the -tanaiy is dat. sg. of a -tan- stem (other forms of -an- stems occur as infinitives in Indic and elsewhere, which makes it unlikely that -tanaiy is loc. sg. of a -tana- stem).

§239. The Participles found in OP include the present active with suffix -nt-; the present middle with suffix -mno-; the perfect passive with suffixes -to- and -no-; the future passive in -eto-; with meaning shifted to the past.

§240. The Present Active Participle has the suffix -nt-, before which the thematic vowel is -o:- nom. masc. pIE -ont or -ont-s, fem. -onti or -onti, nt. -ont; Gk. φορόω -or-aw; Skt. bhārāṇ, bhārānti or bhārati, bhārat. Where (Aryan) thematic forms have -at- rather than -ant-, it is by extension from non-thematic forms, where -nt- became -nt anxiety of the preceding consonant; conversely, non-thematic forms might have (Aryan) -ant- by imitation of thematic forms or because the suffix, when accented, took the pIE value -ent- or -ont-. The OP examples are nsm. tuṇaya, from -ont, probably with added -s in Iranian (§188.2), to present *tuṇau-ti; asm. tuṇuva*lam; gsm. tuṇuva*taḥyā, with thematic declension: the nom. -s and the -ant- of the stem agree with the Avestan formations. There is also an uncertain restored asf. yau[da-]tim, regularly formed to pres. *gauḍi.

The old neol in pAr. -at survives in the first element of the compounds Darác-avu- ‘Darius’, Viḍ’ar-avu- ‘Intaphernes’, Vāyā-śpāra- (§162); and in the derivative haššiša- ‘true’, = Skt. satyā-, pIE *sat-yo-, where (Skt.) sāt is nt. ptc. to root as- ‘be’.

§241. The Present Middle Participle has the suffix -mno-, which is seen in Gk. φορόω, but has a lengthened vowel in Skt., as in bhāra-mnās, or a zero grade, as in Av. barmma-.

The thematic vowel preceding -mno- is seen in Gk. to be -o-; but it is -o- in Gk. βγε-μνω ‘missile’, which has the suffix in the form -mno-. The OP examples are xāyamna ‘ruling’, jīyamman ‘ending, end’.

§242. The Perfect Passive Participle in -to- may be formed to any verbal root, whether transitive or intransitive; when the root is intransitive in meaning, the participle is active in meaning, as in OP para-itā ‘having gone forth’, marta ‘having died’.

I. The participial suffix -to- is accented, and the verbal root is therefore regularly in the zero grade: thus para-itā, Skt. ihitā, to ag- ‘go’; pīśāṇ ni-pīśa-, Skt. pīśā-, to paś ‘adorn’; xina-to- xina-; a-xāta, Skt. kṣiṣta-, to xāta-; avo-jata, Skt. khat-, to jān-; karta-, Skt. kṛt-, to kar-; u-barta- parə-bartam, Skt. bhṛt-, to bar-; mar-; mrt-, to mar-; arta-, Skt. rīt-, to ar-; perhaps parə[ma] to par-; dītam, cf. Av. zyā-; hītā- in An-a-hītā, of uncertain connections.

The cluster of a voiced aspirate stop + t in pIE resulted in pIE voiced cluster of non-aspirate + aspirate, the product of which remained in Indic, but which was replaced in Iranian by an analogical non-aspirate voiceless cluster:


pIE *bhendh:- ptc. *bhendh-to > *bhénydho- (§58.D), Skt. badhā-, but Av. basta-, OP basta-.


II. The -to- is sometimes attached to the strong grade of the root, as the result of leveling to the vocalism which stands in other verbal forms; in some instances the inconvenience of the consonantal clusters in the zero-grades was a factor.

pIE *dhē-: ‘dha-to’, Skt. hitā-; but Av. dīta- ‘right’, OP dītam ‘law’.

pAr. pā- ‘protect’: Skt. pāta-, Av. pāta-, OP pāta.

pIE *mē-: ‘mē-to’, Skt. mītā-, Av. mita-; also Av. mītā-, OP ā-mītā, fra-mītam.

OP sīyāta ‘happy’, Av. sīyāta, L. quiētus.

Skt. khaṭā- ‘dug’ to root khan-; but Av. kanta-, OP kātahm ‘excavation’.

pIE *pref- ‘ask’: *prē-to-, Skt. prēśa-, Av. parśta; but OP u-frasta- u-frasta- ‘well punished’ (where the change of p to f shows that consonantal r immediately followed, §74.1).

pIE *nek- ‘perish’: *nek-to- with strong grade, Skt. nāṣṭē-, Av. naṣṭa-, OP vi-nāṣṭhayā.

pIE *reś- ‘direct’: *reś-to- with lengthening of the vowel (§93.n2), Latin rectus, Av. rāšta-, OP rāstam ‘straight, right’.

pIE *ghrebh- ‘seize’: pAr. ghṛbha-ta- (on Ṭ, §217), Skt. ghṛbā-, OP ā-garbha.

Here belong, probably, also garta- in Asagarta
CHAPTER VII. SYNTAX AND STYLE

§245. The Syntax of OP has few features which differentiate it from that of other related languages; but from the paucity of the texts and the large amount of repetition in them the variety of constructions is very limited. As text and translation are both accessible in this volume, many examples are cited by reference and text, without translation; others are cited by reference only.

