The text corpus used for this investigation is comprised of the texts edited by Sims-Williams as Bactrian Documents (henceforth abbreviated as BD I (legal and economic documents) and BD II (letters), the Rabatak inscription edited by Sims-Williams 2004 (2008), and the Kanishka inscription of Surkh Kotal (Lazard, Grenet and de Lamberterie 1984). The data for the linguistic investigation come from a selection of published articles, books and Internet sites. Details on these sources are provided in the footnotes and in the list of references.

This study includes the following parts: After Chapter One, that is, the introduction, in Chapter Two, “Historical phonology of Bactrian”, I discuss the historical phonology of Bactrian, that is, the development of Old Iranian consonants and vowels in the Bactrian language.

In Chapter Three, I focus on noun phrases. The major aim of this chapter is to investigate the syntactical position of different kinds of nouns and their relationship in a sentence. The other topic to be addressed in this chapter is that of nominal sentences.

In Chapter Four, the different types of pronouns are discussed. The focus here is on their syntactical properties.

---

55 Sims-Williams 2007a: 38-49.
57 Sims-Williams 2011b: 244-251
58 Gholami 2009b: 132-141
59 Gholami 2009a: 19-26
60 Gholami 2011: 11-22.
In Chapter Five, the function and syntactical position of prepositions and postpositions are discussed. In Chapter Six, adverbs are described in terms of their formation. I also focus on the proximate and remote deixis adverbs as well as their different syntactic positions.

The main aim of Chapter Seven is to introduce the various kinds of conjunctions and their functions in Bactrian.

In Chapter Eight, the previously unresearched aspects of the Bactrian verb are discussed. This chapter contains discussion of the syntactical position of the verb and its agreement with subject, and also of the passive and ergative constructions in Bactrian. The last part of this chapter treats the auxiliary verb.

In Chapter Nine, I examine word order in clauses with transitive or intransitive verbs, and also provide an investigation of double object constructions. Finally in Chapter Ten, I present a study of the different types of compounds in Bactrian. I describe first the grammatical features of compound elements, and then I describe their semantic relationship to each other.

2. Chapter Two: Historical Phonology of Bactrian

The purpose of this chapter is to update the research on the historical phonology of Bactrian according to the new findings of Bactrian materials, which were published 2000 and 2007 by Sims-Williams. He described Bactrian phonology in two articles, with his investigation based on the materials which had come to light up to that time. A question that arises here is whether the new findings will cause revision of the results of the older studies.

For this purpose, the development of the Proto Indo-Iranian phonemes to Bactrian will first be discussed in detail. As Bactrian is a transitional Iranian language, it will be also important to identify the Eastern and Western phonological characteristics in this language.

The study of phonology of Bactrian is faced with several problems. As this language is written in a variety of the Greek script, it is sometimes difficult to determine the exact characteristics of orthographic symbols, especially in the case of the long vowels and the consonants σ and ζ. In this respect, an unique Bactrian text in Manichean script could be very helpful. In many cases we observe more than one unexpected outcome of an Old Iranian consonant or vowel in Bactrian. This may introduce either a loanword or an archaism. It is not really clear whether we have more than one Bactrian dialect. Some material also show a different variety from what we regularly find.

The first part of this chapter focuses on simple consonants and then on consonant clusters. The second part focuses on the vowel system as well as the combination of vowels and consonants, and it also outlines the special phonological characteristics of Bactrian.

2.1 Consonants

2.2 Simple Consonants

In this section, the development of PIr. simple consonants in different positions is analysed.

---

61 I would like to take this opportunity to express my special gratitude to Agnes Korn for her very helpful comments and suggestions on the present chapter.


63 The analysis is accompanied by an assessment of the etymology of the Bactrian forms mentioned in Sims-Williams's Lexicon in the glossary of BD II.

64 This fragment is published by Sims-Williams. See Sims-Williams 2009: 245-268, for the phonology of this fragment see Sims-Williams 2011: 244-251.
2.2.1 PIr. plosives

2.2.1.1 PIr. *p, *t, *k

* Examples: *pada “water” < *āp, *sardV “last year” < *parā, *sākā “family” < *pada, *πουρο “son” < *puθra-

The development of PIr. plosives is not uniform in Bactrian. In general, the word-initial plosives *# p, *t, *k seem to have been preserved without any change. The inter-vocalic *-p-, *-t-, *-k- have progressed to <β>, <δ>, <γ>. In the following, the details of this development and some of the special characteristics are presented.

*p

PIr. *#p is preserved in Bactrian:

*# p > p

Examples: *πανζό “five” < *πανča, *παρασαρλό “last year” < *parā-sardV, *παλό “family” < *pada, *πορο “son” < *puθra-

In general, the internal *-p- between two vowels is changed to <β>:

*-p- > v and b

It is not clear exactly in which position the letter β represents the sound b and in which position it represents v. The Bactrian fragment in Manichean script has two different letters b and β, representing the sounds [b] and [v], respectively. In this fragment, only three words possess b. These are b’gyg 65 “having a share” (also b’gy(g) ynd), bwt “Buddha” and zmbwd’ng “worldly, earthly”. It seems that in Manichean Bactrian, only β is used, and it represents v, whereas b can be seen only in loanwords. The Manichaen form (y)’β “water” shows, at least at this stage of the language, that OIr. postvocalic *p developed to [v]. It is also important to know how Graeco-Bactrian <β> should be pronounced. The question is whether it always stands for [v], or whether in certain cases it stands for [b]. The double -ββ- in the Graeco-Bactrian form αββo “water” <*αββo- may represent [b], which distinguishes this word from the preposition αββo [av] “to”. As δδ represents [d], and not fricative [d], -ββ- may represent [b], and not fricative [v]. Unfortunately, there is no other example of the occurrence of -ββ-.

In some compounds in which the second element begins with *p, *p seems to be preserved, for example, in ναλοπισαγό “mutual agreement” <*hada-pati-sākā. In ναμπαλό “accordingly”(? < *hama-pada-, *p is preserved, but in another variant of this word, namely, αμβαλό, *p has developed to <β>. The variant ναμπαλό is attested in documents from 379/380 A.D., whereas αμβαλό occurs in documents from 417/418 A.D.. The question is whether the variant ναμπαλό is older and whether *p is changed to <β>, namely [v], in such a context in

---

65 According to Sims-Williams “the writing with b- and g- for expected β and γ suggests a loanword from Western Iranian…, possibly from Parthian.” cf. Sims-Williams 2009: 258.
later texts. Here, we look at other examples in order to find an answer to our question. In λανανιανπανταστοκα “deed of gift” (in document C from 379/380 A.D.), *p has developed to [v]. In λανανιανπανταστοκα <dāšinV-pati-dāsin (in document W from 747 A.D.), the first *p is preserved. The document W represents the preservation of two varieties, namely, the preservation and changing of *p.

*ν

*ν > τ

Initial *ν is preserved in Bactrian:

Examples: τα “then” < *tā, τοβ- “to impress”< *tāpa-.

*ν > δ, đ

Post vocalic *ν has developed to <δδ> and <δ>. The question is whether <δδ> actually represents a double consonant or if it is here an attempt to distinguish [d] and [δ].

The letter δ is always doubled before palatal vowels <η> and <ι> in the later texts, for example, εζδδιπτο “with the cognizance of”, αγαδδηπο “you brought” (?), κιρδδιμο “I did”, πιδδι “in this”.

According to Sims-Williams, the writing δδ indicates [dd] resulting from the assimilation of [dy] from palatalized [d]. He mentions the sequence of forms ταδηια/ταδηιο [tādē(i)] (Rabatak, Surkh Kotal, etc.) > ταδδηιο [tādyē(i)] (in unpublished documents, including two dated in the years 157 and 195=389 and 427 A.D.), > ταδδηιο [tāddē(i)] (in documents from years 446-527=678-759 A.D.).

Regarding the above examples and information, we can conclude that <δδ> represents [d], and <δ> shows fricative [d], which we expect in Eastern Middle Iranian Languages.

In the following examples, post vocalic *ν has developed to <δ> namely [d]:

Examples: οδο “and” < *uta-, πιδο “to, on, by, at” < *pati-

In ραμοσητο “the spirit Ram” < *rāmāčaita-, postvocalic t is preserved. This word is probably a loanword from Sogdian r’mcytk.

In απισοδαρο <*pasča-tara-, *ν has developed to [d], but in another variant of this word, namely, απισσαρο is attested. απισσαρ occurs two times, once in xp (uncertain date) and twice in Q (c. 671 A.D.). απισσαρ is attested in documents cc, ci (c. 379/380 A.D.) and xe (uncertain date). It is difficult to believe that [d] is older than [t]. This is only one occurrence of απισσαρ in newer documents, and we can not conclude with certainty that it is an old variant. It is possible that both of these variants were known around 671 A.D., even though the variant with [t] must be the older one.

The following examples with initial δ- seem to be native Bactrian words:

Examples: δαγαγανπο “such, in this way” < *aitāt-gauna-ka, δανομανπο “such-and-such” < *aitāt-nmān-a-, δαφρηλο “so much” < *aitāt-frāyah-.

*k

*k in initial position is preserved:

66 Sims-Williams 2007a: 38
67 Sims-Williams 1998a: 197
68 Suggested to me by Sims-Williams.
69 In these examples, *ai- has disappeared. The shortening or ultimate disappearance of Old Iranian long vowels or diphthongs in certain circumstances is one of the Eastern Middle Iranian characteristics, for example, *aizma > Sogdian zm-, Chwaresmian (’)zm. Cf. Sims-Williams 1989b: 168.
Chapter 1. Introduction

*# k- > k
Examples: καδάμο “whatever” < *katāma-, καδό “house” < *kataka-, καλό “when, if” < *kadā + -oō

*-k- > g

In the postvocalic position, *k is changed to <γ>. The question is whether <γ> represents [g] or [γ], or both of them. In the Manichaean Bactrian fragment, there are separate letters for [g] or [γ], but they are very similar. According to Sims-Williams, “Old Iranian postvocalic *k had developed only as far as the plosive [g], as exemplified by βγ and many other words with suffixal *-k-.”70 Other examples of this development are ϊγο (Manich. ywg) “one, a, a certain” <*aiwaka-, ζεμύγο “ground” < *zamīkā-.

There are also some examples of the preservation of *k under special conditions. It seems that *k in the initial position of the second element in a compound could be preserved, and in this environment, it functions as an initial *k:
Examples: νακανό “to dig” <*ni-kanta-, ποδόκαρό “retention” <*pati-karda-

2.2.1.2 PIr. *b, *d, *g

PIr *b, *d, *g are represented by Bactrian [v], [l], [γ]. As mentioned in (2.2.1.1), *b is preserved only in loanwords and after nasals in the Manichaean Bactrian fragment.72

*b > <β>=[v]
Examples: αβαρ “to bring” <*ābara-, ασβαρ “horseman” <*aspa-bāra-, βαγο “god” <*baga-

The *d is changed to l.73

*d > l
Examples: λαρζ “subject to restrictions” <*dārzV-, λαυ “to give” <*daθa-, λυστο “hand” <*dasta-, *αλο, άλα- “with” <*hada-, όρλο “side” <*arda-, καρλ- “to detain” <*karda-, μαλαρζ “locust” <*madaxa, μόλο “wine” <*madu-

The PIr. *d is only preserved in loanwords in the form of <δ> and <δδ>, for example, δίνο/δινό “name of the twenty-fourth day of the month” <*dayanā- (MP dēn), δόθαυ “family” (MP dūdag), and in the form <Δ> (in documents from the seventh and eighth centuries), for example, in Δραχμό “dirham” (Gk. δραχμή).74 The question is how δ, δδ and Δ must be pronounced. According to Sims-Williams, in some cases, Δ seems to have the same function as δδ. Possibly δδ and Δ indicate [d], and δ represents fricative [d].76 It is interesting to note that in some cases, all of these three variants are attested, for example, δίνο/δδίνο/Δίνο “dinar”. The issue to be addressed here then, is this: Why do we have three variants of “dinar” and what is the difference between them? As this form is a Greek loanword in Bactrian, we must look at the Greek language and the kind of <δ>. It seems that the plosive d is changed to d by the

---

70 In the following examples, it is not clear whether the outcome is g or γ:
αγιρό “ineffective” <*a-karya-, αγισίνδο “dissatisfied” <*aka-sandV-, αγιόρζο “witness” <*wi-kāθwan(?).
71 Sims-Williams 2011: 246
72 Cf. Sims-Williams 2011: 246
73 According to Sims-Williams, *d has developed via *δ to / Sims-Williams 1989a: 233.
74 δραχμό is also attested.
75 For the circumstances of Δ, see Sims-Williams 2007a: 38-39.
76 Sims-Williams 2007a: 39.
second century A.D. It means that a plosive is older than a fricative in a language like Greek. The first occurrence of διναρο (with a fricative đ) appears by the fourth century in Bactrian documents. It seems that at the time of the entrance of διναρο into Bactrian, the new Greek form, namely, with a fricative δ, is accepted, and then within Bactrian, it developed to a plosive. We can observe that διναρο (with a plosive d) occurs after 517 A.D., and Δδιναρο around 771 A.D.

*g* has developed to γ:

*γ > ь*78

Examples: αγαδο (past stem) “to come” < *ā-gata-, ωγοτο (past stem) “to conceal” (?) (Manich. ‘wywt) < *awa-gušta-, βαγο “god” < *baga-

It must be added that <γγ> represents [ŋg].

2.2.1.3 PIr. *č, *ǰ

It seems that Bactrian, as other Eastern Middle Iranian languages, though with the exception of Sogdian, participates in the depalatalization of *č to ʦ and *ǰ to ʣ.

*č

*č* is changed to <σ> in Bactrian. The Greek and Manichean script does not reflect the exact phonetic value of this consonant. We can only say that it is not a simple s, but it is not absolutely clear whether it is actually an affricate ʦ. It probably has two different phonological values, namely [ʦ] and [s]. When it derives from *č, it represents [ʦ] and if it derives from *s, it indicates [s]. The only exception is σαο “from”, in Manichaen, ’s. Even though this preposition derives from *hač, it is pronounced according to the Manichaen form as [as]. According to Sims-Williams, it was probably a proclitic and may attest a simplification of final [ʦ] to [s] in sandhi before certain consonants.79

*č > ʦ

Examples: σαζαμανο “as soon as” < *čiyāt-ǰ ḥam, σανο “pleasure” < *čanah-, σηρο “use” (?) < *čārya-, (α)σίδο 80 “what, which” < *čim + -δο, πισο (Manichaen: pyc) “in the presence of”.<*patīčā

The last example, namely, πισο, shows that [ʦ] may also occur after palatal vowels.81

*ǰ

According to Sims-Williams, the Manichaen script distinguishes between at least two, and perhaps three different sounds, namely, <ς>, <ǰ>,82 and <j>,83 which are all written with the letter <ζ> in the Graeco-Bactrian script. It is important to know which of these would be the outcome of *ǰ. In the Manichaen fragment, we have two outcomes, namely, <ǰ> and <j> for *ǰ, as shown in the following examples:

Examples: jyn’g “body” < jīnā-kā-/jāyanā-kā-, ’wjyd “to kill” < *awa-jata-

---

77 Browning 1983: 26-27
78 It is not clear where this letter represents g and in which position it is used for γ. In the Manichaean fragment, it is also difficult to recognize these very similar letters, cf. Sims-Williams 2011: 244.
79 Sims-Williams 2011: 247
80 According to Sims-Williams, (α) ʦid, Sims-Williams 2011: 247.
81 This is also mentioned by Sims-Williams 2011: 247
82 Sims-Williams transliterated this sound as z’ in Sims-Williams 2009.
83 For further discussion on these three sounds, see Sims-Williams 2011: 247-249.
It is not clear whether it is really a difference between <j> and <  >. According to Sims-Williams, <  > represents [dz] (and [dʒ]?) and <j> may show [ʒ] (and [dʒ]?).

### 2.2.2 PIr. fricatives and affricates

#### 2.2.2.1 PIr. *f, *θ, *x

**Table 3. Proto-Iranian fricatives and affricates**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PIr.</th>
<th>Both initial and internal position</th>
<th>Bac. script</th>
<th>Phonetic value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θ</td>
<td>υ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>ζ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>σ</td>
<td>s, š (after a palatal vowel)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>ζ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>š</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>υ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pifr. *f and *x are preserved in Bactrian, and *θ has developed to h:

*θ > h

Examples: φαρδαρο “more” < *faru-tara-, φαρο “glory” <*farnah-, παδοφρασο “punishment” < *pāti-frāsā-, μιυροναφρονο “west” < *miθra-nifrāna-

*θ > h

Examples: ναγγο “load” < *θanga-, αναθαγγο “without deduction” (?) < *an-ā-θaxta-

In one instance, θ is preserved in τόμο “thus” < *iθā. This word could be a loanword or it may be an archaism.

*x > x

Examples: χαλ- “to prick” < *xada-, χανο “house” < *xānā-, χαρο “donkey” < *xara-, αχασ “to quarell” < *ā-xasa-, ποροχηζ “to serve” < *pari-xaiza-

#### 2.2.2.2 PIr. *s, *z

*s

As mentioned above, σ has different phonological values, for example, it may represent [ts], when it derives from Old Iranian *č. Another function of σ can be a development of *s. In Manichean script, there are two different forms as the output of *s, that is, s and š.

*s > s


*s > š

According to Sims-Williams, we find š after a palatal vowel, e.g., ἱβύζνμν “of many kinds” (οαβίσο “much, many” < *ha-bai-sah + ζαγγο “manner, way” < *zanaka-)

---

84 The development of *θ to h in Bactrian, is also mentioned by Wendtland 2009:176-177.
85 In one instance, θ is changed to x in the consonant cluster in ζαχμο “wound” <*ja(n)θma(n)- . This word may be a loanword.
*z

Without any doubt, we can claim that *z has developed only to z:

*z > z

Examples: ζαμίγο “ground” < *zamīkā-, ζαν- “to know” < *zāna-, ζαδό “free” < *āzāta-, ζό “I” < *azam

2.2.2.3 Plr. *š

It seems that there are two different outcomes for *š in Bactrian, namely, š and h:

*š > š

Examples: αζγα+ “to dissent” (?) < *uz-gaša- (?), λαφνο “gift” < *dāšinV-, νιφωμο “seat” < *ni-šadman-, παζμ “relation by marriage” < pagVšaka-, φρυη “to seduce” (?) < *fra-xrāsaya-, χαφνο “clothing” < *xāša-ka-

*š > h

Examples: ασνω “daughter in law” < *snushā, εμουάνο “these” < *imaišanām, ναγγο “ear” < *ni-gauša-, ναύφο “to settle” < *ni-šāsta-

2.2.2.4 Plr. *h

Generally *h is preserved in both initial and internal position:

*h > h

Examples: ναμι “much, many” < *hadi-sah-, ναζαρο “thousand” < *hazahra-, ναμγο “same” < *hama-ka-, παδουμονο “boundary” < *pāti-ham-iyā-, πιδουμονο “request” < *pāti-wahana-

It seems that *h could have disappeared in some cases. In the case of the word “month”, we observe both developments, that is, it can be preserved, such as in μαιο “month” < māhV-, or it can disappear, as in μαο “month” < māhV-. A word-initial *h is lost very often, for example, *ολο, ολα- “with” < *hada-, αλωγ “fully privileged” < *hada-uxta- “possessing (the right of) speech”, αγγαρο “property” < *hama-kāraka-, αγγιττ “to receive” < *hama-kāsta-, ομβαγ “to give away” < *hama-baxta-

There are also other examples of the omission of h. It seems that *h can have disappeared before a long vowel:

Examples: ναμαγγο “dowry” < *namah-āna-ka-, οοσαρο “market” < *wahā-čarana-

2.2.3 Plr. Sonorants

Table 4. Proto Iranian Sonorants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plr.</th>
<th>Both initial and internal position</th>
<th>Bac. script</th>
<th>Phonetic value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>μ</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>ν</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>ρ</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>ο</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>ι</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.3.1 Plr. *m, *n

The Olr. nasals are preserved in Bactrian.
Chapter 1. Introduction

*m > m

Examples: μαλαχο “locust” < *madaxa, μργο “chicken” < *mrga-, μανο “mind” < *māna-, αζγαμο “produce” < *uz-gāma-, καδαμο “whatever” < *katāma-, κμ- “to want” < *kāmaya-

*n- > n

Examples: νακανδο “to dig” < *ni-kanta-, ναμαγο “list” < *nāmaka-, ναμο “name” < *nāman-, κνο “revenge” < *kainā-, κωρανο “direction, side” < *karān-

2.2.3.2 Plr.*r

*r is preserved in Bactrian:

*r- > -r-

Examples: ραγο “plain” < *rāgā-, ραζ- “to call” < *rāza-, ρωσο “day” < *rāučah-, αβαρ- “to bring” < *ā-bara-, ανάρο “other” < *antarā-, ασβαρο “horseman” < *aspa-bāra-

2.2.3.3 Plr. *w

Bactrian preserves the *w in both initial and internal positions:

*w > w

Examples: οαζ- “to use” < *waza-, οασαρο “market” < *wahā-čarana-, τασανο “fine” < *tāwāna

2.2.3.4 Plr. *y

*y

*y is consistently preserved in Bactrian:

*y > y

Examples: ιαοηδανο “eternal” < *yāwai- tāna-, ιαο “grain, corn” < *yawa-, ιαο “pair” < *yuixa-ka-, ιαο “aprentice” < *yuwan- a or yūn-a-

2.2.4 Summary of the system of consonants

According to the above discussion and examples, we can summarize the consonant system in Bactrian as follows:

Table 5. The basic consonantal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Bilabial/ Labiodental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar/ Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive/ Affricate</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ĺ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>δ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ž</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 2.3 Consonant clusters

*Table 6. Consonant clusters*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plr.</th>
<th>Bac. script</th>
<th>Phonetic value</th>
<th>Details in Chapter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive + Plosive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gd</td>
<td>γδ</td>
<td>γd</td>
<td>2.3.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosive + Africate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tč</td>
<td>σ and once ζζ</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>2.3.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosive + Nasal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gn</td>
<td>γν</td>
<td>γn</td>
<td>2.3.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosive + Approximant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dy</td>
<td>λ</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>2.3.1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosive + Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dr</td>
<td>λρ, δρ</td>
<td>lr, dr</td>
<td>2.3.1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal + Plosive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td>νδ</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>2.3.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntč</td>
<td>ηζ</td>
<td>nz (?)</td>
<td>2.3.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>νδ</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>2.3.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nk</td>
<td>γγ</td>
<td>ηγ</td>
<td>2.3.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>μβ</td>
<td>mv</td>
<td>2.3.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mk</td>
<td>γγ</td>
<td>ηγ</td>
<td>2.3.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal + fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nθ</td>
<td>υ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>2.3.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ns</td>
<td>σ</td>
<td>s (?)</td>
<td>2.3.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal + Africates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nč</td>
<td>νζ</td>
<td>ndz</td>
<td>2.3.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj</td>
<td>νζ</td>
<td>ndz</td>
<td>2.3.2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Continuation of Table 6. Consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plr.</th>
<th>Bac. script</th>
<th>Phonetic value</th>
<th>Details in Chapter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fricative + Plosives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ft</td>
<td>βδ</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>2.3.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xt</td>
<td>γδ</td>
<td>γd</td>
<td>2.3.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>st</td>
<td>στ</td>
<td>σt</td>
<td>2.3.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sp</td>
<td>σπ</td>
<td>sp</td>
<td>2.3.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>št</td>
<td>šτ, τ</td>
<td>št, t</td>
<td>2.3.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zd</td>
<td>ζδ, ζ</td>
<td>zd, z</td>
<td>2.3.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šk</td>
<td>šκ</td>
<td>šk</td>
<td>2.3.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sk</td>
<td>σκ</td>
<td>sk</td>
<td>2.3.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative + Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xs</td>
<td>χσ</td>
<td>xs</td>
<td>2.3.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#fš</td>
<td>φ, χ</td>
<td>f, x</td>
<td>2.3.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fš-</td>
<td>φφ, φ</td>
<td>fš, f</td>
<td>2.3.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#xš</td>
<td>β, χ</td>
<td>š, x</td>
<td>2.3.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-xš-</td>
<td>ββ, β</td>
<td>xš, x</td>
<td>2.3.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#xšn</td>
<td>χν</td>
<td>xn</td>
<td>2.3.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xšt</td>
<td>χτ, χβ</td>
<td>xt, xš</td>
<td>2.3.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>štk</td>
<td>šκ</td>
<td>šk</td>
<td>2.3.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative + Africative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sč</td>
<td>σ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>2.3.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative + Nasal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xm</td>
<td>χμ</td>
<td>xm</td>
<td>2.3.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šm</td>
<td>υμ, μ</td>
<td>hm, m</td>
<td>2.3.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm</td>
<td>υμ</td>
<td>hm</td>
<td>2.3.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sn</td>
<td>σν</td>
<td>sn</td>
<td>2.3.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šn</td>
<td>žν</td>
<td>šn</td>
<td>2.3.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zn</td>
<td>žν</td>
<td>zn</td>
<td>2.3.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative + Trill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fr</td>
<td>φρ</td>
<td>fr</td>
<td>2.3.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fra</td>
<td>φφο</td>
<td>fr(ə)</td>
<td>2.3.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#sr</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>2.3.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-str-</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>2.3.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hr</td>
<td>υρ, ρ</td>
<td>hr, r</td>
<td>2.3.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hr</td>
<td>ρ</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>2.3.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xř</td>
<td>χρ</td>
<td>xř</td>
<td>2.3.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative + Approximant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ťw</td>
<td>λφ</td>
<td>lf</td>
<td>2.3.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#dw</td>
<td>λβ, β</td>
<td>lβ, β</td>
<td>2.3.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xw</td>
<td>χο</td>
<td>xo</td>
<td>2.3.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hw</td>
<td>χο</td>
<td>xo</td>
<td>2.3.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţy</td>
<td>τ</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>2.3.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zy</td>
<td>ζ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>2.3.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sy#</td>
<td>σ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>2.3.3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africates + Approximant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čy</td>
<td>ρ, σ</td>
<td>š, š</td>
<td>2.3.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğy</td>
<td>ξ</td>
<td>z (?))</td>
<td>2.3.4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Continuation of Table 6. Consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plt.</th>
<th>Bac. script</th>
<th>Phonetic value</th>
<th>Details in Chapter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trill + Plosives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rt</td>
<td>ρδ</td>
<td>rd</td>
<td>2.3.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rd</td>
<td>ρδ, once ρλ</td>
<td>rd, once rl</td>
<td>2.3.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill + Fricative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rʃ</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>2.3.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rζ</td>
<td>ζ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>2.3.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rz</td>
<td>ρζ</td>
<td>rz</td>
<td>2.3.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rs</td>
<td>ρσ</td>
<td>rs</td>
<td>2.3.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rst</td>
<td>ʃt</td>
<td>ʃt</td>
<td>2.3.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill + Nasal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rn</td>
<td>ρ</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>2.3.5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rm</td>
<td>ρμ</td>
<td>rm</td>
<td>2.3.5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant + r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr</td>
<td>ρ</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>2.3.6.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.1 Combination with plosives

Some typical cases of the development of consonant clusters are listed here:

2.3.1.1 Plosive + Plosive

*gd
*gd > γd
Example: λογδο “daughter” < *dugdā

2.3.1.2 Plosive + Affricate

*-tɛ-
*-tɛ- > ts <σ> and once <ζζ>
Examples: γασικο “concubine” < *gāta-čī-, λοχσο “pail” < *duxta-čī, παρσο “back, afterwards” < *paršti-čī-, λαρσο “illness” < *darta-čīya-, ποζζο “debt” < *partu-čī- or *partu-čiya-

2.3.1.3 Plosive + Nasal

*-gn-
*-gn- > γn
Example: ουρο “famine” < *waignā-

2.3.1.4 Plosives + Approximant

*-dy-
*-dy > l
Example: μιλανο “middle” < *madyāna(ka)-

2.3.1.5 Plosives + Trill

*dr
*dr > lr > dr

Old Iranian *dr had developed to <λρ>[lr], <δδρ>[dr] and <δρ>[dr]. It seems that [lr] is older than [dr] and [dr]. A good example showing this development is the word λρογο/δδρογο <
Chapter 1. Introduction

*druwa-ka- “in good health”. λρογο occurs very often in old texts between 359 and 472 A.D., whereas δρογο is attested in a document from 700 A.D. (document T).\(^{56}\) Another example is λρογο/δρογο “falsehood” < *drauga-. λρογο is attested in document cg (379/380 A.D.), whereas the form δρογο occurs between the seventh and eighth centuries.\(^{\S 7}\) We can find the same development for internal *dr as initial *dr. μάλρο as the name of a city and district is used in document J (about 517 A.D.) and μαδδρο in document U (about 712 A.D.). It must be added that both <δδρ> and <Δρ> in δραχμο/Δραχμο are used between the seventh and eighth centuries.

2.3.2 Combination with nasals

2.3.2.1 Nasal + Plosive

*-nt-

*-nt- > nd

Examples: οχανδ “to control” (?) < *xšayant-a-, ζοοινδογο “living” < *ǰīwantaka-, νακανδ “to dig” < *ni-kanta-, ομρεσχουνδο “wonderful” < *warčhwant-

*ntč

*ntč > nζ

Example: φινζο “lady” < *fšuyant-ī-čī

Pfr. *nd is preserved as such:

*-nd-

*-nd- > nd

Examples: βανδαγο “servant” < *bandaka-, κανδογοληρο “keeper of the granary” < *kandu-kā + ληρο, γανδομο “wheat” < *ganduma-, νοβανδο “beside” < *ni-band V, νοβανδάνο “established custom” (?) < *ni-band-anā, πηςινδ “to approve” < *pati-sandaya-, σινδ “to wish” < *sandaya-, νοσινδο “pleased” < *hu-sanda-, νονοσινδο “content” < *hu-ni-sandV-

*tk-

*tk- > ng <γγ>

Examples: -λαγγο “containing” <*dāna-ka, ζαγγο “manner” < *zanaka-, -ηγγο, -γγο (suffix) < *aina-ka-, νομογγο “dowry” < *namah-āna-ka-, πηγγο “knowledge” < *pati-zāna-ka, -σάγγο (suffix) < *čāna-ka-

*-mb-

*-mb- > mv

αμβαγδο “to give away” < *ham-baxta-, σταμβο “to injury” < *stambV-

*mp-

*mp- > mv

Example: αμβαρο “store” < *ham-pārV-

\(^{56}\) δδρογο is also attested in another document (jh). The time of this document is not clear, but according to Sims-Williams, jc-ji are all shown to be late by the doubling of δ before palatal vowels and the use of the letter transliterated Δ. Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 26.

\(^{\S 7}\) This form occurs in documents W, Q, T, U, and X.
Chapter 1. Introduction

*-mk-

*-mk- > ng

Examples: αγγαργο “property” < *ham-kāraka-, πιδαγγηρ “to agree” < *pati-ham-kāraya-, αγγιτι (past stem) “to receive” < *ham-kaśta-

2.3.2.2 Nasal + fricative

*n0

*n0 > h

Examples: ζαουοζαδγο “natural” < *zanθa- “birth” (?) or *zanθu- “family” + *zātaka- or *hu-zātaka- (may be because of n0), ζαφο “killing” < *janθra-

*-ns-

*-ns- > s

Example: ναβισ- “to write” < *ni-pinsa-

2.3.2.3 Nasal + Affricates

*nč

After a nasal č is changed to z:

*nč > ndz

Examples: πανζασο “fifty” < *pančāsat-, πανζο “five” < *panča-

*nj

*nj > ndz

Examples: ρανζο “quickly” < *ranǰyah-, αλφανζ “to acquire” < *θwanǰa-

2.3.3 Combination with fricatives

2.3.3.1 Fricative + Plosives

*ft 88 is developed to vd in Bactrian:

*ft > vd

Examples: γαβδδιγο “exerting oneself” < *gaf-ta-ka-, ταβδο (past stem to ταβ- “impress”) < *tafta-, πιδαρβδο “received” < *pati-grfta-

*xt 89

*xt- > γd

Examples: αλωγδο “fully privileged” < *hada-uxtα- “possessing (the right of) speech”, αμβαγδο (past stem) “to give away” < *ham-baxta-, αναυαγδο “without deduction” (?) < *an-ā-θaxta-

*xt- > γ(ǝ)d

Examples: αβαυαγαδο “to charge” < *apa- 0axta “deducted”, οισαγαδο “accounted” (?) < *wi-saxta-, σαγαδο (?) (past stem to σαχσ- “to be assessed” < saxta-

There is one example in which *xt is preserved. This word is probably a loanword from MMP/Pth. sxt: σαχσ- “elapsed” < *saxta-

88 Fort the development of *ft in Pamir languages, see Wendtland 2009: 176.

89 See also Wendtland 2009: 175.
Chapter 1. Introduction

*st

*st is always preserved:

*st > st

Examples: στοργο “great” < *stūraka-, σταμβο “to injury” < *stambV-, αστο “be present” < *asti-, αβαστανο “support” < *upa-stāna-, βαστο “to bind” < *basta-

*sp

The initial and internal *sp is preserved in Bactrian:

*sp > sp

Examples: σπαδοζαγγο “on bended knee” < *spāta-zānu-ka, σπαλιγο “jar” < *spādaka-, σπασο “service” < *spāsV-, ασπασο “service” < *spāsV-, ασπισ “to serve” < *spasya-, ασπασιγο “groom” < *spāsiyaka-, ασπο “horse” < *aspa-, οισπο “all” < *wispa-, βαστο “to bind” < *basta-

*št

*št > t

Examples: αταο “eight” < *aštā, νιτιι “to send” < *ni-štāya-

*št > ŝt

Examples: παφτο “agreement” < *paštī-, ραφτο “true, loyal” < *raštā-, νοαφτο “to settle” < *nišāsta-

*zd

*zd seems to have two outcomes. It is possible that d will be shown to disappear in new material:

*-zd- > zd

Examples: βιζδανο “evil” < *bazdya- + suffix -δανο, νοζδο “near” < *nazdīyah-

*-zd- > z

Examples: βιζαγο “evil” < *bazdya-kā-

*šk

*šk > ŕk

Example: ἀφκαρ- “to follow” < *škara-

*sk

*sk > sk

Examples: ἀσκαδαρο “more” < *uskād+suffix -δαρο, ἀσκανο “note” < *us-kānV

This is the only attested example of the development of *zd to z.
2.3.3.2 Fricative + Fricative

*xs

*-xs- > xs

Example: σαχσ “to be assessed” < *saxsa-

*fš

It seems that in Bactrian, we have more than one outcome for the consonant cluster *fš:

*# fš- > f

Example: φινζο “lady” < *fšuyant-ī-čī

*# fš- > x

Example: χοβανο “shepherd” < *fšu-pāna-

*-fš- > fš

Example: καφ “shoe” < *kafši-

*-fš- > f

Example: πιδοφαρο “honour” < *pati-fšarV-

The following table shows the frequency of different developments of *fš in Bactrian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phonological change</th>
<th>number of examples in our corpora</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*#fš- &gt; f</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*#fš- &gt; x</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-fš- &gt; fš</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-fš- &gt; f</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*xš

In the case of this consonant cluster, we observe two different outcomes in both initial and internal position, which may reflect a dialectal difference (?):

*# xš- > š

Example: ἰτυ “to be able” < *xšāya- 91

*# xš- > x

Examples: χαβρωσο “(by) night and (by) day” < *xšapā- + ρωσο, χαρο “ruler” < xšāthriya-, (α)χανδ- “to control” < *xšayant-a-

*-xš- > xš

Example: παδαχρανo “having authority” < *pāti-xšāna-

*-xš- > x

Examples: οαχο “interest” < *waxša-, παδαχνωρο “recompense” < *pāti-xšnauθra-, χοατο “sixty” < *xšwašt-

91 There are also other examples of the development of *xš to š, but these words are probably Middle Persian loanwords: ṭαο “king” < *xšāwā, ṭαρς “satrap” < *xšātha-pā, ṭαο “city” < *xšaθra-. In the case of ἰτυ “good” < *xšia-ka-, the etymology is unclear. For that reason, the best example of this development in Bactrian is the word ἰτυ, which is mentioned above.
In the following table, the frequency is shown of different developments of *xš in our Bactrian corpora:

**Table 8. Development of Plr. *xš**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phonological change</th>
<th>number of examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*# xš- &gt; š</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*# xš- &gt; x</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-xš- &gt; xš</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-xš- &gt; x</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*šn

*#xšn > xn

Example: (α)γυωρο “satisfaction” < *xšnauθra-

*xšt

The consonant cluster *xšt has two different outcomes, which may show a dialectal difference:

*-xšt- > xt

Examples: αλοσιχτογο “inclined” < αλο + *čixšta-ka-, νιβιχτο (Past stem) “to write”< *nixšta-

*-xšt- > xš

Example: λαχβατανιγο “place of cremation” < *λαχβατανο (< *daxšta) + suffix -ṭo

*št

*-št- > -šk-

Example: ναφκο “pupil” < *hāwišta-ka-

### 2.3.3.3 Fricative + affricative

*šč

*šč > ts

Example: πισο “before, in the presence of” < *pasča

As Greek σ is used both for s and ts in Bactrian, the question is whether σ represents [ts] or [s] in the above-mentioned context. It seems that *šč developed to s in Bactrian. πισο is attested in the Manichaen fragment in the form of pyc [pits].

