

(b) In some passages the middle is used with purely active meaning, as in *akunava^atā* DSf 48 'they wrought', but act. *akunavaša^a* DSf 51, 53; *manā bājim atara^atā* DB 1.19 'they bore tribute to me', but act. *abara^a* DPe 9f, *abaraha^a* DNa 19f, XPh 17, in the same phrase; *azdā kušwā* DNb 50 'do thou make known'; mid. *āha^atā* 'they were', but also act. *āha^a*.¹ Perhaps the ambiguity of *abara^a* for sg. *abara^a* and pl. *abara^a*, *akunava^a* for *akunawa^a* and *akunava^a*, etc., led to the use of the middle form as distinctive for the plural; however, this does not account for some examples, such as the inv. *kušwā*.

(c) Some verbs are found only in the middle voice, though the middle meaning is no longer evident: such are *maniyaiy* 'I think', *yadataiy* 'he worships', *amariyatā* 'he died', and their forms. That these may originally have represented middle voice ideas, is indicated by the fact that Latin *arbitror*, *veneror*, *morior*, representing the same ideas (though only the last is etymologically cognate with the OP correspondent), are all deponents, as are indeed the etymological or semantic equivalents in various other languages.

(d) The following middle forms have passive meaning: ind. *vainataiy* 'is seen, is seen to be, seems' DNb 2, XPa 16, and subj. *vaimūtaiy* DNb 35; *amayatā* 'was led' DB 1.82, 2.73, 5.26²; probably *kunavātaiy* DNb 56, and the restored forms *[ā]h[ya]tā* 'was thrown' DB 1.95 and *adā[rayat]ā* DB 4.90f. This use of the middle is found in Avestan (Reichert, Aw. Elmb. §614); and the middle forms are the basis of the passive forms of Greek and Latin.

§275. THE PASSIVE FORMS fall into two groups, those with the passive suffix *-ya-* (§220), which are always passive in meaning, and those which are composed of the past participle with or without the verb 'to be'—usually omitted; the combinations in which it is expressed are listed in §276. That the participle without the auxiliary is a true indicative passive is shown by the equivalence of DB 4.1f *tya manā kartam* 'what (was) done by me' and DB 4.3f *tya adam akunavam*

¹ Bv. TPS 1945.61-3 seeks to show that active *āha* always denotes existence, but middle *āhatā* is always used in an expression of possession, with a genitive-dative. His argument is not quite convincing, especially for DB 4.81; and no motivation for the specialization seems to exist.

'what I did'. When the verb is intransitive, the past participle has active meaning, as in DB 2.32, 38, 43, 52, 57f, 3.65 *hamičiyā hagmatā paraitā* 'the rebels assembled (and) came out'; DNa 43-5 *Pārsahyā martiyahyā dūrayi aršūš paragmatā* 'the spear of a Persian man has gone afar'.

§276. THE VERB 'TO BE' WITH PASSIVE PARTICIPLE is usually omitted; it is expressed only in the following examples:

I. True passives of action are perhaps to be seen in the following:

DB 1.61f *xšačam tya hacā amāxam taumāyā parābartam āha*.

DB 4.46f *aniyašciy vasiy astiy kartam*.

DB 4.51f *avaišām ava(θ)ā naiy astiy kartam*.

XPh 38 *tyamaiy piča kartam āha*.

II. The predicate participle is clearly adjectival in the following:

DB 1.37f *Viyaxnahya māhyā XIV raucabiš θakata āha* (so also in 17 other dates).

DB 3.7f *Garmapadahya māhyā I rauca θakatom āha*.

DPe 22 *yadiy kāra Pārsa pāta ahaiy*.

DNb 26 *xšnuta amiy*, cf. the adj. in the parallel clause *uxšnavš amiy*, in line 27.

XPh 47 *šiyāta ahaniy*, cf. adj. in 48 *artāvā ahaniy*, and the similar pair in 55f, *šiyāta bavaiy* . . . *artāvā bavaiy*, the prior of which seems in meaning nearer to a true present passive of action than any of the other phrases.

III. The verb *bav-* 'become' may fairly be considered here, cf. the German true passive with *werden* 'become', while Gm. *sein* 'be' forms only a passive of state, in which the participle is merely an adjective. With predicate participles OP *bav-* appears only in XPh 55, just cited; in DSf 25 *yathā kalam abava* the participle has become substantival and is subject.

IV. Four heavily restored passages, DSe 31f, DSf 56f, DNb 54f, DNb 56, give no additional evidence of value.

§277. THE INDICATIVE MOOD has in OP the usual uses to denote present and past time in independent clauses. In dependent clauses, it is used in the following:

(a) In relative clauses descriptive or restrictive, occasionally in clauses of general significance, in both of which types it may vary with the subjunctive (§301.a, b).

(b) In substantive clauses: object clauses of

fact, direct and indirect quotations of fact, direct and indirect questions (§302.a, d, e).

(c) In temporal clauses introduced by 'when', 'after', 'while', 'as long as', 'until', in past time (§304.a, b, d, e, f), and by 'whenever', 'until' in present time as generalizations (§304.c, f).

(d) In modal, local, causal, and consecutive clauses in present or past time; in consecutive clauses with present result depending on present or imperfect in the main clause (§305).

§278. THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD has a number of uses in OP, including those of future time, of volitions, and of wishes. These may be divided into uses in independent clauses, uses in relative clauses, uses in other subordinate clauses.

I. In independent clauses:

(a) Future uses: mere futurity in apodosis of future condition, *nirasātiy* DPe 24: future of determination almost equal to command, *xšnāsātiy* DNa 42.

(b) Volitional uses: affirmative commands *bavātiy* DNa 43, 45f, *vainātiy* DNb 35; negative commands with *mā* or *mātya*, *draujīyāhy* DB 4.43, *vikanāhy* DB 4.71, *kunavātiy* DNb 56, *bavātiy* DNb 59. Negative wishes possibly in (restored) *vijanātiy*, *vināḍayātiy* A²Sa 5, A²Ha 7 (though optative or injunctive or imperative forms are equally possible in these passages).

