(b) In some passages the middle is used with purely active meaning, as in akunavat*ā DB 48 ‘they wrought’, but act. akunavatva* DB 51, 53; manā bājim alara*ta DB 1.19 ‘they bore tribute to me’, but act. abara* DPe 9f, abara* DNa 19f, XPh 17, in the same phrase; azdā kušwā DNb 50 ‘do thou make known’; mid. āhā*ta ‘they were’, but also act. āhā*.

Perhaps the ambiguity of abara* for sg. abara* and pl. abara* for akunavat* and akunavatva*, 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 manita*aya ‘I think’, yada*aya ‘he worships’, amarīga*ata ‘he died’, and their forms. That these may originally have represented middle voice ideas, is indicated by the fact that Latin arbitror, venceror, 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. vainataya ‘is seen, is seen to be’, seems* DNb 2, XPa 16, and subj. vainataya DNb 35; anapata* ‘was led’ DB 1.82, 2.73, 5.26; probably kunawatāya DNb 56, and the restored forms [ā]hī[yatā] ‘was thrown’ DB 1.95 and adā-[rāyatā] DB 4.90f. This use of the middle is found in Avestan (Reichelt, Av. Elmsn. §614); and the middle forms are the basis of the passive forms of Greek and Latin.

§275. The Passive Forms 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 ‘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 kamičita* haşmatā parasatā ‘the rebels assembled (and) came out’; DNa 43-5 Pārsahya marmāya dara*i arshī 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 x[a]çaam tya haca amāzam taumāyī parābād kar[tam] aha.

DB 4.46f aniya*siyyi vasiyy asitiy kartam.

DB 4.51f aasiyī a[ve]ero naiyy asitiy kartam.

XPh 38 tyamayī piça kartam aha.

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

DB 1.37f Viyaxnaha* yāhā YIV raucabī thèsekatā aha (so also in 17 other dates).

DB 3.7f Garmapadahya māhā I rauc aθakatam aha.

DPe 22 yadiy kārā Pārsā pāta ahātīy.

DNb 26 xanu da amīy, cf. the adj. in the parallel clause u[ç]nāwām amīy, in line 27.

XPh 47 šiyāta abahiy, cf. adj. in 48 artāvāh abahiy, and the similar pair in 55f, šiyāta bavatīy . . . artāvā bavatīy, 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 bāv- appears only in XPh 55, just cited; in DSe 25 yabīk kator amava the participle has become substantival and is subject.

IV. Four heavily restored passages, DSe 3f, DSe 5f, 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 it may vary with the subjunctive (§301.1, 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, mīnasātiy DPe 24: future of determination almost equal to command, xīnāśātiy DNA 42.

(b) Volitional uses: affirmative commands bavātiy DNA 43, 45f, vairātiy DNB 35; negative commands with mā or mātiy, draujātiyā DB 4.43, vikānāyā DB 4.71, kāvānātiy DNB 56, bavātiy DNB 59. Negative wishes possibly in (restored) vījanātiy, vimānātiy ASa 5, A1Ha 7 (though optative or injunctive or imperative forms are equally possible in these passages).

(c) Uses in future possible wishes: ahanīt XPh 47, 48, ahatiy DB 4.39f, ṭadavātiy 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, DSft 10°; ahatiy DB 4.38, 68, 68f; kavānāyā DB 4.75, 79; patipārāsāyā DB 4.42; patipārāsāyā DB 4.48; vairāyā DB 4.70; vairātiy DSj 5°.

(b) In a relative clause equivalent to a present general condition, with the conclusion in the present indicative: yadātāiy 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: gavbātāiy DB 2.84, 3.86; cf. ind. gaubatāiy DB 2.21, 31, 51, 3.15, 59 in the same meaning.

III. In other subordinate clauses:

(a) In future conditions with yadīy ‘if’; the negative is naiy, and the main clause is a command or a prayer, once a future statement (DPe 22): apagadayāhy DB 4.55; thāhy DB 4.55, 58; vairāhy DB 4.73, 77; vikānāyā DB 4.73; vikānārāśī DB 4.77; patibhravāśī DB 4.74; patibhrāyā DB 4.78; maniṣāhāiy DB 4.30, DPe 20, DNa 38, XPh 47; ahatiy DPe 22.

(b) In temporal clauses of future time, with yātā ‘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 yadā ‘when’ and the second by yadi-vā ‘or if’; the main clause omits the copula: vairāhy . . . xīnāśāhy DNB 29f.