### 2.3.3.4 Fricative + Nasal

*xm

*-xm- > xm

Examples: λαχμιγο “place of burial” < *daxma-ka-, ταχμανο “seed” < *tauxman-a-, ταχμο “stream” < *taxman-

*šm

*šm could be changed to hm and m:
*šm > hm > m

Example: λρωμινο “enemy” < *duš-manyu-, οωμαρ “to account” < *wi-(hi)šmāra-

*šm- > hm

Example: παμανο “wool” < *pašman-

hm

*hm > hm

Example: αωμαρο “account” < *ā-hmāra-

sn (non-Persian)

*# sn > sn

Example: ασνωυο “daughter in law” < *snuš 

*šn

*šn- > šn

Example: βαμο “queen” < *bāmušn-

zn

*zn

*zn- > zn

Example: γαζνο “treasury” < *gazna-

2.3.3.5 Fricative + Trill

*fr

*#fr- > fr

Example: φριλοδαρο “more” < *frāyah-aka- + suffix -δαρο, φριο “dear” < *friya-

In the word-internal position, *fr is also preserved:

Examples: δαφήλο “so much” < *aitāt + frāyah- + suffix -ηλο, μυροσφράνο “west” < *miθra-

nifrāna-, παδοφρασο “punishment” < *pāti-frāsa-

*fra-

*# fra- > fr(ǝ)

Examples: φρητογο “messenger” < *fra-manyu-kā, φροβαζαχο “prostrate” < *fra-pāzah-wāh, φρομανο “command” < *fra-māna-, φρογαοο “profit” < *fra-gāwa-, φρογι “part” < *fra-

kṛṣṭa-kā-, φρομανζο “commanding” < *fra-mānaka-, φρομανο “command” < *fra-māna-, φρομανζο “hope” < *fra-manyu-kā, φρομ- “to order” < *fra-māya-, φροος- “to speak” < *fra-

wāčaya-

*sr

As in other Eastern Iranian languages *sr is changed to š in Bactrian:

*#sr > š

Example: θουο “fingernail” < *srū(-kā)

92 This word is discussed in Korn 2005: 128.
Chapter 1. Introduction

*str
*str- > ś
Example: oṣo “hay” < *wāstr-

*θr
The development of the *θr- could be introduced as in the following:

*θr- > hr > r
*θr- > hr
Examples: πουρο “son” < *ruθra-, μυροσανο “west” < *miθrăsăna- “sunrise” (MP. xwarāsān), μυροναφρανο “sunset” < *miθra-nirāna-

*θr > r
Examples: αχνωρο “satisfaction” < *xšnuθθra-, ασκωρο “serious” < *skauθra-

*hr
*hθr- > r
Example: ναζαρο “thousand” < *hazahra-

*xr
Bactrian preserves *xr:

*# xθr- > xr
Example: αχρινο “purchase” < *xraθra-

*θθr- > xr
Example: οιγαλφο “witness” <*wiθθka

*# xθr- > xθr
Example: χιρηγο “purchase” < *xraya-

In both of following examples, we find metathesis:
χιρθο (past stem) “to buy” < *xritha-, χιρθο “purchase” < *xrithi-th

2.3.3.6 Fricative + Approximant

*θw
Plr. *θw is developed to lf in Bactrian:

*θw > lf
Examples: αλφανζ “acquire” <*wanja-, οιγαλφο “witness” <*>wiθkαwan, -ιλφο (suffix) < *-iya-θwa- (Pth. ḫ(t), MP ḫh)

*dw
The occurrence of l in αλβαρο proves that this is an original Bactrian word, and on these grounds, we can observe an original Bactrian development of Plr. * dw in this word.

It can therefore be concluded that the development of *#dw must be lβ in Bactrian:

93 In one instance, it seems that *xr is changed to x, which we do not expect in Bactrian: φριχη “to seduce” (?) < fra-xrāšaya-
94 It is possible that t represents an omicron here.
Chapter 1. Introduction

**# dw- > lβ**

Example: αλβαρο “court” < *dwar-a

There are two other examples in the extant materials which show the change of *dw to β.

As this development is not expected in Bactrian, these words could be regarded as either loanwords or representatives of another dialect of Bactrian:

**# dw > β**

Examples: βαιιασπανο “messenger” < *dwayaspāna-, βιδδιγο “second” < *dwitīyaka-

**xw**

*xw is generally changed to xo:

**xw > xo**

Examples: χοζο “good” < *xwrțu-, ooχορτo “to quarrel” < *wi-xwaršta-, ooχωρ “quarrel” < *wi-xwarša-

**hw**

As *xw, *hw is changed also to xo:

**hw- > xo**

Examples: χοβο “(one’s) own” < *hwa-paθya-, χοβε “to ask” < *hwaza(ya)- (?),φροβαζαχο “prostrate” < *fra-pāzah-wāh

*θy

*θy > i

It seems that* θ is omitted in the following examples:

Examples: χοβο “(one’s) own” < *hwa-paθya-, χοβιγο “own” < *hwa-paθya-ka-, χουβαονδο “owner” < *hwapaθyāwant-

**zy**

*zy > z

Examples: ριζ (passive to ραζ) “be named” < *rāzya-, ouζανδο “injury” < *wi-zyanta-

**sy**

*sy > s

Example: σπισ “to serve” < *spasya-

2.3.4 Combinations with affricates

2.3.4.1 Affricates + Approximant

*čy

*čy > š

Examples: ḳαο- “to go” < *čyawa-, ḳαδο “satisfied” < *čyāta-, αβαφο “back, in return” < *apāčyā

*čy- > š (σ)

Examples: σαγωνδο “as, like” < *čiyāt-gauna-+do, σαζαμανο “as soon as” < *čiyāt- jamān-
2.3.5 Combination with Trill

2.3.5.1 Trill + Plosives

*rt

Pfr. *rt is changed to rd- in Bactrian:

*rt- > rd

Examples: βwrd past stem “to bear, bring” (βορðo) < *brt-, μαρδάνο “valiant” < *martāna-, μαρδό “man” < *martiya-

*rd

Pfr. *rd is preserved in Bactrian:

*rd- > rd

Examples: prdyjg or prdyżg “orchard” < *pari-daiza-ka-, πιδοκαρδό “retention” < *pati-karda-, sr’d’nyg adj. “pertaining to years” (σαρδό “year” < *sardV-), πορδανιγο “saddle” (?) < *pari-dāna- + suffix ιγο

In the case of παδαρλόγο/παδαρδδιγο “opposing side” < *pāti-arda-ka-, we observe two different developments, namely, [rd] and [rl]. παδαρλόγο is used both in old documents such as A, C, F (between 332-472 A.D.), and also in the later documents, for example, in J, L, U (between 517-712 A.D.), whereas the variant with [rd] is attested only in later documents S, V and W (692-747 A.D.). Regarding this example, we can conclude that [rd] is a newer development. But the older form, namely, [rl], is also preserved along with [rd] in later Bactrian.

*rd- > -rl-

Examples: γιρλ- “to call” < *grda, παδαρλόγο “opposite party”< *pati “against”+*arda “side”

2.3.5.2 Trill + Fricative

*rs

*rs- > š

Example: oοχω “quarrel” < *wi-xwarša-

*rʒ

*rʒ > ž

Example: χοζο “good” < *xwʐu-

*rz

Pfr. *rz is preserved in Bactrian:

*rz- > rz

Examples: hyrz- “to release” (υρʒ-) < *hrz-, ανδαρʒο “instruction” < *han-darza-, λαρʒο “subject to restrictions”< dārzV-, ωρʒο “farming” < *warza-
*rs
*rs > rs
Example: πορσ- “to ask” < *pṛsa-
*rst
*-rst- > -śt-
Examples: πάφοφρο (past stem) “to block” < *pari-wṛsta-, φογῇpterγο “part” < *fra-kṛsta-ka-

2.3.5.3 Trill + Nasal
*rn
*-rn- > r
Examples: φάρο “glory” < *farnah-, ἀσπόρο “complete” < *us-pṛma-, χρ- “to buy” < *xṛīnā-
*-rn- > rn
Examples: ooaρvο a place name < *Warnu-
*rm
*rm > rm
Examples: αρμαυ- “to be present” < *arma- “still” + *āh-/āst- “to sit, remain”

2.3.6 Combination with approximant
2.3.6.1 Approximant + r
*wr
#*wr > r
Example: ρότιγο “rope” < *wriśta-

2.4 Phonological processes: Metathesis

In the following, some examples of metathesis are given:

2.5 Vowels
*# i > i
Examples: i̯θαο “thus” < i̯ðā, εἰμιωανο “these” < *imaiśanām

2.6 Simple vowels

The following table represents the vowel system in Bactrian. 95

---

Table 9. Bactrian vowel system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Bactrian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>α</td>
<td>α, ā, initial ø-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ε</td>
<td>ε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>τ</td>
<td>i, ĭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>u, ū, o, ā, Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ω</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Greek alphabet of Bactrian does not distinguish a, i, and u from ā, ĭ, and ū. The letter η is used to represent the long vowel ē, while the letter ω represents the long vowel ō. In the case of o, it is not easy to identify its exact phonetic value. According to Sims-Williams, all these vowels are attested in both initial and internal positions. Three of them (o, e and ū) occur less often. Vocalic τ is lost and results in ar, ir, ur, according to the phonetic context.\(^96\)

In this section we attempt to show the details of development of PIr. vowels in Bactrian and its characteristics.

*α*

Generally *a* is preserved in both internal and initial positions:

*# a > a*

Examples: ασπο “horse” < *aspa-, αβουσ- “to remember” < *abi-yāsa-, αδωριγδο (probably past stem) “to deny” < *ati-rixta-

*-a- > a*

Examples: ρανζο “quickly” < *ranǰyah-, ανδαρζο “instruction” < *han-darza-, σταμβο “to injury” < *stambV-

*ā*

*ā* is preserved generally in both initial and internal positions:

*#ā > ā*

Example: αββο (Manich. ί") “water” < *āpa-

*ā > ā\(^97\)

Examples: ταδο (Manich. ί’”) “then” < *tā + -δο, μαο, μαο (Manich. *m’h in m’h’nyg) “month” < *māhV-

*i*

*# i > Ø*

Examples: μαλο “here” < *imada-, μαρο “here” < *imaθra-, μο “the, this” < *ima-

*i* > i

Examples: οιστο “promise” < *wi-stāwa-, αριστο “joined” < *ā-rista-, ασιδο, σιδо, ασιδα-, ασιδ- “what, which”< *čim + -δο

*i* > a/σ (in Greek script α)

It seems that *i* in the prefix *ni is changed to σ:

\(^96\) Cf. Sims-Williams 2011: 234.

\(^97\) It must be added that in composites, a free form of the word is sometimes used. For example in παραδαρ- “to bring forth” < *parā-barā-, we observe παρο, not παρα.
Examples: μωροναφανο “west” < *miθra-nifrāna-, ναβαγο “pawn” < *ni-pāka-98, ναβανδο “beside” < *ni-band V, ναβισ- “to write” < *ni-pinsa-

* u

# u > ø (in Greek script α)

In all the next examples, following the omission of u in the initial position, we have the #CC- environment, which then is changed to οCC:


In the following example, we observe its occurrence in another environment, that is, #CV:

αβαστανο “support” < *upa-stāna-

# u > u (or o)

Examples: οδο “and” < *uta-, οργιγο “lucerne” < *ugarakā- (?)

u > u (or o ?)

It is not clear whether o represents o or u in Bactrian. In this case, an investigation of the Bactrian loanwords in other languages could be very helpful. In the following, examples of the development of *u are listed:

Examples: ιογιγο “pair” < *yuxta-κα-, βαμοφο “queen” < *bāmuš-, καβογγο “old” < *kapuna-κα-, κασκο “little” < *kasu-κα-, κοδο “dog” < *kuta-/kuf-

* t99

In the case of *r, we can observe the same development in Bactrian as in Parthian and Persian. In all these languages, in the natural and palatal context, the outcome will be ir:

*r-> -ir. (αр)

Examples: ιερο, ιερο, ερο “matter, thing” < *rya- or *ira-, κιφαγο “plough-ox” (?) < *kṛṣāka-, κιρ- “to do” < *kṛmu-, κιρδο, γιρδο (past stem) “to do” < *kṛta-, καμιρδο, name or title of a god < *kamṛda- “head”, κιφρ- “to detain” < *kṛsta- (via kiriṣṭa), γιρζ “to complain” < *grza-, γιρτο (past stem) “to complain” < *grāta-, γιρλ- “to call” < *grda, λριγδο (past stem) “to have” < *drxta- (via lirgdo), λριδο (past stem of unknown meaning) < *drta-, λιτηγδο “estate” < *dastay(ā)-kṛta-, μιργο “chicken, bird” < *mrga-, μιρ- “to die” < *mṛya-, ουλιρδο (past stem) “to construct” < *wi-dṛta-, παροιρδο (past stem) “to block” < *pāri-dṛṣta- (via parwrist), υιρζ “to leave” < *hrza-, υιρτο (past stem) “to leave” < *hrṣta-

Generally Pfr. *r has the outcome as Bactrian ur in the environment of a labial:

r-> -ur. (αρ)

Examples: αβορδο (past stem) “to bring” < *abi- rta-, αβορδανο “repayment” < *āpṛtana-, αβορδαστο “fire-place” (?) < *āṭṛ-stā-, ασπορο “complete” < *us-prṇa-, βορδο (past stem) “to bring” < *bṛta-, μοιρο “death” < *mṛṭa-, μορδο (past stem) “to die” < *mṛṭa-, πιορφρο “ancestral estate” < *pitr-sti, πιορβοβ- “to receive” < *pati-grbāya-, πορσ- “to ask” < *pṛsa-

98 Pfr. *ni- is often changed to na- in the first position in Bactrian, but there are also some exceptions in which Pfr. *ni can be preserved. e.g., νιζανδο “born” < *ni-zāta-ka-, νιττι “to send (a message)” < *ni-stāya-, νιφλμο “seat” < *ni-sadman-; or it can be changed to no, e.g., νοβανδο “established custom” (?) < *ni-band-anā.

99 We can find the same development of Pfr.*r in Balochi, see Korn 2005: 143-148. For the development of *r in other Iranian languages and also in Bactrian, see Korn 2011:4-8.
πορδο “proper” < *prta-, χοζο “good” < *xwtrzu-100

2.7 Loss of vowels

2.7.1 Loss of #V-

*# a > Ø

Examples: βαμδδινο “loan” < *apāmitaka-, οσλο “then” < *awada-, οφρο “there” < *awaθra

2.7.2 Loss of -V- (Syncope):

Syncope can occur in various environments, as in the following:

-Between plosive and sonorant:

Examples: ουκρο “so long” < *witarā(d)-, πιδαργανο “paternal relatives” < *pitarakāna-, φαρδαρο “more” < *faru-tara-

-Between plosive and plosive:

Example: αδβηγο “disrespect” < *ati-baya-ka-

-Between fricative and plosive:

Examples: οιστο “twenty” < *wīsatī, αβυαγγο “deduction” < *apa-θanga-, αβζανο “descendant” (?) < *abi-zanV-, ποζγο “vineyard” < *razu-

-Between fricative and nasal:

Example: λανο “gift” < *dāsinV-

In the following example, we can observe the relative chronology of changes. The question arises of whether the syncope happened before the development of d to l:

αβληγγο “way, manner” < *abi-dayana-ka

2.7.3 The treatment of final vowels

In new Bactrian materials, the Pfr. vowels are generally lost. But there are some remnants of them in the old Bactrian texts, for example, in some words such as λιζο “citadel” < *dizā-, ιθα / ιθο “thus”, βαγο “gods” , ταδι / ταδο “then”.

As a general rule, *ā is lost in the final position:

*ā # > Ø

Examples: αβδδινο “custom” < *abi-dayanā-, αζδο “knowledge” < *azdā, κινο “revenge” < *kainā, μαδο “mother” < *mātā

In the following examples, we observe an unexpected development:

Examples: αταο “eight” < *aštā, ιθαο “thus” < *iθā, τα “then” < *tā

In the first case, it is not clear why *ā is preserved. The second example ιθαο represents an achaism by preserving both θ and ā. In the case of τα, we cannot expect another development, as it is a one syllable word.

2.8 Diphthongs:

In the following section, the most common diphthongs in Bactrian are presented:

100 According to our above results, the etymology suggested by Tremblay in βαρτ “to be necessary”(?) < *ā-πρäft-Tremblay 2003: 131 is problematic.
Chapter 1. Introduction

*au > o

Examples: δρωγόμυγο “false” < *draug-mā or drug-mā + ıγο (Pth. drwgm yg), γαυνζο “bag” < *gaun-çiya-, σαμβολο “jar” < *sapaudra-, αρχυρο “satisfaction” < *xšauθra-, κωσοβο “blanket” < *kaučapa-

*ai > ē

Examples: βηοαρο “ten thousand” < *baïwara-, ψαονζον “eternal” < *yāwai-tāna-, κηδο “priest” < *kaita-,

There are two examples in which it appears that *ai has been changed to i rather than to ē. It seems that ē must be the older form, and that it is changed to i in new materials. In the following examples, either these forms are loanwords from probably Persian, or they are new versions of the old forms: κων “revenge” < *kain-ā,

In some cases, as in the following example, both new and old forms are attested in the extant materials: οήν-/ων- “to see”<*waina-

*aya > ē (> ī)

Examples: αβαχρηγο “fee” < apa-xraya-ka-, αυρηζνο name of a month < *ahura-yazniya-, οιχρηγανο “hire” < *wi-xraya-+suffix -γανο

It seems that *aya is changed to ē before a nasal. In all the following examples, it occurs before n:

αβδδινο “custom” < abi-dayanā, αβλιγγο “way, manner” < *abi-dayana-ka, αχρινο “purchase” < *xra-yanā

It seems that * āyā in the internal position can be changed to ā:

*āyā > ā

Example: σαγο “shade, shadow” < *sāyā-kā-

*āya# > ī (or sometimes yī)

It seems that in all verbal forms, āya in a word-final position is changed to ī or yī.

Examples: φοφτι- “to send” < *fra-stāya-, φρομι “order” < *fra-māya-, πτυ- “to be able” < *xšāya-,

*iyā is preserved in all the following examples, which in reality are Persian loanwords:

101 There is an unclear example in which it seems that *au is changed to a not to o: ναγαυ-, ναγαυ- “to hear” < *nigauša-.

102 In both of these examples, *-iyaka- is changed to -γο.

103 According to Sims-Williams, *z(i)yakā- Sims-Williams 2007a: 212. In my opinion, it must be *ziyakā-.
Examples: ζιιανο “penalty” < *z(i)yāni, νιιαγο “grandfather” < *niyāka, νιιαζο “need” < *niyāza-

In the following example, it seems that *iyā is changed to ā. This word is probably a Persian loanword in Bactrian:
πηδαγο “revealed” < *patiyāka-

*awa- > ā

*awa is changed to ā:
Examples: oo “that” < *awam, οιζιιαιο “liability” < *awa-zāmV-, βοोδο < *bawa-, βονοδο “completely” < *bawant-a-, νοογο “new” < *nawa-ka-, ποστογο “document” < *pawasta-ka-

In the final position, *awa is changed to aw:
Examples: ɲoοο “goes” < *čyawa-, ɲαοοο “channel” < *nāwiyā

*awa - > awā

It seems that Bactrian preserves *awā:
Example: γαοοο “fault” < *gawā-

*-āwa- and *-āwē- are also preserved in Bactrian:

*-āwa- > āwa

Examples: οοοο “market” < *wahā-čarana-

*-āwē- > āwā

Example: ταοοο “fine” < *tāwāna

It seems that in the following example, *āwi is changed to ō:
Example: νοοο “channel” < *nāwiyā

In the following example, āwi is changed to ā:

*-āwi- > ā

Example: νοοκο “pupil” < *hāwištaka-

2.9 Combination of Vowel and Consonant

2.9.1 Combination of w with vowels

2.9.1.1 In initial position

*w+a

*# wa- > wa > o

In these examples *#wa is preserved:
oαζ- “to use” < *waza-, οοοο “market” < *wahā-čarana-, οοοο “price” < *wahā-kā-

104 This form is third person present.
105 This form is third person present.
106 This form is third person present.
107 For this word in Iranian languages, see Widmer 2007: 215–228.
In both of these examples, wa is changed to o:

ολο “wife” < *wadū-, ὄρβαγγο “armour” < *wara-pāna-ka-

*#w+ā

*# wā- > wā

Examples: ουδο “wind” < *wāta-, οοουρο “faith” < *wāwar-a-, οου “hay” < *wāstra-

*#w+i

*# wi- > wi

Examples: οιιπο “all” < *wispa-, οιληρ “to construct” < *wi-dāraya-

2.9.2 Combination of y with vowels

2.9.2.1 In final position

*arya # > ēr (ηρ)

Examples: πηρ “to believe” < *parya-, σηρ “use” (?) < *cārya-

2.9.3 The combination of other consonants with vowels

2.9.3.1 In final position

*an # > Ø

Examples: ναμο “name” < *nāman-, λαμ “land” (?) < *dāman, νηλμο “seat” < *ni-šadman-

*am # > an

Example: παμανο “wool” < *pašman-

*Vh # > Ø

*h after a vowel in final position is lost in Iranian languages including in Bactrian.

Examples: οβίωγο “payable” < *abi-aogah-, ομγαρο “damage” < *miθah-kāra-, οαρο “oath” < *warah-, οοο “even, more” < *masyah-, οιλογδο “princess” < *wisah duxtā

2.10 Palatalization

There are two kinds of palatalization of vowels in Bactrian:

a to i and ā to ē before -ya and -i

* a > i /-ya, -i

Examples: αγιρο “ineffective” < *a-karya-, κινο “canal” < *kanyā-, κισοτο “youngest” < *kasiṣṭa-

*ā > ē /-ya

Examples: ληρ “to have” < *dāraya-, οηζο “ability” < *wājaya-, οηλ “to lead” < *wādaya-, οισρ “to argue” < *wi-čeṭraya-

a to i before s and z
Chapter 1. Introduction

Examples:
- λίστο “hand” < *dasta-
- αγισινῶ “dissatisfied” < *aka-sandV-
- οὐζινῶδηγο “current” < *waz-antiya-ka-

*a > i /-s,-z

Examples:
- λίστο “hand” < *dasta-
- αγισινῶ “dissatisfied” < *aka-sandV-
- οὐζινῶδηγο “current” < *waz-antiya-ka-

*a > -i /-n

Example: οὐζινῶδηγο “victorious” < *wananta-

2.11 Vowel assimilation

In some cases, the quality of a vowel can be assimilated to that of a neighbouring vowel:

*a > o /-u

Examples:
- κωσοβο “blanket” < *kaučapa-
- μολο “wine” < *madu-
- ποσο “sheep” < *pasu-

In the following example, we observe assimilation of voicing:

*i > ə

In all the following examples, it seems that i is changed to ə, which occurs in the form o in Greek script:

Examples:
- ουονοσινῶ “content” < *hu-ni-sandV-
- οοχορτο “to quarrel” < *wi-xvaršta-
- οοχω “quarrel” < *wi-xwarša-

2.12 Dissimilation

In the following example we can observe a process of dissimilation:

*# wi- > ya

Example: ιαοαρο “terms, conditions” < *wi-wāra-

2.13 Lowering (?)

The following example is an unclear case; it may be a Middle Persian loanword or it may be an archaism. This word is attested only once in the document X, which is a new text. It is not yet clear whether η is pronounced as i.

*ɨ > ē (?)

Example: νοβὴγο “text, writing” < *dipīka-

2.14 Reduced vowel (ə):

The reduced vowel ə (in script a or o) occurs very often in initial position, especially before a consonant cluster:

Ø > a/ #CC

The different examples of this development are shown in the following table:
### Table 10. Examples of initial vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P/rt.</th>
<th>Bactrian</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*# šk-</td>
<td>ask</td>
<td>驸&lt;r̃&gt;- “to follow” &lt; *škara-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*# sp-</td>
<td>asp</td>
<td>ασπασ- “service” &lt; *spāsV, ασπασ- “to serve” &lt; *spasya-, ασπασ- “groom” &lt; *spāsiałyka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*# sn-</td>
<td>asn</td>
<td>ασνωυο- “daughter in law” &lt; *snušā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*# šš-</td>
<td>šš</td>
<td>αγγάργο- “property” &lt; *ham-kāraka-, βάργο- “animal for riding” &lt; *bāraka-, καδγο- “house” &lt; *kataka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*# xš-</td>
<td>xš</td>
<td>αχανδ- “to control” &lt; *xšayant-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*# xr-</td>
<td>xr</td>
<td>αχρινο- “purchase” &lt; *xray-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*# xw-</td>
<td>xw</td>
<td>αχω- “satisfaction” &lt; *xwaš♂-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#* thw-</td>
<td>thw</td>
<td>αλβαρο- “court” &lt; *dwar-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a, i > ø

Examples: φροβαζαχο-108 “prostrate” < *fra-πażah- *, φρομανο- “command” < *fra-māna, ποροχηζ- “to serve” < *pari-xaiza-

In the following examples, omicron occurs in a consonant cluster:

*-*xm- > x姆

Example: τοχαμηιο- “relationship” < *tauxma-

#### 2.14.1 Suffixal k

I describe the suffixal *k in three different categories: A, B, and C. In the first group (A), we observe the following developments:

A.1. *-aka- > -γο

Examples: αγάλγο- “wish” < *ā-gādaka-, αγγάργο- “property” < *ham-kāraka-, βάργο- “animal for riding” < *bāraka-, καδγο- “house” < *kataka-

A.2. *-aka- after a voiceless consonant > -ko

Example: υακ̱-κο- “pupil” < *hāwišta-kā-

A.3. *-aka- after h >-ακο-109

Examples: φριιαχαδαρο- “more” < *frāya-h-aka- + suffix -δαρο, χοιιαχο- “elder” < *hwāyah-aka-

In the second group (B), we observe the following development:

B. *-aka- > -αγο and *-uka- < -ογο

Examples: ανδαγο- “borough” < *anta-ka- (?), κασοκο- “little” < *kasu-ka-

In the group, C, the following development is observed:

C. *-iyaka- > ιγο < ιο

Examples: ρωσιγο- < *raučah- + iya-ka-, αζαζαδδιιο- < *uz (intensifying prefix) + *āzāta- + iya-ka-

According to Sims-Williams, the development of *(i)yaka- to -ηγο seems to occur only after ρ.110

---

108 According to Sims-Williams, o in unstressed syllables, for example, in the preverbs φρο- and πορο, often represents the reduced vowel r̃ cf. Sims-Williams 1989a: 234.

109 This development is mentioned by Sims-Williams in Sims-Williams and Tucker 2005: 594.

According to the Manichean document, it is clear that *-āna-ka- is changed to -‘ng (Greek script -αγγο). This suffix is used to derive adjectives mostly from nouns and pronouns. Examples: lyn’ng “Glory of the Religion”, ml’m’ng “this-worldly, mundane”\textsuperscript{111}

Another example, which proves the development of suffixal *k to g, is -ηγγο, -ιγγο (Manich.-yng) <*-aina-ka-, e.g., pwnyng “consisting of merits”\textsuperscript{112}

2.14.2 Summary

In the case of its historical phonology, Bactrian shares some similarities with other Eastern Iranian languages. For example, the conservative feature of Eastern Iranian languages, retention of the sound θ, can be observed in the Bactrian word ιθαο “thus, also”. The voicing of the fricative in the Old Iranian clusters *ft and *xt is also attested in Bactrian. In general, *b, d, g develop into fricatives in both initial and internal positions, as in other Eastern Middle Iranian languages.

In Bactrian, we have an additional development of *d to l via δ in both initial and internal positions. This development can also be found in some Modern Eastern Iranian languages, such as Pashto, Munji, and Yidgha. According to the Manichaen fragment and other materials, we can conclude that there is a phonemic distinction between voiced plosives and voiced fricatives in Bactrian. ββ probably represented in a special period [b], whereas β was used for [v]. It seems that intervocalic *b is changed to [v], as in many Middle and Modern Eastern languages. In new texts, it seems that β represents both [b] and [v]. In the same way, it seems that <δδ> represents [d], and that <δ> shows fricative [d]. γ may represent both [g] and [γ]. [g] would be a development of *k and [γ] can be a development of *g. It is not clear where intervocalic *p has developed to [b] or [v]. Generally sonorants, affricates, and fricatives are preserved with the exception of θ, č, and j. *θ has developed to h in Bactrian. The only exception is ιθαο “also”, which may show an archaism. Among the modern Eastern Iranian languages, Pashto, Munji, and Yidgha also do not preserve *θ. But the outcome is not as in Bactrian. *č is depalatalized and probably results in s. It is not clear exactly what the outcome of *j is, whether it is [dz], [dż] or [ʒ]. *s after a palatal vowel is changed to š.

In the case of consonant clusters, the Eastern Iranian languages are treated variously. Some characteristics of Bactrian cannot be observed in other Middle Iranian languages, for example the preservation of *fr and *rd and the development of *rt to rd. These phonological features are attested in few New Eastern languages. The retention of *fr is found in Yaghnobi. In Ossetic and Wakhi, we find the preservation of *rd. The change of *rt to rd is attested in Yaghnobi and Wakhi. In the following table, some of phonological developments in Bactrian are selected and compared to developments in other Middle and New Iranian languages. According to the following table, we can conclude that Bactrian is more connected with Choresmian and Sogdian than with Saka. Among the New Eastern languages, it is closer to Wakhi and Iškāšmī-Sangličī and further from the Shughni group and Parāčī:

\textsuperscript{111} Sims-Williams 2009: 263.

\textsuperscript{112} Sims-Williams 2009: 264.
### Table 11 Comparable phonological developments in Middle and New Eastern Iranian languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bactrian</th>
<th>The same development in other Eastern languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*b &gt; v</td>
<td>Sogdian, Choresmian, Khotanese, Yaghnobi, Wakhi, Yazghulami, Shughni group, Ískášmī- Sangličī, Yidgha, Munjī, Pashto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d &gt; l</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*g &gt; γ</td>
<td>Sogdian, Choresmian, Khotanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*p- &gt; v and b</td>
<td>&gt;b in Choresmian, &gt; w in Khotanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t- &gt; d, d</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*k- &gt; g</td>
<td>Sogdian, Choresmian, Khotanese (g &gt; γ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*f &gt; f</td>
<td>Sogdian, Choresmian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*θ- &gt; h</td>
<td>Khotan (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*x &gt; x</td>
<td>Sogdian, Choresmian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ċ- &gt; š</td>
<td>Choresmian, Khotanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*š- &gt; -ṣ-</td>
<td>Sogdian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ft &gt; vd</td>
<td>Sogdian, Choresmian, Khotanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*xt &gt; yd</td>
<td>Sogdian, Choresmian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*fr- &gt; -fr-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*0r- &gt; hr/r</td>
<td>Choresmian (&gt; ṭ/hr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-0r-&gt; hr/r</td>
<td>Khotanese (&gt; r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*rt &gt; rd</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*rd &gt; rd, once rl</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*rs &gt; rs</td>
<td>Sogdian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*rz &gt; rz</td>
<td>Sogdian, Khotanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ršt &gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*št &gt; śt, t</td>
<td>Sogdian (&gt; śt), Choresmian (&gt; š), Khotanese (ṣṭ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sr &gt; š</td>
<td>Sogdian, Choresmian, Khotanese (&gt; š)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*str</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of vowels (except for a and ā), the Greek alphabet helps us more than the Manichaen script. α is used for a, ā and initial ǝ-. In this case, Manichaen script is more informative than Greek, as it distinguishes between short a and long ā.
The letter ε represents e and η shows ē. The letter ι may represent both i and ĩ. The Greek letter ω represents օ, but the phonetic range of the phoneme o is extremely wide. It may show u, ū, o, ǝ, or Ø.

In Bactrian, we find the other common Middle Iranian processes of contraction, syncope, monophthongization and palatalization, as well as assimilation and dissimilation. The internal Old Iranian short vowels a, i, u generally preserve their identities in Bactrian. The initial *i- can disappear. The initial *u- can be preserved or changed to a. The internal *i in prefixes, for example, in *ni, has developed probably also to a. The treatment of *r is complex in Eastern languages such as Sogdian, Choresmian, and Khotanese. In this case, we can observe the same development in Bactrian as in Parthian and Persian. In all these languages, in the natural and palatal context, the outcome will be ir and in the environment of a labial ur.

A vowel in the initial position and *ā in the final position can be lost. Generally, the final an, am, and *h after a vowel can also be omitted.

Syncope can occur in various environments, for example, between plosive and sonorant, between plosive and plosive, between fricative and plosive, and between fricative and nasal.

As we know, one of the characteristics of Eastern Middle Iranian languages is a tendency to shorten or lose Old Iranian long vowels in certain circumstances. The most common examples of monophthongization in Bactrian are *au > օ, *ai > ē, *aya > ē (> ī), āyā > ā, *-āya > ī, *iya > ē/ī, *iya > i, *iya < ē, *awa- > օ and *-āwi- > ā. In this case, it seems that Bactrian is closer to Sogdian than to other Eastern Middle Iranian languages.

The development of *a to i before ya, i, s, z, and n and the development of *ū to ē before ya are the most common examples of vowel palatalization in Bactrian.

As examples of vowel assimilation, we can mention here the development of *a > to o before u and *i to a.

*wi- can be dissimilated to ya. The development of *ī to ē (?) is probably an example of lowering in Bactrian.

It seems that in Bactrian there is a reduced vowel (ǝ), which may occur in different positions, for example, in the initial position before a consonant cluster. It is the most common occurrence of that in Bactrian. *a and *i can develop to ǝ. The reduced vowel may also occur in a consonant cluster, for example, in *xm > xǝm.

In the case of suffixal *-aka-, we can observe three different developments. It can be changed to -γο, and after a voiceless consonant, it can develop to -ko or after h to -αxο. Suffixal *-aka- can be changed to -αγο and the suffix *-uka- to -ογο. The development of *-iyaka- would be γο or ւο in Bactrian.
3. **Chapter Three: Noun Phrases**

This chapter begins with an overview of the substantive, the nominal system, and the definition of the substantive. It also introduces noun phrases in Bactrian. Here, the discussion centers on the features of head and dependent nouns.

### 3.1 The substantive

#### 3.1.1 Number and case

Sims-Williams points out that “The Bactrian of the Kushan period displays a system of two numbers and two cases”.\(^{113}\) It can be added that a difference can be perceived between this system in material from the inscriptions and the economic and legal documents, letters, and Buddhist texts.\(^{114}\)

The following table shows the case endings most commonly found in the researched texts:

**Table 12. Case morphology in Inscriptions (Kushan period)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>-1 or -e</td>
<td>-avo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distinction between direct and oblique case with singular number can still be seen in the inscriptions, “only in traditional expressions”,\(^{115}\) such as ḫai “king”, ḏarē “city” and the names of kings. In the documents, however, there is no remnant of the oblique ending. In only one instance, a form with a morphological ending that could be explained as oblique seems to have been preserved beside the direct: ṭao beside ṭao “grain”. Both forms are used, however, as direct.\(^{116}\) In the inscriptions, plural nouns are found both in the direct and in the oblique case. For example, ḍege “gods” is used as a direct case, plural noun. There are also oblique singulars in the Surkh Kotal inscription, such as ḫaγγe “stone (?)”, νοκονζικι PN, καραλραγγε “margrave” and κανηþ PN.

In the Rabatak inscription, the oblique forms of some words are found. For example, ḫaφαρε is the oblique form of ḫαφαρο PN; ḫατραγγε the oblique form of ḫατραγγο “of (-belonging to) the ḫσατριγας”\(^{117}\); ḫασγε the oblique form of ḫασγο “city”; ḫασανι the oblique form of ḫασανο “kingdom”; ḫαι the oblique form of ḫαι “king”; καραλραγγε the oblique form of καραλραγγο “margrave”; κανηþκε the oblique form of κανηþκο; and ξόρριγι the oblique form of ξόρριγο “time”.

In the economic texts, legal documents, letters, and Buddhist texts, plural nouns are found almost exclusively in the oblique. In this instance, the morpheme -avo indicates the plural. The plural oblique case has been generalized.