§246. The Syntax of the Noun in OP follows the expected lines, in the main. Its special features are the anacoluthic use of the nominative (§§312–4), the disappearance of the dative form and the assumption of the dative uses by the genitive form (§250), and a certain amount of syncraticization of the locative, ablative, and instrumental cases (§254).

§247. The Nominative Case is found in OP in the following uses:

A. As subject of a finite verb expressed or implied: DB 1.1 adam Dārayavaus, 1.3f bītiy Dārayavaus zāyābiya.

B. As predicate to a nominative subject: DB 1.1 adam Dārayavaus, 1.7 vayam Hazīmanisīgyā bāgyāmahi, 2.27 avadāsam hamaranam karlam.

C. As appositive to a nominative: DB 1.1 adam Dārayavaus zāyābiya vazraka.

D. By anticipation for another case, normally with a resumptive pronoun or adverb which defines the case-use; see §312, §314.

E. In late inscriptions, as a general form replacing a genitive (§313) or an accusative: AIPA 5f hya mām Artaizsyā zāyābiya akunau ‘who made me, Artaxerxes, king’.

§248. The Vocative Case is used in direct address: martiyā DNA 56.

§249. The Accusative Case is found in OP in the following uses:

A. As direct object of a transitive verb: DB 1.19 manā bājim abaratt ‘they bore tribute to me’.

B. As direct object of a verbal noun: DB 4.55f Aumurazdā būtām dūāli biyā ‘may Ahuramazda be a friend unto thee’.

C. As direct object anticipating the subject of an object clause: DB 1.52f. mātyamām zānāsiyā tya adām naiy Bardiya amīyi ‘lest (the people) know me, that I am not Smerdis’.

D. As double object, one of the person and the other of the thing: DB 1.44f aitu zōqam tya Gaumāta hya maguṣ adinā Kabūjiyam ‘this kingship which Gaumata the Magian took away from Cambyses’ or ‘of which Gaumata deprived Cambyses’; so also 1.46f, 59, 65f, and its passive in 1.49f hya avam Gaumātum tymam magam zōqam dīlam caxriyā ‘who might make that Gaumata the Median deprived of the kingship’. DB 4.65 naiy škaurim (= škaudim) naiy tumawtam zūra akumān ‘neither to the weak nor to the powerful did I do wrong’. DPD 20–2 aitu adām yānam jadiyā-
miy Auranazdām ‘this I ask as a favor of Ahuramazda’. In the passive, the accusative of the thing remains unchanged: DNb 8f tyā shabdī . . . mīrā kariγayiš ‘that the weak should have wrong done to him’; also DNb 10f, and DB 1.49f (above).

E. As appositive to another accusative: DB 1.49f Gaumātām tyam maγam; DPd 21 havu Dārayavavaux ẑâyadīyaux adadā ‘he created King Darius’.

F. As predicate to the direct object of a factitive verb: DN 5f hya Dārayavavaux ẑâyadīyaux akirnauš ‘who made Darius king’; and of other verbs, cf. yānām in DPd 20–2 (quoted under D).

G. To express the goal; names of places are often used thus without a preposition (regularly with fra-aiš, ar-, ava-ar-, parā-ar-, šiγay-), but names of persons always have the preposition: DB 3.52 aviγ awam Arzam ašiγa βābīrum; exception DB 5.21f ašiγaγ awam Sabām, cf. DB 2.72, 3.73f (šiγay-), 2.72f (fra-aiš-), DB 5.23f (ava-ar-), DPd 24 (nī-ar-). With ay- ‘go’ places as well as persons take prepositions, cf. DB 1.91f, 3.73, DZe 11 for places, DB 1.93, 2.32f for persons.

H. With prepositions and postpositions, denoting not merely goal but sometimes other ideas, see §269.

I. With kāma ‘desire’, apparently a terminal accusative indicating that the desire has reached the person and is felt by him (JAOS 66.44–9): DB 4.35f yēhā mām kāma ‘as was my desire’, XPI 21f Auranazdām avadā kāma āha ‘thus was the desire unto Ahuramazda’.

J. To express duration of time, as in the adv. dargam: DB 4.56 dargam jīvā ‘mayest thou live long’.

K. To express time when, as in the adverbs paruγam and paruγam ‘formerly’, and with the postposition patiy: DB 1.20 zāpavā raucapaita avā akunavāyašā ‘either by night or by day, that was done’; DB 2.61f Thūravavaharhašaš māγya jīvayam patiy avābāši hamaravam kāram ‘on the last of the month Thuravahara, then by them the battle was fought’.

L. To express specification: nāmā as in Marguš nāmā ḍahyavš ‘a province Margiana by name’ (DB 3.11), if nāmā is really acc. nt. and not loc. with long-grade vowel (see Lex. s.v. nāmā-).