(c) Uses in future possible wishes: *ahanīy* XPh 47, 48, *ahatiy* DB 4.39f, *ḥadayātaiy* DSa 5, DSj 6.

II. In relative clauses:

(a) In a relative clause of general future meaning, depending upon an expression of command or prayer: *āhy* DB 4.37, 68, 87, DSt 10°; *ahatiy* DB 4.38, 68, 68f; *kunavāhy* DB 4.75, 79; *patiparsāhy* DB 4.42; *patiparsātiy* DB 4.48; *vaināhy* DB 4.70; *vainātiy* DSj 5°.

(b) In a relative clause equivalent to a present general condition, with the conclusion in the present indicative: *yadātaiy* DB 5.19, 5.34f.

(c) In a defining relative clause, not differing from one with the present indicative, the main clause being a command: *gaubātaiy* DB 2.84, 3.86; cf. ind. *gaubataiy* DB 2.21, 31, 51, 3.15, 59 in the same meaning.

III. In other subordinate clauses:

(a) In future conditions with *yadiy* 'if'; the negative is *naiy*, and the main clause is a com-

mand or a prayer, once a future statement (DPe 22): *apagaudayāhy* DB 4.55; *ḥāhy* DB 4.55, 58; *vaināhy* DB 4.73, 77; *vikanāhy* DB 4.73; *vikanāh°-diš* DB 4.77; *patibarāh°-diš* DB 4.74; *patibarāhy* DB 4.78; *maniyaḥatiy* DB 4.39, DPe 20, DNa 38, XPh 47; *ahatiy* DPe 22.

(b) In temporal clauses of future time, with *yāvā* 'as long as'; the main clause has an inv. or a subjunctive in future meaning: *āhy* DB 4.72; *ahatiy* DB 4.74°, 78, 5.19, 35°.

(c) In alternative general clauses, the first introduced by *yathā* 'when' and the second by *yadi-vā* 'or if'; the main clause omits the copula: *vaināhy* . . . *āxšnāvāhy* DNb 29f.

(d) In negative clauses of purpose, introduced by *mātya*, with an implication of fear: *xšnāsātiy* DB 1.52, depending on a potential optative; *ḥadayātaiy* . . . *varnavātaiy* . . . *maniyaḥatiy* DB 4.49f, depending upon a timeless present.

(e) In a volition, object of a verb of mental action, without conjunction: *tya amanayaiy kunavānaiy* DSI 3f 'what I thought I will do'.

§279. THE OPTATIVE MOOD has a variety of uses in OP, fairly parallel to those of the subjunctive except that the uses as a future are lacking; they are as follows:

I. In independent clauses:

(a) Commands: *yadaišā* XPh 50; negative with *mā*, *biyā* DB 4.69, *yadiyāiškā* XPh 39.

(b) Prayers: *biyā* DB 4.56, 56, 58, 74f, 75, 78f; negative with *mā*, *biyā* DB 4.59, 79°, *ājamiyā* DPd 19.

II. In a relative clause of characteristic, with potential meaning: *caziyā* DB 1.50.

III. In other subordinate clauses:

(a) In optative clauses explanatory of *kāma* 'desire', introduced by *tya* 'that': *kariyaiš* DNb 9, 11; *vināḍayaiš* DNb 20; *frābiyaiš* DNb 21 (without *tya*).

(b) Potential in an object clause to a verb of fearing in a secondary tense; no introductory conjunction: *avājanīyā* DB 1.51, 52.¹

¹ Or perhaps potential as principal verbs of informal indirect discourse; but not principal verbs denoting repeated action in the past, as taken by Bv. TPS 1945.50-1 (cf. opt. in this use in Avestan; Reichelt, Aw. Elmb. §638).

(c) Potential in a future less vivid condition with *yadiy* 'if': *vinādayaiš* DNb 21 (conclusion *frābiyaiš*, see IIIa).

§280. THE IMPERATIVE MOOD has in OP the meanings of command and prayer.

I. Commands, addressed to men; very common, cf. *parsā* DB 4.38, 69, *jadiy* DB 2.31 etc., *kušwā* DNb 50. In *jīvā* DB 4.56, 75, the command approaches a wish in value; in *mā . . . razbatuw* DNb 60, the negative command seems to become a threat. In *varnavatim* DB 4.42, 53, the man addressed is not subject, but object.

II. Prayers, addressed to Ahuramazda with or without other gods; frequent, with *pātūw pā^rtūw*, *dadātūw*, *baratūw*, *kunautūw*, *nika^rtūw*.

§281. THE INJUNCTIVE MOOD, which is a secondary indicative form lacking the augment, has in OP only the use in a negative prohibition, with *mā*: in the first person, *tarsam* DPe 21; in the second person, *apagaudaya* DB 4.54, *awarada* and *stabava* DNa 60; in the third person, *θadaya* DNa 58, DNb 53.

§282. THE INFINITIVE occurs in OP in two uses:

(a) as direct object of verbs meaning 'order', 'dare', 'be able': *niyastāyam . . . katanaiy* DZc 9 'I ordered to dig'; *niyastāyam . . . nīpaištanaiy* XV 23f 'I ordered to inscribe', cf. the restorations in DSn 1 and DSf 19f (subject of passive *framātam*); *kašciy naiy adaršnauš cišciy θastanaiy* DB 1.53f 'no one dared say anything'; *utādiš atāvayam bartanaiy* DNb 46f 'and I had the strength to develop them'.

(b) to express purpose, with verbs of motion: only in the phrase *hamaranam cartanaiy* 'to make battle' (DB 1.93f, and 10 other occurrences), depending upon *āiš* 'he went', *paraitā* (pl. etc.) 'they went forth', *frāišaya* 'he sent forth'.