The examples of case distinction in Bactrian are extremely rare, and we can therefore conclude that a real case distinction is no longer found in nouns.

---

\(^{113}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 40.

\(^{114}\) It must be added here that only two Buddhist texts are published in *Bactrian Documents II* by Sims-Williams.

\(^{115}\) Humbach 2003: 160.

\(^{116}\) Sims-Williams 1997b: 7.

From the above information, we can conclude that two changes have taken place in the nominal system of Bactrian, as in other Middle Iranian languages.\(^{118}\)

1. Generalization of the plural oblique ending -\(\alpha\)no.

2. The loss of the singular oblique, generalization of the direct case.

The next table shows case distinctions in Bactrian after the above changes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIR/OBL</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-(\alpha)o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.1.2 Gender

According to Sims-Williams, in Bactrian, “feminine stems are no longer distinguishable from masculines”\(^ {119}\). But he refers to a few remnants of the original feminine ending -\(\alpha\) in older texts, such as the Rabatak and Surkh Kotal inscriptions. For example, the \(\alpha\)-ending of some nouns and adjectives, such as \(\lambda \iota \zeta /\lambda \iota \zeta\) “citadel”<\(\ast\)dizā-, \(\alpha\)για “the whole(?)”, \(\alpha\)μια “same, above-mentioned”, \(\rho\)ογα “plain”, \(\phi\)ρομανα “command”\(^ {123}\), \(\omicron\)μια “name of a goddess”\(^ {124}\) and \(\upsilon\)α “name of a goddess”\(^ {125}\) distinguishes them from masculine forms.

Similarly, the articles \(\iota\) and \(\mu\)ο have the feminine forms \(\iota\)α and \(\mu\)α, but these are not used consistently. The feminin \(\iota\)α is also attested in \(\iota\)μαργο “meadow”\(^ {126}\) and \(\iota\)ρωσο “day”\(^ {127}\).

The feminine article \(\mu\)α is consistently used with the feminine noun \(\lambda \iota \zeta\) “citadel”<\(\ast\)dizā-, ap. didā in the Surkh Kotal inscription.\(^ {128}\)

(Surkh Kotal 1)

(1) \(\iota\)δο \(\mu\)α \(\lambda \iota \zeta\) \(\mu\)ο \(\kappa\alphaν\iota\kappa\iota\) \(\omicron\)αιν\(\delta\) ο\(\beta\)\(\alpha\)\(\gamma\)λαγ\(\gamma\)ο
DEM ART fortress ART Kaniška victor sanctuary

“this fortress is the sanctuary of Wanind (named) of Kaniška”\(^ {129}\)

There are some suffixes such as -\(\sigma\)ο, -\(\nu\)ζο, -\(\gamma\)o and -\(\gamma\)γο in Bactrian, forming feminine adjectives from names of persons and places, for example: \(\tau\)ροσανζο “Turkish”, \(\alpha\)σκισαγ\(\gamma\)ο “of Askin” and \(\nu\)βι\(\chi\)τ\(\iota\)σο “written”.

### 3.1.3 Noun phrases

In Bactrian, the noun phrase is generally head-final, and most modifiers occur before the head noun:

---

118 Haig mentions these two changes for Western Middle Iranian languages; see Haig 2008: 137.
119 Sims-Williams 2007a: 40.
120 Sims-Williams 2007a: 40.
125 Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 78.
126 Sims-Williams 2007a: 231.
127 Sims-Williams 2007a: 261.
128 See Surkh Kotal 1, 2, 3, 6, 11, 13, 16, 19.
Chapter 2. Noun phrases

(F3)
(2) αφο καδαγοβιδο αλβαρο
PRE governor court
“in the court of governor”\(^\text{130}\)

(dd 4)
(3) σαγο πορο
PN son
“son of Sag”\(^\text{131}\)

(bg 10)
(4) ιοχοιρλο αβοδαχμο
Yukhsh-wirl stream
“stream of Yukhsh-wirl”\(^\text{132}\)

(eh 4)
(5) τοχοαροστανο οδο γαρσιγοστανο λαδοβαρο
Tukharistan and Gharchistan judge
“the judge of Tukharistan and Gharchistan”\(^\text{133}\)

The construction in which the dependent noun follows the head noun is much less common:

(C 3)
(6) χοηο κοσιρδαχμιγο
lord Kusirdakhm
“the lord of Kusirdakhm”\(^\text{134}\)

(F 1-2)
(7) μολρογο αβησαχοανιγο
sealed-document renunciation
“sealed-document of renunciation”\(^\text{135}\)

In some Iranian languages, such as Middle and New Persian, the dependent noun may follow the head noun with a connecting ezafe particle.\(^\text{136}\) In Bactrian, the ezafe may link the different elements, for example, a noun, a name, or one or more adjectives to a head noun. There are also cases in which no ezafe particle is used.\(^\text{137}\)

3.1.4 Appositional modifiers

As in other languages, sometimes two nouns are placed side by side, and one defines or modifies the other. In Bactrian, the same syntax that is used to express such a relationship as possession can also be used for expressing apposition. That is, apposition could include the particle \(ι\), which is usually employed for the ezafe construction. The appositive element can be a short or long combination of words. The following elements can be used as appositional modifiers in the Bactrian language:

\(^{130}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.
\(^{131}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 105.
\(^{132}\) According to Sims-Williams, the name of a place, including a meadow and stream see Sims-Williams 2007a: 218.
\(^{133}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 65.
\(^{134}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 123.
\(^{135}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 39.
\(^{136}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.
\(^{137}\) Heston 1976: 19.
\(^{138}\) For more details on the ezafe in Bactrian, see Gholami 2011: 17.
A) Titles, patronymics and family names can appear with or without the ezafe particle in Bactrian.

In the following example, the first name and family name appear with an ezafe particle. This construction is very rare in the extant material:

With Particle i:

(1) νατο χαραγανο
Nat ezafe family name/patronymic “Kharagan”

(2) ψανοαζο
PRE Nawaz family name/patronymic “Khahrugan”

“The first and family name can also appear without an ezafe particle. This construction is much more common. For example:

(3) αβο χαραγανο
PRE Na family name/patronymic “Kharagan”

(4) ψανοαζο
PRE Nawaz family name/patronymic “Khahrugan”

In the case of the recipient of letters and names of witnesses, both the last and first name are used, and there is usually no ezafe particle between them. When the first person mentions his name, he occasionally introduces himself with his first name and the name of his father, for example, Lad-guzg the son of Yol-guzg.

In constructions with the name of a king and the word ἄβο “king” in apposition, the name of the king occurs more often before the word ἄβο (see Table 14) than after it. In light of the results in the following table, we can conclude that Bactrian seems to have the same structure as in Middle Persian.

| Table 14. Nominal phrases consisting of the name of king in Rabatak inscription |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| structure                        | number of examples |
| the name of king + ἄβο           | 5                             |
| ἄβο + the name of king           | 1                             |

It must be added that this construction is attested only in inscriptions. In the Rabatak inscription, there are five examples of occurrence of ἄβο after the name of the king, while there is only one example of the other type:

The name of the king + ἄβο

(5) κανισκα ἄβο
King Kanishka.OBL “king Kanishka”

---

139 Sims-Williams 2007a: 145.
140 Sims-Williams 2007a: 79.
\( \text{þαο + the name of the king} \)

(12) \( \text{þαο κανηφκε} \)

\( \text{king.OBL Kanishka.OBL} \)

“king Kanishka”\(^{143}\)

In Surkh Kotal, there is only one example of such a construction and the name of a king, i.e., the name Kanishka occurs after \( \text{þαο} \):

(13) \( \text{þαο κανηφκι} \)

\( \text{king.DIR Kanishka.OBL} \)

“king Kanishka”\(^{144}\)

In the case of names of gods, the word \( \text{βαγο “god”} \) generally occurs before the name of the god:

(14) \( \text{πισο βαγο οαχο βαγανο βαυο ακιδο} \)

\( \text{PRE god PN god.PL king whom} \)

\( \text{aβο στοφ σπισ-ινο} \)

\( \text{PRE PN worship.PRS.3p} \)

“in the presence of the god Wakhsh, the king of gods, whom they worship in Stof”\(^{145}\)

In document T (from 700/701 A.D.), there are many examples of the occurrence of \( \text{βαγο} \) after the name of the god. This document belongs to the new texts and probably may show a development in the syntax of Bactrian during this period:

(T 12-13)

(15) \( \text{ταοι κωμ ethical βαγο οηζο οδο οαρσοχδανο} \)

\( \text{you.OBL PN god power and miraculous ability} \)

“The power and miraculous ability of you, the god Kamird”\(^{146}\)

B) Names of places

The names of places occur as the second member of a phrase. For example:

(bg 11)

(16) \( \text{αβο υλιζο παλαγο} \)

\( \text{PRE ART-fortress Palag} \)

“in the fortress Palag”

C) Names of days and months

There are some differences between the use of the month names in old and new texts. The names of the days always occur after \( \text{ρωσο “day”} \), both in old and new texts. The following example is from a text of the year 247 of the Bactrian era. The name of the day occurs after \( \text{ρωσο “day”} \):

\(^{144}\) Lazard, Grenet and de Lamberterie 1984: 226.
\(^{145}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 81.
\(^{146}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 101.
Chapter 2. Noun phrases

(17) ρωσο—ορμοζδο
day Ormuzd
“the day Ormuzd”\(^{147}\)

In the new texts, as the following example from the year 470 of the Bactrian era shows, the name of the day also occurs after ρωσο “day”:

(S 1)

(18) ρωσο—ριβτο
day Risht
“the day Risht”\(^{148}\)

The only exception is found in the document A, from the year 110, in which the name of the day appears before ρωσο “day”. From my point of view, the change of word order is probably influenced by the use of “elapsed”:\(^{149}\)

(A 1)

(19) σαχτο—αβαμοχονο ρωσο
elapsed Abmukhwin day
“the elapsed day Abmukhwin”\(^{150}\)

In the case of the month names, in the Bactrian era 195-527 (Documents D-X),\(^{151}\) the name of the month occurs after μαο or μαο “month”.

The following example is from the year 247 in the Bactrian era:

(F 1)

(20) μαο—σπανδαρμιδο
month Spandarmid
“the month Spandarmid”\(^{152}\)

The next example is from the year 507 in the Bactrian era:

(V 1)

(21) μαο—νωγοσαρδο
month New-year
“the month New-year”\(^{153}\)

In the three old documents A, B, and C (110-157), the name of the month occurs before μαο or μαο “month”. According to Sims-Williams, the placement “of the word μαο “month” after the name of the month seems to be an archaic feature”:\(^{154}\)

(A 1)

(22) αυρηζνο—μαο
Ahrezhn month
“the month Ahrezhn”\(^{155}\)

\(^{147}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.

\(^{148}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 95.

\(^{149}\) For the use of σαχτο “elapsed” with a day-name, see Sims-Williams 1998b: 150-151.

\(^{150}\) According to Sims-Williams, “the day Abmukhwin, having elapsed”; Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

\(^{151}\) In the document Y, the month is not mentioned.

\(^{152}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.

\(^{153}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 115.

\(^{154}\) Sims-Williams 1998b: 150.

\(^{155}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.
Chapter 2. Noun phrases

(23) δρηματιγανό μαο
Drematigan month
“the month Drematigan”156

Apposition with particle ι:

In many Iranian languages, such as Middle Persian, Kurdish, Gilaki, and New Persian, the particle “ι” is used in genitive/possessive constructions. In Bactrian, in some cases, it has the same function. This particle can also be used for expressing apposition, as in the following examples:

(al 18)
(24) φαρο οιρτομφο ι χοιο
for PN EZ lord
“For Wirishtmish the lord”157

(G 2-3)
(25) μοζδο ι χαραγανο ι κανδογοληρο
Muzd EZ Kharagan EZ keeper of the granary
“Muzd Kharagan, the keeper of the granary”158

(H 3)
(26) μανο μοζδ ι χαραγανο ι κανδογοληρο
I.OBL PN EZ PN EZ keeper of the granary
“by me, Muzd Kharagan, the keeper of granary”

(ba 4)
(27) κοαιδο δαθομαρηγο ι καβαστανο αβα-μαγο πιδοκαναδο
that PN EZ eunuch PRE-ICP appeal.PST.3s
“That Dathsh-mareg the eunuch has appealed to me”159

(ck 1)
(28) αβο ναοαζο ι φριο βραδο
to PN EZ dear brother
“to Nawaz, (my) dear brother”

According to the above mentioned examples, word order in apposition constructions is:

PN ι Title. The following example is clearly an exception, because the particle ι occurs before the name of a god, i.e., οαχο:

(L 2)
(29) βαγο ι οαχο
 god EZ Wakhsh
“the god Wakhsh”160

Apposition containing a group of words

The appositional phrase can be a noun phrase containing a group of words, as shown in the following example:

156 Sims-Williams 2000a: 39.
158 Sims-Williams 2000a: 49.
159 Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.
Chapter 2. Noun phrases

(30) ασο μηιμο ναμοοινδαδο αβζοδο πιροζο βανανοφαο
PRE PN famous prosperous PN king of kings
καδαγοβιδο
governor
“from Meyam, the governor of the famous (and) prosperous king of kings, Piruz”\(^\text{161}\)

In this case, the adjectives ναμοοινδαδο “famous” and αβζοδο “prosperous” modify the proper noun πιροζο “Piruz”. The word βανανοφαο “king of kings” is an appositional phrase for πιροζο “Piruz”. The phrase ναμοοινδαδο αβζοδο πιροζο βανανοφαο is a dependent noun for καδαγοβιδο “governor”, which is the head noun, and these two phrases are an appositional phrase for the proper name μηιμο.

Summary

According to the above information and examples, it can be concluded that in appositional constructions, the names of persons, places, gods, days, and months generally occur after the nouns themselves. There is an exception in the case of the names of kings. In the Rabatak inscription, βαο occurs more frequently after the name of the king, which we do not expect in Bactrian. As in Middle Persian and Pathian, e.g., frēdōn šāh, wistāsp šāh, zarwān šāh, tūrānšāh the names of the kings occur before the words for king. We can interpret this syntactical feature as a Middle Persian or Parthian influence on Bactrian. In the case of the name of gods, we can find the common syntactical pattern, which is expected in Bactrian. The only exception is document T, in which the name of the god occurs very often before the word βαο “god”. It may show a development in the late Bactrian language.

3.1.5 Numerals

In this chapter, I first analyse the position of the number in a noun phrase. In Bactrian, numerals can be expressed in a variety of ways: by ciphers, words, by both ciphers as well as words, or partially by words and partially by ciphers. The question arises here of whether or not there is a connection between the position of the number and the type of expression of the numeral (i.e., as a word or as alphabet letter). As a second focus in this chapter, I investigate the relationship between numbers (as a modifier) and nouns to show whether the noun tends to occur more frequently in the singular or plural. It also is a question whether a number may appear in the plural, that is, with plural marking or as plural lexical item.

3.1.5.1 Cardinal numbers

As the cardinal numbers are expressed in English by the figures 1 to 10, so in a similar way are Bactrian’s numerals also expressed very frequently as figures (such as numerals 1 to 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, 200, 300, 400, 500, and 1000). In Bactrian Greek, letters of the alphabet are used to introduce these types of numerals in figures (e.g., ά instead of 1, and β instead of 2). There are also some examples of alphabetical numbers.

The following table shows the occurrences of numbers when written alphabetically in BD I and II:

Table 15. The occurrences of alphabetical numbers in BD I and II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>numbers in alphabet</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>the total of occurrences in BD I and II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ιωγο</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>λοι, λοοι, λοοο</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σοφαρο</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>πανζο</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αταιο</td>
<td>eight</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>λαοο</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>οιστο</td>
<td>twenty</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>πανζαο</td>
<td>fifty</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γοαιο</td>
<td>sixty</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σαδο</td>
<td>hundred</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>πανζοσαδο</td>
<td>five hundred</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two numerical adjectives, i.e., βιδδιγο “second”, ιωρδδιγο, ιωρδδιο “third”, are attested in BD I and II.

There are two main groups. Each group has three subtypes based on the position and the kind of numeral. In the first main group, the number occurs before the noun. In the second main group, the number appears after the noun. For each main group, there are three variations. Table 16 shows these variations:

Table 16. The relationship between numbers and nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>first position</th>
<th>second position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>number (alphabetically)</td>
<td>noun (ex.31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>number (in figures)</td>
<td>noun (ex.32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>number (both alphabetically and in figure)</td>
<td>noun (ex.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Number (partly alphabetically and partly in figure)</td>
<td>noun (ex.34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>number (alphabetically) (ex.35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>number (in figure) (ex.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>number (both alphabetically and in figure) (ex.37)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following examples, the numeral is written alphabetically and occurs before the noun:

(K 8)
(31) λαοο γοαιο ιωο

“ten bushels of grain”

In the following example, the numeral occurs as a figure, and it is positioned before the noun:

162 Sims-Williams 2007a: 203.
164 Sims-Williams 2000a: 63.
Chapter 2. Noun phrases

(If 8-9)

(32) οδαβαχρηγο ἄ Δραχμο τοζο
and-fee 1 dirham pay.IMP,2s
“and pay one dirham (as) a fee” 165

In example (33), the numeral is written both alphabetically and as a figure, with both types appearing before the noun:

(df 8)

(33) λασο ἰ βρακο παμανο
ten 10 ? wool
“10…of wool” 166

In the following example, the numeral 100 is written as a figure, whereas the numeral eight is written alphabetically:

(H 7-8)

(34) ρʹ οδο αταο αργηο ιαοι
100 and eight peck grain
“one hundred and eight pecks of grain” 167

In example (35), the numeral is written alphabetically and is positioned after the substantive:

(aj 9)

(35) διναρο λασο
dinar ten
“ten dinar” 168

In the following example, the numeral 3 occurs as a figure and it is positioned after the substantive:

(M 3)

(36) δδραχμο κοαδαγο γ’
dirham kawad 3
“the three dirhams of (king) Kawad” 169

In example (37), the numeral is written as both a figure and an alphabet letter, with both forms positioned after the substantive:

(C 20’)

(37) διναρο κ’ οιστο
dinar 20 twenty
“twenty dinars” 170

Another interesting aspect relating to this topic of numerals is the discovery of the most common type in the extant material. To this end, I have chosen to investigate the relationship of numerals and the word διναρο “dinar”, which is often attested in use with numbers in the Bactrian texts. Table 17 shows the results of this investigation:

165 Sims-Williams 2007a: 133.
167 Sims-Williams 2000a: 49.
169 Sims-Williams 2000a: 73.
170 Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.
Table 17. The relationship between numbers and διναρο

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>types</th>
<th>first position</th>
<th>second position</th>
<th>sum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1 number (alphabetically)</td>
<td>διναρο</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 number (in figures)</td>
<td>διναρο</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 number (both alphabetically and in figure)</td>
<td>διναρο</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>1 διναρο</td>
<td>number (alphabetically)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 διναρο</td>
<td>number (as a figure)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 διναρο</td>
<td>number (both alphabetically and as a figure)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sum: the number of examples of each type in our corpora

According to Table 17, the numbers appear more often as figures than as alphabetically. The most common variety is II.2, i.e., noun-number (in figures). This shows when the number is expressed by ciphers, it tends to occur after the substantive.

The use of both alphabetical numbers and numbers in figures can also be found in other Middle Iranian languages, e.g., Middle Persian. It must be added that there are some differences too, however. For example, types I.3, II.3 are not attested in Middle Persian.171

3.1.5.2 Two digit numbers

In the case of two digit numbers, the number based on ten occurs first:

(K 8-9)

(38) οιστο οτο σοφαρο σπαλιγο μολο
twenty and four jar wine

“In twenty-four jars of wine”172

In the Surkh Kotal inscription, we find another system for two digit numbers. In this example, the decimal appears in the second position. It seems to be an archaic form:

(Surkh Kotal 5)

(39) ιωγο οδο υρο χβονο
one and thirty year (instead of thirty and one)

“in the 31th era-year, (lit.) in the year 31”173

Plural or no plural ending

In Bactrian, a noun qualified by a cardinal number does not take usually the plural ending -ανο, but instead, it occurs in the singular. For example:

(K 8)

(40) λασο γορο ιαο
          ten  bushel  grain

“ten bushels of grain”174

171 For the system of numerals in Middle Persian, see West 1978: 334-337 and Brunner 1977: 45-51.
172 Sims-Williams 2000a: 63.
Only once in the document does the substantive occur in the plural:

(ef 17)

(42) λοι ποσανο
two sheep
"the two sheep" 176

The word ποσο “sheep” occurs very often in the singular form in the Bactrian materials. In Middle Persian and Parthian, unlike Bactrian, the modified substantive may occur in both singular and plural forms.

Also in Middle Persian and Parthian, the cardinal numbers tend to appear in the singular, though in some cases they are also pluralized.177 In Bactrian, there are no examples of plural numerals.

The singular head noun with a numeral can be used with a plural dependent noun:

(A35)

(43x30) καφþινοι ιογδιγο γ´
shoe.PL pair.SG 3
“three pairs of shoes” 178

Ordinal numbers

Clear examples of ordinal numbers have not been attested in Bactrian so far. There is only a case in which an interpretation of an ordinal number is suspected. According to Sims-Williams, “if the reading αρημσσο is correct, this may be analysed as *αρημσο “third” (a formation similar to φορδαμσο “(at) first”… plus enclitic -σο “also”). 179

(Rabatakata 20)

(44) αβο ι αρημσσο χρονο
PRE ART third year
“in the third year” 180

The other word for “third”, i.e., νιρδδιγο, is used five times in the extant Bactrian material:

(eg 5-6)

(45) ότο νιρδδιγο βαγο φαρο τιφολιζ[γαν] [λ[αυο]
and third part PRE people of Yush-liz give.IMPV.2s
“and [give] a third part to the people of Yush-liz” 181

---

175 Sims-Williams 2007a: 85.
177 For examples of plural numerals in Middle Persian, see Brunner 1977: 47, and in Parthian, e.g., pnj’n rwśn’n, see Sundermann 1973: 51, lines 942 and 1206; or hft’n, see Durkhin-Meisterernst 2004: 176.
178 Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.
It seems that there is no difference between αρημσσο and υιρδδιγο in the extant material.

3.2 Adjectives

3.2.1 Modification

3.2.1.1 Suffixes

In Bactrian, adjectives may possess special elements. Various prefixes and suffixes are used to form adjectives from nouns. In this chapter, first, adjectival prefixes and suffixes are listed. They can help us distinguish adjectives from other word classes. The first group of suffixes are those forming only adjectives:

-ηγγο, -γγο forming adjectives from nouns, especially those nouns denoting substances, e.g., λαρστίγο “ill”.

-σαγγο (f.), -σανζο forming adjectives from words referring to persons or places, e.g., ασκισαγγο “belonging to (the place) Askin”.

-σιγο, -σιο, -σιυο (after -ν-) forming adjectives from nouns denoting substances, e.g., λαρσιγο “ill”.

-σαγγο, -σανζο forming adjectives from words referring to persons or places, e.g., ασκισαγγο “belonging to (the place) Askin”.

-αγγο forming adjectives, mostly from nouns and pronouns referring to persons or places, e.g., βαγαγγο “godly”.

-ηλο forming adjectives and adverbs expressing likeness from nouns, pronouns and numerals, e.g., ασνωυογωγο “like a daughter-in-law”.

-ηλο forming adverbs and adjectives, especially adverbs of place and adjectives of appurtenance. Often added to adverbs and inflected forms of pronouns without appreciable change of meaning, e.g., αμβηροσιγηλο “(inhabitant) of Amber”.

The second group of these suffixes may form adjectives as well as adverbs:

-ηγγο, -ηγο, -ιπο, -ιε, also abbreviated -ι forming adjectives (sometimes substantivized) and adverbs from nouns or adverbs. Without noticeable difference in the meaning, it is added to adjectives, e.g., αβανδαρονιγο “interior”.

-γωγγο, -γογγο, -ογγο forming adjectives and adverbs expressing likeness from nouns, pronouns and numerals, e.g., ασνωογωγογο “like a daughter-in-law”.

181 Sims-Williams 2007a: 121.
182 Sims-Williams 2007a: 213.
183 Sims-Williams 2007a: 261.
185 Sims-Williams 2007a: 263.
188 Sims-Williams 2007a: 208.
189 Sims-Williams 2007a: 207.
I. ανα-, να- are the privative prefix "without", e.g., αναμαγδο "without restriction".

II. αβη-, αβηα-, αβηο-, αβηγο-, αβηη-, βη-, βηγο-, βηο- are also the privative prefix "without" e.g., αβηομπαγγο "without deduction".

III. ο-, ό- "the same", e.g., όραυο "companion".

IV. χοα-, χο- "own, self", e.g., χοακαμο "willingly".

3.2.2 Ordering of adjectives

In some languages, "adjectives seem to be ordered according to semantic criteria", and special kinds of adjectives occur first. According to Hetzron:

the general cross-linguistic tendency is that adjectives that usually appear closest to the noun are those denoting purpose or destination. In pronominal position, for instance, these are preceded by adjectives denoting composition, origin, colour, physical defect, shape and finally, age.

It must be added that the ordering of adjectives may be different from language to language. Valois mentions the following groups for the ordering of adjectives:

I. A-N Languages (English) Evaluating Size Colour N
II. N-A Languages (Persian) N Colour Size Evaluating
III. A-N-A Languages (Italian) Evaluating Size N Colour

In Bactrian, there are both types I and II. Examples of constructions with more than one adjective are rare in Bactrian, and for this reason, the study of the ordering of adjectives is difficult and complex. At first, we look at the extant examples and then move on to discuss the ordering factors.

In both of the following examples, we have an A-N construction. The adjectives are of the same class, i.e., "(human propensity)" and therefore, their order must be interchangeable.

(66) ναμοονδαδο αβζοδο πιρωζο
famous prosperous PN
"the famous and prosperous Piruz"

(67) οαρσοχοανδο λαδοαγαλγο υοναμγο βαγανο θαυο
wonderful granter of favours renowned god.PL king
"the wonderful, the granter of favours, the renowned king of the gods"

---

192 Sims-Williams 2007a: 182.
194 Sims-Williams 2007a: 278.
197 Valois 2006: 63.
198 Valois 2006: 64.
199 For this theory, see Valois 2006: 63.
201 Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.
In the following examples, we have an N-A construction, and the different classes of adjectives are used together:

(V 10-11)

(48) πιδο δηραχμο ταζανο σμιγγο βιγγο ωδαγο
PRE dirhams Arab silver good district
οιζινδδιγο σαδο ρϖ όδο πανξασο νϖ
current hundred 100 and fifty 50
“for one hundred and fifty good, locally current Arab dirhams of silver”\(^{202}\)

We can show the above construction as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRE</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A 1</th>
<th>A 2</th>
<th>A 3</th>
<th>A 4</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>silver</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>locally</td>
<td>current</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>proper</td>
<td>proper</td>
<td>quality</td>
<td>proper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we saw above, four adjectives occur between noun and number, and these are from different categories of adjectives. All of these adjectives modify the noun “dirhams”. The adjective of origin ταζανο “Arab” occurs first in the line of adjectives.

In the following example, the two adjectives occur before the noun; therefore we have an A-N construction. The adjective τορσανζο “Turkish”, of the same category, appears second in the line of adjectives. Both adjectives of origin occur nearest to the substantive in examples (48) and (49):

(T 20)

(49) στορογο τοροσανζο οισλογδο
great Turkish princess
“the great Turkish princess”\(^{203}\)

In Bactrian, according to the extant examples, it seems that there are some rules for the ordering of adjectives. For example, the adjective of origin appears closest to the substantive, but a conclusive statement about this order is impossible, since supporting evidence is limited to only a few constructions with more than one adjective.

### 3.2.3 Nominal phrases consisting of an adjective

As mentioned, in some languages, adjectives occur before the noun, such as in English. In other languages, adjectives appear after the noun, such as in Persian. Bactrian belongs to the latter group of languages. There are various positions of adjectives within noun phrases, to be described here.

#### 3.2.3.1 Adjectives may precede the noun they modify

For example:

(cd 11-14)

(50) ταδο-μο πισο το χοηο ιαυαμγο φοβταδηο
then-I.CP PRE SPD lordship ART-same send.PST.OPT.3s
σαγωνδο πισο χουαμηο βραδο
as PRE same brother
“I would have sent the same to your lordship as to an elder brother”\(^{204}\)

\(^{202}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 117.

\(^{203}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 103.
In the following example, the adjective does not occur close to the substantive; and there are other words between the adjective and the substantive:

(Q 20-21)

(51) ασιαμαχο πιδοασινδανο χολιστο αβηπαροδογο καδαγο
PRE-we.CP declarant.PL. personally non-refundable house
inside outside penalty do.INF
“to fix a non-refundable penalty of (property) inside (or) outside the house, (payable) by us, the declarants personally”205

3.2.3.2 Adjectives may follow the noun

(cc 12-14)

(52) ταδο-μο πιδο χοβο φαρο κοδο πιγγο φοβτιο
then-I.CP PRE SPD majesty dog good send.IMPV.2s
“so in your majesty send me a good dog”206

(J 9-10)

(53) ασινδο-μηνο αστο μαληλο αβο μαλρο αγγαργο
but-we.CP be.PRS.3s here PRE PN property
derposable
“But we have a disposable property here in Malr.”207

The first type is more frequent in Bactrian. It seems that in the majority of examples, there may be a semantic difference between the A-N and N-A constructions. The N-A construction may show an indefinite property. For instance, in example (52), κοδο πιγγο means “a good dog”, and in example (53), αγγαργο παροιαβιγο has a meaning of “a disposable property”, which seems to be indefinite. Another reason for using the N-A construction may be an emphasis on the adjective.

3.2.4 Case marking of adjectives

We can say that adjectives are sometimes inflected only for number in Bactrian texts. Gender and case inflection is absent, but there are a few exceptions. In general, adjectives modifying plural nouns have a plural ending. This characteristic can be seen in examples from both old and new documents:

(J 3)

(54) πισο μανδανωανισο αζαδοβοργανο οιγαλανο
PRE ART-other.PL-ADV freeman.PL witness.PL
“also in the presence of the other freemen (and) witnesses”208

(S 22-23)

(55) ασο οισπουοανο οισπηριδανο
PRE all.PL claimant.PL
“from all claimants”209

204 Sims-Williams 2007a: 75.
205 Sims-Williams 2000a: 91.
206 Sims-Williams 2007a: 73.
207 Sims-Williams 2000a: 55, 57.
208 Sims-Williams 2000a: 55.
209 Sims-Williams 2000a: 95, 97.
(Rabatak 2)

(56) ασοιοισποανοι μι βαγανο
PRE all.PL ART.PL god.PL
“from all the gods”. 210

But there are also some exceptions. In the following example, οισπο, which is singular, is used with a plural noun. Neither of the adjectives are inflected:

(xe 14-15)
(57) οδοιοισποπτζο ιερανο υαγανανο
and all good thing.PL hear.SBJV.1s
“and I should hear all good thing.”

In the following case, the adjective φριιο is singular, whereas the noun is plural. Such an adjective is not inflected in the extant Bactrian texts:

(cj 1)
(58) αβοκολοαρδαγοιονκολονοιονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονονο

In the following example, a plural adjective is used with the singular substantive αζαδοκαρο “freeman”:

(Q 8)
(59) πισομανδονανισοαζαδοκαρο
PRE ART-other.PL-ADV freeman
“also in the presence of the other freemen” 212

The plural form of αζαδοκαρο is attested in the extant Bactrian material. In the following example, a singular adjective is used with the plural noun:

(X 3)
(60) οδαισιιοαζαδοκαρνο
local freeman.PL
“local freemen” 213

3.2.5 Comparison

3.2.5.1 The comparative

The suffixes -δαρο, -ταρο and -αταρο form comparatives from adjectives, for example, ανδαροζαγγοδαρο “otherwise” + ανδαροζαγγ “of another kind” + -δαρο. 214 The suffix

211 Sims-Williams 2007a: 87.
212 Sims-Williams 2000a: 89.
213 Sims-Williams 2000a: 137.
-δάρο is also attested in the adverb ασκαδαρο. According to Sims-Williams, ασποδαρο215 “mule”<ασπο+ -δάρο, OInd. aśva-tará, is also a comparative from ασπο. But the suffix -tará can also be described as “die Annäherung an den Begriff de[s] grundw[ort]es” AiGr II 2,603216

3.2.5.2 The superlative

Only one example of the superlative form is attested in extant material. This example is βαγανοδάμο “most divine”, which is the superlative form of βαγανο:

(61) καλδανο αφο το βαγανοδάμο χοάδο λρογο
when-PAR PRE SPD most divine RP health
οινανο
see.SBJV.1s
“when I myself might see your most divine healthy”218

3.3 Nominal sentences

3.3.1 The presence of a copula

A simple sentence in Bactrian may be placed in one of two general categories, as a nominal or verbal sentence. In this chapter, we will focus on nominal sentences.

The predicate is a constant element in nominal sentences. The following table shows the present indicative forms of the verb “to be” in Bactrian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 18. Copula, present indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>full form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The present optative and subjunctive forms of the verb “to be” are attested in the Bactrian texts221. They are tabulated in the following table:

216 Mayrhofer 1992: 140.
217 Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.
218 Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.
219 Sims-Williams 2007a: 42.
220 Sims-Williams 2007a: 42.
221 Sims-Williams 2007a: 42.
Table 19. Copula, optative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>full form</th>
<th>enclitic form</th>
<th>NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ηιο (?)222</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>αστηιο, αστιιο</td>
<td>-ηιο, -αιο (?)223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ινσηιο (only as auxiliary)224</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20. Copula, subjunctive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>full form</th>
<th>enclitic form</th>
<th>full form, NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td></td>
<td>-αιο</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ασταδο</td>
<td>-αιδο, -δο (the latter only as auxiliary)225</td>
<td>ναδο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table shows the past forms of the verb “to be”:

Table 21. Copula, PST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past “to be”</th>
<th>NEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>ασταδο, σταδο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>σταδαμο, ασταδαμο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>σταδινδο, σταδδινδο, ασταδδινδο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>σταδηιο, ασταδηιο</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

σταδηιο, ασταδηιο PST.OPT.3s and -αιδο Pf.OPT.3s (?) are the only forms of past optative attested. The past subjunctive of the verb “to be” is not attested in extant texts.

3.3.1.1 The position of the copula

In the following example, there are two adjectives connected without a conjunction. The copula is added as an enclitic to the second adjective:

(C 21)
(62) ατο χοζο αοσηαραδο that good valid-be.SBJV.3sg
“that it might be good and valid”226

222 See Sims-Williams 2007a: 42.
223 See Sims-Williams 2007a: 42.
224 See Sims-Williams 2007a: 42.
225 See Sims-Williams 2007a: 42.
In the following examples, negative and prohibitive particles are not added to the copula, but added directly to the adjective:

(63) ταδ-ιο 1 χοαιδο  οδο  οισαρο then-he.CP ART claim and argument νααι(οα)ραιο NEG.PAR.-valid-be.SBJV.3s “then his claim and argument shall be invalid”\(^{227}\)

(C 17-18)

(64x96) ταδ-ηηο  χοαιδο  οδο  οισαρο  μααιααιρημο then-he.CP ART-claim and argument PROH.PAR.-valid-be.OPT.3s “then his claim and argument shall not be valid”\(^{228}\)

In the following example, νιστο, the negative form of the third person present tense of the verb “to be”, is used instead of the negative particle να:\(^{229}\)

(65x97) ταδ-μο  αβο  χανο  υαρσο  ανδαρο  υαοαινο  νιστο  σταδο then-I.CP PRE house just other means NEG.be.PST.3s “and I had no other means in (my) house”\(^{230}\)

The absence of the copula

In Bactrian, the copula can be omitted in different situations. In the following examples, it does not occur in the subordinate clause:

(66) οαλο  ασιδαιο  υακινο there which-PRE PN “there, which (is) in Askin”

(T 6-7)

(67) οδο-μο  λαοηη  μισο  μασκοινο  υγο  ζινο and-I.CP give-PST.OPT.3s also person one woman κιδο  οαοαινο  ναμο  σιδαιο  ασο  βρηδαγο… αγγιτο whose PN name who-I.CP PRE PN receive.PST.3s “and also there was given by me, a person, a woman whose name (is) Warag who was received by me from the bredag”\(^{231}\)

The copula can also be omitted in a relationship of apposition:

(V 12-13)

(68) ασο  μαρσαινο  κινο... PRE east canal “to the east (is) a ditch”\(^{232}\)

\(^{227}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 151.
\(^{228}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.
\(^{229}\) See also Sims-Williams 2007a: 47, 2.2.6.
\(^{230}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 127.
\(^{231}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 99.
\(^{232}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 117.
Chapter 2. Noun phrases

(69) φρωδόκο φρωδαγο πορο
PN name EZ-PN son
“(whose) name (is) Froduk, the son of Frodag”

In the following example, the demonstrative is used in a copular function. (see 4.2)

(70) ταδο ειο ταοι σιρο
then DEM you.OBL proof
“so this (is) your proof”

3.3.2 Copula with infinitive

A copula verb may occur with an infinitive. In the following example, the copula verb “to be” is attached directly to an infinitive:

(71) ταδο-μο ταο 
then-1.CP PRE
αβο 
city
ταρο 
thither
νιαβογο 
fitting
χοζο 
good
αφκαφδαδο 
follow.INF-be.SBJV.3s
“so it would be very fitting for me to follow (him) thither to the city.”