§250. The Genitive Case appears in OP in the following uses:

A. Possessive,1 as in DB 2.19f manā bādaka ‘my subject’; DB 4.82f anuγiyā manā ‘my followers’, whence also with its opposite in DB 2.79f hawmaγiy hamiγiyā abāva ‘he became rebellious toward me’ (also DB 3.11, 4.12, instead of hacēma ‘from me’ and the like, DB 1.40, 2.6f, 3.27, 3.78, 3.81f); DB 1.4 manā pīlā, 1.29f Kavājiγayšā bratā, and with other words of relationship. This is found also in the predicate: DB 3.9f pasēva ḍahyavš manā abāva ‘afterwards the province became mine’, cf. DB 5.19f, 35f, and DB 3.58f awam hāγam hγa Dārayavahauš ẑâyadīyaγayšāγa yudbataiš ‘that army which calls itself King Darius’.

B. Subjective, as in DB 1.11f vaśnū Auranazdāhı ‘by the favor of Ahuramazda’, DN 56f hγa Auranazdāhı framānā ‘Ahuramazda’s command’; especially with passive participles, where it develops into the agent: DB 1.27 tyā manā kāram ‘which has been done by me’, XPI 38 tyamaiš piγa kāram āha ‘which had been built by my father’. Alternative ways of expressing the agent are the genitive with postposition rādīy (see K), the ablative with hacī in hacā-ma (see §271 and Lex. s.v. hacī), and apparently by the accusative alone (A'Pa 22f mām upā mām kārtaš ‘made by me in my time’, A'Pa 26 mām kārtaš ‘made by me’; both probably corrupt, but cf. the mām kāma idiom, §249.1).

C. Objective, as in DB 4.78f Auranazdātaγ jatā biγa ‘may Ahuramazda be a smitter of thee’ (unless this is a dative use); and especially with zāγiyiaγa and framāγar-; as in DB 1.11f zāγiyiaγa zāγiyayiγaṁ ‘king of kings’ and DN 7f awam paruγinā framāγarām ‘one lord of many’. But only a plural genitive is used with zāγiyiaγa, in the singular the locative is used (§251.A). The genitive with the verb ‘to rule’ probably belongs here: DNa 18f adəmām patiγayišasayš ‘I ruled over them; DNB 15 waγaγayiaγa zāγiyamna ‘ruling over my own (impulses)’.

D. Partitive, expressing the whole: DB 1.37f

1 The disappearance of dative forms in OP and the assumption of dative functions by the genitive form makes it impossible to differentiate possessive datives with the copula, from possessive genitives; thus in XPI 28f Dārayavahuš (error for -shahuš) pugā anisapaciš ākhat ‘Of Darius other sons there were’, the genitive may be either a true genitive of possession, or a possessive dative. When an orthotone genitive follows the word on which it depends, however, there may be a presumption in favor of the dative use; cf. §309.
Viyazakhya máhya XIV raučabiš šakata áka ‘14 days of the month Viyakha were past’; DB 1.49
nati amáxam taumáyá kačetiy ‘not anyone of our
family’; cf. amáxam taumáyá DB 1.28f depending
directly on Kabójüyá; DP 11 hya mabiša baqanám
‘the greatest of the gods’.

E. Expressing time within which: DB 4.4f
hamahgyá harda ‘in one and the same year’; from
this use came the use of the genitive žšapa, DB
1.20, in a riming pair with acc. rauea and enclitic
patiy, to indicate time when.

F. As appositive to a genitive, as in DB 3.58f
Darayavausí xágahiyahyá.

G. As dative of indirect object, in DB 1.12
Auramadá xáxam maná frábara, DB 1.31f
káryahyá nati azád abáva ‘it was not known to
the people’, DB 1.75 káryahyá awába abába, DSa 5
visahyá frášam þadályáit.

H. As dative of reference, in DB 1.87 aniayhíyá
asam fránayam ‘for the rest I brought horses’,
DNx 3f hya šiyítim aátí martíyiyažá ‘who created
happiness for man’; including the dative of pos-
session, as in DB 4.56 xáxam taumá vasyí býíya ‘and
to thee may there be family abundance’.

I. As dative of goal, in DB 1.13 imá dakyáva
tya maná patiyáít ‘these are the provinces which
came to me’.

J. With the idea of hama- ‘like’ in compounds: DB
1.30 hamála hamapitá Kabójityahyá ‘having the
same mother and father as Cambyeses’; the
position of the genitive after the adjectives sug-
gests that this is a dative use rather than a true
genitive use (cf. §309).²

K. With prepositions, the mixed use with -patiy
(see E); DB 3.32 pasá maná ‘behind me’; with
anu- ‘according to’, in DnB 16, 18; with following
rúditiy, to express agent, in DnB 9, 10f; with endic-
tive -rúditiy, in avaharyádit ‘on account of this’.

§251. THE LOCATIVE CASE appears in OP in the following
uses:

A. Expressing place where, without a preposi-
tion, as in DB 1.34f pasáva dráuga dakyáva vasyi
abáva uta Párasiyá uta Múdáiyá uta aniyyyá wa-
kušwá ‘afterwards the Lie waxed great in the
country, both in Persia and in Media and in the
other provinces’; DB 2.75 dráyavaamáyá basta
adháriya ‘he was held bound at my palace en-

² Cf. Greek use of the dative with adjectives of which
the prior element was šapó; though in later times the
genitive also was used with them.

trance’; DB 2.76 pasówašim Hgyatátanvai uyamapá-
patiy akunawam ‘afterwards I put him on the
stake (= impaled him) at Ecbatana’; DB 1.15
tyaiy ddráyáhyá ‘(those) who (dwell) by the sea’
(not ‘islanders’, since the term denotes the sa-
trapsey of which Dascylion was the capital, JNES
2.304). With ‘king’, singular nouns are in the loca-
tive, as in DB 1.2 xáxam Párasiyá ‘king in
Persia’, though plurals are in the genitive
(§250.C); similarly DB 1.81 xáxam tyá Bábíraw
‘the kingship in Babylon’. It is a substitute for
the genitive in DB 2.23f yá Múdáiyá mabiša áha
‘who was chief among the Medes’ (cf. §250.D).