(d) In negative clauses of purpose, introduced by mātya, with an implication of fear: xīnāśātiy DB 1.52, depending on a potential optative; ṭadavātiy . . . vāvānātiy . . . maniṣātiy DB 4.49f, depending upon a timeless present.

(e) In a volition, object of a verb of mental action, without conjunction: tya amanātāyā kuna-vānāiy 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: yadaśā XPh 50; negative with mā, biyā DB 4.69, yadaviśa" XPh 39.

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

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

III. In other subordinate clauses:

(a) In optative clauses explanatory of kāma ‘desire’, introduced by tya ‘that’: kariyā DB 9, 11; vimānāiyā DNB 20; frāvāyi DNB 21 (without tya).

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

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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. TFS 1945.50-1 (cf. opt. in this use in Avestan; Reichelt, Aw. Elmb. §638).
(c) Potential in a future less vivid condition with yadii ‘if’; vinādayci DNb 21 (conclusion frāhiyāt, see IIIb).

§280. The Imperative Mood has in OP the meanings of command and prayer.

I. Commands, addressed to men; very common, cf. parsē DB 4.38, 69; jadiy DB 2.31 etc., kuswi DNb 50. In ḫūvi DB 4.56, 75, the command approaches a wish in value; in mā . . . razīdāw DNb 60, the negative command seems to become a threat. In varnavatām DB 4.42, 53, the man addressed is not subject, but object.

II. Prayers, addressed to Ahuramazda with or without other gods; frequent, with pātāw pātāw, dadātāw, baratāw, kunawutāw, nika’tuw.

§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, apagāudaya DB 4.54, awarada and stābaca DNa 60; in the third person, tādaya DNa 58, DNb 53.

§282. The Infinitive occurs in OP in two uses:

(a) as direct object of verbs meaning ‘order’, ‘dare’, ‘be able’: nīyastāyam . . . katanaīy DNc 9 ‘I ordered to dig’; nīyastāyam . . . nīpsātānaiy XV 23f ‘I ordered to inscribe’, cf. the restorations in DSn 1 and DSn 19f (subject of passive frāmātām); kāṣṭārī naiy ādānśanviu cīṣcīy ṭastanaīy DB 1.53f ‘no one dared say anything’; utādiś ātōwam barta-naiy DNb 46f ‘and I had the strength to develop them’.

(b) to express purpose, with verbs of motion: only in the phrase hamararan cartanaīy ‘to make battle’ (DB 1.93f, and 10 other occurrences), depending upon ātš ‘he went’, paraiyā (pl. ptc.) ‘they went forth’, frāhiyā ‘he sent forth’.

§283. The Participles in OP have no peculiarities of syntax. The following are examples of their uses: as attributive adjective, axītata DPe 23; as appositive adjective, marta XPh 48; predicate adjective to a nom., xīnata DNb 26, z̄šayatnna DNb 15, thakata DB 1.38; predicate adjective to an accusative, dišam DB 1.50, duruştam DB 4.44f; predicate nominative without the copula, serving as finite verb, paraiyā DB 2.32f; substantivized by gender, masc. tunuṭ DNb 10, neut. katam DSf 25, gastā DNa 52, rēstam DNb 11, vinastahy 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 bātīy Dārayauy yōzāyatiya ‘Saith Darius the King’, 1.12 adam yōzāyatiya amiy ‘I am king’; also to denote that which is true without respect to time, as DZe 10 draya īya hācā Pārāsā avitīy ‘the sea which extends from Persia’, XPh 51 martīyati . . . 56 bātatiy.

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 remote past and extending into a nearer past; the best examples are in DB 1.7f hācā parwitiyā ounātā amahy hācā parwitiyā ounām tāmal yōzāyatiya yē ‘from long ago we are (= have been) noble, from long ago our family was (= had been) royal (or kings)’, and 9–11 VIII manā tāmal yōzāyatiya parwam yōzāyatiya yē ādam navama IX dūxītāparanam yōzāyatiya amahy ‘8 of my family (there were) who were (= had been) kings; I (am) the ninth; 9 in succession we (= have been) kings’.