3.3.3 The nominal sentence of possession

There are two different possibilities to indicate possession in Bactrian: either the verb χοαρ- “to have” or the copula is used. Indication of possession with the use of the copula is much more common than the use of the verb χοαρ-, however. For example:

(72) ταδο-μο αβο καδγο ανδαρο σαγισο 
then-1.CP PRE house other any assets
νιστο 
NEG.be.PRS. 3s
“and I have no other assets in the house”

Very rarely the verb χοαρ- “to have” indicates possession, as the next example shows:

(73) ταδανο πιδο χοβο χορηιο
then-PAR PRE own have.OPT.3s
“then she may have (him) for her own”

A clear difference between the two types of indication of possession is not found in the extant Bactrian material.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have seen some properties of case morphology and nominal phrases. First, we can conclude that there is really no case distinction between direct and oblique. Only a

233 Sims-Williams 2000a: 149.
234 Sims-Williams 2000a: 43.
236 Sims-Williams 2000a: 55
237 Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.
few words in the old texts, such as the inscriptions, have preserved their old oblique endings. In the new texts, the endings -o for the singular and -ανο for the plural have been generalized.

Second, there are only a few words with the feminine ending -α in old texts. On this limited basis, therefore, we cannot argue that one can distinguish feminine stems from masculine in Bactrian.

In this chapter, I have also described the properties of nominal phrases, such as descriptive adjectives, appositional modifiers, the relationship between head noun and dependent noun and numerical substantives. Furthermore, this chapter has focused on the syntactical properties of the described elements. It has also been shown that the positions of adjectives, head nouns and dependent nouns or numerals are very flexible and interchangeable in Bactrian.

Finally, I have reviewed nominal sentences with the presence, absence, and position of the copula. The different functions of the copula have been presented as well.
Chapter 4

4. Chapter Four: Pronouns

The purpose of this chapter is, in the first place, to show the function of pronouns in Bactrian. I first present the common types of pronouns and their case system. Thereafter I will focus on each set of pronouns and examine their specific properties. Several items relating to the pronouns are investigated, including full and enclitic forms of pronouns, direct and oblique case forms and their functions, the syntactic position of pronouns and their ordering. However, due to the limited amount of texts, some of the above mentioned items cannot be satisfactorily examined.

4.1 Personal pronouns

There are two kinds of personal pronouns in Bactrian: full and enclitic pronouns. As in other Iranian languages, an enclitic pronoun is in the oblique case. The full pronouns may occur in direct or oblique case in the singular. There is no distinction between direct and oblique in plural. As in many Iranian languages for third person full pronouns, demonstratives are used. Full and enclitic personal pronouns have different functions in the texts. The direct full pronoun can be used as the subject of a transitive verb in the present, as the object of a transitive verb in the past, as the subject of an intransitive verb in all tenses and as the subject of a copula. Both full and enclitic oblique pronouns can express the role of the subject of a transitive verb in the past, the object of a transitive verb in the present, show possessive relations with nouns and express a recipient/indirect object. The personal pronouns occur in different syntactic positions. For example, the oblique form of a personal pronoun can appear before or after a nominal phrase. It can appear after prepositions, after conjunctions, or in rare cases, it can be attached to another enclitic pronoun or to a verb.

4.1.1 Full pronouns

As mentioned above, personal pronouns only distinguish a direct and oblique form in the singular. For the third person, demonstrative pronouns are used (see 3.2). The next table shows the most common forms of personal pronouns found in the researched documents.

Table 22. Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>direct</th>
<th>oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>αζο</td>
<td>μανο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>το (τοι, τοο, τογο, τοουο)</td>
<td>ταο (ταοι, ταοο)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>αμαχο, μαχο (in old texts), ιαμαχο (only in possessive function)</td>
<td>ιαμαχο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>τομαχο, τομαχο, ταμαχο</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.1.1 The direct full pronouns

The full personal pronouns have different functions. In this section, I will concentrate on the direct function of full pronouns.

A full pronoun can function as the subject of transitive verbs in the present tense:

Sims-Williams 2007a: 216.
(A 12-13)

(74) ἵθαυατάνοι λήρημον ἅξονα βαγοφαρνον ἄβο μασκον
so that treat.PRS.OPT.1s I.DIR. PN PRE herein

νοβιχτισον ζηνον
described woman

“so that, I, Bag-farn, may treat the woman described herein”\(^{239}\)

It can also be used in the role of the object of transitive verbs in the past tense (ergative construction):

(F 7-8)

(75) οτο-μο το ζηρον ἅξαδον ... υπρημο
and-I.CP you.DIR PN free ... set.PST.2s

“I released you, Zer”\(^{240}\)

It can occur as the subject of intransitive verbs in all tenses:

(O 16)

(76) καλδον αχασανον ἅξον τοβηγον χοιδον
if dispute.PRS.SBJV.1s I.DIR PN RP

“If I should quarrel, I, Yobig myself …”\(^{241}\)

In the following example, it is used as the subject of a copula verb:

(bh 7)

(77) οτο ἅξον μαρο λρογημο
and I.DIR here healthy

“And I am healthy here.”\(^{242}\)

The form ἅξο is a full pronoun, not an enclitic pronoun, but once it is directly attached to a conjunction, it becomes like an enclitic pronoun:

(eh 6)

(78) ταδαξο ζηρον αγαδμο
then-I.DIR health arrive.PST.1s

“Then I arrived in good health.”\(^{243}\)

4.1.1.2 The oblique full pronouns

The oblique personal pronouns have different functions in the extant texts. In the following examples, these functions are presented:

The ergative construction shows the agent in the oblique case, when the agent is a pronoun. It is only in the inscriptions that the oblique form of a substantive is attested:

(ba 9)

(79) μανο ναγατο
L.OBL hear.PST.3s

“I have heard”\(^{244}\)

\(^{239}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

\(^{240}\) Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.

\(^{241}\) Sims-Williams 2007b: 10.

\(^{242}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 67.

\(^{243}\) Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 123.

\(^{244}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.
Chapter 4

It may be used as a recipient/indirect object, such as in the following example:

(80) ταδὸ μανον ασταδο καιδιβο ι
then I.OBL. mule give.IMP.2s
“Then give me a mule”

With a preposition, an enclitic pronoun usually occurs. In the following example, we expect ασαφαγο, but a full pronoun in oblique case, i.e., τωμαχο is used after the preposition ασο:

(L 28’-29’)

(81) οτακαλδο ανδιαρισο καισο ασταδο κιδιβο ι
and-if other person be.SBJV.3s who-to ART
μασκο ναβιχτιγο αγγαργο ασο τωμαχο πιδοκαρλαδο
herein pp property PRE you.OBL withhold.SBJV.3s
“and if should be anyone else, who might withhold from you the property written herein”

Possessive function

An oblique full personal pronoun is used occasionally with a noun to indicate possession. In this case, it functions as a possessive adjective and generally occurs before the substantive:

(cl 3-4)

(82) μισιδο ναοαζομανο μαρηγο αβαμαγο
moreover PN I.OBL. servant to-I.CP
πιδοομανο
appeal.PST.3s
“Moreover, Nawaz my servant has appealed to me”

(S 10)

(83) ταδο μαχο σαχοανο ματο οδο μαχο
then we.UFL claim give up.PST.3s and we.UFL
ιαχασο αβσιστηιο
dispute conclude.PST.OPT.3s
“then our claim was given up and dispute was brought to an end”

In the following example, it appears before καιμιρδο βαγο “ the god Kamird “, which is in apposition to the nominal phrase οηζο οδο οαρσοχοδανο “power and miraculous ability”:

(T 12-13)

(84) ταοι καιμιρδο βαγο οηζο οδο οαρσοχοδανο
you.OBL. PN god power and miraculous ability
“The power and miraculous ability of you, the god Kamird”

In the following example, a demonstrative and a personal pronoun are used. The demonstrative appears before the nominal phrase, whereas the personal pronoun occurs after it, which happens very rarely in Bactrian:

(T 10)

(85) εμο πωστιο μανο
DEM contract I.OBL
“this contract of mine”

245 Sims-Williams 2007a: 79.
246 Sims-Williams 2007a: 89.
247 Sims-Williams 2000a: 95.
4.1.2 Enclitic pronouns

As in other Iranian languages, the case of the enclitic pronouns is exclusively oblique. There are two forms for the first and second singular enclitic pronouns in Bactrian. The suffixed forms, 1s -μαγο (<encl.acc./abl. *-mā/-mad+ particle *kā<sup>250</sup>) and 2s -φαγο (<encl.acc./abl. *θwā/-θwad+ particle *kā<sup>251</sup>), are used only with prepositions, as can be seen in the next table below (??). Members of the second group are also attached to other kinds of words:

Table 23. Enclitic pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-μο -μαγο with PRE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-δηνο -ηηο, -ηηο -ηηο, -ηηο, -ηηο, -ηηο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-μηνο -μηνο -μηνο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1p</td>
<td>-μηνο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-δηνο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-ηηο, -ηηο, -ηηο</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.2.1 The function of enclitic pronouns

An enclitic pronoun has the following functions in the extant Bactrian material.

It may be used as the subject of transitive verbs in the past:

(L 21-22)

(86) οτο -μηνο αγγιτινδο ι οσιαγο οισπο ασποριγο and-we.CP receive.PST.3p ART price all complete

“And we received the price all complete”<sup>252</sup>

The object of transitive verbs in the present may also be expressed as the form of an enclitic pronoun.

In the following examples, a preposition governs the enclitic pronoun:

(F 12-13)

(87) κιο -ανο αβα -φαγο ζηρο ... αφκαρ -αδο who PRE-you.OBL. Zer ... pursue-SBJV.3s

“who might pursue you, Zer”<sup>253</sup>

(cl 3-4)

(88) μισιδο ναοαζομανο μαρηγο αβα -μαγο moreover PN I.OBL. servant to-I.CP appeal.PST.3s

“Moreover, Nawaz my servant has appealed to me”<sup>254</sup>

Like a full pronoun, an enclitic pronoun may be used to indicate possession. In this case, it functions as a possessive adjective:

---

An enclitic pronoun may to be used as a recipient/ indirect object. In the following example, an enclitic pronoun is attached directly to a verb:

(Y 6-7)

(90) οσο μορ δογγο πιδοσανο πιδοσαναδο-μο
now PN thus request request.PST.3s-1.CP

“Now Mir has thus made a request to me.”

4.1.2.2 The position of enclitic pronouns

After a conjunction

An enclitic pronoun may be attached to the conjunction:

(J 8)

(91) οσο-μηνο ηδοδαλοχηοοανο τογο αστοργο
and-we.CP Hephthalite lord.PL tax large
ασταδο αβοκαδο
be.PST.3s PRE-house

“and the Hephthalite lords tax on our house was large”

(R 10-11)

(92) οδο-μηνο σαχοανο οδο ιαχοσο αματο
and-we.CP claim and dispute give up.PST.3s

“and our claim and dispute was given up”

This type (conjunction with an enclitic) is more common than the other type (conjunction with a full pronoun) in Bactrian.

After a preposition

The oblique full pronoun can be attached directly to a preposition:

(cq 7-8)

(93) οδο το χοηοι ααε-μηνο ιαδο βοοηο
that SPD lordship PRE-LOBL. pleased be.OPT.3s?

“that your lordship may be pleased with me”

Attached to a verb

Examples of the personal pronoun attached to a verb are rarely found in the Bactrian material (see example 90).

Attached to another enclitic pronoun

In the following example, an enclitic pronoun is attached to another enclitic pronoun already attached to a conjunction. The first enclitic personal pronoun expresses the subject of a transitive past verb, and the second personal pronoun expresses the object of the sentence:

256 Sims-Williams 2000a: 145.
257 Sims-Williams 2000a: 55.
258 Sims-Williams 2000a: 93.
259 Sims-Williams 2007a: 97.
In view of the function of personal pronouns, a few differences can be observed between the full pronouns and enclitic pronouns. After a conjunction and a preposition both the enclitic and full pronouns may occur, but the first form is found much more often.

4.1.3 Ordering of enclitic and full pronouns

Examples of a sentence with more than one personal pronoun are rare in the extant Bactrian material. In example (95), the full pronoun occurs first, while the enclitic pronoun, which is attached to a preposition, appears after it. It must be added here that very often, other words may stand between them. In example (75), an enclitic pronoun, which functions to express the subject, is attached directly to the conjunction, while the direct full pronoun, which expresses object, occurs after it. In example (94), two enclitic pronouns are attached to a conjunction. The first is the subject and the second a possessive adjective. When a sentence contains a full pronoun and a pronoun which is governed by a preposition, it seems that the full pronoun must occur first:

(G 1) (95) μισιδο πιδοροβδο μανο μοζδο ι χαραγανο ...
now receive.PST.3s I.OBL PN EZ PN ...
ασο-φαγο ορομοζδο ι βορνικανο
PRE-you.CP PN EZ PN
“Now, I received, Muzd Kharagan … from you Ormuzd Burnikan”

4.1.4 Summary

There are two kinds of personal pronouns in Bactrian: full and enclitic pronouns. As in other Iranian languages, an enclitic pronoun is in the oblique case. The full pronouns may occur in direct or oblique case in the singular. There is no distinction between direct and oblique in the plural. As in many Iranian languages, for third person full pronouns, demonstratives are used. Full and enclitic personal pronouns have different functions in the texts. The direct full pronoun can be used as the subject of a transitive verb in the present, as the object of a transitive verb in the past, as the subject of an intransitive verb in all tenses and as the subject of a copula. Both full and enclitic oblique pronouns can express the role of the subject of a transitive verb in the past, the object of a transitive verb in the present, show possessive relations with nouns and express a recipient/indirect object. The personal pronouns occur in different syntactic positions. For example, the oblique form of a personal pronoun can appear before or after a nominal phrase. In this context, it very often plays the role of a possessive pronoun. It can suffixed to a preposition, a conjunction, or in rare cases, it can be attached to another enclitic pronoun or to a verb.
4.2 Demonstratives

In my article on “demonstratives and determiners in Bactrian” (2009a), I discussed the different types of demonstratives and their function. Here in this chapter, I would like to concentrate on the function of demonstratives and other pronouns as a copula.

The conversion of pronominals to copula forms and the use of pronouns as copula forms is already pointed out and discussed by Li and Thompson (1977) and Korn (2011). Korn shows that pronouns can be used as the copula and the copula as pronouns in some Iranian languages. Her article also argues that some Iranian pronominal clitics might derive from copula or verbal ending forms. In this chapter, we discuss the conversion of pronouns to copula in Bactrian, if it exists. We also show whether pronouns are derived from the copula and verbal ending forms in Bactrian.

Copula sentences are common in Bactrian, as in other Iranian languages (see 3.3).

But in some cases, the copula can be omitted. These examples might prove that the copula is optional in Bactrian (see 3.3.1). It is a question here whether in such sentences without the copula, the pronouns are used in a copular function.

In discussing this topic, we first concentrate on clitic pronouns and demonstratives in Bactrian.

In some Iranian languages, for example, New Persian, the singular pronominal clitics can be traced back to the OIr. genitive/dative clitics. In certain other Iranian languages, for example, from the Western group, there is a group of clitics which might derive from copula forms or verbal endings. In Bactrian, enclitics have not derived from copula or verbal ending forms, but rather from OIr. genitive/dative enclitics:

1s.-μο < *mai
2s.-δημο, -τημο, 265 *-δο <-#tai
3s.-ημο, -τημο, -υμο, -ημο, -υμο, -ι<*-μ-V-hai

The plural clitic forms are a secondary formation from singular forms:
1p.-μηνο “formed from -μο on the analogy of -δημο, -ημο” 266
2p.-δηνο “a secondary formation from -δημο” 267
3p.-ηνο, -τηνο, -υμο “a secondary formation from -ημο” 268

To judge from the limited material available, we conclude that enclitic personal pronouns are not used in the copular function. But the question of this development must also be asked of the demonstratives.

In the glossary of the Bactrian Documents II, we find the following words classified as demonstratives:

266 Sims-Williams 2007a: 232.
269 For demonstrative determiners and pronouns in Bactrian, see Gholami 2009: 19-26.
Chapter 4.

1. ειο, ειο, -ιο, -ιό, -ι, older form ειο, ειο (in the Surkh Kotal inscription) <*ayam
2. ειο, ειο, ειο, ηο <*ima-, PL.ειο, ειο, -ιοναν<*imaišanām-
3. ειο, ειο, -ειο <*aita-, PL.ειο, -ειοναν <*aitaišanām
4. oo <*awam
5. μο, μ <*ima-

The first three demonstratives are the most common forms in Bactrian. In the following table, the demonstratives, copula forms, and verbal endings are listed.

Table 24. Demonstratives, copula forms, and verbal endings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstratives</th>
<th>Plr.</th>
<th>Copula forms</th>
<th>Verbal endings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ειο, ειο, ειο, ηο</td>
<td>&lt;*ima-</td>
<td>1s ηθο, -ηο</td>
<td>-ηθο, -ηο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ειο, ειο, -ιο, -ιο, -ι, older form ειο, ειο</td>
<td>&lt;*ayam-</td>
<td>2s ηιο</td>
<td>-ηιο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ειο, ειο, -ειο</td>
<td>&lt;*aita-</td>
<td>3s ιστο</td>
<td>-ιστο</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 24 above, we can conclude that in Bactrian copula forms and verbal endings are likely to derive from demonstrative pronouns. In the case of ειο, there is no derivation from *aita, but the enclitic form -ιστο is used as a copular form. The 3s. verbal endings are derived from demonstratives.

In some languages such as Sogdian, demonstratives show a deixis (or personal) distinction. In Bactrian such a distinction is not observed.

The other question arises here is whether the demonstrative could be used in the copular function. For answering this question, some examples are given and analysed in the following section.

In some constructions, both the copula and the demonstrative are used:

(X 31)

(96) οδδι πωστιο χοζο ... βοοαδο
and-DEM contract good be.OPT.3s
“And may this contract be good.”

(V 12-13)

(97x130) ιειο παδουαμονάδγινο
DEM boundary-be.PRS.3p
“these are the boundaries”

But in some cases, there is no copula and the demonstrative may play the role of a copula:

(E 4’-5’)

(98) ταδο ειο ταοι σιργο
then DEM you.OBL proof
“so this (is) your proof”

In above ειο seems to be used as a copula. According to Korn, “most of the pronominal copula forms are only used in the 3rd person, and in the present tense.”

---

272 Sims-Williams 2000a: 143.
273 Sims-Williams 2000a: 117.
274 Sims-Williams 2000a: 43.
we can tell from the material available, the pronominal copula forms can be also used for second person. In the preceding example, it seems that the use of ειο has a connection with ταοι “you”, although in Bactrian, these three demonstratives do not show more of a deixis distinction.

If the statements suggested above are correct, we can conclude that demonstratives are also used in a copular function in Bactrian.

4.3 Reflexive forms

4.3.1 Reflexive pronouns

There is more than one reflexive pronoun in Bactrian:

(i) χοαδο

The form χοαδο is the most common reflexive pronoun in Bactrian. It occurs frequently in the role of a reflexive pronoun, but not as a reflexive adjective. It is preceded by the noun or pronoun to which it refers. In the following examples, it occurs after a noun and pronoun, which expresses the subject of the sentence:

(ab 11)

(99) αλο αζο οφοαδο χοαδο
or I.DIR PN RP
“Whether I, Wesh-lad myself”276

(ba 14)

(100) ταο αζο χοαδο φρομιιανο
then I.DIR RP order.SBJV.1s
“then I myself shall order”277

The reflexive pronoun may occur directly after its antecedent or some distance from it. In the following example, the verbal ending indicates the person and number of the subject. The reflexive pronoun appears after the object of the sentence, though it does not refer to that object:

(bb 4)

(101) καλδανο αβο το χοηο χοαδο λρογο οηνανο
when-PAR PRE SPD lordship RP healthy see.SBJV.1s
“When I myself might see your lordship healthy”278

In the following example, the reflexive pronoun occurs after the verb. The verbal ending indicates the person and number of the reflexive pronoun:

(jf 13-14)

(102) μισιδο σογγο πιο δροστανο αρμαυηδο χοαιδο
moreover as PRE health remain.PRS or OPT.2p RP
“Moreover in as much as you (PL.) yourself remain in (good) health”279

The reflexive pronoun χοαιδο is very often used to refer to the first person singular pronoun (examples (99)-(101)). It may also used to refer to second person plural (example (102)) , third person singular (example (103)) and first person plural pronouns (example (104)):

275 Korn 2011: 60.
276 Sims-Williams 2007a: 151.
277 Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.
278 Sims-Williams 2007a: 55.
279 Sims-Williams 2007a: 133.
(ea 10-11)

(103) ναρσο κισο ναργο οδο σαξοανο νιστο αφαρσιδο

no one right and business NEG.be.PRS.3s except

ηβαρο χωαδο

PN himself

“no-one has (any) right or (other) business except Shabur himself”\(^{280}\)

(A 23-24)

(104) κοοαδο αμαχο αβο ραλικο χωαδο ζιφτο

that we.UFL PRE PN RP request.PST.3s

“that we ourselves have requested Ralik”\(^{281}\)

Other words as prepositions or adverbs may be directly attached to χωαδο, e.g., χωαδόλο (χωαδο+όλο “with”) and χωαδασο (χωαδο+ασο “from”), χωαδίσο (χωαδο+ισο “also”):

(ji 7-9)

(105) οριο οσο ησαρο κιδο χωαδασο νοζδο

and-he.CP then more happy who RP-PRE nearby

dδρογο ηνο οινανο

healthy well see.SBJV.1s

“And then [it would be] more happy for him who might see (you) himself from nearby, healthy (and) well”\(^{282}\)

(ii) χοβσαρο

The form χοβσαρο\(^{283}\) (older χοβσαρο in the Rabatak inscription\(^{284}\)) is used two times in our corpora. It functions as a reflexive pronoun. In the following example, it refers to a second person plural antecedent. The verbal ending indicates the number and person of its antecedent:

(bc 12-13)

(106) οτο ιωγο μαρδο χοβσαρο εδηδο

and one man RP (?).IMPV.2p

“And you shall … one man yourselves”\(^{285}\)

In the following example, it is used to refer to a third person singular antecedent:

(Rabatak 13-14)

(107) αβο (ι) πιδα οδο αβο ι χοβσαρο κανηκε

PRE ART father and PRE ART RP PN

ραο

king

“(his) father, and himself, king Kanishka”\(^{286}\)

---


\(^{281}\) Sims-Williams 2000: 35.

\(^{282}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 139.


\(^{284}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 279.

\(^{285}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 57.

4.3.2 Reflexive adjectives

(i) χοβο

The form χοβο very often plays the role of a reflexive possessive adjective. It can also be used as a noun or rarely as a pronoun. The reflexive possessive adjective usually occurs before the noun to which it refers:

(I 5’)
(108) πιό μο χοβο σινδο
PRE ART RA wish
“at (our) own wish”\(^{287}\)

In some cases, it is more common to use a reflexive adjective instead of a possessive adjective, i.e., χοβο καδγο instead of τωμαχο καδγο:

(ca 7-8)
(109) τασιτηνο(τα-+ασιδο+-δηνο) ασο χοβο καδγο ασβαρο ασταδο
then-whatever-you.CP.2p PRE RA house horsemen be.SBJV.3s
“Whatever horsemen you may have (available) from your house”\(^{288}\)

Only in the following example does it play the role of a reflexive pronoun, like χοαδο:

(W 28’-29’)
(110) οδαλο μαχο χοβο πιδοσινδιγανο αχασαμο
and-or we.UFL RP declarant.PL dispute.SBJV.1p
“or (if) we ourselves, the declarants, should dispute”\(^{289}\)

In the following example, χοβο is used as a noun:

(dd 5-6)
(111) τ-μανο χοβο
ART-I.OBL property
“my property”\(^{290}\)

It can be observed that other words, such as an enclitic pronoun, are often attached to χοβο:

(V 8)
(112) χοβομηνο βονο πιδαργανο
RA-we.CP land ancestral
“our own ancestral estate”\(^{291}\)

(ii) χοβιγο

The distinction between χοβο and χοβιγο is not clear. Both may function as reflexive possessive adjectives. As the suffix -γο may form adjectives and adverbs, it must function as an adjective, not as a noun. We can compare this word with wēbē(h), (wxybyh) in Parthian. According to Sundermann, it functions predominantly as an adjective in the meaning of “own” and it is also rarely used as a substantive.\(^{292}\)

\(^{287}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 51.
\(^{288}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 69.
\(^{289}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 133.
\(^{290}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 105.
\(^{291}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 115.
χοβιγο is used only six times in the texts in BD I and II. This word can be used with a possessive pronoun. In this case, the word χοβιγο occurs between the possessive pronoun and noun:

(O 13’)

(113) οδό ναυο μαναγγο χοβιγο τοχμιγο
and nor POSA RA family
“and nor my own (household) family”

χοβιγο may be also used independently, as in the following, where it is repeated and used with the meaning of “all our own”:

(N 30-31)

(114) οτο δρουμινο δρουμινο εφκαραμο οδο χοβιγο
and enemy enemy chase off.SBJV.1p and own
χοβιγο ληραμο
own keep.SBJV.1p
“And may chase off all enemies and keep all our own (household)”.

4.3.3 Summary

According to the given examples and information, we can conclude that there are four words in Bactrian which function as the reflexive pronoun or reflexive adjective. The most common reflexive pronoun is χοβιγο. It is used very often in the extant material. The form χοβο is a reflexive possessive adjective and also occurs very often in the texts. Sometimes it plays the role of a possessive adjective. The word χοβιγο, like χοβο, functions as a reflexive adjective, but it is not attested very often in the extant material. Both χοβιγο and χοβο may occur in the role of a noun. The word χοβισαρο occurs only twice as a reflexive pronoun in the extant texts. There is no distinction in the case, number, or person of reflexive pronouns or of reflexive adjectives in Bactrian.

4.4 Indefinite Pronouns

The following indefinite pronouns or adjectives usually refer to one or more unspecified beings, objects or places, though they can sometimes function as other words, depending on context. There is only one form for indefinite pronouns. A case, gender, or number distinction is not attested.

4.4.1 With animates

(i) κισο, κικο(?)

The first group of indefinite pronouns are used for animate referents. κισο means “someone, anyone, any person”; with ανδαρο, it means “someone else, anyone else, other people”, and with a negative, it means “no-one, not…anyone”. κικο “anyone” is used only in Y9:

293 Sims-Williams 2007a: 11.
294 Sims-Williams 2000a: 79.
296 Sims-Williams 2007a: 223.
(Y 9-10)

(115) κισο πιδο βαβεγγο παρο οδο παδιστο αχασο INP PRE of Bab debt and promise dispute
μαγο αχασαδο PROH.dispute.SBJV.3s

“no-one may dispute … on account of a debt and promise or dispute of Bab’s”297

According to Sims-Williams, κισο here may have another interpretation: “If not merely a mistake for κισο perhaps from reduplicated *kah kah, cf. AV kajhe kajhe “of which””298

The pronoun κισο can occur with an adjective such as οισο “every, all”, and thus convey the meaning of “everyone”:

(Q 33)

(116) φαρο οισο κισο PRE every INP
“for everyone”299

κισο may occur with a plural verb as the example (120) or with a singular verb as in the following example. In both of these constructions, it expresses the role of subject:

(jh 7-8)

(117) οσο ... κισο αγαδο ταρο now INP come.PST.3s thither

“now someone has come thither”300

κισο may also express the role of object. As mentioned before, there is no case distinction in the form of indefinite pronouns. These pronouns usually refer to animate entities. Therefore, in either role, whether subject or object, the same form, i.e., κισο, is used:

(xl 13)

(118) οτο κισο ιμαγρζο and INP PROH.permit.IMPV.2s

“and you should not permit anyone”301

(ii) ανδαρο κισο

In the following example, κισο is used together with another indefinite pronoun, ανδαρο “other”. The occurrence of an indefinite pronoun with another indefinite pronoun is common in the extant Bactrian material:

(F 10-11)

(119) οδασο ανδαρο κισο and-PRE INP INP

“and from anyone else”302

(ce 4-5)

(120) οδο μισο ανδαρο κισο ταδο ταρο χοβο ληρινδο and also INP INP that there own have.PRS.3p

“and the others too have their own (people) there”303

298 Sims-Williams 2007a: 223.
299 Sims-Williams 2000a: 91.
300 Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.
302 Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.
(iii) δανομανο

δανομανο “such and such” is an indefinite adjective which is used only in X22. Here this word modifies a singular noun with animate referents, “person”:

(X 22-23)

(121) κιδο δανομανο μαρδο ζιγο βηλαδδιγινδο
so that INA person damage unlawful-be.PRS.3p
“so that, the damage and unlawful are for such-and-such persons”304

4.4.2 With inanimates

(i) σαγισο, σαγγισο, σιγισο305

The words σαγισο, σαγγισο, σιγισο are indefinite pronouns and adjectives, conveying the meaning of “something, anything, some, any”, with negation as “nothing, not…any”, and with ασιδο, as “whatever”.306 These words are typically used to refer to inanimate beings.

σαγισο may function as a pronoun:

(122) ταδο-μο ταρο σαγγισο ασταδο
then-I.CP there INP be.SBJV.3s
“So I should have anything there”307

It can also function as an adjective. In this case, it usually occurs before the noun that it modifies:

(J 21-22)

(123) σαγισο σαχανο οδο οισαρο νιστο
INA claim and argument NEG.b.e. be.PRS.3s
“(we) do not have any claim and argument”308

In the following example, it is used as an adjective preceding a noun, after another adjective, i.e., ανδαρο “another”:

(L 10-11)

(124) ταδο-μηνο αβο καδγο ανδαρο σαγισο ταοι
then-we.CP PRE house other INA assets
νιστο ασταδο NEG.be.PST.3s
“And we had no other assets (left) in the house.”309

(ii) σισο

Equivalent to κισο, which refers to animate beings, σισο refers to inanimate entities. This indefinite pronoun is only used twice in the Bactrian materials, and only in the document X with ανδαρο “other” and οοσπο “all”:

303 Sims-Williams 2007a: 77.
304 Sims-Williams 2000a: 141.
305 There are different forms of one word.
307 Sims-Williams 2007a: 111.
308 Sims-Williams 2000a: 59.
(X 14-15)

(125) ασιδό μαχο αβο χανο αστο οδο ωσταμο
whatever we.UFL PRE house home and estate
αστάδο βανζο οδο μαρημο στωρο οδο
be.SBJV.3s slave-girl and slave cattle and
ανδάρο σισο
other INP
“whatever we may have in (our) houses, homes and estates‒slave-girls and slaves (and) cattle and anything else…”310

(X 15-16)

(126) ασιδό πιδο οοσπο σισο παδαχφανμο
but PRE all INP have authority.PRS.2p
“but you have authority (jointly) over everything”311

(iii) καδαμο

καδαμο is also an indefinite adjective used only in the phrase καδαμο υαρσο “whatever” in the document N. It has inanimate reference:312

(N 21-22)

(127) πιδο καδαμο υαρσο ζαγγο αζο σαμοσιτο
PRE INA ADV.all way I.DIR PN
... οιζιιανο
... INJ.SBJV.1s
“In whatever way I, Samsit … cause injury”313

Like the word kadām in Middle Persian, which is only used to refer to inanimate entities, it is probable that καδαμο in Bactrian may also only be used with such inanimate reference.

4.4.3 With both animate and inanimates

ανδάρο314

ανδάρο “other” is an example of an indefinite pronoun which frequently refers to animate beings. There are also a few examples of it with reference to inanimate beings. As an adjective, it usually appears before a noun, nominal phrase, or such words as σαγισο “thing”, υαρσο κισο “someone”, or κισο υαρσο “someone”. It always agrees with its noun in number. There is no distinction between the oblique and direct case of ανδάρο, as the next examples show:

(A 18)

(128) οτανο μαπαδαφχανμο αζο βαβο οδαζο
and-PAR PROH.have the.right.OPT.1s I.DIR PN and-I.DIR.
πιδοκο ανδαρο ολο αβο κιρδο
PN INA wife PRE do.PST.INF
“And I, Bab and I, Piduk shall not have the right to make another wife.”315

310 Sims-Williams 2000a: 139.
311 Sims-Williams 2000a: 139.
312 Sims-Williams 2007a: 220.
313 Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 77.
315 Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.
This word can also occur with a plural verb, as in the following example:

(X 30-31)

οδάσοι το αβήμο ανδάρο ποστιγο καβογγο οδο
and-PRE ART(?) away INA contract old and
νωγο αβημοπαρμανο βοουνδάδο
new without authority be.SBJV.3p
“and apart from this (?), may (all) other contracts, old or new, be (considered) without
authority”317

The plural form of this pronominal adjective is attested in the extant texts. In the following
example, it agrees with its noun, στηβίγανο αζαβοργανο “freemen of Steb”, which is plural:

(A 7)

οδο πισο μανδαρουανισο στηβιγανο αζαβοργανο
and PRE ART-INA.PL-ADV of the Steb.PL freemen.PL
“and in the presence of the other freemen of Steb”318

It may function as an indefinite pronoun, as shown in the following example:

(ef 15-16)

ασο χοβο οδασο ανδαρουανο
PRE RP and-PRE INP.PL
“from their own and from (that of) the others”319

Adverbs may be prefixed or suffixed to ανδαρο, as seen in ανδαρισο “also other” (ανδαρο +
-ισο “also”) and υαρησανδαρο “anyone”320 (υαρσο “all” + ανδαρο):

(cp 7-8)

οδο πιδο ανδαιρισο μερο
and PRE INA-ADV matter
“and concerning the other matters”321

(χε 22-23)

υαρησανδαρο κισο ωπισοδαρο ηρσδο
ADV-INP INP ART-formerly come.SBJV.3s
“whoever else may come first”322

4.4.4 Summary

There are two groups of indefinite pronouns in Bactrian. The first group refers to animate
beings, e.g., κισο “someone, anyone”, δανομανο “such and such”, while the second group refers
to inanimate entities, e.g., σαγισο “something”, σισο “something”, καδαμο “which”. The form
ανδαρο “other” is used very often to refer to animate beings, and, in a few cases, to inanimate

316 Sims-Williams 2007a: 81.
317 Sims-Williams 2000a: 143.
322 Sims-Williams 2007a: 147.
entities. It must be added that δανομανο and καδαμο are used only once in the extant material, and their function is not very clear. There is no distinction between oblique and direct case of pronominal adjectives, but the plural form of ανδαρο, i.e., ανδαρουανο, is attested in the extant texts. In this case, the plural form of this indefinite pronoun agrees with its antecedent. It has been observed that an indefinite article, e.g., κισο, is used with both singular and plural verbs. As an indefinite adjective, it usually occurs before the noun that it modifies. As an indefinite pronoun, it appears in various positions.

4.5 Possessive Pronouns

The suffix -αγγο combines with the personal pronouns and forms an adjective, which usually functions as a possessive pronoun. This group of possessive pronouns is used much more often with animate beings:

μανο PRON.1s +-αγγο=μαναγγο “my”
ταο PRON. 2s +-αγγο=ταοαγγο “your” or ταοι+ ηλο=ταοιηλο “your”
ταμαχο PRON.2p +-αγγο=ταμαχαγγο “your”
αμαχο PRON.1p +-αγγο=μαχαγγο “our”

In the role of a possessive adjective it usually appears before a noun:

μαναγγο

(135) μπαιδο 1  οφβιγγο 1  μαναγγο  βαγο  μαρο
moreover ART ART my share hither
φορτιηδο
send.IMPV.2p
“moreover, you (PL.) should send hither my share of…”

In the following examples, possessive pronouns are used with nouns referring to animate beings:

ταοαγγο

(136) οδαλαβο  ταοαγγο  καδγιγανο  αχασαδο
or-PRE your members of household. PL dispute.SBJV.3s
“or should dispute with the members of your household”

ταμαχαγγο

(137) οδασο  ταμαχαγγο  βραδο
and-PRE your.PL brother
“and from your brothers”

μαχαγγο

(138) οδο  μαχαγγο  βραδο
and our brother
“and our brothers”

323 Sims-Williams 2007a: 133.
324 Sims-Williams 2000a: 73.
325 Sims-Williams 2000a: 89.
They can also be used with nouns referring to inanimates, as in the following examples:

(U 27’)

(139) μαναγγό πιδοαναν
my request
“my request”

(Y 9)

(140) μαναγγό ζμιο
my land
“my land”

The possession can also be expressed by an oblique pronoun, which can be enclitic or in independent form. In this case, the pronoun may refer to both animates and inanimates, but it is more often used with nouns with inanimate referents:

With inanimates

In the following example, an enclitic pronoun is used with a noun with an inanimate referent:

(ba 4)

(141) κοαδο-μο ιαοαδαοι
that-I.CP corn
“that my corn…”

In the following example, an independent pronoun is also used with a noun with an inanimate referent:

(dd 5-6)

(142) ιμανο χοβο
ART-I.OBL property
“my property”

With animates

In the following example, an independent oblique pronoun is used with a noun with an animate referent:

(ba 16)

(143) i ταοι χοβανανο
ART you.OBL shepherd.PL
“your shepherds”

4.5.1 Summary

There are two different ways to indicate possession in Bactrian: first, by the use of the possessive pronouns, and second, by the use of personal pronouns in the oblique case. The oblique pronoun can be an enclitic or an independent form. The possessive pronoun is used much more often with animates, while the oblique pronoun is used more often with inanimates. In

326 Sims-Williams 2000a: 89.
328 Sims-Williams 2000a: 145.
331 Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.
both of these groups, the pronoun occurs before the noun and functions as a possessive adjective.