B. Expressing place to which, with prep. yátá
‘as far as’, in DnS 32f abára yátá Bábíraw ‘carried
as far as Babylon’, 34 yátá Çášáyá ‘as far as Susa’;
perhaps also, because of the idea of motion which
seems to be in the verbs, in góháwa avášitam (DB
1.62f), góháwa niyášáyám (DNx 36), mákáwa
avákanam (DB 1.86), uyamapá-patiy (DB 2.76, etc.).

C. Expressing specification: námá ‘as to name’
(see Lex. s.v. for examples, and §312), and possi-
bly námá (if long-vowel loc. and not acc.); proba-
ly We 1 CXX kášyáya ‘120 (units) in weight’,
and DnS 1 (and A²Hb) apádámam stánáyá (if for
-áyá) abáyáinam ‘palace made of stone as to its
column(s)’.

D. Abnormal uses: The locative sometimes re-
places the ablative with hací, to denote place from
which: hací Bábíraw ‘from Babylon’ (DnS
33; but the abl. in hací Bábíraw DB 2.64f), hací
Hílaw (DnS 44, DPh 7, DH 51); and once even
without the preposition: XPF 32-4 yábámaitiyá
Darayavausí góháwa ašíyáwa ‘when my father
Darius went from the throne (= died)’.

E. With prepositions: The locative is found with
yátá (see B), hací (see D), ni- in the adv. ni-
pádiy,-patiy (see A, B). Further, all locative case-
forms have the postposition -á, except names of
places in the singular and those which function as
adverbs (such as dáratyi, rúditiy, ni-pádiy, etc.).

F. As appositive to a locative, as in DB 1.34f.

§252. THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE appears in OP in the following
uses:

A. With hadá, to denote accompaniment either
friendly or hostile: DB 2.21f pasáva hawi Vidárna
hadá kárá ašíyáwa ‘after that this Hydarnes with
the army marched forth’; DB 2.23 yádá hamar-
amam akunawá hadá Múdáiyá ‘there he made
battle with the Medes’.
B. With pari-ay - to have respect for, to denote association: DB 1.23 inā dākā āya tyanā manā dātā aparīyāyā ‘these provinces had respect for my law’.

C. Alone, to denote means: DB 1.11f vaśā Aurramadžāha āhām xăł̣āyāyā ṣamīy ‘by the favor of Aurramadza I am king’.

D. Alone, to express specification: DNB 40f yāmānīś ṣamīy uṭā āstāyāyā uṭā pādāyāyā ‘trained am I both as to hands and as to feet’. So also with numerals: DB 2.56 Anāmākāhā māyā XV rauca böve xāvā ‘a month Anamaka, 15 by days were past’; Wa 1 II karś ā ‘2 (units) by weight’; cf. Lg. 19.227–9.

E. With or without prepositions, to denote place where or within which: DB 1.92 vārdanam anuw Ḫūrātā ‘a town beside the Euphrates’; DB 3.26 kārā Pārśa ḫyā vāṣapāy ‘the Persian army which (was) in the palace’; XPa 13f vaurāvīsī naibam karant anā Pārśa ‘much other good (construction) was built within this (city) Persepolis’.

F. With hacā, to denote place from which: DPh 5 (and DH 4) hacā Ṣakābhī ‘from the Scythian’; but perhaps the ablative form in the plural had been lost, and its functions been taken over by the instrumental form, for there is no distinctly ablative plural form recorded in OP.

G. Alone, to express cause: DB 1.86 abīs nāyīyā ākā ‘on account of the waters there was navigability’; DSe 46f didā kalnāyāyīyā avamālāt ‘wall fallen down from lapse of time’ (both examples doubtful, see Lex. s.v.v.).

H. With anuw, to express accordance: DNB 24–6 marītātya tuvānātīyā yadīvā ābaratīy anuw tuvānāṣyāy ‘what a man does or performs according to his natural powers’.

I. As a general case-form, added as the last of a series of accusatives: DB 1.64f abicātī guddāmā mānīyamā văbiśāi; XPh 50f and 53f Aurramaz-

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1. Use of the instrumental without a preposition to denote place where or within which is not common, but is approached in various languages; for the whole IE field, cf. Brugmann, Gdr. 2.2. §480 (Der Instrumentalis als örtlicher und zeitlicher ‘Prosektivus’—der Raumerstreckung—der Zcitersstreckung); in Śanakrīt, cf. Whitney, Skt. Gr. §281.d (Time passed through, or by the lapse of which anything is brought about); in Avestan, cf. Reichelt, Aw. Elmb. §448 (Prosektivus zur Bezeichnung des Raums, mit dessen Zurücklegung eine Bewegung voranrückt).