§283. THE PARTICIPLES in OP have no peculiarities of syntax. The following are examples of their uses: as attributive adjective, *axšatā* DPe 23; as appositive adjective, *marta* XPh 48; predicate adjective to a nom., *xšnuta* DNb 26, *xšayamna* DNb 15, *θakatā* DB 1.38; predicate adjective to an accusative, *ditam* DB 1.50, *duruxtam* DB 4.44f; predicate nominative without the copula, serving as finite verb, *paraitā* DB 2.32f; substantivized

by gender, masc. *tunwā* DNb 10, neut. *katam* DSf 25, *gastā* DNa 52, *rāstam* DNb 11, *vinastahyā* DNb 18, *jīyamnam* DB 2.62.

§284. THE TENSES in OP are the present, the imperfect, the strong aorist, the sigmatic aorist, in the indicative; the present, in the subjunctive, the optative, and the imperative. There are also one perfect optative, one strong aorist imperative (and possibly a second), and one heavily restored perfect indicative.

§285. THE PRESENT TENSE OF THE INDICATIVE is used to denote a real present, as in DB 1.3f *θātiy Dārayawauš xšāyabiya* 'Saith Darius the King', 1.12 *adam xšāyabiya amiy* 'I am king'; also to denote that which is true without respect to time, as DZc 10 *draya tyā hacā Pārsā aitiy* 'the sea which extends from Persia', XPh 51 *martiya . . . 56 batitiy*.

With an adverbial expression the present may, as in other languages, indicate time begun in the past and extending into the present, and the imperfect similarly may express time begun in a remoter past and extending into a nearer past; the best examples are in DB 1.7f *hacā paruwiyata āmātā amahy hacā paruwiyata hyā amāxam taumā xšāyabiya āha* 'from long ago we are (= have been) noble, from long ago our family was (= had been) royal (or kings)', and 9-11 *VIII manā taumāyā tyaiy paruwam xšāyabiya āha adam navama IX dwtitāparanam xšāyabiya amahy* '8 of my family (there were) who were (= had been) kings; I (am) the ninth; 9 in succession we are (= have been) kings'.

In XPh 30 *astiy* 'there is' seems to have been used illogically for *āha* 'there was'. The present *kunautiy* in DSs is an historical present, of timeless connotation, for the usual aorist *adā* 'created'.

§286. THE IMPERFECT AND AORIST TENSES OF THE INDICATIVE are in OP used to express action in past time, whether in progress or definitely terminated or habitual and repeated. The two tenses are seen in the variations of the same phrase: aorist in DB 1.90 *awadā hamaranam akumā* 'then we made battle', and imperfect in DB 2.23 *awadā hamaranam akunauš* 'there he made battle', both denoting terminated action. So also the imperfect *adadā* 'created' is used in the phrases at the beginning of DPd, DNb, DSe, precisely as the aorist *adā* is used in DNa, DSf, and other inscrip-

tions of Darius and Xerxes. Action in progress appears in the main clause of DB 2.62f *Vaumisa citā mām amānaya Armīniyaiy yatā adam arasam Mādam* 'Vaumisa waited for me so long, until I reached Media'. There seems to be no difference of aspect between *arasam* in this clause and its compound in DB 2.65 *yabā Mādam parārasam* 'when I reached Media'. Habitual repeated action is seen in DB 1.23f *yabāšām hacāma avahya avabā akunawayatā* 'as was said to them by me, thus 'twas done'. For action begun in a remoter past and extending into a nearer past, see examples in §285.

§287. TENSE ASPECT was not a living phenomenon of OP. The difference between imperfective (in progress, habitual, repeated) and perfective (definitely terminated) may be detected by examination of the meaning of the passages, but does not correspond to any difference of form in the verbs, as is seen from examples in §286, cf. §288.

§288. THE PERFECT TENSE is virtually lacking in OP. The one certain form, *caxriyā* DB 1.50, is an optative, and the passive indicative in DB 4.90 is an uncertain conjecture; in neither instance can any reason be seen for a perfect in the normal meaning of resultant state. The meaning which in English is normally expressed by the perfect tense seems to be present in all the instances where the participle is accompanied by the present copula: *astiy kartam* 'has been done' DB 4.46, 51; *kartam astiy* DNb 56; restored uncertain text, DNb 54f. Where the copula *āha* 'was' is expressed, the meaning seems to be that of the pluperfect: DB 1.62 *parābartam āha* 'had been taken away'; XPf 38 *kartam āha* 'had been made'. But it is doubtful if such distinctions would have been felt by the speaker of OP, since all past ideas seem to have been merged into one set of forms, including imperfects, aorists, and perfects, and a passive periphrastic of the past participle with or without the copula (usually without it, §§275-6).

§289. THE FUTURE is in OP expressed by forms of the subjunctive, the optative, and the imperative. The only future statement in a main clause is in DPe 24, where the subjunctive *nirasātiy* means 'will come down'. Elsewhere the future ideas in main clauses are commands and prayers, and in subordinate clauses are expressive of time relative to that of the verb on which they depend.

In some of these subordinate clauses the mood expresses a subordinated volition or wish or potentiality.

The aorist imperative *kušwa* 'do thou make' (DNb 50) is clearly imperfective in meaning; the repeated phrases 'go, smite' (DB 2.20f *paraitā . . . jatā*; etc.) are presents and are as clearly perfective.