4.6 Relative pronouns

4.6.1 Main relative pronouns

Two relative pronouns are often distinguished for their use in standing for an antecedent which is human and for an antecedent which is non-human. The first relative pronoun occurs in the following autographic forms:

1. κιδό, ακιδό, κιδ-, ακιδ-, ακιδά- “who, whom, whose, which, whoever, etc.”

This relative pronoun is usually reserved for human antecedents:

(O 4'-5')

(144) οο δο ιπσο μονδρουανιο αζαδοβοργανο ακιδο
and PRE other freemen who
χησαοβοστιγο ταβδο
contract of undertaking seal.PST.3s
“and also in the presence of the other freemen who have sealed (this) contract of undertaking”

This relative pronoun is not inflected, but it can express various grammatical roles, for example, the role of subject, object, and possessive. In the following example, it expresses the role of subject:

(J 22-24)

(145) αζο οτμο οο ν-αζο βαγοιμαρηγο… κιδο πιδο
I.DIR PN and nor-I PN who
μασκο ναβιχτιγο αγγαργο σαγισο χοανδο οο
hereupon pp.written property something claim and
οιορδο αβζιι-αμο
argue continue-SBJV.1p
“I, Wyem, nor I, Bag-re-mareg … who might continue to claim or argue (over) anything in respect of the property described herein”

It can also express the role of object, such as in the following example:

(O 3’)

(146) πισο βαγο οαχρο βαγανο οαο ακιδο
PRE god PN god.PL king whom
αβο στοφ σπις-ινδο
PRE PN worship-PRS.3p
“in the presence of the god Wakhsh, the king of gods, whom they worship in Stof”

In the following example, it occurs in the role of a possessive:

332 Sims-Williams 2007a: 222.
333 Sims-Williams 2000a: 81.
334 Sims-Williams 2000a: 59.
335 Sims-Williams 2000a: 81.
(O 5‘-6‘)

(147) μισιδο … μανο ωβιγο αστωφσιγο ακιδο-μο καδαγο  
now … I.OBL PN inhabitant of Astof whose-ART house  
ωγανο ραζ-τιδο  
PN call-PRS.3p  
“now, I, Yobig, inhabitant of Astof, whose house they call Yogan”336

It may rarely denote a non-human antecedent:

(W 7-8)

(148) ταδο-μο αβο χανο ωαρσο ανδαρο ιαωαανο νιστο σταδο  
then-I.CP PRE house at all other means NEG.be. PST.3s  
αικιδο γαζτο οδο βαρττο λαδο ιουαδδ-ημο  
which poll-tax and harvest-tax give.INF to be able-PST.OPT.3s  
“And I had no other means in (my) house which could have been given (as) poll-tax and  
harvest-tax”337

Another example is given here:

(T 6)

(149) τιδο αγγαραγο κιδο βαφονανο παρογανο ναμ-ινδο  
that property which PN PN name-PRS.3p  
“that property which they name Bashunan Pargan”338

κιδι

The form κιδι is used four times in the Rabatak inscription. In two instances, it refers to a  
singular and direct noun:

(Rabatak 1-3)

(150) βαγο ηζνογο κιδι ασο νανα οδο ασο οισπανο  
god worthy of worship who PRE Nana and PRE all  
μι βαγανο τ βααδανι αβορδο κιδι  
ART god.PL ART kingdom.OBL obtain.PST.3s who  
ωογο χρονο νοβαστο  
one year inaugurate.PST?.3s  
“the god worthy of worship, who has obtained the kingship from Nana and from all the  
gods, who has inaugurated the year one”339

In the following example, it refers to a plural and an oblique noun:

(Rabatak 8-9)

(151) φαρ-ειμαανο βαγανο κιδι μαρο κιρδι  
PRE-DEM.PL.OBL god.PL.OBL who.PL here make. PRS. 3s  
ανδιμανι φαψαρρο ομμα  
presence glorious Umma  
“for these gods, who have come hither into the presence of the glorious Umma”340

It can also refer to a plural and direct noun, as in the following example:

336 Sims-Williams 2000a: 81.
337 Sims-Williams 2000a: 127.
Chapter 4

(152) ειμιδβα341 βαγε κιδι μαρο νιβητγενδι
DEM god.PL.DIR who here write.PF.3p
“(may) these gods who are written here…”342

2. ασιδο, σιδο, ασιδω-, ασιδ-, σιδ- “what, whatever, which, who”

This relative pronoun is used to refer to inanimate objects, but it rarely occurs with reference to persons.343

In the following example, it refers to an inanimate object and plays an accusative role:

(153) ταλδο το χοηο οο ναγανο οδο ναμιλγο
if SPD lordship DEM bread and salt
αβοιασ-αδο σιτο αλα-μαγο ταρο αβο remember.SBJV.3s (ασιδο+δο) which-you.CP PRE-I.CP there PRE
ροβδο χουρδο PN eat.PST.3s
“then, if your lordship should remember that bread and salt which you ate with me there in Rob”344

In the following example, it refers to an inanimate object and plays a nominative role:

(154) ειο αγγαργο ασιδο σαγαδαγο ριζδο
DEM property which PN call.PST.3s
“this property which is called Sagadag”345

In the following example, it is used to refer to a person:

(155) αδο-μο λαδδ-ητ μισο μασκονδο ιωγο ζινο and-I.CP give-PST.OPT.3s also person one woman
κιδο ιαραγο νιμο σιδομο ασο βρηδαγο… αγττο whose PN name who-I.CP PRE PN receive.PST.3s
“and also there was given by me, a person, a woman whose name (is) Warag who was received by me from the bredag”346

In the following example, the reference occurs after the relative pronoun, which is very rare:

(156) μιλδο πιδοροκο μανο … ασο-φαγο… σιδ-αβο
now receive.PST.3s I.OBL PRE-you.CP which-PRE
καναραγγανο 1αοι… ασο 1 χοβο οαρζιαο kanarang.PL grain PRE ART RA farming
“Now, I … received from you the grain … which was assessed (to be given) to the

341 According to Sims-Williams, ειμι{+-δ+−βα(?).ειμι: DEM, -δ−: Particle marking the first word of a clause, -βα(?): Particle giving hortative value to the present indicative? see Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 91.
343 Sims-Williams 2007a: 194 adds that it is a nominative and accusative relative pronoun.
344 Sims-Williams 2007a: 159.
kanarangs from the farming of (their) own (land)”\textsuperscript{347}

### 4.6.2 Special case

κοαδό “where, which” can be also used as a relative pronoun. But its function as an adverb or a conjunction is much more common in Bactrian. It may be used “with preposition ασο “whence, whereby, from which”, also used as oblique form of ασιδο (“in respect of which”, etc.) and of κιδο (with φαρο “to whomsoever, to (anyone) who”).\textsuperscript{348} But it is used very rarely in the extant Bactrian documents. There seems to be no difference between the meanings and functions of κοαδό and κιδο.

In the following example, κοαδό is used with the preposition ασο:

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{verbatim}
(157) μασκο ναβιτιτγο αγαργο πιον αου παραγανο λοχσο ζ... hereupon pp.written property PRE grain sowing lukhs 7
ασο κοαδο εμο παδουμονδδηγινδο PRE RTP DEM boundary.PL
“(This) is the property described herein, (of a size requiring) seven lukhs…, for sowing with grain, in respect of which these are the boundaries”\textsuperscript{349}
\end{verbatim}
\end{footnotesize}

In the following example, it refers to a person and is used with the preposition φαρο “to”:

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{verbatim}
(158) οδο να-ιωγο σαγο μολο φαρο κοαδο μολραγο and nor-one gallon wine PRE RTP document
ταβδογο να-βαρ-ηνο pp.sealed NEG-bring-PRS.3s
“nor one gallon of wine, to (anyone) who does not bring a sealed document”\textsuperscript{350}
\end{verbatim}
\end{footnotesize}

### 4.6.3 Summary

There are two main relative pronouns in Bactrian, κιδο and σιδο. κιδο is often used with human antecedents. This relative pronoun may express the role of a subject, an object, or a possessive. It may also denote a non-human antecedent. The form κιδι is used only in the Rabatak inscription. It may refer to a singular and direct noun, a plural and oblique noun, or a plural and direct noun.

ασιδο is primarily used to refer to inanimate objects, but it can also occur with reference to persons, though this is rare.

κοαδο often functions as an adverb or a conjunction, but it may also used as a relative pronoun. In this case, it usually appears with a preposition.

The following table shows the most common forms of relative pronouns and their functions in Bactrian:

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{verbatim}
\end{verbatim}
\end{footnotesize}

\textsuperscript{347} Sims-Williams 2000a: 49.
\textsuperscript{348} Sims-Williams 2007a: 224.
\textsuperscript{349} Sims-Williams 2000a: 57.
\textsuperscript{350} Sims-Williams 2007a: 85.
Table 25. Relative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Nonhuman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject</strong></td>
<td>κιόο</td>
<td>σιό (rarely κιόο)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Object</strong></td>
<td>κιόο</td>
<td>σιό</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>After preposition</strong></td>
<td>κοιόο</td>
<td>κοιόο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Possessive</strong></td>
<td>κιόο</td>
<td>σιό</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


5. **CHAPTER FIVE: PREPOSITIONS AND POSTPOSITIONS**

5.1 The functions of prepositions and postpositions

5.1.1 αβο, αβα-, αβ- “to, for, in, etc.”

This preposition plays an important role in Bactrian and has the following functions:

- αβο can be used as a preposition of location, with the meaning “in”:

  (Surkh Kotal 6)

  \[(159) \text{ατανο } \text{αβο } \text{μα } \text{λιζο} \]
  also-PAR PRE ART fortress

  “also in the fortress”\(^{351}\)

  Another example:

  (J 1-2)

  \[(160) \text{μαλο } \text{αβο } \text{μαλραγγο } \text{βαρο} \]
  here PRE (of) PN city

  “here in the city of Malr”\(^{352}\)

- It can be used as a temporal preposition. In this case, it means “until”:

  (W 18-19)

  \[(161) \text{οδασο } \text{μωσο } \text{αβο } \text{ιαοηδανο } \text{ζοραγο} \]
  and-PRE now PRE eternal time

  “and from now until eternity”\(^{353}\)

- αβο occasionally governs a past infinitive:

  (A 18)

  \[(162) \text{οτανο } \text{μαπαδοαþχανηιο } \text{αζο } \text{βαβο } \text{οδαζο} \]
  PROH.have the right.OPT.1s I.DIR PN and-I.DIR

  πιδοκο \text{ανδαρο } \text{ολο } \text{αβο } \text{κιρδο} \]
  PN INA wife PRE do.PST.INF

  “And I, Bab and I, Piduk shall not have the right to make another wife.”\(^{354}\)

- This preposition plays an important role in marking the object.\(^{355}\)

  In the role of an object marker, it can be used both in ergative and non-ergative constructions.

  *In an ergative construction:*

  In the following example αβο marks the direct object, which is both human and definite.

---

352 Sims-Williams 2000a: 55.
354 Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.
355 For differential object marking in Bactrian, see Sims-Williams 2011: 23-38.
In a non-ergative construction:

In the following examples it also marks objects, which are both human and definite:

(164) οσιόνο τὸ χοήν πιόνο μανό ροάδον αβο μυρογοζγο

now SPD lordship PRE I.OBL sake PRE PN

παροβαλό

look after.IMPV.2s

“Now, your lordship for my sake should look after Mihr-guzg”\(^{357}\)

(165) τακαλάνον τὸ χοήν αβο χικαραοί ναληρηιο

then-if PAR SPD lordship PRE ART-staff NEG.have.PRS.OPT.2s?

“so if your lordship should not have the staff”.\(^{358}\)

It seems that the use of the preposition αβο as an object marker is not obligatory in Bactrian and it can be omitted in special cases. In the next example, the direct object is attached to a conjunction without αβο:

(166) κοφα-ηνο παροβαλο

that-they.OBL look after.IMPV.2s

“Look after them.”\(^{359}\)

At first view, it seems that αβο may be omitted when the object is a pronoun. But the other examples counter this theory. In the following examples, the preposition αβο marks the direct objects, which are pronouns:

(167) οδαλδο αβο τομαχο αβο λαδονο αδαβο ραζογολα

and-if PRE you.OBL PRE court and-PRE royal tribunal

οιλαμο

take.SBJV.PRS.1p

“if we should take you to court and to the royal tribunal”\(^{360}\)

In the following example, this preposition marks the definite and human direct object, which is the second person demonstrative το + noun:

(168) καλάνον αβο το χοήν χοαδο λρογο οηηανο

when-PAR PRE SPD lordship RP healthy see.SBJV.1s

“when I myself might see your lordship healthy”\(^{361}\)

---

357 Sims-Williams 2007a: 57.
358 Sims-Williams 2007a: 95.
359 Sims-Williams 2007a: 57.
361 Sims-Williams 2007a: 55.
In light of the above examples, we can conclude that there are two different possibilities when the object is a pronoun. In the first case, a full pronoun may occur with αβο as an object marker (examples 166, 167). In the second case, an enclitic pronoun without αβο may be used (example 165). The first case is more common in the extant material.

A special case

The preposition αβο also marks a non-personal indirect object. In the following example, φρομανο “order” is a direct object and σαγο (PN) is an indirect object. In this context, we would have expected φαρο, which usually marks a personal indirect object, but instead, we find the preposition αβο (compare with the example 162):

(bb 10-11)
(169) οτο αβο σαγο φρομανο φορτυo
and PRE PN order send.IMPV.2s
“And you should send an order to Sag.”

αβο as object marker or directive?

In some cases, it is not very clear whether αβο is an object marker or a directive. In the following example, it is used with an inanimate. Here the question arises whether this noun is a direct object:

(C 20-21)
(170) οτο αβο μο λαφνοβοστογο μανο ήφροοαινόδο…
and PRE DEM deed of gift I.OBL PN
μολρο ταβδο
seal impress.PST.3s
“and I, Sharwanind sealed this deed of gift”

The verb ταβδο “impress” is a transitive verb. When we accept that μολρο “seal” is a direct object, then we can interpret μο λαφνοβοστογο “this deed of gift” as an indirect object, and αβο can be used with an indirect object which is not human.

In the following example, the verb ταβδο is used without μολρο “seal” and a direct object, i.e., χοησαοοβωστιγο “contract of undertaking”, occurs with it:

(O 4‘-5’)
(171) οδο πισο μανδαρουανισο αζαδοβοργακιδο
and PRE other freemen who
χοησαοοβωστιγο ταβδο
contract of undertaking seal.Pst.3s
“and also in the presence of the other freemen who have sealed (this) contract of undertaking”

In New Persian, there is a parallel construction to the Bactrian verb μολρο ταβδο, i.e., New Persian mohr zadan “seal”. This verb is usually used with a direct object. In this case, it functions as a transitive compound verb and requires a direct object. In Bactrian, it is not absolutely clear whether μολρο ταβδο “seal” functions like mohr zadan “seal” in New Persian. When it functions as a compound verb, it requires a direct object, and therefore in example (170), μο λαφνοβοστογο “this deed of gift” can be identified as its direct object. In this case, the preposition αβο marks a non-human direct object.

363 Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.
The only possible alternative to the above interpretation would be a directive function of αβο.

In one case, αβο may also be used as a postposition:

(jc 6-7)
(172) καλδоδαβο ιαζαριγο
(καλδο+δο?+αβο)if-you.CP-POST ART-penalty?
πορδδιγαιο
(πορδδογο+αο)owing- be.OPT?.3s
“if the penalty may have been owing to you”

5.1.2 φαρο, φαρα-, φαρ- “to, for”

1. This preposition is used only with animates in the meaning of “to, for”:

(dd 5-6)
(173) τασιδασο  μανο  χοβο  φαροουνανο  οαφο
whatever-PRE ART-I.CP property PRE-DEM.PL hay
αζάμε  κιραδο
allocation make.SBJV.3s
“Whatever allocation of hay he may make for them out of my property”

2. It is occasionally used with an indirect object. For example:

(bg 13-14)
(174) φαρο  χοσδηοοανδο  λαμο
PRE PN give.OPT.1s or 3s
“I (?) should give (it) to Khwadew-wanind”

In the following example, φαρο is used with the indirect object λαδοβαρο “judge”, which is human, and αβο with the inanimate indirect object γαζνο “treasury”:

(Q 29-30)
(175) ταδο  ταοονο  τοξαμο  φαρο  λαδοβαρο  αβο  γαζνο
then fine pay.SBJV.1p PRE judge PRE treasury
“Then we shall pay a fine to the judge to the treasury.”

There is an example which can be discussed relating to the use of φαρο. As mentioned above, this preposition occurs only with indirect objects. There is only one example in which it is not clear whether it marks an indirect or direct object:

(co 8-9)
(176) ασιδο  φαρο  αδορτιγο
but PRE PN less can.INJ.2s do.INF
“but (if) you can discipline Adurig…”

---

366 Sims-Williams 2007a: 129.
367 Sims-Williams 2007a: 105.
369 Sims-Williams 2007a: 91.
370 According to Sims-Williams (2007a: 242), οαταρο “less, worse”, only in the phrase οαταρο κιρ- approximately “to discipline”.
371 Sims-Williams 2007a: 93.
οαταρο κιρ- is a complex verb and occurs only once in the Bactrian material. We do not know exactly whether αδοριγο PN is a direct or an indirect object marked by φαρο.

5.1.3 ασο “from, (out) of, by, against, concerning, according to, in respect of, as a result of, than, etc.”

This preposition has the following functions:

1. It can be used with the agent in a passive clause with the meaning of “by”:

(177) κοιδο το χοηο ασο-μαγο μαρηγο μαρδο αζαρο
that SPD lordship PRE-1CP serving man vexation
ναζανηο NEG.know.OPT.3 or 2s
“That your lordship should not feel aggrieved by me, (your) serving man.”372

2. In the following example, it is used with the meaning “for”:

(K 12)

(178) στο αζο τητο ασο πιο ππαδιμο
and I.DIR PN PRE PN guarantee.PST.1s
“And I Tet, have guaranteed for Piy.”373

3. It is can also be used to specify direction or location:

(C9)

(179) οδο ασο αβαχρανο
and PRE north
“and to north”374

4. It sometimes forms temporal phrases:

(A 14)

(180) ασο μαβρισο(μο+αβαρο+-ισο)
PRE ART-future-also
“also in the future”375

It is occasionally used with the preposition αβο to indicate temporal distance:

(J 20)

(181) ασο μωσο αβο ιαοηδανο
PRE now PRE eternity
“from now to eternity”376

Another example follows:

(U 14)

(182) ασο σαρδο αβο σαρδο
PRE year PRE year
“from year to year”377

373 Sims-Williams 2000a: 63.
375 Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.
376 Sims-Williams 2000a: 59.
ασο with the preposition αβο can also indicate local distance:

(V 19)
(183) οδοσονο αβο νομονο
and-PRE boundary PRE boundary
from boundary to boundary”378

ασο with the preposition αβο can also indicate personal distance:

(cg 7-8)
(184) ασο τανο αβο ανδαρο τανο
PRE person PRE INA person
from (one) person to another person.”379

5. It may indicate the source or origin:

(A 25-26)
(185) οδο μασιδανο ασο ραλικο αζιηιο
and PROH.PAR-REL.PRON-PAR PRE PN be born.OPT.3s
nor (to) whatever (child) may be born from Ralik.”380

6. It frequently indicates the parts of a whole:

(K 13-14)
(186) ταδαζο τητο ασο χοβο τωζανο
then-1.DIR PN PRE own pay.SBJV.1s
Then I, Tet shall pay from (my) own (property).”381

7. It can also show geographical origin:

(S 5)
(187) φαρνοαγαδο πορανο ασο βονοσογολιγο
PN son.PL PRE PN
the sons of Farn-agad from Bonchuqlïgh”382

5.1.4 πιδο, πιδ-, πιδδ- “in, on, by, with…”

1. This preposition can be used to specify a location, for example, in the expression πιδο μιλαγγο “in the midst, amongst” 383

2. It may be used in time expressions such as: πιδο α μαυο “for one month”.

3. It may be used with the meaning “in respect of”:

(ba 11)
(188) πιδο ιαοαρδαοι χαιραιο οδο ναρταιο
PRE corn eating and spoiling
“in respect of the eating and spoiling of the corn”384

It is used with the verb πορσ-”ask” in jb 8, with the meaning “about”:

380 Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.
381 Sims-Williams 2000a: 63.
382 Sims-Williams 2000a: 95.
384 Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.
Moreover, I asked about the matter of Spiy.”

4. It may be used with the meaning “because”:

“It is also used in the expression πιδοι σαγο κοαδο or πιδοι κοαδο “because”:

5. It is also used in other expressions like πιδο χοβο φαρο “in your majesty” or πιδο χοβο βιζγο “in your goodness” with the meaning “in”:

6. Sometimes, it qualifies a substantive descriptively and has the meaning of “with”:

7. In the following example, it is used with the meaning “as”:

8. It is also frequently used in adverbial phrases, as πιδο μαβαρο “in the future”.

---

385 Sims-Williams 2007a: 127.
387 Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.
388 Sims-Williams 2007a: 73.
389 Sims-Williams 2000a: 85.
391 This expression is a parallel to οσο μαβρισο “in the future”.
(za 1-2)

(195) ναμωσ ζαρβοβοδδανο κιδο τριφ[...]νδαγινδο
homage all the buddhas.PL who ?-be.PRS.3p

πιδο μαβαρο [...]πιινδο
PRE ART-future ?-call.PRS.3p

“Homage to all buddhas who are ...(and) will ... in the future” 392

9. It may express a relationship between two numerals, such as ωγο πιδο λοο “two to one”.

(K 10-11)

(196) ταδο πορδογο βουανο αξο τητο οτο αξο πιο
then owing be.SBJV.1s I.DIR PN and I.DIR PN

ωγο πιδο πανζο
one PRE five

“then, I, Tet, and I, Piy shall be owing (at the rate of) five to one” 393

This preposition can be directly added to other nouns or adjectives and it can form adverbs, e.g., πιδολαδιγο, πιδολαδδιγο (πιδο+λαδο+suffix –ιγο) “legally, formally” or πιδονωγαρο (πιδο+νωγαρο “new”) “again”.

It may be added to the demonstrative pronoun such as οο, ειο and forms πιδοο and πιδδιιο:

(392) Sims-Williams 2007a: 175.
(393) Sims-Williams 2000a: 63.
(396) Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.

5.1.5 πισο, πισα-, πισωα- “to, in the presence of”

It usually indicates a location. It is used very often with the meaning of “in the presence of”.

It may be added to the demonstrative pronoun such as οο, ειο and forms πιδοο and πιδδιιο:

(197) πισο πιδο-ημο 1 χαρο αβο μολο
PRE-DEM RTP-he.CP ART donkey PRE wine

βοδο σαχινδο
pay out.INF to be assessed.PRS.3s

“Because his donkey is assessed to be paid out (in return) for wine.” 394

In the following example, it seems that πισο plays the role of an object marker, which marks an indirect and animate object. According to the extant material, in such a situation, we expect the occurrence of φαρο (see ex. 174). It must be added that this is the only example with this function of πισο. As this document is an a relatively old one, it is difficult to show the development of a preposition to object marker. In this case, πισο may again play the role of a preposition:

392 Sims-Williams 2007a: 175.
393 Sims-Williams 2000a: 63.
396 Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.
Then I would have sent the same to your lordship."

5.1.6 ἀλο

This preposition is used very often with the meaning of “with, together with”:

(201) ἀλο ίογο μαρδο
PRE one man

“This with one man”

This preposition can be prefixed to other nouns to form an adjective, e.g., ἀλογαμο (ἀλο+καμο “desire”) “possessing (one’s) desire, successful”, ἀλοιαοαρο “dutiful” (ἀλο+ιαοαρο “conditions”), ἀλοσιχτογο (ἀλο+σιχτογο “inclination”) “inclined, desirous”.

5.1.7 ναβανδο, νοβανδο

This preposition means “beside, with” and is rarely used as a postposition.

As a preposition:

(A 9-10)

(202) κιδο ωσο νοβανδο νινδοκο 1 νωχροβαδογανο πιδο
who now PRE PN ART PN PRE
αζαδο ασπασο ποροχηζαμο
free service serve.PRS.1p

“who now serve with Ninduk Okhshbadugan in free service”.

As a postposition it is used only in two letters. In the following example, it occurs after a full pronoun:

(xk 4-5)

(203) ωσιδο ταο ναβανδο σαυσο παρο ασταδο
now you.OBL POST PN debt be.SBJV.3s

“Now (if) Sahs’s debt should be with you”.

In the next example, it occurs after an enclitic personal pronoun:

(dd 4-5)

(204) τασιδο-ηιο ναβανδο ασπο ασταδο
so-whatever-he.CP POST horse be.SBJV.3s

“so whatever horses there may be with him”.

5.1.8 πιδοραλο “because of, by the agency of”

This postposition is only used in ba, after a nominal phrase:

397 Sims-Williams 2007a: 75.
398 Sims-Williams 2007a: 57.
399 Sims-Williams 2007a: 190.
400 Sims Williams 2000a: 33.
403 Sims-Williams 2007a: 255.
(ba 5-6)

(205) ταδανο ι ταοι χβανανο πιδοραλο ι πσο
then-PAR ART you.OBL shepherd.PL POST ART sheep
αβο ιαορδαοι υρτηο
PRE corn let.PST.OPT.
“Because of your shepherds, sheep were let into the corn.”

5.1.9 Prepositions as preverbs

So far as we can tell from the material available, two prepositions are used as preverbs. The preposition πιδο “in, on, by, with,...” occurs often as a preverb, as illustrated in Table 26:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs with the preverb πιδο “in, on, by, with,...”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>πιδοαζιν-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>πιδοκαρλ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>πιδοοασ-, πιδοοησ-, πιδοοιησ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>πιδοοαυ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>πιδοοββ-, πιδοοββ- (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>πιδοσησ-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other preposition used as a preverb is αβο, e.g., αβοιασ- “remember”.

5.2 Summary

In this chapter, we first investigated the semantic functions of prepositions and postpositions. Thereafter we showed the special functions of certain prepositions.

Among the prepositions in Bactrian, some play a special and important role, such as αβο “to”, φαρο “for”, and ασο “from”. The preposition αβο is used occasionally to mark a direct object that is both definite and human, and also to mark an indirect object, which can also be inanimate. This preposition also occurs with infinitives. The preposition φαρο marks an animate indirect object. In one instance, it appears that the preposition πιδο plays the role of φαρο, which is not expected. The form ασο is rarely used in passive constructions with the agent, with the meaning of “by”. Some of prepositions like αλο, πιδο can be prefixed to other substantives and form a compound, namely, an adjective or adverb. Πιδο is used very commonly as a preverb. The preposition αβο can also be used as a preverb.

404 Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.
405 Sims-Williams 2007a: 254.
406 Sims-Williams 2007a: 255.
409 Sims-Williams 2007a: 256.
410 Sims-Williams 2007a: 256.
411 Sims-Williams 2007a: 186.
6. CHAPTER SIX: ADVERBS

6.1 Formation of adverbs by suffixes

Some suffixes help us to distinguish adverbs from other word classes in Bactrian. Some adverbs are formed from nouns and adjectives by adding a suffix. We should not forget that many adverbs do not have any adverbial suffix and are not indicated morphologically at all. The following forms are suffixes that may form adverbs:

1. -ήλο, -ύλο

Many adverbs of place are formed by this suffix, i.e., τάληλο “there”, οαρηλό “thither”, μαληλο “here”, μιροσανηλο “eastwards”.

2. -γωγγο, -γογγο, -ογγο

A word with this suffix can be an adjective. In many cases, it means “like…”, for example, ασνωυογωγγο means “like a daughter-in-law” or ολογωγγο, which means “like a wife”.

3. -δαρο, -ταρο, -αταρο

Some words formed by the comparative suffix may be adverbs, i.e., οιζαγγοδαρο, “otherwise”, ανδαροζαγγοδαρο “otherwise”, ασκαδαρο “more”, απισοδαρο “previously”.

4. -δο, -ιδο

Some words formed by the suffix -δο may be adverbs, e.g., ταλιδο “in this matter” or ωσιδο “now”. In both of these cases, the suffix -δο is added to another adverb, but it has not changed the meaning of the original adverbs.

5. -ιγο, -ηγο, -ιο, -ιο, -ιω

This suffix may form adjectives or adverbs, e.g., φρομανιγο “at the command (of)”, πιδολαδιγο “legally”.

6. -ισο, -ισο

It is an enclitic adverb with the meaning of “also, too”. This adverb can be suffixed to other words and forms a new adverb, i.e., υαρσο “absolutely”<*harwa-

6.2 Types of adverbs

There are three kinds of adverbs in Bactrian:

1. The words which only play the role of an adverb, i.e., ωσο “now”, οσο “then, there”, ταλο “there”.

2. The adverbs which are also used as preverbs and prepositions, i.e., αβηγο, αβηιο. As an adverb, it means “away, out”; as a preverb, it is used with some verbs such as βαρ- “bear” in the meaning of “to take away”, and λαω- “give” in the meaning of “to give away”.

412 The Bactrian form of this word is not attested in the extant material.
“cattle and anything else—that we should take them away from you”\textsuperscript{413}

and the family may agree to give (her) away”\textsuperscript{414}

“and apart from this (?) (one), other contracts, old or new, may be without authority”\textsuperscript{415}

3. Some words are nouns or adjectives, but they can also be used as adverbs, i.e., ασποριγο “complete” which is used as adverb with the meaning of “completely” or χαβ “night” ρωσο “day” which are joined together and form an adverb with the meaning of “(by) night and (by) day”.

In the following example, σποριγο is used as an adjective before a noun:

“in complete price”\textsuperscript{416}

In the following example, it plays the role of an adverb:

“Now, I Muzd received one hundred and twenty pecks of grain completely.”\textsuperscript{417}

6.3 Deictic adverbs

In many languages, deixis can be expressed by some elements as demonstratives, adverbs and particles. In my 2009a article\textsuperscript{418} on demonstratives, I emphasized the distinction between various demonstratives and showed that there is no clear contrast between proximate and remote deixis. In this section, I will focus on the adverbs which may show local deixis in Bactrian.

\textsuperscript{413} Sims-Williams 2000a: 139.

\textsuperscript{414} Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

\textsuperscript{415} Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 143.

\textsuperscript{416} Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 107.

\textsuperscript{417} Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 49.

\textsuperscript{418} See Gholami 2009a: 19-26.
some languages as Sogdian, there are different adverbs with the meaning of “here”, which show proximate deixis, and “there”, which show remote deixis. These adverbs are developed from three demonstrative stems, i.e., -m-, -t- and -w-. The adverbs from the stem -m- are translated as “here” and the adverbs from the stem -t- and -w- as “there”. According to Wendtland, these adverbs can be classified according to their semantic attributes expressed by suffixes. She distinguishes two groups of adverbs. Adverbs of the first group indicate a definite explicit point or the localization of a single person or object by the speaker. When it is a matter of the localization by a third person or an item that is located at a remote distance from the speaker, an adverb of the second group is used. Furthermore, the adverbs of the second group may show whether the speaker shares in an action or is aware of it. In this section, I first introduce the different adverbs in Bactrian which indicate local deixis. Then I examine whether there is a clear contrast between these adverbs, as in Sogdian.

In Bactrian, there are two main groups of adverbs which indicate local deixis. Each group contains three adverbs. The first group marks proximate deixis, whereas the second group marks remote deixis.

Both μαρο “here” and μαλο “here” are used 42 times in the documents in BD I and II. The form μαληλο “here” is only used three times in these documents. The remote deixis ταρο “there” is used 39 times and ταλο 7 times in BD I and II. The form ταληλο are attested only once in BD I and II. The form οαλο is the most common remote deixis adverb found in the mentioned material. The following table shows the place adverbs and their frequency in the texts in BD I and II:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>proximate deixis</th>
<th>frequency in BD I, II</th>
<th>remote deixis</th>
<th>frequency in BD I, II</th>
<th>remote deixis</th>
<th>frequency in BD I, II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>μαρο</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>ταρο</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>οαλο</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>μαλο</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>ταλο</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>οαρο</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>μαληλο</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>ταληλο</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.1 Proximate deictic adverbs

**μαρο**

This adverb usually occurs in one of the following cases:

1. When someone or something is located at a proximate distance from the speaker or writer of the letter:

(211) μισιδο αγαδο μαρο ασο το χοηο πωσογο moreover arrive.PST.3s here PRE SPD lordship letter  
“Moreover a letter has come hither from your lordship.”

Sometimes there is an emphasis on the speaker or writer of the letter or document. In this case, aside from “here”, some expressions as “into my presence” or “to me” are mentioned:

(212) ταδο-μο μαρο φοβτυ then-I.CP here send.OPT or INJ.2s  
“Then you should send (them) hither to me.”

419 Wendtland 2006: 244, 257.

420 Sims-Williams 2007a: 75.
Chapter 6.

(213) ταδء αβο χοβανανο μαρο πισσαμαγο φοβτιο then PRE shepherd.PL here PRE-LCP send.IMP.2s
“Then send the shepherds hither into my presence.”422

The name of a place may be mentioned, to which someone or something has come or should be sent:

(cl 5-6)
(214) οτανο μαρο αβο ρωβο αγαδινδμο οδδαο and-they.CP here PRE PN come.PST.OPT.3p and-PRE
μαρο ασπο οαστνδμο here horse take.PST.OPT.3p
“And they have come hither to Rob and taken (away) horses from here.”423

2. When something happens or exists in the place of speaker or writer of the letter:

(ji 9-10)
(215) μισιδο ... μαρο ζομο πιδο τασεγγο φαρο moreover here live.PRS.1s PRE your majesty
“Moreover, I live here through your majesty.”424

(jb 10)
(216) ταδασο μαρο ιοδινδο then-PRE here go.PST.3p
“Then they have gone from here.”425

μαλο

This word is used as much as μαρο in the texts in BD I and II. μαλο has the same function as μαρο:

1. When someone or something is located at a proximate distance from the speaker or writer of the letter:

(ba 6-7)
(217) οτανο ταοι χοβανανο αβο δαθβομαρηγο βραδο and-PAR you.OBL shepherd.PL PRE PN brother
οδδαβο βραυριγο ζοδο οτο... μαλο αγαδινδο and-PRE nephew strike. PST.3s and here come.PST.3p
“and your shepherds struck Dathsh-mareg’s brother and nephew and they came here.”426

In the following example, there is an emphasis on the presence of the speaker or writer of the letter:

(bd 7-8)
(218) οσιδο βαβορο μαλο πισσαμαγο αγαδο now PN here PRE-LCP come.PST.3s
“Now, Shabur has come here into my presence”427

422 Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.
423 Sims-Williams 2007a: 89.
424 Sims-Williams 2007a: 139.
426 Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.
In the following example, there is an emphasis on the name of a mentioned place:

(A 1-2)
(219) καλόν νοβικο μο ολοβοστογο μαλο αβο μο
when write.PST.3s DEM marriage contract here PRE ART
ρωβαγγο οφο αμυο ανάσαγο
of Rob city in-DEM borough
“When this marriage contract was written here in the city of Rob, in the borough...”

2. When something happens or something or someone exists in the place of the speaker or the writer of the letter:

(cn 6-7)
(220) κοαδο-μο μαλο ασπο νιστο ασταδο
that-1.CP here horse NEG.be.PST.3s
“That I did not have (any) horses here.”

μαληλο

This adverb is used only three times in similar phrases, in which the name of place is mentioned:

(L 11-12)
(221) ασιδο-μηνο ασπο μαληλο αβο οαρνο αγγαργο
but-we.CP be.PRS.3s here PRE PN property
παροιαβιγο
disposable
“But we have a disposable property here in Warnu.”