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are used both with and without prepositions, and would also motivate the single exception in XPf 33, where the loc. gābāν is used without hacā, but in an ablativeal meaning. One form remains to be noted: DB 2.65 has Bābirawus as the old abl. form identical with the gen., as in Sanskrit; but a later inscription, DSf, has loc. Bābiraw with hacā in line 33, and Hīdaw occurs with hacā in DSf 44, DPh 7, DH 5f, showing a shift in this declension. Late Avestan also departed from the old identity of gen. and abl. (outside the -d-stems!), by creating new ablative in -t; OP allowed a new amalgamation of the abl. with other cases to remain as normal.

§255. Number has in OP its usual significance. The singular form has collective meaning in DB 1.87 aniyaḥyā āsam frāṇayam ‘for the rest I brought horse(s)’; in DB 5.24f āvadā hadā kārā pīṣā viṇāramyam ‘there with the army I crossed by raft(s)’; and perhaps in DNs 1 and A4Hb aṣadānam stūnāya dhagānīnam ‘palace stony as to column(s)’; and perhaps in DNs 1 and A4Hb aṣadānam stūnāya dhagānīnam ‘palace stony as to column(s)’ = ‘palace with stone columns’, if stūnāya is a miswriting for loc. stūnāya. For kāra and dahyauś as antecedents of plural masc. pronouns, see §258.III; for alternative singulars as antecedents of a plural pronoun, see §258.IV.

§256. Grammatical Agreements in OP follow the usual types found in IE languages, as to attributive adjectives, appositive nouns and adjectives, predicate nouns and adjectives, pronouns of the various kinds, and verbs with their subjects. A few peculiarities are listed in the following sections, with some instances of regular use.

§257. Appositive occur in the following cases; lack of examples in the other cases is accidental: nom. DB 1.1, 1.53, and almost everywhere; acc. DB 1.54, DPh 2, DNB 4f, etc.; gen. DB 3.59, DPh 9–11, XPe 14, etc.; loc. infrequent, DB 1.34f. More often the appositive, if more than a single word or if to an oblique case, is expressed by an anaclitic nominative phrase, followed by a resumptive pronoun or adverb (§314a; §312). Partial appositives occur as in DB 1.34f pasāva drauja dahyauvā vasyi abava utā Pāraisy utā Mūdaisy utā aniyaḥvā dahyauvā ‘afterward the Lie became great in the country, both in Persia and in Media and in other provinces’; also DB 1.40f, 1.46f, DSf 25f this avaniya aniya XL araṣaniṣ barṣṇā aniya XX araṣaniṣ barṣṇā ‘the rubble was packed down, some 40 cubits in depth, another (part) 20 cubits in depth’. Appositive substantives do not necessarily agree in gender; thus DPh 6f ityam dahyauś Pāra ‘this province Persia’, where dahyauś is feminine and Pāra is masculine.

§258. Agreements of Pronouns show the expected phenomena, and some special features which are here given.

I. The pronouns haw, awa-, -sim, -dim, and their forms are often used to refer back to a preceding phrase or relative clause; a preceding phrase is usually in the nominative, as in DB 2.30f kāra hya kamiciyam maṇā naivy gauvbaitiy avam jadī ‘the rebel army which does not call itself mine—that do thou smite’, but sometimes in its own proper case, as in DB 2.84 kāram kamiciyam hya maṇā naivy gauvbaitiy avam jatā ‘the rebel army which may not call itself mine—that do ye smite’.

II. The enclitics -sim and -dim and their forms may have antecedents of any gender, and the singular forms may refer to antecedents of any number; for details, see Lex. s.v.v. -ka- and -di-.

III. Plural pronouns are often used where the antecedent is ‘men’ implied in a preceding kāra ‘people, army’ or dahyauś ‘province’ or the like: thus DB 1.65 -dīs goes back to 64 kārahyā; DB 2.19–21 -kām in two occurrences and the two plural imperatives go back to kāram; DB 3.11f akunavatā is plural by the meaning of dahyauś, as are agarbāyā 3.48 and agarbāyā 3.49 by reference to kāra 3.45. DNA 36f -kām refers back to -kām 36, denoting ‘men’ (cf. II, above) implied from bānmim 32. DB 4.5f -sim has the meaning ‘foe’ by reference to hamaranā ‘battles’ (see JAOS 35.344–50, 41.74–5).

IV. Other features: In DSe 32–7 the fem. pl. dahyauvā motivates the masc. aniya aniyaṃ. In DB 4.68f the masc. pl. awaiy refers back to masc. sg. martiya which to are attached two alternative relative clauses connected by -vā ‘or’. In XPh 30r atar aitā dahyauvā tyaiy upariy nipiśta ‘within these provinces which are inscribed above’, the masc. relative tyaiy refers to fem. dahyauvā though dahyauvā has the fem. attribute aitā. DB 1.65 tyā and DSe 6 [dī] are neuter plurals with multiple antecedents of different genders.