§290. COORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION. Not infrequently the OP texts express by coordinate clauses ideas which are logically subordinate; the result is a series of short sentences, syntactically simple, independent of each other grammatically, but logically and semantically connected. Thus, for example, DB 4.46-8 *vašnā Auramazdāha apimāiy aniyašciy vasiy astiy kartam ava ahyaīyā dipiyā naiy nipištām avahyarādiy naiy nipištām mātya . . .* 'by the favor of Ahuramazda indeed, much other (work) was done by me; that (work) is not inscribed in this inscription; for the following reason it is not inscribed, lest . . .'; this could have been expressed in one complex sentence somewhat as follows: 'much other work was done by me, which has not been inscribed in this inscription for the following reason, lest . . .'. Another excellent example is found in XPf 20-25 *utā Vištāspa utā Aršāma ubā ajivatam aciy Auramazdām avabā kāma āha Dārayavum hya manā pitā avam xšāyabiyam akunauš ahyaīyā būmīyā* 'Hystaspes and Arsames both were living, then—unto Ahuramazda thus was the desire—Darius who (was) my father, him he made king in this land'; in the parallel passage DSf 13-5, *yadiy* 'when' is used instead of *aciy* 'then', and instead of *Auramazdām avabā kāma āha* (found also XPf 29f, DSf 15f), we find in DNa 37f (and elsewhere) *yabā mām kāma āha* 'as unto me was the desire'. In dating sentences we regularly have expressions of the type seen in DB 1.42f *Garmapadahya māhyā IX rauca-biš θakatā āha avabā xšačam agarbāyatā* 'of the month Garmapada, 9 days had passed—then he seized the kingship'; only in DB 1.38 the date is followed by a subordinated clause, *yadiy udapatatā* 'when he rose up in rebellion'. The same phenomenon is probably present where conjunctions are omitted as introductory to subordinate clauses, such as the absence of *tya* in DNb 20 and 50 (cf. DNa 39).

§291. THE COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS are *utā* 'and', and the enclitics *-ā* 'and' and *-vā* 'or'.

I. *utā* and *-cā* connect either single words or entire clauses; if used also with the first word or clause of a series, the meaning is 'both . . . and'. In a series of three single words there is no asyndeton, except that in A³Ša 4f, A³Ha 5f, the 'and' is omitted between the first and second words. Principal clauses may or may not be connected by an 'and' (both uses in DB 1.76f), and similarly with two subordinate clauses (DSf 28f and DNb 36) and with the two parts of one subordinate clause (both uses in DB 4.73f). A series *-cā . . . -cā utā . . .* occurs DB 1.66f.

II. No special word for 'but' occurs in the OP inscriptions. However, *utā* functions to counteract a preceding negative, like Lt. *et* (DB 4.73). Note that *naiy* 'not' is not 'and not', like Lt. *neque*, though this would often be a suitable meaning (as in DB 4.73); for in many passages (as in DB 1.71) it is merely the negative to a verb, even to a verb already introduced by *utā* 'and' (DB 4.78). Yet when repeated, *naiy* is best translated 'neither . . . nor', with words and with clauses.

III. *-vā* is attached to the second of a pair of words or of subordinate clauses; in DB 1.20 it is attached to both words of a pair. In DNb 25 and 29 *yadivā* 'or if' merely brings in an alternative verb in a relative clause introduced by *tya* '(that) which' or by *yabā* 'when'.

IV. Other adverbs which show the relations between main clauses are essentially adverbs which may be used with reference outside the clause. Note that *aciy* 'then' in XPf 21 is a substitute for *yadiy* 'when' in DSf 14.

§292. THE NEGATIVE ADVERBS in OP are *naiy* and *mā*.

(a) The adverb *naiy* is used with the indicative; with the subjunctive in future relative clauses, DB 2.84, 3.86, and in future conditional clauses, DB 4.55, 4.58, 4.73, 4.78; with the optative in the conclusion of a future less vivid condition, DNb 21; with the subjunctive in a negative clause of purpose, to negative the introductory *mātya*, DB 4.49.

(b) The adverb *mā* is used with subjunctive, optative, injunctive, and imperative, in negative wishes and commands. In DPd 18-20, after *mā* and the optative, three subjects are given, each preceded by an additional *mā* intensifying the negative. The compound negative *mātya* is used with the subjunctive in principal clauses to ex-

press a negative command, DB 4.43, 4.71, and in subordinate clauses to express a negative purpose, DB 1.52, 4.48f (see a).

§293. THE SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS of OP are derivatives of the pIE relative stem, in the forms *yātā*, *yabā*, *yadātya* (also miswritten *yadāyā*), *yadiy*, *yaniy*, *yāvā*; *tya*, from the OP relative stem; and *mā*, in the form *mātya*. Except *mā*, which is treated in §292.b, these will be treated in the following sections.

Subordination is achieved also by the use of the relative *hya-/tya-* (§261); and of the interrogative *ciyākaram* 'how great, how much, how many', introducing a direct or an indirect question with the indicative.

Perhaps there should be included here also *aciy* 'then' (§291.IV); and *hakaram* 'once' (DNb 34f), used with the subjunctive as the equivalent of a future general condition ('once let there be seen . . . ' = 'if at any time there shall have been seen').

§294. THE CONJUNCTION *yātā* has the meanings 'until' (twice with correlative *citā* 'so long'), 'while', 'as long as', 'when' (with correlative *adakaīy* 'then'). It usually refers to past time, and takes the imperfect indicative; once (DNb 23) it is in a general statement, expressed in the present tense. In two passages (DB 1.25 and 1.69) the 'until' has become virtually the equivalent of 'so that'.

§295. THE CONJUNCTION *yabā* has the meanings 'as' (marked by the correlative *avabā*, once miswritten *avā*; sometimes no correlative with *yabā* *mām kāma āha*); 'when', shading into 'after' (which is marked by the correlative *pasāva* 'after that'); 'that', introducing an object clause (DB 4.44); 'so that', introducing a result clause;¹ 'because' (marked by correlative *avahyarādīy* 'on account of this', DB 4.63). In all these the time is past, and the verb is in the imperfect indicative; except that the time is present and the verb is in the present indicative, in DSe 35, 39, and the time is future and the verb is in the present subjunctive, in DNb 28f. In DNb 39 the present indicative of general timeless statement is used in two conditional clauses compared by *yabā* ('as' = 'as well as').

¹ So in DB 1.70, DSe 35, 39; *yabā* never introduces a hypothetical proposition or a purpose. Cf. Bv. TPS 1945.54-6.

§296. THE CONJUNCTION *yadātya* (XPh 35f; miswritten *yadāyā* XPh 39) 'where' and *yanyīy* (XV 22) 'where' are used with the imperfect indicative; in XPh 39 there is a following correlative *avadā* 'there'.