6.3.2 Remote deixis adverbs

There are two groups of adverbs for remote deixis in Bactrian: 1-ταρο, ταλο, ταληλο 2-οαρο, οαλο:

ταρο

This adverb is used very often in the Bactrian letters and occurs in the following cases:

1. When something or someone has been sent or come to the location of the reader of the letter:

(jh 7-8)
(222) οσο... κισο αγαδο ταρο
now INP come.PST.3s there
“now someone has come thither (to you)”

In the following example, there is an emphasis on the presence of the reader of the letter:

(ba 10)
(223) οσάμο βραμριγο ταρο πισοαφαγο φοριταδο
and-PRE nephew thither PRE-ou.CP send.PST.3s
“And I have sent Dathsh-mareg’s brother and nephew thither into your presence.”

---

429 Sims-Williams 2007a: 93.
2. When something happens or exists in the same location as place of the reader of the letter:

(224) ὁσιόδο το χοήν ἵππον κοοαδό μανο ταρο μαρηγο
now SPD lordship know.IMP.2s that I.DIR there slave
astō be.PRS.3s
“now, your lordship should know, that I have slaves there (with you)”433

(225) ὁσιόδο ταρο σαγισο αχτοαγο ναγανημο
whatever there INP news hear.OPT or PRS.2s
“whatever news you hear there”434

ταλό

This adverb is used in all the situations that ταρο occurs:

(226) κοαδό ιαοαρδό ταλαβο ασπανδαιο αβαραδο
that grain there-PRE PN bring.SBJV.3s
“So that he may bring the grain there to (you in) Aspanday.”435

(227) καλδο αζο ταλο αρμαστημο
when I.DIR there stay.PST.1s
“When I was staying there (with you).”436

ταληλο

This adverb occurs only once in the extant Bactrian material:

(228) ταδο ωσο μανο χινζωιο καδαγστανο φινζο πιδο
then now I.OBL queen PN lady PRE
βανοζινιγγο ριαο αβο ταοο καμιρδο βαγο
royal infant? life PRE you.OBL PN lord
οδαβο ταοο καμιρδοφαρο κηδο πιδοφαρο
and-PRE you.OBL PN priest honour
κρδο αββο ραμιο ταληλο αβο ασπο
make.PST.3s water land there PRE PN
“So now by me, the queen, the lady of Kadagstan, for the life of the royal infant, to you, the lord Kamird, and to you, Kamird-far the priest, the irrigated land there in Asp … has been made a honour”437

The Sogdian form of this adverb, i.e., τα’γο, is used without the cooperation or acknowledgement of the speaker, and when a second or third person is present in the place. In this case, the first person is usually in the place of addressee.438 In the above example, it seems that the speaker is not in the mentioned place, but the second person exists there. In this case, the
adverb ταληλο “there” is used after αββο ζαμιιο “irrigated land”, which indicates remote deixis. According to the above information and example, it appears that this adverb has the same function in Bactrian as it does in Sogdian.

οαλο

οαλο is used very often with the meaning of “then”, and rarely with the meaning of “there”. It seems that this adverb developed from a local adverb to a temporal adverb. In the following examples, this word is used with the meaning of “then”:

(229) οτανο οαλο ἑσταρανο καλδο αβο το χοηο and-PAR then more happy-be.SBJV.1s when PRE SPD lordship χοαδο λρογο οηγανο RP healthy see.SBJV.3s

“And then I would be more happy when I myself might see your lordship healthy.”

In the following examples, it is used as an local adverb and shows remote deixis. It has the same function as ταλο “there”:

(230) οδο πισο μανδαρουανισο αξαδοβοργανο οηγαλφανο κιδο and PRE other.PL-ADV freemen.PL witness.PL who οαλο πιδο μιλανο αρμαστινδο there PRE amongst be present.PST.3p

“And in the presence of the other freemen (and) witnesses, who were present there amongst (them)”

οαρο

The form οαρο “there” is used only as a local adverb and shows remote deixis like οαλο. In the next set of examples given here, this adverb introduces an indefinite place:

(231) οδο ιαβο σιδο οαρο νααγγο ταοι ιαμφοσπαλο and water which thereto adjacent you.OBL PN χοήηο χοζηηο χοαρηηο ληρηηο good-be.OPT.3s well-be.OPT.3s have.OPT.2s hold.OPT.2s

“And the water which (is) adjacent thereto may belong properly and belong well to you, Yamsh-spal, you may have (and) hold (it).”

(232) πισοδο ιαδο ωονασινδημο ιωα ατανο μαπορσο thereupon satisfied content-be.PRS.1s so that-PAR afterwards ζοριγο μασκο ναβιτηγο ζαμιηο οδο ιαβο σιδο time hereupon write.pp land and water which οαρο νααγγο ταοι ιαμφοσπαλο χοβηηο thereto adjacent you.OBL PN good-be.OPT.3s χοζηηο well-be.OPT.3s

“Thereupon I am satisfied and content, so that in the future the land described herein and the water which (is) adjacent thereto may belong properly and belong well to you,

---

441 Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.
Yamsh-spal”

(cp 31-33)

(233) οδό σαγγάνιο το χοήο αβο ικαροι οαρο
and as much as SPD lordship PRE ART-staff there
νάλημπο
NEG.have.PRS.2s
“and in as much as your lordship does not have the staff there”**442

According to our material, οαρο can be only used as a local adverb, whereas οαλο is used much more as a temporal adverb, and rarely as a local adverb.

6.4 Syntactical positions of adverbs

Enclitic adverb -τσο, -σο

One of the characteristics of adverbs is their ability to move in a sentence. The enclitic adverb, -τσο or -σο, can be attached to different kinds of words and shows the emphasis on these words. In the following example, the enclitic adverb is suffixed to a personal pronoun:

(bf 11-12)

(234) ταδο αζ-ισο κιρανο then I.DIR-ADV act.SBJV.1s
“then I shall act too”**443

It can be suffixed to an article, as the following example shows:

(X 2-3)

(235) οδο πισο μισο ισο
and PRE ART-ADV citizens
“and also in the presence of the citizens”**444

In the following example, -τσο is suffixed to a noun:

(bb 9-10)

(236) ταδο βανοοισο αδβηγο πιδοκαρλο then queen-ADV disrespect prevent.IMP.2s
“then you should also prevent disrespect (towards) the queen”**445

This word can be suffixed to another adverb:

(A 33)

(237) οτο-μηνο ιθαμσο χανάδο οδο οισαρο ναοαοορο
and-LCP ADV-ADV claim and argument invalid
αβουδηιο be.OPT.3s
“and so too our claim and argument shall be invalid”**446

In the following example, -τσο is attached to a plural indefinite pronoun:

---

444 Sims-Williams 2000a: 137.
446 Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.
Independent forms

Like enclitic adverbs, independent forms may occur in different positions in a sentence. It appears that there is no rule for the position of independent adverbs in Bactrian. It is only in the case of local adverbs that they occur before the prepositional phrases and the name of places:

(A 1-2)

(239) καλό δο νοβιτο μο γο σα μοστογο μολο θο μο
when write.PST.3s DEM marriage contract ADV PRE ART
ροβαγγο θαρο αμοπονάγο
of Rob city borough
“when this marriage contract was written here in the city of Rob, in the borough”§448

It can also occur before the predicate:

(bd 7-8)

(240) ωσιδο θαβορο μολο πισαμαγο αγαδο
now PN ADV PRE-1.CP come.PST.3s
“When Shabur has come here into my presence.”§449

In the case of the sequence of adverbs, it seems that a local adverb occurs after a time adverb:

(bh 6-7)

(241) οπο αμαχο οιδο ροσο ροιο μολο θο
and we.UFL PRE day Ram ADV PRE
αμαγγανο αμαμομο
Amangan stay.PRS.1p
“And we will stay here at Amangan until the day Ram.”§450

In the following example, the adverb appears directly after the verb:

(ed 4-5)

(242) μισιδο θαβορωφομζο αγαδο μολο
moreover PN come.PST.3s ADV
“moreover, Shabur-ormuzd came here”§451

An independent adverb may occur directly after a conjunction as the first element in a subordinate clause, as illustrated in the following example:

§447 Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.
(ca 8-9)

(243) οὖν υμιο σιδο ταρο αβο ἱαρο ασβαρο and likewise whatever ADV PRE city horseman ασταδο be.SBJV.3s “and likewise whatever horseman may be there in the city” 452

In the following example, an independent adverb appears between a pronoun and noun, which is not common. This pronoun, which is oblique, usually functions as a possesive pronoun:

(ce 3-4)

(244) οσιδο το χοηο ζανο κοουαο μανο ταρο now SPD lordship know.IMPV.2s that I.OBL ADV πιδστοβαραγο αστο αφφαρδαρο surety be.PRS.3s PN “Now, your lordship should know that Ash-fardar is my surety there.” 453

The adverbs of time, οσο, μισιδο, 454 οσιδο “now”, occasionally occur at the beginning of a clause. For example:

(A 10)

(245) μισιδο ζφτο μανο now request.PST.3s I.OBL “now, I requested”

If the clause begins with a conjunction, the adverb of time usually appears after it:

(A 9-10)

(246) κιδο οσο νοβανδο νινδοκο 1 οχβοβαδογανο who now PRE PN EZ PN πιδο αζαδο ασπασο ποροχηζαμο PRE free service serve.PRS.1p “who now serve with Ninduk Okhshbadugan in free service” 455

In the following example, an independent pronoun occurs after a conjunction and the adverb οσο appears after it:

(U 6)

(247) ταδο μαχο οσο λαδο then we.UFL now give.PST.3s “so, now we gave” 456

Manner adverbs as χοβο “well” and χοζο 457 “good” usually occur before the verb:

453 Sims-Williams 2007a: 77.
454 μισιδο may also be used as a conjunction.
455 Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.
457 It may also be used as an adjective.
Many adverbs are used with prepositions in different contexts, i.e., αβο μασκο or αβο i μασκο “hereupon”, ασο μαρο, ασο μαλο “from here”, ασο ταρο “from there”.

Some adverbs may be repeated and form a new adverb with a new meaning, i.e., -ισο “also”, -ισο...-ισο “on the one side...on the other”, or υαμο “also”, υαμο...υαμο “both...and...”.

There are some independent adverbs in Bactrian which can be prefixed to other words. For example, μαλο “here” can be prefixed to the preposition αβο “to, in”, as in the following example:

(L 1-2)

(249) καλδο ναβιχτο μολραγο μαχροσβωστιγο
when write.PST.3s sealed document ART-purchase contract
μαλαβο οοαρνοσγγο όρο
ADV-PRE PN city
“when (this) sealed document, this purchase contract, was written here in the city of Warnu”

In the following example, οαλο “then, there” is prefixed to the pronoun αζο “I”:

(W 25-27)

(250) ταδο οαλαξο οορωλο οδαξο νυλτοβηρο...
then ADV-I.DIR PN and-I.DIR PN
πιτιμο guarantee.PRS.1p
“then I, Wurol, and I, Hilitber ... guarantee thus”

Another example is seen in that the adverb θαο can be prefixed to a conjunction as θαοστανο (ADV-COJ-PAR) “so that”, to a preposition, e.g., θαο “so from”, to a verb, e.g., θαχονινημο (ADV-state.OPT.1p), or to an enclitic pronoun, e.g., θαοοδημο (ADV-you.2s).

6.5 Summary

There are three groups of adverbs in Bactrian. First, there is the group of some words which only play the role of adverbs. Second, there are adverbs which can also be used as preverbs or prepositions. Third, there is the group of nouns and adjectives which are used as adverbs.

We also focused on the proximate deixis adverbs in Bactrian, i.e., μαρο, μαλο, μαληλο “here”, as well as the remote deixis adverbs, i.e., ταρο, ταλο, ταληλο, οαλο and οαρο “there”. The adverbs μαληλο and ταληλο are rarely used in the extant material. There is no clear distinction between the function of μαρο and μαλο, or between ταρο and ταλο. The form οαλο is
used much more as a temporal adverb with the meaning “then”, whereas оαρο is only used as a local adverb. In some languages like Sogdian, we can find some distinctions between different adverbs of remote deixis or proximate deixis, but it seems that in Bactrian, such distinctions are not found.

Adverbs occur in different syntactic positions. For example, the enclitic adverb -іσо, -σο “thus” can be suffixed to personal pronouns, indefinite pronouns, nouns, and articles. We cannot find an exact position for independent adverbs in Bactrian. Some of these adverbs can be prefixed to other words as pronouns, prepositions, other adverbs, conjunctions, and verbs.
7. **CHAPTER SEVEN: CONJUNCTIONS**

Subordinate clauses may be introduced by different types of conjunctions. In Bactrian, there are three types of conjunctions: coordinating, correlative and subordinating.

### 7.1 Coordinating conjunctions

This group of conjunctions as οτο “and”, οδο “and”, αλο “or”, αλδο “or”, ασιδο “but” can link similar elements, which can be single items or a group of words. The following list shows the coordinating conjunctions in Bactrian.

Some of these conjunctions can also be used as subordinating conjunctions. For example, αλο and αλδο with the meaning of “if” can be a subordinating conjunction.

An explanation follows of the environments and the functions of these conjunctions.

#### 7.1.1 οδο, δο “and”; οτο, οτι, οτ- “and”

Both of these conjunctions can be used as free forms or they can be prefixed to other words such as nouns, adjectives, other conjunctions, prepositions, enclitic pronouns, and enclitic and demonstrative pronouns. But in the Bactrian texts, the conjunctions are not attached to articles. οδο is attested more than οτο in the extant material.

οδο, δο

A coordinating conjunction can be prefixed to a noun:

(jf 8-9)

(251) οδ- αβαχρηγο α´ δραχμο τωζο οδο α´ δραχμο
and-fee one dirham pay.IMPV.2s and one dirham
καραφσο surcharge

“And pay one dirham (as) a fee and one dirham (as) a surcharge(?)”

A coordinating conjunction can be prefixed to an adjective:

(X18)

(252) οδ- αβηιολαδδι ι κινο δδραγδο and-unlawful do.INF and revenge keep.INF

“…to cause unlawful or to take revenge”

In the following example, the coordinating conjunction is prefixed to another conjunction:

(cl 8)

(253) οδ- αλδο γαλο οδο ιασπο ναχωζ-ης and-if thief and ART-horse NEG.ask.OPT.2s

“And if you do not search out the thieves and the horses”

A conjunction can be prefixed to a preposition:

---

462 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 133.
463 Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 139.
464 Sims-Williams 2000a: 89.
A conjunction can be prefixed to an enclitic pronoun

(T 6)

(255) οδο-μο λαοδη ιμε ου ιομαι νο ινο
and-I.CP give.PST.OPT.3s also person one woman
“and also I gave a certain person, a woman”466

A conjunction can be prefixed to a demonstrative pronoun:

(X 31)

(256) οδοι ποςτιχο χοζο οοηζο παμαινο βοοαι
and-DEM contract good potent authoritative be.SBJV.3s
“And may this contract be (considered) good (and) potent (and) authoritative.”467

It can also be prefixed to a hypothetical particle -ανο:

(S 22)

(257) οδο-ανο χοηδαγο οδο βηβινιο κιρ-ανο
and-PAR free and detached do.SBJV.1s
“And I would cause (the property to be) released and detached from all”468

The function of οδο

Harmatta writes in his article “The Great Bactrian Inscription”:

“The conjunction οδο links always identical parts of the sentence…as a conjunction introducing a sentence it can be used only together with another conjunction”,469 as shown in example (258):

(Surkh Kotal 7)

(258) οδο καλδανο ασο ιρο ιομαινον ιφο
and when-PAR PRE ? ? ART-matter
βοοηο
be.PRS.OPT.3s
“and when it would be a matter of…”470

In the above example, it is used together with καλδο which is also a conjunction.

He adds:

“Since alone it never introduces a sentence, it is never linked with an enclitic pronoun”.471

This conjunction is used only three times in the Surkh Kotal inscription. In the following example, it links two parts of a number:
What is written by Harmatta about οδο is limited to the Surkh Kotal inscription. From the new Bactrian material, we can gain some new information about the function of οδο.

The conjunction οδο usually coordinates two nominal phrases, though it rarely links two clauses. In the following example, the first occurrence of οδο introduces the sentence, the second and third οδο coordinates two nouns, whereas the fourth coordinates two clauses.

(jf 6-9) οδ-ασο ι ξαρο πορδανιο οδο γονζο οδο ροτιγο and-PRE ART donkey saddle(?) and bag and rope
μαρο φοφτιο οδαβαχρηγο α’ δραχμο τοζο hither send.IMPV.2s and-fee one dirham pay.IMPV.2s
“And (apart) from this, send hither a donkey-saddle and a bag and a rope(?) and pay one dirham as (as) a fee.”

The function of οτο

According to Harmatta:

“… the conjunction οτο never links parts of the sentence, it always serves for the introduction of sentences, it stands always alone in the beginning of the sentence and it is frequently connected with forms of enclitic personal pronouns.”

This conjunction is used five times in the Surkh Kotal inscription. In three of these instances, it stands alone, as shown in the following example:

(Surkh Kotal 4) οτο μα λιζο πιδοριγο and ART fortress leave.pp
“And the fortress became deserted.”

In one instance, the particle -ανο is added to this conjunction:

(Surkh Kotal 7) οτ-ανο μα λιζο μα πιδορισημο
and-PAR ART fortress PROH.leave.PRS.OPT.PASS.3s
“And fortress should not become deserted”

And in another instance, an enclitic pronoun is attached to this conjunction:

(Surkh Kotal 8) οτ-ηιο ασακο μο σαδο αχτριγο κιρδο
and-he.CP PRE-top ART well ? do.PST.3s
“And he made a … top of the well”

473 Sims-Williams 2007a: 133.
In all these examples, the conjunction is used to coordinate two clauses. From the extant Bactrian texts, we can conclude that the conjunction οτο is usually used to coordinate two clauses, whereas the conjunction αλο coordinates two nominal phrases and rarely two clauses.

αλο “or”

αλο is used very often in the role of a conjunction. In the following example, it coordinates two pronouns and nouns which express the subject of the clause:

(A 19-20)

(264) οδο καλδ-ανο αζο βαβο αλ-αζο πιδοκο ανδαρο αλο
and if-PAR I.DIR PN or-I.DIR PN another wife
κιρ-τνδημο
make.OPT-1p
“and if I, Bab or I, Piduk should make another wife”

In the following example, it coordinates two nouns which express the object of a clause:

(A 30)

(265) αλδ-ανο φαρο ραλικο ιαοαργο αλο ταραζο λαι-τνδημο
or-PAR PRE PN duty or task give.OPT-1p
“or if (we) should assign duties or tasks to Ralik”

In the following example, the second αλο coordinates two clauses:

(A 19-20)

(266) οδο καλδ-ανο αζο βαβο αλ-αζο πιδοκο ανδαρο αλο
and if-PAR I.DIR PN or-I.DIR PN another wife
κιρ-τνδημο
make.OPT-1p or free concubine have.OPT-1p
“and if I, Bab or I, Piduk should make another wife, or have a free concubine”

αλδο “or”

There is no visible semantic and syntactic distinction in the function of αλο and αλδο:

In the following example, it coordinates two clauses:

(A 29-30)

(267) οδο καλδ-ανο αζο νινδοκο αλ-αζο ... οιαγγοδαρο
and if-PAR I.DIR PN or-I.DIR otherwise
do.OPT-1s or-PAR PRE PN duty or task
λαινδ-ημο
give.OPT-1p
“if (we) should assign duties or tasks to Ralik”

In the following example, another conjunction, i.e., οδο “and”, is attached to αλδο and coordinates two clauses:

479 Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.
481 Here I mean αλδο as a coordinating conjunction. It can be also used with the meaning “if” in subordinate clauses.
482 Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.
Chapter 7

(268) αλό-ανο  φαρο  ραλικο  ιαοαργο  αλο  ταραζο  λαυ-νδημο
or-PAR  PRE  PN  duty  or  task  give.OPT-1p
οδ-αλ.δο  ιθαχοαν-τνδημο
and-or  claim.OPT-1p
“and if I, Ninduk and I … should do otherwise, or (if we) should assign duties or tasks to
Ralik or (if we) should claim”\textsuperscript{483}

It can also coordinate two nouns, as shown in the following example:

(F 14)
(269) ανδάρο  μολρογο  οδ-αιλ.δο  πωσταγο  παροβαραδο
another  sealed  document  and-or  contract  produce.SBJV.3s
“(and) might produce another sealed document or contract”\textsuperscript{484}

ασιδο, σιδο, ασιδα-, ασιδ-, σιδ-, “but, on the other hand”

It is often used as a relative pronoun, but it can also play the role of a conjunction. The
general meaning of \textit{ασιδο} as a conjunction is “but, on the other hand”. According to Sims-
Williams, it marks a contrast between what precedes and what follows.\textsuperscript{485}

As a conjunction, it coordinates only two clauses, such as in the following example:

(ba 2-3)
(270) ταδο  βεδ-ημο  ασιδ-ανο  οαλο  βαταρ-ανο
then  happy-be.PRS.1s  but-PAR  then  more  happy-be.SBJV.1s
“therefore I am happy, but then I would be more happy…”\textsuperscript{486}

7.1.2 Rarely attested coordinating conjunctions

ατο

ατο “that, so that” is rarely used in the extant Bactrian texts. It coordinates two clauses, as
shown in the following example:

(C 11-13)
(271) πσιδο  βαδο  υονασινδ-ημο  ιθαο  ατ-ανο  μαπορσο
thereupon  satisfied  content-be.PRS-1s  so  that-PAR  afterwards
ζοργο  μασκο  ναβιτωγο  ξαμιγο  οδο  ταβο  σιδο
time  hereupon  write.pp  land  and  water  which
οαρο  ναοαργο  ταοι  ιαμβοσπαλο  χοβ-ημο
thereto  adjacent  you.SG.OBL  PN  good-be.OPT.3s
χοζ-ημο
well-be.OPT.3s
“Thereupon I am satisfied and content, so that in the future the land described herein and
the water which (is) adjacent thereto may belong properly and belong well to you,
Yamsh-spal.”\textsuperscript{487}

In the following example, ατο (ατ) is attached to an adverb, and a particle is attached to ατο
(ατ):

\textsuperscript{483} Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.
\textsuperscript{484} Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 47.
\textsuperscript{485} Sims-Williams 2007a: 195.
\textsuperscript{486} Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.
\textsuperscript{487} Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.
(A 12-13)

(272) ίθατ-ατ-ανο ληρ-ηνο αζο βαγοφαρκο αβο μασκο
so-that-PAR treat.OPT-1s I.DIR PN herein
νοβιχισο ζινο write.pp.f wife

“so that I, Bag-farn, may treat the woman described herein…”488

φαρσο “but”

The function of this conjunction is not clear. It is used only once in the extant Bactrian material:

(Y 23-24)

(273) οδο γαμανο κιρδο φαρσο κιδ-αβο μυρο
and trouble cause.SBJV.3s but who-PRE PN
σταμβο οδο γαμανο κιρδο πιδο βαβαγγο
injury and trouble cause.SBJV.3s PRE Bab’s
αχασο dispute

“…and may do trouble, but whoever may commit injury and violence toward Mir on account of a dispute of Bab’s”489

In the above example, it links two clauses.

αφαρσιδο “except”

Like φαρσο, this conjunction is rarely attested in Bactrian texts. It is used only in two documents (In: ea 11 and ef 18-19). In the following example, it links a sentence to a nominal phrase490:

(ea 10-11)

(274) ωαρσο κιο οωργο οδο σαχοανο νιστο αφαρσιδο
no one right and business NEG.be.PRS.3s except
βαβορο χοαδο PN RP

“no one has (any) right or (other) business … except Shabur himself”491

In the following example, it appears that αφαρσιδο links two clauses:

(ef 16-20)

(275) ταδο πιο δοι ποσανο φαρο ωρομοξο δοισαο
then PRE two sheep PRE PN promise
κιρδο αφαρσιδο χα[ ] ιογ-ινδο
do.PST.3s but ?-be.PRS-3p

“so, regarding the two sheep, a promise was made to Ormuzd, but…were…”492

ασο

The form ασο is a preposition with the meaning “from”. It is also classified by Sims-Williams as a conjunction.

488 Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.
490 In these examples, it is possible that it plays the role of a preposition, rather than that of a conjunction.
According to Sims-Williams, it is used as a conjunction only in two documents, cd, ci. In both cases, it is used with another conjunction. The use of a preposition with a conjunction is very common in other Iranian languages. For example, in Sogdian, the preposition c- “from” is used occasionally with other conjunctions. Here, in Bactrian, the question is whether ασο is a preposition or a conjunction. In the following example, it is shown to be used with another conjunction, and it joins two sentences:

(276) υρζ-ανο ζαμγο ασο αλδομο ναοαζο ασο χοηοι
let.SBJV-1s land but(? if-ICP PN from lord
πωστογο αβαραδο
document bring.SBJV.3s

“let alone a (piece of) land! But if Nawaz brings me a document from the lord…”

Another example is presented here:

(277) κοαδο-ηνο ασο βαχλο οφοηγο κοατιγο τι[.ν-ημο
that-they.CP PRE Balkh linen shirt ?.PRS-1s
αγαδο ασο καλδο-ηνο αγαδημο ταδο-μο πισο
bring.INF but(?) if-they.CP bring.PST.OPT.3s then-ICP PRE
tο χοηο αωμημο φοβταδημο
SPD lordship ART-same send.PST.OPT.3s

“I am [urging?] them to bring linen shirts from Balkh. If they had in fact brought (them),
I would have sent the same to your lordship.”

In both of these examples, ασο is used with other conjunctions, i.e., αλδο, καλδο “if”, and it links two sentences. According to the above examples, it has a function which may be compared with the preposition c- in Sogdian and plays the role of a preposition rather than a conjunction. Because of the limited number of examples, it is not easy to make an exact judgment.

μισιδο “moreover”

In many constructions, it is used in the meaning of “moreover” and introduces a new topic or sentence:

(278) οδ-αβο ζολαδο οδ-αβο ζαδοσμαρο ιροδο ναμωσο ασο
and-PRE PN and-to PN greetings homage PRE
ζολαδο μισιδο σογγο πιδο δροστανο
PN moreover in as much as PRE health
αρμαυ-ηνο
remain.PRS or OPT-2p

“and to Zhulad and to Zhad-smar greetings (and) homage from Zhulad. Moreover, in as much as you (pl.) remain in (good) health”

Another example is given here:

(279) καλδ-ανο αβο το χοηο χοαδο ιρογο οην-ανο
when-PAR PRE SPD lordship RP healthy see.SBJV-1s
ναμωσο βαρανο μισιδο αγαδο μαρο ασο το

494 Sims-Williams 2007a: 75.
495 Sims-Williams 2007a: 133.
…when I myself might see your lordship healthy (and) pay homage. Moreover a letter has come hither from your lordship.”

7.1.3 Summary

The following table shows the coordinating conjunctions in the extant Bactrian texts and their functions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coordinating conjunction</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἄτο “that”</td>
<td>Sentence + Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁτο “and”</td>
<td>Sentence + Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁδο “and”</td>
<td>Nominal phrase + Nominal phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sentence + Sentence (rarely)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀλο “or”</td>
<td>Nominal phrase + Nominal phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sentence + Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀλδο “or”</td>
<td>Nominal phrase + Nominal phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sentence + Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀσιδο “but”</td>
<td>Sentence + Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὁφαρσιδο “but, except”</td>
<td>Sentence + Nominal phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(only in two documents)</td>
<td>Sentence + Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φαρσο “but” (only in one document)</td>
<td>Sentence + Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>μισιδο “moreover”</td>
<td>Sentence + Sentence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2 Correlative conjunctions

These conjunctions are always used in pairs, and they link similar elements. Here are the correlative conjunctions found in the extant Bactrian texts:

- ἀλο...ἀλο “either...or”, “both...and”
- ἀλο...ὀδο “either...or”, “both...and”
- ἀλο...ὀδἀλο “either...or”
- ἀλο...οτο “both...and”
- δαλδο...ὀδαλο “either...or”
- δαλδο...ὀδἀλδο “either...or”
- ἀλδο...ἀλο/ἀλδο “whether...or”, “both...and”
- ἀλδο...ὀδαλδο “whether...or”

In the following example, the correlative conjunction ἀλο...ἀλο joins two adjectives:

---

497 Sims-Williams 2007a: 190.
500 Sims-Williams 2007a: 189.
Chapter 7

(280) οδο οαζειο τοχιανο μαο πανζασο ν’ καβσο
and employ.PRS.3s seed grain fifty 50 quart
αλο κασοκο φριμαδαρο αλο κασοκο καμβαταρο
either little more or little less
“and (one) employs fifty quarts of grain (as) seed, either a little more or a little less”502

It can also join two nominal phrases:

(C 14-15)

(281) οδο καλδ-ανο αστημο μα-πορσο ζοριγο αλο αζο
and if-PAR be.OPT.3s ART-future time either I.DIR
ηροοανινδο χοαδο αλο μανο βραδο
PN RP or I.OBL brother
“and if in the future there should be (anyone)‒whether I, Shar-wanind myself, or my brothers”503

αλο can also be used with οδαλο “or”, as a correlative conjunction with the meaning of “either…or”. In the following example, αλο...οδαλο joins two adjectives:

(J 10-11)

(282) αστο μασκο ναβιχτιγο αγγαργο πιδο μαι παραγανο
be.PRS.3s herein written.pp property PRE grain sowing
λογσο ζ’ αλο κασοκο φριμαχοδαρο οδαλο κασοκο καμβοδαρο
lukhs seven either little more or little less
“(This) is the property described herein, (of a size requiring) seven lukhs—either a little more or a little less—for sowing with grain.”504

It seems that there is no semantic or functional difference between αλο...οδαλο and αλο...αλο. In examples (406 and 404), both are used in a similar context with the meaning of “either…or”.

In the next example, αλο is used with οτο “and”. In my opinion, it is a correlative conjunction. It is shown here to link two clauses:

(al 6-7)

(283) οτο-μο αλο το βαρο πιδισιδο οτο-μο τογδο
and-I.CP both ART city give up.PST.3s and-I.CP pay.PST.3s
φαρο το οκιδο
PRE ART ?
“[and] I both handed over(?) the city and paid to the…”505

In the following example, δαλδο...οδαλο “either…or” is used to link two nominal phrases:

(xp 12-13)

(284) ταλδο το χοσο σινδομο δαλδο το χοσο
if SPD lordship please.OPT.3s either SPD lordship
οδαλο χοσαρο πισο ωφρομοζδο ηραχο
or PN PRE PN come.FUP
“If it please your lordship, either your lordship or Khwasraw should come into the

504 Sims-Williams 2000a: 57.
presence of Ohrmuzd\textsuperscript{506}

In the following example, αλδο...οδαλδο “whether...or” links two nominal phrases:

(F 11)

(285) οτο κιδ-ανο ασταδο παρσο μα-βαρο ζαμανο
and whoever-PAR be.SBJV.3s PRE ART-future time
核桃 κιδ αοδαδο ασβιδο χοαδο οδ-αλδο μανο
anyone whether-1DIR PN RP and-or I.OBL
βαραδο brother

“and whoever there may be in the future – anyone at all, whether I, Asbid, myself, or my brothers”\textsuperscript{507}

7.2.1 Summary

According to the above examples, we can conclude that no difference in meaning can be given for αλο...αλο, αλο...οδαλο, δαλδο...οδαλο, δαλδο...οδαλδο; all them mean “either...or”. αλο...οτο can be also used in the meaning of “both...and”. αλο...οτο means also “both...and”. These correlative conjunctions very often link nominal phrases, while they rarely link two sentences.

Table 29 shows the correlative conjunctions and their functions in the extant Bactrian texts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlative conjunctions</th>
<th>Function in the extant Bactrian texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>αλο...αλο “either...or”, “both...and”\textsuperscript{508}</td>
<td>Nominal phrases+Nominal phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αλο...οδαλο “either...or”</td>
<td>Sentence+Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αλο...οτο “both...and”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δαλδο...οδαλο “either...or”\textsuperscript{509}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δαλδο...οδαλδο “either...or”\textsuperscript{510}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αλδο...αλο/αλδο “whether...or”, “both...and”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>αλδο...οδαλδο “whether...or”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3 Subordinating conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions are the largest group of conjunctions in Bactrian. They join subordinate clauses to main clauses. Most of them are used both as adverbs and conjunctions. According to their functions, they can be classified as temporal, causal, effective, and conditional.

7.3.1 Time

σαζαμανδο “as soon as”

It is used in two documents as an independent form and in two other documents suffixed to the conjunction τα “and”. It is illustrated in the following example:

\textsuperscript{506} Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 163.
\textsuperscript{507} Sims-Williams 2000a: 45.
\textsuperscript{508} Sims-Williams 2007a: 190.
\textsuperscript{509} Sims-Williams 2007a: 190.
\textsuperscript{510} Sims-Williams 2007a: 189.
(ca 6-7)

(286) ὥσο σαζαμανδό ταμάχο μο πωστογο οιν-ηδό now as soon as you.OBL.PL DEM letter see.PRS-2p

“now, as soon as you see this letter”

In the following example, it is attached to the conjunction τα:

(cp 19-20)

(287) οτο-μο αβο οηροφαρδάρο φρητογο φορταδό and-I.CP PRE PN messenger send.PST.3s τα-σαζαμανδό ηρσιδο then-as soon as come back.PRS.3s

“and I sent Wesh-fardar (as) a messenger. As soon as he comes (back)…”

κιζαμνίδο “as soon as”

This subordinating conjunction is only used once in cf 13 with the meaning of “as soon as”. It is suffixed to the conjunction τα and an enclitic pronoun, i.e., -ηδο, is suffixed to it:

(cf 11-13)

(288) ταδο φρομιιο κιδο ι γασικο ασο ρωβο then order.IMPV.2s someone ART concubine PRE PN απαρσο αοηλαδο τα-κιζαμνιδο-ηνο χοιζ-ανο back fetch.INF and-as soon as-they.CP.p ask.SBJV-1s

“then order (someone) to fetch the concubine back from Rob, and as soon as I ask for them”

σαζαμανο “as soon as”

It is used three times in the extant Bactrian documents. In the following example, it occurs at the beginning of the clause with the meaning of “as soon as”, together with another conjunction, i.e., μισιδο:

(jd 3-4)

(289) μισιδο σαζαμανο πωστιγο οιν-ηδο moreover as soon as letter see.PRS-2s

“moreover, as soon as you see (this) letter”

παρσο “back, afterwards”

The form παρσο may be used as an adverb and it can function in both a prepositional and postpositional role. As a conjunction, it is used at the beginning of a subordinate clause with the meaning of “after”:

(N 26-27)

(290) οτο ιθασο παρσο τογδο ταοανο πιτανσιστιγο and so after pay.PST.3s fine guarantee contract μολραγο χοζο οαοαρο αβοδηιο sealed document good valid be.OPT.3s

“And so, after the fine has been paid, may (this) guarantee-contract, (this) sealed document, be (considered) good and valid.”

511 Sims-Williams 2007a: 69.
512 Sims-Williams 2007a: 95.
513 Sims-Williams 2007a: 79.
515 Sims-Williams 2000a: 77.
πισιδο “thereupon”

In the following example, it is used as a temporal conjunction at the beginning of a clause:

(C 11-12)

(291) ὁτό-μο ἄγγιτο ἀσαφάγο ἡμμοσπαλο παλαφνο
and-LCP receive.PST.3s PRE-you.CP PN reward

πισιδο ἤδο υοναινη-ημο
thereupon satisfied content-be.PRS.1s

“and I received this gift from you, Yamsh-spal. Thereupon I am satisfied and content”516

7.3.2 Cause/Effect

τα “then”

It is used only as an independent form in the Surkh Kotal inscription. In other texts, it is prefixed to other words, e.g., τακαλδασο (τα COJ+καλδο “if” COJ+ασο PRE “if”) or τακοοαδανο (τα COJ+κοοαδο ADV “where”+ανο PAR). It seems that in a clause beginning with this conjunction, the verb often stands at the end of the clause.