In XPh 30 astiy ‘there is’ seems to have been used illogically for āhā ‘there was’. The present kunatitīy in DSS is an historical present, of timeless connotation, for the usual aorist add ‘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 awādā hamararan akunā ‘then we made battle’, and imperfect in DB 2.23 awādā hamararan akunā ‘there he made battle’, both denoting terminated action. So also the imperfect addā ‘created’ is used in the phrases at the beginning of DPD, DNb, DSS, precisely as the aorist add is used in DNs, DSf, and other inscrip-
tions of Darius and Xerxes. Action in progress appears in the main clause of DB 2.621 Vaumisa citā mām amānyaga Arminiaiyi yātā adām 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 yayā Mādam parārasam ‘when I reached Media’. Habitual repeated action is seen in DB 1.23f yayātsām hacimā ahałyā avō ahunayatatā ‘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 passives, 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, cazriyā 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 DB 56; restored uncertain text, DB 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’; XPy 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 kusōwa ‘do thou make’ (DNb 50) is clearly imperfective in meaning; the repeated phrases ‘go, smite’ (DB 2.20f paraśatā . . . jatā; etc.) are presents and are as clearly perfective.

§90. 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 vaśna Avuramazdāhā api-maiy aniyāschiy vasiy astiy kartam awa ahūyā dīpiyā naivy nipiśatam avahyarādiy naivy nipiśatam matya . . . ‘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 XPy 20–25 utā Viśāspa utā Aršāma utā adjamāt aciy Avuramazdām avāhā kāma āha Dārayavum bya manā pūta avam xasābyitam akunauš ahūyā būmiyā ‘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 Avuramazdām avāhā kāma āha ‘is unto me was the desire’. In dating sentences we regularly have expressions of the type seen in DB 1.42G Garmanpadahya māhāyā IX rawa-biš takaśa āha avāhā zācām agarbāyatā ‘of the month Garmanpa, 9 days had passed—then he seized the kingship’; only in DB 1.38 the date is followed by a subordinated clause, yadiy udapataṭa ‘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 tāy in DNB 20 and 50 (cf. DNa 39).

§291. THE COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS are utā ‘and’, and the enclitics -cā ‘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 ASa 4f, A²Ha 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, likeLt. et (DB 4.73). Note that naiy 'not' is not 'and not', likeLt. 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 29 and 29 yadivā 'or if' merely brings in an alternative verb in a relative clause introduced by tyā '(that) which' or by yāba '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 acēy 'then' in XPF 21 is a substitute for yadivā '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 express 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 yādā, yabha, yadātya (also miswritten yadāyā), yadīy, yaniy, yāvā; tyā, 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 ciyākaraṃ 'how great, how much, how many', introducing a direct or an indirect question with the indicative.

Perhaps there should be included here also acēy 'then' (§291.IV); and hakaraṃ '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 yādā has the meanings 'until' (twice with correlative cītā 'so long'), 'while', 'as long as', 'when' (with correlative adakaiy '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 yabha has the meanings 'as' (marked by the correlative avahā, once miswritten avā; sometimes no correlative with yabha mām kāma aha); 'when', shading into 'after' (which is marked by the correlative avahārađiy 'after that'); 'that', introducing an object clause (DB 4.44); 'so that', introducing a result clause; 'because' (marked by correlative avahārađiy '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 yabha ('as' = 'as well as').

1 So in DB 1.70, DSe 35, 39; yabha never introduces a hypothetical proposition or a purpose. Cf. Bv. TPS 1945.54–6.
§296. The Conjunction yaḍātya (XPh 35f.; miswritten yaḍāqya XPh 39) 'where' and yaṇi (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 yadjī-vā 'or if' repeats yta '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 yaśā '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 yta '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 māta, see §292.b; for yaḍātya, §296; the phrase yaṣā tya 'when that' (XPh 29) has the imperfect indicative precisely like yaṣā '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 coordinate with one another have the following arrangements:

(a) Additive: the clauses may be connected by uṭa '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 uṭa 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 yaṣā '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 yaṣā '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 hatiy 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 11-6, 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 (§278.11a).

(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 akūnāt 'made, did', DSf 28f; yaṣā 'how', = 'that', with
imf. ind., as object of preceding *Aramidzāhā vartiyašīy ‘I appeal to Ahuramazda’, DB 4.44f.

(b) Object clause with potential optative, depending upon *altaša ‘feared’, without conjunction, DB 1.51, 1.52.