§297. THE CONJUNCTION *yadiy* 'if, when' has several uses. In the meaning 'if', it most often takes the present subjunctive as the protasis of a future condition; the apodosis has the affirmative imperative or optative, the negative injunctive or optative, or the present subjunctive (DPe 22) as a future indicative. In DNb 20f *yadiy* introduces a future less vivid condition, with present optative in both parts. In DNb 25 and 29 *yadi-vā* 'or if' repeats *tya* '(that) which' in introducing an alternative verb; in 29 the verb is in the subjunctive with the main verb omitted, and in 25 both verbs are in the present indicative. In general conditions the 'if' easily passes into 'whenever', as in the two instances in DNb 38f, where the present indicative is used in both parts in a timeless general condition; and 'whenever' passes into 'when', used of past facts with the imperfect indicative, DB 1.38 and DSf 14.

§298. THE CONJUNCTION *yāvā* 'as long as' refers to the future in all its occurrences, and takes the present subjunctive; the verb in the clause on which it depends is also in the subjunctive, with future meaning.

§299. THE CONJUNCTION *tya* 'that' is used to introduce clauses of fact, of volition, of directly and indirectly quoted statement and question, of result; it has the present or imperfect indicative except in clauses of volition, which have the optative (DNb 8, 10, 19). For the compound *mātya*, see §292.b; for *yadātya*, §296; the phrase *yabā tyā* 'when that' (XPh 29) has the imperfect indicative precisely like *yabā* 'when'.

§300. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES in OP fall into the usual types: relative clauses, introduced by a relative pronoun (§301); substantival clauses of various types (§302); adverbial clauses, including conditional (§303), temporal (§304), and miscellaneous (modal, causal, consecutive, final, local; §305). In addition, logical subordination is often expressed by coordination, with or without an adverb indicating the logical relations (§290).

Two or more subordinate clauses which are co-

ordinate with one another have the following arrangements:

(a) Additive: the clauses may be connected by *utā* 'and', with repetition of the introductory word, as at DSf 28f; or the single clause may contain three coordinate verbs and their adjuncts, the first two asyndetic, but *utā* between the second and third (DB 4.73f, 4.77f.)

(b) Alternative: the alternative to a general relative clause is introduced by the relative with the enclitic *-vā* (DB 4.68f) when the relative is in the nominative case, but it is introduced by *yadi-vā* 'or if' (DNb 25) when the relative is in the accusative; the alternative to a general temporal clause introduced by *yabā* 'when' is introduced by *yadi-vā* 'or if' (DNb 29).

(c) Comparative: a general condition introduced by *yadiy* 'if' (= 'whenever') is compared with a preceding clause of the same kind by an intervening *yabā* 'as well as' (DNb 39).

§301. RELATIVE CLAUSES in OP are of various kinds.

(a) Most relative clauses are descriptive or restrictive, with the verb in the present or imperfect or aorist indicative; with a predicate nominative, participial or otherwise, or a predicate phrase (as in DH 4f, DB 1.15), the copula *astiy* or *ha'tiy* or *āha* may be omitted. In DB 2.84, 3.86, the present subjunctive is without apparent reason substituted for the present indicative in a restrictive clause of special (= not general) application.

(b) Relative clauses of general significance (= timeless) may have the present indicative (DNb 22-6, XPh 51-6) or the present subjunctive (DB 5.19, 5.34f), with the present indicative in the main clause; the sentence is virtually a present general condition.

(c) Relative clauses of general future meaning, depending upon an expression of command or prayer, have the verb in the subjunctive (§278.IIa).

(d) A relative clause of characteristic, with a general negative antecedent, has the optative in a potential sense (DB 1.50); the main clause contains an imperfect indicative.

§302. SUBSTANTIVE CLAUSES in OP are of several kinds.

(a) Objects clauses of fact: *tya* 'that' with inf. ind., three clauses, objects of a following *akunauš* 'made, did', DSf 28f; *yabā* 'how', = 'that', with

imf. ind., as object of preceding *Auramazdāha vartaiyaiy* 'I appeal to Ahuramazda', DB 4.44f.

(b) Object clause with potential optative, depending upon *atarsa* 'feared', without conjunction, DB 1.51, 1.52.

(c) Substantive clause of wish, nominative as subject to *kāma* (*astiy*) 'is the desire' or appositive of *ava* in *ava kāma* 'that (is) the desire'; with optative introduced by *tya* 'that', DNb 8, 10, 19; without *tya* DNb 21.

(d) Clauses of directly quoted statement as object or subject, normally without introductory conjunction: quotations of fact, with past participle or imf. ind., depending on *xšnāsāhy* and *azdā bavātiy*, DNa 42-7; of volition, expressed by the subjunctive, depending upon *amanīyaiy*, DSI 3f; of wish, with the subjunctive or injunctive, depending upon *manīyāhaiy*, DB 4.39, DPe 20f, XPh 47; of negative command, with *mā* and the opt., depending upon *patīyazbayam*, XPh 38f; of direct question, with the imf. ind., introduced by *ciyākaram* 'how many' which is preceded by a superfluous *tya* 'that', and depending on *manīyāhaiy*, DNa 38f.

(e) Clauses of indirectly quoted statement as subject or object, normally introduced by *tya* 'that': with past ptc. as verb, as subject of *naiy azdā abava*, DB 1.32; with pres. ind. as verb, as object of *xšnāsātiy*, DB 1.52f; with pres. ind. as verb and no *tya*, indirect question introduced by *ciyākaram* 'how great' (and two other coordinate clauses without verbs) as object of *kušwā* in *azdā kušwā* 'do thou make known', DNb 50-2.

§303. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES occur as follows in OP:

(a) Future conditions occur only addressed to an idealized hearer in the second person; the protasis has the subjunctive in the second person, and the apodosis has a command or a prayer or a future statement; see §278.IIIa. General relative clauses with the subjunctive are often a virtual substitute for this form of the condition; see §278.IIb.

(b) A future less vivid condition, with optative in both parts, is found in DNb 20f, where it functions as appositive to *ava* in *naiṣatimā ava kāma* 'that again is not my desire'. The protasis has *yadiy*.

(c) For *yadi-vā* 'or if' as correlative to *tya* 'that', see §297.