§259. Agreement of Predicates is of the normal types. But an adjective in the singular neuter
may be used as predicate to any subject; \(^{3}\) DB 2.18f kāra Pārsa utā Mādhya hya upā mām āha hauv kānnam āha ‘the Persian and Median army which was with me—this was a small thing’; so also DB 1.47 utāpiṣṭaṁ (referring to Pārsam utā Madam utā aniyā dāhvaṇa), DNa 39 cīyakaram āha avā dāhvaṇa, DNB 6f avākaram amiṣy, DNB 27f avākaram-ca-maṁ viṣy utā frāmānā, DNB 50f cīyakaram amiṣy cīyakaram-ca-maṁ āvānā. A neuter subject may have a masculine substantive as predicate: DNB 11f tya rāstam avā mām kāna ‘what is right, that is my desire’.

In DB 2.92f Parvaṁ utā Varākṣa hamis-cīyā abasava haçonma Fravartis’a agavabatā’ Parthia and Hyremania became rebellious from me, they called themselves Fravartis’s’, the plural verbs indicate that the predicate adjective hamis-cīyā is plural rather than dual, although it is predicate to two singular nouns.

In DB 1.8 kāpā parurviyata hya amāsām tuvānā xāyā尼ya āha, the probability is that xāyā尼ya is nom. pl. ‘kings’, in which case āha is plural, agreeing with its predicate; but if xāyā尼ya is taken as nom. sg. adj. ‘royal’, āha is singular, agreeing with its subject tuvānā ‘family’.

§260. The Pronouns of OP, including those which have also adjectival use, are the following:

I. The personal pronouns adam ‘I’ and tuwam ‘thou’ have no peculiarities of syntax; the genitive forms are used in all uses and not replaced by possessive adjectives (unlike the use of Latin meus and tuus to replace the possessive genitive, and sometimes other genitive uses). The only use of tuwam and its forms is, from the nature of the texts, to refer to a hypothetical second person of general character.

II. The enclitic pronouns of the third person, -śim and -dim and their forms, show no variation of form for gender; cf. Lex. s.vv. For forms of -dim written as separate words, see Lex. s.v. -di-, and §133.

III. Certain other pronouns may be grouped together as Demonstratives, though they seem to combine demonstrative and determinative mean-

\(^{1}\) Cf. the predicate neuter to a mas. or fem. subject sometimes used in Latin: Verg. Eccl. 3.80 irispe lupus stubulit, Aen. 4.596 et varium et multibèle semper fémina. Similarly in Greek: Xen. Anab. 2.15.15 (τά τραγύματα) ἐν καὶ καὶ τόπων ὃδε μὲν, κεφαλαῖς δὲ, 3.2.22 ἀ ὡς τὸν... τοὺς... κόσμους ἀπεικονισθέντος εἶναι.

\(^{2}\) Lg. 20.1–10 (1944), with details of the argument leading to the views summarized in this section.
II. From the originally relative type Gaumāla kya maguś (DB 1.44, etc.) without the copula, there came the accusative type Gaumātam tyam magum (DB 1.49f, etc.), where the articular use is assured.

III. This pronoun as article is used after a noun to introduce modifiers: an appositive substantive alone (DB 1.44, 1.50) or with preceding genitive (XPf 30, DB 1.29); a common adjective (DB 2.25f, DPe 3f, DSt 30f, 37), two successive common adjectives (DSf 11f), an ethnic (DBk 2, DB 1.79, 2.21); a superlative with following genitive of the whole (DSf 9); a possessive genitive of a personal name (DB 1.29) or of a pronoun (DB 2.35, 1.69); a locative substantive (DB 1.81 xqām tyā Bābiraw) or an instrumental with enclitic postposition (DB 3.26 kāra Pārsa kya vēkāpa- tīt).

IV. This pronoun as article occasionally precedes its noun to attach to it an adjective or a genitive; there are these examples: DB 1.8 and DBa 12f khyā amārazm tawmā; DB 1.23 tyānā manā dātī, cf. DNA 21; DB 3.32 khyā anīṣa kāra Pārsa; DB 4.87ī tyām imāišām martiyaṇām tawmām; DB 5.12 tyāmām maṭištām; DNA 56f khyā Auramaz- dāhā frāmā; DSf 12f khyā manā pilā Viṣṭāpa.2

V. This pronoun as adjective has two occurrences in DSf 39f kha tawrīšy tyām skawū; elsewhere generic force is given by use of martiya-‘man’, as in DNB 12 martiyaṃ dravajnam, or is unmarked, as with skawū DSb 8f, tuunūa DNB 10.

VI. In two passages tyā- is demonstrative: DB 3.73 nipaṇḍy tyayi ‘close after them’, where the text is certain, and DSF 14 tyā ‘these two’, which rests upon only slight traces of the characters.3

§262. The Articles in OP.
I. The definite article, properly speaking, is lacking in OP, despite the uses given in the preceding section (cf. Lg. 20.6-8); for kya khyā khyā as article function only to attach modifiers to another substantive, or to indicate generic value. Thus we find kāra Pārsa uā Māda kha upā māṃ āha hau kammam āha ‘the Persian and Median army which was with me, this was a small thing’ (DB 2.18f); adam Dārayavaṃ xqāyātya vaṣraka ‘I (am) Darius the Great King’ (DB 1.1). It is noticeable that Xenophon uses βασιλέως without the article in reference to the Persian king (Anab. 1.7.1, 2, etc.).

II. The indefinite article is entirely lacking in OP, except in the phrase I martiya‘one man’, used in introducing a new personage, where the numerical sign has virtually the value of the indefinite article (DB 1.36, 74, 77, etc.).