(c) Substantive clause of wish, nominative as subject to *kāmā (astiyaš) ‘is the desire’ or appositive of *awā in awa kāmā ‘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 *zhūnasūhy and azdā basūty, DNB 32–7; of volition, expressed by the subjunctive, depending upon amaniyašīy, DSI 3f; of wish, with the subjunctive or injunctive, depending upon maniyašīy, DB 4.39, DPe 20f, XPh 47; of negative command, with *mā and the opt., depending upon patiyazayam, XPh 38f; of direct question, with the imf. ind., introduced by ciyākaram ‘how many’ which is preceded by a superlative *tya ‘that’, and depending on maniyašīy, DNB 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 abawa, DB 1.32; with pres. ind. as verb, as object of *zhūnasūty, 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 kūšāvā in azdā kūshavā ‘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 §278.31a. General relative clauses with the subjunctive are often a virtual substitute for this form of the condition; see §278.31b.

(b) A future less vivid condition, with optative in both parts, is found in DNB 20f, where it functions as appositive to *awā in naiyatimā awa kāmā ‘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 yadū, DB 1.38, DSI 14; by yātā, DB 4.81; by yātā, DB 1.31, 91°, 2.22, 65, 3.34, DNB 28f, DSI 3, XPh 24, 32, 36; by yātā *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 yātā DNB 28f, subjunctive in a general statement with omitted copula in main clause.

(b) Introduced by ‘after’, expressed by yātā preceded or followed by *pasūva; 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, DNB 31f, DSI 25, XSe 3.

(c) Introduced by yadīy ‘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 astīy 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, DNB 51, DSI 24, XPh 45f.

§305. Miscellaneous Adverbial Clauses of the following types are found in OP:

(a) Modal, introduced by yātā ‘as’, with the imperfect ind. or an omitted *ahā ‘was’; the main clause has the imf. ind.: DB 1.23, 63, 67, 69, 4.35, 5.17, 29, 33, DNB 37, Dsj 3, DZe 11, 12. Exception, DB 4.51f naiy astīy kartam yātā 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 yaniiy XV 22, yadaitya XPh 35f, yadāyā XPh 39.

(c) Causal, introduced by ‘because’: yātā DB
positions are found, for stylistic reasons: 34 hamanarakara amiy ušhamaranakara 'as battle-fighter I am a good battle-fighter', 41f asobāra wūsbāra amiy 'as horseman a good horseman am I', 42f šanuwačiya wušanuwačiya amiy 'as Bowman a good Bowman am I', 44 arštika amiy ušarštika 'as spearman I am a good spearman'.

§308. The Position of Appositives. Appositives, whether nouns or adjectives, usually follow 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 šišača ahaniy jīva utā marta arštakā ahaniy 'happy may I be while living, and when dead blessed may I be'; DSF 12f hnya manā pile Višāpe utā Aršama hnya manā nīyaka '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 hnya (§261.II), 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 pilā 'my father', but DB 2.27 kāra hnya manā 'my army'. The exception is only seeming in DB 1.9f VIII manā tāmuŋa tyai parwam xšayabīya aha 'eight (there were) of our family, who were kings before'; for amāxam tāmuŋa is an appositive, equal to 'members of our family', cf. DB 1.28 Kabūjiya nāma Kürasų puca amāxam tāmuŋa 'Cambyses by name, a son of Cyrus, (a member) of our family'.

Other exceptions belong exclusively to governmental and religious formulas: xšayabīya xšayabīyanām 'kings of kings', xšayabīya dahyānām 'king of countries', hnya mabštā bašinām 'the greatest of gods', vašna Auramadža 'by the will of Ahuramazda'. It is possible that the postposition of the genitive in these phrases is a Median usage.

Enditic genitive pronouns are somewhat freer

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1 In the phrase asi dāru (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 anuwa tawamatişati 'according to his powers', and the restored DB 5.27 [matišatšim:] [šiša:] kuša : nāma 'the chief of them, Skunkha by name', where the -šim has no earlier word to which it may be attached, and space does not permit [hyasām : matiša:] kuša : nāma. Cf. also §311.1 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 Nadātabairahyā Tigrām adārāya 'the army of Nadintu-Bel held the Tigris'. There are the following types of exceptions:

I. The verb may come before the subject, for emphasis, as in bātiš Dārayawaš xšāyašiša 'Saith Darius the King'; to give substantive force to the verb ‘to be’, as in DB 1.48 našiq 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 xšašam haw agarbāyata ‘the sovereignty he seized’, and when the object is a resumptive pronoun and the subject is a pronoun, as in DB 1.62 ara adam patipadam akunam ‘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 dī ‘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 jadiyāmīmī Auramazādīm ‘this as a boon I beg of Ahuramazda’, DNA 53f aita adam Auramazādīm jadiyāmī.