§304. TEMPORAL CLAUSES in OP are of considerable variety.

(a) Introduced by 'when': to express past time, the temporal clause has imf. ind., and the main clause has the imf. ind. or a ptc. with *āha*; introduced by *yadiy*, DB 1.38, DSf 14; by *yātā*, DB 4.81; by *yabā*, DB 1.31, 91°, 2.22, 65, 3.34, DNb 28f, DSI 3, XPh 24, 32, 36; by *yabā tya*, XPh 29. To express future time, the temporal clause has the subjunctive, and the main clause has an expression of prayer or command. Introduced by *yabā* DNb 28f, subjunctive in a general statement with omitted copula in main clause.

(b) Introduced by 'after', expressed by *yabā* preceded or followed by *pasōva*; the temporal clause has the imf. ind., and the main clause has the imf. ind. or the past ptc. without the copula: DB 1.27, 33, 72, 73, 2.32, 52, 3.3, 4.5, 5.3, 23, DNa 31f, DSf 25, XSc 3.

(c) Introduced by *yadiy* 'whenever', with pres. ind.; the main clause also has the pres. ind.: DNb 38, 39.

(d) Introduced by *yātā* 'while', with imf. ind. in both parts of the sentence: DB 2.6, 3.77.

(e) Introduced by 'as long as', with *yātā* and the imf. ind. to denote past time, the main clause having *astiy kartam*, DB 4.51; with *yāvā* and the subjunctive to denote future time, the main clause also having the imperative in a prohibition, DB 4.71, or the subjunctive in a condition, DB 4.74, 78, or in a general relative clause, DB 5.19, 35.

(f) Introduced by *yātā* 'until', with pres. ind. in both parts of the sentence in a timeless generalization, DNb 23f, and the imf. ind. in both parts to denote past time, DB 1.25, 54, 69, 2.28, 48, 63, DNa 51, DSf 24, XPh 45f.

§305. MISCELLANEOUS ADVERBIAL CLAUSES of the following types are found in OP:

(a) Modal, introduced by *yabā* 'as', with the imperfect ind. or an omitted *āha* 'was'; the main clause has the imf. ind.: DB 1.23, 63, 67, 69, 4.35, 5.17, 29, 33, DNa 37, DSJ 3, DZc 11, 12. Exception, DB 4.51f *naiy astiy kartam yabā manā kartam* 'has not been done as (has) been done by me', with past ptc. and copula.

(b) Local, introduced by 'where', with imf. ind. in both parts of the sentence: with *yaniy* XV 22, *yadātya* XPh 35f, *yadāyā* XPh 39.

(c) Causal, introduced by 'because': *yabā* DB

4.63, with *imf. ind.* in both parts of sentence; *tya* DNb 33, with *pres. ind.* in both parts.

(d) Consecutive, introduced by *yathā* 'so that', with *imf. ind.* in both parts DB 1.70, with *pres. ind.* in both parts DSe 38-41, with *pres. ind.* depending on an *imf. ind.* DSe 34-7; introduced by *tya* 'so that', with *imf. ind.* in both parts DB 4.34, with *pres. ind.* in both parts DNb 7.

(e) Volitive in a negative clause of purpose introduced by *mātya* 'lest': with *subj.* depending on potential opt. DB 1.52, with *subj.* depending on past *ptc.* with omitted *astiy* DB 4.48f.

§306. THE POSITION OF ADJECTIVES.

I. Attributive adjectives precede their nouns if they are demonstrative, numerical, quantitative, or month-names. Exceptions: DB 1.40 *kāra haruwa* 'the people entire', and DB 1.79f *kāra hya Bābiru-viya haruwa* 'the Babylonian people entire' (*hya* with *Bābiru-viya* only), where *haruwa*- 'all' (elsewhere preceding its noun) may perhaps be an appositive; XPh 28f *Dārayavauš* (error for *-vahauš*) *puṣā aniyai-ci-y āhatā* 'of Darius there were other sons', where the unusual position may be for emphasis.

II. Descriptive adjectives, if attributive, follow their nouns. Exceptions, (a) in a fixed phrase, DNb 23f *uradanām haduḡām* 'the Ordinance of Good Regulations'; (b) with a preceding demonstrative, as in DPe 8f *hadā anā Pārsā kārā* 'with this Persian army', DPe 21 *imam Pārsam kāram* (but also DPe 22 *kāra Pārsa*, etc.); (c) for emphasis, in DNa 46 *Pārsa martiya*, DNa 43f *Pārsahyā martiyahyā*.

III. Attributive adjectives preceded by articular *hya* follow the same principles; *hya* is required if *ava-* precedes the noun, as in *avam kāram tyam hamiciyam* 'that rebellious army' (DB 2.35, etc.). The only instance which precedes is DB 3.32 *hya aniya kāra Pārsa* 'the rest of the Persian army'.

IV. Adjectives as predicates and as appositives have the same position as nouns in the same uses (§307, §308).

§307. THE POSITION OF PREDICATE NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES. A predicate noun or adjective stands between the subject and the verb, unless the subject follows the verb; in this instance the order is predicate, verb, subject. Exceptions: DB 4.46f *aniyašci-y vasi-y astiy kartam* 'much other (work) was done'; DB 4.51f *avadā* (miswritten *avā*) *nai-y astiy kartam* 'thus it was not done'. In DNb both

positions are found, for stylistic reasons: 34 *hamaranakara amiy ušhamaranakara* 'as battle-fighter I am a good battle-fighter', 41f *asabāra ušasabāra amiy* 'as horseman a good horseman am I', 42f *banwaniya ubanwaniya amiy* 'as bowman a good bowman am I', 44 *ārštika amiy wārštika* 'as spearman I am a good spearman'.