III. The generic article is discussed in §261.V.

§263. The Demonstrative hauw (once hauwam, DB 1.29) is either a pronoun referring to a previously mentioned substantive, or an adjective immediately followed by its substantive, which is then sometimes explained by a relative clause (DB 1.92; 2.66; 3.35, 54, 70).

§264. The Demonstrative awa- ‘that’ is similarly either pronoun or adjective; it commonly refers to something already mentioned, but sometimes has a forward reference, as in naimā awa kāma kha tuunūa skawūrā rādīy miha kariyaś ‘that is not my desire, that the mighty should have wrong done to him by the weak’ (DNb 10f; also DB 3.58, 5.2f, DNA 39, DNB 20, 53, 55, 57, DSB 4, DSb 34, XPh 49, 51f). It has also the meaning ‘yonder’ as applied to the sky: Auramazdā khyā imām bāmīn ada kha awam asmānān ada ‘Ahuramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky’ (DNA 1-3, etc.).

§265. The Demonstrative nsm.-nsf. iyam ‘this’, with its suppletions (§199), is likewise either pronoun or adjective, mainly of the following types: iyam Pārsa ‘this is the Persian’ (DN 1), khyā imam tacaram akunaw ‘who built this palace’ (DPA 5f), xqāyātya ahūrā bāmīyā vaṣrāyā ‘king in this great earth’ (DNA 11f). It is a pronoun with rather distant reference in iyam imaiy kāram aduruyiwaša ‘so that these deceived the people’ (DB 4.34f), where imaiy refers to the rebel pretenders listed in DB 4.7-30.

§266. The Demonstrative aila- ‘this’ more often refers to the preceding, but also sometimes to the following (DB 1.44, DNA 48, XPh 43, perhaps XSe 4f), when it may be repeated by aila- or awa-.

§267. The Pronouns in Relative Clauses show some interesting syntactic features.

I. Except for aila tyā ‘this which’ (DNA 48, XPh 43), the relative never has a preceding pronominal antecedent of general character; cf. DB 1.27 ima tyā manā kartam ‘this (is that) which

2 DPe 32 khyā is not nom. sg. fem. article before its noun, but an ablative adverb; see Lex. s.v. 1 Lg. 20.3 for another possibility.
was done by me'. But there may be a general substantive antecedent, as in DB 1.21 martiya hya agriya āha avam 'a man who was excellent, him ...

II. A general antecedent may be incorporated within the clause, as in DB 1.57f utā tyaiśaiv fratamā martiyā anuśiyā āhataḥ1 and those men who were his foremost followers'; but more commonly the antecedent precedes the relative, as in DB 2.77 utā martiya tyaiśaiv fratamā anuśiyā āhataḥ.

III. A descriptive adjective is likewise incorporated within the clause, in DB 2.30f (and 2.50f) kāra hya hamiṣiyā manā naiy gaubalaiy 'the hostile army which does not call itself mine'; but such adjectives usually stand outside, as in DB 2.84 kāram hamiṣiyam hya manā naiy gaubalaiy, cf. also DB 2.21, 3.86.

IV. The antecedent of a relative pronoun is commonly repeated after the clause by a resumptive pronoun in its immediate context, such as DB 1.21 avam (see above, I); DB 4.75f tya kuna-vahy awa-laiy Auramazdā ucāram kunautav 'what thou shalt do, that may Ahuramazda make successful for thee'.2 In one passage the resumptive pronoun is repeated: DNB 16f martiya hya hata-śaivy anu-dim [ha]kartaḥy āva-bh-dim pari-ba-śaivīy 'the man who cooperates, him according to his cooperative service, him thus do I reward'.

V. In one passage a relative which is the object of two verbs is repeated by -diś as object of the second verb: DNB 45-7 ānanaḥ tya Āuramazdā upariy maṃ niyasaṃ utā-diś atāvayam bartanaivy 'the skills which Ahuramazda bestowed upon me and I had the strength to bear them'.3

VI. The relative as subject is omitted before ayaunā in XPh 31.

§268. The Prepositions and Postpositions found in the OP texts, with certain others found only as prefixes to verbs and nouns, are given in the following list, with a summary of their uses:

- aśtar, prep. w. acc.
- ati-, pref. w. verbs.
- abiy, prep. w. acc.
- anu, prep. w. instr. and gen.
- apa-, pref. w. verbs and nouns.
- abiy, prep. w. acc.; pref. w. verbs and nouns.
- awa-, pref. w. verbs.
- ud-, pref. w. verbs and nouns.
- upa, prep. w. acc.; pref. w. verbs and nouns.
- upariy, prep. w. acc.; pref. w. verbs.
- tara, prep. w. acc.
- ni-, prep. w. loc. in phrasal adv.; pref. w. verbs.
- nij-, pref. w. verbs.
- nipadiy, prep. w. acc.
- patiy, prep. w. acc.; postp. w. acc., inst., loc.; pref. w. verbs and nouns.
- patiś, prep. w. acc.
- para, prep. w. acc.; perhaps prefix in nouns.
- parā, postp. w. acc.; prefix w. verbs.
- pariy, prep. w. acc.; pref. w. verbs; used as root of derivative noun.
- pasā, prep. w. acc. and gen.
- fra-, pref. w. verbs and nouns, and in phrasal adverb.
- yutā, prep. w. loc.
- yutā ā, prep. w. abl.
- rādiy, postp. w. gen.
- vi-, pref. w. verbs and nouns.
- hacā, prep. w. abl., loc., instr., adv.
- hadā, prep. w. instr.