(A 28)

(292) τα-κοοαδ-ανο πιδο[o] οδο τ-μαδο οδο χαρημηο
then-in as much as-PAR father and ART-mother and family

υοσινήημο agree.OPT.3s

“then in as much as the father and the mother and the family may agree to give (her) away”518

ταδο, ταδ- “then, and”

According to Sims-Williams, this conjunction often introduces the main clause after a subordinate clause.519

(A 26)

(293) οδο σιδανο ασο ραλίκο πορο αζημηο ταδ-ανο
and whatever PRE PN son bear.PRS.3s then-PAR

πιδο χοβο χαρημηο
PRE own have.OPT.3s

“And whatever son may be born from Ralik, then she may have (him) for her own.”520

It can also coordinate two subordinates, as shown in the following example:

(A 3-4)

(294) κιδο ι υνδο λιβο ζαν-ινδο ταδο αβο μασκο
who ART same document bear witness.PRS-3p then PRE hereupon

ποναμγο νοβικτην-ινδο
signature write.PST.PF-3p

“who witness the present document and (whose) signatures are written hereupon”521

In the clause beginning with this conjunction, the verb often occurs directly after ταδο:

517 Or υοσινήημο Sims-Williams 2007a: 35.
518 Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.
520 Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.
521 Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.
(A 20-21)

(295) ταδανο λαντ-νοθημο ταοανο αβο ̨ ̨ ιαναγανο γαζνο
then-PAR give.OPT-1p fine PRE royal treasury
ζαροζιδγο κε διαμο
stuck gold 20 dinar
“Then (we) shall give a fine to the royal treasury of twenty dinars of stuck gold.”\textsuperscript{522}

The verb can also occur at the end of the clause beginning with this conjunction:

(A 28-29)

(296) ταδο τανο λαντ-νοθημο
then wish give.OPT-3p
“Then they may give her.”\textsuperscript{523}

Different kinds of words like prepositions (e.g., αβο “to”), personal pronouns (e.g., –ηιο “it, him, to him”), demonstratives (e.g., ειο “this”), and particles (e.g., -ανο, hypothetical particle) are suffixed to this conjunction in the extant material.

It can be used in a conditional sentence relating to καλδο:

(Q 19)

(297) καλδο λαδο ναμιμο ταδο παδοαχβαν-ημο
if give.INF NEG.SBJV.1p then have a right.PRS.2s
“if we cannot give (it to you), then you have the right…”\textsuperscript{524}

σαγωνδο, σαγονδο “as, like, that”

This conjunction is attested very often in Bactrian texts. Other words like prepositions or pronouns are very often suffixed to this word, but only once is the conjunction itself suffixed:

(A 14-15)

(298) οδο σιδ-ανο ασο μ-αβρ-ισο αλφανζ-αμημο
and which-PAR PRE ART-future-also acquired.OPT-1p
θα-σαγονδο ασνουνο πορδο αβο ̨ ̨ λριγο
thus-as daughter in law ought PRE treat.PST.INF
σαγονδο αβο μο λαμο νοβανδανο
as PRE ART land established custom
“And also which we may acquire in the future, as (one) ought to treat a daughter-in-law, as (is) the established custom in the land.”\textsuperscript{525}

It very often coordinates two clauses, as illustrated in the following examples:

(eh 5-6)

(299) ταδο-μο καγατο σαγονδο ναβιτ-ημο πιδο μανο
then-1CP hear.PST.3s how write.PST.1s PRE I.OBL
λρογοστανο
health
“So I have heard how you have written to me concerning my health.”\textsuperscript{526}

In above example, it is used with the meaning “how”.

Another example is given here:

\textsuperscript{522} Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.
\textsuperscript{523} Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 35 and Sims-Williams 2007a: 35.
\textsuperscript{524} Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 91.
\textsuperscript{525} Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.
\textsuperscript{526} Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 123.
(N 31)
(300) οὖν χωβίγο χωβίγο λήρ-αμο παγονδό πιταδ-αμο
and all our own keep.SBJV.1p as guarantee.PST.1p
“And may we keep all our own (household) as we have guaranteed.”

In the following example, it coordinates a clause and a nominal phrase and is used with the meaning “than”:
(301) ταδ-ηνο ασκαδαρο παροβαλ-ανο σαγονδό τ-χοβο
then-they.CP more to take care of.SBJV.1s than ART-own
οδ-ωλ-νυ ναωφτ-υο (?)
and-if NEG.send.OPT?.2s
“then I would take care of them more than my own; and if you should not send them.”

In the following example, it coordinates two prepositional phrases:
(302) ταδο-μο πισο το χοηο ιωομγο φοβταδηο
then-I.CP PRE to elder brother as
σαγονδο πισο χοιιαχο βραδο
samesend send.PST.OPT.3s
“I would have sent the same to your lordship as to an elder brother.”

κιδο, ακιδο, κιδ-, ακιδ-, ακιδα- “that”

It is occasionally used as a relative pronoun, but it can also play the role of a conjunction with the meaning “that” in late texts and introduce a subordinate clause or direct speech:

(303) οσο μαχο δογγο πιδαγγηραδο ακιδο μαχο οοχορτιο
now we.UFL thus agree.PST.3s that we.UFL quarrel.pp
ναβαρτιδο
NEG.be necessary.PRS.3s
“Now it has been thus agreed by us, that it is not necessary for us to quarrel.”

κοαδο, κοοαδο “that”

κοαδο plays different roles. As a conjunction, it means “that, so that”. It can also be used as a relative pronoun or adverb. In the following examples, it coordinates two clauses:
(304) μανο ναγατο κοαδο τοο μαρδο λαδη-ηο
I.OBL hear.PST.3s that you.DIR man just-be.PRS.2s
“I have heard that you are a just man.”

This conjunction can also be used to introduce direct speech, as in the following example:

529 Sims-Williams 2007a: 75.
530 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 222.
531 Sims-Williams 2000a: 137.
532 Sims-Williams 2007a: 53. In this example, κοαδο τοο μαρδο λαδη-ηο “that you are a just man” functions as the object of the verb ναγατο. In the first clause, the verb stands at the end of the sentence, and in the second clause, the enclitic form of the verb “to be” is attached to an adjective, which is very common.
Then your lordship promised: “I (shall) give (you) a dog.””

σογγο “as”

This word is classified as an adverb by Sims-Williams. It can also be used as a conjunction coordinating two clauses:

(U 10-11)

Then your lordship promised: “I (shall) give (you) a dog.””

7.3.3 Condition

καλδό “when, if”

The form καλδό “if” is one of the most common conjunctions in Bactrian. It is used alone or attached to other words, such as prepositions, pronouns, conjunctions and particles. It can be suffixed to other words such as in τακαλδό (τα COJ “then”- καλδό “if, when”) or prefixed, as in καλδάσο (καλδό “if, when”- ασο PRE “from”). It can also be in the middle of an expression e.g. τακαλδάσο (τα COJ “then”- καλδό “if, when”- ασο PRE “from”). It frequently introduces a subordinate clause.

In connection with the particle -ανο, it has the meaning of “if”, and it very often forms a conditional sentence:

(A 19-21)

And then I would be more happy when I myself might see your lordship healthy.”

And if, I, Bab or I, Piduk should make another wife…, then we shall give a fine to the royal treasury of twenty dinars of struck gold.”

In a construction beginning with καλδό, the verb usually occurs at the end:

(bh 2-3)

“Then and I myself might see your lordship healthy.”

533 Sims-Williams 2007a: 73.
535 For the function of -ανο, see Sims-Williams 2007a: 48.
537 Sims-Williams 2007a: 67.
Rarely, a verb can follow καλδό:

(A 1-2)

(309) καλδό νοβίττο μο ολοβωστογο μαλο αβο μο
when write.PST.3s DEM marriage contract here PRE ART
ροβαγγο ϐαρο αβιυο ανδαγο
of Rob city PRE-DEM borough
“when this marriage contract was written here in the city of Rob, in the borough…”538

αλδο with the meaning of “if”

As mentioned before, this conjunction is used very often as a coordinating conjunction. It occurs also in conditional sentences with the meaning of “if” and plays the role of a subordinating conjunction:

(ba 16-17)

(310) ταο-ηνο παδοφρασο κιρ-ανο οδο αλδο ασο τι
then-they.CP punishment make.SBJV.1s and if PRE ART
ταοι χοβανανο βιζανο κιρδδο ταο αζο
your.SG shepherd evil make.PST.SBJV.3s then I.DIR
αβα-φαγο ναβιττο φρομπι-ανο
PRE-you.CP write.INF order.SBJV-1s
“and then I shall punish them; and if evil should have been committed by your shepherds, then I shall order (a letter) to be written to you”539

7.3.4 Summary

Most of the subordinate conjunctions are adverbs also used as conjunctions. The following table shows the subordinate conjunctions and their functions in the extant Bactrian texts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 30. Subordinating conjunctions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>κιζαμνιδο “as soon as”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σαζαμανδο “as soon as”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σαζαμανο “as soon as”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>παρσο “after”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>πισιδο “thereupon”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

539 Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.
8. **CHAPTER EIGHT: THE VERB**

8.1 **Position**

The verb occurs in variant positions in the clause. It may have an initial or a final position, but most frequently it occurs in the final position. In the following example, the verb occurs at the end of the clause:

(c6)

(311) ταδ-ημο ψαραιαγο  λαυ-ημο
then-it.CP PRE-I.CP give.OPT.2s

“And you should give it to me.”

In the following example, the verb occurs at the beginning of the sentence:

(Document 1, 1-4)

(312) πιδοροβδο μανο ασπαλοβιδο ασα-ψαγο ζοοαννδο
receive.PST.3s I.OBL PN PRE-you.CP PN

store keeper what-PRE ART list write.PRS.PASS.3s

“I, Aspal-bid have received from you, Zuwanind the store keeper, what is written in this list.”

It may also occur directly after the subject, as in the following example:

(cq11-12)

(313) οτο-μο ψαρταδο ϕαρο το χοηο διναρο α´
and-LCP send.PST.3s PRE SPD lordship dinar one

“And I have sent one dinar for your lordship.”

8.1.1 **Two verbs in a construction**

In the following section, variants of word order are shown, when more than one verb occurs in a construction:

1. **Verb (inflected) + INF without αβο**

In the following example, the infinitive occurs after the inflected verb, without the preposition αβο usually governing the past stems:

(Rabatak 11-12)

(314) οτ-ημα φρομαιδο … κιρδι
and-he.CP order.PST.3s … make.PST.INF

“And he gave orders to make…”

2. **Verb (inflected) + INF with αβο**

In the following example, the preposition αβο governs the past infinitive:

---

540 Sims-Williams 2007a: 85.
541 Sims-Williams 2000b: 5.
542 Sims-Williams 2007a: 97.
3. INF without αβο + Verb (inflected)

In the following example, two infinitives which are not coordinated by a conjunction occur before the inflected verb:

(C 17)
(316) χοανδοί σαρδο αβζιιηιο claim.PST.INF argue.PST.INF continue.OPT.3s
“(who) might continue to claim or argue”\(^{545}\)

4. INF without αβο + Verb “to be” (inflected and suffixed)

In the following example, the infinitive is used with the verb “to be”:

(bc 7-8)
(317) ταδο-μο ταλο αβο ἰαρο ταρο νιαβογο χοζο then.I.CP thus PRE city thither fitting good
αρκαρδο follow.PST.INF-be.SBJV.3s
“So it would be very fitting for me to follow (him) thither to the city.”\(^{546}\)

In the following example, the infinitive is attached to a substantive, and the verb “to be” is attached to the infinitive:

(ck 7)
(318) πορδο-γιρδ-ανο proper-do.INF-be.SBJV.1s
“I am obliged to do”\(^{547}\)

5. Verbs used with the infinitive:

According to Sims-Williams, “the infinitive is identical with the past stem.”\(^{548}\) With some verbs or constructions, an infinitive without αβο is occasionally used.

The verb ἢμ- “can, to be able” is treated like a modal verb, and an infinitive is used with it:

(P 91)
(319) καλδο λαδο ναρμ-αμο if give.PST.INF NEG.can.SBJV.1p
“if we cannot give”\(^{549}\)

The verb παδαχαν- “to have a right, have authority” may be used with an infinitive without αβο:

---

\(^{544}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.

\(^{545}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.

\(^{546}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 57.

\(^{547}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 89.

\(^{548}\) Sims-Williams 2007a: 45.

\(^{549}\) Sims-Williams 2000a: 235.
(Q 19-20)

(320) ταδὸ παδοσφαν-ημο... ζυμανο κιρδο
then have a right.PRS.2s penalty make.INF
“then, you have the right to fix such a penalty of…”

-πορδο “ought to” + copula is occasionally used with an infinitive without αβο:

(χν 7-8)

(321) ταδο αβο χαρο πιδο ταμφοανανο φαρδαν
certain whatever PRE ruler PRE PN more
πορδο ναβιχτο οδο πορδο νιταδ-ημο
ought to write.PST.INF and ought to send.INF-be.PRS.2s
“Whatever more you ought to write and ought to send to the ruler concerning Yamshwanind.”

The verb φρομι “to order” is occasionally used with an infinitive with αβο:

(xk 11)

(322) ασιδ-αζο ναμογηλο γαμανο φρομι-ανο αβο
and-I.DIR likewise wrong order.SBJV.1s PRE
cιρδο do.PST.INF
“And I likewise should give orders to do wrong (to you).”

The verb ριμ- “to order” is also used with an infinitive without αβο:

(P 16’)

(323) υαρσο κιρδο αριμαδο
whatever do.PST.INF suit.SBJV.3s
“whatever it may suit to do”

The verb αβζιι “to continue” occasionally occurs with an infinitive without αβο:

(bd 7)

(324) αβζαιδ-ημο χρδο
continue.PST.2s do.INF
“you continued to buy”

The verb υερζο “leave, release” usually occurs with an infinitive without αβο:

(jh 10-11)

(325) οτο πιδο ι τωγο υαρσο μισο αβιστανο κιρδο and PRE ART tax just also delay do.INF
μα-υερζο
PROH.leave.IMPV.2s
“And with regard to the tax do not allow any further delay to be made.”

The verb κιμ- “want” can also govern a following infinitive without αβο:

551 Sims-Williams 2007a: 159.
552 Sims-Williams 2007a: 155.
553 Sims-Williams 2000a: 85.
554 Sims-Williams 2007a: 59.
555 Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.
Chapter 8.

(326) ὁτ-ημο ποσο κιμ-ινδαδο ιαδο
and-he.CP sheep want.SBJV.3p give.INF
“and (if) they should want sheep to be given to him”556

The verb σαχσ- “to be assessed” usually occurs with an infinitive without αβο:

(327) πινοο σιοδο-ημο 1 χαρο αβο μολο
PRE-DEM RTP-he.CP ART donkey PRE wine
ποδο σαχσιδο
pay out.PST.INF to be assessed.PRS.3s
“Because his donkey is assessed to be paid out (in return) for wine.”558

-Verb and past participle

In Bactrian, a few verbs such as βαρτ- “to be necessary (?)” and γαοο “to be necessary, ought” govern a preceding past participle instead of an infinitive:

(328) τωο ωσο δαγογο κιρο κοδο κωρογορο
then now in such a way do.IMPV.2s that worker
ωζαδγο ναβαρταδο
liable.pp NEG to be necessary. SBJV.3s
“So now you (sg.) should act in such a way that it should not be necessary for the workers to be (held) liable.”559

Another example is given here:

(U 10)

(329) οτο πιδιδο ιειρο υοσινδ αμο
and PRE-DEM matter in agreement be.PRS.1p
γαοοιδο
whatever DEM vineyard rent do.pp ought.PRS.3s
“whatever (payment of) rent ought to be made for this vineyard”560

8.1.2 Enclitic forms of the verb “to be”

The enclitic forms of the verb “to be” can be attached to a substantive, an adjective, adverb, infinitive, and negative particle.

In the following example, the enclitic form of the verb “to be” is attached to an adjective:

(A 24)

(330) οτο πιδ-ιδο ιερο υοσινδ-αμο
and PRE-DEM matter in agreement be.PRS.1p
“and in this matter we are in agreement”561

It may also be attached to a substantive:

556 Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.
557 ποδο σιο- “because” (Sims-Williams 2007a: 248).
561 Sims-Williams 2000a: 35.
(J 17)
(331) φρογαο-αμο
profit.-be.PRS.1p
“we are profited”\textsuperscript{562}

In the following example, it is attached to an adverb:
(C 13)
(332) ταοι μαψοπαλο χοβημ
you.OBL PN properly-be.OPT.3s
“may belong properly to you, Yamsh-spal”\textsuperscript{563}

It can also be attached to an infinitive:
(bc 7-8)
(333) ταɦ-μο ταλο αβο ϰαρο ταρο νιαβογο χοζο
then-I.CP thus PRE city thither fitting good
αφκαραδο
follow.PST.INF-be.SBJV.3s
“So it would be very fitting for me to follow (him) thither to the city.”\textsuperscript{564}

In the following example, it is attached to the negative particle να-:
(J 25)
(334) οτα-μηνο οαναγο οιςο ασποργο νινδο αγγιτο
and-we.CP price all complete NEG.receive.PST.3p
“And the price has not been received by us all complete.”\textsuperscript{565}

It seems that enclitic form of the verb “to be” occurs always as the last enclitic in constructions with more than two elements (see examples 320-325).

\section*{8.2 Agreement with subject}

In non-ergative constructions, the verb agrees with the subject in number and person. When the subject is more than one substantive or pronoun which are coordinated by a conjunction, the verb tends to occur in the singular:
(A 17-18)
(335) οταάνο μω-παδοαρχαν-ηνο αεο βαβο οδαζο πιδοκο
and-PAR PROH.have right. OPT.1s I.DIR PN and-I.DIR PN
ανδαρο ολο αβο κιρδο
other wife PRE make.PST.INF
“and I, Bab, and I, Piduk, shall not have the right to make another wife”\textsuperscript{566}

The verb usually tends to be singular with δραχμο + Number. In the following ergative construction, the verb which agrees with the object is singular:

\textsuperscript{562} Sims-Williams 2000a: 57.
\textsuperscript{563} Sims-Williams 2000a: 41.
\textsuperscript{564} Sims-Williams 2007a: 57.
\textsuperscript{565} Sims-Williams 2000a: 59, 61.
\textsuperscript{566} Sims-Williams 2000a: 33.
But in the following example, the verb tends to occur in the plural with δραχμο + Number:

(M 3-4)

(337) δραχμο κοαδαγο γ’... ασιο-ασο μοιανο παρο
dirham Kawad three which-PRE PN loan
κιρδόνον ασταδδίνο
do.PLUP.3p
“the three dirhams of (king) Kawad which had been loaned by Moyan”568

With few singular words, the verb is used in the plural. According to Sims-Williams, “the noun may perhaps be regarded as pl.Tantum.”569 With οαυαγο “price”, the verb usually occurs in the plural:

(L 21)

(338) οτο-μηνο αγγιτ-ιννο 1 οαυαγο οισο ασποριγο
and-we.CP receive.PST.3p ART price all complete
“And we received the price all complete.”570

But in two cases it is treated as singular:

(F14-15)

(339) κοσοδο μανο α[σ]βιο ασα-φαγο ζηρο πιδο χοφο σαρο
that IOBL PN PRE-you.CP PN PRE RA head
οαυαγο σποριγο νιστο πιδοβδο
price complete NEG.receive.PST.3s
“So that I, Asbid, did not receive the full price from you, Zer.”571

Another example is given here:

(U 7)

(340) οδο μαχο αγγιτο οαυαγο ασα-φαγο
and we.UFL receive.PST.3s price PRE-you.CP
“And the price has been received by us from you.”572

With ταοοανο “fine”, the verb occurs in the plural:

(jh 11)

(341) κοδο-αβο στοργο ταοοανο νηρσ-ιννο
so that-PRE much fine NEG.come.SBJV.3p
“So that the fine may not come to much”573

With αζδο “information”, the verb may be in the singular or in the plural. In the following sentence, the first verb is in the singular, whereas the second verb is in the plural. Both constructions are ergative, and αζδο is the object.

568 Sims-Williams 2000a: 73.
570 Sims-Williams 2000a: 66.
571 Sims-Williams 2000a: 47.
573 Sims-Williams 2007a: 137.
(cp 23-25)

(342) οδο σιδο-μο μισο παλαγο ι-αξδο
and whatever-I.CP further PN ART-information
αβορδο ταδο-μο φαρο τ-μουδαβανδαγο βραδο
obtain.PST.3s then-I.CP PRE ART-PN brother
λαδ-ινδο
give.PST.3p
“and whatever further information (about) Palag I obtained, I gave to Muzda-bandag’s brother”574

It is not easy to determine the exact function of this word, because it is only used in three documents. In one instance, as in the above example, and two other instances, with the verb κιρ-“do”, it has the meaning of “make notice, inform”.

In the following example, the verb occurs in the plural with χοβαοανδο “owner”:

(V 26)

(343) σαγονδο χοβαοανδο... παδαγβαν-ινδο
just as owner have authority.PRS.3p
“just as owners have authority”575

With the word αγγαργο “property”, the verb may occur in the plural. But this happens very rarely:

(V 14)

(344) αγγαραγο ασιδο χοδδηο βαραδδικανο ρωβοχαρο ιαδδιν-ινδο
property which lord of Baradikan the khar of Rob give.PF.3p
“the property which the khar of Rob has given to the lord of (the estate) Baradikan”576

With indefinite pronouns the verb maybe used in the plural or singular. In the following example, the verb occurs in the plural:

(V 27)

(345) ακιδο ναυο παδαγβαν-ινδο ναρσο κισο ιειο
so that NEG.have authority.PRS.3p any one DEM
αγγαραγο property
“so that no-one has authority”577

In the following example, the indefinite pronoun κισο is used with a singular verb:

(jc 3-6)

(346) μισιδο αβο 1 λρομηναγγο βαυρο κισο ραοβαναο
moreover PRE ART enemy city no-one highway robbery
ινιο
have.OPT.3s
“Moreover, no-one would commit highway robbery in the city of the enemy.”578

With καρο “people”, the verb occurs in the plural:

574 Sims-Williams 2007a: 95.
575 Sims-Williams 2000a: 121.
576 Sims-Williams 2000a: 117.
577 Sims-Williams 2000a: 121.
578 Sims-Williams 2007a: 129.
Chapter 8

(347) οὖν καρο δόγγος ζαν-ινδό
and people thus bear witness.PRS.3p
“and the people bear witness thus…” 579

With αστωροδό “cattle”, the verb tends to occur in the plural:

(348) ταδο-μο αστωροδό ταρο φορταδο-ινδό
then-I.CP cattle thither send.PST.3p
“So I have sent the cattle (?) thither (to you).” 580

8.3 Summary

The position of the verb is flexible in Bactrian. It may occur in the beginning, middle, or at the end of the clause, but it most frequently occurs in final position. With some special verbs, an infinitive occasionally occurs. When there are two verbs in a construction, we observe one of the following variants:

Table 31. Constructions with two verbs

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Verb (inflected) + INF without αβο</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Verb (inflected) + INF with αβο</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- INF without αβο + Verb (inflected)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- INF without αβο + Verb “to be” (inflected)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The enclitic form of the verb “to be” can be attached to different classes of words like substantives, adjectives, infinitives, adverbs, and negative particles. It occurs always as the last enclitic.

In non-ergative constructions, the verb usually agrees with its subject in number and person. With pluralia tantum and some special words, the verb exhibits no agreement. With indefinite pronouns, the verb may occur both in the singular and plural.

8.4 Passive and ergative constructions

Many linguists believe that either passive or ergative can be observed in a language. For example, according to Dixon:

Passive in a syntactically accusative language and antipassive in a syntactically ergative language will coincide. This effectively assumes that all languages have either an S/O or an S/A pivot, and that passive occurs only if there is an S/A pivot and antipassive only if there is an S/O pivot. 581

But there are some Iranian languages, such as Northern Kurdish, in which both constructions exist. The question arises here whether Bactrian possesses ergative, passive, or both. In my 2009b article on “Ergativity in Bactrian”, 582 I discussed different ergative constructions. Here, in this chapter, I try to show whether passive can be found in Bactrian. First, I will look at the different opinions about the origin of ergativity and the relationship between Old Persian and Middle Persian in the case of passive and ergative constructions.

579 Sims-Williams 2000a: 141.
582 See Gholami 2009b: 132-141.
Many scholars believe that the ergative construction in Iranian languages arises from a passive construction and the underlying structures in the ergative languages are passive. The following more recent statement of these views stems from Comrie:

Diachronically, however, there is good evidence that some instances of morphological ergativity do arise from passive constructions, through loss of the corresponding actives. The best evidence comes from the development of ergativity in the Indo-Iranian languages (Pirejko 1968), especially in the Indic languages; these languages typically are ergative only in the past tense form or, more restrictedly still, in the perfective past forms.\(^{583}\)

He also writes:

… passive tends to be more frequent with the perfect aspect (in particular the perfect of result) than with other verbal forms (Comrie 1976a: 84-86); in the development of the ergative in Indo-Iranian, the ergative is first found only in the perfect, and the later wider range of ergativity follows from the extension of these forms to oust all other past perfective forms…\(^{584}\)

To clarify this topic, we compare a Middle Iranian language which has ergativity, for example, Middle Persian, with an Old Iranian language, for example, Old Persian. In the following, some examples of both languages are given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Persian</th>
<th>Middle Persian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) (tya) manā kartam</td>
<td>(b) man kird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(what) I GEN done.pp.NOM.NE</td>
<td>I OBL do.PST.3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“(what) was done by me”</td>
<td>“I did”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) (tya) adām akunavam</td>
<td>(d) az kunam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(what) I NOM do.IMPF.1s</td>
<td>I DIR do.PRS.1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“(what) I did”</td>
<td>“I do.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In sentence (a), a genitive personal pronoun with a perfect participle is used. This construction appears to be a passive. In sentence (b), the verb (which is in the third person singular) agrees with the object, i.e., “it”, and not with the agent “I”. On the other hand, the oblique form of *man* of the first person singular pronoun continues the old genitive, i.e., *manā*, whereas the direct case form *az* “I” in sentence (d) continues the old nominative. According to Bynon, “the middle Persian construction had become ergative, since morphologically it resembled a passive while distributionally it belonged within the paradigm of the active verb.”\(^{585}\)

While the accusative construction of the present tenses derives from the accusative construction of Old Iranian, the ergative construction of the past tenses must be derived from the Old Iranian perfect participle in -ta-. Cardona (1970) believes that Old Persian used three passive constructions:

1. **R-ta+N-GEN (for the perfect)**

   In this construction, R designates a verb root, R-ta a participial form, and N-GEN a genitive form of a nominal expressing the agent of the action. Consider the following example:

---


\(^{584}\) Comrie 1978: 373.

\(^{585}\) Bynon 1980: 154.
Chapter 8.

(349) θάτιγ say.PRS.3s
dāravauš PN.NOM.M.s
xšāyaθīya king.NOM.M.s
ima DEM
tya what

manā kartam LGEN
pasāva do.pp.NOM.NE
yaθā after
xšāyaθīya when
abavam king.NOM.M.s

“Says king Darius: this is what I have done [according to Kent “what (was) done by me”]
since I became king.”

2. hacā+N-ABL+R-ya (for the present-imperfect)

In this second construction, R-ya is a passive verb stem, and the combination of hacā “from” and a nominal in the ablative case is used:

(DB I, 19-20)

(350) tya-šām which-CP.GEN.3p
hacā-ma PRE-I.ABL
aθahya say.IMPF.PASS

“What I commanded them”586

3. N-GEN+R-ya (for the present-imperfect)

In the third construction, N-GEN denotes the agent:

(DB V, 15-16)

(351) utā-šām and-CP.GEN.3p
Auramazdā Ahuramazda.NOM.M
naiy NEG
ayadiya worship.IMPF.PASS

“And by them Ahuramazda was not worshipped”587

Kent (1953) notes that “there are two passive groups in Old Persian, those with the passive suffix -ya, which are always in passive in meaning and, those which are composed of the past participle with or without the verb “to be”, which is usually omitted”.588 At first we will focus on the first passive group.

There are three different interpretations of the manā krṭam construction: 1. the possessive interpretation, which was contested by Benveniste (1952) and Anderson (1977) 2. the passive interpretation put forward by others, Cardona (1970), Skjærø (1985) and Statha-Halikas (1979) and 3. neither a passive nor a possessive, advocated by Haig (2008). Haig points out that the manā krṭam construction is based on a passive, but this type of participial construction is not a passive of the same order as the synthetic passives and interprets the constructions such as in the following example as an intransitive sentence with an adjectival predicate.

(XPa 13-14)

(352) vaśiy aniyasćiy much other
niaibam good.NOM.NE
krṭam do.pp.NOM.NE
anā PRE
Pārsā PN

“Much other good (construction) was built in Persepolis.”

Haig also notes that the construction was not exclusively used to express possession, but it was one of the readings available, along with benefactive, experiencer, possessor, recipient and indirect object.589 He adds:

---

587 Kent 1953: 134.
589 Haig 2008: 86.
the Middle Iranian ‘ergative construction’ does not demonstrably differ syntactically from the Old Persian m. k. construction. The differences are located primarily in the massively increased frequency of the construction, which by Middle Iranian had advanced to the sole means of expressing past transitive propositions.\footnote{Haig 2008: 87.}

**8.4.1 Passive in Bactrian**

In comparison with other Middle Iranian languages like Middle Persian and Parthian, there are only a few examples that we can introduce as passive constructions in Bactrian. For example in Parthian and Middle Persian the past passive is formed by pp+(a)h- and present passive by pp+baw-.\footnote{Sundermann 1989a: 128-129.} Sims-Williams introduces only two verbs as passive. The first verb is ναβισιδο (write.PRS.PASS.3s) which is mentioned with a question mark:

\[(J\ 30-31)\]
\[
(353) \text{ταδο δαρφηλο} \text{ ταοανο} \text{ τοζαμο} \text{ σαγονδαβο} \text{ μασκο}
\]
\[
\text{then} \text{ same} \text{ fine} \text{ pay.SBJV.1p} \text{ as-PRE} \text{ here}
\]
\[
\text{ναβισιδο write.PRS.PASS(?).3s}
\]
\[
\text{“Then we shall pay the same fine as is written herein.”}\footnote{Sims-Williams 2000a: 61.}
\]

Another verb indicated as passive by Sims-Williams is “ριζ-” “to be called, be named”, passive to ραζ-”.\footnote{See Sims-Williams 2007a: 260.} The third person and present form of this verb is used in different texts. In this case the present stem is changed, whereas in the case of ναβισιδο, the present stem is changeless:

\[(A\ 2)\]
\[
(354) \text{αβο} \text{ μο} \text{ ροβανγγο} \text{ ξαρο} \text{ αβιυο} \text{ ανδαγο} \text{ σιδο}
\]
\[
\text{PRE} \text{ ART} \text{ of(the city) Rob city PRE-DEM borough which}
\]
\[
\text{στηβο} \text{ ριζδο}
\]
\[
\text{Steb call.PASS.3s}
\]
\[
\text{“in the city of Rob, in the borough which is called Steb”}\footnote{Cf. Sims-Williams 2000a: 33 and Sims-Williams 2007a: 35.}
\]

It must be added that many constructions in which a past verb or a past participle as adjective with the verb “to be” are used have a passive meaning. The verb “to be” can be omitted in some cases and therefore we have only a past participle as adjective but with the meaning of passive:

\[(Surkh Kotal\ 4)\]
\[
(355) \text{οτο} \text{ μα} \text{ λιζο} \text{ πιδοργδο}
\]
\[
\text{and ART fortress leave.pp}
\]
\[
\text{“And the fortress became deserted.”}
\]

In the following example the past and third person of this verb is used. But it functions as a passive verb:
From the verb ναβισιδο we can understand that the passive present is formed by present stem + verbal ending. The second possibility of the present passive verb is passive stem + verbal ending. In this case, the passive stem is formed from the passive Old Iranian form ending in -ya. The past passive form as other languages, is made with the past participle and the form of the verb “to be”.

Generally, transitive verbs built from the past stem employ the ergative construction. But sometimes the agent is unclear or it is important that the patient is mentioned. As the agent-phrase is a core argument of an ergative construction, the following agentless examples can be interpreted more as passive:

```
(R 21)
(357) οτο παρσο τογό ταοανο and PRE pay.PST.3s fine
       “and after the fine has been paid”  
```

Another example is presented here:

```
(V 7)
(358) μισιο λαδο οδο παραλαδο χογαμο οδο χορμο
       now give.PST.3s and sell.PST.3s freely and willingly
       αγγαραγο ιωγο property certain
       “Now, a certain property has been given and sold, freely and willingly.”
```

In ergative constructions, the agent is frequently attached to a conjunction, adverb, or relative pronoun as an enclitic, or it appears alone as an independent pronoun or a personal name.

In a passive construction, the agent can also be mentioned. In the following example, the preposition ασο “from” is used with the agent, which is a personal pronoun:

```
(ba 16-17)
(359) οδο αλδο ασο ι ται χοβανανο βιζδανο κιρδδο
       and if PRE ART you.OBL shepherd.PL evil do.SBJV.3s
       “And if evil should have been committed by your shepherds”
```

In the following example, the preposition ασο is used with the agent, which is a personal name:

```
```

---

596 Sims-Williams 2000a: 92.
597 Sims-Williams 2000a: 114.
598 Sims-Williams 2007a: 53.
There are also other constructions which could be interpreted as passive. In these constructions, it seems that βοο- “become” plays the role of an auxiliary verb and indicates a passive construction. In this case, it is used with a past participle:

(361) οδο κιρο κοαδο μαρο βορδο βοοινδο
and IMP.2s that hither pp. brought SBJV.3p
“and you should act (in such a way) that they be brought hither” 600

(362) ταδο κιρηδο κοαδο οισο <αβο> λαδοκανο βορδο
so IMP.2sp that all PRE PN pp. brought
βοοινδαδο
SBJV.3p
“so you should act (in such a way) that they are all taken to Ladkan” 601

(363) κοαδο οαφο ααστο βοοιαδο
that hay pp. stored (?) SBJV.3s
“…that the hay may be stored (?)…” 602

8.5 Summary

In Bactrian, there are both passive and ergative constructions. We can therefore conclude that Bactrian is a language which has a mixture of passive and ergative.

There are three kinds of constructions in Bactrian which could be interpreted as passive. Because of the limited texts, it is not possible to formulate an exact statement. Two verbs, namely, ναβισιδο and ριζδο, have a passive formation, which are comparable to Old Iranian verbs with the passive suffix -ya. But it is not really clear whether constructions with these verbs are passive or not. In Bactrian, we can also find some constructions in which the past participle is used, though these have a passive meaning. In other constructions, the verb is past but the agent is not expressed. In this case, the verb occurs in the third person singular. As the agent is a core element in ergative constructions, it would be better to classify these constructions as passive. In both present and past constructions, we have examples of the use of the preposition ασο “with”, which is used with an agent. These constructions could also be interpreted as passive. In Middle Persian, the present passive is expressed by the construction pp+baw-. 603 In Bactrian, we find the same construction in three examples. Finally, regarding the last point, we can conclude that in the case of passive constructions, Bactrian shares similarities with Western

599 Sims-Williams 2000a: 72.
600 Sims-Williams 2007a: 111.
602 Sims-Williams 2007a: 103.
Middle Iranian languages. The same characteristic can be also observed in the case of ergativity.  

8.6 Auxiliary verbs

The verbs βο- “to be, to become”, αστο “to be”, ἢ “can, must”, can be used as or auxiliary verb in Bactrian. The verbs “to have” (ληρ- in Bactrian) however, can only function as full verbs in Bactrian, while in other languages, it can function as both full and auxiliary verbs.

An auxiliary verb can be commonly used in forming passive, progressive, or perfect constructions, or it may function as a modal.

In Bactrian the verb αστο “to be” as an auxiliary verb has the following functions:

1. Forming the forms from the past stems

The enclitic form of the verb “to be” is added occasionally to the past stems to form different verbal past forms, as in the following tenses:

**Perfect**

The perfect is formed with past participle + -γο + verb “to be”. In the following example, the third person, plural, present indicative form of the verb “to be” -ινδο, is added to a past participle, i.e., ναβιχτιγο:

(J 18)

(364) πιον παδουμονδιγαμο ναβιχτιγ-ινδο
PRE boundary write.PF.3p

“has been stated with reference to the boundary”

**Pluperfect**

The full form of the verb “to be” can also be used with a past participle. In the following example, the third person plural past form of αστο, i.e., ασταδινδο, is added to κιρδδιγο and forms a pluperfect:

(M 4-5)

(365) ασιδ-ασο μοιανο παρο κιρδδιγο ασταδινδο which-PRE PN loan.PLUP.3p

“which had been loaned by Moyan”

**Past Subjunctive**

The negative form of -αδο is used to indicate the negative form of a past subjunctive verb, as shown in the following example:

(be 17)

(366) ταλο ναδο.αγαδο
here NEG.PST.SBJV.3s

“[if…] should not have come here”

---

604 See Gholami 2009b: 49.
605 Examples of perfect verbs are very rare in Bactrian. Sims-Williams classifies only the above verbs as perfect and pluperfect.
607 Sims-Williams 2000a: 73.
2. Negation

The auxiliary verb “to be” is used very commonly to form the negative form of verbs. The following negative forms of the verb “to be” are used in the extant material:

Table 32. NEG Auxiliary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEG. Auxiliary</th>
<th>Positive form/Tense</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>νιστο</td>
<td>-νιστο/ PRS.IND.3s</td>
<td>3s.PST.IND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>νινδο</td>
<td>-νινδο/ PRS.IND.3p</td>
<td>3p.PST.IND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ναδο</td>
<td>-ναδο/ PRS.SBJV.3s</td>
<td>3s.PST.SBJV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three negative forms of the verb “to be”, i.e., νιστο, νινδο and ναδο, are attested in the extant material. The negative particle να- is added directly to the enclitic forms of the verb “to be” and constitutes the negative form. The form νιστο is the third person singular, present indicative, while the form νινδο is the third person plural, present indicative and ναδο is the third person, present subjunctive. It must be added that only in these tenses does the negative form of the verb “to be” occur. In other cases, only negative particles are used.