§308. THE POSITION OF APPOSITIVES. Appositives, whether nouns or adjectives, usually follow¹ that to which they are appositive; but the position is otherwise free. Appositives to a subject implied in the verbal ending may stand in any place; cf. DNb 41-5. Chiasmus sometimes is the result of stylistic considerations: XPh 47f *šiyāta ahaniy jīva utā marta artāvā ahaniy* 'happy may I be while living, and when dead blessed may I be'; DSf 12f *hya manā pitā Vištāspa utā Aršāma hya manā niyāka* 'my father Hystaspes and Arsames my grandfather', in which the appositive precedes in one instance.

An appositive is usually attached to its noun by an articular *hya* (§261.III), if the fact thus expressed is considered to be known by the hearer or reader.

§309. THE POSITION OF THE GENITIVE. A genitive used as a genitive (not in a dative use), and depending upon a noun or adjective, precedes that noun or adjective, unless the genitive is attached to its noun by the article, in which instance it follows: DB 1.4 *manā pitā* 'my father', but DB 2.27 *kāra hya manā* 'my army'. The exception is only seeming in DB 1.9f *VIII manā taumāyā tyai-y paruwam xšāyabi-yā āha* 'eight (there were) of our family, who were kings before'; for *amāxam taumāyā* is an appositive, equal to '(members) of our family', cf. DB 1.28 *Kabūjiya nāma Kūrauš puṣa amāxam taumāyā* 'Cambyses by name, a son of Cyrus, (a member) of our family'.

Other exceptions belong exclusively to governmental and religious formulas: *xšāyabi-yā xšāyabi-yānām* 'kings of kings', *xšāyabi-yā dahyānām* 'king of countries', *hya mabišta baqānām* 'the greatest of gods', *vašnā Auramazdāha* 'by the will of Ahuramazda'. It is possible that the postposition of the genitive in these phrases is a Median usage.

Enclitic genitive pronouns are somewhat freer

¹ In the phrase *asā dāruw* (DSf 41; see Lex. s.v. *dāru-*) it is uncertain which word is appositive to the other; is it 'stone that is wood', or 'wood that is stone'?

in their position; for while they normally preceded the noun which they modify, we find also DNb 25f *anw taumanišaiy* 'according to his powers', and the restored DB 5.27 [*maθišta[šām :] S[ku]xa : nāma* 'the chief of them, Skunkha by name', where the *-šām* has no earlier word to which it may be attached, and space does not permit [*hyašām : maθišta [:] S[ku]xa : nāma*. Cf. also §311.I end.

§310. THE WORD-ORDER IN THE SENTENCE in OP is quite free, but the normal order is subject—object—verb: DB 1.85 *kāra hya Nađitabairahyā Tigrām adāraya* 'the army of Nidintu-Bel held the Tigris'. There are the following types of exceptions:

I. The verb may come before the subject, for emphasis, as in *θātiy Dārayawauš xšāyathiya* 'Saith Darius the King'; to give substantive force to the verb 'to be', as in DB 1.48 *naiy āha martiya* 'there was not a man', and XPh 30 *astiy*; in direct and indirect questions, DNa 39, cf. DNb 50-2.

II. The object may precede the subject, for emphasis, as in DB 1.41f *xšačam haw aqarbāyātā* 'the sovereignty he seized', and when the object is a resumptive pronoun and the subject is a pronoun, as in DB 1.62 *awa adam patipadam akunavam* 'that (sovereignty) I put back on its base'.

III. When there are two or more subjects or objects, the second and later subjects or objects commonly follow the verb, as in DB 4.60f, 1.57f, DSf 57f.

IV. When a verb takes two accusatives, one denoting a person and the other a thing, the order is variable; with *dā-* 'take away from', DB 1.46 (both objects follow; cf. passive in DB. 1.50, where both nouns precede); DPd 20-2 *aita adam yānam jadiyāmiy Auramazdām* 'this as a boon I beg of Ahuramazda', DNa 53f *aita adam Auramazdām jadiyāmiy*.

V. A predicate to the object of a factitive verb usually follows the object, as in DSf 3f *hya Dārayavavum Xšyam akunauš* 'who made Darius king'; but occasionally precedes, as in DSf 16f *ha[r]-wahyāy[ā BUy]ā mar[tiyam] mām avar[navatā]* 'chose me as his man in all the earth'.

VI. The indirect object may stand before or after the direct object, or after the verb: DB 1.12 *Auramazdā xšačam manā frābara* 'Ahuramazda conferred the sovereignty upon me'; DB 1.19 *manā būjim abaratā* '(the provinces) bore tribute to me';

DZe 3f *hya Dārayavavauš Xšyā xšačam frābara* 'who conferred the sovereignty upon King Darius'; DNa 4 *hya šiyātim adā martiyahyā* 'who created happiness for man' (and so elsewhere; but DNb 2f *hya adadā šiyātim martiyahyā* has the verb before the direct object).

VII. Other adjuncts of the sentence are free in position, standing either at the beginning or between the subject and the verb or at the end: resp. DB 1.8 *hacā paruwiyata*, 1.45 *hacā paruwiyata*, 1.82 *Ūvjam and abiy mām*. The phrase *vašnā Auramazdāha* 'by the favor of Ahuramazda' stands first in its clause in 63 of its 77 occurrences. Resumptive pronouns (*haw* and forms of *awa-*) and adverbs (*avadā*, *avathā*) stand first after a nominative phrase; *pasāwa* 'afterward' leads off its clause in 77 of its 82 occurrences, standing last in DB 1.27, 4.5, 5.3, XSc 3, before *yathā* 'when', while in DSe 48 the text is uncertain. Other adjuncts are variable in position; thus the goal may precede or follow the verb: DB 2.3 *pasāwa adam Bābirum ašiyavam* 'afterward I set forth to Babylon', DB 2.30 *avam adam frāšayam Arminam* 'him I sent forth to Armenia'.

VIII. Subordinate clauses may stand either before or after the main clause; the order of the elements in them is the same as the order in main clauses, though the verb is more likely to stand in final position. Occasionally a word belonging to the clause stands before the relative or conjunction which introduces it: DB 4.37 *tuwam kā xšāyathiya hya aparam āhy* 'thou who shalt be king hereafter', 4.67f, 4.87, cf. especially DNb 21f, 24f. In one phrase an adjective belonging to the antecedent is incorporated within the relative clause: DB 2.31, 2.51 *kāra hya hamičiya manā naiy gaubatiy* 'the rebel army which does not call itself mine', cf. DB 2.84 *kāram hamičiyam hya manā naiy gaubātiy*.