V. A predicate to the object of a factitive verb usually follows the object, as in DSf 3f hya Dārayawaš Xšyā xšašam akunaw ‘who made Darius king’; but occasionally precedes, as in DSf 16f ha[ra]-wauhaš[a] BU[yā] martiyaša ] mām avarušata ‘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 Auramazādī xšašam manā frābara ‘Ahuramazda conferred the sovereignty upon me’; DB 1.19 manā bājīm abāratā ‘(the provinces) bore tribute to me’; DZe 3f hya Dārayawaša Xšyā xšašam frābara ‘who conferred the sovereignty upon King Darius’; DNA 4 hya šiyātim adā martiyaša ‘who created happiness for man’ (and so elsewhere; but DNb 2f hya adadā šiyātim martiyaša 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 hāca paruwiya, 1.45 hāca paruwiya, 1.82 Ūjvan and abyā mām. The phrase vašnā Auramazādā ‘by the favor of Ahuramazda’ stands first in its clause in 63 of its 77 occurrences. Resumptive pronouns (haw and forms of ava-) and adverbs (awaša, awoša) 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, XSe 3, before yādā ‘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 ašiyyaam ‘Iward after I set forth to Babylon’, DB 2.30 awam 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 twun kā xšāyašiyā hya aparam ahy ‘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 hamitciya manā našiq gaubatay ‘the rebel army which does not call itself mine’, cf. DB 2.84 kāram hamitiyya hya manā našiq gaubatay.

§311. The Position of Enclitic Words. The enclitics of OP may be divided into four groups: (1) pronominal forms -maiš -mā ma, -taiy, -šaiy -šim -šim -šiš, -dim -diš; (2) adv. patiš, conj. ty; (3) conj. -ci, -n, advv. apiš -ciš -diš; (4) postpositions (see §133 for others in fixed combinations; §134–§139 for phonetic phenomena).

Some enclitic words are occasionally written as separate words; thus diš DB 4.34, 35, 36, tay DNb 58 (mā tay, but mā-tay DNb 52, 55), tya in yabā tya XPh 29 despite yadda tya XPh 35f and
mā-tya DB 1.52, 4.43, 48, 71, patiy in ima pati-mai DNe 32f despite nat-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 uta ‘and’: DB 1.25 Avaramazdā-maiy upāstān frābāra ‘Ahuramazda bore me aid’; DPh 8 tyā-maiy Avaramazdā frābāra ‘(the kingdom) which Ahuramazda conferred upon me’; DPh 9f mām Avaramazdā pātw uta-maiy vidām ‘me may Ahuramazda protect, and my royal house’. But the phrase vaśnā Avaramazdāha does not count in fixing the position of an enclitic: DB 1.13f vaśnā Avaramazdāha adam-šīm xōyābya 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 uta preceding a conjunction or relative: DB 4.73f uta-laiy yāvā taumā abatiy ‘and as long as strength shall be unto thee’; XPa 15 uta-maicy tyā pita akunav ‘and what my father built’, but also XPa 19f uta tyā-maiy piça kartam ‘and what was built by my father’; DNb 28f yatā-maiy tyā kartam vaināby ‘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 AŚSa 3 aparvāyāka-ma ‘my grandfather’s grandfather’, AŚSa 4 [sṛyā]kama (for -am-ma, §138.1) ‘my grandfather’, both with -ma for -miyi = -mai (§52.1). The abl. -ma is found only in hacā-ma ‘from me’, standing anywhere in its clause. These formations are violated in three heavily restored passages, but the available space and the other versions favor these restorations: DŚf 20 [vya vyrāmaicy ( = -am-maiy) akunav] ‘that he made successful for me’; DŚf 23 [hacā-ci] yāvādāša [arjana]mā-šaiy abariya ‘from afar its ornamentation was brought’; DNb 54f tyā parā[ta]mrū[aiy as]iṣi ‘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 tyā, when enclitic, stands immediately after a conjunction which leads its clause (mā-tya, yadā-tya, yadā 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 dārai ‘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 AŚSd 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 prenominal enclitic stands last. There are the following occurrences: DNb 20 nat-pati-mā; with separation, DNb 32f ima pati-maiy.

DNb 21f avākram-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 DŚf 12f, where the names of Arsamest and Hystaspes lack nāma, and in DB 3.11 and 5.4, where the province-names Margus and Ūrja are accompanied by nāma. These phrases are always 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 (dahyūṣ, didā), when nāmā is

1 The only exception is AHI 14f Viṣṇupahyā nāma puṣa ‘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.