The word νιστο is the negative form of the third singular past, while νινδο is the negative form of third plural past and ναδο is the negative form of third singular past subjunctive.

In the following example, νιστο is used in an ergative construction to form a negative past verb. In this case, the verb “to be” occurs in the present indicative form with a past main verb:

(367) κοαδα-μο νιστο φρομαδο

“that I did not order”

The negative form of the verb “to be” as an auxiliary may also occur with an intransitive verb, as in the following example:

(U 9)

(368) νιστο ωζαδο

“was no liability”

In the following example, νινδο occurs with a past verb:

(J 25)

(369) οτο-μηνο οωαγο οισπο αςποριγο νινδο αγαδο

“and (that) the price has not been received by us all complete”

In the following example, ναδο is used with the verb αγαδο, which is past and subjunctive:

(17)

(370) ναδο αγαδο

“should not have come here”

For negation and prohibition in Bactrian, see Sims-Williams 2007a: 47.

Sims-Williams 2007a: 29.


3. Forming passive

The verbs βο- “to be, to become” is used three times in our corpora to indicate a passive construction. (see the examples 359-363)

8.6.1 The syntactic position of the auxiliary verb

From the above examples we can understand that an enclitic form of the auxiliary verb is suffixed to a main verb (example (364)), and we see that the full form of auxiliary occurs after that (example (365)). But in the case of negation, the negative form of auxiliary occurs before the main verb (examples (369), (370)).

In the case of negative auxiliaries, the negative particle is attached directly to the enclitic forms of the auxiliary verbs. In the extant material, only the third singular present and subjunctive and third plural present tense of auxiliary verb “to be” are used. The other forms of the auxiliary verb “to be” are not found in the present texts.

8.6.2 Summary

The enclitic or full form of the verb αστο “to be” may be used as an auxiliary verb in Bactrian. It may occur in past forms as perfect and pluperfect.

Some verbal forms are negated by negative forms of the verb “to be”. Only three negative forms of the verb “to be” are attested in the extant material. As an enclitic form, it is attached to main verbs and as a full form it occurs usually after main verbs. The negative form of the verb “to be” always occurs before the main verb. The verb βο- “to be, to become” is used with a past participle to indicate a passive mood. It occurs in all examples after past participle.
9. **CHAPTER NINE: WORD ORDER**

In this chapter, we focus on different varieties of word order in Bactrian and try to find a basic or a typical word order. First, we concentrate on word order in intransitive clauses and then on word order in transitive clauses and double oblique constructions.

## 9.1 Intransitive verbs

There are different varieties of word order in sentences with intransitive present tense verbs: S-V and V-S. They are shown here:

### S-V

In the example here, the verb “to be” follows the subject:

(W 8-9)

(371) ασιδό μαρο αστο αββο ρδο ζαμιγο αγγαρασο ιωγο
which we be.PRS.3s water and land property certain

“But we have a certain property (consisting of) water and land.” 614

### V-S

In the next example, the verb occurs before the subject:

(cd 3-4)

(372) μισιδο αγαδο μαρο ασο το χοηο ποστογο
moreover arrive.PST.3s here PRE SPD lordship letter

“Moreover a letter has come hither from your lordship.” 615

In this example, the verb occurs after the conjunction μισιδο, and the subject is at the end of the sentence.

## 9.2 Transitive verbs

### O-S-V

In the following example, the verb occurs in final position:

(eg 4-5)

(373) ταδο λοοι μαρο τοοι πιδο ανδαρζο αοιηρο
then two share you.DIR PRE instruction hand over. IMPV.2s

“You should hand over two shares according to instructions.” 616

### O-V

In this case, the subject is omitted and the verbal ending indicates the number and person of the subject:

(T 11)

(374) ζαμιγο χόαρο ρδο ληρο
land have.IMP and hold.IMP.2s

“And you (shall) have and hold the land.” 617

---

614 Sims-Williams 2000a: 127.
615 Sims-Williams 2007a: 75.
616 Sims-Williams 2007a: 121.
Another example follows:

(L25) (375) χρήσο ααρμαν χαρηδο οδο ληρηδο
purchase purchasable have.OPT.2p and hold.OPT.2p
“You may have and hold a purchase which may be purchased.”

In the above examples, the sentences begin with an object and end with a verb.

In the following example, the object, which is a sentence, occurs before the verb χαρηδο “have” and ληρηδο “hold”:

(C 12-13) (376) οδο μιβο σιδο σαο νααεγγο ταοι υαμοσπαλο
and water which thereto adjacent you.s.OBL PN
χοβ-μιο χος-μιο χαρ-ηηο ληρ-ηηο
good-be.OPT.2s well-be.OPT.3s have.OPT.2s hold.OPT.2s
“And the water which (is) adjacent thereto may belong properly and belong well to you, Yamsh-spal, you may have (and) hold (it).”

V-S-O

In the following example, the sentence begins with a verb:

(Document No.1, 1-4) (377) πιδοροβδο μανο αασπαλοβιδο αασαααγο ζοαοανηδο
receive.PST.3s I.OBL PN PRE-you.SG.CP PN
αμβαροβιρσαρλο σιδ αασο ι νααααγο νιβισιδο
store keeper what-PRE ART list write.PRS.PASS.3s
“I, Aspal-bid, have received from you, Zuwanind the store keeper, what is written in this list.”

In the above example, the subject, i.e., μανο αασπαλοβιδο “I, Aspal-bid”, follows the verb and the object, i.e., σιδ αασο ι νααααγο νιβισιδο “what is written in this list”, which is a relative sentence, occurs in the final position.

S-V-O

In the following examples, the subject is an enclitic pronoun suffixed to a conjunction and a verb follows it. The object occurs at the end of sentence. Here a prepositional phrase appears before the object:

(cq11-12) (378) στο-μο ωρταδο φαρο το χοηο διναρ ο
and-LCP send.PST.3s PRE SPD lordship dinar one
“And I have sent one dinar for your lordship.”

Another example:

(χο 11) (379) σιδο-μο λαδο παρο
which-LCP give.PST.3s loan
“which I gave a loan”
S-O-V

This type of word order is not very common in Bactrian.

(ef 4-6)

(380) μισιδονινο ασο ωρομοξδο βορνικανο ποσο ζιδινδο
moreover-they.CP PRE PN sheep took.PST-3p
β' пαρασαρλο
two last year

"Moreover, last year they took two sheep from Ormuzd Burnikan."623

This construction is very unusual, because the verb occurs between a noun and its number, i.e., ποσο β'"two sheep".

9.3 Double object constructions

Now let us point out some specific features of double object constructions in Bactrian. In languages with four cases, like German, the direct object occurs in accusative case and the indirect object in dative case. In another group of languages, which includes English, an indirect object “may appear either as the object of a preposition or as one of two noun phrase objects of the verb, the other being the direct object.”624 First, we try to discover the kind of double objects in Bactrian and then we move on to discuss the character of these constructions.

There are different categories of double oblique constructions in the extant Bactrian material. In the first group, the direct object occurs before the indirect object. The different varieties are summarized here:

(Ia) DIR.O INDIR.O V S (indicated by verbal CP PRE-CP ending)

In the following example, both the direct object which is an enclitic pronoun and the indirect object which is marked by a preposition are in oblique case. We can therefore conclude that this construction has a double oblique system:

(ci 6)

(381) ταδο-ηιο φαραμαγο λαν-ηιο
then-it.CP PRE-I.CP give.OPT-2s

"And you should give it to me."625

(Ib) DIR.O INDIR.O V S (indicated by verbal N PRE-N ending)

In the same group, the direct object may be a noun and the indirect object another noun which is marked by a preposition are in oblique case. We can therefore conclude that this construction has a double oblique system:

(xb 7-8)

(382) κουδο ιαοαδο ταλαβο ασπανδαιο αβαραδο
that grain there-PRE PN bring.SBJV.3s

“So that he may bring the grain there to Aspanday.”626

(Ic) DIR.O INDIR.O indicated by verbal ending (in an ergative construction) N

625 Sims-Williams 2007a: 85.
626 Sims-Williams 2007a: 141.
In the next case, there is no independent indirect object; rather, it is indicated by the verbal ending:

(II 6-7)

(383) ἡθδαλαγγο τωγγο ζαρο οδο ποσο αβαωαδδ-ιμο
Hephthalite tax gold and sheep charge.PST-1s

“[And they] have charged me gold and sheep for the Hephthalite tax.”627

(Id) S DIR.O V-INDIR.O
PN N V-CP

The indirect object in the form of an enclitic pronoun can be suffixed to the verb:

(Y 6-7)

(384) οσο μιρο δογγο πιδοωανο πιδοωαδδ-ιμο
now PN thus request request.PST.3s-I.OBL

“Now Mir has thus made a request to me”628

(Le) DIR.O V S (indicated by verbal ending) INDIR.O
N PRE+N

In (Le), the direct object occurs before the indirect object, but the verb stands between them:

(Q 29-30)

(385) ταδο ταωανο τωζ-αμο φαρο λαδοβαρο αβο γαζνο
then fine pay.SBJV-1p PRE judge PRE treasury

“Then we shall pay a fine to the judge, to the treasury”629

In the second group, the indirect object occurs before the direct object:

(IIa) INDIR.O DIR.O V S (indicated by verbal ending)
PRE-N N

In this case, both the direct and indirect object are nouns, and the indirect object is marked by a preposition:

(bb 10-11)

(386) οτο αβο σαγο φρομανο φοτιιο
and PRE PN order send.IMPV.2s

“And you should send an order to Sag”630

(IIb) INDIR.O DIR.O V S (indicated by verbal ending)
CP N

In (IIb) the indirect object is an enclitic pronoun, and the direct object is a noun:

(ci 13-14)

(387) ασιδο-ημο ναμοπαλο ζαμιγο λαω-ανο
then-he.CP immediately land give.SBJV-1s

“Then I will give him the land immediately”631

(IIc) INDIR.O DIR.O V S (indicated by verbal ending)
PRON.OBL N

627 Sims-Williams 2000a: 53.
628 Sims-Williams 2000a: 145.
629 Sims-Williams 2000a: 91.
630 Sims-Williams 2007a: 55.
In the following example, the indirect object is a full pronoun in the oblique case, and the direct object is a noun in the direct case:

((cf 8-9)
(388) ταδο μανο ασποδαρο λαυο
then I.OBL mule give.IMP.2s
“Then give me a mule.”^632

(IId) S V INDIR.O DIR.O
PRON PRE-CP N

In (IId), the indirect object occurs before the direct object, but the verb stands before the indirect object. The indirect object is an enclitic pronoun, which is marked by a preposition. The direct object is a noun:

(U 6-7)
(389) ταδο μαχο ωσο λαδο αβο-φαγο βηκο βονο οαρζιαο
then we.UFL now give.PST.3s PRE-you.CP PN land farming
“So now we gave the farming of the state to you, Bek.”^633

(Ile) S INDO DIR.O V
PRON PRE-PN N

In the following example, the sentence begins with the subject, and an indirect object follows it. The direct object is used after the indirect object, i.e., ἱβδορο πηρολαδανο, and the verb occurs in final position:

((ea 4-5)
(390) μανο φαρο ἱβδορο πηρολαδανο μαρσκονδο οδο
LOBL PRE PN staff and
πιδοραστο οδο πιδοχοανο λαδο
ground and ? give.PST.3s
“I have given to Shabur Peshladan the staff and grounds and pidoxoano (?)”^634

9.4 Summary

Because of the lack of material, we cannot make an in-depth investigation of the word order in Bactrian. In the extant Bactrian material, there is no strict word order. In some languages, there are some differences between the word order in main clauses and subordinate clauses. It seems that the same word order can be observed in both main and subordinate clauses. We can find different varieties of word order like O-S-V, V-S-O, S-V-O and S-O-V in Bactrian texts, but S-O-V is the most frequent.

The position of the direct and indirect object is interchangeable in double oblique constructions. The following table presents the different varieties of double object constructions in Bactrian. If the subject is indicated by the verbal ending, subject is not mentioned:

---

632 Sims-Williams 2007a: 79.
### Table 33. Double object constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>DIR.O: CP</td>
<td>INDIR.O: PRE-CP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>DIR.O: N</td>
<td>INDIR.O: PRE+N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>DIR.O: N</td>
<td>V, INDIR.O: Verbal ending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>S, DIR.O: N</td>
<td>V- INDIR.O: CP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>DIR.O: N</td>
<td>V, INDIR.O: PRE+N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>INDIR.O: PRE+N</td>
<td>DIR.O: N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>INDIR.O: CP</td>
<td>DIR.O: N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>INDIR.O: PRON.OBL</td>
<td>DIR.O: N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>S, V</td>
<td>INDIR.O: PRE-CP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>S, INDIR.O: PN</td>
<td>DIR.O: N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10. **CHAPTER TEN: COMPOUNDS**

In this chapter, I introduce the different types of compounds in Bactrian. In this regard, some points must be noted: first of all, the grammatical characteristics of the elements in the compound, and second, the syntactical connection of the members of compounds to each other and their meaning relationship in a sentence.

Compounds were researched by Brugmann in Indo-European languages\(^{635}\) and by Wackernagel in Old Indian.\(^{636}\) They introduced the types of the first and second elements of compounds, and they pointed out the different characteristics of components, such as case, gender, as well as special and rare stems, etc. In Bactrian, we do not find all these types and features.

10.1 I. Bactrian compounds according to the grammatical features of elements

Bactrian compounds consist almost exclusively of two elements. There are few examples of tripartite compounds. In Bactrian:

1. When the first element is a noun, the second element can be one of the following:

   a. Noun

      This group is the most common type

      Examples:

      χιρσοβωστιγο “purchase contract” <χιρσο “purchase”+πωστογο “contract”\(^{637}\)

      βαγοποορο “son of the gods”<*baga-puθra\(^{638}\)

      γαροβχηζο “mountain-slope” <γαρο “mountain”+αβχηζο “rise, slope”\(^{639}\)

      ιαμφοσαλο “belonging to the army of Yamsh”<ιαμφο “Yamsh”+*σαλο “army”\(^{640}\)

      κοφανφαο “Kushan-shah” <κοφαν “Kushan”+θαο “king”\(^{641}\)

      αββοδαχμο “watercourse, stream”<αββο “water”+ταχμο “stream”\(^{642}\)

   b. Adjective

      Examples:

      ωρομοζδαρακο honorific title “glorious through Ormuzd”<ωρομοζδο “Ormuzd”+ φαρακο “glorious”\(^{643}\)

      αφαρδαρο “best (through) Fire” or “best (gift) of Fire”<αφ- perhaps the name of a god “Fire”+φαρδαρο “more, better”\(^{644}\)

---

\(^{635}\) Brugmann 1906: 52-120.

\(^{636}\) Wackernagel 1957: 24-329.

\(^{637}\) Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 199.


\(^{639}\) Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 207.


\(^{642}\) Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 183.

c. Suffix

There are different types of suffixes in Bactrian relating to the compound:

1. The first group may form verbal governing compounds i.e., -βαρο, -βαργο, -βαραγο; -λαρο, -λαργο (?), -ληρο, -ληργο, -ληραγο

Examples:

- ζιγαβαργο “destructive”<ζιγο “damage”+suffix -βαργο (from βαρ- “to bear, take, bring”) forming nomina agentis from nouns
- λαδοβαρο “judge”<λαδο “law”+suffix -βαρο forming nomina agentis from nouns “bearing”649
- λιστοβαρο “manuscript”<λιστο “hand”+ suffix -βαρο forming nomina agentis from nouns “bearing”650
- σιρολαρο “record-keeper”<σιρο “evidence”+suffix -λαρο forming nomina agentis from nouns
- δδραγγοληρο “official”<dranga- “office”+suffix -ληρο forming nomina agentis from nouns
- κανδογοληρο “keeper of granary”<kandu- “storage jar for grain”+suffix -ληρο forming nomina agentis from nouns
- λιστοληργο “(person) in authority”<λιστο “hand”+suffix -ληργο forming nomina agentis from nouns “keeping”659

2. The second group are quasi-suffixes:

- γαρο, -γαργο, -λανο “containing”, -βιδο forming titles and personal names, originally “chief, lord”660, -στανο forming nouns, chiefly referring to places661
καρογαρο “worker” <*καρο “work”+suffix -γαρο forming nomina agentis from nouns

αββολανο “reservoir” <αββο “water”+suffix –λανο, MP āb-dān

λαβιροβιδο “chief scribe” <λαβιρο “scribe”+suffix -βιδο

σπαλοβιδο “army-commander” <*spāda “army”+suffix -βιδο (MP spāhbed)

λρογοστανο “(state of) health, well-being” <λρογο “healthy”+ suffix -στανο

These suffixes are not used in the Bactrian period as separate words and for this reason, I prefer to not classify this group as compound. But from the point of view of historical grammar, these suffixes were separate words at an earlier stage, and at that time, they could also be used to form compounds.

3. The third group of suffixes are ambiguous quasi-suffixes: -γιρδο forming abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives These forms appear to be Middle Persian:

λιστογιρδο perhaps “referring to a gift”

χοζοδανο “request” <χοζο “request” (verbal noun to χωζ-)

d. Adverb

Example: οισβοροζινιιο “under the care of the prince” <οισβορο “prince”+ζινιιο “(in) trust”

e. pp or past stem

Examples: ζαροζιδγο “struck gold, gold coin” <ζαρο “gold”+ζιδγο (pp from ζιν-) “struck”

σαγγοχιρδο “bought for a stone” <σαγγο “stone”+χιρδο PST “bought”

2. When the first element is an adjective, the second element can be:

a. Noun

This type is common in the extant materials.

Examples: αββοδαχμο “dried-up stream” <αββο “waterless”+ταχμο “stream”

References

662 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 221.
674 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 212.
αζαδοκαρο “freeman” <αζαδο “free”+καρο “people”679
αγγαδοσπαλο “belonging to the army of Fortunate (God)”<#han-gata- “fortunate, rich”+*spāda- “army”680

The adjective can be comparative or superlative, as in the following:
υασταμογαρ “aristocrat” <*hastama- “best”+καρο “poeple”681
βορζομιυρο “high”+μιυρο “the god Mithra”682

b. Adjective
Example: αζαδοφαρδαρο “noble (and) best”<αζαδο “free”+φαρδαρο “more, better”683
c. pp or past stem
Example: ςτζγοαρμαστο “well-being”<*ςτζγο “good”+αρμαστο (pp. of αρμαυ-) “being”684

3. When the first element is a number, the second element can be a noun:
Example: σαδαιωλο “having a hundred warriors”<#Satā-yauda-685

4. When the first element is a prefix, the second element can be a noun:
Examples: ναμογαδγ “sharing the same house” <*hama- “same”+καγο “house”686
αβηβινδο “detached”, lit. “without bond”<αβη “without”+βανδο “bond” 687
χοακαμο “acting willingly, acting freely in accordance with one’s own wishes”<χοα “own, self”+*κάμα “wish, will”688
ωραυο “companion”<ω- “same”+*ραυο “road”689

5. When the first element is a preposition, the second element can be:
a. Noun
Example: αλογαμο “possessing (one’s) desire”<αλο “with”+καμο “wish”690
παδαρλογο “opposite party”<*pati “against”+*arda “side”691
b. Adjective
Example: πιδονωγαρο “anew””< πιδο “in”+*νωγαρο “new”692
c. Adverb

679 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 188.
692 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 255
Examples: αβαχρανο “north”<αβο “to”+αχρανο “north”\(^{693}\)
αβανδαρο “within, inside”<αβο “to”+ανδαρο “inside”\(^{694}\)

6. When the first element is a pp or past stem, the second part can be a noun:
αβζοδοφαραυο “prosperous in glory”<αβζο (pp as adjective) “prosperous”+φαραυο “glory”\(^{695}\)
λαδοαγαλγο “by whom wishes are granted”<λαδο “to give, to grant”\(^{696}\)+αγαλγο “wish”\(^{697}\)
λαδομοζδο “by whom the reward is given”<λαδο “given”+μοζδο “reward”\(^{698}\)

10.2 Classification of the two element compounds according to the syntactical connection of members to each other and their meaning relationship in a sentence

10.2.1 Exocentric

In this construction, the subject does not occur in the compound, but rather outside of it.
Example: longlegs. It does not mean “long leg”, but rather “a person who has long-legs”.\(^{699}\)

10.2.1.1 Bahuvrihi (possessive compound)

Compounds with *υο-\(^{700}\) and *ομα-\(^{701}\) as the first component belong to possessive compounds.

Examples: υοναμγο “renowned”<υο- “good”+ναμο “name”+suffix *-κα\(^{702}\)
υοζινο “well-armed”<υο- “Hu”+ζινο “name”\(^{703}\),
υομογαλγο noun or adjective “sharing the same house” <*hama- “same”+καλγο “house”\(^{704}\)

Compounds with -φαρο as the second element belongs to this group, too:
Example: καμιρδοφαρο “(he who possesses) the glory of the Chief (God)”<καμιρδο “head, chief”+φαρο “glory”\(^{705}\)

Other examples:
ιοξασπο “by whom horses are sacrificed”<ι- “Yašt” “sacrificed”+σπα “horse”\(^{706}\)
πορλαγγοζινο “he who wears the skin of a leopard”<πορλα “leopard/panther”+ζίνο “made of leather”\(^{707}\)

\(^{694}\) Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 181.
\(^{695}\) Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 182.
\(^{698}\) Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 82.
\(^{700}\) su- in OL. cf. Wackernagel 1957: 81.
\(^{701}\) sam- in OL. cf. Wackernagel 1957: 75.
\(^{703}\) Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 140.
\(^{705}\) Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 75.
\(^{706}\) Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 70.
10.2.1.2 Verbal governing

α. The second element can be a suffix derived from a verb:

All compounds with suffixes -βαρο, -βαργο, -βαραγο, -λαρο, -λαργο (?), -ληρο, -ληργο, -ληραγο as the second element belong to this group. (For examples see this chapter I.c.1.)

β. The second element may have a verbal stem:

*τωλαβο “protecting warriors”<*Yauda-pā-708
σαδαιωλο “having a hundred warriors”<*Satā-yauda-709
ιωγοφραλο “promoting the One (?)”710

δ. The second element can be a verb. In this case, the first element is a substantive. In the following, the most common complex verbs are listed:

1. κηρ- “do, make”.
This verb is attested very often in the compounds.

   Examples:
   ουλιστο κιρδο “to cause to disappear”711, δόρογο κιρδο “make healthy”712, ζοντιο κιρδο “make living”713, πιδοφαρο κιρδο “to make a honour”714, οροφαρο κιρ- “to believe”715

2. βαρ- “bring”
Example: παροβαρ “to bring forward” (verbal prefix+verb)

3. λαυ- “give”.
κηρ- is used very often to make a verbal compounds:
Example: απαρσο λαυ- “to give back”716

4. ωσταδο “to put”
Example: ναβαγο ωσταδο “to place (as a) pawn”717

5. ηρσ- “come, arrive”
Example: αβο παζο ηρσ- “to fall on one’s face, come to grief”718

6. ζιν- “to strike”
Example: παρασο ζιν- “to take away” (παρασο:away)719

γ. The first element may have a verbal stem:
Example: οινδοσαναγο “obtaining pleasure”720

10.2.1.3 Prepositional governing
Examples: αβαχρανο “north”.<αβο “to”+αχρανο “north”721
αλογαμυ “possessing (one’s) desire”<αλο “with”+καμυ “wish”722
πιδονογαρο “anew” ”< πιδο “in”+νογαρο “new”723

10.2.1.4 Derivative (Ableitung)724
Examples: οαχþοιαμþο “dedicated to the Oxus and Yamsh”725
ιαμþοσπαλο “belonging to the army of Yamsh”<ιαμ “Yamsh”+σπαλο “army”726
αγαλγο “wish”
λαδομοζδο “by whom the reward is given”<λαδο “given”+ζδο “reward”730
χοακαμο “acting willingly, acting freely in accordance with one’s own wishes”<χοα “own, self”+καμα “wish, will”731

10.2.2 Endocentric
In this construction, the subject occurs in the compound and the base word (determinate) can
be used instead of the compound,732 e.g., a verbal compound lat. prōferō733 “to carry or move
from one place to another”734

There are different kinds of endocentric compounds in Bactrian:

10.2.2.1 Determinative compound
This is the most common compound in Bactrian, as in other Iranian languages.
In this group, one element is defined more closely (in details) by the other element, generally
the second one by the first, and regularly so by the old stem compound.

724 For the examples of this compound in Ṛgveda, see Korn 1998: 183-188. Risch does not offer an extra category
725 Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 104.
730 Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 82.
733 In Brugmann 1906, prōferō.
Attributive definiteness

\(a\). Adjective (number) + substantive or substantive + adjective

\(\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\delta\alpha\chi\mu\circ \) “dried-up stream”<*\ap\ap\ar\ap “waterless”\+\tau\alpha\chi\mu\circ “stream”\735\+\tau\alpha\chi\mu\circ “stream”\736

\(\alpha\zeta\alpha\delta\kappa\alpha\rho\circ “freeman” <\alpha\zeta\alpha\delta \circ “free” +\kappa\alpha\rho “people”\737

\(\beta\rho\zeta\omicron\mu\nu \circ <\beta\rho\zeta “high” +\mu\nu \circ “the god Mithra”\738

\(b\). Substantive + Substantive

\(\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\delta\alpha\chi\mu\circ “watercourse, stream”<\alpha\beta\beta “water” +\tau\alpha\chi\mu\circ “stream”\739

\(\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\beta\alpha\nu\omicron\circ “bracelet”<\lambda\iota\sigma\tau “hand” + \beta\alpha\nu “bond” + \text{suffix} *-\kappa-\740

\(\beta\alpha\gamma\omicron\pi\omicron\omicron \circ “son of the gods”<\beta\alpha\gamma “god” + \text{suffix} *-\pi\omicron\omicron\741

\(\beta\gamma\omicron\omicron\alpha\chi\zeta \circ “bore of (the) God”<\beta\gamma “god” + \alpha\chi\zeta “bore”\742

\(\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\chi\zeta \circ “mountain-slope” <\gamma\alpha “mountain” + \beta\chi\zeta “rise, slope”\743

\(\kappa\omicron\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu \circ “Kushan-shah” <\kappa\omicron\phi \circ “Kushan” + \nu \circ “king”\744

Adverbal definiteness

Example: \(\nu\phi\iota\gamma \circ “not good”<\text{privative prefix} \alpha\nu – +\nu\phi\iota \circ “good”\745

As in other Iranian languages, the modifier and head in a compound can be reversed. There are a few examples of this inversion in Bactrian:

Example: \(\alpha\omicron\rho\alpha \chi\omicron\omicron\omicron, \text{inversion of} *\omicron\nu\phi\omicron\omicron\alpha\chi\zeta \circ “boar of Wyesh”\746

10.2.2.2 Copulative (Dvandva)

In this group, both items have the same syntactical relationship in the sentence, and it appears that the items can be connected by “and”.

Example: \(\alpha\zeta\alpha\delta\phi\alpha\omicron\rho\omicron “noble (and) best”<\alpha\zeta\alpha\delta “free” + \phi\alpha\omicron\rho “more, better”\747

It is not clear whether the compound has a meaning (e.g., noble (and) best) or whether it is merely a mechanical combination of components taken from two other names.\747

10.3 Tripartite compounds

Tripartite compounds are very rare in Bactrian:

\(\zeta\alpha\omicron\omicron\omicron\zeta\alpha\omicron\omicron\circ “natural (as opposed to adopted)”<\zeta\alpha “life” + *\omicron “good” + \zeta\omicron “born”\748

\735\ Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 181.
\736\ Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 269.
\737\ Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 188.
\738\ Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 51.
\739\ Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 183.
\740\ Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 227.
\741\ Cf. Sims-Williams and Cribb 1996: 91.
\742\ Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 41.
\743\ Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 207.
\744\ Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 225.
\745\ Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 239.
\746\ Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 101.
\747\ Cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 32.
\748\ Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 211.
λαψολαψοβοστιγο “contract for the exchange of gifts”<λαψο“gift”+παλαψο “gift in exchange”+πωστογο “contract”749

οινδοφρομανομφο apparently meaning “(dedicated to) Yamsh who obtains command” Probably a mechanical juxtaposition of the short name ιαμφο “Yamsh” with a governing compound *οινδοφρομανο “obtaining command”750

βιδδιγονωγοσαρλο “second new-year”<βιδδίγο “second”+νωγο “new”+παρδο “year”751

βονοοαρζοπωστογο “contract concerning the farming of an estate, farming contract”<βονο “land”+αρζο “farming”+πωστογο “contract”752

καβοοανδαρζοβιδο “councillor for the elderly”<καπωνα “old”+ανδαρζο “instruction”+suffix -βιδο753 forming titles and personal names, originally “lord, chief”754

χοδδηοοβορδοβωστογο “contract concerning the performance of duties for a lord”<χοδδηο “lord”+πορδο “proper”+πωστογο “contract”755

We can find the following construction in the examples of tripartite compounds:
Substantive+Substantive+Substantive
Substantive+prefix+substantive
Adjective+Adjective+Substantive
Adjective+Substantive+Suffix

It seems that the first construction is the most common type in Bactrian.

10.4 Seam vowel

In some languages, e.g., German, the relationship between the elements of a compound may be marked with a case suffix or another morpheme.756 In the extant Bactrian material, the first part of compounds very often contains an ο ending. The vowel -η- Pth.-γ- (in dstgyrd) is used only once in λαστηγρό “estate”<λαστο “hand”+κιρό “to make”. The semivowel -γ- as a case ending for genitive-dative is used in Manichean. It may also occur between two stems forming a compound with either the -aka- suffix, or trace of OIr. -i- stems, or it belongs to compounds borrowed from other Iranian languages.757 According to Sims-Williams, this vowel is probably a locative ending and perhaps a vowel ending, and therefore the etymological meaning of *dastay(ā)-kṛta- being “(person or thing) put into (someone’s) hands” 758 He also classified internal -η- in αζδηβο “with the cognizance of”<αζδο “notice”+πιδο “in” as an oblique case ending.759

There are three major compounding strategies in the extant Bactrian materials, classified according to the final endings of the members of a compound:

752 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 204.
756 For example, in the German word, Arbeitsplatz “place of work”, s is originally a genitive case suffix.
759 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 188.
1. The final vowel of both first and second member is o, e.g., αβζοδοφαραυ “prosperous in glory”<αβζοδο (pp as adjective) “prosperous”+φαραυ “glory”760. This type is the most common form in Bactrian compounds.

2. The final vowel of the first element is omitted, whereas the final element of the second element is o. When the second member of a compound begins with a vowel the final o of the first member is often omitted e.g., *βαγασπο <βαγο+ασπο “god+horse” (rather than a compound meaning, e.g., “horse of (the) God”).761 There is an exception of this rule in the extant Bactrian materials: λαδοαγαλγο “by whom wishes are granted”<λαδο “to give, to grant” 762+αγαλγο “wish”763. In ναοαζο “pilot, sailor” <*Nāw-āza-764 the final o of the first element is not omitted because of a before the final o.

3. The final vowel of the first element is a not o. In the Bactrian documents, the majority of words ends with o, but there are few examples of the other endings e.g., i or a.765

In χοακαμο “acting willingly, acting freely in accordance with one’s own wishes”<χοα “own, self”+καμα “wish, will”766, the first element is a prefix ends in a. In παρσαφαραβο “Persian satrap”767, παρσα seems to be an abstract form of παρσαγγο “Persian”768.

In ζιγαβαργο “destructive”<ζιγο “damage”+suffix -βαργο (from βαρ- “to bear, take, bring”) forming nomina agentis from nouns769, ζιγο is used instead of ζιγο. According to Sims-Williams, it is the older form of ζιγο.770 In οαναφαρο “winning glory”<*Wana-farnah-771 οανα seems to be an old form of οανο (?). In σαδα “[having a hundred warriors”<*Satā-yauda772 σαδα is used instead of σαδο.

In αφαρδαρο “best (through) Fire” or “best (gift) of Fire”<αφ- perhaps the name of a god “Fire”+φαρδαρο “more, better”773 αφ has no vowel ending.

In ιαοοιγαρο perhaps “harvest”<ιαο “grain”+καρο “work”,774 the first element has the ending i, which is preserved without any change.

We can summarize the mentioned compounding types as the following:

1. o-o
2. Ø-o
3. a-o (the oldest form)

- o and a: word endings

:- boundary between two components

765 Cf. Sims-Williams 2007a: 40, 1.3.
768 According to Sims-Williams “with loss of -η(γ) before -σ-?” (Sims-Williams 2007a: 253) cf. παρσαφαραβο.
Ø: without ending (ending is omitted)

10.5 Summary

As in other Middle Iranian languages, the most common compounds are demonstrative ones, which have a substantive as both first and second element. The following table shows the different types of compounds according to the grammatical character of the members:

Table 34. Grammatical characteristics of compound elements in Bactrian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>first element</th>
<th>second element</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pp or past stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pp or past stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prefix</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preposition</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp or past stem</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tripartite compounds are rare in our extant material. In this case it seems that the Substantive+Substantive+Substantive construction and determinative is the most common type. There is no seam vowel in Bactrian compounds, but the ending o of the first element could be preserved or omitted. We find few examples of compounds in which the first element has the ending a. This a is not changed to o and is preserved.
REFERENCES


Bellew, Henry Walter 1867: A Dictionary of the Punkho or Pakhto Language. Lahore: Rai Saheb M. Gulab Singh and Sons


— 1961: “Inscriptions des Bactriane.” In: Journal Asiatique 286, 2, pp. 113-152


Brown, Keith and Miller, Jim 1996: Concise Encyclopedia of Syntactic Theories. New York: Pergamon


Brunner, Christopher J. 1977: A Syntax of Western Middle Iranian. Delmar, New York: Caravan Books


Diessel, Holger 1999: Form, Function and Grammaticalization. Amsterdam [u.a.]: Benjamins


References


— 1979: “Nokonzok’s Well.” In: Afghan Studies 2, pp. 55-73


— 1964: System und Chronologie der Münzprägung des Kušānreiches. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften


Huang, Lillian M. and Zeitoun, Elizabeth. “Ordering of Pronouns in Formosan Languages.” In:


References

— 1967a: Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler II. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
— 1966: Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler I. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz


Klenk, Ursula 2003: Generative Syntax. Tübingen: Narr

Korn, Agnes 2011: “Demonstratives and the Copula in Iranian.” In: Korn/ Haig/ Karimi/ Samvelian (eds.): Topics in Iranian Linguistics. Beiträge zur Iranistik, Band 34, pp. 53-70

Lazard, G; Grenet, F; De Lambarterie, Ch. 1984: “Notes bactriennes.” In: Studia Iranica 13, pp. 199-232


Levy, Reuben 1951: The Persian Language. London: Hutchinson’s University Library


Li, Charles and Thompson, Sandra 1977: “A mechanism for the development of copula morphemes.” In: Charles Li (ed.): Mechanisms of Syntactic Change. Austin: University of Texas, pp. 419-444


— 1980: “The Decay of Ergativity in the Pamir Languages.” In: Lingua 51, pp. 147-186

Ramers, Karl Heinz 2007: Einführung in die Syntax. Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink


— 2011b: “Remarks on the phonology of the Manichaean Bactrian fragment (M 1224).” In: Лексика, этимология, языковые контакты, юбилей доктора филологических наук, профессора Джой Иосифовны Эдельман. Москва, pp. 244-251


Skjærvø, Prods Oktor 1985: “Remarks on the Old Persian Verbal System.” In: Münchner Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 45, pp. 211-227


West, E. W. 1978: Glossary and index of the Pahlavi texts of the book of Arda Viraf, the tail of Goshti-i Fryano, the hadokht Nask, and to some extracts from the Din-kard and Nirangistan. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag

Widmer, Paul 2007 “zur Bedeutung von indoiranisch *nāgija-.” In: Indo-Iran J 50, pp. 215-228


Internet sources
http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexd.htm
http://www.accessmylibrary.com/coms2/summary_0286-8302598_ITM
http://www.canoo.net/services/OnlineGrammar/Satz/Satzgliedbau/Pronomen.html
http://www.odlt.org/
http://www.utexas.edu/courses/slavling/grapp/papers/glip2.pdf
http://schoyencollection.com/greekdocscr.html

Saloumeh Gholami