§311. THE POSITION OF ENCLITIC WORDS. The enclitics of OP may be divided into four groups: (1) pronominal forms *-mai-y mā -ma, -tai-y, -šai-y -šim -šām -šiš, -dim -diš*; (2) adv. *patiy*, conj. *tya*; (3) conj. *-cā, -vā*, adv. *api-y -ci-y -di-y*; (4) postpositions (see §133 for others in fixed combinations; §134-§139 for phonetic phenomena).

Some enclitic words are occasionally written as separate words; thus *dāš* DB 4.34, 35, 36, *taiy* DNb 58 (*mā taiy*, but *mā-taiy* DNb 52, 55), *tya* in *yathā tyā* XPh 29 despite *yadā-tyā* XPh 35f and

mā-tya DB 1.52, 4.43, 48, 71, *patiy* in *ima pati-maiy* DNb 32f despite *nai-pati-mā* DNb 20. Regular orthotone *mām* is written with the preceding in *mā-tya-mām* DB 1.52. On adv. *patiy*, see II; on *apiy*, see III; on the postpositions, see IV.

I. The enclitic pronouns are attached to the first word of their sentence or clause or phrase, even though this be *utā* 'and': DB 1.25 *Auramazdā-maiy upastām frābara* 'Ahuramazda bore me aid'; DPh 8 *tya-maiy Auramazdā frābara* '(the kingdom) which Ahuramazda conferred upon me'; DPh 9f *mām Auramazdā pātū utā-maiy vibam* 'me may Ahuramazda protect, and my royal house'. But the phrase *vašnā Auramazdāha* does not count in fixing the position of an enclitic: DB 1.13f *vašnā Auramazdāha adam-šām xšāyabīya āham* 'by the favor of Ahuramazda I was king of them'; except in two partly restored passages, see under III. An enclitic in a dependent clause is sometimes attached to *utā* preceding a conjunction or relative: DB 4.73f *utā-taiy yāvā taumā ahaiy* 'and as long as strength shall be unto thee'; XPa 15 *uta-maiy tyā pitā akunauš* 'and what my father built', but also XPa 19f *utā tyā-maiy piça kartam* 'and what was built by my father'; DNb 28f *yaθā-maiy tyā kartam vaināhy* 'when thou shalt see what was built by me'. An attributive enclitic genitive normally precedes the word which it modifies (cf. §309); but the meaning sometimes governs the position, as in A³Sa 3 *apan^oyāka-ma* 'my grandfather's grandfather', A³Sa 4 [*n^oyā*]/*kama* (for *-am-ma*, §138.I) 'my grandfather', both with *n^o* for *-n^oy^o* = *-mai^o* (§52.I). The abl. *-ma* is found only in *hacā-ma* 'from me', standing anywhere in its clause. These formulations are violated in three heavily restored passages, but the available space and the other versions favor these restorations: DSf 20 [*ava ucāramaiy* (= *-am-maiy*) *akunauš*] 'that he made successful for me'; DSf 23 [*hacā-ci*] *dūradaša [arjanam-šaiy abariya]* 'from afar its ornamentation was brought'; DNb 54f *tyā parla[m-taiy as]tiy* 'what is communicated to thee' (this restoration is highly conjectural).

II. The adverb *patiy*, when enclitic, was attached to the first word of its clause (for DNb 32f, see V), but also in an equal number of passages is orthotone and leads its clause. The conjunction *tya*, when enclitic, stands immediately after a conjunction which leads its clause (*mā-tya*, *yaθā-tya*, *yaθā tyā*).

III. The conjunctions *-cā* and *-vā* are attached to the word which they introduce, which of necessity is the first word in the word-group concerned; *apiy*, either directly attached or as separate word, emphasizes the preceding *dūrai^o* 'far off', which never begins a clause (for a restored instance, see Lex. s. v.); *-ciy* is attached to the word which it emphasizes, wherever it stands; the rather doubtful *-diy* also is attached to the word which it emphasizes, which stands first in DB 4.69 and second in A³Sd 3.

IV. The postpositions are *upariy* (§269; only once postposed, as separate word); *parā*, only in *ava-parā*; *rādiy*, in *avahya-rādiy* and separately; *patiy*, as enclitic postposition, as separate postposition, and also as preposition; *-ā*, as formative of the locative case; *hacā* once (DB 1.50), separately, governing a preceding enclitic. Position in the clause varies.

V. When two enclitics stand in succession, they are attached to the first word of the sentence or clause, and the pronominal enclitic stands last. There are the following occurrences:

DNb 20 *nai-pati-mā*; with separation, DNb 32f *ima pati-maiy*.

DNb 27f *avākaram-ca-maiy*; DNb 51, 51f *ciyā-karam-ca-maiy*.

DB 1.52 *mā-tya-mām*, where the regular orthotone acc. *mām* is used as an enclitic instead of the unaccented form *-mā*.

§312. THE NAMING PHRASES. It is a feature of OP style, that at the first mention of a person (other than of the ruling king) or of a place (other than of a governmental province) the name of that person or place should be followed by *nāma* or *nāmā*; there are a few exceptions, as in DSf 12f, where the names of Arsames and Hystaspes lack *nāma*, and in DB 3.11 and 5.4, where the province-names *Marguš* and *Ūvja* are accompanied by *nāmā*. These phrases are always¹ in the nominative case, whether or not that is their function in the sentence; they are usually followed by a resumptive pronoun or adverb. The form *nāma* is used unless there is a following generic term of feminine gender (*dahyāuš*, *didā*), when *nāmā* is

¹ The only exception is A³Hc 14f *Viššaspahyā nāma puça* 'son of Hystaspes by name', where *nāma* modifies the genitive and is not followed by a generic word; the cast of the sentence eliminates the possibility of a resumptive pronoun.