The inseparable prefixes are the following:
- a- an-, the common negative prefix.
- u- (= āu-) 'well'.
- duś, 'ill'.
- ha- ham-, equal in meaning to Gk. σω and Lt. com- as prefixes.

The uses as prepositions (and postpositions) will be discussed in the following sections; other uses are adequately described in the Lexicon.

§269. Prepositions with the Accusative are the following; for patiy and pasā, used also with other cases, see §271:

aśtar 'inside', of place where.
abiy 'to', of goal.
abiy 'to', of arrival at a goal, either person or
place; except in ‘I was near to . . .’ (DB 2.12), ‘I made additions to . . .’ (XPg 10).
upā ‘under’, always of a person, in figurative uses: ‘was under me, under my command, with me’ (DB 2.18, 3.30); ‘under Artaxerxes, in the time of A.’ (AŚSa 4); ‘made under me, in my time’ (APa 23).
upariy ‘over’, with slight idea of motion, shading down to ‘according to’ (DB 4.64); once placed as second word after its object (DNb 49, variant of 46).
tara ‘through’, with motion.
nipadiy ‘close after’, see §270.IV.
patiy ‘against’, governing a person as goal.
para ‘beyond’, of place where.
parā ‘along’, of motion; enclitic postposition.
pariy ‘about = concerning = against’, of a person.

§270. Prepositions with Other Cases are the following:
I. With the instrumental; see also anuv, patiy, haca, §271.
hadā ‘with’, of accompaniment; of hostile association (as in DB 2.23).
II. With the ablative; see also hacā, §271:
yātā ‘unto, as far as’, of limit in place; see also ā and yātā, IV.
III. With the genitive; see also anuv, patiy, pasā, §271:
rādiy ‘on account of’, enclitic postposition in avahyārādiy ‘on account of this’; also orthotone postposition, indicating the agent (DNb 9, 10f).
IV. With the locative; see also patiy, hacā, §271:
ā, enclitic postposition attached to the locative singular of all common nouns and adjectives except in phrasal adverbs, and to all locatives plural; also preposition with phrasal adverb pasāva to denote limit in time (DSe 48); see also yātā ā, II.
ni- ‘down’, only in phrasal adverb nipadiy ‘down on the footstep, on the track of, close after’, itself functioning as a preposition governing the accusative tyaiy (DB 3.73; for form, see §198).
yātā ‘unto’, of goal in place; see also yātā ā, II.

§271. Prepositions with Two or More Cases are the following; see also ā, yātā, §270.IV, and yātā ā, §270.II:
anuv ‘along’, of motion past, with instrumental; ‘according to’, with instrumental (DNb 25) and genitive (DNb 16, 18).
patiy with accusative, ‘against’ (DNb 22), ‘on’ in phrasal adverb patipodam (DB 1.62); as orthotone postposition with accusative, ‘on’, expressing time when (DB 2.62); as enclitic postposition, local ‘in, at’ with instrumental in vāpatiy (DB 2.162, 3.26), ‘on’ with locative in uṣmayaphatiy (DB 2.76, 91; 3.52, 92), temporal ‘during’ with genitive and accusative in xāpa-vā rava-tatiya (DB 1.20), with accusative in [patiy alavame] ci(tām) bartam (DB 5.2f).
pasā ‘after’, with accusative of time in pasā lanām ‘after himself’ and in the phrasal adverb pasāva ‘after that’; with genitive of place in pasā maṇā ‘after, behind me’ (DB 3.32).
haca ‘from’, with ablative of noun or pronoun, or ablative adverb; occasionally with nouns of locative or instrumental form (once with an anacoluthic nominative phrase, DZe 9, and once with an accusative enclitic pronoun as invariable, which it follows, DB 1.50). It governs place-names as the starting-point from which there is motion or action (DB 3.80) or extension (DPh 5, 7) or separation (XPh 16); names of persons of whom fear is felt, from whom commands proceed (= agent), from whom rebellion takes place, from whom something is taken away (DB 1.61); adverbs of time as starting-point; names of persons and things and abstractions from which protection is to be given (DPd 16f, etc.).

§272. The Voices of the Verb in OP include forms of the active, the middle, and the passive; but the meanings are not in all instances typical of the voice-forms.

§273. The Active Forms have the usual meanings of the active voice; but they are sometimes replaced, without difference of meaning, by middle forms (§274.b).

§274. The Middle Forms have usually the proper meanings of the middle voice, but sometimes the meanings of the other voices.

(a) The middle meaning is clear in such examples as the following: DB 1.41f xṣaṭam hauv agarbāparatā ‘he seized the kingship for himself’; DB 1.47 wāṭaḥipatya akūta ‘he made (the provinces) his own possession’; DB 1.55 paliyāhāvaliya ‘I asked aid for myself’; DB 1.93 hya Nabuši-dra-cara aqubatu ‘who called himself Nebuchadrezzar’; DB 4.38 patiyapauwa ‘protect thyself’. 